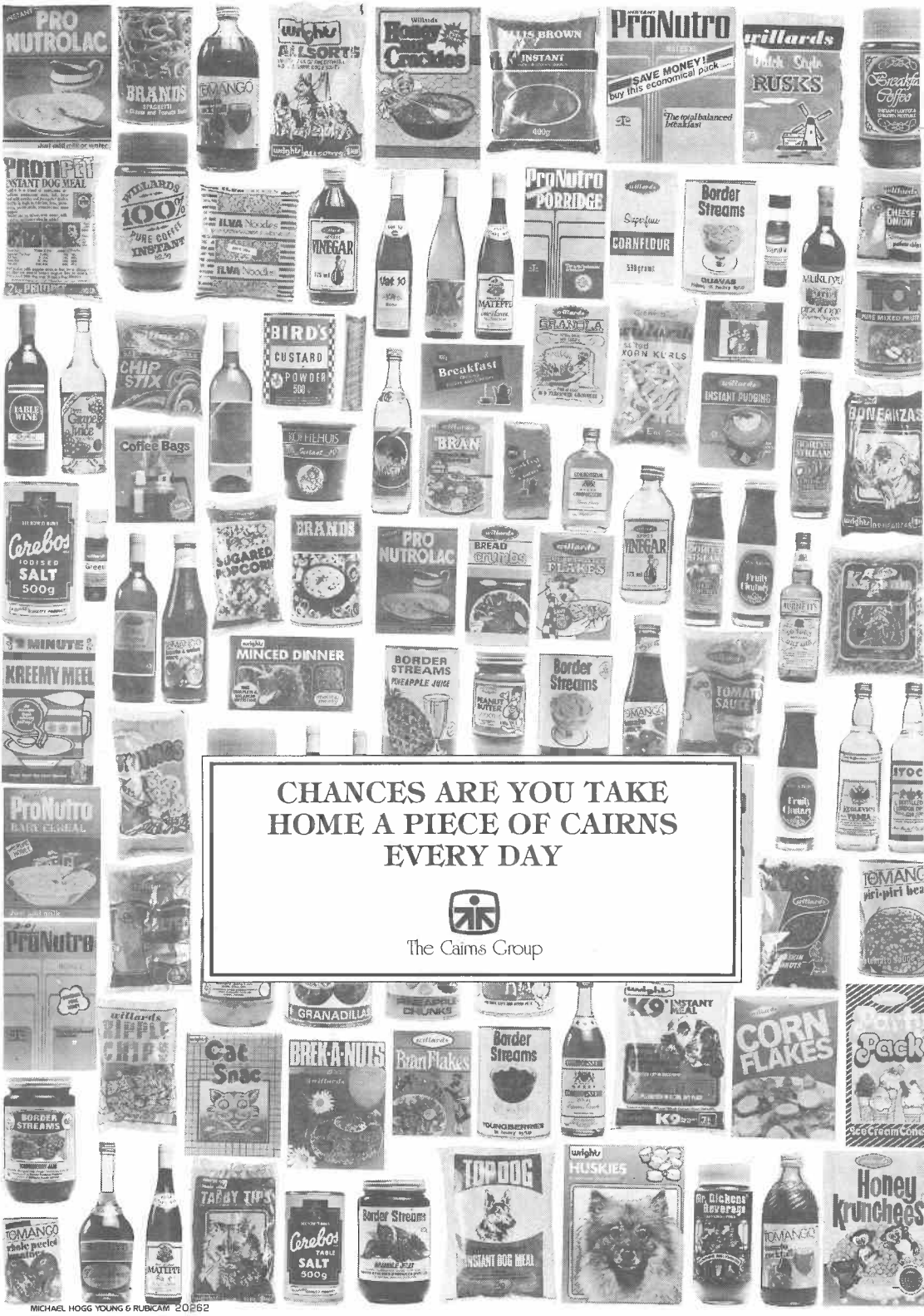
HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION No. 10 1991



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☆ The Society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.

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Mashonaland Branch, P.O. Box 3946, Harare, Zimbabwe.

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

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 10 — 1991

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe

Edited by

M.J. KIMBERLEY

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

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

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FOREWORD

This, the tenth volume of our annual journal HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE, is, as in the past, intended to offer at least something of interest to every one of our members and other readers in Zimbabwe and outside our borders, but, as always, it is neither expected nor intended that every article will be of interest to every reader.

This 10th volume of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE marks a major achievement for the Society since it represents our 50th serial publication. As is well known, both nationally and regionally, and to a certain extent internationally, our very first journal entitled Rhodesiana No. 1 appeared in 1956 and our 40th and last issue in that particular series, which was partly an annual series and for some time a biannual one, was published in 1979. Then in 1981, following the country's change in legal status to an independent sovereign state, it was most appropriate to begin a new series entitled HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE.

Twelve different Editors have produced those 50 volumes with four of them each handling one volume, a different four each handling two volumes, and a further two Editors both producing three volumes. The late E.E. (Ted) Burke did a wonderful job in compiling, editing and producing eight consecutive biannual volumes between 1963 and 1967, with substantially increased content and an attractive cover replacing the austerity cover of the earlier issues.

The doyen of our several Editors during the Society's 35 years of publishing, however, is, undoubtedly, the late W.V. (Vernon) Brelsford who was responsible for no less than 24 volumes between 1967 and 1979. Admittedly, those 13 years in our country were exceedingly unsettled and unstable, but, surprisingly, were not encumbered by the tremendous shortages of materials, machinery spares and skilled manpower which beset the nation's printing industry in all its facets at the present time.

The Society's acclaim and renown in the publishing field is attributable to all its Editors, to all its authors of articles, and to all its donors and advertisers and its members for paying their subscriptions which help to finance our ever increasing printing costs. Above all, however, the Society remains eternally grateful for the dedication, the competence and the resilience of its most prolific Editor, the late Vernon Brelsford.

Our regular contributor, Peter Locke offers two articles containing the results of his researches into two very different subjects, namely, petrol-box furniture and Coins, whilst Robert Burrett records the history of the Ayrshire Mine. A.T. Matangira, a very welcome new contributor, offers a little of the early history of Kambuzuma, a large suburb to the west of Harare, where the author spent his childhood. Your Editor offers a biography of Sir Fraser Russell, a former Puisne Judge and then Chief Justice in this country, as the fourth instalment in a series of our early judges, and Roger Howman writes about Australian troops, called 'bushmen' and their activities here in 1900.

Whilst our National Executive Committee is responsible for the Society's publishing programme, its membership, its administration and finance, its national annual dinner and policy matters generally, it is the branch activities which have for the last twenty-two years been bringing our members together several times each year on outings and expeditions by road, rail and on foot. These activities are vital to the Society's continued success as we

rapidly approach the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Society on 12th June 1953.

This issue, therefore, is a tribute to the outstanding track record of our Mashonaland Branch since its establishment in 1969, and, in particular, to its efforts during the past two years when the present branch committee has organised very successful and well attended outings to the Rusape area (September 1989), to Fort Charter, Waddilove and Charter Estates (May 1990), to Mount Hampden (July 1990), and to the Chimanimani and Chipinge areas (September 1990).

On these four outings a number of most interesting historical talks were given by some of our committee members, and by some local historians resident in the areas visited several of whom are in their own right part of that history. It is most appropriate that such talks be recorded for posterity in this volume of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE and the Society expresses its grateful thanks to the speakers concerned, namely, Miss Sommerville and Messrs Clatworthy, Malaba, Worthington, Bousfield, Tanser, Wood, de Bruijn, Ford and Edwards.

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, on behalf of the History Society of Zimbabwe grateful thanks are expressed to the numerous Zimbabwean Companies which have so kindly agreed to advertise in this issue of HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE or which have made generous cash donations towards the financing of this issue. Without their support and assistance our journal would founder in the sea of rapidly increasing printing costs.

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY
EDITOR

Notes on New Contributors

by Michael J. Kimberley

John William Bousfield was born in Natal South Africa. At a very early age he moved with his parents to what was then Southern Rhodesia. Since his father worked for the Internal Affairs Department he attended several junior schools around the country, namely, Cecil John Rhodes in Gweru, Umvuma School in Mvuma and Baines Junior School in Bulawayo. He attended Hamilton High School in Bulawayo before going to the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg where he read English and History. Completing his tertiary education with a University Education Diploma he returned home in 1970 to begin a teaching career. He has taught at Hamilton High School in Bulawayo and Vainona High and Mount Pleasant in Harare. At present he is the Headmaster of Eaglesvale School. His interests include History, where he is the vice chairman of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe and a member of the Pre-History Society of Zimbabwe, and gardening and reading.

John Clatworthy was born in Harare and received his primary and secondary education in Zimbabwe. After University courses in Natal and at Oxford, he served for twenty-eight years in the Department of Research & Specialist Services in the Ministry of Agriculture, mainly at Grasslands Research Station, Marondera. He is now retired.

Robert Ivor (Pat) Edwards is the son of Stanley Edwards, who came to this country from England in 1900 joining the British South Africa Police and retiring as Member in Charge Chipinge to go farming in that district, and Hannah Louisa Edwards (nee Webster) who arrived in Chipinge with the Moolman-Webster trek in 1893. Pat was born at Mount Selinda Hospital on 23rd October 1911 and was educated at Melsetter Primary School and Mutare High School. After war service with the RWAAF in Nigeria he returned to Chipinge in February 1946 and has farmed there ever since.

Hendrik **Steyn de Bruijn** was the second child of Pieter Francois de Bruijn who came to Cashel in 1914 as a teacher, and Herculina Johanna Sophia de Bruijn (nee Steyn), the daughter of Hendrik Steyn of the 1895 Henry/Steyn Trek. Hendrik (known as Steyn) was born on Hendriksdal Farm, Cashel and educated at Tandaai School. From 1943 he was on active service with the Rhodesian forces serving also with the second Battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Greece, and later with the Sixth South African Division in Italy. Upon demobilisation he joined the Government Veterinary Department serving from 1946 to 1982 as an Animal Health Inspector and subsequently as Chief Training Officer. After retirement he farmed on Pietershoek and Hendriksdal until 1988 when he and his wife retired to Maidstone Farm, Rusape.

Martina **Louisa de Bruijn** (nee Moolman) was the seventh child of Jurie Johannes Moolman, a member of the 1893 Moolman/Webster Trek, and Maria Magdalena Moolman (nee Ferreira), a member of the 1895 Henry/Steyn Trek. She was born in Chipinge and educated there. She worked in the postal service in Chipinge, Melsetter and Mutare until her marriage to Steyn de Bruijn in 1948.

C. John Ford was born on the B.S.A. Co's Citrus Estate, Sinoia. Started his schooling at the Sinoia Public School until the family moved back to Premier Citrus Estate, near Old Umtali, in 1938. There he attended Umtali Junior School and Umtali High School.

The family moved to Salisbury in 1946 after which he indentured as a Compositor Printer with The Art Printing Works Limited. As a Journeyman he later worked for three years in New Zealand, Australia and England, returning to Southern Rhodesia for the remainder of his working life in printing variously as Foreman, Partner, Director and in Sales, still living in Harare.

For fifteen years he was active in the Boy Scout Movement. Was involved in the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe for some 21 years serving on their Council, was the first Editor of their Journal "Rhodesian Prehistory" for six years and Chairman for two years. Attended a School of Archaeology at Great Zimbabwe, and was a Life Member until February 1984.

He has been a member of the History Society of Zimbabwe since April, 1968, and has actively served on the Mashonaland Branch Committee and on the National Executive Committee, and as National Secretary for two years.

For some 28 years he has been a member of the Zimbabwe Scientific Association. His outdoor interests also include mountain climbing, swimming, photography, art and gardening, and have gradually extended from prehistory into the country's history, as well as a book collection allied to these interests which stemmed initially from many years of extensive researching into family trees.

Heyi James Malaba was born in Plumtree, grew up in the Kezi/Matopos area, and attended secondary school at Kilnerton, east of Pretoria. There was no secondary school in Matabelaland at that time. He trained in Natal as a school teacher and started to teach at Waddilove in 1951 doing a part-time teaching degree through UNISA. In 1953 he became headmaster of the Waddilove Primary School and in 1966, when the Waddilove Secondary School was opened, he became Headmaster of the secondary school.

In 1969 he was appointed principal of the whole of Waddilove (primary and secondary schools and teaching institution).

Mr Malaba retired in 1983. He has sat as an assessor in the High Court since 1984 and has for some years been Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Methodist School at Wedza.

Abel T. Matangira was born in Harare and spent most of his youth in Kambuzuma. His secondary education was at St. Augustines School in Penhalonga and he graduated Bachelor of Arts, majoring in History and Economic History, in the University of Zimbabwe. He has been a Research Officer and subsequently a Senior Research Officer at the National Archives of Zimbabwe since 1987, interrupted for a year to utilize a Ford Foundation Scholarship to obtain a Master of Arts degree in Records Management and Archive Administration from University College, London in 1989.

T.F.M. (Tim) Tanser was born and bred in this country. He was educated at St. George's College and Falcon College after which he obtained his B.A. degree at the University of Natal, majoring in History and Physical Science.

Following several years in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he became articled to a

legal firm in Harare, studied for his legal qualifications through UNISA and is a partner in that same firm today. He is married and has three children.

In addition to his historical interests, he is an avid book collector of the Colonial period, a part time apple and bulb farmer at Nyanga and a keen sportsman, still playing cricket, tennis and golf.

Brought up on a diet of history, his father having been an author, speaker and a founder member of the Rhodesiana Society, he was always fascinated by our history, with a particular interest in our Pioneer history.

He has been on the Committee of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society since 1976 and on the National Committee since 1979. He has been Chairman of both these Committees and is presently Chairman of the Branch and National Deputy Chairman and is a regular speaker at functions organised by the Society.

David Worthington, the son of an army officer, farmer and naturalist, was born in England during the first World War and educated at Marlborough College. He began work on a ranch in Argentina in 1935 and was there until 1940, when he enlisted in the British Army, serving in the Armoured Car Regiment of the famous 6th Armoured Division. He attained the rank of Captain and was awarded the Military Cross. He was wounded in 1943 and then became an instructor at Sandhurst and held various other staff appointments in the Army.

In 1946 he was back on a ranch in Argentina until 1948, when he emigrated to this country and joined Charter Estate as a Manager. He retired in 1985 as Managing Director after 37 years' service with the Company. Charter Estate was a large 100000 acre ranch (now 85000 acres) running about 12000 head of beef cattle and 1000 sheep.

He is a Life Vice President of the Cattle Producers Association, served for 20 years on the Agricultural Research Council, and 6 years on the Council of what is now the Commercial Farmers Union.

Notice to Contributors

The Editor welcomes articles to consider for possible publication in future issues of *Heritage of Zimbabwe.*

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

Please send your contributions to:

The Editor
History Society of Zimbabwe
P O Box 8268, Causeway, Zimbabwe

Petrol-Box Furniture

by P. G. Locke

Petrol-box furniture - there can be no type of household furnishing more characteristic of the simple domestic lifestyle (and sometimes precarious existence) of many ordinary folk who made Zimbabwe their home in the period up to the end of the Second World War.

Common throughout the country, particularly in rural communities, petrol-box furniture was created out of necessity, with no pretensions as to style or form, at a time when manufactured items were either unavailable or beyond the means of the average wage earner. Improvisation was often the only way in which the basic home comforts could be provided and petrol-box furniture reflects the resourcefulness of the people and their determination to overcome both the hardships of living in a colonial outpost remote from the "civilized" world and, later, the devastating effects of the Depression.

Petrol-boxes were the wooden packing cases used to protect tins of petrol during transport and which, having reached their destination, became surplus to their original purpose. Not surprisingly the possibilities provided by this ready source of basic materials were soon seized upon and the practice of converting petrol-boxes into functional and economical furnishings became widespread.

Though known collectively as "petrol-boxes", the cases so popular for their usefulness were actually used to pack several different inflammable liquids besides petrol, including illuminating paraffin and benzine, in the days before bulk tankers became the norm. Irrespective of their contents, however, the boxes differed only in the brand names and trade marks impressed on their sides. Each box measured 21" by 11" by 14" and contained two 4 gallon tins - which were also much sought after as water containers or, with the tops cut off, for storage of any kind of dry goods. Ironically, much of the early "petrol-box" furniture was made from paraffin boxes, paraffin being more widely used for lighting and cooking. Also paraffin box wood was often more highly prized by furniture makers because, being partly impregnated with spilled paraffin, it was regarded as offering a greater resistance to white ants and other pests.[1]

The importation of paraffin into Zimbabwe began in the early 1890's, soon after colonization of the country, and the associated boxes must have become available from that time. A decade later the arrival of the first motor car in the country heralded the introduction of petrol, somewhat sporadically at first, together with its sought after by-product, the petrol-box! However, as the number of "horseless-carriages" on the roads grew inexorably, naturally, so did the demand for fuel, leading to a corresponding rise in imports and an increasing abundance of petrol-boxes. This method of importation and regular supply of associated boxes persisted until 1930 when bulk petrol storage depots were first opened in Zimbabwe and bogie tank wagons were introduced by Rhodesia Railways for the carriage of fuel from South Africa.[2]

Thereafter the importation of petrol in tins and boxes must have declined steadily but it is not clear when this type of container was phased out completely. Certainly some petrol-box furniture was still being constructed after 1945 but this may have been due to the plethora of boxes left over from earlier years, with carriage by box and tin having ceased pre-war. Post-war, apart from the diminished supply of boxes, the generally improved economic conditions

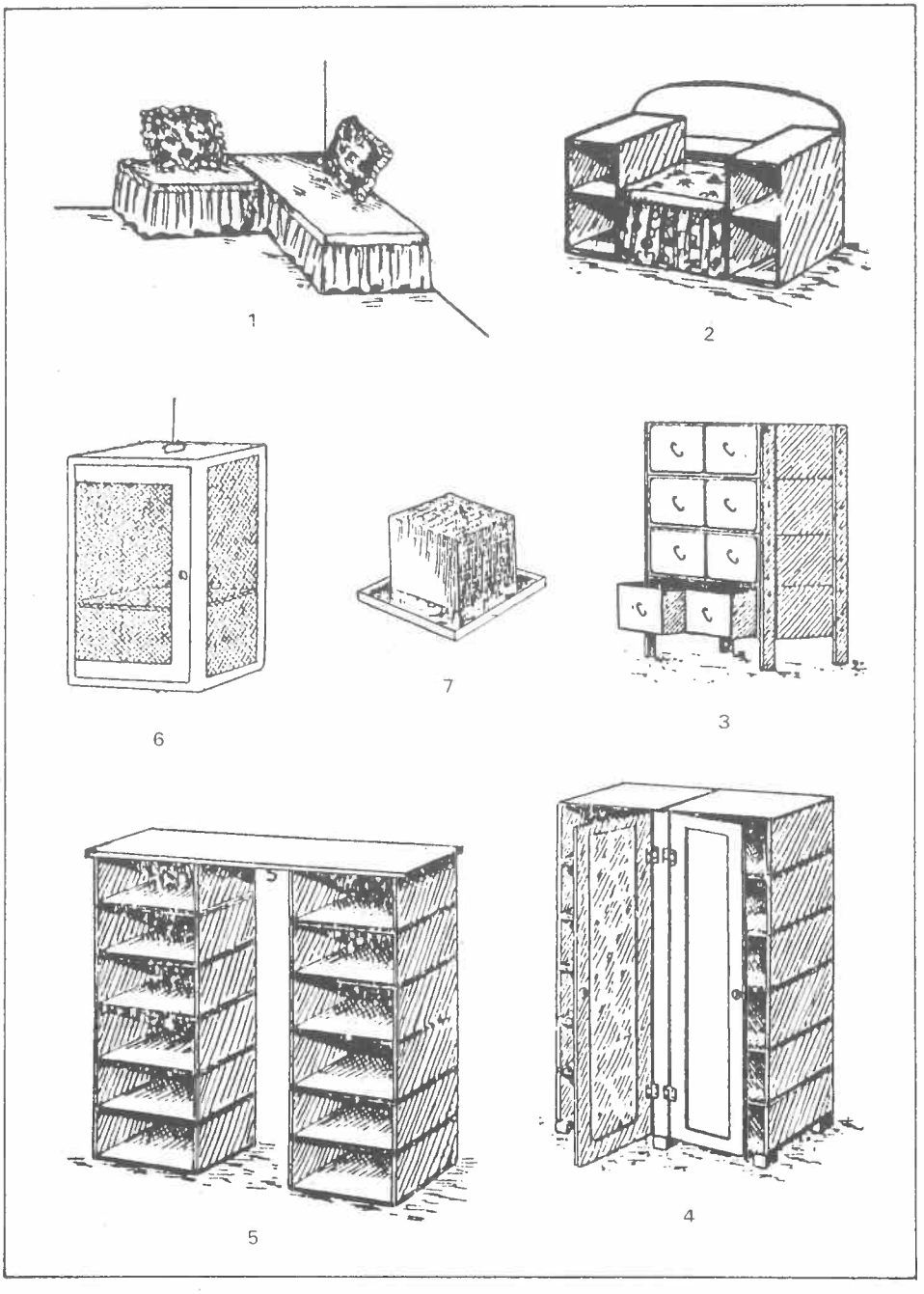
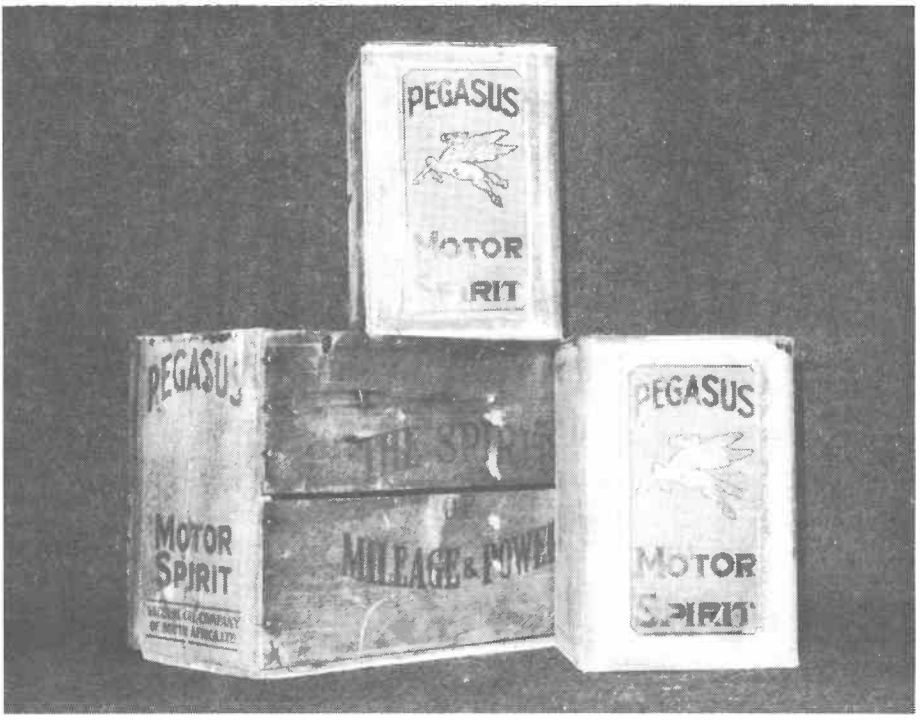


Figure 1. **Examples of petrol-box furniture and petrol tin utensils illustrated in** *Die Boerevrouw,* **1920/1921. 1. Corner seat, 2. Easy chair, 3. Food cupboard (with tins as drawers), 4. Wardrobe, 5. Wardrobe, 6. Meat safe, 7. Food cooler (cut-down tin on tray, covered with damp cloth)**

and greater availability of factory-made furnishings signalled the demise of petrol-box furniture.

Petrol-box furniture was by no means a phenomenon unique to Zimbabwe and it was certainly employed in other countries around the world. However, the spartan furniture became something of a national institution in Zimbabwe, suggesting that it was used to a relatively greater extent in this country than elsewhere. Indeed, it is remarkable how, virtually without exception, "older generation" Zimbabweans have had personal experience of petrol-box furniture - though it is not always fondly recalled!

Not unexpectedly, petrol-box furniture was also made in South Africa where circumstances in some areas were similar to Zimbabwe and, prior to the introduction of petrol pumps and filling stations, circa 1924, the same type of petrol containers was used.[3] Indeed, some multi-national oil companies actually employed South African-made petrol-boxes for regional distribution of their products - as evidenced by the inscriptions on many boxes found in Zimbabwe. Like other countries, the furniture was adopted largely by the rural dweller in South Africa, particularly in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.[4] It is of interest to note that in one Afrikaans magazine dating from the early Twenties, published especially for the farmer's wife, a variety of furnishings based on petrol-boxes (plus several utensils made from petrol/paraffin tins) are illustrated and described in a series of articles to assist readers in constructing their own examples.[5] (See Figure 1). Surprisingly, however, it seems that today petrol-box furniture is not particularly well remembered in South Africa[6] and it can only be assumed that the greater



"Pegasus" petrol-box and two 4-gallon tins, typical examples of the ubiquitous fuel containers. The "Pegasus" trade name was the precursor of today's Mobil Oil

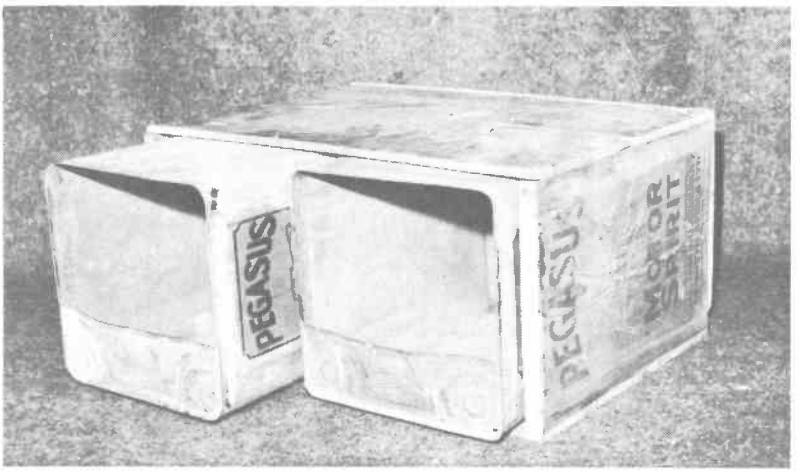
A selection of petrol and other inflammable liquid boxes. The inscriptions on a number of boxes indicate that they were made in South Africa

prosperity and development in that country (compared with elsewhere in Southern Africa) meant that, in general, there was less need to resort to improvisation measures of this kind.

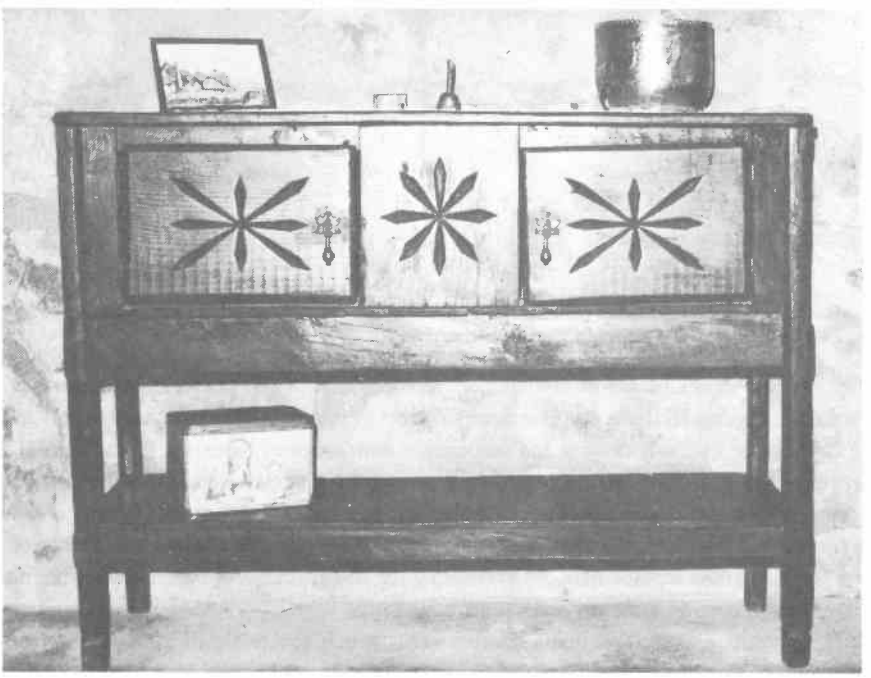
Because of its lowly origins and association with times of hardship, it was natural that petrol-box furniture was always regarded as a temporary substitute for the "bought item". Together with their often rudimentary construction, this meant that the vast majority of petrol-box furniture was ephemeral in nature, items being happily discarded or broken up when better times permitted their replacement. As a consequence, few examples of this distinctive furniture survive today, even in museum collections.

It is fortunate, therefore, that a number items which accurately illustrate the **genre** are preserved in the collection of furnishings exhibited at Utopia House Museum, Mutare. Of particular significance from this collection, due to their well documented provenance, are two pieces immortalized in the classic book **Next Year Will be Better**[7] - a moving story which typifies the struggle settler families faced trying to make a living off the land in Zimbabwe in the Twenties and Thirties. Constructed on a farm in Mashonaland in 1928 by the authoress, Hylda Richards, and her husband, the trying circumstances which necessitated the use of petrol-box furniture and the disdainful attitude towards it are clearly expressed -

"We could afford only a minimum of furniture..... my clothes lived in a petrol-box



Petrol-box furniture at its simplest! A two drawer cupboard made from an unaltered petrol-box and two tins with the tops partly cut out. This item was in use until 1985 in Mutare



Sideboard described in *Next Year Will Be Better* — a fine example of petrol-box furniture which was much more than just a make-shift substitute. Its origins are betrayed only by the "Shell" petrol emblem and "Produce of Sumatra" impressed on the inside of the panels. The making of the piece by Hylda Richards' husband is related as follows:- "Then he made a sideboard out of petrol-boxes and a plank. He carved a crude pattern on the little doors with a chisel and hammer and I stained it and gave antique drop handles. He said there was no need to put a back to the cupboard as it could be pushed flush with the wall, which it would have done had not our walls been curved. However, I managed to keep the glasses from falling out and one day we will really provide a back." (*There is still no back!*)

Fall-front writing bureau constructed from three petrol-boxes — two joined vertically forming the base, with another added lengthways as a small cupboard beneath the writing surface. Made by Tom Richards (husband of authoress Hylda) circa 1928 from "Shell Motor Spirit" boxes

Glass-fronted cabinet fabricated from three "Shell" petrol-boxes and an old window. Only three legs are fitted — probably for stability on uneven floors! Made on a farm in the Odzani district circa 1930

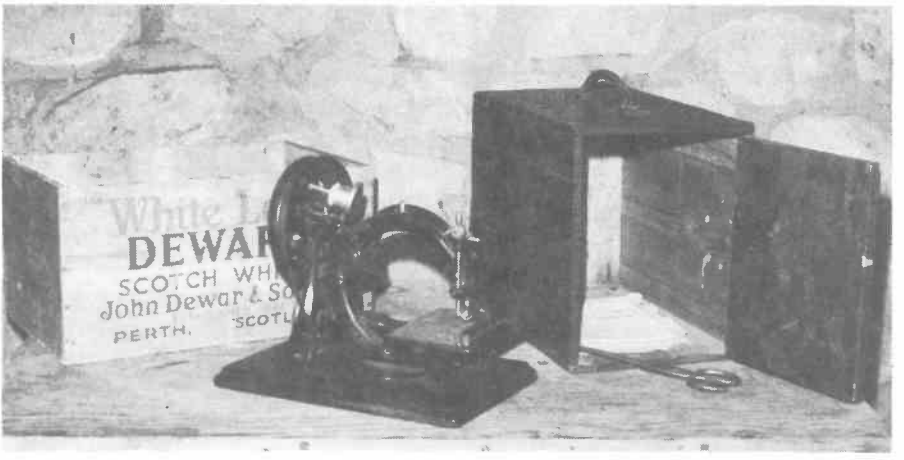
cupboard of my own making..... I made wardrobes and cupboards with petrol-boxes and covered them with cretonne; they looked quite nice. Petrol-box furniture may be called quaint or artistic, but it really is a great nuisance to the people who live with it. First of all, it harbours fish-moths and cockroaches..... Another disadvantage of the petrol-box furniture is that nobody but yourself ever draws the curtains. Finally, the boxes need constant restaining and the curtains washing and renewing, for shabby petrol-box furniture is most depressing."

These somewhat disparaging, contemporary feelings towards petrol-box furniture are easy to understand, but it cannot be denied that there is a certain rustic charm to some of the better made pieces. However, present day tastes are no doubt influenced by nostalgia and current fashion - whence cottage or country furniture has nowadays gained a respectable, and even desirable image!

Naturally, in construction of petrol-box furniture the end result was often influenced by the shape of the original box and its function as a container. Probably the simplest construction was merely a stack of four or five open boxes, laid on their sides on top of one another, nailed together. With a curtained front (strung on wire) this provided a useful cupboard or compactum. More elaborate designs depended on the creativeness of the maker and usually necessitated the boxes being dismantled to avoid the restrictions imposed by their original shape, with longer lengths of timber added as available. Petrol-boxes were transformed into an endless variety of household furnishings and accessories - from bread boxes and book-shelves to cots and chairs, desks and dressers. These were often make-shift and starkly

Morris chair incorporating planks from a dismantled "Shell" petrol-box. Provenance unknown

Another writing bureau demonstrating the art of the petrol-box furniture maker. The use of two vertically arranged boxes ("Atlantic Motor Spirit") in the basic structure is clearly evident. Dating from 1920/30, this is an original piece of furniture from the home of the Fairbridge family in Mutare, now Utopia House Museum



Left **Standard type whisky box ("Dewar's").** *centre and right* **Sewing machine, circa 1900, with cabinet made from a whisky box from the same distillery**

functional but some examples demonstrated the ingenious adaption of old petrol-boxes into remarkably well-constructed and attractive items of furniture, which belied their humble origins.

Other packing-case furniture

Any description of petrol-box furniture, however brief, would be incomplete without mention of another type of wooden box used in the fabrication of austerity furniture. Used for packing liquid fuel of different nature, the whisky box was similar to but smaller than the petrol-box, being designed to safeguard from breakage a dozen bottles of the precious spirit. Until the advent of the motor car, whisky boxes would probably have been available in quantities comparable to petrol-boxes, but thereafter the thirst of the internal combustion engine must have soon outstripped that of mere mortals. Whisky boxes were used in much the same way as petrol-boxes with only their smaller size placing them at a disadvantage.*

Obviously, any type of wooden packing case of suitable dimensions could be, and often was, converted into substitute furniture. Soap boxes and dynamite cases (from the mines) certainly played a role, but petrol-boxes and whisky boxes reigned supreme in this part of the world - no doubt because of their greater abundance and convenient proportions.

Petrol/Paraffin Tins

As already mentioned, demand for the 4 gallon petrol/paraffin tins was as great as that for the boxes in which they were packed. Being "non-returnable" containers, like the boxes, inventive minds also developed this free resource into a multitude of useful items, most of which required little alteration of the original tin other than removal of the top. The tins were often re-used simply for the carriage or storage of water in outlying districts, but they also

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An old-timer's tale, probably true, is relevant -

"One Xmas time, with the rivers in flood, there was a bad drought in Shabani (Zvishavane) - NO SCOTCH! A supply was coming in on Zeederberg's coach but the last river was impassable. So near and yet so far. However an African volunteered to cross and was instructed to bring back a case with a horse on it - good old White Horse of course. He got over and back with the case intact but it was a case of Pegasus paraffin. A horse all right, but winged, not white!"[8]

served a host of other purposes. Referring yet again to **Next Year Will Be Better,**[9] petrol tins are described as being used for a dutch oven, a bread box, a brazier, a well-bucket, a slop pail and, cut lengthwise, as a soap-making tray. In addition, a hundred tins were specially acquired for irrigation in one drought year, and tins were beaten with sticks in an attempt to drive away swarms of locusts - the latter a common practice at the time.

The tins were also very suitable for heating water. Many BSAP camps and even Plumtree School at one time employed a system whereby hot water was poured from tins down a funnel outside the bathroom, whence it flowed via a short pipe into the bath.[10] Shouts to the "operator" outside regulated the quantity and temperature!

In many districts the 4 gallon tin was recognized as the standard measure for buying and selling maize and other grain, and there is more than likely an element of truth in the claim that the canny storekeeper used a new tin for sales while a well stretched old one was used when making purchases.[11]

The square shaped 4 gallon tin persisted in use in Zimbabwe as a container for paraffin until circa 1960 - long after the expiry of the petrol-box. It was then replaced by a circular drum of the same capacity which in turn gave way to the 20 litre drum still in use today. The old tins were less robust than their modern counterparts and they are a rare sight today - particularly the early type with trade marks emblazoned on their sides. Most were soon worn out through regular use or, being susceptible to rust, eventually succumbed to the elements. Surprisingly, however, the square tin has recently re-appeared as a container for various industrial liquids - presumably because of its cost effectiveness. As a result, no doubt there will be a return to the former tradition of adapting and modifying tins into useful utensils, the only difference being that nowadays such a practice is likely to be elevated to the status of "appropriate technology"!

Evocative of the Times

Like the rondavel and "Rhodesian boiler", petrol-box furniture has an unmistakable flavour, so distinctly identifiable with Zimbabwe in the years which spanned the two World Wars. Together with other packing-case furniture and the ubiquitous petrol tin container, it also epitomizes the indomitable spirit and resourcefulness of the people of that generation, who persevered and succeeded against the seemingly overwhelming adversities of drought, pestilence and economic recession. For those brought up in today's consumer society it is sobering to contemplate a lifestyle which meant foregoing so many of the "necessities" of life. In some ways, perhaps we are the poorer for easy accessibility to material possessions. As related by Hylda Richards:[12] "People who begin married life with a well-equipped house do not taste half the joys we tasted. From the day that I bought a real enamel slop-pail with a lid - a luxury, because a petrol tin did just as well - I savoured pure joy in every new acquisition".

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The Optimistic Years : The Ayrshire Mine, 1892 - 1909 and Beyond

By Robert Burrett

"The history of the mine is one of optimism and great hopes built on false premises, followed by a most depressing tale of errors, accidents and failures which brought work to an untimely and disastrous end."[1]

The now deserted Ayrshire Mine was visited by the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1989. Its story epitomises the tremendous optimism generated by early colonial ventures in this Country where vast amounts of capital, labour and lives were invested to find the "New Rand" which never materialised.

The Ayrshire Mine was located by James Cochrane.[2] It is uncertain as to the date of his discovery, but it seems likely to have been either late 1892 or early 1893. Cochrane was one of the early settlers and had been prospecting in the Mazoe Valley. He was unsuccessful in these initial endeavours and gradually drifted westward, crossing the Umvukwes Range (Great Dyke now Mvurwi Range) via the present day Mutorashanga Pass. Soon thereafter he came across the Mukwidiba Hills (now Mazwikadei Range). Here he persuaded the local Mashonas to show him some "big hollows", and based on their size he immediately realised the potential value of the discovery.[3]

There were at the time two distinct "ancient workings", one of which can still be seen today. Both had been dug using primitive means down to the watertable, which had then prevented the prehistoric miners' continuing in their enterprise. The Eastern Working, now filled with later dump deposits, was 356 feet long, 29 feet wide and on average 45 feet deep. Geologists have calculated that about 296 000 cubic feet of rock must have been removed from this pit. The Western Working consists of two associated pits. One is 120 feet long, 40 feet wide and 55,6 feet deep (rock capacity is about 160 000 cubic feet) while the other is 278 feet long, 20 feet wide and 55,6 feet deep (capacity approximately 216 000 cubic feet).[4] Even by the time Cochrane located them they were densely overgrown, thus indicating some time had elapsed since they were last worked.[5] Cochrane at once beaconed off these workings with poles upon which he wrote "J. Cochrane, Ayrshire." Thus it was he who named the mine. This name was later applied to the surrounding farming area centred on modern Raffingora, and is derived from the Ayrshire District in Britain whence Cochrane came.[6]

After pegging the Ayrshire, Cochrane began making for Salisbury (now Harare) again via the Mutorashanga Pass. On the way, and near present day Concession, he met the well known Pioneer and prospector, Jack Carruthers. It seems Cochrane, given that he did not have the necessary capital or knowledge to develop the Ayrshire claims, then sold his rights to Carruthers. Carruthers immediately set off to the Ayrshire where he repegged the claims and made initial investigations of the deposits. With glowing reports he returned to Salisbury to

register his claims. On the way, however, he sold the rights to three other prospectors.[7] Exactly whom is not known, but it is likely that they were Percy Swinburne, James Ross and James E. Box. We know that on the 8th May 1893 Claim Blocks 176 and 177, which covered the main "ancient workings", were registered in the name of Umfreville Percy Swinburne.[8] Three months later James Box registered the adjacent Claim Block no. 191, together with the Woodbyrne - Ayrshire Claims which lay a little to the north of the "ancient workings", between them and the Chimbadzi Hill (half a mile north).[9]

Historical mining at Ayrshire began in 1893. Initial developments were unsuccessful. It seemed to the owners that the deposits had been completely worked out by the "ancients" and were no longer viable. The trouble was not the absence of gold, but their inexperience in terms of the geological conditions prevalent at Ayrshire. They thought that the gold should occur in the quartz veins as was the usual case in the Country. However, there are no major quartz veins at Ayrshire and the gold is in fact found in the schist rock where it has been sheared (crushed) and undergone subsequent sulphur-gold mineralization.[10] These miners did not realise this and concentrated their efforts upon extracting the low grade pegmatites which they mistook for quartz veins. It is thus not surprising that they complained that the soil and decomposed rock of the area contained more gold than their "reefs".[11] Swinburne and Company never achieved good returns at the Ayrshire and were probably content to abandon the site with the outbreak of the Matabeleland War of 1893.

Swinburne's two claim blocks were later, on 26th September 1894, transferred to H. Hirsch and Company.[12] The investor was again confident at the start and some development was undertaken at the mine. The owners even managed to persuade the Administrator, Dr L.S. Jameson, to visit the mine in December 1894.[13] The Bulawayo Chronicle at the time recorded that 100 "Boys" were being employed and that "the mine continues to justify first expectations."[14] The truth of the matter is, however, that like their predecessors, H. Hirsch and Company were not finding the mine viable : still the geology did not make sense; there was a constant shortage of manual labour, at one time the entire "Native" labour force abandoned the mine for some time after a local incident involving the Police; while there was a serious water shortage that year hindering the processing of the ore.[15] Thus, on 8th August 1895 H. Hirsch and Company transferred their two claims to the Lomagunda Development Company Limited.[16] This company at the same time persuaded J. Box to sell them his adjacent Claim no. 191. The new company was part of the Rhodesian Exploration and Development Company, and had an initial capital of £200 000.[17]

Again the incoming investor was optimistic and within a short time had made major investments. Soon the first organised settlement at Ayrshire was built, while the Company persuaded one of the leading Trading Chains in the Country, Howmans, to open a branch at the mine.[18] The buildings would have consisted only of poles, dakha and thatch, however their layout and appearance attracted favourable comment from a visiting Imperial Officer.[19] Over the next year the Company sank three shafts to about 50 or 60 feet in depth, together with undertaking a small amount of cross cutting and driving. Although their understanding of the geology was improving, they still concentrated on the quartz rich areas and were obtaining highly variable assay readings ranging from half an ounce of gold to 169 ounces per tonne of rock.[20] While these developments were taking place at the main Ayrshire Mine, James Box, his brother Duncan Box, and a certain A.H.Bell were developing their remaining claims to the north of the main mine. In 1894 they set up the Woodbyrne-Ayrshire Development Company

with an initial capital of £100 000.[21] Although a separate enterprise, one assumes that the Settlers of both workings would have operated together closely. These Settlers were sufficiently enterprising to establish a local newspaper, the "Ayrshire Mosquito" edited by J.C. Jenkin. The name was probably quite apt considering the prevalence of this pest in the region at the time. Unfortunately, they had not yet associated Mosquitoes with the "fever" which claimed the lives of numerous early miners, traders, and prospectors both at the Mine and other places in the Lomagundi Region. To return to their newspaper, we know there were at least two editions, and it received favourable comment in the Rhodesian Herald of 2nd September 1896.[22] There are, however, no known copies. Has anyone got one?

In March 1896, with the outbreak of the Matabeleland Rebellion, most Settlers in the Lomagundi Region abandoned the area for Salisbury. Ayrshire, however, was an exception. In June 1896 when the local Mashona were to break out in rebellion, there were still twelve Europeans at Ayrshire, together with a number of Mashona, Zambezi and Cape "Boys". Nearby the Native Commissioner for the Lo Magunda Region, A.F.G. Mynhardt, had his camp, while the Box Brothers were on a hunting expedition and were making their way to the Zambezi Valley.[23] Those that remained in the Region seemed totally oblivious of the pending threat. They ignored initial indications, such as the desertion of a sizeable proportion of their Mashona labourers; the murder of a miner by the name of John Dougherty at a nearby mine; as well as various rumours mentioned to them by their Zambezi Boys to the effect that the Mashonas were massing to the North and would soon return to murder all the Settlers.[24] For them life continued as normal, but this tranquility was soon shattered.

On Saturday, 20th June 1896, the remaining Mashona element of the labour force deserted. This was sizeable proportion of the labourers, so the next day William Care (a miner from the Woodbyrne-Ayrshire Block) and Fredrich Schooter (storekeeper of Howman's Store at Ayrshire) went to the Native Commissioner's Camp to complain and request his assistance in obtaining further labourers.[25] While there they, together with Mynhardt, were surprised by the Rebels who came under the pretext of wishing to pay their hut tax. Mynhardt and Schooter were killed with knobkerries, while Care, who retreated into one of the huts, was shot but not before he had killed some of their assailants.[26] On the day before it is believed that the Box Brothers were killed while having breakfast near modern Guruve.[27]

The remaining settlers began to realise the threat only about 8 p.m. the following day, Sunday 21st June. At the time a "Zambezi Boy" came in from a neighbouring Mashona Kraal with his arms tightly bound. He informed the Europeans that he had only just managed to escape, but that a "Native Policeman" had been killed. On hearing this, Hawkins, the mine manager, gathered together all the Europeans and "Friendly Africans" and formed a laager.[28] Three men: Evans, Drysale and Gambier, were sent to Mynhardt's camp to warn those there and to request assistance. They, however, returned shortly reporting that the Native Commissioner's Camp was deserted and that there were large pools of blood to be seen.[29] It was only then that they accepted the seriousness of the situation. After laagering overnight, they lowered all valuables into the Mine and at 10.30 a.m. ten Europeans and twenty unarmed "Friendly Africans" acting as carriers set off for Salisbury via Eyre's Farm.[30] The Europeans included Hawkins (Ayrshire manager); Briggs (engine driver); Drysdale (blacksmith); Evans (underground manager); Gambier (assayer); "Yankee" Jones (miner, Woodbyrne-Ayrshire); Jubling (miner); Money (miner); and Montgomery (carpenter).[31] About one and a half miles from the mine the group was fired upon by rebels from the nearby kopjes and one carrier was injured.

They continued, however, and reached the thick bush along the Menneni River. There, again, the party was ambushed. In the confusion, Briggs, Drysdale and Gambier were killed, while the African carriers deserted as soon as the attack commenced. Money, who was initially hit by a knobkerrie and lost his rifle, recovered from the blow and cleared off into the bush, together with Evans.[32] Independently, they made their way to Salisbury, arriving on Wednesday 24th June, 2 days later.[33]

The remaining Europeans, together with one "Zambezi Boy", escaped into the thick vegetation where they regrouped and hid until nightfall. Then, guided by the "Zambezi Boy", they moved carefully towards Salisbury and on Saturday 27th June, five days after having been ambushed, they were picked up by a mounted Patrol twelve miles from their destination. They were tired and weak from want of food and water. During their ordeal they subsisted entirely on roots and wild beans, and had had little sleep since for safety they were forced to move by night with only slight rest by day. On a number of occasions they were nearly located by the "Rebels".[34]

With the departure of this group on 22nd June 1896, Ayrshire was essentially abandoned by the Settlers until 1899, although visited in October 1896 by a military patrol under Captain A.J. Godley.[35] This patrol was a mixed group of Imperial and Local Forces, together with a "Native Contingent". In all it numbered 306 men, who were part of Major Alderson's troop which had earlier attacked rebel positions along the Umfuli (Mapfure) River and near the Eyres' homestead in the Umvukwe Range. Godley reported having located the remains of two people at Mynhardt's Camp (thought to be Mynhardt and Schooter), as well as the remains of Briggs and Drysdale on the Menneni River. All bodies were buried where located, but a number of years later they were exhumed and placed in the Rebellion Crypt in the Pioneer Cemetery, Harare.[36] The patrol also visited the Ayrshire Settlement which they found wrecked by the rebels, although the machinery, surprisingly, was left intact. At the time one of the local forces lowered himself down the shaft in the belief that treasures had been concealed there by the fleeing miners. Such was not the case, and his only spoils were some quartz specimens, a few tins of cocoa, cigarettes, and some tobacco. The latter was considered god-sent, since most of the Patrol had been reduced to smoking tea or not at all.[37]

Once this group had left, the mine was neglected for just over two years. During this time, although the Rebellion was formally over, it was not considered safe for unguarded persons to work in the area. The military presence in the Region lay some distance to the south at Fort Lomagunda and later Fort Sinoia. It was only with complete pacification that development could resume at Ayrshire.

In 1899 Telford Edwards, a consulting Engineer for the Rhodesian Exploration and Development Company and seconded to the Lomagunda Development Company, resumed work at the mine. By the end of the year he had repaired the Rebellion damage, pumped the mine dry, and had completed an additional 2 000 feet of work. For the first time there was a complete investigation of the nature of the deposits, and it was realised that the gold was deposited in the schist rock as two distinct bodies. Where these bodies outcropped at the surface, prehistoric miners had extracted the ore leaving the "ancient workings". Edwards had grand ideas to develop the mine, and as an initial step he purchased a number of steam-driven drills and a five stamp mill. He also negotiated his Company's take-over of the nearby deposits formerly worked by the Woodbyrne-Ayrshire Development Company.[38]

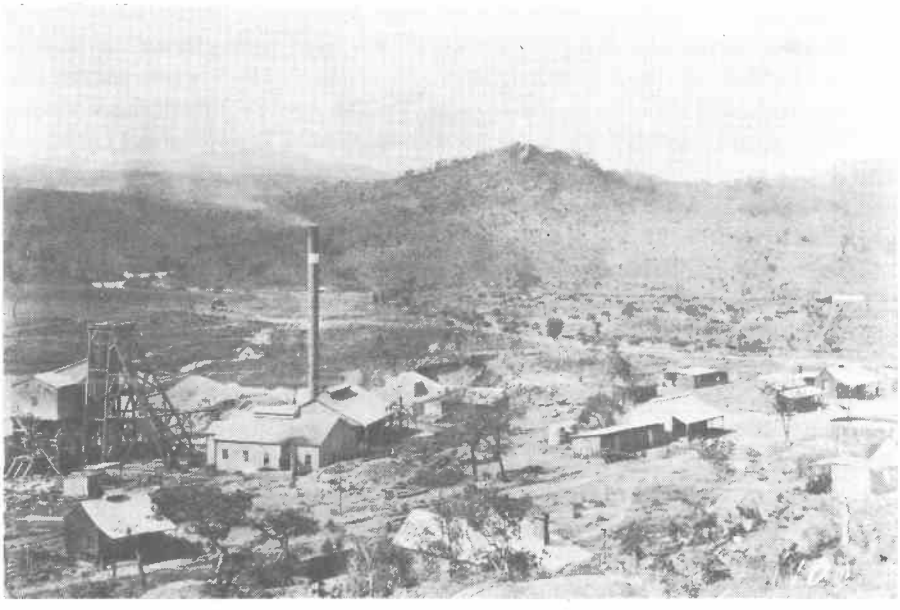
In early 1900 Edwards died of Blackwater Fever, and was buried in the Pioneer Cemetery,

Harare. His position was taken over by H. Ewer Jones. Jones was at first not as optimistic as Edwards as to the potential of the mine, while he also faced serious labour and transport problems. He thus curtailed all further developments as proposed by Edwards, and restricted work to milling small amounts of surface deposit. On 17th April 1901 the claims were again sold, this time for £300 000.[39] The purchaser was the Ayrshire Gold Mine and Lomagunda Railway Company Limited, and was largely the inspiration of the entrepreneur, Dr Hans Sauer.[40] The Company had an initial share capital of £400 000 in £1 shares, 100 000 of which were issued as rights settlement to the British South African Company.[41]

This new Company retained the services of Jones as Chief Engineer and appointed Mr E.P. Berrington as Manager.[42] Immediately major capital investments were approved. The British South Africa Company accepted a proposal enabling the construction of a private railway line from Salisbury to the mine; a large consignment of machinery was purchased, together with the hiring of skilled personnel to assemble and maintain this equipment; the construction of a permanent settlement was undertaken; while major changes were also made to the mine itself. All this resulted in the expenditure of a massive amount of capital, and the resulting debt crippled and ultimately caused the closure of the mine.[43]

Jones persuaded the owners that the best means of exploiting the ore was to sink a central vertical shaft from which horizontal tunnels to the two ore bodies could then be constructed.[44] This idea was based on a very meagre amount of diamond drilling, but it was accepted and, in 1901, the Edwards Shaft (after Telford Edwards) was sunk.[45] It was at the time the largest and most expensive ever sunk in the country.[46] Unfortunately, Jones' scheme was a complete disaster, for the ore bodies (unknown to him) were not vertical but in fact diverged with depth. Thus, as work extended downwards, there was a tremendous increase in costs due to the

The Head gear of the Edwards Shaft, Ayrshire Mine. Exact date unknown but is likely to be about 1902 soon after its erection *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



General view of the Mine about the Edwards Shaft. Taken in 1905 it shows the Edwards Shaft, primary crushers and mine steam engine. Various mine offices and stores are seen in the foreground, and the building at the centre extreme foreground is the Mine Manager's House *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Also taken in 1905 this photograph shows the processing section of the mine which is uphill and some distance away from the Mine Shaft shown in Figure 2. Further Steam engines and the stamps were enclosed in the large prefabricated building right of centre
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

excessive tunnelling required through non-productive rock to reach the ore.[47] This factor ultimately crippled revenue and forced the closure of the Mine.[48] Another problem was the fragile nature of the ore body. There were numerous collapses at the workface, and I believe that in one instance a number of miners were killed. That particular level was then condemned and the bodies remained buried in the rubble. A commemorative plaque for the deceased was later erected.[49]

The mine was also heavily overcapitalized, and this can be gauged by considering the quantity of equipment purchased and imported into the Country for Ayrshire. The mill consisted of 60 stamps driven by a 400 horse-power Bellis Steam-Engine. These, together with three further steam-engines for powering the mine itself, were enclosed in a large prefabricated building mounted with a 5 ft 6 in by 100 ft smoke stack. Ten stamps would probably have been more than adequate, and the facilities were always underutilised even during the time when they were processing ore from the Eldorado Mine and others as well as the Ayrshire. There were numerous other items similarly overpurchased, such as pumps; drills; compressors; skips; crushers;[50] and, in 1904, a sizeable cyanide plant was also constructed.[51] No other single mine in the entire country was equipped as well as the Ayrshire. But, the owners did not object to this expenditure, after all this was the "New Rand".

A further problem, introduced at the start, was the dispersed layout of the processing facilities, this resulting in unnecessary and expensive transport of materials. The idea was that the plant should be laid out so as to enable future expansion to a size similar to that of the largest gold mines on the Witwatersrand. Thus, ore had to be transported for over a mile from the shaft to the mills, the resulting concentrate had then to be transported another mile for further processing, while the residues were sent two miles to be dumped in the Eastern working which lay beyond the Edwards Shaft. All this resulted in additional unnecessary costs which eroded revenues.[52]

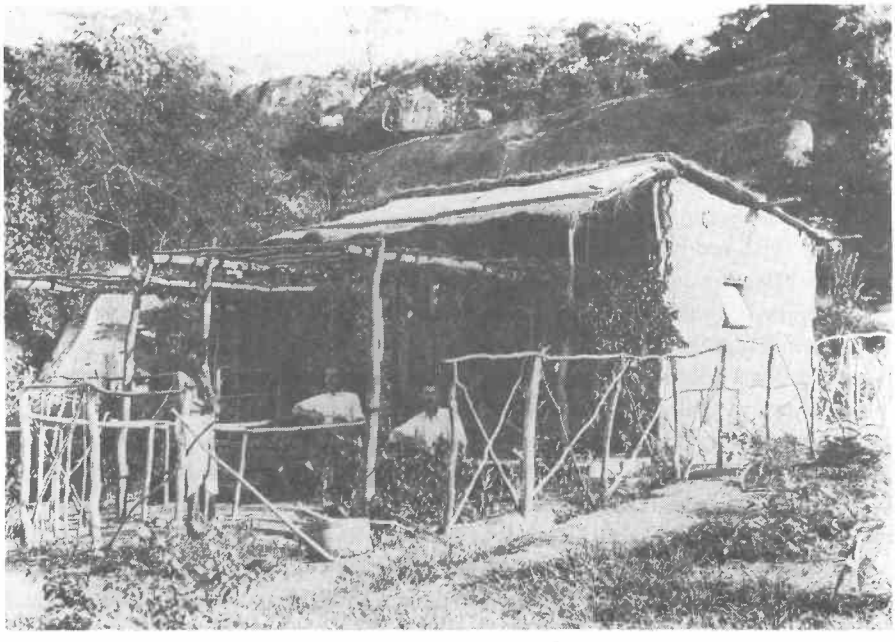
Probably the largest single expense incurred by the Company was their building of a private rail link to Salisbury.[53] This was facilitated by the BSA Company Administration passing legislation in 1901 sanctioning private railways. It was the first branch line ever constructed to the main national grid, and was originally of two foot gauge. Built by Pauling and Company, it was 83 miles long and was constructed from material previously part of the original narrow gauge Beira Railway. It was officially opened to carry public traffic on 1st November 1902, and was manned and maintained by the Beira and Mashonaland Railway Company. Mixed trains with one passenger coach ran twice weekly, with goods trains on other days as required. It was constructed in order to carry materials and staff to and from the Mine, since earlier draught haulage had been found to be extremely slow and unreliable, especially given the prevalence of various animal diseases in the Region. However, it was not cheap and it placed a serious strain on the finances of the Company.

The Ayrshire train journey was extremely unpleasant for the passengers who frequently complained in the local press of the excessive cost and yet the lack of comfort. There was only one class; termed "First Class", which consisted of a single open-ended coach with two longitudinal wooden benches so that passengers sat with their backs to the windows. The journey took at least eight hours, not including minor derailments (a frequent occurence on narrow gauge services); stops for refuelling with wood and/or water; and tea breaks. With the approach of the latter, the driver would stop the train regardless of where they were, and passengers would disembark and go off in search of wood for small fires built along-side the

train for boiling water. Wild animals and the wishes of hunters were also a frequent cause of delay. Dr Sauer recalls being on the train when it was held up while returning to Salisbury by a herd of elephant crossing the line. Interestingly, this is the only reference to the mine made by Dr Sauer in his autobiography, Ex Africa.[54] Strange indeed, as he was the main financial backer of the developments at the Mine. It seems he must have felt it better to leave out reference to what must have been his most significant financial disaster.

In 1907 the BSA Company, realising the strategic value of this rail link to the greater Lomagundi region, exercised its right to purchase the railway line at cost. It immediately improved the passenger service, providing two classes (both better than the previous one), while it also began conveying goods not solely associated with the Ayshire Mine, for instance timber, stone and agricultural produce. In 1911, it was decided to widen the line to the standard 3 ft 6 in gauge as found in the rest of the Country. Thus, the 2 foot "Toy Engines", which had pioneered the region, were either retired, scrapped, or sold to the Selukwe Chrome Mines or Barotseland timber companies.

Ayrshire, however, did not consist solely of the mine. Associated, was a fairly impressive settlement which, at the time, looked as if it would develop into the major urban centre in Lomagundi. Its population was largely employed by the mine or its facilities, but there were other individuals involved in private commerce and recreation. Most people built their own houses of either burnt brick or pole and dakha. There seems to have been no definite pattern to these houses which were randomly spread out over a sizeable area in the hills and valleys to the south of the mine. One in particular which I have located must have been fairly impressive. It was a rectangular structure of Kimberley brick set in a highly formalised garden



One of the many different Miners' Homes at the Ayrshire. Not all were however like this, and some were substantial brick structures *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

of which only the stone-lined beds remain as a definite Middle Class feminine touch. The Company itself built a number of substantial buildings in the settlement, including a fully equipped hospital, a passenger station, a large goods station and railway workshops, a good hotel, married quarters, single-men's-quarters, a boarding house, and a store, as well as numerous administrative buildings and houses for senior staff.[55] All these structures were of brick and iron, and had granite block foundations. At the time cement was extremely scarce since it had to be imported. As a result the Company found that instead of using vast quantities of cement, it was more economic to bring in Welsh stonemasons to quarry the local granite into large rectangular blocks which it then used for the foundations of its various buildings. Cement was thus saved for brick laying and the occasional concrete slab.[56] These granite blocks, together with their quarries, are still to be seen at Ayrshire. Unlike the rest of the buildings they have survived the ravages of time. Again the construction of the settlement cost the Company a large amount of money, but the Directors were not overly concerned for it was felt that the settlement should be substantial as it was expected that the mine would go on for years.

Literally at the centre of the Settlement was the Ayrshire Hotel. This was managed by Mr George Peake, later an important Lomagundi figure, and had a French Chef, Mr Marcel Mitton, later founder of Radio Limited and other companies. It was the social meeting place, and was the scene of many concerts, costume balls, parties,[58] and, if Mr Mitton's memoirs are anything to go by, it was a place of serious and heavy drinking.[58] The Hotel was built only a short distance from the Passenger Railway Terminus for the convenience of new arrivals and visitors. The Rhodesia Herald of 17th May 1902 described it as:-

"Excellently appointed and calculated to agreeably surprise the visitor. In fact it compares very favourably with anything of the kind in Salisbury. It contains a dining room 34 x 21 ft, sitting room 21 x 15 ft, bar and billiard room 34 x 26 ft for two tables. Each of the eight bedrooms has a fireplace. Stabling is attached for mules and horses. It cost nearly £8 000."

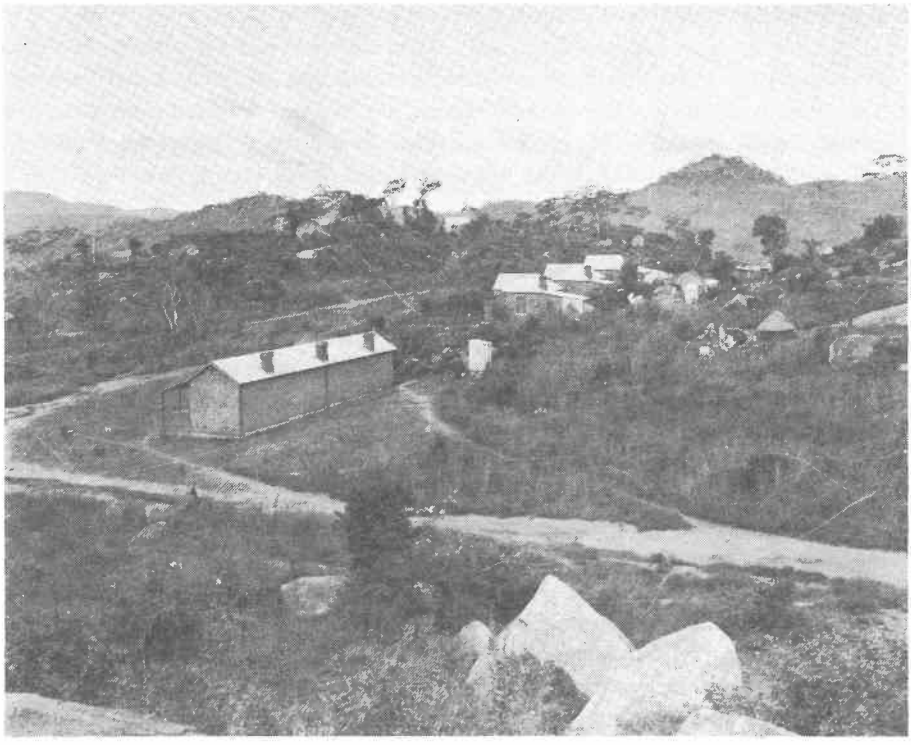
Today, there are only broken bricks, fragments of concrete mouldings, thorn bushes, grass and broken alcohol bottles. It has all gone.

The Ayrshire Hotel was not, however, the only centre of entertainment. The advance of civilization brought with it cultural and sporting pursuits. Thus there was the Ayrshire Recreational Club, the Ayrshire Golf Club (the location of which has been established), and the Ayrshire Rifle Range. There was also a school under the charge of Miss A. Montagu Salmond.[59] I have, unfortunately, been unable to find the position of the school, or ascertain the numbers of pupils. However, in 1908 it is known that as a result of their own fund raising the school managed to purchase a piano.[60] As for spiritual matters I have no information. There was probably no church and the Settlement would have been served by visiting pastors based in Salisbury. This system in fact operated well into the 1930s in the Lomagundi Region. We know, though, that there was at least one official wedding[61] and a number of sanctified funerals at the Mine, thus indicating some pastoral presence.

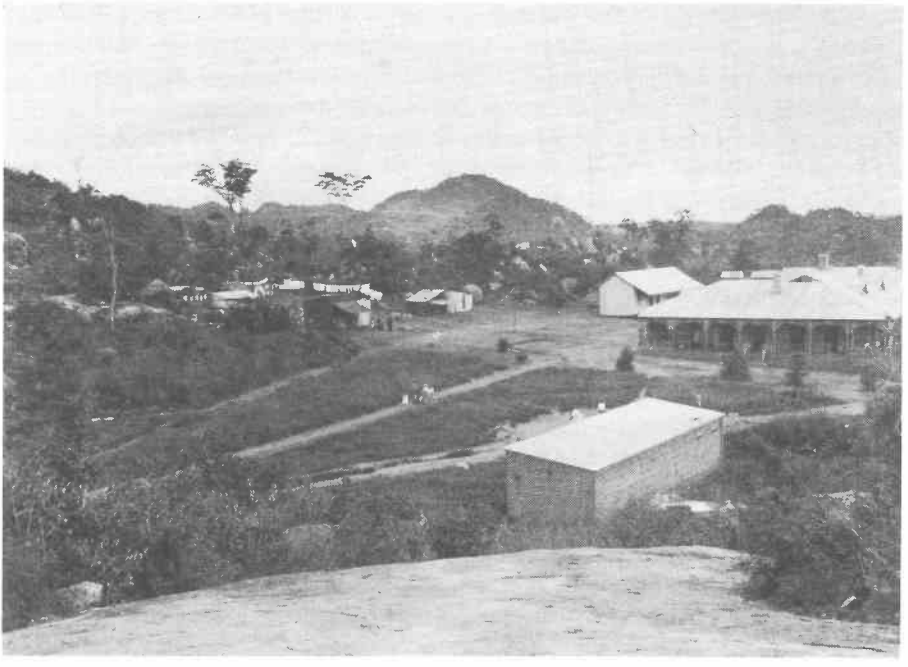
Health matters were also well catered for. The Company employed a resident medical officer who manned their private hospital at Ayrshire. The first was a Dr Leicester employed in 1901 at a salary of £400 per annum, and housed in a small corrugated iron hut from which he operated. Dr Leicester was much concerned with eliminating the repeated cases of malaria, dysentry and diarrhoea which were endemic at the mine. He ordered the immediate cleaning of the environs of the Settlement, the collection of all bottles and tins which were then buried; natural pools were drained and filled with rubble, while he also ordered the Settlers to use

mosquito nets while sleeping and to take small quinine doses.[62] The miners were offended by this "interference" but were soon convinced by the noticeable decline in sickness. In late 1901 a prefabricated structure of wood and iron costing £1 812 was erected. This was to become the Ayrshire Hospital. In consisted of two wards of twelve beds each, an operating room, dispensary, kitchen, and two bathrooms. Attached was a bungalow of similar construction consisting of six rooms and a kitchen, this being the medical officer's home. In 1902 the Company tried to sell the building to the Government, since it was hoped to replace it with a similar brick building. However, the Administrator declined the offer[63] and it seems probable that it remained the hospital until the mine's demise. This would account for the absence today of foundations attributable to the Hospital - they do not exist.

In 1904 the Ayrshire settlement was at is peak: confident and optimistic, it was a thriving centre of progress in the Lomagundi Region. However, by January 1905 there were signs of cracks in the edifice. Given inadequate revenues, the Company announced plans to retrench 210 African labourers in that month, while a further 400 were dismissed in February and March. At the same time the salaries of the European employees were reduced. In both groups there was open resistance and labour disturbance followed. The situation then further deteriorated as the ore bodies seemed to be petering out. From September 1905 to March 1906 work at the mine almost came to a stand still. Yet, Jones remained optimistic that these were only teething problems which would soon be overcome.[64] This seemed to be the case for by mid 1906 a further



Southern portion of Ayrshire settlement showing the single men's quarters (left) and married men's quarters (right). Beyond on the opposition hill is the home of the Mine's Water Engineer and the main watertanks. Taken in 1907 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



The northern portion of the Ayrshire Settlement, also from 1907. The substantial building on the right is the Ayrshire Hotel *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

area of rich ore was located, but disaster was soon to strike. In 1907 the floors of levels 1 to 3 collapsed, but this was not as serious as the collapse later that year of the face in level 6 when, as already mentioned, several miners were killed while it also cut off a greater part of the ore supplied to the mills. This was later cut off entirely in January 1908, when the Edwards Shaft was found to be in such a dangerous state that it had to be closed for extensive repairs.[65]

The mine soon began to incur tremendous losses. In the period 1906/07 a loss of £31 467 was incurred, while in 1908 it was calculated that it cost the Company £1,4s per tonne of rock extracted from which less than £1 was recovered.[66] Management therefore proposed that the Ayrshire Gold Mine and Lomagunda Railway Company be dissolved, and that a new company, the Ayrshire Goldmine Limited, be formed. This new Company would be able to raise further capital through new share issues, while existing shareholders of the former Company would be issued 1 share for every 7 of the old shares held.[67] The wealthy South African financier, Abe Bailey, was said to have been prepared to advance £30 000 of his private capital to this proposed company.[68] Existing shareholders predictably rejected the idea, and instead they managed to have the Mine Manager replaced by a Mr J.E. Parker whose aim was to put matters in order. He, however, was unsuccessful in this because of a series of strikes involving the entire labour force who were concerned with his plans for the rationalisation of the mine, while at the same time the ore grades declined dramatically. A couple of months later he was in turn replaced by a Mr H. Stephan.[69]

This was the last change, for on 1st October 1908 it was announced that the mine was soon to close. Most European employees were given notice ranging from 24 hours to one month depending on their contracts, while the few remaining African employees were transferred to

the nearby Eldorado Mine which was starting its period of boom as Ayrshire was declining.[70] The remaining employees struggled on in the hope that matters would change. However, their hopes were soon dashed by two disasters. In November, their water source dried up thus forcing the closure of the mills, while in December, a serious train accident occurred near Ayrshire in which two European and two African employees were killed.[71] These were the death knell of the Mine, and it closed on the 8th January 1909. The Ayrshire Gold Mine and Lomagunda Railway Company was liquidated, and its remaining resources were taken over by the Rhodesian Exploration and Development Company.[72]

With the announcement in October 1908 of probable closure, the Ayrshire settlement began a rapid decline. Miners' homes were deserted, while their owners took with them as much of the portable building materials as possible. Many went to Eldorado Mine, while others applied for and were granted farms in the area, some of which are still occupied by their descendants. The School, Hospital and Hotel were closed, buildings were dismantled, and as much material as possible was removed. New structures were built at Eldorado where Mr Peake, the former manager of the Ayrshire Hotel, established the Eldorado Hotel.[73]

The Ayrshire settlement was therefore almost deserted by mid January 1909, and nature soon began to reclaim its dominance. An article lamenting the demise of the Settlement appeared in the Rhodesian Herald of the time, and it captures the feeling of its inhabitants:

"The closure of the Ayrshire Mine is a tragedy. A good many people had spent a considerable sum of money in making themselves comfortable homes on the property. The Ayrshire today has a very mournful appearance, houses lately occupied are already falling into ruin, and owing to the scarcity of water the mill has stopped - for the first time. As to the future of Ayrshire, it is difficult to prophesy. That its palmy days are over is evident - the good old days when everyone had plenty of money, and we had not reached our latter day high standard of civilisation, bringing in its train piled shirts, Paris creations, cheques and class distinctions. That the high degree of civilisation makes life pleasanter than in the early days, when we all met together on common ground and tried to make life as pleasant as possible for each other, is doubtful. It would be sad to think that the place where so many of us lived, moved and had our being for years should now return to the Wilderness from which it was won, and that one of the termini of civilised South Africa should be blotted from the map."[74]

This story is not, however, entirely complete by 1909. There have been several more recent attempts to revive Ayrshire, based on the irrational belief that it remains a rich mine but one which previously has not been worked properly. In November 1910 the Rhodesian Exploration and Development Company announced plans to reopen Ayrshire. They decided to drain it, but had only pumped dry Level 1 when in April 1911 there was a serious collapse of the Edwards Shaft. They thus abandoned the project and transferred the claims to the Goldfields Rhodesia Development Company.[75] At the same time the remaining plant was dismantled and sold to various mines in the country, especially Golden Kopje which still operates to the South of Chinhoyi.[76] The Ayrshire rail link from Banket was also lifted, and a district road called the Ayrshire Track was constructed along the original route.[77] The property was then abandoned until 1932 when it was repegged as "The Last Shot" by Mr M. Macauley. He set up a 10 stamp mill and small cyanide plant, and on and off until 1944 worked surface material and unprocessed ore left when the mine closed in 1909. In September 1937 Mr V.D. Hoar decided to unwater the mine to Level 4. However, he found the remaining ore was of too low a grade to cover costs and the scheme failed.

In 1951 the Ayrshire claims were acquired by a prominent farmer in the region, Mr P.E.N.

Nicholle. Exploration was then resumed in the early 1960's by the Ayrshire Gold Mine of Rhodesia (Pvt) Ltd. They drained the Edwards Shaft to the 4th Level, but soon found the project unviable. After the death of Mr Nicholle the claims were then taken over by Lonrho in 1966. They continued draining the Edwards Shaft and reached the bottom levels, where extensive drilling and sampling was done but without success and they abandoned the mine in 1970.[78] In the 1980s several small workers have sought to rework the dumps, while in 1988 Delta Gold (Pvt) Ltd. as part of their National Survey, investigated the deposits but do not seem to have felt it viable for further development. I don't suppose this will be the last investigation of the Ayrshire deposits, but it is unlikely that it will ever again see the developments of the optimistic boom period of 1901 to 1909.

The Ayrshire Mine may now be gone, but its significance remains. In the early part of this century the Ayrshire mine was the "New Rand" of the Lomagundi Region, in which it promoted important changes. It attracted investors and settlers, some of whom became prominent figures in developing the area. It built the rail link to the Capital which is still the life line for commercial, industrial, agricultural and mineral enterprises in the Makonde region. In a sense it was the catalyst for the modern development of the North Western section of Zimbabwe. Yet today, few people know its history and all that remains are lonely foundations and scattered debris of broken bottles and old tin cans. Trees and grass have again covered the area, reminding us of the transitory nature of human achievement.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to express sincere thanks to the following who have helped me in compiling the History of the Ayrshire Mine : the numerous people at the National Archives of Zimbabwe to whom I have been a cause of endless headaches, Mr D. Collis, Mr P. Nicholle, and Mrs K. Withers. Their help is much appreciated.

Our Fourth Judge - Sir Fraser Russell

By Michael J. Kimberley

With the death in August 1914 of both Sir Joseph Vintcent (14th August) and Mr Justice Watermeyer (7th August) the nation was completely without a High Court Judge until the appointment (temporarily from 18th August and permanently from 18th October 1914) of Mr Justice Hopley who had returned from the Cape Supreme Court earlier that year. Hopley shouldered a tremendous burden because it was not until 1st June 1915 that Advocate Alexander Fraser Russell was appointed as second judge.

Parents

Fraser Russell was born in Cape Town in 1876. He was the eldest son of the Reverend J M Russell, a well known resident of Cape Town, who had served for some years as Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of South Africa and Chairman of the University of Cape Town. His mother was the daughter of the Reverend Elder, a former Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.

Education

Russell received his schooling at Normal College School in Cape Town and Merchiston Castle in Edinburgh. In 1891 he became a student at the South African College where he distinguished himself academically by obtaining the Bachelor of Arts degree with first class honours not only in Literature and Philosophy but also in Mathematics and Science, a feat also accomplished by Jan Christian Smuts six years previously. Like Smuts he was awarded the Ebden Scholarship and entered St. John's College in the University of Cambridge in 1897. By 1900 he had graduated in Arts and in Laws. He served as President of the Debating Society in his college and also participated in the debates in Dutch of a Debating Society formed in Amsterdam in 1898.

Call to the Bar

After reading in the Chambers of Sir Duncan Kerby who specialised in Patents and Trade Marks, Russell was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in January 1901. Soon afterwards he returned home to Cape Town and was called to the Cape Bar in August of that year and practised in Cape Town and on the western circuit for the next fourteen years.

Practice as an Advocate

He was a competent advocate and had a busy practice. In **Walker v. Syfret** (1911 AD 141) he was complimented by the Chief Justice for his extremely able though unsuccessful argument on behalf of the appellant who had sued the liquidator of the Grand Junction Railway Limited for payment and ranking of certain debentures. He was successful for the respondent in the appeal case of **Shidiack v. Union Government** (1912 AD 642) and complimented by the Court for his very able argument. This was an immigration case and is still of importance today in

that it confirmed the principle that where a matter is left to the discretion or the determination of a public officer and where that discretion has been bona fide exercised or his judgement bona fide expressed, the Court will not interfere to make him change his mind or to substitute its conclusion for his own unless it is shown that he acted **mala fide** or from ulterior or improper motives or that he did not apply his mind to the matter or that he disregard the express provisions of a statute. The Court would not interfere with a due and honest exercise of discretion even if it considered the decision inequitable or wrong.

He considered that his most interesting case whilst in practice was **Metropolitan Tramways Co. Ltd v. Cape Town Council** where the Cape Town Gas Company (represented in the Cape Supreme Court by Advocates Benjamin and Russell) in laying gas mains beneath the surface of the streets of Cape Town (with the consent of the Cape Town Town Council represented in court by Schreiner K.C.) laid a high pressure main in such a way that it intersected the crown of a disused sewer (with the consent of Council officials.) Subsequently, the Council built a new sewer and closed up the ends of the disused sewer as well as some man holes. Three weeks after this closure, the Tramway Company (represented by Sir Henry Juta K.C. and Searle K.C.) laid rails over the site of the disused sewer. In so doing, it was customary to employ a system by which iron filings were molten on the spot and the ends of the rails welded by being encased in the molten iron. Whilst this process was being carried out under the supervision of workmen skilled in the process, an explosion occurred. The case lasted for a considerable time, there were a number of witnesses and argument was exhaustive with many authorities being cited. Buchanan J. held that the explosion was due to negligence on the part of the Town Council and the Gas Company with no contributory negligence by the Tramway Company and, accordingly, they were liable in damages (£1844 plus £250) for expense and loss of revenue incurred by the Tramway Company in consequence of the explosion.

Marriage

During his circuit work he met his future wife, the daughter of A. Faure Robertson the Civil Commissioner and Magistrate of Swellendam, whom he married in 1904.

Councillor

Soon after commencing his law practice he found time to edit law reports and also did some lecturing. He was very interested in politics and with the advent of Union in 1910 and the establishment of four Provincial Councils, he was elected to the first Cape Provincial Council representing Namaqualand as a Unionist member. For three years he participated actively in the Council debates, taking a particular interest in municipal matters and putting to good use the experience gained during four years of service as a municipal councillor in Mowbray.

Russell thoroughly enjoyed the cut and thrust of debate and with his eloquence, his confidence and his ability to think whilst on his feet and to express himself clearly, he made a great impact on audiences of all kinds.

Appointment to the Bench

In 1915 he was appointed a judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia to fill the vacancy which had arisen following the death of Mr Justice Watermeyer in 1914, and assumed duty in Bulawayo on 1st June 1915. He was at the time only 38 years of age and the youngest judge in Southern Africa.

Mr Justice (later Sir Fraser) Russell
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Significant Judgements

Some of his more important judgements in the High Court of Southern Rhodesia included:

Monckton v British South African Company (1919 SR 99) in which he concluded that the Civil Service is not confined to the Fixed Establishment but that officers on probation such as teachers are Civil Servants and the Discipline Rules are of general application to the Civil Service. His judgement was confirmed on appeal by the Appellate Division.

He gave a long and detailed judgement in the High Court of Southern Rhodesia in **The Rhodesia Railways Limited and the Mashonaland Railway Company Limited v Markham and Willoughbys Consolidated Company Limited** (1924 SR 71) where the facts were that the Rhodesia Railways owned and the Mashonaland Railway operated the railway line between Bulawayo and Salisbury (now Harare) which was constructed between 1899 and 1902. The line passed through the Lepata Gold Claims near Que Que (now Kwe Kwe), which had been registered in 1895 before the line construction began; and in fact bisected the area of the claims. The Railways marked out a piece of ground called the Railway Reserve all around the station buildings and premises and for some distance on either side and this land, which included all the ground comprised in the claims, was transferred to the railways in 1919 subject to existing rights.

In terms of a tribute agreement with Willoughbys, Markam worked the claims from September 1922 and in so doing sank a small shaft, closed the road from the station to the goods shed and blasted in close proximity to the railway line. On one occasion his slimes dump broke after blasting and slimes flowed over the road and railway track.

The Railways instituted action for a declaration of rights against Markham and Willoughbys and for an interdict restraining Markham as tributor from interfering with the line or the land necessary for the station, junctions and sidings. Russell held that the statutory rights of the Railways in terms of the Railway Ordinance of 1899 prevailed over the statutory rights of the defendants under the Mining Ordinance and, in particular, that the powers so conferred on the Railways were granted generally and not subject to the rights of mining claimholders. The Railways were held not to have expropriated the mining rights of Willoughbys and their tributor because these rights could not be exercised in view of the presence of the Railway.

Russell decisions on appeal to the Appellate Division

Of nineteen reported decisions by Russell which were the subject of appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa between 1915 and 1935, eleven were confirmed, six reversed and two varied by the Appellate Division.

One of his most significant decisions was **Municipality of Bulawayo v. Stewart** (1916 AD 357). In that case the facts were that Willoughby's Consolidated Company, acting on the instructions of the Bulawayo Municipality given in terms of a by-law framed under statutory powers, laid an iron pipe under the footpath of a public street for the purpose of discharging rainwater from the company's building into the gutter. The pipe was accepted as satisfactory by the Municipality but in course of time the footpath became worn with the result that the exposed pipe projected above the surface. Stewart, while proceeding along this footpath at night, fell over the pipe and sustained injury to her knee and damage to her clothing for which she sued the Municipality in a Magistrate's Court. The Magistrate in awarding damages of £10 to Stewart found on the facts that this pipe was a source of danger to the public. In confirming Russell J's decision, who upheld the Magistrate's findings, the Appellate Division held that the

Municipal Council having by the exercise of its statutory powers procured the pipe to be laid under its own footpath for its own purposes and under its own supervision was bound to guard against the pipe becoming a source of danger to the public; and that it was liable for the consequences of its failure to discharge the duty so imposed.

The court applied the important principle which it had laid down in **Halliwell v Johannesburg Municipal Council** (1912 AD 659) that where a road authority either constructs or repairs a street in such a way as to introduce a new source of danger which would not otherwise have existed, then it must take due steps to guard against that danger.

In **British South Africa Company v Bulawayo Municipal Council** (1919 AD 84) the Appellate Division reversed the decision of Russell J. In giving judgement on appeal Chief Justice Rose Innes stated ; The case involved the complicated distinction between personal rights to land and real rights in land and the legal effects of such rights including the situation where a personal right is erroneously registered against land.

It was not surprising that in giving his judgement on appeal Chief Justice Innes remarked:"This appeal raises questions of law, the interest and difficulty of which are out of all proportion to the practical importance of their application to the present dispute."

His judgement was also reversed on appeal in the leading case of **British South Africa Company v Crickmore** (1921 AD 107) where it was held that the power to make arrests is conferred and regulated by the law and not by the directions of the Administration. Although, therefore, police constables are servants of the Company, nevertheless, when carrying out their statutory duties of arresting offenders they are acting not on its behalf but in obedience to the commands of the Legislature.

Other decisions confirmed on appeal are still authority in our law for the principle that a month's notice may be given at any time on the first day of the month and such notice covers the entire month (**Tiopaizi v Bulawayo Municipality** (1923 AD 317), and a company like an individual can carry on business is more places than one, and can carry on business as an individual can, in places where it does not reside **(Rhodesia Railways and others v Commissioner of Taxes** (125 AD 438).

In **Rhodesia Corporation Ltd. v Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Company Limited** (1933 AD) his decision, given after a trial in the High Court lasting 41 days, was confirmed on appeal. The record of the proceedings was referred to as one of "unprecedented dimensions". The appeal occupied five days in 1933, the whole of January 1934 and several days in February and March 1934, in addition to four days on arguing two preliminary points.

The dispute related to underground mining rights and the appellants lost their case by failing to prove that a reef being worked by the Globe and Phoenix Company was a lateral extension of a reef which the Rhodesian Corporation had acquired in 1911. Had the Corporation been able to prove this point it would have been entitled to half the proceeds of the minerals won by the Globe and Phoenix Company in working the Northern Extension Reef.

Contretemps with Prime Minister

In November 1925 (Government Notice No. 575 of 1925 dated 18th December 1925), the appointment was announced of Mr Justice Murray Bisset, who had been first appointed as a Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia in 1925 but had served as a judge in South Africa for a number of years, as Acting Senior Judge of Southern Rhodesia from 1st January 1926.

Since Russell had been appointed a Judge of the High Court in 1915 and had acted as Senior Judge earlier in 1925 (Government Notice No. 470 of 1925 dated 9th October 1925), he was

Mr Justice Russell

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

most offended when he heard that Bisset was to be appointed and expressed his feelings in very strong terms in a letter dated 25th November 1925 to the Prime Minister Mr C.P.J. Coghlan. Despite extensive search, neither the original of the letter nor a copy can be found in the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

The Premier, C.P.J. Coghlan was most incensed at Judge Russell's letter of 25th November 1925 and replied on 28th December 1925 (National Archives of Zimbabwe Historical Manuscripts Collection LE 3/1/1/1 573 to 575) in the following self explanatory terms :

"In my opinion you have neither the right of protest, nor of consultation, nor of information in connection with the Government's intentions or desires in regard to judicial appointments in this country, and the Ministry is not, as you seem to think, under any responsibility to acquaint you with its intentions or to account to you for its acts, still less to justify its methods of carrying them out. Your grievances are, therefore imaginary. I can find no precedent for your present assumptions in the cases of former judicial appointments in this country, two of which were made during your tenure of office, nor do I know of any such precedent in other parts of British South Africa, though there appear to be several cases both in what is now the Union of South Africa and in one of the cases in this country I refer to above, where Governments have acted in precisely the same way as this Government has done in the present instance.

I can find no record in the case of the appointment of Mr Justice Tredgold in 1919, a gentleman also of no previous judicial experience, that there was only protest on your part, or that you regarded his appointment as showing a lack of confidence in yourself.

Your assertion that by appointing over you a gentleman of no judicial experience, the Ministry, of which I am the head, have already clearly shown their dissatisfaction with your work on the bench is a gratuitous assumption on your part, of which the facts you state (assuming then to be such) do not warrant your conclusions are inaccurate."

In the event Bisset was substantively appointed Senior Judge with effect from 1st January 1927 and it was only after his death in service in October 1931 that Russell was appointed Chief Justice.

Chief Justice

On the death of Chief Justice Murray Bisset on 24th October 1931 Sir Fraser was appointed Chief Justice and moved to the capital city in 1934 after a happy nineteen years in Bulawayo. In January 1933, he was knighted Knight Bachelor in recognition of his distinguished service as a judge of the High Court since 1915.

Service to Education

Russell had a tremendous interest in education. He served as a Government representative on the Schools Advisory Committee and as a member of the selection committee for the Rhodesian Rhodes Scholarships. He was also Chairman of the Education Commission of 1916. In 1924 he was appointed to a committee, which included Inspector of Schools Lenpesty and Advocate V. Lewis, to formulate a scheme for the allocation as bursaries to suitable scholars of sums provided by the Beit Trustees, in terms of the will of the Late Sir Alfred Beit. Schemes were duly formulated and led to the award of Beit Fellowships and Beit Engineering Scholarships. Sir Fraser served on the selection committee for Beit Awards for a number of years. Russell House at the Bulawayo Technical College was named after Sir Fraser, and he had named the Bulawayo suburb of Kumalo and had won a guinea for doing so.

Caledonian Societies

Always proud of his Scottish descent, he was an active member of the Bulawayo Caledonian Society and served a term as Chief of that Society whilst resident in Bulawayo during the period 1915 to 1934. When he became Chief Justice and moved to the capital city he maintained contact with the sister Caledonian society. On at least one occasion he was guest of honour, whilst serving as Acting Governor, at Caledonian Society St. Andrews banquets and gave the main speech on such occasions. Attending his first dinner as a guest of the Salisbury Caledonian Society he ended his address with an inspiring reference to the contribution of the Scots to the country :

"It is in times like these that the recollection of the virtues of our Scottish forefathers will stand us in good stead. A practical memory is what we want, one that will inspire us to action. Let us show that we can face difficulty and hope deferred with the grit, the determination and the faith of our ancestors."

Livingstone Statue

The annual congress of the Federated Caledonian Societies was held at Victoria Falls during the first week of August 1934 and some 43 Societies from throughout Southern Africa were represented there by one or more delegates. The Federation had established a Livingstone Memorial Committee to collect funds for the casting and erection of a monument, in the form of a statue to honour Dr David Livingstone, himself a distinguished Scotsman.

The statue had been unveiled at a ceremony held on Sunday 5th August 1934 by the Prime Minister, the Honourable H.U. Moffat, and Sir Fraser Russell in his capacity as Acting Governor accepted custody of the monument in perpetuity on behalf of the Government. In receiving and accepting the memorial and undertaking "its care and upkeep" Sir Fraser gave an inspiring address excerpts from which are quoted below :

"There is no benefactor of Africa and the Africans whom we may more fittingly celebrate than David Livingstone. Standing where we do within sight of the island, from which he looked down, the first of our race, into the cauldron which receives the thundering waters of the River Zambesi, we cannot but think of him. It is fitting that the first part of this ceremony should have been committed to the hands of one who represents the Scottish ecclesiastical tradition, for in that tradition were embodied the features of piety, endurance and devotion upon which Livingstone's life and work were founded..."

"The first phase of Livingstone's journeys was bound up in the desire to find a more suitable centre for mission work than that site which he occupied in Bechuanaland. He was unable to go East into the country which became in 1852 the Transvaal Republic. He decided to go North and this decision determined the course of the rest of his life..."

"When David Livingstone returned to Africa in 1858 he began the second phase of his travelling activity. No longer an agent of the London Missionary Society, he came as a Government official with the rank of consul. His task was to survey and explore the country watered by the Zambesi river. He made the most determined attempts to ascend the Zambesi but the rapids above Tete defeated all his efforts. He then turned Northwards along the Shire river and ultimately discovered Lake Nyassa, and a practicable way to the interior..."

"In 1866 the third phase of his activities began. He set out to investigate the watershed of the three great river systems, those of the Nile, the Congo and the Zambesi. From this expedition he never returned..."

"The division of his labours into three parts does not mean that David Livingstone was not

Eric Graham-Smith (Registrar of the High Court) and Judge Russell
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

actuated throughout by the same desire for the uplift and enlightenment of the native peoples. It is possible however to advance their interests in different ways. As I have shown, he first tried to find a suitable centre for mission work, and having found it, to discover a path by which legitimate trade might reach that centre and drive out the traffic of slaves. Secondly, he accepted a commission to explore and open up the approach to the interior by means of the Zambesi. Finally, he spent his years in tracing the limits of the three great river systems in Africa."

"We should not forget that he began his war on slavery while slavery still existed in the Southern States of the American Union. He struggled under the attacks of malaria long before the connection between the mosquito and fever was known, though he noticed that mosquitos were found in places where malaria was present..."

"The discovery of the Falls was made, as I have said, in the course of Livingstone's crossing of Africa from West to East. He had heard of the Falls from the Makololo who were afraid to visit them. It was these same Makololo who equipped him for his journey to the coast. Msiligazi, the Matabele King, had also been of assistance to him, for he had forwarded some packages of goods which had been sent up by Dr Moffat. Livingstone came down the Zambesi river by canoe and landed on the island, second from this side. It now bears his name. He crept with awe to the extremity of the island and peered down into the large rent which had been made from bank to bank of the broad Zambesi. He describes five columns of vapour rising until their summits seemed to mingle with the clouds.

"The mass of water," he writes, "leaps quite clear of the rock, and forms a thick unbroken snow-white fleece all the way to the bottom. I can only compare the effect of these descending masses to the "appearance of myriads of small comets rushing on in one direction, each drawing after it a long tail of foam."

"The setting cauldron below the falls contrasted with the ascending clouds of spray, shot with rainbows, affords no little resemblance to the marked contrasts in Livingstone's life : the material hardships of hunger, fatigue and illness, and over all the spirit of hope and determination..."

"What manner of man was this who journeyed on foot 20 000 miles for no benefit to himself? He was a man devoid of fear, with a profound conviction that he had been divinely chosen and set apart to do a specific work. To this was added a power of determination akin to obstinacy. His single-minded concentration on his goal was shown no less in his poring over a Latin grammar when a boy at the spinning jenny than in his refusal to return with Stanley to England. The combination of patient determination and high character with the adventurous and roving spirit he inherited from his Highland ancestry, enabled him to do his great work of making an open path for commerce and Christianity..."

Eloquent Speaker much in demand

Throughout his career Sir Fraser was known as an eloquent, lucid and interesting speaker on a wide range of subjects. The records show that he addressed the Rhodesia Scientific Association on a number of occasions, including an address upon his retirement as President of the Association, an office in which he served on two occasions, on the subject "Where Law and Science Meet."

Other Public Service

Apart from his judicial duties and his service as Acting Governor on four separate

occasions he found time for other public service. In 1927 he served as Chairman of a three man Commission which included Henry Chapman and Harry Herbert Davies appointed to enquire into and report upon certain matters in dispute between the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways and the employees of the Railways. This enquiry into thirty-nine separate matters involved much of his time. On one of the issues relating to a £3 per month reduction in the substantive pay of railwaymen owing to the financial conditions of the time, no less than thirty-six witnesses testified. The Commission completed its interim report on 27th October 1927 and its final report on 31st January 1928.

Appellate Division

In terms of the South Africa Act, 1900, which came into force on 31st May 1910, a Supreme Court was established with an appellate division and various provincial divisions. From that date the appellate division became the final court of appeal from the High Court of Southern Rhodesia and this position continued for 35 years, in respect of civil cases and some criminal cases, until 1st July 1955 when the Federal Supreme Court became the final court of appeal and in respect of certain other criminal cases until 1938 when the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Court of Appeal was established.

Sir Fraser Russell had, as previously indicated, become Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia in 1931 and served in that capacity until his retirement on 31st December 1942. Throughout that period the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa had been the final court of appeal in most cases from the High Court.

By letter dated 11th November 1950 W.G. Hoal, a former Attorney General of the Cape, wrote to Sir Fraser Russell and informed him that he had suggested to General Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa, that a vacancy which had occurred in the Appellate Division in 1937 should be filled by the Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia since that Division was the appeal court for Southern Rhodesia. A short reply from Smuts, dated 8th January 1938, is reproduced in full on page 42 because of its historical and political interest. Whilst the suggestion might have been carefully explored, it was certainly never implemented.

Bledisloe Commission

By Royal warrant dated 9th March 1938 King George VI appointed Viscount Charles Bledisloe, Patrick Ashley Cooper, Ernest Evans, Thomas Fitzgerald, William Henry Mainwaring and Ian Leslie Orr-Ewing as a Commission "to enquire and report whether any, and if so what, form of closer co-operation or association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland is desirable and feasible, with due regard to the interests of all the inhabitants, irrespective of race, of the territories concerned and to the special responsibility of our Governor in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the interests of the Native inhabitants."

In a memorandum to the Commission on the subject of what law should be adopted in the event of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia being amalgamated into a union or federation, Russell examined the legal system and the sources of the law applicable in both countries, and the advantages and disadvantages of any new state resulting from an amalgamation of the two territories adopting the English law or the Roman Dutch. His memorandum concluded as follows :

"The system which suits English conditions does not suit conditions in Africa. Law is of course a conservative force, but even in the realm of law the force tends to-day to be dynamic

Pretoria
8.1.38

Dear Hoel

Your suggestion re
Fraser Russell had occurred to
me independently. It is a
matter for careful application
as there is something in it.

With all good wishes for
the New Year

Kind regards

J. Smuts

rather than static. The chief agencies which bring the law up to the line of advancing institutions are Legislation and the decisions of the Courts. In this respect the stream of legal decisions in Cape Colony, the Union and Southern Rhodesia has interpreted the Roman Dutch law in terms of the conditions obtaining in this part of the world. The Legislation of this Colony has adapted such parts of the Statute Law of England and of the Union as are suited to local conditions. It may be contended that, in as much as portions of the English Law have been taken over in South Africa to the advantage of the country, it would be a good thing to take over the English Law in its entirety. To this it may be answered that the better course is to follow what is already being done and to adopt such further portions of the Law of England or of other parts of the Empire, as may from time to time appear to be useful in this country. By retaining Roman Dutch law in Southern Rhodesia and extending it to Northern Rhodesia it would in all probability be possible to retain the great advantage of an appeal to the Appellate Division of the Union in Civil matters. Whatever may be the virtues of the proposed Rhodesian Court of Appeal, it cannot hope to compare in weight and authority with the Appellate Division. The Court of Appeal will be constituted of judges of first instance called upon to sit in appeal, whereas the Appellate Division consists of judges who sit on appeal only, and who have been chosen out of the large number of judges with experience in various parts of the Union. The adoption of English Law would shut the doors of the Appellate Division to Southern Rhodesia to the detriment of the Colony.

My suggestion accordingly is that if a choice has to be made, that system should be adopted which would inconvenience the smaller number of people, and which by reason of its long development under African conditions, would be most suitable to the people of a greater Rhodesia, that is to say the Roman Dutch Law."

The Commission delivered its report on 1st March 1939 and the Report was presented to Parliament by Command of his Majesty King George VI in that month. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission suffice it to say that the Commission found a need for close and continuous co-ordination of effort and co-operation in many spheres of activity including posts and telegraphs, public works, customs, currency, scientific research, medical services, agriculture, defence, railways, roads and aviation. As to the means whereby such co-operation could best be promoted the Commission, interestingly, concluded that any attempt at Federation would not achieve success, but regarded an amalgamation as the ultimate objective with the Legislature consisting of a single Chamber.

Regarding the legal system, the Commission concluded :

"We consider that no practical difficult need arise through the existence of different legal systems in Southern Rhodesia and in the other Territory, but steps should be taken to promote uniformity where possible. There should also be mutual consultation as regards future legislation."

With reference to the judicature the Commission recommended that the proposals for setting up a joint court of Appeal for Northern and Southern Rhodesia should be made more comprehensive so as to include Nyasaland.

Needless to say the recommendations of the Commission, made as they were to the Parliament of Great Britain in 1939, fell on stony ground owing to the second world war and it was not until 1953 that the issue of amalgamation was again raised.

Retirement

On 31st December 1942 Sir Fraser retired as Chief Justice at the end of a career on the

Bench which had begun on 1st June 1915 and spanned some twenty-seven years including nineteen years as a High Court judge in Bulawayo, and eleven years as Chief Justice which included three years as President of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Court of Appeal.

For most of 1942 he served as Acting Governor but it was a special wish that he should retire not in that capacity but as Chief Justice so he returned to his Chief Justice's Chambers in December for a few weeks before retiring.

In the New Year's Honours List (1st January 1943) he was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire in the civil division (K.B.E.) for his long and distinguished service.

He was succeeded as Chief Justice on 5th January 1943 by Mr Justice R.J. Hudson who had served as a judge of the High Court since 9th September 1933.

Shortly before his retirement, Sir Fraser and Lady Russell were given a public reception by the Mayor, Alderman and Councillors of Bulawayo on 9th November 1942 to commemorate their farewell visit to that City. They were presented with a handsome silver salver and in his farewell address he recalled the old days of Bulawayo and named several personalities of the past such as Colonel Heyman, Sir Bourcher Wrey, Sir Clarkson Tredgold, Sir Murray Bisset, Sir Charles Coghlan and Sir Drummond Chaplin. After reminiscing about the law and his stints as Acting Governor he concluded -

"In years to come, when this town flourishes as it deserves to flourish - for the qualities of its people are those which deserve success - wherever our fate may take us, Bulawayo and its people will always keep a foremost place in our hearts."

He retired to Claremont in the Cape and soon involved himself in educational and welfare activities serving on the Council of the University of Cape Town from 1945 and as Chairman of the Founders Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University.

Children

The Russell's had four children, all of whom were born in Cape Town. Ida, the eldest, graduated at the University of Cape Town and at the University of Cambridge, and became a teacher. She married G.C. (Jack) Grant of the West Indies, a teacher and a fine sportsman, whom she met at Cambridge. Jack and Ida became missionaries serving in Zanzibar, Natal and Rhodesia.

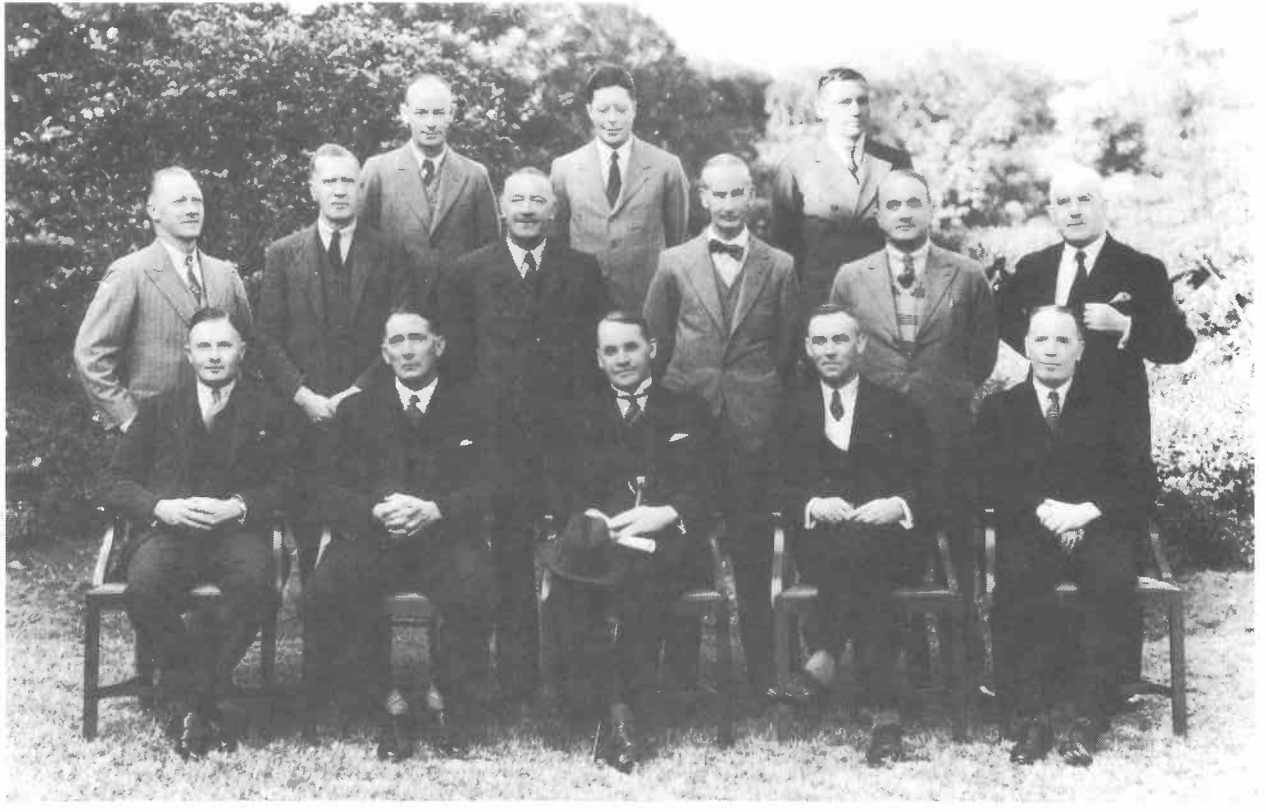
Fraser was educated in Rhodesia and Scotland and qualified as a medical doctor at the University of Edinburgh. He married Sheila Barker of Cape Town and was an excellent shottist and a talented piper. He was killed in action in Libya in 1941 during the Second World War whilst serving with the South African Medical Corps.

Isabel was educated at Eveline High School, Bulawayo and in the University of Edinburgh where she qualified as a doctor. She practised medicine for many years. She married Donald Robertson, a civil engineer.

Alexander Fraser, known as Lex, the youngest child, was educated in Rhodesia and South Africa and at Cambridge. He married Marjorie Bannister, a teacher from the north of England, whom he met as a student. Apart from the period of the Second World War when he served in the Royal Artillery, Lex and Marjorie spent their married life in Salisbury, until Lex died in 1973. At the time of his death he was with the Department of Taxes.

The rights of the Courts to declare Acts of Parliament to be Invalid

On 8th March 1951 the Nationalist Party Government in South Africa introduced into the



Civil Commissioners' Conference, S. Rhod. 1934.
Back Row: **C.L.G. Wright, S.D. Caldecolt, G.E. Wells (Sec.)**
Middle Row: **P. van Broembsen, E. Carter (Shorthand writer), W.T. Smith, C.C. Girdlestone, N.D. Jackson, R. Archibald.**
Front Row: **H.C. Malone, T.C. Fynn, The Hon. Sir Fraser Russell (Chief Justice), A.E. Boyton, C.H. Harding**
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

House of Assembly a bill to remove the Coloured voters in the Cape Province from the common roll of voters. After a long debate the bill was passed by both Houses, assented to by the Governor General, and became law in June 1951 under the title of the Separate Representation of Voters Act No. 46 of 1951.

The Act provided for the compilation of two separate voters lists, one for Europeans and a Cape Coloured voter's list containing the names of Cape Coloured voters on the existing common roll and the names of future coloured voters who fulfilled the franchise requirements. In return for their removal from the common roll the Cape Coloured voters in the Cape Province were given the right to elect four European members to the House of Assembly and two councillors to the Cape Provincial Council.

Four coloured voters in the Cape challenged the Act by initiating proceedings for an order declaring the Act invalid, null and void and of no legal force and effect. The Cape Provincial Division dismissed the application.

From 20th February 1952 for six days the matter was argued on appeal in the Appellate Division and on 20th March 1952 Chief Justice Centlivers gave the unanimous judgement of a full bench of five judges which allowed the appeal, reversed the decision of the Cape Provincial Division, and declared the Separate Representation of Voters Act invalid.

The following day (21st March 1952) the Prime Minister, D.F. Malan, announced that the Government would introduce legislation to ensure -

a)That the sovereignty of Parliament as representing the will of the electorate would be placed beyond all doubt;

b)that in view of the conflicting judgments of the Appeal Court there should be clarity and finality by establishing that the courts of the country do not have the testing right;

c)that consequently the courts of the country should be protected against the danger of being involved in constitutional issues of a political nature.

He added that the proposed legislation would be in accordance with the 1937 judgement of the Appeal Court (Ndlwana v Hofmeyr) and would be of effect from 1931 (the Statute of Westminster).

This statement caused a series of attacks on the judges of the Appellate Division by politicians which were widely reported in the press.

Sir Fraser Russell, then in retirement, in the Cape was deeply concerned at the political attacks on the judges and a day or two before his death on 23rd March he wrote the following letter which was published in the Cape Times on 24th March -

"Do our present lords and masters on the Government benches of the Legislature ever stop to consider their own dignity or the lead they are giving to undesirable elements in our community in subjecting the members of the judiciary to unworthy criticism? An unwelcome decision may provoke a petulant outburst from a private litigant. Something more restrained is surely to be looked for on the part of the experienced fathers of the people.

The crucial fact is that the Courts have exercised the testing power with regard to an Act of the Legislature. This is assailed as something which cannot be tolerated.

But this is not the first time that the testing power has been exercised. It was exercised in the Ndlwana case. It was exercised by the Provincial Division then and also in the case now under discussion. Why was no objection raised on these occasions? Why were no steps solicitously taken then to protect the judges from being put into an invidious position? The answer is that the decision in each case was in accord with the wishes of the Government.

But now that the decision given is contrary to the wishes of the Government and fatal to

their cherished Act, we are suddenly told that the testing power is intolerable and that the sovereignty of Parliament is undermined! When it is realised that what the Government really objects to is not the testing by the court - they have put up with it twice before - but the unfavourable result of the test, then their attitude descends from the constitutional level to the level of party politics."

Death

Sir Fraser Russell died at the age of seventy-six in a Rondebosch nursing home in the early hours of Friday 28th March 1952, having become ill shortly before at his home in Newlands Road, Claremont, and was buried at Plumstead cemetery.

Tributes

Needless to say there were many tributes to him. At the funeral service in Cape Town on Monday 31st March 1952 the Reverend Agnew of the Presbyterian Church gave the main address and extracts thereof appear below:

"We are met this afternoon under the shadow of a common sorrow and to pay our tribute to the memory of one whose high integrity under God, gave him a place of honour in all our hearts..."

"He was according to Chaucer's description "a very parfit gentil knight" and fitted into Tennyson's description of Sir Galahad whose strength was as the strength of ten, because his heart was pure..."

"He brought to all his duties an earnest probing mind. He recognised that law was a spiritual force and that the enactment of laws must ever seek to be remedial. He gave of his services willingly and in no sphere more loyally than to the Presbyterian Church of South Africa..."

"His valuable services were given to many branches of work which sought to alleviate the suffering of his fellows or to encourage the endeavours of those whose souls sought to find a greater vision in life. His keen legal mind, his quick grasp of the logical and true facts, made him an ideal leader and convener. He had a quiet scorn for all that was sham and insincere and his fair and penetrating judgment was searing. Allied to that was a humour which was never hurtful and one loved to see the quiet smile which played around his mouth..."

"Although a lover of the old paths, he kept himself vitally alive to all the activities of his day. He was an example to all of us by his faithful attendance at public worship, by the meticulous care with which he fulfilled a trust placed on him, and by his earnestness and patience in dealing with people. John Murdoch, the tutor of Robert Burns, describing the Poet's Father, Wm. Burness, said of him quoting the Apostle's words:

'Herein did he exercise himself, in living a life void of offence towards God and towards man. Oh for a world of men of such dispositions.' That tribute could be applied to Sir Fraser Russell. It was characteristic that two days before his death he wrote through the medium of the Cape Times an appeal far reaching and earnest in its motive for the establishment of honour in our country's Government and which implied man's recognition of the sovereignty of God. At the end of his pilgrimage he joined the ranks of those who found the inspiration and purpose in life from faith in a living God through Jesus Christ, and placed his hand in the hand of God..."

At a special sitting of the High Court on Saturday 29th March 1952 the Chief Justice Sir Robert Tredgold paid tribute to his predecessor:

"We are gathered here today to do honour to the memory of Sir Fraser Russell who was, for 27 years, a Judge of this Court and for 11 years its Chief Justice..."

"He had an academic career which was almost startling in its brilliance. It was made more remarkable in that he excelled in many directions, not only on the classical side but also on the scientific. Indeed, it has been said of him that, when he decided to go to the Bar, South Africa lost the finest chemist that she had ever produced. However, fortunately for us, he decided to adopt a career in the law and began his practice at the Cape Bar'..."

"It is just 21 years since it fell to my lot to bid him farewell on a happier occasion when he left Bulawayo on his elevation to the Chief Justiceship, and it is now my sad duty to bid him an even longer farewell. He rendered very great service to this Colony not only in the field of law but in many other directions. There was no sphere of public service in which his services were requested to which they were not given freely and with very great ability..."

"But today, we think of him primarily as Russell, Justice and later as Russell, Chief Justice. He presided in a large number of important cases and gave many judgments which will stand as precedents throughout the years. Indeed, I suppose, there is no name which occurs so frequently in the Law Reports of this Colony..."

"He took a tremendous interest in the work of the subordinate courts and by guidance and counsel he contributed to the establishment of those Courts on a sound basis. He had a remarkable gift of lucidity in exposition, a very clear and able mind and that, with his sound knowledge of the law, did a great deal to place the whole administration of justice in this country on a sound footing..."

In associating himself with the remarks of the Chief Justice, the Honourable J.M. Greenfield, Minister of Justice, said -

"Sir Fraser Russell did set a very high standard throughout the Colony of Southern Rhodesia in regard to the administration of justice and in regard to all aspects of public life. Your Lordship has referred to the lucidity of thought and the lucidity of expression, and that was manifested on many public occasions when Sir Fraser Russell had occasion to speak. He was noted as a very fine orator. He never lapsed into the ordinary. He was always, as I say, setting a very high standard..."

"Sir Fraser Russell was very great friend of the Bar. I think we do not perhaps sufficiently appreciate how difficult was his task coming to Bulawayo, where he was a Judge in isolation, and where he had a very small Bar to work with, and so a very heavy onus fell on him both in regard to his judgment and also in the training of that small Bar, because members of the Bar had not sufficient colleagues to give them that training and so it fell to the Judge to direct them in the ways that they should go, and, similarly, that applied when his Lordship came as Chief Justice to Salisbury. I think all of us who practised before him do owe a very great debt to him for the training which he gave us. He always insisted on a very high standard of performance. It was no use putting before him a shoddy effort and that, of course, served not only for the benefit of the Bar but it served greatly to the benefit of the administration of justice in this Colony..."

"I do not think it is sufficiently appreciated what a generous man Sir Fraser Russell was. He was generous with his time and he was equally generous with his money but that was not widely known because Sir Fraser Russell did not choose that it should be known, but I do desire that these things should be acknowledged and known at this time..."

"So we mourn the passing of one who has been a very outstanding figure in the life of this Colony and in the work of the administration of justice..."

Marion Munn writing in the June 1952 issue of **Advance**, a magazine of the Presbyterian Church, had this to say:

"With the passing of Sir Fraser Russell, the Presbyterian Church loses one of its most loyal and distinguished members..."

"From the time of his arrival in Bulawayo in 1915 he devoted his fine mind to the service of our Church; and when I look back over those years, I cannot remember a Sunday morning when he was not there, accompanied by his family, or a Church function of any kind that he and his wife did not support. To the end of his life it was the same; in Salisbury and when he retired, in Cape Town. He was chairman of our Board of Management for some years, an Elder, and, at the time of his death, General Treasurer of the Church; but whether he held office or not, his services were given wholeheartedly. Even in the pressure of work as Acting-Governor -an office he held four times - he never allowed his interest in his church to flag; and his hospitality all through the years, especially to visiting church workers - who were often complete strangers - was open-handed..."

Such men cannot be spared and we mourn his loss not only as a staunch supporter, but as a very dear and delightful friend. As I write my mind goes back to those happy years when he lived and worked among us. He was never too busy or pre-occupied to be interested in the affairs of his children and their friends, and he was their constant companion. To this circle we were privileged to belong. Young as we were, we recognised and admired his wide knowledge and his gift of stimulating our interest in the world around us; and his sense of fun his love of the quick battle of wits in conversation, his never-failing kindliness, won our deepest affection..."

"As we grew up his friendship grew with us. He never forgot his old friends; for them there was always a warm welcome, and a place at his table..."

Excerpts from a final tribute by Mr D.A. Masunda are reprinted below :

"The passing away of the late Sir Fraser Russell has been a severe loss to us, Black and White, of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa. His sterling qualities as a man, a member of the Bench and a Christian, must remain a treasured memory to all those who knew him intimately. To know him was a liberal education, a real privilege..."

"We saw him colourblind and ever seeking to uphold Christian principles and advance the brotherhood of man. The need for such men in high places was never greater and more pressing than it is today..."

"in 1942, as acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia, just before he retired, he came to the Bulawayo Location to bid farewell to the African citizens. As a member of the Bulawayo African Township Advisory Board I was present at this important meeting. The Africans, in their eloquent way, named him "Ntakayezulu", "Rain Bird." He was indeed the bringer of tidings of a rainy season; he whose appearance cooled the land, graced it and brought a sense of security. Southern Rhodesia will take time to replace such as he was in courtesy, justice and largeness of heart..."

"Our sad world, our helpless generation needs such men as he, who was never too great to stoop down and serve the Church and feed God's Lambs. He served the Church, he served humanity, he could never be guilty of sectionalism..."

"He has gone to higher service but we know we are the poorer for it. We send our prayerful condolences to his wife and family. "Blessed are those who can call such as Sir Fraser husband, father and benefactor." We can best mourn his passing away by emulating his Christian conduct and life..."

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A Review of Ancient and Medieval Coins found in Zimbabwe

by P. G. Locke

INTRODUCTION

Prior to colonization in the late 19th century, the economy of the state organization in Zimbabwe had not developed sufficiently to warrant a formal or institutionalized coinage system.[1] All trading was conducted by barter, the simple exchange of one commodity for another. Certain of the goods exchanged, however, through being in general demand, had reached the status of "commodity-currency" in that they assumed generally accepted and established values, despite being commodities primarily for consumption. Cattle, sheep, goats and hoes were the recognised currency for **lobola** (bride-price) while foreign trade with the Arabs and Portuguese introduced a wide range of trade-goods: cloth, porcelain, beads, firearms, etc., which were exchanged for gold and ivory. These trade-goods assumed different values for purchase according to their type, quality and quantity, but the further development of a fixed currency as a purchasing medium with no other primary function, e.g. the cowrie shell as used in other parts of Africa or coinage in the strict sense, did not materialise.[2,3] (in fact both cowries and **ndoros** (conus shell whorls) were used in Zimbabwe as a form of currency but differed from coinage in that they served primarily as highly prized ornamental and magical objects.)

Figure 1. **This piece of hippo ivory, inscribed by Thomas Baines, is an excellent illustration of payment by commodity currency as practised before the colonial administration introduced coinage in Zimbabwe post-1890. The inscription reads:- "Wednesday August 6 1862. My first earnings this journey. Piece of zeekoe (sea-cow) tooth given me by Moshotlani the petty chief at the Zambesi Falls. For fitting a sight on his musket."** *(length of tusk 320 mm)*
(Antiquities Collection, Mutare Museum)

In the knowledge, therefore, that the early economy of Zimbabwe was not based on a formal, fixed currency, the discovery post-colonization of a number of foreign coins of antiquity in this country has obviously generated considerable interest because of the possible pre-historical implications. In particular, the finds over the years have captured the imagination of the lay-public - perhaps not surprisingly when viewed against a background of extravagant Victorian and later theories which postulated various ancient cultures of exotic origin as being responsible for the prolific archaeological stone structures in Zimbabwe. Encouraged in no small measure by fanciful speculation in the press (with romantic notions of Phoenicians at Great Zimbabwe, Chinese conquerers in Nyanga and Roman expeditions to Bindura) regrettably popular conception of the value and meaning of these finds has tended to far outweigh their true scientific worth.

Naturally all of the relatively few ancient and medieval coins found in Zimbabwe are of inherent historical interest, but it is evident that the contextural significance (in archaeological terms) of many, particularly the very early coins, is diminished by the circumstances of their discovery and absence of scientifically-proven archaeological associations.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS AND DETAILS OF THEIR DISCOVERY

The majority of the finds of early coins in Zimbabwe has been described and assessed in several authoritative research publications,[4,5,6] but there are other discoveries, the details of which are either scattered in various literature, including the news media, or have not been published previously. This paper, therefore attempts to collate information on all known discoveries, giving details of the provenance of each find, with a view to re-examining their scientific worth vis-a-vis their obvious popular appeal and basic intrinsic value.

1. Indo-Scythian copper coin of Kadphisis II (circa 50 A.D.) found outside Harare

Information on this coin, the present whereabouts of which is unknown, is contained in correspondence files relating to the Numismatic Collection held at Mutare Museum.[7] Submitted to the South African museum for identification, the coin is described as featuring King Kadphises II on the obverse with Siva and a bull on the reverse.

As the earliest coin to have been found in Zimbabwe, naturally it is of special interest. Regrettably, however, details of the coin's discovery are limited to its having been "found in a garden outside Salisbury" (Harare) in early 1947. Accordingly, in the absence of any information to the contrary, it seems reasonable to presume that this coin is merely a latter-day import.

2. Ancient N.W. Indian copper coin of the Kushan Dynasty (130-150 A.D.) obtained from Nyanga District

This coin, identified by the British Museum, was struck in Punjab, N.W. India, at a time when the Kushan Empire was falling into decay. The obverse shows the ruler Huvishka and the reverse Athsho, God of Fire. According to a report in the **Bulletin of the Stanley Society**[8] the coin was obtained in Nyanga in the early 1930's from a local inhabitant who claimed that it had been dug up by his father while cultivating land in the district.

An Indian connection with early mining in Zimbabwe dating from the 6th or 7th century until the 16th century has been postulated based on the discovery of Indian metalware at a number of ancient mines.[9] Nyanga is situated some distance from the nearest gold mining area,

Figure 2. **Obverse of N.W. Indian copper coin of the Kushan Dynasty (130-150 A.D.) from the Nyanga District** *(24 mm diameter)* *(The Rhodesia Herald)*

but this should not necessarily rule out possible indirect associations of the coin with early Indian interest in mining in this country.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the archaeological context of the original discovery is unconfirmed for, in the absence of more factual evidence, no definite conclusions can be drawn on the validity of the find.

3. **Roman coin of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) found near Mutare**

Mention of this coin is made by Bent in 1896 in the preface to **Ruined Cities of Mashonaland.**[10] Details are scant and limited to the coin having been found in an "ancient (mine) shaft near Umtali at a depth of 70 feet". It is apparent that the coin was never actually examined by Bent and the exact location and circumstances of the find are unknown. However, Summers (in **Ancient Mining in Rhodesia**)[11] cautions against dismissing the legitimacy of the discovery as such coins are known to have circulated in the Indian ocean trade area. It is within the bounds of probability, therefore, that this coin could have "found its way into an ancient working by the hand of some prehistoric miner" - although it must have been at a date well after the original issue of the coin.

4. **Roman silver "Antoninianus" of Octacilia Severa (wife of Philip I) (244-249 A.D.) found near the Ruenya river, Makaha, N.E. Zimbabwe**

A description of this coin and a note on its discovery are recorded in the Numismatic correspondence files at Mutare Museum.[12] The wife of the emperor Philip I, Otacilia Severa, is portrayed on the obverse while a hippopotamus features on the reverse.

Contrasting with the detailed description given of the coin, information on its discovery is frustratingly brief and it is recorded only as having been "found near (the) Ruenya River, Makaha area" (east of Mutoko), circa 1957. It is interesting to note, however, that the coin was recovered from the approximate vicinity of Makaha "Fort", a Portuguese settlement dating from the 17th century. Despite the wide disparity in periods it is possible that the Roman empress' coin could have been brought inland to Makaha by Portuguese traders who obtained it from the East Coast where, as previously stated, such currency may well have still been in circulation.

The remoteness of Makaha and the sparse population in the area mitigate, to some extent, against the coin having been introduced in recent times. However, the actual circumstances of the coin's occurrence in this area are obviously now impossible to ascertain.

5. **Third century Roman copper coin of Valerian or Gallienus (254-260 A.D. and 253-268 A.D. respectivley) found in Harare**

Reported by The **Rhodesia Herald**[15] circa 1960 this coin is stated to have been found in Greendale, Harare, with no further details. Having only been examined by an amateur numismatist, there is doubt as to the exact identification of the coin - which cannot be clarified now as its present disposition is unknown. The precise age of the coin is unimportant, however, because its occurrence in an urban location with no recorded archaeological associations strongly suggests that it was mislaid in recent times and subsequently re-discovered.

6. **Roman bronze "Antoninianus" of Claudius Gothicus (268-270 A.D.) found at Bindura**

The identification and authenticity of this coin have again been verified by the British Museum. It features a radiate portrait head of Claudius II on the obverse with the War God Mars on the reverse.

obverse reverse

Figure 3. **Roman bronze "Antoninianus" of Claudius Gothicus (268-270 A.D.) found at Bindura** *(17 mm diameter) (Numismatic Collection, Mutare Museum)*

The coin is reported to have been unearthed in late 1929 two or three feet below the surface in an undisturbed deposit during the digging of a trench in the grounds of the new Government quarters being built at Bindura.[14,15,16] Scepticism has been expressed about the validity of the find[17] and indeed its archaeological context cannot be verified. However, the finder, Assistant District Commissioner for the area, who has been described as a "reliable collector", claimed to have actually witnessed the coin being unearthed and maintained that the location was previously virgin bush.[18]

7. **13th Century English Silver Penny of John (c.1210) found near Deric Mine, Bulawayo**

This coin was found at a date unknown (but after 1939) near the Deric Mine, on Bulawayo commonage, after it had closed down. The finder, being a young child, could not precisely identify the site of discovery and Summers[19] concluded that it was possible to definitely connect the coin with an ancient working.

obverse reverse

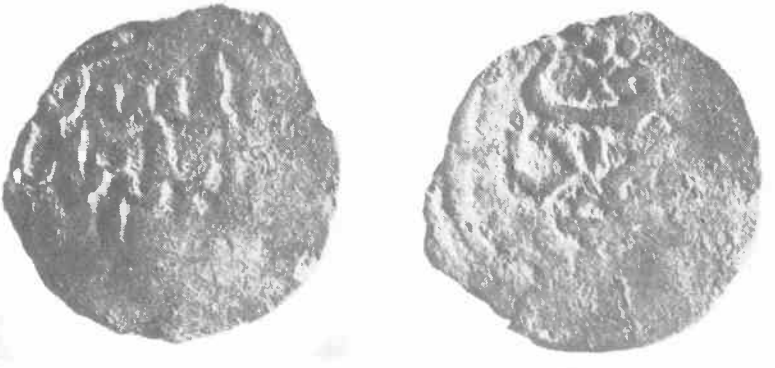
Figure 4. **13th century English silver penny of John (c.1210) of the type found near Deric Mine, Bulawayo.** *(19 mm diameter)* *(Seaby)*

This is an intriguing find as the coin is sufficiently rare as to all but discount it being a casual loss in modern times. Considered in isolation, the absence of any known archaeological associations precludes any definite inferences being drawn on the significance of the find. However, viewed collectively with other, albeit later, currency of Arab and secondary Portuguese origin which evidently has been brought into Zimbabwe in medieval times, it is conceivable that this coin may be a genuine early import.

8. **14th Century Copper Arab Coin from Kilwa, East Africa, found at Great Zimbabwe**

Although in relatively poor condition, Arabic inscriptions on both sides of this coin are legible enough to identify the coin as having been minted by the Islamic community in Kilwa, East Africa, probably during the early 14th century. Found at Great Zimbabwe in 1971, the circumstances of the discovery of the coin and its place in the archaeological sequence at this site have been fully researched and well documented.[20] In brief, the coin was recovered during an archaeological excavation associated with structures and artefacts which date from the late 14th to early 16th century.

There is little doubt that the Kilwa coin is the most significant of the ancient coins covered by this survey in terms of its proven archaeological associations. Together with other imports the origin of the coin supports the theory that Great Zimbabwe was in trade contact with Kilwa circa 1500A.D.



obverse reverse

Figure 5. **14th century Arab coin from Kilwa, East Africa, found at Great Zimbabwe** *(20 mm diameter)* *(T.N. Huffman)*

9. Early 16th Century Sicilian Silver Coin (circa 1515 A.D.) from Great Zimbabwe

Intrigue surrounds the origin of this coin which was acquired in 1918 from an employee of a hotel at Great Zimbabwe by a visitor to the ruins.[21] Enquiries at the time indicated that the coin had been found with others in a bag at the ruins and that the finders had filed it down with the intention of passing it off as a sixpenny piece. The other coins from the cache were never traced but the one in question, despite having been reduced in diameter, was in good condition and readily identifiable as a Sicilian coin of circa 1515 A.D.

Obviously it was not possible to confirm the provenance of this coin but its age and origin accord with knowledge of Portuguese links with Zimbabwe at that time, and there would seem no reason to doubt the authenticity of its occurrence at Great Zimbabwe.

10. 1572 Silver Sixpence of Elizabeth I from Quagga Mine, Odzi.

This coin is reported as having been found, circa 1910, at 40 feet below surface in the back filling of an old stope of an ancient working at the Quagga Mine, Odzi.[22,23] An official of the Mines Department who was visiting the mine at the time secured the coin and deposited it with the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare, from where, regrettably, it was stolen in 1926.[24]

obverse reverse

Figure 6. **Circa 1570 silver sixpence of Elizabeth I of the type found at Quagga Mine, Odzi** *(25 mm diameter) (Numismatic Collection, Mutare Museum)*

The coin, a hammer-struck type, is reported to have been clipped and to have shown a fair degree of wear.[25] It seems probable that this was another Portuguese import resulting from the trade in gold from Manicaland which, according to Portuguese records, took place between 1570 to 1700. However, the wear on the coin and the fact that this issue remained current in England until the end of the 17th century suggests that it found its way to Zimbabwe some time after the year of minting.

11. 1803 Spanish Gold Two Escudo Coin from near Ethel Mine, Mutorashanga

Although in terms of its age this coin falls outside the scope of this survey, nevertheless it is included as it may be an authentic early 19th century import similar in origin to some of the earlier European coins already described.

Details of its discovery are vague and little is known of the coin save it was found "at the side of a road" near Ethel Mine in 1960.[26] However, although the circumstances of its finding are uncertain, and despite Ethel Mine being an asbestos mine with which there are no related ancient workings, it is possible that this coin has associations with late Portuguese trade prior to British colonization. (The Portuguese are known to have maintained **feiras** or markets in

Manicaland until at least 1832 and to have continued itinerant trade as far as Matabeleland until 1860).[27] Early graves uncovered at alluvial chrome workings near the mine may also hold a clue as to its occurrence in the area.

12. **Cache of 34 coins (180 B.C. to 1850 A.D.) from Nyanga**

A cache of 34 coins, as listed by Dr Carl Peters in 1902 in his book **The Eldorado of the Ancients,**[28] is an extraordinary assemblage in terms of the diverse origins and ages of the currency, which range from ancient Graeco-Indian, to mainly 18th century European and early and modern Indian. Stated to have been obtained from "Mr Birch, chief of the police in Umtali", the coins are described only as having been "found in Inyanga" with no further clue as to their specific provenance.

Peters' inventive theories on the alien origins of the Zimbabwe stone ruins incline one to immediately dismiss any evidence in support of his claims. This aside, however, the only conclusion that can be drawn from the reported find, due to the modern age of the coins, is that this was a recent cache of unknown origins.

13. **Hoard of approx. 60 Chinese Coins (1736-1850) from Wedza**

Early Chinese coins found on the East Coast of Africa are one indication of trade links with China dating back to perhaps 1000 A.D. It was of interest, therefore when a hoard of approx. 60 Chinese "cash" of apparent antiquity was discovered, some coins buried and others lodged in an old tree trunk, at Wedza in 1963.[29] However, support for theories of a direct Chinese connection with Zimbabwe in pre-Portuguese times was shortlived when the British Museum identified the coins as dating from between 1736 to 1850.[30] As a consequence the hoard can only be attributed to a fairly modern collection with no bearing on this country's past.

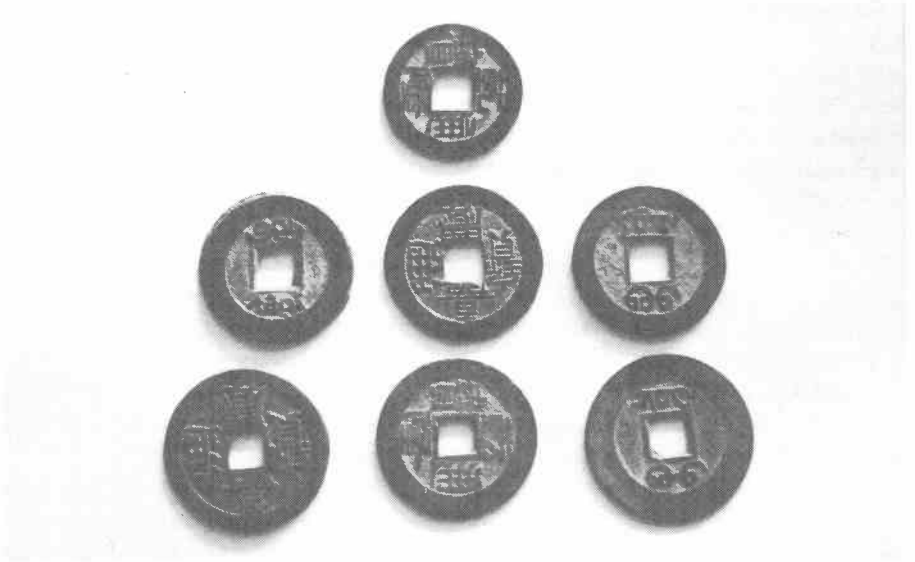


Figure 7. **Selection from hoard of Chinese coins (1736-1850) found at Wedza** *(largest 25 mm diameter) (Numismatic Collection, Mutare Museum)*

ASSESSMENT OF THE COINS' SIGNIFICANCE

For the purpose of assessing their archaeological value and contribution to elucidating the early history of Zimbabwe, the coins covered by this survey can be divided into three categories according to broad temporal periods -

a. ancient coins pre 300 A.D.
b. coins from 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
c. recent coins post 1800 A.D.

It is pertinent to note that there is an absence of any coins found dating from 300 A.D. to 1200 A.D. This is to be expected, however, as it corresponds with the period of quiescence in human history between the decline of the Roman Empire and rise of the European nations (i.e. the period known disparagingly as the "Dark Ages"). On the other hand, the gap from 1600 A.D. to 1800 A.D. is an artificial one created by a lack of recorded "finds" of coins spanning these dates. Indeed, it was not particularly uncommon for coins from these centuries (mainly English) but lacking any provenance, to be tendered as currency in rural areas throughout the country until circa 1940.[31]

a) Pre 300 A.D.

Coins of the first category comprise four Roman pieces and two of Indian origin. All are of high intrinsic value but, with one possible exception (the Claudius II Gothicus from Bindura)., it is tempting to attribute the occurrence in Zimbabwe of all coins in this group to casual losses in relatively recent times, which have no relevance to the pre-history of the country.

This conclusion is supported by the alleged but unsubstantiated theft early this century of a collection of ancient coins of this type at Beira which could account for certain of the "finds" made after 1920.[32,33] Even the Bindura coin falls under suspicion, for it is known that "at least two members of the PWD staff carried pocket pieces of this very period during the construction of the building near which the coin was found".[34] In addition, the possibility of the coins having been deliberately and mischievously "salted" at sites where their likely discovery would mislead and confuse, cannot be discounted. A prankster was responsible for the "discovery" of a Roman coin during an excavation at Great Zimbabwe while another coin of the same period, known to have been hidden as a practical joke thirty years ago at Dziwa (Van Niekerk) Ruins in Nyanga, was never recovered by the archaeologist it was intended to fool![35]

Despite good reasons for scepticism, however, as already mentioned, coins of this age and origin are recorded as having been in circulation in the Indian Ocean trade area in ancient times and, conceivably, a number of these could have found their way inland to Zimbabwe.[36]

b) 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D.

Coins of the second category, broadly classed as medieval, cover a period when Zimbabwe is known to have had increased contact with the outside world.

Having been recovered during a professionally supervised excavation, the archaeological associations of the Arab coin from Kilwa are indisputable. Also, circumstantial evidence in the case of the two English coins and one Sicilian coin, combined with the expectation of finding artefacts of this age and origin (associated with early mining and trade), is reason to suggest that the provenance of these coins may indeed be genuine.

Generally speaking these coins corroborate the knowledge (drawn from documentary and other evidence) of, firstly, Arab and, subsequently, Portuguese associations with Zimbabwe. In particular they are a testimony to trade contact with Kilwa in the 14th century and to Portuguese links, including their indirect involvement with gold mining, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Whatever their original source, all the European coins may be regarded as being of secondary Portuguese origin, for at that time many countries accepted certain foreign coins as valid currency, especially in their colonial settlements.

Whilst archaeological evidence also points to Indian connections with Zimbabwe during this period, particularly in regard to mining, artefacts found to date (in the form of contemporary imports of Indian origin) exclude any coins.

c) Post 1800 A.D.

Clearly, the two hoards of coins from Nyanga and Wedza can be no older than the most recent coin in each respective assemblage. Accordingly both collections fall into the third category of coins, dating post 1800, and they must be regarded as relatively recent imports which were discarded, mislaid or cached and subsequently discovered.

By virtue of its date the 1803 Spanish coin also falls into this category though, as previously suggested, it may have an affinity with the medieval coins in terms of its occurrence in Zimbabwe - but this is largely conjecture.

CONCLUSION

It may be summarised, therefore, that while a good number of the early coins found in this country are merely extraneous examples, others, particularly from the medieval period, do contribute in a small way to the study of the prehistory of Zimbabwe. Considered objectively, however, even their value is minimised due to their limited number, sporadic occurrence and the dubious circumstances surrounding the recovery of most. What is surprising, perhaps, is that more coins from the medieval period have not been unearthed in controlled excavations at archaeological sites, associated with the abundant glass beads, ceramics and other imported relics which reflect early trade connections. Whilst there is no suggestion that coins may have been used as a purchasing medium, their acquisition in moderate quantities from foreign traders as souvenirs, decorative items or talismans would not appear to be an unreasonable presumption.

Undoubtedly, further interesting coins of antiquity will come to light in the future with possible archaeological associations. However, the prospects of casual losses accounting for such finds are ever increasing. Cautionary words from Schofield nearly 50 years ago are even more pertinent today: "In any case I have lost all my coins (evidently in South Africa), and ..... there must be about a dozen or more late Roman coins waiting to be found and to evoke the wonder of those who do not know the true facts."[37]

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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.

Kambuzuma : Reminiscences of an African Suburb

by Abel T. Matangira

If you drive south along Chinhoyi Street (formerly Sinoia Street) in Harare, past Johnson and Fletcher's, the road turns into a sharp bend in a westerly direction. It runs under the flyover and becomes Lytton Road. On the right is the heavy industrial site, Workington, and on the left the railway line to Bulawayo. When you reach the sprawling railway suburb of Rugare the road swings in a northerly direction and then makes a gentle bend westwards, towards Westwood. You drive for a few more minutes and you come to Kambuzuma.

Kambuzuma is an African suburb. It was the first government-sponsored project which was meant to be a Do-It-Yourself home ownership settlement. The first residents moved there in 1964 and among them were my parents who had been married for about three years. I was then just about two years old.

A sitting room, a kitchen and a toilet-cum-bathroom were the only rooms available for immediate use by the occupants. But according to some early residents, it was a welcome relief from living in the dingy spare rooms of overcrowded Highfield or the stuffy atmosphere of the Harari (Mbare) hostels.

The maximum extension of each "unit", as the houses were officially known, was seven rooms - four bedrooms, a bathroom, a sitting/dining room, a kitchen and a toilet. It was not going to be a shanty town and measures were taken to ensure it wouldn't turn into one. Plans, designs and building materials had to be approved by the Government Architect before a unit could be extended. Lodgers were not going to be allowed.

The origin of the name Kambuzuma is obscure. However, I remember hearing a story about its origin but how far true it is I cannot ascertain. It is said that the suburb was built on a farm once owned by the well known Cambitzis, and people used to refer to the farm as "KwaCambitzi" (at Cambitzi's). Kambuzuma is then supposedly a corruption of "KwaCambitzi".

Kambuzuma is one of the quietest and safest African suburbs of Harare. Very few muggings and robberies have been reported and political violence is almost unheard of. Indeed, quite a sizeable proportion of the early residents were fleeing the political violence of the early sixties which characterised other African suburbs like Highfield and Harari after the split in ZAPU. Except for a few isolated cases, Kambuzuma has never been plagued by the post-1980 pre-election violence which has become so common in some areas, notably neighbouring Mufakose. Predictably, Christopher Ngwne who visited the suburb as a **Parade** reporter in 1964 observed that though Kambuzuma was still in its humble beginnings, there were signs that it would develop into a "haven of peace" at some future date. He was right.

The early residents were a cheerful lot. Most people seemed to know each other and in those early days strangers were easily noticeable. By the time I was five I could find my way around our neighbourhood quite easily. The roads were gravelled, and I remember my father telling me that the streets were named after the first house owner on that street. Had my parents been three days earlier our street would have been named after us.

The ground is deep red clay soil and, on rainy days, as a child I would sink my bare feet deep into the soil and then wipe them on the lawn outside before entering the house. These deep red soils are very suitable for gardening activities and soon after occupation, some houses were surrounded by hedges and vegetable gardens sprung up together with attractive flower beds.

At the time the houses had no electricity. For heating and cooking each unit was provided with a Colray coal stove. To light it you had to put half a page of crumbled newspaper in the firebox, then a few dry sticks and pieces of coal. You then lit the paper and closed the firebox door. When the coal began burning well, you opened the door with a poker and added more coal. The fire would then begin burning very strongly. The stove had a single plate which formed the top surface through which ran a chimney to let out fumes. Sometimes the stove got terribly hot, turning the small kitchen into a mini furnace, and soon most families simply abandoned them. Coal was obtained from a local trader whom people referred to as **Amarasha** (Mr Coal).

I remember the first store was called Gava's Store and they used to sell fresh bread daily and other groceries as well. The store was built on a large opening opposite the school where there were plans to build a post office, clinic, market place, a community hall, other shops and a petrol filling and service station. The first two never came to be. They were built elsewhere in the suburb.

I also still remember the itinerant baker who used to do his round on a scooter selling fresh bread every morning except Sundays. Children sent by their mothers would run out and wait for him by the roadside as soon as they heard the familiar horn.

Properties available for home ownership in Kambuzuma, 1965
(Frank Hermann and National Archives of Zimbabwe)

The first school, Rukudzo, opened in 1964 with 24 pupils and was only a few hundred metres away but it seemed miles away to me; it does for children. I should confess my first days there were not pleasant ones. I didn't like some of the boys and I would wait impatiently for time to go home, paying very little attention to what the lady teacher was saying. I got particularly annoyed when on the first day the teacher made us put on name tags. These were cardboard paper with your name written on them. A string was then tied on both ends and then round your neck so that the tag dangled on your chest like a chief's chain of office. I found it uncomfortable and mine kept turning the other way round and the cheerful teacher ended up thinking I was deliberately being stubborn. But this worked to my favour and I did not have to put it on again the following day as she could now remember my name.

To overcome the lack of entertainment facilities residents formed various clubs. There was the Tichabudirira Women's Club, Kambuzuma Cooking Club, Kambuzuma Boxing Club and Kambuzuma Football Club. These also helped bring residents together.

By the early 1970's the suburb had changed substantially. Most of the units had been developed into proper houses. All major roads had been tarred and more shops had been opened.

One major development was the opening of a cinema sometime in 1973, the imposing Rainbow 1000 and Elite 800. It was a massive brick building standing on the edge of the suburb so that it formed a barrier with the marshland behind it. The first movie shown was **Ben Hur** and I was among the first audience. The cinema flourished until the early eighties. If you go to Kambuzuma today you will see it, chipped walls and broken glass doors, ripped railings and littered steps - completely derelict. Its first manager, who is now dead, must be turning in his grave.

Kambuzuma still remains the quiet suburb it was but it has changed considerably. Most of the original owners, taking advantage of desegregation in residential areas after independence, left for the low density suburbs. These were the very people with the spirit and resources to keep neat houses. Uncaring tenants and new owners were left in some of the best houses, and many do not tend them as their own. The green lawns and hedges have almost disappeared, most walls were last painted by their original owners and some fences have broken down. But that peace and tranquility still remains, and during weekends you can see some of the original residents, having left their more comfortable low density suburban homes, parked outside liquor outlets having a drink. Some can be seen just wondering about the suburb. They still feel part of it because they made it.

Interviewed by the National Archives oral historian in 1983, J.H. Howman, Minister of Internal Affairs, Local Government and African Education in 1963 and 1964 (he was involved in the decision to build Kambuzuma) had this to say about the suburb:

'I haven't been back to Kambuzuma for a long time but I'm told that it remains and has always been one of the model suburbs, because the people belong'.

"This is ours. Don't you let any of your thugs go breaking our windows down. We'll beat the hell out of them".

I have sometimes driven past our old house and, with a deep feeling of nostalgia, I have often felt the urge to stop and walk in. But it's no longer ours.

Bushmen of Australia in Rhodesia : 1900

By Roger Howman

In 1988, while holidaying in New South Wales, we, visiting Zimbabweans, stopped in Canberra at the 'Banjo Paterson Motel'. The number of Boer War dead named in the magnificent War Memorial astounded us and the answers as to who was Paterson, and why 'Banjo', stimulated inquiries in Sydney. Such an interest intensified when it was found that those Australians had, in the words of the Rhodesian balladist, Cullen Goldsbury, 'drifted through the death-trap of the BMR' (the pioneer Beira Mashonaland Railway of 1892/98)

Each bolt, each nut, each metal bar
Could tell a story - grim but true -
Ghosts of the men who worked and knew
The fever-swamp, the sickening jar
That came when life was rusted through
Upon the lonely B.M.R.

And when the enchanting ballads of Banjo Paterson - the poet whose 'Waltzing Matilda' went round the world - were discovered, the life he gave to the 1880-1900s of Australia were so similar to those same times in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe since 1980) that deeper delving into the cultural past which shapes men's lives was too intriguing to resist.[1]

There was a link with old Rhodesia somewhere!

The last issue of 'Heritage' (No. 9, 1990) recalled a letter written in August 1900 whence came the exclamation 'Thank goodness the Australians have finished going through here (Rusape), they were worse than a flight of locusts'. There emerged a hardly known segment of Rhodesia's history, a surprising link-up with 'Old Rhodesian Ways' and what Banjo called 'back from the buried past, the old Australian ways'.

Those same Rusape letters revealed such acute popular comment in Rhodesia about the Boer War that they merit quoting and serve to show Australians passing through from April to August 1900.

January 6th: *'We seem to be getting a jolly good hammering in Natal. It's a funny thing that only regulars seem to be captured, they don't appear to learn wisdom by experience (the officers), they are awfully jealous of the volunteers so the authorities are keeping them in the rear, a great shame as they are far better for this sort of fighting than the regulars. Luckily for them they have a man in command at Mafeking who uses common sense and does not charge with a bayonet in the day time.'*

January 24th: *'Only rumours which generally turn out to be wrong. If they get the right sort of officers everybody who could would go but we are all dead off Imperial men.... the only thing which recommends is their pluck, and that is spoilt by their pigheadedness.*

Three quarters of the repulses have been caused by blunders of officers. Buller must feel small now that Roberts has been sent out, everybody is delighted,

things will be alright now.... no more squadrons of Hussars being surrounded and captured, that is rather an impossibility among volunteers, if they had been caught like that every man would have shifted for himself and cleared for all they were worth and though undoubtedly the force would have ceased to exist for a few days, in the course of time the majority would have got home again in ones and twos just as they did in the Jameson Raid from all over the veldt. The Authorities should have sent the Doctor (Dr Jim) up here when the war started to attack from the north with all the men he could have raised. If once the Boers heard that he was coming with a couple of thousand men in shirt sleeves from Rhodesia, Mafeking and Kimberley would not be cut off and we should have been awfully close to Johannesburg if not in it. The Dr's name is worth 1000 men amongst the Boers!'

March 8th: *'What a smashing the Dutch have had by Roberts, our only General, it will knock the stuffing out of them, we have just heard that Roberts has surrounded them and made a big haul but no details.'*

April 13th: *'Carrington is coming through here with 5 000 men, Yeomanry, Australians, Canadians and 3 Batteries, better late than never, sending him out now to prevent the Boers clearing up here, personally I am sorry they are coming as they will spoil any chance we stood of seeing any of the fun, when we would have been in the kopjes, and they on the flat for a change.*[2]

April 29th: 'I have been in Rusape and saw some Australians, a rough looking crowd, but awfully quiet, not like South African volunteers. Roberts is close to Pretoria now. I don't think he will sit down for a month or so in front of that, like the Dutch did round Ladysmith.'

June: *'News that Roberts was in Pretoria. I expect that means a big fight in the low veldt, or somewhere about Pietersburg. If Roberts can smash them heavily there the war will be over. These Australians are a fine lot of men, and just the sort they want, used to veldt life. They have some grand horses with them, at least they are in comparison with the ones up here, and they were astonished at the price of horses here, £20 is the cheapest.'*

August 13th: *'Thank goodness the Australians have finished going through here, they were worse than a flight of locusts, everything gave way to them so there was hardly any food to be got anywhere.'*

Who were these Australians, how did they come to be in Rhodesia and were they in time to join in the Boer War? In the 1890's there was, of course, a continent called Australia but there was no Government, no State named Australia, only a stereotype image based on an address.... so who in fact were these men who set foot in Rhodesia in 1900!!

The Opening of the Boer War

On 11th October 1899 war was declared and President Paul Kruger's Commandos of the Transvaal and those of the Orange Free State invaded British territory in Southern Africa on three fronts - northwards over the border to blow up the railway line, cut communications with Rhodesia and invade over the Limpopo River: westwards to ambush the Capetown to Mafeking railway and capture Kimberley and Mafeking: southwards into Natal and Cape Colonies. Britain was confronted with tremendous military problems.... vast frontiers, commandos of mobile skilled horsemen, arms and artillery from Germany, financed by an over-flowing

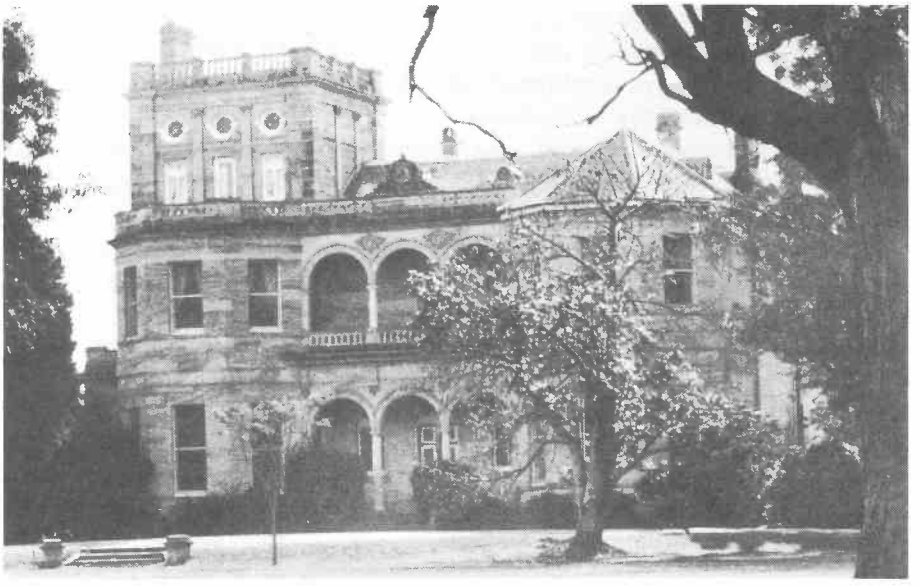
Boer War Memorial: New South Wales.
The author's inquiries into the history of the Bushmen were further stimulated, when staying with his daughters at The Kings School, Parramatta, by the discovery of this classical memorial in the Park at Parramatta. It was unveiled in 1904 'By Brigadier Colonel James Burns, through whose efforts the Lancers first reached the scene of war.' Tablets for each of the units involved, including the N.S.W. Bushmen, bear the names of those who died *(A. Haigh)*

Treasury of Johannesburg gold, so modern as to out-range, out-power and out-class British equipment. To enhance their advantages, the Boers also timed their invasion to allow the rainy season to produce grazing grass and water everywhere, to allow rivers to fill up and have their own crops planted.[3]

In England an antiquated military debate over the merits of cavalry and infantry in army strategy led to a preference for the traditional barrack-square trained infantry under an officer caste to be sent to South Africa. The idea of mounted infantry was seen as 'a new-fangled absurdity', and plans to send a force of 50 000 men were put into operation.

A Squadron of about 100 New South Wales Lancers happened to be in England at the time undergoing training at Aldershot, and sharing their skills in horsemanship at various tournaments.[4] Their term of duty was due to end in October '99 and they found themselves leaving for Sydney among the first British troops sailing for South Africa, an occurrence they were quick to snatch as an opportunity to dis-embark at Cape Town and be the first Colonial troops to join General Buller's on the 2nd November, a claim which overlooks Rhodesia's contribution of men to Baden Powell's force in September to defend the frontier in anticipation of war and the battle for Mafeking which marked the opening of the war on 14th October.

The mounted operations of this New South Wales troop no doubt made their mark on military thinking in England and were reinforced by the end of November with contingents making up 'the Empire Forces' from Australia, New Zealand and Canada landing in Cape Town and Durban. The bitter lessons of 'Black Week', as the reverses and loss of British lives in mid-December '99 were popularly known, made the British Government, or War Office, realise that



Gowan Brae: Parramatta.
This noble cream-sandstone home was built by Sir James Burns in 1886. Sir James, knighted in 1917, emigrated from Scotland at the age of 16 in 1862, started as a jackaroo in the Outbacks and made a fortune in trading and from his shipping fleet throughout the East. He created the beautiful estate of Gowan Brae on which the Burnside Homes were built and The Kings School with its fine extensive grounds was established. The mansion itself is now the Prep School. He died in 1925 and his family graves are cared for amidst the classrooms of The School *(Alice Haigh)*

while South Africa might present a naive capacity in tactics with large numbers, it also presented a completely new problem of warfare, and that the mounted Boers, trained and equipped by German officers, had proved the value of mounted troops. Lord Roberts V.C., with experience of South Africa, India and Abyssinia, and described as a brilliant tactician in mobile warfare, was sent out with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff to take command of all the forces. When an offer of a second contingent was made from Australia and New Zealand new thinking unhesitantly accepted such mounted forces, which embarked in late April 1900.

This article tries to be confined to the Australian 'Bushmen' troops whose participation in the Boer War was made through Rhodesia in early 1900 and whose talents for horsemanship and hard bush-life, not military standing, provided the criteria for their selection. A brief awareness of the history behind Australian bushmanship and the setting into which it was thrust will enliven appreciation of what these men achieved.

Frontier Life Styles

It was not until the far-sighted Governor Phillip of the New South Wales penal station gave convict James Ruse, a Cornish farm-hand, a piece of land near Parramatta to become the first self-supporting settler with a land-title in 1791 (the first 'emancipist') that the beginnings of a policy of Settlement and expansion of farming called forth an increasing need for mobility in the form of horses. Even those signs of civil life seem to have been delayed by the retention of Naval Authority control and the ill-famed 'Rum Corps' until an Army man, with his own force, was sent out in 1810 to clean up the deplorable state of affairs with his Martial Law....

Governor Lachlan Macquarie. His ideas of a free settlers' Colony were later turned into actuality by the discovery of the potential for merino sheep just at the time (1801) when England's woollen industry entered a crisis under Napoleon's continental blockade to stop the import of Saxony's and Spain's special wool.

After 1815 a pastoral industry attracted free immigrants and an investing elite emerged able to call on Government for free convict labour.... the 'assignment system' upon which the economy would be built. These were known as 'Merinos' or the 'Exclusives' and cattle and sheep provided the wealth which enabled all Crown Land Revenue to be devoted to paying the passages from England of shepherds, stockmen and labourers when grants of free land were stopped in 1831. There was the Frontier..... and an assertive, opportunistic, active, frontier society of squatters (appropriating and physically defending land with no legal title),[5] and with an unruly penal and political tradition of standing by one another ('mateship'), collective resistance to State authority and defiance of land or any other regulations. In this society horse or sheep stealing, cattle rustling, were, like the innocent or justifiable poaching in England of the many convicts, hardly thought of as criminal, and many were the absconders and wanderers who gave rise to going on 'the wallaby track', 'rolling their swag' and picking their work and opportunities.

Local political feeling in New South Wales helped put a stop to the convict transportation system in the 1840's [6] and the Gold Rush from all over the world in the 1850's diluted the penal traditions assumed to underly the 'truculent independence and egalitarian' temper of Australian nationalism with its heightened sense of Human Rights. Out of the mid-1800's there emerged a flourishing, respectable and free Colony.

Against this pioneering background it is well to remember that New South Wales represented a sea-coast strip of some 60 kilometers wide against the impassable barriers to westward expansion of the Blue Mountains. So the economy was based on convict labour and short-time gains in security from a strange, 'intimidating' environment. Only in 1813, when explorers found a way through the Blue Mountains, and in the following year when Governor Macquarie ordered a fine engineering feat with convict labour to build a road through to Bathurst, with military posts along the route in 1816, was the vastness of the interior opened up to economic and adventurous motives, the 'outback life' and 'bushmen'.

This break-out from coastal confinement and gradual spread into 'The Out-backs' makes New South Wales' chronology fairly comparable to the '1820 Settlers' of South Africa whose ships from England landed them on a naked eastern shore in tents. Those settlers in a new land were pioneers in a frontier life and, like the Australians, established not only the merino sheep industry but brought a modern, dynamic contribution of British administration, commercial and industrial abilities and the birth of cities at the ports, amidst a diversity of dangerous animals, insects, droughts, diseases and turbulent Blacks more menacing than any encountered in New South Wales.

However, their landing was watched with charitable curiosity by local Boers. When they were ready to move inland they were assisted by a hospitable people who had adapted with their grazing herds to the country over a preceding period of 160 years as pastoralists.... the earnest Dutch-Huguenot-German amalgam which had consolidated into the Boer Nation, with a language of its own, Afrikaans, and with its own Church protecting the Afrikaner soul and political life, in the remoteness and isolation of the vast African 'veldt' beyond the mountains. They were squatters, as in Australia, freebooters taking and holding what land and stock they

could, and cherishing the same hate of people in authority which is claimed 'as very Aussie'. Trekking away to assert their freedom was a collective habit of the Boers.

Allow these Boers, in their assertion of freedom from authority, particularly British rule, to find household wagon-ways across mountains and rivers culminating in 'The Great Trek' of the 1830/40's into the desolate 'outbacks' of the Orange Free State and Transvaal. Allow them to be the first 'Nationalists' of Africa who assumed by force independent statehood in the 1850's and fought for it against Black and British attacks. Allow them to have evolved a social heritage and inurement to primitive, cruel conditions as simple farmers and hunters shaped by the ox-wagon, the horse, the gun, slavery and the Bible who had eluded the giant changes in men's lives and ideas wrought by the past 200 years. Allow all these historical happenings and you begin to appreciate what a comparatively 'new chum' the Australian Bushman was when sent in 1900 to put his own heritage of bush-craft and horse-skills against generations of 'Voortrekers'! Very few, and least of all the British hierarchy, had any appreciation of what they were up against when war was declared....highly independent, resourceful, hardened, skilled hunters as tough and rugged as the buffalo and elephant.... individualists defending their own home-ground on horses, who, after Roberts in February 1900 reacted to their invasion by launching his army into Boer territory, gained the supreme moral boost of defending their own precious home-land.

Only in terms of such a long heritage can one imagine how, after their conventional defeat over eight months of fighting and the collapse of the apparatus of a State, the Boers - men, women and children - were able spontaneously to get together, organise, equip, feed and maintain themselves in new commandos to challenge Imperial forces for another two years; every man and youth brought up in the mould a guerilla fighter aspires to be, (Paul Kruger was a typical example.... a family name associated with frontier enterprise over 200 years, a youngster aged 10 years in the Trek, hunter, fighter, bush-man, no formal education save the Bible, elected General and then President.); and in commandos of unbelievable morale when it is appreciated that they were voluntary, unpaid units whose members were free to participate in any action or take time off as they pleased to attend their families and farms. Discipline was therefore disconcerting, numbers for any particular operation uncertain and no man would expose himself unnecessarily to the risk of being killed.

These were the Voortrekers who would meet the Australian Bushmen in 1900, men whose forebears were living a hunter's life since the 1760's, thirty years before Captain Cook landed in New South Wales.

Mounted Troops

The first horses were probably imported into Australia for the Naval Regime to control run-away convicts and gangs of bush-rangers. Later, as cattle and sheep multiplied in the vast spaces, the horse would come to play its enthralling role in 'outback' life and during the Crimea War a troop of cavalry in New South Wales appeared in 1854. When Britain withdrew her military establishments from the States in Australia in 1870 the various States were left to cater for their own needs of defence. The Sydney Light Horse was raised in 1885, later to be called the New South Wales Lancers. It was only natural that in the vastness of the country, with the prevalence of enormous sheep stations and cattle herds managed by horsemen, mounted troops should be so important and exalted in the armed forces. The horse would have been bred to long hard days of mustering and droving over hundreds of miles.

In Rhodesia references to the term 'Waler' occasionally appear in history and it is

interesting to find that in the Indian Mutiny (1857) the East India Company, finding it lacked horses big enough to carry British Cavalrymen, sent an officer to New South Wales to buy over 1000 horses. These horses proved exactly what was wanted, became famous as 'new south walers' and the British soldiers shortened this to 'walers'. They were there in the Boer War, 'the long, lean Walers'.

In spite of the tradition-bound top military hierarchy of Britain there were fortunately always officers attuned to new conditions and, like Colonel Alderson sent to Rhodesia in 1896 [7], there was despatched to New South Wales in 1893 Major General Hutton with a particular interest in mounted troops.[8] He had organised and trained many mounted units in Australia by the time a call came for such units in the Boer War in 1899, and he subsequently led a brigade of some 6000 Australian, New Zealand, Canadian and British mounted infantry under the supreme command of Lord Roberts.

Among the Australian troops a distinction must be made between those official contingents which each State despatched of fully trained professional men, some of whom were called 'Imperial Bushmen' later, who were landed at Cape Town or Durban and served only in South Africa, and those contingents called 'Citizens' Bushmen' who were raised quite differently and landed in Beira en route to Rhodesia, the main theme of this article.

Citizens' Bushmen

While the official war operations sketched above were going on, and patriotic war fervour was mounting, especially after the initial British reverses and disaster at Colenso on 15th December 1899, a group of Sydney citizens got together, held a meeting and formed a committee to raise by public subscription a rough-riding troop of 500 men to be sent to South Africa. The idea was first mooted by 'letters to the paper' from people describing themselves as 'Squatters' and claiming that they knew 'bushmen' who excelled in capturing horses and cattle, driving them hundreds of miles, roughing it and feeding themselves in the bush, if need be living on the smell of an oil rag and able to play the Boers at their own game.

Late in December when it became known that the British Government was keen to engage good horsemen, that Canada was raising a troop of 'rough riders' on the lines of the famous 'Roosevelt Rough Riders' in the Spanish/American War, a Sydney business man proffered £5 000 towards raising a troop of rough riders.

J. H. Carey, President of the *Daily Telegraph*, approached various business men who responded with offers of £3 000, £5 000 or more and lesser amounts. Finding such manifest interest which merited a proper business-like setup he saw the Premier who, while stressing Government could not take an active part, promised support and suggested the appointment of three treasurers to receive donations: Cary himself as promoter of the scheme, John See, Minister of Defence, and G.E. Fairfax of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. J.M. Atkinson of the Pastoralists Union in Sydney was asked to be honorary secretary and on the 28th. December the object of an appeal for funds was set out in *The Herald* to raise a troop of 500 men 'bred in the bush, never strangers in a strange country, perfect horsemen, can shoot well and whose powers of endurance are equal to any strain'. The cost about £100 per man for six months.

Atkinson, who from the accounts appears to have assumed a most dynamic and knowledgeable role in operations, issued an appeal to 'pastoralists, graziers and farmers generally' - 'It will be noticed, for the first time in the history of Great Britain, that bushmen (such as Australia alone can produce in any number, *viz.* fearless mountain riders and crack shots) will be of great use.... those unable to contribute large sums may contribute horses which the

Railway will deliver free to seaport. No time is to be lost.... roll up countrymen and see what the country can do.'

A week later, strong and generous interest having been evinced in the city, and already a flood of applications from volunteers, arrangements were completed to form a Citizens' Executive Committee to take charge of the project. A general meeting was held on Thursday 4th January 1900 chaired by Carey and a motion was passed, 'that it is desirable that a mounted contingent of bushmen - good shots and good riders - should be sent to South Africa for duties the bushman is peculiarly adapted.' A sum of £16 600 had already been subscribed, many offers of horses and equipment, and applicants had offered to bring their own horses. The mover considered that 'the proposed contingent would prove they could fight on similar terms as the Boers did and carry their own commissariate for as much as a week'. An Executive Committee of the three co-Treasurers, the Hon. Secretary and nine named members was formed, each empowered to seek funds and horses with the least possible delay.

The next day, a Friday, before the Executive Committee held its first meeting in the afternoon, the office of the Hon. Secretary in the city was congested with dozens of men claiming to be thorough bushmen who 'reckoned they could knock over an old man kangaroo, even on the jump, and sit on anything in horseflesh that could carry a saddle'. The Committee decided that only after medical, horsemanship and marksmanship tests by District officers (military and police) should countrymen be asked to come to Sydney on free railtickets and be taken into Randwick Camp under the discipline of the Military Department.

By the 8th January the Major General of the Military was so inundated with mail that he felt obliged to let it be known that the military had nothing whatsoever to do with the project in its present stages and requested that no communications be sent to him.

Spirited claims were published - that the Bushman was just the man for South Africa at the present time: that if he sees anything alive he can kill and eat it: that there could not be a hardier man: that a 'back blocker' must have more craft and cunning than the ordinary being or Tommy Atkins: that given his 'billy can' he can do without his beer and the canteens army men know: and that no Boer could outwit a bushman. They have been used to the saddle all their lives and if they have no experience of actual fighting the grit is there.... they are daredevils with gumption.

The Hon. Secretary was confronted with so many men from the country, as well as from Sydney, that he had to arrange for their drafting to the Army's military camp at Randwick (fortunately being emptied since the last draft of State troops had embarked) while he interviewed the throngs at his office. Fortunately (unless that is why he was chosen as secretary?) Atkinson possessed 'a complete knowledge of the various squatting properties in the Colony' and was able to reject those not apparently *bona fide* bushmen and, as the paper put it, 'keen eyes and cute minds were at work rejecting the kind of pseudo-bushies one sees at the street corner with his black billy and a rolled up rug which has never been opened in the odour of the gum tree. One by one any such who crept in have been removed and first-class men, typical of the back-blocks life.... will be selected in the competitive examinations'.

Not only was Atkinson the recipient of many suggestions as to how to prepare the bushman for South Africa - they should be supplied with or taught how to prepare biltong which is much used by the Boers on trek, and take a few stock whips to round up Boer cattle - but he was obliged to succour those country boys who fell prey to city slickers and issue warnings about those who offered to re-stuff old saddles or to carry their saddles.... which they never saw again. A later problem emerged when it was found that some camp inmates, instead of attending drills,

preferred to enjoy themselves in town and he had to order that no ticket of admission to camp more than four days old would be valid, also that pay of 4/6 per day (same as the Army) would only be paid after a man was passed as a competent rider and marksman, not a penny until the tests had been passed.

By Friday 12th the full complement of 500 men had been reached but the lists were kept open to allow for rejections and the many whom the Mayors around the country were busy selecting as 'rough riders and crack shots' for testing in the city. On that same day the School of Musketry at Randwick started drill with management of the Army's new Lea-Enfield rifle and it was soon evident that most men could handle the Winchester, some a sporting rifle and more a shotgun than a rifle but eyed the Lea-Enfield with 'an air of childish curiosity with frequent disparaging remarks'! They quickly learned the magazine apparatus but were puzzled by the fact that because the rifle's low trajectory made 500 yards practically point-blank they could only use the ladder back-sight for targets over that range. Bad weather and much drill in management of the rife delayed progress towards actual shooting on the butts.

Four days later, when 700 men had registered and more coming, the Executive Committee decided to ask the military authorities to exercise greater discrimination in selection as recruits far outnumbered requirements, and to insist on 5'8" as the minimum height, and 15 hands 2" for horses. Efficiency rather than numerical strength was to be sought.

On the 20th January over 1000 men were in training (with 71 horses) and potential officers were being identified and invited to special duties. The appointment of Lieut. Colonel H.P. Airey, DSO, (who later commanded the Bushmen) as Camp Commandant was announced by the Executive Committee. The fund stood at £22,600.

On Thursday 25th came the stimulating news that England gladly accepted the offer of 500 or more mounted Bushmen - 'instinctive scouts, human ferrets indeed' - and will promptly send troopships from South Africa to convey the whole force from Sydney. The Executive Committee 'considered that all going well the contingent would be on the water in three to four weeks time'. 'The already fine achievement, of having volunteers in such numbers that the final selection will have so unlimited a quantity to draw upon that the quality of the troop will be of the highest, must now be balanced by additions to the 100 horses in camp' and 'there is no time to lose - each horse sent this week is worth more to the project than one sent next week'.

The Hon. Secretary sent out collecting lists to financial institutions throughout the country seeking contributions and the urgent call for more horses and small contributions would ensure that 'this contingent is purely a peoples' gift direct to the Queen....a voluntary and personal gift' - 'lean, lanky and wiry with bronzed features, the insignia of the Australian bushman'.

(The writer inserts here that he is specially grateful to Mr. Jonathan Persse of The Kings School, Parramatta, for extracting from the *Sydney Morning Herald* news files of December/ January 1900 the articles upon which the above detailed account of recruitment is based.)

The public response to the Sydney citizens' committee was staggering, not only in volume of financial contributions allowing a force of 500 men to be maintained in the field for six months at a cost of £50,000, but from several thousand applicants from the 'outbacks' advancing, with-in weeks, their qualifications as hardened boundary riders, stockmen, drovers, kangaroo hunters, bushrangers, roustabouts and jackaroos. This unofficial 'Citizens' Bushmen Corps' became the most popular of all the patriotic movements in New South Wales. What kind of men were they?

Banjo Paterson has left us vivid pictures of the men and the bush of those 1890 days, the kind of men and their attitudes to a hard life who responded to the Sydney call:

There was 'Clancy of the Overflow who drifted to the outer back' who,

As the stock are slowly stringing, Clancy rides behind them singing,
For the drover's life has pleasures that the townsfolk never knew
And the bush has friends to meet him, and their kindly voices greet him
In the murmur of the breezes, and the river on its bar,
And he sees the vision splendid in the sunlit plains extended
And at night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars.

There was 'Stingy Smith' who, 'on his stockyard sat' and saw something 'as rare as a feathered frog on the desolate road out back' and expressed such sad humour:

It's grand to be a squatter
And sit upon a post
And watch your little ewes and lambs
A'giving up the ghost.
It's grand to be a rabbit
And breed till all is blue
And then to die in heaps because
There's nothing left to chew.

There were the wanderers - 'He's shearing here and fencing there, a kind of waif and stray - who gather together:

Good tales the northern wanderers tell
When bushmen meet and camp-fires blaze,
And round the ring of dancing light
The great, dark bush with arms of night
Folds every hearer in its spell.

or

By camp-fires where the drovers ride around their restless stock
And past the teamster toiling down to fetch the wool away.

There were the men who lived in 'Rough and Ready Land beyond the reach of rule or law' and came from 'further out; that land of heat and drought' where 'You hear no sweeter voices in the music of the bush'; and of course those always ready for a tilt at Government as in the comic tale of Dacey 'in a furious rage, ascended to the monkeys' cage' and let the travelling circus monkeys, apes and spiteful baboons out:

And from the beasts he let escape,
The bushmen all declare,
Were born some creatures partly ape
And partly native-bear,
They're rather few and far between,
The race is nearly spent;
But some of them may still be seen
In Sydney Parliament.

To this assortment of men, over a period of six weeks, was applied a selective process of physical fitness, stringent tests of horsemanship and shooting, and reports on behaviour from such persons as mayors who knew them. Of these rough riders not more than 5% had any previous military training and most had never soldiered before, some had never seen the sea

or a city before. They were clothed, armed with MLE rifles and sword-bayonets, drilled, equipped with horses and 'disciplined enough to make something like soldiers out of them within a few weeks'.

The Corps, popularly called 'The Bushies', sailed from Sydney on the 26/28th February 1900, with its mascot - a sheepdog named 'Buckie' - at a strength of 525 officers and men with their horses and 10 carts.... the New South Wales Citizens' Bushmen in four squadrons under Lieut. Colonel H.P. Airey.

This example set by Sydney was quickly adopted by the other States - interstate rivalry and pride were there long before an Australian image - with similar rushes of men, except in the case of Queensland which preferred to contribute a segment of their professional army, 'The Third Queensland Mounted Infantry'. The final official record showed -

NSW Bushmen	30 officers	495 men	570 horses left Sydney 26 February
Victoria Bushmen	15 officers	261 men	357 horses left Melbourne 10 March
South Australia Bushmen	6 officers	93 men	100 horses left Adelaide 27 February
Western Australia Bushmen	7 officers	109 men	127 horses left Freemantle 13 March
Tasmanian Bushmen	53 in all		
Queensland Infantry	14 officers	302 men	406 horses left Brisbane 1 March

These contingents sailed for Cape Town in transports provided by Britain. On arrival there in April 1900 an unexpected change of strategic war plans greeted them and they were immediately ordered to retrace their ships' movements back up the coast to an unheard of place called Beira in Portuguese territory and to report to a General Carrington to join a new volunteer force called 'The Rhodesia Field Force'. What or where was Rhodesia? The ships consequently indulged in a race to the month of a river named Pungwe in order to arrange for lighter and flat-bottomed barges hauled by gangs of labourers to convey men and horses onto the shore.

Compared to Alderson's Mounted Infantry landed at Beira four years earlier for the 1896 Rebellion in Rhodesia, which was packed in one ship with horses for three days at anchor under a blazing sun while the lethargic people ashore moved into some sort of action, the Bushmen seem not to have been exposed unduly to the hazards of dis-embarking except the novelty of being carried through the surf astride the backs of Africans.

The Bushmen were not to know, from this change of war plans, that Britain had decided that a Boer invasion of Rhodesia was to be expected and in August 1899, in anticipation of war, had sent Colonel Baden-Powell and Lt. Colonel Plumer to Rhodesia to raise and train a volunteer force for the defence of Rhodesia's border with the Transvaal and of the strategic town of Mafeking, a force of two regiments of mounted infantry to be called 'The Rhodesia Frontier Force.'

They were not to know that when Britain was under stress, Rhodesia, like their own States, had offered in December 1899 to recruit, equip and transport a force of 5000 men if the Imperial Government met expenses. The offer was accepted and General Carrington with staff was despatched from South Africa in April to raise a force called 'The Rhodesia Field Force' to reinforce Plumer's efforts to relieve Mafeking and to invade the northern Transvaal to divert Boer commandos from the south [9]. The Bushmen were diverted to join this force.

They were not to know that such an operation was delayed when the Portuguese Government, invoking international law and it's neutrality, refused to permit uniformed troops of a foreign power passage through their country of Mocambique. Fortunately Rhodes had - after the incident of 'an insult on the British flag' of 1891 - negotiated access to the sea for

landlocked Rhodesia. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty in London recognised the Pungwe River as an international waterway and allowed the building of a railway to the coast. This Treaty included a secret provision granting Britain (Rhodes) the right to pass troops between Beira and Rhodesia to protect the railway. This nine year old right persuaded the Portuguese, a month before they arrived, to allow the Bushmen and other troops through to Rhodesia.

Perhaps fortunate for morale, these Bushmen and a New Zealand unit were not to know what tragic effects these changes of direction and last-minute movements, the far-away, ignorant planning and decisions so hurredly operated, would have on their personal lives. Beira itself, built on a sand ridge between swamp and creek, was one of the most unpleasant, deadly places in the world and its malaria and animal diseases enmeshed the men and horses from a continent fairly if not quite free of such pestilences. Beira's rail-link, an improvised, cheapest possible, narrow 2' gauge line was being widened under a contract only arranged exactly a year earlier (Rhodes' telegram of 30th March 1899 in National Archives of Zimbabwe) when the Boer War cut all communications to South Africa and diverted all Rhodesia's traffic to Beira with only three engines and one shunting engine to cope. On to this unready, chaotic work-load was added the movement of some 7000 troops and their horses, carts and stores. So unprepared was the port that everything had to be dumped on the shore and, until fences could be put up, horses had to be let loose in the flats (with its lions!) with Australians guarding them by day, rounding them up at night. Worse still to come, the 3'6" rail gauge had only been installed as far as Bamboo Creek, a malarious swamp some 90 miles on, and here men and horses were held up having to transfer to the standard gauge line.

Although some specialized squadrons of Colonial troops had passed through Beira - a Canadian Battery for example with an escourt of Queenslanders rushed through to Plumer's forces near Mafeking - the Bushmen found themselves as the real pioneers of military camping when they arrived in April. For nine days men laboured between ship and camp they built about two miles out of Beira, disembarking horses, laying water and fencing facilities amidst endless hours of traffic congestion, food shortages and the onset of malaria and dysentry. Only small detachments could be transported on the trains which showered sparks, balked at some gradients and regularly fell off the line. The first detachment to reach Bamboo Creek found they had to repeat the performance of preparing a reception camp in an even worse malarial spot and encountered the unknown dreaded horse-sickness of Africa, which was recorded as 'requiring every morning a truck-load of dead horses and mules to be taken up the line to be burnt'.

Neither attracting nor being assigned any news value, how the Bushmen lived and what they lived on is barely covered[10], but in Beira Rhodes' doing, always noteworthy, left a bizarre note when he imported some pedigree cattle, sheep and pigs through the port for his Inyanga (now Nyanga) dreams and schemes.... one pig with her eight piglets wandered too close to the meat-starved Australian camp! Witton's book described the Bushmen as 'very savage, swore with force, cursed Rhodesia, their fate and their Government.' They were strung out for months between Beira and Marandellas (now Marondera); one lamented, 'We got to Beira in April, now it's June'. Clearly and justifiably they were very bitter and as news or rumours began to reach them, that Roberts had captured Pretoria, that Mafeking had been relieved, they became convinced that they had missed the war.

The passage of these men, totalling some 1400 with what was left of their 1500 odd horses, took months and the first contingents to arrive at Marandellas base camp[11] found a hotel-store, some iron sheds and huts at the railway station, but nothing for their occupation. The camping

site assigned to them was some two miles away and ox-wagons had to load their baggage and stores while they lived in tents, cleared and extended the area, assisted the Public Works Department to build sheds as stables and long troughs for their horses, and await the completion of more permanent African-style huts of pole and dagga under thatch large enough to house 15 men. In time 'the biggest thing in Marandellas was our camp.'

Those months must surely proclaim an impressive tribute to the disciplined orderliness of the troops concerned and counter the popular image of unruly Australians!

What a problem their special horses must have been! On board-ship Banjo's:

'There's a horse here throwing handsprings like a clown;
And it's shove the others back, or he'll cripple half the pack;
There's another blessed horse fell down.'

spelt trouble all the way to Marandellas and there a mysterious disease called 'Blue Tongue' (twenty horses dying a day) was attributed to dew on the grass rendering a fungus poisonous to horses, so horses were only allowed out after 10am and had to be brought in by 4pm. To add to the helplessness about the horses after the terrible losses near the coast, there came a 50 mile wide 'Fly-belt' of the talented tsetse which had protected elephants in the old horse-hunting days against intrusion and might, some day in some areas, protect special wild environments against the destructiveness of man. Experienced horsemen took precautions with fly-proof vans and ventilated leather muzzles, or travelled only at night, for their few horses. Even if they had been properly informed of such a strange menace how could the Australians have found a safe passage for their hundreds of horses!

These men, as they assembled in Marandellas were formed by General Carrington into four Regiments of the Rhodesia Field Force:

1st - the New South Wales men, being the largest number, were further divided into 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D' Squadrons who seem to have preserved their identities to some extent when drawn into the general war in South Africa.

2nd - the contingents of Victoria and Western Australia.

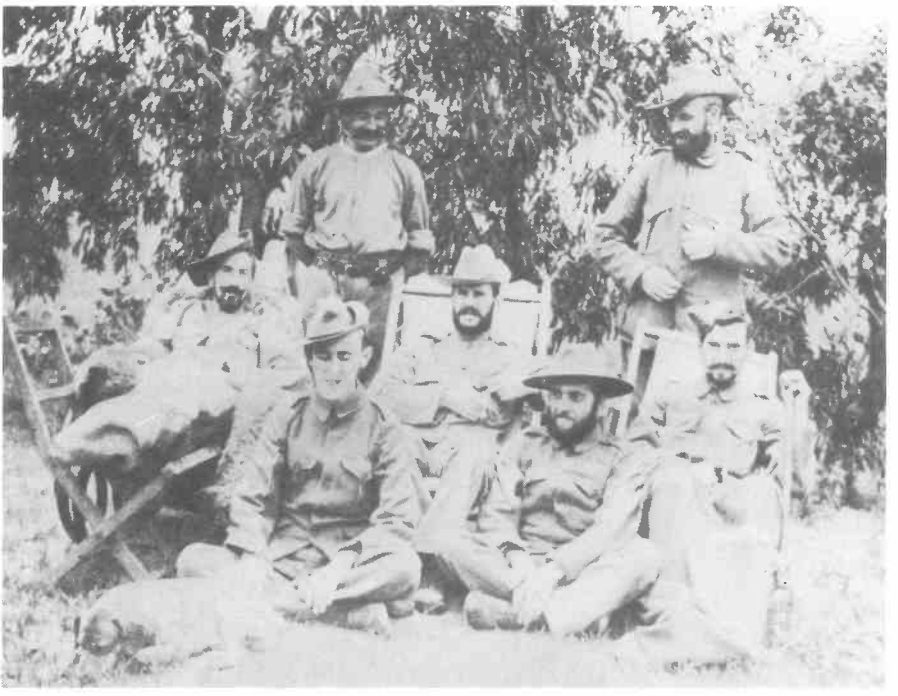
3rd - the Queensland Mounted Infantry (what remained after escourt assignments).

4th - which became known as the 'Composite Regiment' comprising South Australia, Tasmanian Bushmen and later some NSW's.

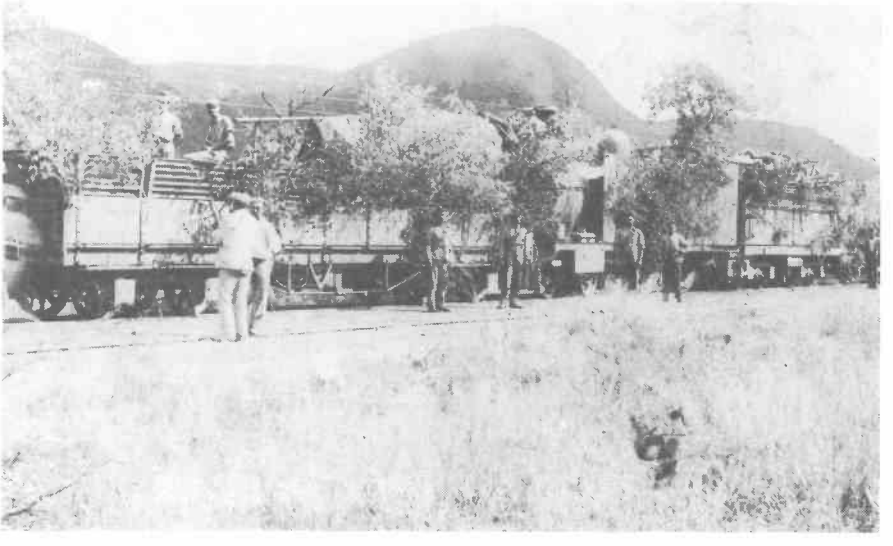
After such calamitous horse losses it can be appreciated why, when an urgently needed Canadian artillery unit was despatched from Marandellas in May, it had to be escorted by Queenslanders, not on horses, but cooped up in commandeered mail coaches; why in June there was such jubilation when 'A' Squadron, having acquired sufficient horses, was ordered to escort a convoy of sixteen ox-wagons to Bulawayo (the Squadron narrowly missed Mafeking's relief but was included in Plumer's invasion of the Transvaal): why only small units were sent forward to Bulawayo as horses became available and when guards were required for some 200 wagons operating on the route the men of 'C' Squadron and others got so fed up and restive that they set off to walk the 280/300 miles to Bulawayo carrying their kit.

By mid-June it was estimated that 5000 men of the Rhodesia Field Force were strung out along the 1100 miles between Beira and their spear-head at Mafeking, many in Bulawayo awaiting remounts from Hungary and ending in hospital there [12]. This was when the *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney (14th June 1900) posed the question, 'Will there be any fighting for us? Pretoria is occupied and the war within measurable distance of being finished.'

While awaiting their turn to take off to Bulawayo the restive troops in Marandellas were subject to military speculations as gossip and rumours infiltrated.... why, if the R.F.F. was



Convalescent Bushmen and others of the Rhodesia Field Force, 1900
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Camouflaged Train Armoured in Bulawayo to protect and repair line to Mafeking
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Colonel H.C.O. Plumer C.B. of The York and Lancaster Regiment, later Field Marshall Viscount Plumer, who trained and led the forces of Bushmen and Rhodesians. Acknowledged as an exceptionally humane commander, an outstanding strategist in defence and attack, and an esteemed leader of volunteer, colonial troops *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

destined to reinforce Plumer, was a chain of frontier posts built or being built along the Limpopo River.... why was a weather-board house for the General being built and furnished at Marandellas, together with an engine to pump water for the horses, permanent stables with a well sunk in the camp.... Carrington was alleged to have said that he would not move into the Transvaal with less than 6000 men, when would such a number be reached and would he move? [13]

War strategy had taken another turn. After the border town of Kimberley had been relieved in mid-February Lord Roberts perceived that, since Plumer's Frontier Force could not be re-enforced in time by Carrington's delayed and lingering troops, Mafeking, whose food stocks, even horse and mule flesh, were nearing an end, might be forced to surrender. He made the Boer capital of Pretoria, and Johannesburg, the main objective of his army and to beseiged Mafeking he assigned a "flying column" of 1 100 men (including many mounted Australians) under Mahon in early May to provide a quick relief force from the south to rendezvous with the 500 (later reported at 800) strong Rhodesians and Canadian/Queensland Battery unit under Plumer from the north. The two forces made exemplary contact and coordination on 15th May 1900 and in a combined operation attacked the Boer who had been surrounding the town for over six months. Mafeking's defenders under Baden-Powell, which include the B.S.A. Police and other Rhodesians trapped in the town, were relieved on the 17th May when the Boers were either captured or escaped into the Transvaal.

After this, and with no threat to Rhodesia left, Carrington at Marandellas was reported to have been at a loss to know what to do with his Rhodesia Field Force. Not so Lord Roberts.

Rhodesians and Bushmen

So it happened, having been moved from Bulawayo to Mafeking area by armoured train, that the Rhodesia Field Force, with its fine mix of Citizens' Bushmen, Imperial Bushmen, New Zealanders, Imperial units and Rhodesians, found itself at last assigned to a war all thought was over . . . except the Boers. It was the beginning, unknown to them, of the two years of guerilla warfare in which the horse, the gun and bushcraft came into their own on both sides.

This was the time which ushered in the encounter of Rhodesians and Bushmen, and their combined operations for a short while. The Bushmen had been segregated in their own camaraderie over the six months since they left their "outbacks" and now, under Plumer, who had proved himself to be an outstanding commander of colonial volunteers in his Column of 1896 in Rhodesia [14], they were introduced to Rhodesian forces for action in South Africa. A large proportion of these were those initially of the Rhodesia Frontier Force which Baden-Powell and Plumer had raised and made ready for service in August/September 1899, some four months before the New South Wales Citizens' Bushmen were raised.

Among these Rhodesians were detachments of the B.S.A. Police whose beginnings in mounted "outback" experience went back to 1885, the same period of time acquired by the New South Wales Lancers. Some of these military police had been trapped in Mafeking when war erupted, others had reached Plumer's poised force a few days before the Canadian/Queensland Battery unit, so with them, had participated in the famous relief of Mafeking.

The Bushmen were not to know that the B.S.A. Mounted Police were specimens of a tradition longer than their own, a corps of men surviving tests of endurance, adventure and rough-riding as severe and skilled as their own; and that Rhodesians (men and women) were beholden to a folklore and tradition with roots back in the 1860/70's (the same time as Burk's exploring expedition into the interior of Australia) with the respected hunters Viljeon, Jacobs, Hartley, Baines and Selous, and such pioneering missionary families as the Moffat's,

Thomase,s, Elliot's, Helm's and Carnegie's; and that their bush sentiments were as similar and deep as their own. So similar that they could enthuse with Banjo:

Of course there's no denying that the bushmen's life is rough.
But a man can easy stand it if he's made of stirling stuff.

or claim with him for their country:

For us the bush is never sad
It's myriad voices whisper low
In tones the bushmen only know
In sympathy and welcome glad.

and agree about:

A wonderful land that the winds blow over
And none may fathom or understand
The charm it holds for the restless rover.

But when the Bushman might exclaim his feelings:

Did the magpie rouse your slumber with their carol sweet and strange?
Did you hear the silver chiming of the Bell-Birds on the range?
But perchance the wild birds' music by your senses was despised.
Then you had better stick to Sydney for the bush will never suit you, and
You'll never suit the bush.

the Rhodesians relaxing around the friendly fires in camp near Mafeking, spinning rivalrous yarns with the Bushies and enjoying the bonding power of their mutual sentiments, would have been hard put not to dim the notes of 'wild birds' music' with their own ceaseless orchestra of the Bushvelt birds; not to range the comparative lifelessness of the eucalypt bush against the innumerable and lively game trails of the Bundu.

And, above all, when the fireside throngs sparkled with tall tales and comic dangers, how could any Rhodesian curb his tongue, "there's not much to worry about in your bush," and how could any Bushie begrudge comparison between a land where the gentle, timid rabbit can dominate [15] and a land where predacious, prowling ferocity is ceaseless !!! Indeed, would any Bushie, as he indulged in "pitching fairies" and relishing the fire-side chaff, care to match his dingo and marsupial tales against the bellow of terror no drover would ever know, the stampede and crash, the dusty uproar, followed by the anguished sound of oxen being killed by lions!

One wonders what Banjo, who made an epic of "The Man from Snowy River" and whose calamities were drought and crows ("the grim sextons that fasten on their prey") would have made of the awful side of bush life as seen by Cullen Gouldsbury:

And silent beasts that prowl at night and slink
and crouch and creep
Round and about the firelight when all the world's
asleep,

and his:

Just a cry in the night - then a roar, and a shout . . .
And the fires blaze out

culminating in:

"hardly a sound, but he took a man from the row."

Another Rhodesian bush-poet, Fairbridge [16] also noted the sinister side of the African velt:

A thing from the utter silence of the wild -
A thing from the outer darkness of the night

and shaped into:

Intense as death
From every nerve and tissue, a crouching there
Blent with grass, incarnate, awful fear

and pitched into:

The yellow flash . . . that leaves an empty blanket by the fire
The spotted paw that rips away a face
A bronze flash, a shout, and death.

(Perhaps the disparity between the two continents might have prompted a Rhodesian, in an effort to be helpful, to offer buffalo to Clancy of the Overflow to cross with his "wild bush horses where the bushmen love hard riding and make the ranges ring" with a new presence of danger . . . other than wombat holes!)

Certainly the two continents were sifting out a tough lot of people in those times, only toned down in later years by the addiction to city life which inspired the inimitable Banjo to compare the "Geelong Polo Club:"

They had mighty little science, but a mighty lot of dash
And they played on mountain ponies that were muscular and strong
Though their coats were quite unpolished, and their manes and tails were long
And they used to train those ponies wheeling cattle in the scrub.

with the City's "Cuff and Collar Team":

As a social institution 'twas a marvelous success,
For the members were distinguished by exclusiveness and dress.
They had natty little ponies that were nice, and smooth, and sleek,
For their cultivated owners only rode them once a week.
And they took their valets with them - just to give their boots a rub
Ere they started operations on the Geelong Polo Club.

The Bushmen and Rhodesians found themselves incorporated into Plumer's war operations. Soon after the relief of Mafeking and the disappearance of the scattered Boers on their horses into the unknown, Plumer turned his attention to the Transvaal. With assorted patrol units from the Rhodesia Field Force he captured Zeerust and Rustenberg, and established a line of communication to Pretoria where Lord Roberts had set up headquarters after the capture of the Boer capital on the 5th June 1900 and President Kruger had escaped into exile. Baden-Powell went through to join Roberts in Pretoria and Plumer, remaining in Mafeking, took normal precautions to protect the line by setting up small garrisons along the route with a main staging post at the Elands River drift about half-way.

The war was over. The Boers were surrendering their arms and, under oath not to take up arms again, were encouraged to return to their homes.

But unbeknown to anybody the defeated Boers were rallying during June/July into new commandos under new leaders (Botha, De La Rey, Steyn, De Wet and youngsters of the future, Smuts and Hertzog) with their horses in the "land of further out." Under his policy of pacification Roberts had issued orders prohibiting any looting and protecting those Boers who wished to return to their farms, but he had not allowed for the fact that towns meant very little

to the Boers, their capture probably less, and his prospects of Peace, with his infantry scattered far and wide, erred in holding too many places with insignificant forces who could not hope to cope with mounted Boers re-assembling surreptitiously in commandos.

The guerilla war was about to start, what Banjo's "On the Trek" described as, "Oh! We're going on a long job now." As a start the Rhodesians and Bushmen found themselves rescuing each other when commandos struck at isolated detachments . . . on 6th July B.S.A. Police were surrounded when defending Rustenberg until two squadrons of Bushmen drove off the commando, and later when three hundred Bushmen under Colonel Airey were ambushed and trapped by the Boers they were rescued only just in time by a detachment of B.S.A. Police and a Protectorate unit sent to their relief.

The Boers reverted to their natural hunting operations, superb concealment, ambush and interception by small agile commandos, and in the rough and tumble, hide and seek procedures of such a war the Bushmen and Rhodesians tended to lose their identities as they were dispersed into the huge and desolate theatre of war offered by the Transvaal.

Before this happened, however, the battle of Elands River took place, described as "The most magnificent stand of the war" (Creswicke's History): "The brightest page in the history of a half-forgotten war" (Rhodesiana No. 40 / 1979, p10.)

The Battle of Elands River

Near the end of July Colonel H. O. Hore, one of Plumer's Imperial officers, commanding the mixed garrison and supply depot at Elands River drift realised that his unprotected camp, with its huge accumulation of food and supplies valued at £100 000 and small arms stranded there, was in danger of being targeted by a rapidly growing commando only a day's march away which was short of supplies and commanded by the formidable de la Rey. He called in patrols and convoy units to muster in camp, a very vulnerable site of stone walls and kopje outposts with nearly 500 men comprising about 100 Rhodesians, "A" Squadron of the NSW Citizens' Bushmen and an assortment of men drawn from Imperial Bushmen, Canadian and Imperial units. Messages were sent to Mafeking for reinforcements.

Against this defending garrison de La Rey soon had nearly 3 000 men, six field guns, four pompoms and two maxims which, on the 4th August, at early dawn, after surrounding the camp in a night's dig-in, he launched in "a storm of bullets and surely one of the heaviest bombardments of the Boer War." Having stunned the garrison the Boers then turned their fire on the draft oxen and horses, a pitiless slaughter of over 1500 animals witnessed by their owners. Only as firing died down in the evening were the men able to start digging trenches, dug-outs and protective excavations, even using their bayonets, over the days which followed.

The memorable story of gallant resistance with which the Rhodesians and Bushmen repulsed any attack by day and by night of 2000 Boers has been told by Hickman and by Ranford and Kinsey; how steadfastly they endured the heavy bombardment and "their worst enemy of exposure to heat and cold" for twelve days; and how their spirits were elated and outraged when two relief forces, one under Carrington from Mafeking in which there was a substantial number of Imperial Bushmen and the other from the Pretoria side under Baden-Powell, came within sight on different days, exchanged shots with Boer outposts and then inexplicable, shamefully returned from where they came. Mention should be made here that on the fifth day de la Rey offered surrender terms in which officers would keep their arms "in recognition of your courage in defence of your camp," the whole garrison would be conveyed to the nearest British force for release and, since his stocks were running low, the men would be relieved of their boots.

When the offer was rejected the Bushmen, under their Lieutenant R. E. Zouch, carried Captain A. Butters of the Rhodesian Volunteers, who had taken the brunt of the fighting, around the camp shoulder high, cheering him for his spirit.

On the twelfth day de la Rey, who could not afford a heavy loss of men, men who in any case were untrained and untalented for seige attack, and was like most Boers reluctant to allow avoidable sacrifice of men, was running out of ammunition so he decided to abandon the attack in favour of the more vital strategy of disappearing into the vastness of the Transvaal from where he ("The Lion of the North") and De Wet prolonged an illusive, complicated, mounted guerilla campaign for two years.

Lord Kitchener's forces from Pretoria, just starting the first of the famous De Wet hunts, converged on Elands River, dispersed any opposition and Kitchener himself led them into the tattered, exhausted, bearded remains of the Rhodesia Field Force on the 16th August 1900.

That was the end of the Rhodesia Field Force. Carrington, once a respected leader of Colonial troops, now a jaded, lethargic near-sixty year old, was removed about September and retired to England. The ragged Union Jack Flag from the garrison was hung honourably in the Cathedral of Salisbury (now Harare) and the various contingents of the Force were absorbed into the general conduct of the war where there were many notable achievements and mentions of Australians and others all over the Transvaal. [17]

Bushmen in the Boer War

The Bushmen identified themselves when one of them had the nerve and facility to appropriate General Plumer's special grey horse and dyed it in condis crystals. Unfortunately, the General knew his horse in sufficient detail to recognise it! He was lucky because it was generally known "Give an Australian half and hour with a horse and tails are changed, manes hogged, marks and brands disappear as if by magic." The Bushmen had suffered such enormous losses of horses that devising means of replacing them tested all their ingenuity . . . the fine horses of the Dragons under regular horse-line guard regularly disappeared leaving the worn-out horses of the Bushmen in their place. Hundreds of Boer ponies, immune to local troubles, were caught and broken in by the Bushmen and it was said that some Bushmen were never three consecutive days in one place chasing De Wet month after month, day and night, as Kitchener [18] strove with all his Empire forces against "perhaps the ablest exponents by temperament and training in the world of full-scale guerilla war" (Colliers Encyclopedia) on their own home-ground of hazy blue distance in the Transvaal.

The New South Wales Citizens' Bushmen had been recruited and financed for six months. What happened after that and how their operations were maintained until they left Cape Town in May 1901 is not apparent in official records. Those records only reveal the return from South Africa of:

N.S.W. Bushmen	to Sydney 11th June, 1901
Victoria Bushmen	unrecorded
Western Australia Bushmen	to Freemantle on 28th May, 1901
South Australia Bushmen	to Adelaide on 25th June, 1901
Tasmanian Bushmen	to Hobart on 14th June, 1901

Banjo described the last parade with a poignant reflection on the horses being left behind in South Africa:

The last of the old campaigners
Lined up for the last parade.
Weary they were and battered,
Shoeless, and knocked about

And they watched as the old commander
Read out to the cheering men
The Nation's thanks, and the orders
To carry them home again

and the horses lamented:

Steel! We were steel to stand it,
We that have lasted through,
We that are old campaigners
Pitful, poor, and few.

Now we have served you fairly
Will you not take us home?

The unfolding of the war in South Africa, and the "dash and gallantry" of Australian Bushmen in reports, must be left to the official histories. This article may safely be closed in the enchantment of Banjo who, as the war correspondent in South Africa (not in Rhodesia) conveys delightful pictures of Aussie life there, of Aussie comic humour brimming over into the capture of President Kruger when the ambulance driver saw "in the head of the Transvaal troop a-thundering to and fro" someone he recognised:

A hard old face with a monkey beard, a face that he seemed to know;
"Why, bless my heart, but it's Kruger's self." and he jumped for him straight away.
He collared old Kruger round the waist and hustled him into the van.
It wasn't according to stretcher drill for raising a wounded man;

and at the hospital:

"Beg pardon, sir, but I missed a trip, mistaking the way to go;
And Kruger came to the ambulance and asked could we spare a bed,
So I fetched him here, and we'll take him home to show for a bob a head."
So the word went round to the English troops to say they need fight no more,
For Driver Smith with his ambulance had ended the blooming war.

Then as to the war:

Oh, the weary, weary journey on the trek day after day,
With the sun above and silent velt below,
In the drowsy days of escort, riding slowly half asleep,
With the endless line of wagons stretching back,
While the khaki soldiers travel like a mob of travelling sheep
As the Mauser ball hums past you like a vicious kind of bee,
Oh! we;re going on a long job now.

And lastly, his gem of description of fighting-man and kopje:

But when you're fighting Johnny Boer you have to use your head;
He don't believe in front attacks or charging at the run,
He fights you from a kopje with his little Maxim gun.

For when the Lord He made the earth, it seems uncommon clear,
He gave the job of Africa to some good engineer,
Who started building fortresses on fashions of his own -
Lunettes, redoubts, and counterscarps all made of rock and stone.
The Boer need only bring a gun, for ready to his hand
He finds these heaven-built fortresses all scattered through the land;
And there he sits and winks his eye and wheels his gun about,
And we must charge across the plain to hunt the beggar out.
It ain't a game that grows on us, there's lots of better fun
Than charging at old Johnny with his little Maxim gun.

The Bushmen returned to Sydney and found themselves to be "dinkum Australians." Five months before these men of six independent States returned home, the Queen's Proclamation had assigned them all to one Australian Commonwealth on New Year's Day, the 1st January, 1901. Military responsibilities had been passed from the States to the new Central Government of a continent. The Queen proclaimed, "No people have been so manifestly marked out by destiny to live under one Government."

Rhodesia's participation in this brief, "Half-forgotten" war was through two Forces... The Rhodesia Frontier Force raised in August 1899 under Baden-Powell and Plumer, and another which her Chartered Government (B.S.A. Company) had proposed and recruited as the Rhodesia Field Force under General Carrington in April 1900. The latter became the recipient of contingents and detachments from all states of the commonwealth. The Rhodesia Field Force was transformed by Britain into a truly imperial unit, the only Imperial Army to incorporate the name "RHODESIA" in its title and so commemorates and sustains for all time, in the military annals of Britain and The Commonwealth, a name politics changed to "ZIMBABWE" in 1980. The Citizens' Bushmen and Rhodesians comprised the bulk of this mixed force and together closed its chapter in gallant form at Elands River in August 1900.

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1. The animation in Banjo's verses recalls his own life... Andrew Barton Paterson born New South Wales 1864 first published a ballad in 1889 under the pen-name of "Banjo" and such was the literary acclaim aroused by the many poems which followed during the 1890's where he gathered "the records of wandering years... to give you one moments' delight, old comrades of mine", that when the Boer War opened he spent a year with the Australians in South Africa as war correspondent for the Sydney Herald. The gifted rhythm and rhyme in which the bush-life of the "outbacks" and the Boer War are portrayed have such an appeal that quotation abound in this article with the kind permission of Messrs. Collins Angus and Robertson, Publishers of Sydney, who published "The Collected Verses of A. B. Paterson," 94th printing, 1985. Banjo died in 1941 at Sydney.
2. The Australian also came to similar tactical appreciation of the kopje, see last page.
3. An additional disadvantage, of a political nature, on the British side... General Butler, the Commander in Chief of the Cape Colony discounted any forebodings of war and refused to allow any preparations, recruitments or dispositions of forces within his jurisdiction which might be seen as envisaged war. The consequence was that in July 1899, a Colonel Baden-Powell was sent direct from England by the War office to Rhodesia to recruit the Rhodesia Frontier Force beyond Butler's sphere of authority. When war was inevitable Butler resigned and General Buller assumed command with a First Army Corps from Britain in late October.
4. This Squadron was financed for six months training at Aldershot by Sir James Burns when the Government refused the venture. Sir James, Colonel of the N.S.W. Lancers, was a self-made millionaire. See picture of Boer War Memorial.
5. "Squatter", at first a tribute to pioneering individuals, acquired in time an infamous meaning as so many indulged in cattle and sheep stealing.
6. Other states invoked the convict system, it was such an easy, indispensable labour system, and only in 1863 did majority public sentiment, expressing itself in an Intercolonial Conference, agree among all the States that penal transportation had to be stopped and this was done in 1868.
7. When "rebellion" broke out in Rhodesia in 1896 a Colonel E. A. H. Alderson was summoned from his battalion to assemble four companies of picked infantry men from Highland, Irish, English and Rifle Regiments to form "The Mounted Infantry." This "scratch pack," as he called it, of first class shots under officers specially selected as "Sportsmen and good men to hounds," was sent to Cape Town and there acquired ponies and further training before being dispatched to Beira in June 1896 for operations in unknown Mashonaland. Alderson himself had been through a course of mounted infantry

training at Aldershot under a Colonel Hutton.

8. Colonel E. T. H. Hutton had started a system of mounted infantry training at Aldershot in 1888 with Alderson as his adjutant. Five years later he was sent to New South Wales.

9. By October 1900 some 1500 Rhodesians had joined the Rhodesia Field Force, including 300 of the mounted B.S.A. Police and since this, allowing for those already in the Rhodesia Frontier Force, comprised twelve and a half percent of the total European population (claimed to be the highest proportion in the British Empire) a ban had to be placed on further recruitment. For additional manpower reliance had to be placed on Empire Troops. Britain took over the enrolment and transport of the force and pushed through from Beira a battery of Canadian Artillery escorted by a unit of 100 Queensland Mounted Infantry to add urgently required artillery fire-power to Plumer's forces preparing to relieve Mafeking. Plumer's only artillery were a few obsolete guns brought in by the B.S.A. Police.

10. Some war correspondents had been shut up in the seige of Mafeking, most had been assigned to the major battles in Natal (Churchill among them), far-distant Rhodesia and Beira had little or no news value.

11. Marandellas (now Marondera) was selected as a base camp because it was healthy and the nearest rail station on the direct route to Bulawayo, 280 miles along the watershed road via Charter. There was no rail link between Salisbury and Bulawayo, that came only in October 1902.

12. Malaria accounted for so many causalities that the Bulawayo Memorial Hospital had to take in military men, and four nursing sisters from Australian forces were seconded there until an Australian hospital was erected at the camp.

13. Four years earlier it was this same General Carrington, then commanding operations in Rhodesia's 1896 Rebellion, whose opinion of the enormous reinforcements and vast sums of money required, led Rhodes to take matters into his own hands and arrange "Indabas" in which he, unarmed among the kopjes, concluded peace with the Matabele. (Rhodesian Epic by Baxter and Turner.)

14. Lieutenant Colonel H. Plumer had, in 1896, raised a volunteer column of 750 colonials and their horses in South Africa, equipped, trained, drilled and dispatched them from Railhead at Mafeking on a 600 mile mounted journey to Bulawayo, and into action within 38 days, a feat of administration as outstanding as that of the Bushmen. The Column included a mixture of mostly old soldiers and some novices proving themselves able to ride and shoot.

15. Three pairs of domestic rabbits imported about 1870 increased to 750 millions by 1950. They competed for every blade of grass and sheep stocks declined. By the 1890's the "rabbit plague/infestation" was such that land holders were prosecuted for failing to keep their lands "free from vermin" (rabbits.) (Four-legged Australians, Grzimek, 1967)

16. Kingsley Fairbridge, writing of the 1896-1900's, whose "Velt Verse" was published in 1909. He would be known to Australians as he founded the child emigration scheme and its first Farm School at Pinjarra near Perth where he died in 1924 leaving a family. Another Fairbridge Centre was established at Molong near Orange in New South Wales.

17. When Plumer gave evidence before the 1903 Royal Commission on the War he considered that "at the end of the war the Boer, man for man, was the better shot" but that the B.S.A. Police were the exception because "they had had a lot of shooting (a tradition in the wilds!) and they were certainly better . . . and were good in many ways which others failed in such as horsemanship." His judgement on horses, "the South African pony was the best. Imported animals, especially the Australian horse, starved on a ration the South African pony thrived on." (Quoted by Hickman, Vol 1 p64/7)

18. Lord Roberts, after formally annexing the Transvaal and Orange Free State to the British Crown by September 1900, had declared the War over save for police action and returned to England leaving Kitchener in charge, with the unseen renewal of the war until Peace was concluded in May 1902.

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The Waddilove Story

by Heyi J. Malaba

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Waddilove Institute, Marondera on 13th May 1990

In 1888 Bishop Knight-Bruce, passing through the area where Waddilove stands, found ruined villages and deserted fields. Yet only four years later, Chief Nengubo was living there and had accepted the services of Evangelist Molele. Molele had been sent out, together with his cousin the Rev Josias Ramushu, by the Transvaal Methodist District. The two men had responded to the call for preachers of the gospel in this part of our country.

By 1894 church services were being held and a Sunday School of 100 children had been instituted by Molele.

Then in 1896 came the rebellion and Molele was killed with his friend James White (no relation of the Rev. John White) whom he had rescued when he could have found safety in Harare. Molele's cousin, the Rev J. Ramushu, stationed at Epworth had repeatedly asked him to leave his station because of the impending danger from the war. Molele chose to continue with his work.

After these deaths, Chief Nengubo moved his village but the mission remained.

In 1973 Waddilove celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary as a centre for education in Zimbabwe, for it was in 1898 that the Rev. John White enrolled his first pupils. The form of education offered to them was a sound one, if less sophisticated than that offered today. One of our first products was the late evangelist John Mlusi, who became a scholar in 1906 and who, having learned to read, was sent as a teacher to a place near Harare.

Another product of Waddilove's early days was another evangelist who was sent in 1912 by the Rev. John White to an outpost of the Rhodesia District, as it was then. And so, another celebration took place in 1973 at Chipembi Girls Secondary school in Zambia, where they were commemorating sixty years of continuous education begun by a man trained at Waddilove.

Waddilove had become a Training Institution for Evangelists in 1899 under the Rev. John White and a church was erected on the place of Molele's martyrdom. John White handed over the training work to Avon Walton in 1903, but as Chairman of the District he continued to be the builder and inspiration of Waddilove. His memorial is also in the cemetery.

From 1898 the Mission began to take a leading role in education and over the years it has expanded, developed and consolidated its role in education. I wish to cite but a few of the aspects of progress made over the years.

In 1914 great educational expansion began and the Central Primary School and hostels were built. Money gifts from Sir Joshua Waddilove of England speeded up development and the mission was renamed after him.

Industrial and agricultural courses were added under the Rev. H. Baker. Miss Smallwood, the first woman missionary, came in 1920. Teacher Training was included in 1923. Hospital work was started under Sister Madge Dry in 1927. The John White Memorial Hospital was built in 1934. A post-six Teacher Training Department came into being in 1940 with Mr W.

M.Tregidgo as its lay head. He retired from it in 1958 after seeing its scope extended to higher courses in 1951.

But the era of specialisation had come. The Industrial courses closed down in 1940 and the Fowler Ward orphanage, founded in 1950 was given up in 1955. The hospital, which also trained nurses, closed down at the end of 1964. In 1953 the theological students moved to Epworth and the Central Primary School for the first time had an African Headmaster.

While certain courses were being closed, others were being developed. In 1955 the Agricultural Department expanded to a four year course under Mr. E.D. Alvord, its third head. His sudden death in 1959 was a severe loss, but the work continued. However, the course closed down at the end of 1965 and a secondary school took its place. The first boys and girls in Form 1 arrived in January 1966 and Form 111 was established in 1969. Since 1985 the school now offers the full range of secondary education to Form VI.

In 1972 the Kwenda Teacher Training College was moved to Waddilove. The merger of the two Training Colleges made it a viable unit. Regrettably, in 1979 the Training College had to close to make room for secondary school expansion.

Waddilove has always seized the opportunity to involve itself in any form of pioneering work as is exemplified in the education of the blind. In 1962 courses were initiated to give blind pupils the same education as sighted pupils. Pupils in Grade 1 learnt the elements of braille and number work before joining their peers in the ordinary classes. Teachers were then trained at Waddilove to teach these blind pupils in the integrated class. In 1969 the first four blind pupils to be offered secondary education began their courses. In 1976 the first three candidates were entered for the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. One of these is Mr Pearson Uherere who has since graduated at the University of Zimbabwe and also at Cambridge and Oxford Universities. He has been a credit to Waddilove. Currently he is on the staff of the Law Faculty at the UZ. I must hasten to add that other blind pupils have gone through our local University.

I am proud to have been associated with Waddilove for 33 years up to my retirement in 1983.

Some of the products have been a credit to both the School and the Church. These men and women have distinguished themselves in their spheres of influence. I will mention a few and hope that no one will be offended by the exclusion of his or her name.

Ministers of Religion:

Revs. T. C. Samkange, Mr J. Rusike, S. Chiota, Dr C. G. Mazobere

Academics:

Professors: M. Wakatama, S.J, Samkange, W. Kamba, Dr C. Chikomba, Dr J. M. Chirenje.
Lawyers: former Chief Justice Dumbutshena, Judge Chinengundu

Politicians:

Mr J. M. Chinamano, Dr H. Ushewokunze, Dr N. Shamuyarira, Dr E.J.T. Zvobgo, Miss G.L. Makwavarara, Mr Chris Ushewokunze

There are numerous lecturers at the local University. Add to these personalities, Headmasters, teachers, Businessmen, Police Officers and it becomes clear that Waddilove has made a significant contribution to Zimbabwe.

The Cemetery at Waddilove Institute

by John Clatworthy

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Waddilove Institute, Marondera on 13th May 1990

This cemetery now has rather a neglected look, perhaps typical of many of the really old cemeteries in this country, but some years ago it used to be entered through a neat lych-gate. The gate has gone now, a victim of termites or of fire, but the cemetery is of more than passing interest because of the people buried here, and it is of four of those people - Molimile Molele, James White , John White and Emory Alvord - that I should like to speak today.

MOLIMLE MOLELE and JAMES WHITE

Almost certainly the oldest graves in the cemetery at Waddilove are those of Molimile Molele and James White. The story of the death of Molele in Andrew's " John White of Mashonaland " (in which he always writes of "John Molele ") differs somewhat from that in Hodder-Williams' article on " Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion " in Rhodesiana, Number 16 (July 1967). Hodder-Williams quotes from Andrew's book elsewhere so he must know the latter's version, but he used other sources as well and his reconstruction seems more likely to be correct. I do not think I can do better than to summarise the relevant section of Hodder-William's article.

At the outbreak of the Mashona Rebellion, Trooper Fitzgerald was in charge at the Ruzawi Outspan and he sent messengers to all the whites in the district, warning them of the trouble and advising them to come in to laager at Ruzawi. Most followed this advice but one who did not was James White, who was managing the farm Mendamu, on the Marandellas to Fort Charter road, for the Wiloughby Consolidated Company. He received the message but had seen no cause for concern and wrote back " Thanks for the warning but there is no sign of any trouble here. If you hear of anything more, let me know. Captain Bremner is here and is going into Marandellas early tomorrow." Captain Bremner was an officer on leave from the Indian Army, who had come to Mashonaland in search of some shooting. He had been intending to go through to Bulawayo, but had turned back at Fort Charter after getting word of troubles ahead and had spent the night with White.

The messenger left with White's letter early on the Saturday morning and was only allowed through by the Mashona, who were already surrounding White's homestead, because he was known to some of them. White had gone down to the vegetable garden when the attack came. Bremner was taken unawares and was killed instantly. White heard the commotion and came back towards the house, but was fired on and wounded in the arm. He was obviously a man of some spirit, for he picked up a log of wood and charged his attackers who fled, leaving him with only a revolver of his firearms. With this he drove the rebels off, but his arm was badly wounded and he wrote a last note which was later found outside the homestead by some of Alderson's Mounted Infantry. " The natives have been here." it read "Bremner is dead and I am badly

wounded and shall peg out soon from loss of blood. Goodbye to all my friends - James White."

News of White's injuries reached the nearby mission station at Nengubo (which later became Waddilove Institute) and the catechist, Molele, at once set off with a scotch cart to Mendamu, accompanied by some friends. Molele had been warned of the impending trouble some time before and had been encouraged to take his family into Salisbury for safety. But, like Mizeki at Mangwende's, he felt that duty compelled him to continue his work among the people he had been sent to teach. Molele and his party met White staggering along the road, loaded him into the scotch cart and returned the way they had come.

By the time this party approached Nengubo again, it was nearly midday and Chizengini's people were ranged along a rise, below which the track from Mengubo passed. The people at the mission had mainly taken fright and hidden in their houses but two young boys, one of them Molele's son, saw the approaching cart and ran out to greet it. What happened next is unclear in detail but Chizengeni's people attacked the group and in the melee Molele was shot and killed and the two boys also died. The oxen bolted and the cart, containing the helpless James White, was dragged along, until it was brought to a halt by the soft ground of the gardens at Nengubo's where White was killed. The inhabitants of the mission fled for safety to the rocky kopje called Majeke nearby and Mrs Molele herself was badly hurt.

After dark a neighbour bathed her wounds and in the morning Mrs Molele and her three daughters set off for Salisbury, perhaps escorted by two men detailed for the duty by Chief Nengubo. The youngest daughter, Emile, was very poorly and Mrs Molele thought that she was actually dead and "buried" her in a cave with a rock to protect the body. But the girl was not dead; she recovered consciousness and was drinking from a water hole near the cave when a Mashona woman came upon her and looked after her for the next five weeks. Her subsequent story is interesting because (thinking her to be an orphan) she was adopted by an officer of the Matabeleland Relief Force and taken back by him to the Northern Transvaal. Mrs Molele also returned to the Northern Transvaal and eventually mother and daughter were reunited.

Meanwhile, back at the mission, Chief Nengubo gathered the bodies and covered them with branches to prevent wild beasts eating them. Later Molele and White were buried by a patrol of the Matabeleland Relief Force side by side under a large fig tree (presumably the one which still stands) a few hundred yards from where they met their deaths. It is pertinent to wonder why Molele's brave self-sacrifice is not more widely known and honoured today.

JOHN WHITE 1866 - 1923

John White was the eldest son in a family of seven children, born on 6 January 1866 at the Roe Farm, Dearham, in Cumberland on the border of the Lake District. His parents were deeply religious, and his father the local preacher, but John at first drifted away from his parents' faith. His schooling was meagre, at a local school run by a poor widow, but he had to leave school early to help on the farm, especially after his family moved to a larger farm,and John assisted his father in a "milk round".This practical farming experience came in very useful in his later life.

At the age of sixteen he had a religious conversion, and gave his life to Christ. He went to Didsbury College, near Manchester, in 1888 with the clear intention of serving in a mission field overseas. When he finished the course, the Transvaal was without a Methodist missionary, and John White was sent there, but with a feeling that his eventual role would be further north where a new mission field was being established.

In fact, the call to service in Mashonaland came after he had worked for two years in the

Transvaal, overworked actually and suffering a nervous breakdown in consequence. He left Pretoria on 30 April 1894 in an ox-wagon convoy and reached Salisbury after the usual adventures with lions. From the start, he was aware of injustices in the dealings of the whites with the Africans, and he spoke out against them, which made him unpopular with a large section of the white population. He went around on foot among the Mashona people and gained their trust.

Yet when the Mashona Rebellion broke out in 1896 he was taken by surprise. He was actually away from his mission post, escorting a fellow-missionary from Fort Victoria to Salisbury when the fighting started and he spent the next period in the laager in Salisbury. His biographer (Andrews) writes of the role that John White played in negotiations with the Mashonas. He was not afraid to air his view that a large measure of the causes of the Mashona Rebellion was found in the injustice which had crept into the administration. This brought him into further controversy and conflict with the officials.

Almost before the troubles were over, John White was out again on foot, visiting the mission stations, spreading the Word by mouth and example. He saw the three big needs as 1) a gospel in the local language, 2) local evangelists and teachers, and 3) a church rooted and grounded in the very soil of the country, not a foreign thing replacing local culture and traditions.

In 1898 John White went back to England on furlough and used part of the time to put before friends his plans for the future. They raised the sum of £ 150 and with this he started to develop the Waddilove Institution that we are visiting today. Another of White's innovations was Epworth Farm, where Chief Chiremba was converted to Christianity, and which became a "settlement of Christian families. united on a co-operative basis in a common social and religious life".

By now White was Chairman of the Mission District and Governor of both Waddilove and Epworth and he felt the need of a wife to help him in his manifold tasks. He married, on 3 February 1903, Miss Emma Rogers, whose brother was a missionary, and I only hope their courtship was not as clinical as Andrews makes it sound. They had no children of their own but, perhaps because of this, welcomed other children into their household. The Whites had a reputation as gracious hosts, with a well-laden table.

Throughout his life John White identified himself closely with his African flock and, like his friend Arthur Shearley Cripps, spoke out fearlessly against acts, official or private, which he saw as prejudicial to African interests.

In 1913 White was in ill-health and went to England on furlough for medical examination and, when he returned to Rhodesia was stationed for a spell in Bulawayo, broken by another trip to England for medical reasons in 1916. The period in Bulawayo strengthened his feeling that the disruption of African tribal life by industrialisation and migration to the towns was harmful and degrading and he felt especially sorry that the Church in Rhodesia was effectively divided on racial lines. White showed great self-sacrifice in ministering to others during the great influenza epidemic, until he himself became a patient. In 1919 he left Bulawayo and returned to Waddilove but was forced once again by illness to travel to Britain in 1921, and many in Rhodesia did not expect to see him again.

But return he did, and played a role during the Great Famine of 1922, purchasing meal from his own resources to feed Africans in the nearby Reserve; not requiring payment at the time but requesting instead some donation later when times were better. He still travelled around the villages spreading the Gospel, although his own duties steadily increased. He was

Chairman of Missionary Conference in 1926, where he made a stirring address but was criticized for bringing politics into religion. He replied, as others in the same position have done, that God was involved in all aspects of life, and not merely in worship on Sundays. He was Chairman again in 1928, but at the Missionary Conference in 1930 he clashed strongly with the Colonial Secretary over the administration of justice to Africans and was not re-elected to the Executive. a blow which he felt deeply.

By 1931 his health was failing badly and Godfrey Huggins diagnosed a deep-seated cancer and, without telling his patient of his suspicions, referred him to England for a second opinion. There the diagnosis was confirmed and White never returned to his beloved Mashonaland.

He took a house in Kingsmead Close, Birmingham, and sank slowly and painfully, dying on 7 August 1933. His body was cremated and his ashes brought back to Waddilove to rest beneath this stone here.

EMORY DELMONT ALVORD. M.Sc., O.B.E. 1889 - 1959

Emory Alvord was born in Park City, Utah, USA, on 25 March 1889 and grew up in Idaho on a 80-acre irrigated farm. As a young man he was an outstanding games player and athlete and remained a fine musician on the trombone all his life. He was also deeply committed to the Mormon faith and was ordained a Priest at the age of 18. His early life was a financial struggle and it was at a comparatively mature age that he attended the State College of Washington, where he gained his B.Sc,. and then his M.Sc,. in 1918.

In 1919 he was appointed Agricultural Missionary to East Africa and was posted to the American Board Mission at Mount Selinda, the first agricultural missionary to be appointed in Africa. His success in improving agricultural techniques led, in 1926, to the creation of a Government post of Agriculturalist for the Instruction of Natives, to which Alvord was appointed. He advocated agricultural policies of concentrating habitation, separating arable from grazing lands, using manure, and rotating crops to improve yields and prevent erosion. Probably his greatest innovations were the development of the Nyanadzi irrigation scheme and his use of African demonstrators in the field. As a result of his experience in the mission field and in Government service, he soon realised that the only way to get Africans to follow proper agricultural methods, was to employ Africans themselves to put over the gospel of good land and stock husbandry. He was always out in the country and he made it a rule to be in his work area the night before, so that he could start first thing in the morning.

He was appointed Director of Native Agriculture in 1944 and, although due to retire in 1949, was asked to stay on for an extra year until 1950. His work was honoured by the award of the OBE in recognition of his contribution to native agriculture.

After his retirement he returned to the missionary field until his death in 1959. He had two daughters and three sons, and all his sons followed him into agriculture; one was Principal of Esigodini Agricultural Institute for many years, while another, also an Emory Alvord, was for a long period Senior Agronomist at Grasslands Research Station, just up the road from here. The Alvord Training Centre near Masvingo, is named after Emory Alvord Sr..

Early Days at Charter Estate

by D. K. Worthington

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Charter Estate on 13th May 1990.

Recorded history in this part of the world started in 1890, one hundred years ago. I spent some 37 years in Charter from 1948 to 1985, and I am going to try to tell you something about Charter, albeit in anecdotal form, but I do not propose to talk about the Pioneer Column. For convenience I have divided my talk into the six periods of ownership of this property, namely, the pre-Meikle, the Meikle, the Struckel, Charter Estate, "Benny the Bread" or Lobel, and the Lonrho period.

When the Pioneer Column moved on in 1890 from Fort Charter to found Salisbury (now Harare) they left behind a troop of police to guard the lines of communication, and a young surveyor, Lieut. Graham (subsequently Major-General in the British Army during the First World War) seconded from the Royal Engineers, whose job it was to start beaconing off farms for settlement by the members of the Column, each of whom was promised, free, two mining claims and one farm of about 3 000 morgen. Graham started by establishing, by sun and star-shots, his exact position from a corner beacon on Marshbrook farm which lies about 300 metres to the west of this point where we now are, which was subsequently proved by the Surveyor-General's department with the latest electronic equipment in the late 1970s, to be completely accurate. Some of these Pioneer title farms were taken up, Marshbrook being one of them. Enter the Meikle Brothers who came on the scene with a number of ox-trains ferrying goods to the new Colony. When I first arrived here I found in the office a pile of old papers, including bills of lading of an early consignment. I recall that three waggons were loaded with mealie-meal, corrugated iron, and 168 cases of Scotch whiskey. We also had some old Meikle ledger sheets, recording on printed forms the movements of goods and stores between Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo (now Gweru), Umtali (now Mutare), and Port Elizabeth.

In 1892 the Meikles purchased the farm Marshbrook on which to build a hotel and store to be run by their brother-in-law, Strickland. The purpose of Strickland's store was to service the waggon and coach travellers on the road up country. It appears that they in fact built on the wrong farm, on Claricedale, the boundary between the two farms being about 10 yards to the south of where we now stand, and they had therefore to buy the other farm as well. The hotel consisted of three rooms for the manager's use, one very nice large size living room and six small box-like 10 foot by 10 foot bedrooms for the travellers. I actually knocked down those six bedrooms and made three long narrow awkward rooms of 10 x 20. In the 1950s, this building was struck by lightning and I had to jack up the roof and re-build one wall. I found bricks of seven different sizes- some un-burned, and neither ant course nor damp course, but a very ant eaten wooden floor and joists, which I replaced with the present panga-panga blocks. At this stage there was also the house right behind me, the pub, and a stockman's cottage both under iron with wooden floors. I have an amateur but charmingly painted water-colour by Jack Meikle dated about 1925 of this. Also a three-roomed brick under thatch cottage, possibly preceding the main buildings, used variously, I believe, as a police post, a goal and a post office.

Robert Smith, sometime Assistant Postmaster General in Federal days, shows a photograph of a Marshbrook-franked envelope and stamp in his book on Rhodesian stamps.

Now the majority of the Pioneers were young men who had come for adventure, hunting and gold. There cannot have been a lot of scope for farming, and I imagine many of those early settlers came down to the pub to see what newcomer had arrived on the Zeederberg coach and some no doubt to pay their debts and move on to new pastures.

Over a period of some six years Meikle bought up 26 different properties. I remember being told by neighbours when I arrived that one such farm was bought in for six blankets and a single-furrow plough; another the farm Moorland, a 16 000 acre block of open country, changed hands for £3/19/6, and another for an ox-wagon and in it a grand piano, but without oxen, possibly dating this deal to the rinderpest of 1896.

As I understand it the magnificent sandstone buildings followed a little later, presumably after the Rebellion. They consist of a store, stable for two or three precious horses, with a loft overhead- all suitably constructed with rifle slits for all-round protection. At some stage the loft was overloaded with maize which gravitated to the hammer-mill below and a series of cracks appeared in the walls. There is also a magnificent building with standings for 36 mules and horses, with cobble floor (the cobbles are still there under the existing cement floor) and draining channels, hay loft over, and an iron roof, the whole lighted by very complex wooden framed dormer- type windows.

Some of the first fencing to be erected in this country (plain 8-gauge wire not barbed at all) was put up along our northern boundary in about 1912. At some date which I have not established, Stuart Meikle's sons, Cyril and Jack, inherited the place, but Cyril died very young of appendicitis, leaving Jack as the sole owner. During the Depression there was not much profit in farming although 12 tobacco barns had been built by that stage.

Charter bred a good type of Afrikander cattle which were notoriously wild. These oxen were much in demand for draught purposes, selling for 30 shillings each, or £4 delivered because of the risk of losing them in transit. Jack was a keen ornithologist, as indicated by his nickname Masiri, a very kind soul and a very good host. However, at the end of the Depression in 1939, Jack sold out to Herman Struckel, an Austrian or Italian born in Trieste, who had made money from a brick and tile business in Durban. During the war years, and despite the war, Struckel proved himself a progressive farmer growing maize using new fangled tractors, and a minimum of labour. He also introduced bulls of 9 different breeds, producing a real Heinz 57 variety which caused me considerable problems later on.

You will recall that in 1946, just after the end of the war, Great Britain threw Winston Churchill out and elected a Labour Government. Therefore, a group of some five Conservative members of the House of Lords and Commons decided to buy land in this country. Why? Some chided them with the accusation of "Funk Money" getting their assets away from the Socialists; they, however, claimed that they were helping to develop the Empire, a concept now considered out-dated, but I believe they genuinely thought that they were doing the right thing. Two of these people had been very prominent in Churchill's War Cabinet, namely Rob Hudson, later Viscount Hudson, who as Minister of Agriculture had done so much for British agriculture and helped to feed the nation during the war, and Lord Salisbury. The others were Lord De La Warr who became a Cabinet Minister in Macmillan's adminstration, Mr Hare who was Minister of Labour and then of Agriculture under Eden and subsequently became Lord Blakenham, Lord Selborne whose long connections with South Africa are well known, and, finally, an unlikely bedfellow who glorified the name of the Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers

of the City of London. Colonel Sir Ellis Robins, subsequently Lord Robins, was Chairman of the company Charter Estate Limited and the fact that he was resident Director and Chairman of the British South Africa Company rather confused the issue because at no stage had Charter Estate had anything to do in fact with the Charter Company except in this connection.

A contributory factor to their decision to buy this land was the railway. A map issued in about 1935 showed a projected railway going from Umvuma (now Mvuma) right through the middle of Charter, along the ridge, re-joining the Umtali railway at Bromley.

Of course with a set up like this the swallow season was pretty hectic due to the enormous number of visitors we received- political, farming, administrative, VIPs galore, including Cabinet Ministers from the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia and over the world.

I like to think that one of our most important visitors was in fact Alice Balfor who during her well-known travels in the country painted several pictures in this area in August 1894. When I first came here we were on the telephone and the telegraph obviously came through here before 1892. The telephone line, which had been re-built in 1896 by Sam Whaley's forbears came right through the middle of Charter and we had a tap (we were Rhodesia 003) on the Johannesburg / Salisbury line and we were entitled to two calls a day, one at 10 in the morning and again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Well, two calls a day was not bad but I decided we needed more, so I applied for, and got, believe it or not, a second telephone in the house (Rhodesia 006). That theoretically gave us four calls a day, which if I may be facetious, is twice as many calls as I manage to get through from Wedza exchange today.

However, progress ensued and in about 1950 we got on to the telephone exchange at Beatrice village. At that time one of my shareholders, Lord De La Warr, was Postmaster General in the United Kingdom and he decided one day to ring me up to test the lines of communication within the Empire. Now in those days one was not allowed to take an in-coming overseas call on a party line but had to go to the nearest Post Office to do so, I duly drove off to Beatrice, and wasted a very frustrating half day merely to be told that the Postmaster General was testing the communications in the Empire.

We built a school for our employees in 1953 and ultimately had something like 375 pupils in the school drawn from the neighbouring farms and re-settlement areas. In 1955 we built a clinic for the district and in 1961 the Federal Government bought 2 acres of land on which to build a radar beacon for "stacking" the large numbers of aircraft which were going to flood into the country.

The church was built in 1961, blessed (but not consecrated as it is not church property) by the Rev. Cyril Alderson then Bishop of Mashonland, with Sir Humphrey Gibbs reading the lesson. It was built intentionally for all races and denominations in this district and it has excellent acoustics. The bell hanging in the bell-tower was given to me by the Bishop of Norwich, Norfolk, from a church in a parish that was demolished during the war as it was in the middle of a battle training area. The church still stands untouched aged 900 years and without a crack in it. The bell actually was cast in 1766 and the Latin inscription on it says that it was purchased by pennies saved by the parishioners of Langford to commemorate the defeat of the northern "dissidents" in 1745. Some of my Scottish friends might recognise that date, The organ was the original first organ in the Anglican Cathedral, and came up from the Cape in 1891. When the Anglicans had finished with it and got their own proper organ they handed it on to the Methodists, and the Methodists gave it in due course to the Dutch Reformed Church who gave it to me in 1961.

There are in fact some rock paintings on this farm - not very many because there is very

little rock, but there is one small painting which is very clear and dynamic, but they are not really of any great value.

Now Lord Hudson was a big man both physically and in his thoughts, and everything he did was going to be big. My instructions were to put Charter on the map and to show everybody how to farm. Well, as can be expected, we had our problems - 1949/50 was a drought year and we had no rain for a long time from the middle of January till the middle of the following December. We had no surface water, no boreholes, no dams, and in fact we lost about 500 head stuck in the mud short of water. Now at that stage you will remember there was the famous Colonial Development Corporation groundnut scheme at Kongwa in Tanganyika, and the British were going to show the world how to grow groundnuts. Therefore I had to grow (I was ordered to grow) 2000 acres of arable crops, mostly groundnuts, as well as 220 acres of tobacco, ultimately in three sections on very marginal land. Needless to say we had our problems like lots of other new-comers did, which resulted in the usual debentures, bank overdrafts and so on.

Struckel's nine different breeds of cattle, as I said, were a problem. I set about sorting them out by putting the more Afrikander type ones to one side, and the others we called O and S, Odds and Sods, which later we bred up to fairly good Hereford and Sussex type cattle. At our peak we were carrying 11 500 head of cattle and over 4 000 breeding cows. We won our fair share of fatstock prizes at shows in Salisbury and Marandellas, and our young stock were well known and well sought after as good growing stock. We also at one stage had 1 000 breeding ewes.

On the wild life side we had 9 or 10 different species of antelope. In 1951 I recorded 25 eland, 50 sable, 75 tssessebe and 1 pair of oribi, as well as kudu, reed buck, duiker, steen buck, impala, and a few klipspringers. In 1980 when we sold, that herd included 75 eland, 150 sable, 400 tssessebe and about 30 pairs of oribi. A certain amount of vermin including dog and hyena, and on one occasion way back we had one lion. A leopard lived next door, but did no damage. We also had over 100 ostriches, some crocodiles, and a number of hippos in the Sabi (now Save) River at the far end of the ranch. We also had an absolute menace in the form of spring hares as well as the ubiquitous baboons and monkeys. For anybody interested in those things the museum in fact established a new sub-species of spring-hare which is only known in this particular district.

On the development side between 1948 and 1983 we went from no boreholes to over 50, from 17 paddocks up to 250, over 30 kms of pipe lines; from 2 dams both broken, we went up to 45 dams. We finished up with over 700 kms of fences and from 3 dip tanks we went up to 11 dip tanks and from 20 hectares of eucalyptus plantations up to 73.

Some of you had difficulty in finding Charter Estate on the map which is because originally the title deeds were all held individually; there were 26 different ones including Fort Charter and I did, in fact, consolidate title as a means of reducing Rural Council fees and making possible future subdivisions more viable and easier to do.

Charter is an easy name to remember and that gave me quite a help to put this place on the map, but I think we also earned a reputation for a number of things. I think we were probably the first people to have an annual draught sale (as we called it) of young stock with guaranteed standards and announced weights, so that people could buy wisely. I was a great proponent of orderly marketing, helping new people especially to buy wisely so they would not come unstuck when they sold.

Right from the early days of 1950 we were conscious of two main things, namely, the necessity for water, and the necessity for a high calving rate or fertility rate. In those days the

national rate was between 48 and 50%. Where I came from in the Argentine anything under 85% earned considerable enquiry from the Board, and in those days I was running part of a concern which had 60 000 breeding cows, so an 85% calf crop was quite reasonable.

We tried wherever possible to co-operate with scientists. If anybody was making enquiries into or doing any research work on cattle, we made a point of co-operating by making cattle and land available for such trials. This brings to mind work we did with a Dr Raasbeck in 1956 on injectable Vitamin A - we were the first people to do it and we made our own Vitamin A injections in the Veterinary Research Laboratory. We worked on urea levels, salt levels and phosphate levels for the original protein supplement blocks which are now a popular feature in the ranching world. We co-operated with people, especially Coopers, in the production of new cattle dips; we worked on remedies for Stilesia (liver tape worm in sheep) we worked with the CSIRO in Australia on cobalt deficiencies; we did a project on the chemical shearing of sheep, using the same compound, Cyclophosphamide, as is used, or was used, in the cure of cancer in humans. We co-operated with a tick survey, for the United Nations, and with John Condy we established for the first time that game, particularly tssessebe, were hosts to bilharzia. We also had contacts with Dr Alvord and employed one of his staff to help us help our employees to help themselves. The basis of this was instruction on animal and crop husbandry, crop rotation, fertilisers etc etc, on the 8-10 acres of land we allowed our employees on a special farm under what was known as a "labour agreement".

However, I suppose the biggest thing in our lives was the Savory Trials because of the controversy which raged between Alan Savory and the Ministry of Agriculture on short duration high density grazing. We set out to provide facilities for trials which in fact extended for seven years from 1968 to 1975, involving between 750 and 1 000 breeding cows on 10 000 acres, where we tried to record animal behavior, the effects on the environment and the financial effects. The botanical measurements in this scheme were done by John Clatworthy and George Christie of the Veterinary Department, and the University did the work on the veterinary side with Dr Stan Parsons of the University being responsible for the financial analysis. During that period my diary records 1528 visitors from 12 different countries. From our original five shareholders, plus Boy Honey and myself, the number had by 1980 grown through children and grandchildren, to something like 26 different shareholders, and it was getting unwieldy as these youngsters wanted to go their own way and make their own investments,so consequently, in 1980 Charter Estate Limited sold its entire shareholding to Benny Lobel, who in 1987, sold to the present owners Lonrho.

What follows is the continuation of Mr Worthington's address at Fort Charter itself

When I arrived at Charter in 1948 the name of the paddock where we are now standing was Tronko, which I was told meant "the place of suffering" - the word does not have a Shona ring about it and I believe that it derived from the Afrikaans or High Dutch for "tronk", English "clink" maybe, meaning gaol or prison, presumably a reference to the fort. Be that as it may my employees, many of whom had homes to the south of this place, refused to use this road, the old Charter Road, at night because of the spirits of the dead, and this was a frequent excuse for absence on a Monday morning.

There are around here a number of graves - according to various people some were graves of Australians who came up from Beira to Umtali, cross country from Marandellas to Charter during the Boer War, on the way to Mafeking and who died from blackwater fever when they

reached here. There is a double grave in a clump of acacia trees to the north west, which was identified by the late Colonel Hickman as being the graves of two BSAP troopers who were killed here in 1896. There are also the very obliterated remains, some 500 yards to our south, of some 5 or 6 African graves. All wars are unpleasant and many people get hurt or killed, some in distressing and unpleasant circumstances and the 1896 Rebellion was no exception. But back to the Fort. This rather untidy, overgrown, springhare-infested place was visited in 1951 by one of our numerous VIP guests, Sir John Kennedy, then Governor of Southern Rhodesia. He was perturbed by the state of this disrepair and said the place should be declared a National Monument. I disagreed for two good reasons, firstly, to put a barbed wire fence round it would probably result in further encroachment of trees and wild animals digging their burrows, and do even more damage. Secondly, in view of the strong feelings the local Africans had about the place, I thought it might antagonise them if the remnants of the Fort were declared as a national monument. Sir John ultimately concurred and a compromise was reached with the erection of this monolith, an idea of the late Leonard Tracey.

There is a sequence to this story. During the late Chimurenga War we were aware of the importance of this place in the peoples' minds. In 1983 I was visited by the new regime's District Administrator, who asked to see me about the matter of Chikomba, the trench, and asked for our permission and cooperation to hold a ceremony, including the ritual slaughter of a large black bull to appease the spirits. We undertook to clear the camp site, and fireguard and provide a water cart and other amenities. Even the DA was surprised at the large number of people who turned up, estimated to be well over 1 000 people, so we provided a further 2 beasts for the ceremony. I think most white people in this country were unaware of the depth of feeling that existed on issues like these over the last 70 or 80 years. Interestingly, it was the graves and the memory of those cruel deaths, and not the fort, which have remained very much alive in the minds of the people. However, I do believe that the ceremonial succeeded in laying this issue to rest.

Mashonaland Branch Outing to the Rusape Area

by Vivienne Sommerville

On Saturday, 23 May 1989, two busloads of enthusiastic history seekers set off on a Society jaunt around the Rusape area. Blessed with a perfect day and armed with picnic baskets we made good progress arriving at 10.15am at Mona Farm, the home of Gordon and Caroline Taylor.

Tim Tanser (TT - Toilet Tim as we know him) despatched us to the two farm houses where we were able to answer the call of nature and look around these delightful old buildings with the strip floors and spring beds! We walked under tall palm trees planted over ninety years ago and revelled in the unexpected bonus of a scrumptious tea, provided by our hostess.

In the peaceful surrounds of the homestead we listened to John Bousfield deliver his 'maiden' speech on the Van der Byl Trek of 1891 - a trek sponsored by Cecil John Rhodes as part of his policy to unite Boer and Briton in the common task of colonising the far North!

Despite Van der Byl's merry men drinking heartily and playing cricket poorly they succeeded in crossing the Limpopo and reaching Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) -described as "a place of swamp and fever where provisions were poor and beer you can have aplenty". From there, upon Jameson's instructions, they moved to the Headlands/Rusape area close to the Makoni and Mangwende kraals. In November 1891 they arrived at their destination which became 'Laurensdale' - a derivation of Van der Byl's middle name. Here they vowed to build a formidable community "with Church, Local Board and Brass Band". The Union Jack was hoisted, Rhodes and De Waal arrived in a Cape Cart and the birth of the Settlement commenced. But, mosquitoes and black water fever took their toll. Enthusiasm waned and in March 1892 Van der Byl fell ill and died. Fever stricken and leaderless the others dispersed with only three remaining, the Fischer Brothers and Mr Hugh Williams who established a postal agency in 1896. Unfortunately this building no longer stands but we did see the site upon which it had stood. Mrs Munch (Senior) whose late husband Raymond had farmed 'Mona' then gave a touching account of life in those early days and how her husband had come to establish his aloe garden and nurture and develop his hybrids. We walked to Van der Byl's grave through an avenue of thick-girthed gums, each of a different species. Cecil John Rhodes must have driven through here and probably brought the Eucalyptus seed with him which resulted in the tall avenue of gum trees on Mona farm. The grave is of stone with an inset plaque extolling Van der Byl's virtues and erected in remembrance by his 'affectionate brother and son'.

Then to the Harleigh Ruins, surrounded by kopje's of high granite boulders. There are two separate ruins here set approximately a kilometre apart. Peter Garlake pointed out the differences in age and structure and influence. It was interesting to note the loopholes in the walls, the graves set among the boulders and the fact that the one ruin had a double moat, long run dry! One of the local ladies of the land told of findings of dead buried in a seated position their teeth visible through the stones. I declined searching for these! Unfortunately the ruins are in a bad state of disrepair and fast crumbling.

Lunch was taken under the trees where we sat enjoying the mild summer weather and quenching our appetites, both solid and liquid.

By 3pm we were seated in view of the rock paintings at Diana's Vow. This is a huge presentation of rock art, meticulous in its detail, and well preserved being situate in the overhang of a large rock. Peter Garlake expounded on his interpretation of this picture and his enthusiasm was infectious. From his thorough study of bushmen paintings he believes that certain attitudes of the subject matter are symbolic and convey definite messages. If one has a knowledge of the bushmen culture it is easier to understand the artist's intention.

Once back in the buses we relaxed and socialised. It was a real pleasure to welcome Denny and David Jones who have emigrated to Carmarthen, West Wales, but were visiting Harare and could not resist joining us. Busboss John and TT again banished 'smokers' to the rear of the bus and this was accepted in good humour. 5pm saw us at Brondesbury Park Hotel and on disembarking it was agreed that neither 'happy juice' nor 'holy water' compared with the champagne of the air. Settling in was a busy affair and Betty Passow's expert organisation came to the fore. However, there was one small hiccup when two 'bachelors gay' were billeted in a room containing a double bed.

An informal dinner was held for members and guests of the Society and there was much frivolous speechmaking and downing of wine and jollification during the excellent, if prolonged, meal.

Breakfast was lively and then after a general hustle and bustle and gathering of 'katundu', we set off in the buses. We stopped along the route and debussed to study our maps in an effort to identify from Col. Alderson's drawing, made all that time ago, strategic points which would be the subject of Tim Tanser's talk. We proceeded to the graves of the valiant Captain A.E. Haynes, and Privates Smith-Vickers and William Wickham. The pair of spreading trees under which these soldiers were buried stand today as they stood then, witness to the departure of Captain Haines at 1.30am on the morning of August 3 1896, when he was killed in action (aged 35) whilst launching an attack on Makoni's stronghold. On then to Inyamastza Farm, the home of Mr and Mrs Des Munch where we were shown a collection of artefacts recovered around Makoni's Kraal. There was bowl and stem of a clay pipe, a copper bracelet, some remnants of a military nature and a clump of pinkish beads moulded together who knows how? - it was suggested maybe by the force of dyanamite emitted when blasting open the walls of the fortress in the Mashonaland field force attack. We then settled in the spacious garden set in a 'wilderness' and munched on substantial 'Brondesbury lunchpacks'. To our right rose an outcrop or huge boulders married by a spiralling stone stairway emerging onto a narrow rock ledge. From here is a panoramic view of the most splendid countryside and from here one could identify geographical reminders of the historical moments we had been reliving.

Harry Went, well known to History Society members, was then invited to chat to us on the survey of the Rusape area by his grandfather, Rhys Fairbridge, and the origin of farm names. Harry of the twinkling eye who 'has walked behind many an ox wagon and downed a bottle of wine, as a child, to cure his toothache,' told of Rhys who had come from Beira to Salisbury. (now Harare). By 1895 he was surveying with Starr Jameson in Gwelo (now Gweru) and had mapped out the whole district showing the gold mines etc. Conservationist, mapmaker and surveyor, he would venture in his ox-wagon where there were no roads and few footpaths. He chose his camp on the leeward side of a mountain where it was cool and the prevailing winds, hopefully, would blow away the mosquitoes! He was against Government policy, wanted land settlement and in 1914 went to war fighting for these principles. He acquired much land, buying most of Gwelo for £15. One day, tired,hungry and out of food, Rhys came upon a magnificent Kudu but, he had omitted to bring his gun with him and there and then he made a vow never again to be

caught in such a situation. Hence the farm "Diana's Vow". Next door to that was "Diana Farm" and the road adjoining was named Silver Bow Road after the silver bow the Godess Diana carried. Surprisingly, "Pink Elephants" was not derived from an inebriate in the throes of the DT's but named so by the owner who had discovered some bushmen paintings of 'pinkish' elephants on her farm. Strange to relate the neighbouring farm was owned by one Johnny Walker! Many farms around the Gwelo area derived their names from counties in England such as 'Kent', 'Surrey', 'Norfolk' etc. 'Quaggashoek' was named after the great number of Quagga in that area but, sadly, they are extinct now. 'Kudusberg' around the Mutare area was named for obvious reasons. To end his chat Harry related an amusing episode about three friends named 'The Fatal Three'. They were so dubbed as a result of a Christmas party held in 1891 when they had a whale of a time and decided to put a bottle aside for the night. When this went missing each accused the other of its disappearance. Eventually they challenged each other to a duel. They chose guns and five rounds each and at an appointed time crouched behind ant hills and shot to the finish! Fortunately (and probably because of their shaking hands), none was hurt but ever after they were called 'The Fatal Three'.

Following on from his speech given earlier in the day, at Fort Haynes, Tim Tanser delivered a stirring account of the events leading up to the capture and death of Chief Makoni and to the fate of his two sons.

And so it was time to return to the present and our journey home. The organisers and their helpers can rest assured of the success of the outing and all thanks to them.

The Pieter Lourens Van Der Byl Trek

by J. W. Bousfield

This is a text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Rusape on 23rd September 1989

Standing here today and recalling the van der Byl Trek which left the Cape Colony nearly 100 years ago it is very difficult to imagine a less well prepared or naive group than that of Pieter Lourens and his hand-picked men. This trek was one of a number of such ventures which was sponsored by Cecil Rhodes as part of his policy of uniting Boers and British from the Cape in the common task of colonising the far north. There was a quick response to the advertisement placed in the Cape Times of June 1891 which sought "men of good parentage, a knowledge of riding and shooting and practically acquainted with agriculture". These able men were to agree to be led by Van der Byl who had just stepped down from being a member of Parliament for the Cape Colony. Initially, when they reached their destination, they were to be settled on 12000 acres where they would be under the control of Van der Byl for 2 years. After this period if they proved themselves they would be given 3000 acres each, paid 2/- per day and given free provisions for 6 months. If they failed they would lose all!

The planning was meticulous and the men left in no doubt as to what to bring - stretcher bed, blankets, kettle, grid iron, 1 pan, tin mugs, cups, enamel plates, 3 knives, 3 forks, 3 spoons, 6 trousers, 2 jackets, 12 shirts (6 flannel, 6 cotton) 4 pairs boots, 2 pairs veldskoens, 2 pairs garters, 12 socks, 2 felt hats, 1 straw hat, 3 bars soap, needles, pins, thread, buttons, linen and cloth for patching, vegetable seeds, books, camp chair, tobacco and matches if required, musical instruments. Cricket and football will be encouraged as well as pet dogs.

Towards the end of June 1891 with all preparations now complete and with high expectations for the certain success which lay ahead the Van der Byl trek was made up of the following: 1 leader, 23 white men, 4 Cape boys, 6 Africans, 80 Oxen, 5 Ox-wagons, 9 Mules, 2 Snow white horses - (described as symbols of the peaceful nature of our mission! Unfortunately both of these died in the Bechuanaland Protectorate). They set off to the sound of a brass band from Cape Town by train on the first leg of their epic journey as far as Vryburg, across the Orange River. Having reached Bechuanaland we are given this glimpse of the trek party written by one of the men, Hugh Williams.

"Everyone is healthy but the Chief is more patriarchal than ever. His men are in high spirits. No body of men within recent years have received such a cordial send off from Cape Town as we did in June as we left the Cape of Good Hope for the Land of Better Hope!"

It is through the vivid and graphic descriptions found in the correspondence of Williams, a Welshman, and now preserved in the National Archives, that we can build the story of Laurencedale. Williams became the first and only Postmaster here and was to stay on at Laurencedale long after the trekkers had disbanded and the settlement reduced to the status of a occasional stopping point for travellers on the Salisbury/Manica road.

However, I digressed so lets go back and join those intrepid men in Bechuanaland. The journey through Bechuanaland to Fort Tuli on the Shashi River was rather uneventful and boring. "We sleep in the wagon, walk with the wagon, eat by the wagon, think with the wagon and the echo of its rumbling wheels is ever in our ears." They even lost the cricket match played at the Headquarters of the Bechuanaland Border Police. Crossing the Limpopo river it was described as the biggest and muddiest yet seen.

When they reached Fort Tuli in the August, Williams gives us this description: " Fort Tuli is on the threshold whence we see the promised land of the rising sun. The camp is rather barren and stoney, provisions are scarce and expensive".

Once in the "promised land" they played many games of cricket at the various police outposts, but, unfortunately, none too successfully - it appears they were always beaten!

1891 proved to be an early and heavy rainy season and the trekkers were often alarmed and frightened by the wind, strong lightening and loud thunder. They had frequent encounters with the wild animals of 'Rhodes land' but showed great ignorance about them all, describing them as hyenas, wolves and tigers!! On one troublesome night when these marauders seemed uncomfortably close they released their dogs to drive them away, turned over and went back to sleep. In the morning they awoke to find 2 of their oxen killed next to their tents!

Crossing the Tokwe and the Lundi they found the march to the north very hot. On October 15 they reached Fort Victoria described by Williams as "a country of swamps and fever. There is also a small store but you can get nothing you want - no sugar, salt, or meal! They are all on their way and can be expected any day! But beer you can have aplenty and the quantities consumed on the premises would astonish many a drinker of stronger drink." (90 years on , have times changed?) On the suggestion of one Beets they settled at Inyatzizi north of Fort Victoria and would have remained there if Jameson had not arrived and moved them on to the Headlands/ Rusape area where the Company wished to place them as a stabilising influence on the Salisbury to Manica road, close to Makoni and Mangwende's Kraals.

The trekkers arrived at Laurencedale, derived from an Anglicanisation of Van der Byl's middle name, in early November 1981 where they waited for Rhodes' authority to purchase the area. They were fired up with expectation and claimed - "We will build a formidable community, with a church, local board and brass band." With the immiminent arrival of Mr. Rhodes they "hoisted the Union Jack and waited. At 3 o'clock a Cape cart drawn by mules appeared on the horizon. On the front were the 2 drivers and on the back seat were the Prime Minister and his brave supporter Mr. de Waal. As they jogged along they looked more like 2 jolly farmers than heads of Government."

Van der Byl started his settlement about 100 miles from the present Salisbury in the direction of Umtali. But by the time these young men had constructed their crude huts or tents, of grass or sticks and started to look round for tools and seeds and lands, much of their initial zeal had disappeared. The weather conditions were baffling, there was no livestock, no coherence, no planning. The mosquitoes and black water fever started to take its toll of them. Despite all this frustration at starting the Laurencedale settlement we have this graphic description of it published in the Cape News from Williams. " Laurencedale is situated about a mile from the Selous Road from Salisbury to Umtali .....From the turn-off point, the pioneer road leads through a natural avenue of beauty, which widens around two or three grand kopjies covered with small trees growing out of crevices in granite, until you reach the small beautiful brook on the banks of which our settlement stands. The spot we now call home lies in a basin and is protected on the North and South sides by granite ridges about half a mile long.... The

stream we now call ours rises about 3 miles north and converts the land into a fertile valley, until it looses its individuality in the Chimbe.... Our land extends from the Chaka to the Chimbe River, twenty five miles distance and is on either side of the Selous Road.

In March 1892, less than a year after he had moved into the "Land of Rhodes" Van der Byl became ill. Dr. Lichfield was summoned from Umtali, but he could do nothing for him. Van der Byl died at M'Gapas.

Many of the others were so fever stricken and felt so lost without their leader, that the whole settlement broke up and most of the men dispersed. A coffin was made from planks and a funeral party organised to lay him to rest. However, even then things didn't go smoothly. As the cortege was approaching the grave a tremendous and simultaneous clap of thunder and bolt of lighting caused them to drop his coffin.

Only three remained: the Fischer brothers, William and Richard, and Hugh Williams. Eventually, only Williams was left and established a postal agency at Laurencedale until 1896 when due to the rebellions he was forced to move to Salisbury. After the rebellion and with the construction of the railways in 1899 a substantial Monument was built at Van der Byl's grave with a memorial plaque which reads:

To the memory of Pieter Lourens Van der Byl, formerly of Welmoed, Eerste Rivier, Cape Colony Born 18 April 1831 : Died 30 March 1892

"He was a warm friend, a trusted companion and the most unselfish of men ever ready to devote his time and trouble to the services of others. A true South African and firmly attached to all the traditions of the race from which he sprang. He was at the same time a British citizen in the largest and best sense of the word and he devoted the last years of his life to the task of extending by peaceful settlement the boundary of civilization in that South Africa which he loved so well!!

Erected in affectionate remembrance by his Brother : Adrian and Son : Gerard

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Chief Makoni and the Shona Rebelion

by Tim Tanser

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society on the 24th September 1989 near Fort Haynes in the Rusape Area

The Matabele rebellion broke out in March 1896.

It was totally unexpected by the settlers and as a result many lives were lost amongst the settler population during its first few days. At the end of the rebellion 145 civilians, and a total of 346, including the members of the forces, had been killed or wounded.

The principal causes of the rebellion can be summarised as follows-

1. The incompleteness of the conquest of the Matabele nation in 1893.
2. The overbearing attitude and the actions of the African policemen towards the Matabele.
3. The influence of the Mlimo.
4. A drought of abnormal duration.
5. A plague of locusts.
6. Rinderpest and the severe loss of cattle which this caused. Feelings were aggravated by the shooting of healthy cattle to check the spread of the disease.
7. The Hut Tax.
8. The withdrawal from the country of the main body of police to take part in the abortive Jameson Raid.

When the news of the disturbances reached Salisbury, (now Harare) two detachments under Captain Gibbs and Colonel Beal left for Matabeleland to assist there.

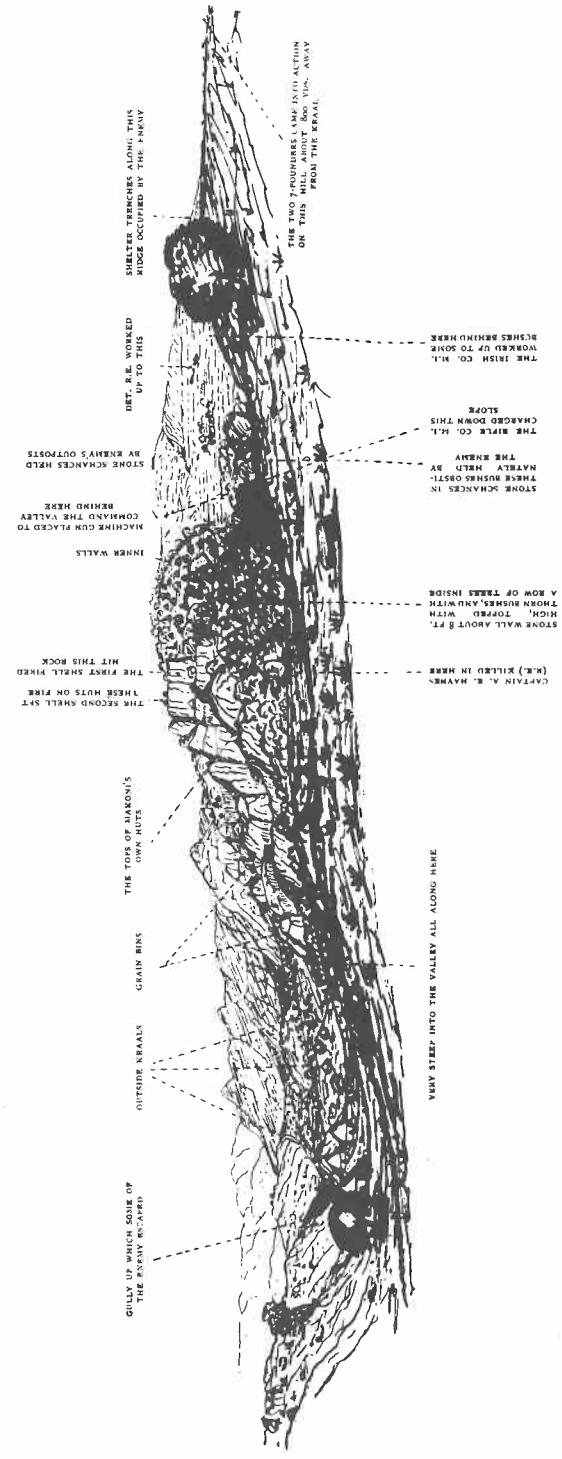
Suddenly in June, the conflagration broke out in Mashonaland. Colonel Beal's force was ordered back to Salisbury together with 100 men under Major Watts, who had been with Colonel Plumer and the Matabeleland Relief Force and a detachment of 70 Grey's Scouts under Captain the Hon. C. White.

In the meantime, four companies of Mounted Infantry sent from Aldershot in England to quell the rising in Matabeleland had arrived in Cape Town on 19th May 1896, and it was decided to deploy this force to Mashonaland.

Thus, on 19th July 1896, the first of the 380 Imperial Troops arrived at Umtali (now Mutare) having travelled to Beira by Sea, by Rail to Chimio 170 miles away, then by wagon and on horseback. The commander of this force was Colonel E.A. Alderson and his book **With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force 1896** deals with the five month campaign waged by that force in Mashonaland.

To bring the focus on to the Rusape area, a threat was posed to the vital line of communication between Salisbury and Umtali by the powerful Chief Makoni. By virtue of the telegraph lines having been cut, there had been no communication between the two settlements for 48 days.

Thus, on 28th July, the Mashonaland Field Force, supported by 92 volunteers, comprising a total of 230 Mounted Infantry with 2 maxims, 39 Royal Engineers, 14 Royal Artillery with



Rough Sketch of Makoni's Kraal, looking S.E. from the North side of the kraal. From Alderson with the Mashonaland Field Force
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

2 Seven-Pounders, 48 West Riding Regiment and 17 Scouts, set off from Umtali.

To avoid an anticipated ambush at Devil's Pass, Alderson made a detour using O'Reilly's Road and on the evening of 2nd August, laagered on the Nyamasvitsvi River, 7 miles from Makoni's stronghold, which later became known as Fort Haynes.

At 2am on 3rd August, Alderson began his march against Makoni and the first intimation Makoni had of the presence of the attacking forces was the bursting of a Seven-Pounder shell in his stronghold.

The stronghold was in a strong defensive position surrounded by a 7ft wall topped with thorn bushes and containing approximately 300 huts within numerous inner stockades. The fighting continued for one and a half hours, terminating with a bayonet assualt, resulting in some 500 cattle, sheep and goats being rounded up and the stronghold put to the torch.

Makoni retreated to some caves within his fortifications leaving about 60 dead behind him.

Alderson's casualties were 7 of whom 3 died. The dead soldiers were Captain Alfred Ernest Haynes, Royal Engineers; Private Smith Vickers, Kings Royal Rifles and Private Williams Wickham, Royal Irish Regiment.

These three men are buried at this site and most meaningful in describing them and their burial site are the descriptions from Colonel Alderson's Book. He writes: "Poor little Haynes was, as I have already said, killed inside the kraal, after having gallantly led his men over the wall. In him we had suffered an irreparable loss. With his bright keenness, his fertile brain, and ready resource, he had already made himself invaluable. Apart from his professional value to me, I never met a man whom I grew to like so much in so short a time. Both the privates killed were good useful men, whose loss we could ill afford."

Alderson goes on to write about the fort built near the Nyamasvitsvi River which was called Fort Haynes and that on 4th August, the three dead soldiers "had been buried in a well chosen site under two spreading trees, about a quarter of a mile from Fort Haynes". These two trees under which we stand are clearly those referred to by Alderson.

Following the attack on Makoni's stronghold, Alderson and his Mounted Infantry pushed on West towards Salisbury.

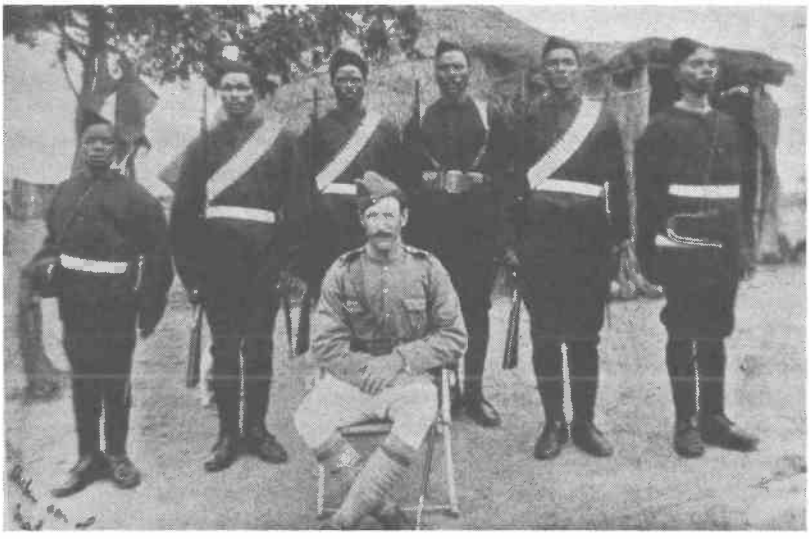
Makoni, following the withdrawal of Alderson's troops reoccupied his position claiming that he had repulsed the Europeans.

A further attempt to dislodge Makoni was made by Captain A.Tulloch with 37 volunteers from Umtali and a Seven-Pounder. When attacked again, Makoni returned to the caves. 70 women and 11 men, including his chief adviser and one of his sons were captured and the walls of the kraal were dynamited.

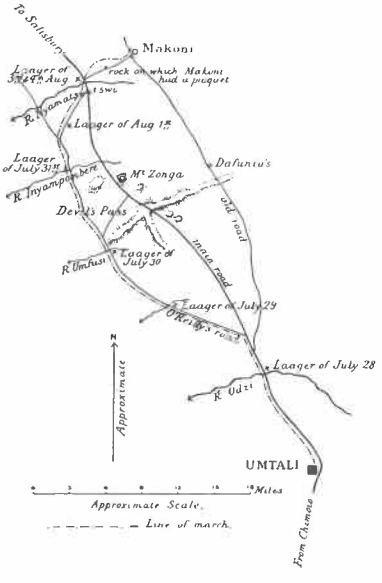
Tulloch was then joined by Major Watts with 155 troops and it was agreed that the capture of Makoni was essential if the rebellion was to be contained.

Thus, the combined forces of Major Watts and Captain Tulloch set out from Fort Haynes at 1.30am on 30th August. It was decided to use dynamite to dislodge the Chief, but the placing of charges proved dangerous as the rebels fired unexpectedly from various points. Eventually it was left to Gunner Jenkins to climb down a 20ft rope, light the fuses and return hand over hand up the granite face "as only a sailor can do".

The first charge buried all the stores of grain and killed 2 rebels. Watts received information that Makoni would try to break out, as a result of which he surrounded the caves and thwarted five escape attempts. Eventually, Makoni came out alone and under cover of fire from his men, tried to escape. He was forced to retreat back into his caves but was pursued and captured. Whilst Lieutenant Fichat is given credit for the capture, it appears that the capture of



Major Harding and the Mashonaland Native Contigent — Archer, Makoni's son to the left
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Route taken by Alderson's column in the march on Makoni's kraal, August 1896. From Alderson: With the Mashonaland Field Force
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Gravestone of Captain A.E. Haynes, Private S. Vickers and Private W. Wickham near Fort Haynes *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

the Chief was effected by one Tom Ndhlamini, an interpreter to the Magistrate at Umtali, who then handed his prisoner over to Lieutenant Fichat. This interesting matter is referred to in articles in the 1936-37 and the 1955 volumes of Nada. In the latter article, the former Head Messenger of the Native Affairs Department complained that Tom Ndhlamini was given £100 for "the part he played at Gwendingwe (Makoni's Stronghold) and the rest of us got nothing, not even a tickey".

It is at this stage that an air of controversy arises. Prior to Watts' attack, Makoni had, on several occasions, stated that he would give himself up. During the siege, Watts had on five occasions sent interpreters to promise Makoni his life if he would surrender; he would, however, still have to face a trial and its consequences.

The matter of Makoni's initial offer to surrender, which had been made on 19th August, had been the cause of intense discussion by the hierarchy back in Salisbury. The British South Africa Company men wanted to accept his surrender and spare his life. Alderson and Carrington agreed with them as the alternative was to starve Makoni and his people out, for which Alderson had neither the time nor the resources. It was the Imperial Officals, Martin and Goodenough, who objected. They held this would create a bad precedent and insisted that the surrender and trial of all guilty of murder was an indispensable condition.

Thus, it was finally agreed that Makoni and his people must lay down their arms, that he and his principal followers would undergo a fair and full trial before a court of law, and their lives would be spared unless they had been directly concerned in any murder. This was the basis on which Native Commissioner Ross, and later Watts, had repeatedly told Makoni that his life would be spared if he surrendered. The offer was not unconditional and Professor Kepple-Jones asserts that Makoni knew that at a meeting of chiefs on 9th June 1896, at which plans had been laid for the rebellion, a specific order for the murder of Ross had been made. Thus, the unwillingness of Makoni to surrender can be understood.

That the conditions attached to the offer of surrender were clear seems apparent as even Colonel Colin Harding (Sergeant at the time) whom, as we shall see, played a significant role in what followed, wrote of the matter- "Eventually, as it was recorded at the time by some writers, Makoni did surrender or was taken prisoner. In war, there is a vast difference between surrendering at discretion and being forced to surrender; in this case, it meant a lot to Chief Makoni. Between the attack made on Makoni's Kraal by Colonel Alderson.....and the attack made by Major Watts.....Makoni had made signs that he wished to surrender on condition that his life should be spared. This request went through to the proper authority i.e. the High Commissioner, and Makoni was informed that he would have to submit to a trial and the question of life or death would depend upon the result of the trial. Apparently under those conditions, Makoni, who had always denied the committal of any murders, refused to surrender, and as a result Major Watts made his attack".

Later, on the same day as Makoni's capture, 3rd September, Watts cabled that Makoni "was captured, did not surrender", and he then convened a court martial.

The court Martial, which was held before five officers, was irregular as the High Commissioner had insisted that Makoni be tried in a properly constituted court, but Makoni was found guilty of armed insurrection and sentenced to death.

Watts then sent telegrams to the High Commissioner and to Baden-Powell as Chief Staff Officer, asking for confirmation of the sentence.

However, as it would have taken a runner two days to reach the nearest telegraph office at Umtali, and as Ross had advised Watts that a rescue attempt would be made if Makoni were

moved, without waiting for replies, Watts took the responsibility of confirming the sentence himself. Thus, at noon on the 4th September 1896, Makoni was placed with his back to a corn bin, the "Sergeant Major Tom Wilks tied a handkerchief round his eyes. The soldiers stood in a line. They fired their guns together like a thunderclap, and there it ended". All descriptions of Makoni's death testify that he died with the courage and dignity becoming a great chief. Sergeant Harding, who commanded the firing party which had two men drawn from each corps wrote- "Makoni died a brave man whether he was a murderer, rebel or the devil incarnate".

It is of interest that over the last few weeks there has been correspondence in the Sunday Mail concerning allegations that Chief Makoni's head was cut off and taken back to England.

In the book, **Rhodesia and its Government** H.C. Thompson refers to the death of Makoni in the following vein- "One of the best known men in Salisbury, when talking to me about it, said, "I know of nothing grander than Makoni's death, than the quiet way in which he spoke to his people, and told them to abstain from further resistance; for himself he only begged that he might be buried decently. 'And now,' he said, 'you shall see how a Makoni can die.'" He fell dead at once, and was buried under a tobacco tree close by where he was shot. I believe he does not lie where he was buried, for I was told by a man who knows the tribe well, that his body has been removed secretly and lies with his fathers in a place where the Makonis have been buried for generations."

In my preparations for this talk I came upon no proof of the action referred to in the letters to the Sunday Mail. Indeed, one of the more recent and very detailed books on this matter **Rhodes and Rhodesia** by Professor Kepple-Jones, makes no reference to it. Actually, this book is by no means complimentary or supportive of the actions of the British South Africa Company or the early settlers either.

In addition, from what follows in this talk concerning Makoni's children, it is even less likely that such an act was committed, apart from the practical aspect that Colonel Alderson's forces spent five months in Rhodesia before they returned home by boat from Beira. Clearly, it would have been impossible to preserve any truncated part of a body for that length of time.

When the High Commissioner, Rosemead (Sir Hercules Robinson), heard of the event, he ordered Watts to be placed under open arrest. A court of enquiry was convened which found that the court martial had been illegal, but Watts was exonerated as he was found to have acted in good faith in the belief that the security situation made his action necessary.

The effect of Makoni's execution met with various responses. The settlers believed it would have a salutary effect on the other rebel chiefs and received the news rapturously.

But at the other extreme, efforts to come to terms with another chief met a hostile response expressed by Harding as follows-

"No, the Chief would not leave his armed men and come and talk, as we had shot Makoni when he surrendered and we might shoot him also."

According to Professor T.O. Ranger, this distrust was a major factor of the continuance of the rebellion into 1897.

The final effect of the execution of Makoni was a touching and poignant one.

Before his death, Makoni handed over two small sons to Colin Harding to take into his charge. These two boys were about 11 and 12 years old. The only stipulation by the mother of the boys was that they should be allowed back to see her once a year.

The boys became well liked in the camp and very attached to Harding. They became known as Archer and Paris. The younger one, Paris, had "an impulsively affectionate nature".

Once, when bringing Harding coffee in the morning, Harding mentioned how cold it was.

That evening, realising he had more bed-clothing on than usual, he discovered that Paris, without saying anything, had quietly put his own blankets on the bed when making it up. Paris was eventually wounded when he was taking some food to Harding. When near the fighting line a bullet passed close by and Archer tried to dissuade his brother from proceeding. Paris answered that as he had his master's food, he would go on. He did go on, and had his thigh shattered directly afterwards by a bullet.

After careful nursing for several months, he had all but recovered when infection set in and he died. The older boy remained with Harding and became a bugler in the armed forces.

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

The Pioneer Column and the Occupation of Mashonaland

by Tim Tanser

This is a text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society on Mount Hampden on 24th July 1990

On the morning of 12th September 1890, the Regimental Orders for the Pioneer Column, in clipped, precise military language stated-

" 1. It is notified for general information that the Column,
having arrived at its destination, will halt.
2. The name of this place will be Fort Salisbury."

This was the culmination of a series of events which had first been focused by the granting of a mining concession by Chief Lobengula of the Matabele to Messrs Rudd, Maguire and Thompson on behalf of Cecil John Rhodes on 30th October 1888. Royal assent had then been granted to Rhodes on 29th October 1889 to the Charter of the British South Africa Company, which Charter gave wide powers to Rhodes, including the powers to preserve the peace, to pass laws and maintain a police force in an area bounded on the south and west by Bechuanaland and the Transvaal and on the east by the Portugese possessions. In spite of Lobengula's efforts to disown the Rudd Concession once it appeared to him that he might have been misled, Rhodes had no thought of allowing his dreams of northward expansion to be thwarted, and he now sought to translate his dreams into reality.

Rhodes first approached General Sir Frederick Carrington the Commanding Officer of the Bechuanaland Border Police, who advised that 2 500 troops at a cost of £1 million would be required to occupy Mashonaland. This estimate horrified Rhodes and it was then that he had the legendary (although probably apocryphal) meeting at Kimberly with Frank Johnson, a young self-assured ex Quarter-Master Sergeant of the Bechuanaland Border Police, who had himself been on a prospecting expedition into the Mazoe area of Mashonaland, and who had little love for Lobengula arising out of accusations of witchcraft against Johnson by the Matabele.

Johnson, at the request of Rhodes, calculated that with 200 men and at a cost of £87 500 (subsequently increased to £94 000) he could construct a wagon road from Palapye to Mount Hampden at which point he was to build a fort, all this to be concluded by 30th September 1890. A contract was executed to this end, dated 14th January 1890, and Johnson had eight and a half months to fulfil his obligations.

From more than 2000 applications to join the pioneer corps, the numbers were whittled down to an eventual figure of 196. The applicants had to be able to ride and shoot, but Rhodes also insisted, to Johnson's initial chagrin, that at least some of the recruits would have to be the sons of leading Cape families. Rhodes' justification was that there was every likelihood that the column would be massacred by the Matabele or at least cut off by them. It would then be the influential fathers of the young men who would pressurise the Imperial Government into saving them. Johnson writes of the final selection- " It comprised clergymen, doctors, lawyers (in those days, in my ignorance, I thought them a necessity to civilised society), farmers, miners, sailors,

builders, tailors, butchers, etc- in a word the complete nucleus of a self-contained civil population". How perceptive of lawyers he was!

Attached to the pioneers was also a number of prospectors, amongst whom was Allan Wilson, destined to be massacred together with the men under his command by the Matabele in 1893, in addition to 'Rhodes' Apostles', twelve men selected by Rhodes as the nucleus of the future administration of the country.

The ages of pioneers varied from Frederick Langerman, who had not yet turned 15, to Lieutenant Frank Mandy, who was 52. Seven of the troopers were under 20. By all means of transportation, recruits drifted into Kimberley. One pioneer officer called Hitchcock was killed after slipping between two railway coaches. Although this early death was unsettling, it turned out to be the only fatality suffered during the entire expedition.

The first gathering place for the pioneers was at Rhodes' farm, three miles outside Kimberley, and thence to Mafeking where attestation papers were signed and the men were supplied with their uniforms and equipment. The recruits each signed a six month contract of service with Johnson, Heany and Borrow and consented to being placed under military discipline. Here also, the organization was completed with the men being divided into three troops, A and B troops being mounted infantry, commanded respectively by Maurice Heany, an American and Skipper Hoste, of English extraction, whilst C troop was the artillery troop commanded by Jack Roach, an Irishman. Frank Johnson, with the rank of Major, was in overall command of the Pioneer Corps.

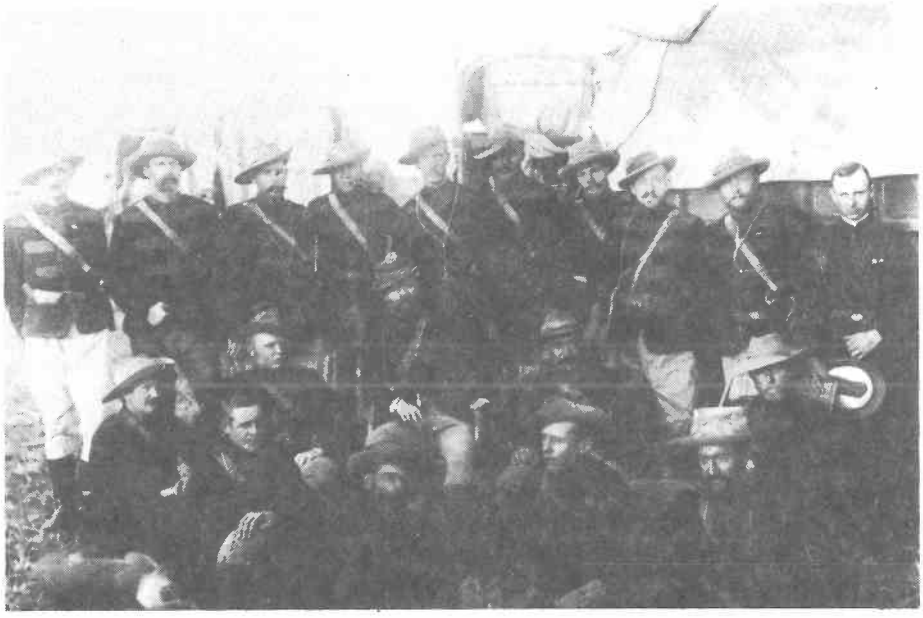
The artillery troop was armed with two 7 pounders, 2 machine guns, a Maxim, a Nordenfeldt and two 24 pounder rocket launchers. Johnson had also organised a 10 000 candle power searchlight, which was powered by a 16 horsepower Ruston-Proctor steam engine fixed in a steel-lined Wedderburn wagon. Once en route, the boiler was kept burning all night and the light switched on to scour the surrounding countryside at regular intervals.

However, at the insistence of Sir Henry Loch, the British High Commissioner in Cape Town, Rhodes was forced to recruit a police force of 500 men to maintain the lines of communications, hold the bases which were to be built by the Pioneers and, if necessary, go to their assistance. This force,the British South Africa Company's Police, was divided into five troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel E.G. Pennefather of the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons.

A potential flashpoint was created in that Pennefather was the senior officer and therefore in command of the entire expedition, whilst Johnson was the person who had contracted to hand over Mashonaland "fit for civil government" by 30th September. Johnson was in no position to brook interference or delays. According to Johnson, however, after a meeting between himself, Rhodes and Sir Henry Loch, it was suggested by Johnson that the problem would be resolved "simply by a word of four letters - TACT" And to the credit of both officers, although there was no love lost between them, the potential conflict never arose.

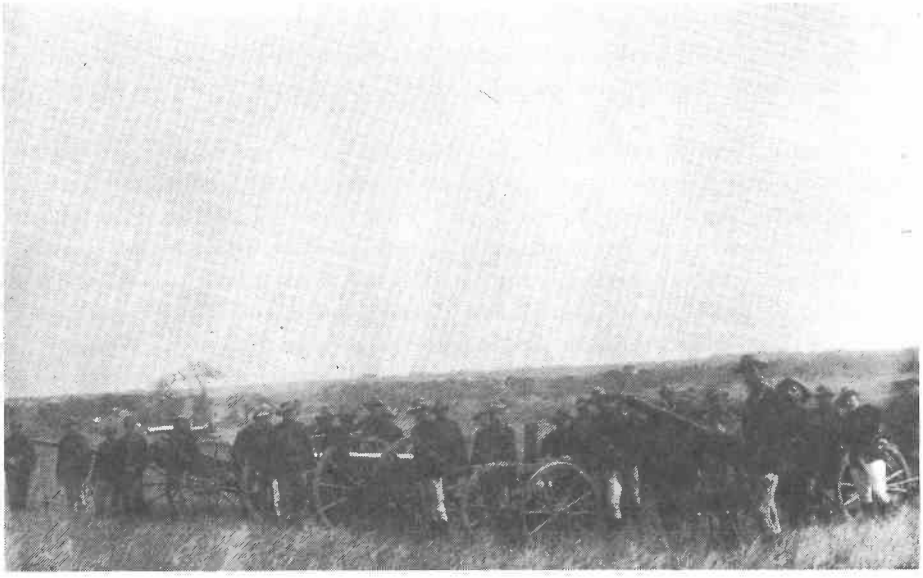
With Rhodes' usual foresight though, he furnished his general power of attorney to Dr. Jameson and had a dispute between Pennefather and Johnson occurred, "Doctor Jim" would have had authority over both of them.

The Pioneers then moved north to camp Cecil on the Limpopo River, of which Heany had taken command on 29th April 1890, and at which the Pioneers were given intensive military training. As with most men exposed to their first military discipline, this led to many harsh words and complaints, but as the Chartered Company expected a Matabele attack as soon as the Shashi River had been crossed, Johnson's thoroughness can be understood.



Pioneer Corps Officers 1890.
L to R Standing: **Lt. E. O'C Farrell, Lt. F. Harding, Dr. A.J.O. Tabuteau, Lt. J.W. Lichfield, Lt. J.J. Roach, Capt. H.F. Hoste, Lt. H.J. Borrow, Lt. A. Campbell, Lt. R.G. Burnett, Rev. F. Surridge**
Middle: **Lt. W. Ellerton-Fry, Capt. A.E. Burnett, Capt. M. Heany, Maj. F. Johnson, Capt. F.C. Selony**
Front: **Lts. E.C. Tyndale-Biscoe, R.G. Nicholson, R. Beal, J. Brett**

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



Artillery "C" troop, Pioneer Corps 1890 *(W.E. Fry)*

On the 15th June, the Pioneers moved to the Macloutsie River, where the police were already camped. Here Fort Matlaputa was built, and more vigorous training ensued, culminating in an inspection by General Methuen, the Adjutant General of the forces in South Africa. He was representing the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, "to report on discipline and see that the expedition was adequately controlled and equipped". According to Trooper William Harvey Brown "the roaring of cannon, the barking and rattling of the machine guns and rifles, and the general din and clamour and smoke were enough to excite even the veterans". Certainly it impressed General Metheun sufficiently for him to give authority to commence the northward march.

The following day, 25th June. the Pioneers moved into the "Disputed Territory" the hegemony over which was disputed between Lobengula and Khama, between the Macloutsie and Shashi Rivers, arriving on 1st July at what was to become Fort Tuli, although referred to by some of the Pioneers as Fort Selous.

The road along which the Pioneers travelled between Macloutsie and Tuli was the first road cut at the direction of the guide and intelligence officer of the column. Captain Frederick Courteney Selous.

As will become evident, considerable friction had already existed and would continue to exist between Johnson and Selous.

This antagonism almost certainly arose as Johnson's first plan for the occupation was to "carry by assault all the principal strongholds of the Matabele nation". When Selous heard of this proposal he was horrified and although plans for occupation from the East Coast via the Zambezi were discussed, Selous proposed the simple alternative, to occupy Mashonaland by the most direct route from the south and avoid the Matabele altogether.

For the following four reasons Rhodes was anxious to envelop Selous in his plans for the occupation-

1. Selous himself held a mineral concession over much of Mashonaland called the Mapondera Concession.

2. Selous, who had a famed reputation in England, held the view, which he intended to air, that certain chiefs in Mashonaland were not subject to Lobengula's power, which view contradicted the entire basis of the Rudd Concession.

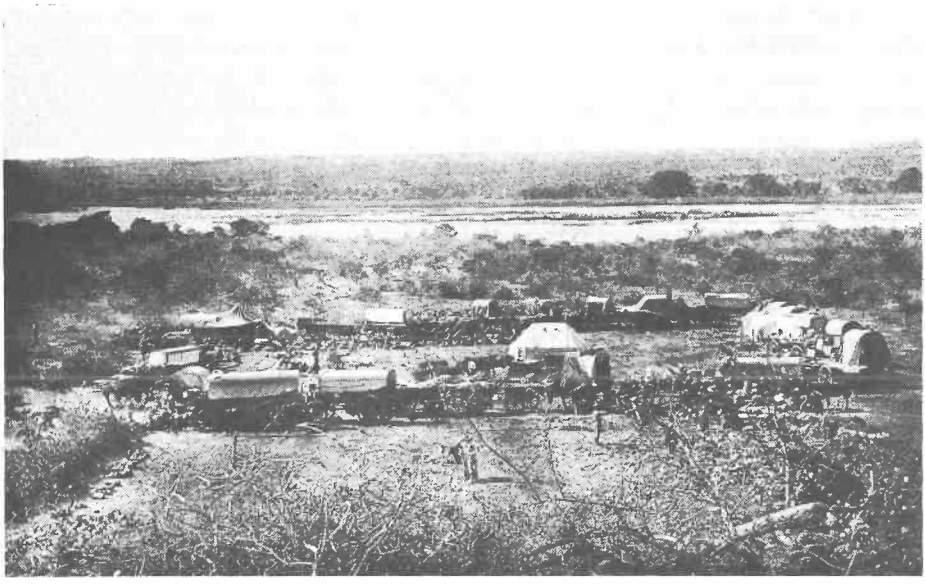
3. Selous' standing and reputation would assist in ensuring financial backing for Rhodes'schemes.

4. Selous knew the country like no other man.

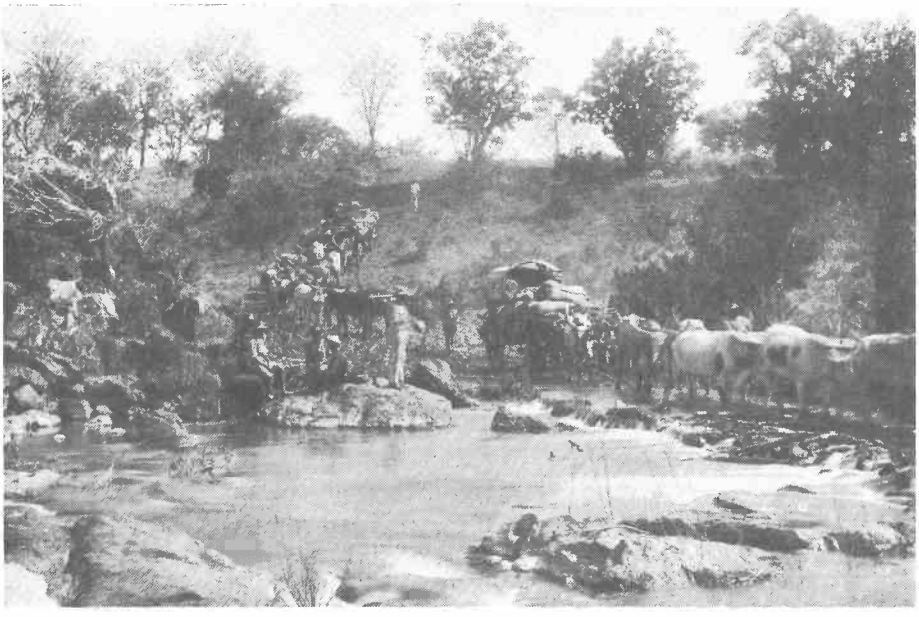
Thus it was that Rhodes had Selous appointed to his posts.

The Pioneers arrived at Shashi River on 1st July 1890 and started the preparation of defences at what was to become Fort Tuli.

Johnson, in his memoirs, states that "the corps consisted, if I may be allowed to say so, of probably the best paid (7s 6d per diem for troopers and everything 'found') the best equipped, and the finest body of men ever got into uniform". Certainly, there seems no doubt that the Pioneers were well equipped, and all were armed with Martini Henry rifles, a six chambered Webly revolver and a hand axe, the latter referred to by Trooper Adrian Darter as "the pioneer's tool and deadly weapon". The only criticism was in respect of the bandoliers, carrying 100 rounds of ammunition, but as they had no covers, the ammunition gradually loosened and fell out. Most troopers made covers of canvas to overcome this difficulty. Darter goes on to say: " I saw considerable service later in mounted corps, but never were the rations or equipment of the Pioneers equalled".



Laager at Tuli River 2.7.1890 from the top of the hill *(W.E. Fry)*



Crossing the Nuanetsi: 28.7.1890 *(W.E. Fry)*

Harvey Brown details the rations as consisting of "coarse wheat flour called 'Boer meal', fresh or canned beef, coffee, sugar, tea, pepper, salt, dried split peas, compressed vegetables and ship-biscuits". In addition, the Pioneers were supplied every evening, until the supply was exhausted, with a "tot" (half a teacupful) of Cape brandy, commonly known as "Cape Smoke" or "dop".

For all these reasons, and by reference to "sing-songs" and outdoor concerts at night, according to 'Skipper' Hoste, "morale in the corps was very high. When the three troops, all mounted, paraded together.... there was no mistaking the pride which rippled through every member of the force".

On 4th July, the first rugby match ever played in the country was played on the dry bed of the Shashi River between "B" Troop and "The World". "The World" consisted of the rest on the Pioneer Corps and "A" troop of the police. Hoste recalls the result was a draw "slightly in favour of "B" troop".

The Shashi River at the Pioneer Drift is some 800 metres wide, and was, in July 1890 almost all sand, with the odd slender shallow ribbon of water. It was crossed on 5th July by "B" troop, together with Jameson and Selous, to commence cutting the road for the rest of the column which was to cross on the 10th and 11th of July.

Vivid descriptions are given as to how the road was cut. Darter wrote, "Selous rode ahead on one of his fine hunters and pointed to a tree, a pioneer sprang to it and felled the obstacle". The fallen tree was then dragged aside by some of the 250 Mangwatos under the command of Radikladi, brother of Chief Khama who had been sent to assist in cutting the road. Darter continues in heroic vein: "The moment your tree fell you walked rapidly past your comrades employed ahead of you and took your station behind Selous. He indicated an arborial victim and you sacrificed it speedily. Hard, muscular, glorious work, such as Gladstone loved". Selous makes his views clear about the assistance rendered by the Mangwato labourers by expressing his gratitude to Khama and finds reprehensible that he has "never yet seen Khama's aid acknowledged or even referred to".

The Mangwato also assisted Selous in his constant patrols some miles either side of the column, to prevent unexpected Matabele attacks and they remained with the column until 11th August, once the Tokwe River had been crossed.

When one is aware of the excessive heat of the lowveld, lack of water, nuisance of mopane flies, and that mopane wood is one of the hardest woods in Africa, one can appreciate why the work was regarded by Harvey Brown as "very heavy". He also writes that the work of the advance troop began at "daylight.....until sundown or dark, with a few hours rest during the middle of the day," At night the pioneers slept within a rectangular enclosure called a Zereba, made of thorn bushes. A wagon was at one end and the water cart at the other, between which was stretched a rope to which the horses were attached.

At streams or rivers, the banks had to be levelled with picks and shovels and the road "corduroyed" by means of large logs. Where water was running, sand bags were laid to make a firm bottom.

The Pioneers were not allowed to shoot game for fear of creating false alarms. At the Tshabetsi River, "B" Troop received instructions from Colonel Pennefather to halt to enable the column to catch up. Having crossed the river, "A" Troop took over the road cutting duties.

To imagine the progress of the column one must appreciate that the 117 wagons were spread out over a distance of between 2 and 3 miles (4-5 kilometres), and each wagon was pulled by a team of 16 oxen in eight pairs, The rate of travel was approximately 12 miles per day.

"Reveille" sounded at 4.30 am, and the whole force had to stand to arms until daylight when the night pickets came in. Patrols would be sent out at daybreak and at midday to reconnoitre the country 15 miles around the column in all directions. The hours of trekking varied, depending upon the type of terrain, but the usual hours were from 2 - 7 pm.

Towards 4pm or 5 pm each evening, Selous would look out for a likely spot to laager. Two ways would be cut to enable the incoming wagons to move alternatively left and right. Extra trees had to be cut. The leading wagons formed the north side of the laager, the front wheel of the incoming wagon standing just past the hind wheel of the wagon ahead.

The bullocks were tethered to the disselbooms outside the laager whilst horses were picketed inside. The men slept under the wagons and were allocated four to a wagon in the event of a Matabele attack.

Whichever troop had not been cutting the road would supply the sentries each night. All meals were cooked within laager and comment is made on how the smoke was "very trying to the eyes, for there are many pots a bubbling and a boiling for many hungry mouths."

Having crossed the Tshabetsi River, Pennefather ordered that two parallel roads be cut to enable a laager to be quickly formed in the event of a Matabele attack.

Whilst some high jinks were still enjoyed, such as ducking the doctors and parsons who tried to keep dry whilst the column was crossing the Lundi River rumours abounded and fears remained about a Matabele attack.

Having crossed the Lundi, these fears increased as a result of the rugged terrain and the difficulty of detecting the hostile forces.

On 6th August, with the column between the Lundi and Tokwe Rivers, Johann Colenbrander brought a message from Lobengula to the effect that he could hold back his warriors no longer if the column did not turn back. Apart from threats to wipe out the entire column, it was made known that four pioneers, including Johnson and Selous, were to be skinned alive!

A thread which is common to all contemporaneous books is the acknowledgement that Lobengula had been under tremendous pressure from his own warriors to attack the column, but that he had delayed long enough for the Pioneers to gain the highveld. Selous wrote that the king "had a very difficult part to play, and it is wonderful that he managed to restrain his people as he did". Darter put it "Lobengula is the butcher who did not slaughter us" and "the lion who did not devour us".

Marshall Hole wrote "He met the difficulty by talking in a bellicose manner and doing nothing."

Whilst these words were all written in grateful hindsight, and modern historians such as Cobbing question the extent to which Lobengula did, or did not, understand what rights he had bestowed, the spectre of a Matabele attack was ever present for the Pioneers in the thick lowveld bush.

On the 10th August, a report was made of an impi of 2000 Matabele having been sighted and that the laager was to be attacked before morning.Bushes were cut by the light of the searchlight and placed among the bullocks, mines were laid, and the men stood to arms before daylight, but no attack came, fortunately enough because the wires connecting the mines were found to have been gnawed off during the night by rodents.

The full extent of the relief the column felt on reaching the highveld may best be gauged by Selous, in his delight at having found what was subsequently called "Providential Pass". "As I stood alone on that little hill and looked.....forward across the grassy downs," he wrote "a weight of responsibility, that had at times become almost unbearable, fell from my shoulders,

and I breathed a deep sigh of relief."

With the column having climbed up the pass, orders for the 17th August stated that "this place will be known as Fort Victoria". Here the Pioneers' second fort was constructed and "C" Troop of the Police, under Captain Lendy remained for "lines of communication" duties.

Here several pioneers, amongst them Johnson and Hoste, visited the Zimbabwe Ruins. Johnson was convinced that this was the area referred to in the Bible where gold was mined and sent from Ophir to King David and King Solomon.

Evidence of the relief felt by all at having left the lowveld was also apparent as a rugby match was played between the Pioneers and the Police, and on 17th August, the first cricket match was played in the country when "A" troop challenged "B" and "C" troops.

The Pioneers then set off again on the 18th August and having travelled 100 miles further north, built Fort Charter at a place which had been christened Mooifontein (beautiful spring) by the hunter Van Rooyen. The open plain and cutting icy wind at that spot caused caustic comment as to where the "Mooi" had come in.

At this stage, Archibald Colquhoun, who was accompanying the column as Administrator designate headed off east to make a treaty with the Chief on the Manica district, Mutasa, to try and thwart Portuguese claims to that area.

Selous went with Colquhoun and his leaving the column brings out the acerbity which Johnson had for Selous, and which even 50 years after occupation, when Johnson published his book "Great Days", is apparent.He writes "Frankly I was glad when Selous was gone. He knew no more about the country we had come through than anyone else; he was not amenable to discipline, and he wasted a great deal of time uselessly with compasses in the veld".

Earlier in his book he had written of Selous "It is represented that he played a far more important part in the expedition than he did in actual practice and that he was "rather self-willed. He had, as a matter of fact great difficulty in seeing eye to eye with others on any matter and was a supreme individualist".

This view was not in accord with others, such as Darter who wrote of Selous "the Pioneers loved him" and "the magnetism of the man lay in his mild serene speech and actions" or with Pennefather, who after the column reached its destination, wrote: "It would have been folly on my part to have interfered with Selous. He is a man with wonderful knowledge of country and of great tact in dealing with the natives and any information given by him is absolutely reliable. And as to the way in which he carried out his work, I never knew a man more conscientious in his duty".

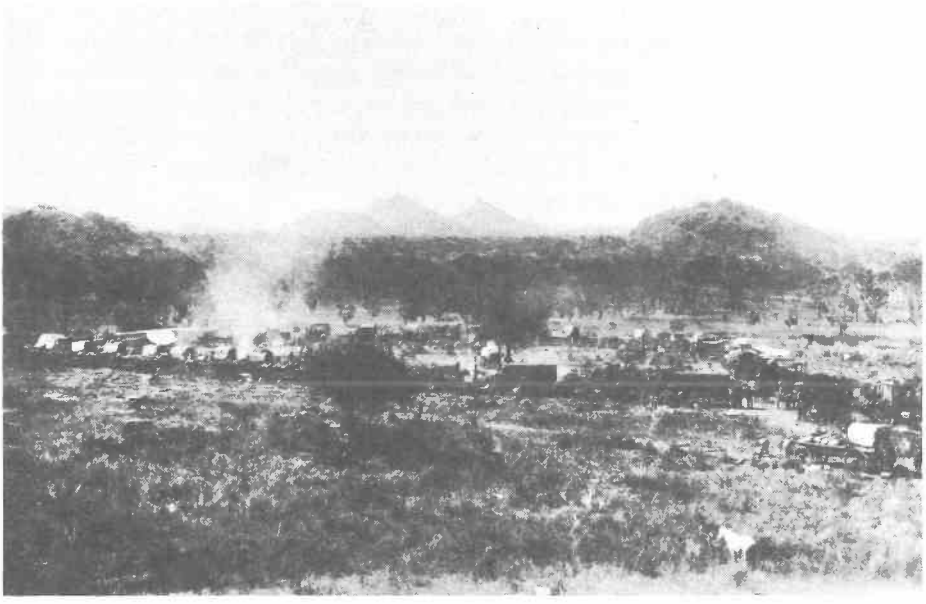
Of course, in any situation where a group of men are cooped up together for an extended period, and with all the tensions of an anticipated Matabele attack, inevitably, criticisms and harsh judgements will occur.

Selous however, spoke only generously of Johnson, Pennefather and Jameson whilst others spoke more deprecatingly of their leaders.

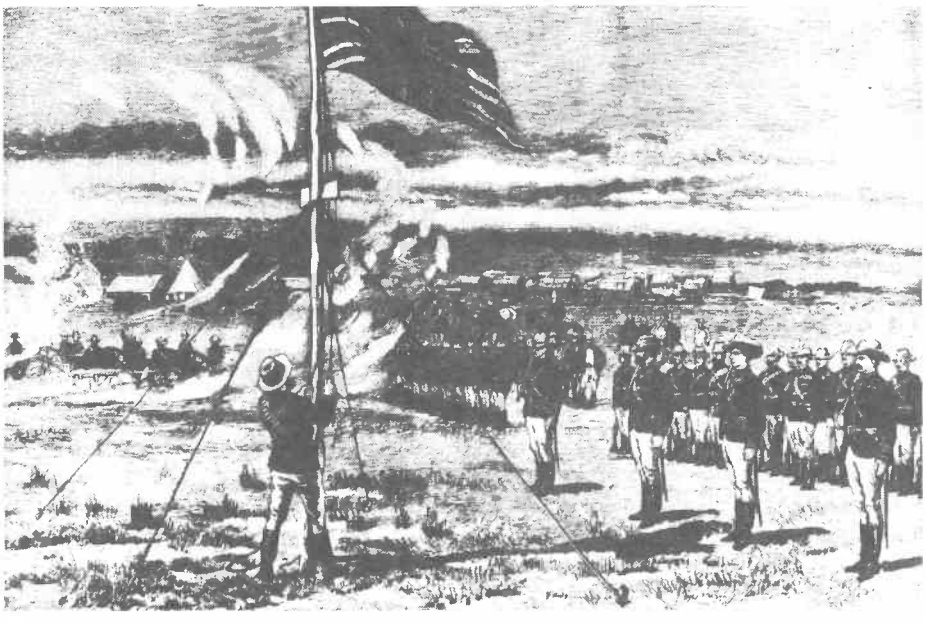
Pennefather is spoken of as "a tall slight man, small headed and featured, irascible, petulant and disliked by his officers" by Darter, which view appears quite charitable set against that of Major E. Leonard, the commander of "E" Troop of the Police, whose view of Pennefather was that he "is noisy, discourteous, and loses the little head he has on every possible occasion, and when he has lost it, it takes him all his time to find it again".

Selous' gentle comment on the Colonel had been of "a most considerate and obliging officer to work with."

Johnson is described by Darter as "a short, thick-set, furtive-eyed, dark man, with lungs



Pioneer Column laager near Lundi River 2.8.1890 *(W.E. Fry)*



Hoisting the flag in Ft. Salisbury 13.9.1890. From a drawing in the *Graphic* 30.5.1891 p.608
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

of the Bull of Bashan, and the knack of handling men and hustling things".

Yet, despite their differences of opinion and character, the column kept on in true military fashion towards its objective and crossed the Umfuli River on 6th September. By now the oxen were very weak, and the Pioneers themselves placed yokes on their necks and helped pull the wagons through the sandy river beds. Two parties of Pioneers were sent out to survey farms between the Umfuli and Hunyani Rivers, which caused dissatisfaction amongst the Pioneers as they believed they should have the right to select farms wherever they might choose. This view was heightened when the open and fertile land around the Makabusi was passed through.

On the 10th and 11th September, Pennefather, accompanied by Sir John Willoughby, the second in Command of the Police, and Captain Ted Burnett of the Pioneers, rode on ahead of the main body to select a site suitable for the culmination point of the main column in the vicinity of Mount Hampden.

Mr. E.E. Burke identified their route: "in modern terms the party rode that day from the Hunyani to the Seven Miles Hotel, up the Makabusi, across the centre of Salisbury and perhaps through Alexandra Park and Mount Pleasant to the area of the Marlborough Race Track; then across to Glenara and back along the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe area, perhaps by Pomona and Alexandra Park again".

Pennefather, in his report to the Administrator, Mr Archibald Colquhoun explains: "Finding that the water supply in the Gwebi Valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makabusi and selected the site where the camp now is."

At day break on 12th September, Captain Burnett returned to the column which had spent the night of the 11th on the banks of the Makabusi at Waterfalls, to guide it to the spot selected which according to Skipper Hoste, was where Gordon Avenue crosses First Street, though Mr Burke placed it slightly further south where First Street and Manica Road meet.

The next morning at 10.00 a.m., the Pioneer Corps and seventy two police of "B" Company paraded in full dress.

A flag pole was cut from a Msasa tree. As the Company's own flag had not been received when the column set out, a Union Jack was prepared for unfurling. By the flagstaff stood Colonel Pennefather, Sir John Willoughby, and Canon Balfour, the Police Chaplain, wearing his cassock. On command from Colonel Pennefather, Lieutenant Tindale Biscoe pulled the cord and the flag fluttered open. A prayer was said by the Canon, followed by the seven pounders firing a twenty one gun salute. The men marched past the saluting area and returned to their position in the parade. The Colonel called for three cheers for the Queen, and the men having responded with three roaring shouts, were dismissed for the day. The officers and Chaplains withdrew to the mess tent and celebrated the occupation with champagne.

Work began two days later on the fort, situated at what would become Cecil Square. On 30th September, the fort having been completed, and Johnson's contract fulfilled, the Pioneer Corps paraded for the last time. Major Johnson thanked and congratulated the Corps on "the satisfactory termination of the expedition" and wished them "most heartily the best of good luck and fortune in Mashonaland" and then gave the order for them to dismiss and for them to "be converted from military force into a civilian population."

" I know not what others of the Pioneers may have thought or felt on this occasion," wrote William Harvey Brown "but I must confess that on my mind it made a profound impression. For the first time in my life I felt I was helping to make history, that I had witnessed the laying of the cornerstone of what, by nature of the natural resources and fertility of the country, would

one day become a populous and valuable colony. The vicissitudes it would be called upon to undergo, no human judgement could foresee, but in the hands of the world's most successful colonial architect, its final destination seemed a forgone conclusion. It needed no professional prophet to predict the farms, the mines, the towns and cities, the factories and the railways which a few years' time would be almost certain to bring."

Were the Pioneers and Police Johnson's "finest body of men that ever got into uniform" or Marshall Holes "no finer corps d'élite than the British South Africa Company's Police and the Mashonaland Pioneers has ever been raised"?

Were they Labouchere's "Border ruffians and marauders" or were they Victor Moriers' "on the whole an excellent body, but neither the police nor the Pioneers are quite all we heard from the enthusiasts in London....."?

Perhaps as individuals they were as Major Leonard saw them: "Such a mixed lot I never saw in my life, all sorts and conditions from aristocratic down to the street arab, peers and wisps of humanity mingling together like the ingredients of a hotch potch."

But for the significance of what they achieved we can only traverse this country today and take pride in what, in one hundred short years, has sprung from the obstacles they overcame, the courage they showed, and the foundations which they laid.

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Cecil John Rhodes

By Richard Wood

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society on Mount Hampden on 29th July, 1990

To a boy born in this country in the first half of this century the name of Cecil John Rhodes was familiar pervasive and ubiquitous. Such a boy would be living in a country named "Rhodesia," possibly attend a school named "Cecil John Rhodes," would go to a senior school and would be placed into Rhodes House, would look forward to the mid-winter holidays which were called "Rhodes and Founders;" would, if he was lucky, be taken for holidays to Rhodes Hotel on Rhodes Estate and when he was not on holiday would possibly walk down Rhodes Avenue into town and draw money from the Rhodes Building Society and spend an afternoon watching a film at the Rhodes Cinema in the town.

Rhodes' likeness would have been imprinted in his mind. He would pick up a bank note and holding it to the sun would see Rhodes face imprinted in the note. He would walk down the main streets in the major cities and would see Rhodes' statue towering down from its pedestal. If he had been in school in 1953 he may have been lucky to have been taken to the Rhodes Centenary exhibition held at Bulawayo, have had the chance of watching the Royal Ballet Company, listening to a Halle orchestra, laughing at, was it George Formby? or if he was not cultural bent, exchanging tickets to these shows for the money to spend at a Lunapark the size and complexity of which had not previously been seen in this country. He would hear about Mr Rhodes not only from his history teacher at school, but possibly from his parents or grandparents who had some personal story to tell about their meeting with Mr Rhodes before the turn of the century.

The image was so firmly ingrained that Rhodes assumed almost God-like proportions in his young mind - a temporal trinity consisting of King George VI, Sir Godfrey Huggins and Cecil John Rhodes.

Then we had UDI, the war and Independence and suddenly Rhodes, who had been part of us, almost ceased to exist. The name was changed, the statues were pulled down, the history books were rewritten and if he was mentioned at all, he was described in derogatory terms as "an arch imperialist," and "an arch capitalist"

This trend was not peculiar to this country. It has become the fashion in England and in the United States to write biographies debunking their subjects, questioning their motives and casting aspersions upon their personal lives.

The pendulum has swung from perhaps over-glorification to total denigration and it has been my interesting task over the last weeks to try and seek the correct path through these two extremes. In this regard I have received considerable assistance by reading Robert Rotberg's recently published work "The Founder", a book of great quality.

I should perhaps start by providing an outline of his life. He was born on the 5th July, 1853 at Bishops Stortford a town in Hertfordshire north of London where his father was the local vicar. He had nine brothers and sisters and one half sister and of that number only his half sister and one of his brothers married. His father was a typical victorian martinet and his mother was

a cheerful, affectionate and capable woman. "He had an unremarkable childhood, suffered bad health and, for this reason, was sent to join his brother, Herbert, who had emigrated to Natal. He was 17 when he arrived in Durban and he then spent two years managing his brother's cotton farm in the Umkomaas Valley in the Natal Midlands. His brother did not remain long on the farm and left the young Rhodes to manage the same for him. Rhodes was always proud of the fact that he produced two cotton crops at an early age, the first not successful, the second more successful. Herbert Rhodes conveyed to his younger brother the excitement of the new found Kimberley and Rhodes decided to join him and left the Umkomaas Valley in October, 1871, travelling up to Kimberley on horseback accompanied only by a cart pulled by four oxen. He was 18 when he arrived in Kimberley and within six to eight weeks was regularly finding about 30 carats of diamonds a week providing an average gross return of £100,00. He was resourceful, meticulous and hardworking, and he exercised skill in choosing his business partners.

He must have cut an odd figure in the dust of Kimberley, a contemporary description is "fair blue eyed, and with somewhat aquiline features, wearing flannels off the school playing field, somewhat shrunken with strenuous rather than effectual washings that still left the colour of the red veld dust."

He teamed up with Charles Dunell Rudd a man several years older than himself, and together became more and more wealthy, not only by finding diamonds, but also by buying up new claims and in such other ventures as contracting to pump out surplus water and selling ice to the thirsty prospectors of Kimberley. Rudd was to play an enormously important part in Rhodes' earlier life. He was an efficient and steady man and it has been said that if Rhodes was the architect, Rudd was the contracting engineer. Without Rudd Rhodes would have been unable to leave the mines to spend terms at Oxford and eventually to serve in Parliament. He first went up to Oxford in 1873 at the age of 20. In nine terms over the next eight years he studied for his BA which he finally passed at the end of 1881, acquiring his MA by purchase at the same time.

During the scattered periods that he was away from Kimberley Charles Rudd looked after the shop.

Rhodes had always been of a philosophical nature and before he went to Oxford he would read and reread books such as Artistotle's Ethics, Plato's Republic, Marcus Aurelius' Meditations, Plutarchs Lives and Edward Gibbons' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. But it was at Oxford that his own personal philosophy came to fruition. William W. Reade was perhaps the most important influence. It was his philosophy that preached that the rewards of a man were in continuing and improving the human race, to develop to the utmost our genius and our love. That is the only true religion, wrote Reade.

This was the age of Ruskin and Disraeli. Ruskin preached that Britain had a destiny which was the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. Britain had the firmness to govern and the grace to obey. "Will you, youths of England, make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred isle, for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of learning and of the Arts; faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent and ephemeral visions; faithful servant of time tried principles? This is what England must either do or perish; she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on and there teaching these her colonists that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea. All that I ask of you is to have a fixed purpose of some kind for your country and yourselves no matter how restricted, so that it be fixed and unselfish."

It was from these influences that Rhodes at that stage in his life wrote "It often strikes a man to inquire what is the chief good in life; to one the thought comes that it is a happy marriage, to another great wealth, and as each seizes on his idea, for that he more or less works for the rest of his existence" "For myself," said Rhodes, "the wish came to render myself useful to my country... We are the finest race in the world and the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Africa is still lying ready for us, it is our duty to take it". This was the creed that Rhodes was to follow for the rest of his life. His vehicles were money and power. Money he obtained from the diamonds of Kimberley and power he procured by commencing a political career, becoming Member of Parliament for Barkley East in 1881, a seat that he held for the rest of his life. In 1888 Rhodes achieved control over the diamond industry in Kimberley by consolidating his de Beers Company with Barnato's interests into the new De Beers Consolidated Mining Company Limited. He had the previous year floated with Rudd the Gold Fields of South Africa Limited, but initially Rhodes was not as successful with gold as he had been with diamonds. He did not seem to have the same feel and, in 1886, while his associate Hans Sauer was attempting to persuade him to invest in the newly found Rand, his young secretary Pickering became very ill in Kimberley and when Rhodes heard this he cut short his trip to the Rand and rushed back to Kimberley to be with his friend when he died.

By the end of 1889 the Gold Fields Company had disposed of its Rand holdings and had invested heavily in diamonds. By the end of the 1880's therefore, Cecil Rhodes had consolidated his position as king of diamonds and had the wealth to fulfil his creed of imperial expansion. He did this by persuading his old partner Charles Rudd to travel to Bulawayo to seek a concession from Lobengula, and Rudd's party left Kimberley in mid-August 1888, arrived in Bulawayo in late September 1888. They spent most of October waiting to get down to business and eventually on the 30th October, the king indicated that he was ready to sign. The Rudd Concession begins with a promise that Lobengula would be paid £100 in British currency every month and would be provided with 1000 Martini Henri rifles and 100,000 rounds of suitable ammunition. It also promised an armed steamboat on the Zambezi or if Lobengula did not want this, £500. In exchange the king assigned the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in his kingdoms, principalities and dominions together with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same and to hold, collect and enjoy the profits and revenue from metals and minerals.

Lobengula also gave Rudd and his partners authority to exclude all other prospectors and land seekers from his kingdom.

The next step was to convert the concession into a more tangible asset and Rhodes achieved this within a year by securing for the B.S.A. Company which had taken over the rights to the Rudd Concession, a royal charter. This document was delightfully vague in defining the authority and sphere of operation of the company. There was no definition of the western and northern boundaries, no mention of automony for the Matabele. The company was authorised to obtain lands and powers by grants or treaties from indigenous authorities anywhere in Africa and was made responsible for the preservation of peace and order in such ways and manners as it shall consider necessary. As a modern writer had put it "Rhodes received a kind of hunting licence. It was by no means a logical extension of the limited powers granted by the Rudd Concession and Lobengula could well have felt that he had given an inch and lost a mile."

Within the next year Rhodes organised the pioneer column, and at the age of 37 became Prime Minister of the Cape. He was dependent upon the support of the Afrikaner Bond which almost commanded a majority in Parliament. One gets the impression that Rhodes accepted

the job not because he enjoyed politics but because he needed the power to fulfil his aims.

His parliamentary speeches were effective because his matter was good but his delivery was not impressive. He was rambling and repetitive and he had a voice that broke startlingly into a high falsetto if he became agitated or angry. One can detect in his policies as Prime Minister his belief that the end justified the means and some of the legislation supported by him such as an amendment to the Master and Servants Act which gave rural magistrates the power to flog African labourers if farmers complained that they had been disobedient, cannot be defended and caused Rhodes to lose the liberal support that he had had both in South Africa and in England.

As we all know, the Pioneer Column reached its destination on the 12th September, 1890 but Rhodes was not able to visit his new colony until over a year after the conclusion of his first full legislative session as Premier of the Cape.

During the first year of the occupation things did not go well for the pioneers. The country was not as wealthy in gold as had been dreamed and the opening up of farms had proved a slow and difficult process with insufficient farming equipment and seeds to operate successfully. The rainy season of 1890 to 1891 was a very wet one and as a result there were food shortages and difficulties in securing supplies and equipment. The cost of food and other essentials soared so that the price of quinine rose from several shillings to £5 an ounce and the price of a bottle of whisky reached £1. Lord Randolph Churchill made his tour of inspection of the new colony and told the world how little impressed he was with the same.

Rhodes sought to alleviate the position by replacing the Administrator Colquhoun with his great friend Dr Jameson, who became Administrator of the country in the middle of 1891. With the fortunes of the company dropping, the unfavourable publicity created by Lord Randolph Churchill and the dis-satisfaction of the settlers increasing, Rhodes felt that he had to make the time to travel to the new country. Accompanied by De Waal, a member of the Cape Parliament, he embarked at Port Elizabeth and reached Beira on about the 26th September, 1891. The journey from Beira to Salisbury was a difficult one. After travelling for some 60 miles on a river boat up the Pungwe, they walked for most of the rest of the way passing through Masikess and over the Penhalonga mountains. Rhodes arrived in Umtali on the 16th October, 1891 and took approximately another week to complete to journey to Salisbury. He arrived to find the town simmering with discontent and he was forced to listen to complaint after complaints from deputations of settlers. Rhodes sought to mollify the complainants by speaking of their duty to the empire and posterity. The complainants retorted that they had come to this country for profit not posterity and the impression is gained that the atmosphere was so antagonistic towards the B.S.A. Company and Rhodes in particular, that he stayed only four days in Salisbury and thereafter headed South for home, travelling by ox wagon through Charter and Fort Victoria where he took the opportunity of visiting the Zimbabwe Ruins. The party travelled through Tuli and met the railhead, arriving in Kimberley at the end of November.

Rhodes' next visit to the country occurred almost two years later. He arrived in Salisbury using the same route as before on the 9th October, 1893. His trip to the country was motivated by the decision made earlier in the year to invade Matabeleland. In retrospect it is clear that once Mashonaland had been settled the days of Matabele rule over Matabeleland were numbered. Jameson was urging Rhodes to sanction the invasion of Matabeleland. Opening up Matabeleland he said, would give us a tremendous lift in shares and everything else. Rhodes was cautious. Read Luke 14 verse 31 was his telegraphic message to Jameson "Or what king going to make

war against another king sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand."

Jameson consulted his Bible and had no hesitation in advising Rhodes that he had read Luke and that it was all right and Rhodes finally agreed to the invasion plans, and came up to see them effected. One must feel sorry for Lobengula who had struggled hard to keep his young warriors in check and the cynical disregard of the terms of the Concession and the decision to take over Matabeleland to pump up the value of the company shares has been rightly criticised.

The Matabeleland campaign was short and effective. The Maxim guns efficiently mowed down the opposition at the battle of Bembezi in October and Jameson's combined force marched into the deserted town of Bulawayo on the 4th November. Rhodes had followed the attacking parties southwards but did not immediately enter Matabeleland, travelling from Victoria through to Tuli and then back into Bulawayo arriving unexpectedly on the 4th December. The success of Jameson's gamble and the growing realisation that Rhodesia was not as wealthy in gold as had been anticipated were the seeds of the eventual destruction of Rhodes' political career. He again returned to this country in October 1894 accompanied by mining engineer Hammond and with him inspected the gold prospects in the country. Hammond's conclusion was that although there was gold scattered throughout the country it was in small quantities and nothing in Rhodesia resembled the Rand. Rhodes now knew that Rhodesia was not going to do for him in gold as Kimberley had done for him in diamonds and thus the Transvaal with its proven wealth in gold deposits became more and more desirable in his eyes.

From these circumstances there sprang the plot to invade the Transvaal to support a planned uprising of Uitlanders in Johannesburg. Rhodes was spurred on by Jameson whose victory over the Ndebele had made him over confident. Jameson believed that he could beat the Boers with 500 men armed with bull whips; that he could simply blow them away. It was a miscalculation of mammoth proportions and did not take into account the experience of the Boers as marksmen and fighters. The plan anticipated that there would be seven thousand five hundred rebels prepared to join the invaders. Arms had been smuggled up to Johannesburg in the preceding weeks for this purpose. In the result, at Christmas time in 1895, only two to four hundred people were prepared to join in the revolution.

Jameson's Column was also smaller that anticipated. His plan called for at least seven hundred men, but less than five hundred started with him for Johannesburg from Pitsane. In those last decisive days Rhodes realised that the revolt on the Rand would not succeed and attempted to call Jameson back, but Rhodes' messages either never reached Jameson or were ignored by him.

On Sunday the 29th December, 1895, Jameson's Column entered the Transvaal, was trailed by Boer Commandos who surrounded the raider at Doornkop some 14 miles from Johannesburg, and caused them to surrender. The effect on Rhodes was disastrous. He appeared absolutely broken, down in spirit, "Poor old Jameson twenty years we have been friends and now he goes and ruins me." He resigned his Premiership of the Cape, later resigned as a director of the B.S.A. Company and after a visit to Britain in the first part of 1896, where he planned the best way out of the mess with Chamberlain and Lord Selbourne, he returned to Africa landing at Beira on the 20th March 1896.

By the time he reaches Salisbury the news of the Matabele rebellion was out. He took charge of the situation and used his enormous energies to plan its suppression. On the 6th April, 1896 he joined a column of 150 white troops and set out for the defence of Bulawayo. By mid-

May the relief column was inside the laager at Gwelo and thereafter they proceeded southwards towards Bulawayo where they met up with Carrington's forces which had arrived from the South. The Matabele were now on the defensive regrouping in the Matopo Hills, but as soon as the danger was averted in Matabeleland, the Mashona came out in rebellion in Mashonaland. Rhodes continued to stay in Bulawayo taking part in several sorties from the town against the Matablele. He did not carry a gun himself and was to some extent an onlooker and camp follower. This is not to say that he did not from time to time expose himself to real danger and there is no doubt that he was prepared to submit himself to the discomfort of many cold nights in Matabeleland in the middle of winter on these patrols.

The journalist Vere Stent recalls returning from a night ride to camp at 3.00 a.m. in the morning and stumbling over someone lying asleep amidst the roots of a tree: "That someone was Rhodes wearing a short ridiculous overcoat hardly reaching to his knees in the cold of the night. He had been sleeping on his hat with inverted saddle as his pillow. He had no blanket and was shivering". By August of that year Rhodes tiring of the stalemate situation which had arisen decided that peace negotiations were essential and had several indabas with the Matabele in the Matopos commencing on the 21st August. At great risk to himself and to the members of his party, he travelled out into the Matopos and there met Chief Somabhulana and they started to talk. Rhodes said that the time for peace had come and asked the question is it peace or war? An intense silence followed and finally Somabhulana said "It is peace, you have my word". Further negotiations followed and the final indaba was held on the 9th September when other Ndebele chiefs and indunas agreed to lay down their arms, return to their lands and plant their crops.

Rhodes returned to Salisbury in October of that year to face the complaints of disgruntled settlers and pleas for financial assistance. For three weeks he heard their complaints and appeals and wrote out cheque after cheque which he gave to these supplicants. His six month stay in the country seems to have strengthened his love for the land because after the rebellion he purchased a large block of farms called Sauerdale on the northern edge of the Matopos and nearly 100 00 acres of land in Inyanga. He enjoyed both properties spending three months at Inyanga in 1897 and utilised his Bulawayo property to settle some of the Matabele who had agreed to lay down their arms. Although he had resigned his Premiership of the Cape he remained a member of Parliament and continued to exercise great influence over the affairs of the Cape throughout the late 1890's. He continued to preach that Kruger's administration in the Transvaal was a great block to the progress of the sub continent and was fully behind Milner's attemps to escalate the tension and cause the war that broke out between the Boers and the English in October, 1899.

Rhodes spent the first months of the Boer War besieged in Kimberley where he fretted like a caged lion, being highly critical of the local military commander Kekewich and the British forces sent to relieve the town under Methuen.

My mother's parents were in the siege of Kimberley, my grandfather being at that time assistant to the editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser. Rhodes was able to receive the British newspapers from time to time and would lend these to the editor to enable him to obtain news for the local paper. On one occasion my grandfather, in order to expedite the production of the local paper, cut up one of the newspapers lent by Rhodes and thereafter had to bear a furious onslaught from the great man who was extremely angry that his newspaper had been so mutilated.

These years of great activity from 1888 to 1900 had taken a heavy toll upon Rhodes' health.

The trim young man of the 1880's had given away by the end of the 1890's to a large headed man of imposing stature. As the years went by his face became more and more bloated and bluish in colour. He had had several heart attacks and became short of breath and he spent the remaining months of his life alternating between Kimberley, Bulawayo and the Cape, with several trips back to England. He returned from England to South Africa in January 1902 and spent most of his time in his recently acquired cottage at Muizenburg. He had great trouble breathing and literally fought for air. He died at 6.00 p.m. on the 26th of March, 1902. A hole was chipped into the granite of Worlds View, Matopos and there he was buried on the 10th April.

What was his legacy? In financial terms it was an estate worth approximately £5 million. His primary bequest was to Oxford University for the establishment of the Rhodes Scholarships. His formula for selection is interesting: 30% for literary and scholastic attainment; 20% for fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket, football and the like; 30% for qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness and fellowship; and 20% for exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his school mates.

When speaking of these attributes Rhodes defined them with what has been called the defensive cynicism of the romantic. Literary and scholastic attainments he categorised as smugness. A fondness of and success in manly sports he categorised as brutality. Qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty etc., he categorised as unctuous rectitude and moral force of character and instincts to lead he defined as tact.

What else did he leave behind him? Two countries were named after him, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. There is no doubt that his vision and energy secured these two countries to British domination. It satisfied him to have countries named after him. "Well you know" he said to a friend "To have a bit of country named after one is one of the things a man might be proud of". "Well" he said, "there is something that will live, they can't take that away can they." In those times the names of countries did not change as easily as they have changed in the more recent period.

He also left a great monopoly in diamonds. The De Beers Consolidated Company continues to enjoy a virtual monopoly and as a result of his instincts for consolidating the industry it continues to be able to control the world price of diamonds.

He also left a beautiful part of Cape Town, the Groote Schuur Estate, which he had long planned to be the location for a university, the University of Cape Town, which eventually was built some years after his death. The house at Groote Schuur designed by Herbert Baker continues to be the residence of the President of South Africa, and it might be said that he pioneered the renaissance of interest in Cape furniture, silver and other artifacts by establishing a worthy collection of the same.

His vision endures in other respects as well. It was he who established the fruit industry on a firm footing with the Rhodes fruit farms in the beautiful Fransch Hoek Valley. Rhodes Estate at Nyanga continues to give pleasure to the thousands of people who visit it.

He was a man of incredible vision and incredible energy and while one recognises his dishonesties and deceits, these were committed by him as means to an end, that end being the establishment of English rule in Africa.

To what extent was this a good thing? The infrastructure created in this country by 1980 compares very favorably with the infrastructure of other countries colonised by non-British people.

If Zimbabwe had been colonised and controlled by the Portuguese Government would one have found the development that exists here today? If it has been colonised by Germany, would there have been the good relationship between the whites and blacks that exists today. There is no doubt in my mind that for all his faults Rhodes was a great man and that his existence created much benefit for Southern Africa.

Rhodes name was certainly revered by the first generation of settlers in this country. I recently came across a will executed in 1929 by such a person, Percy Smith, an early magistrate. It provided for a life interest in the sum of $10,000 to go to his wife and children and that after their death, the capital sum was to go to the Rhodes Trustees for the furtherance of Mr C J Rhodes' will relating to Rhodesia. The will continues "I am aware that ten thousand pounds is a trifling addition to the funds of the Rhodes Trust but it will serve as an expression of loyalty and admiration for the memory of our old chief. I commend the idea to all true Rhodesians and should others follow my example, who knows to how great an extent the objects of Cecil John Rhodes will be furthered by such collective contributions to the funds, God Save the King!"

Frederick Courteney Selous (1851 - 1917)

by C. John Ford

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society on Mount Hampden on 29th July 1990

When asked to talk on Frederick Courteney Selous during the period around 1888 to about 1906, I really thought Tim Tanser was having me on!

When I realised he was serious I asked, "Why me?" I have tried to fathom the reason for being chosen to share this platform with Tim Tanser and Richard Wood and I can only draw conclusions that have little in my favour:-

Unlike both of them I do not share the honour of being descended from our early Traders, Settlers or Pioneers. The best I could do in that direction was that my parents, L. Harwood and Ruby Ford and eldest sister Dulcie, arrived at Umtali on 21st November, 1921, from the south, to farm citrus for the B.S.A. Company at Premier Estate, near Old Umtali;

Being descended from the 1820 Settlers did not seem relevant either;

That I had a Great Uncle, John Webster, who, so I discovered only a month ago, was in the Matabeleland Relief Force of 1896 and thus gained a medal, hardly tips the scale.

None of these could have caused me to be in this situation you see me today!

So, I guess, there must be some ulterior reason. Let it be a warning to the unsuspecting! It is indeed a signal honour which has been heaped on me to speak on this occasion, 100 years later, to such an august body of fellow Zimbabweans, and I am greatly humbled.

There were great men involved in the changes that took place in the Scramble for Africa in the late 1880's.

Great men such as Lobengula, Cecil John Rhodes and Frederick Courteney Selous.

Much has transpired in those 100 years, for better, for worse, maybe, but today I am privileged to recall the life of Frederick Courteney Selous in relation to this country.

My first action was to ask a lady known to me as a great Selous admirer why she held him in such esteem. To which she replied "He had such lovely legs!"

It did not take me long to realise that getting together Selous' life was to be like painting an enormous canvas with a quarter inch flat brush.

To appreciate his involvement into his country, it is necessary that we hear of the vivid background of this man.

The head of the family line was one Phillip Slow, a soldier of the 17th Century.

The family were claimed to be of Huguenot descent having taken refuge in Jersey in the Channel Islands from France after 1685.

Frederick Courteney Selous' father was Frederick Lokes Slous. He was the eldest of three sons, born 9.3.1802 in England of a Jersey couple. He was a businessman on the Stock Exchange.

His two uncles were Henry Courteney Selous who was an artist and an author; and Angiolo Robson Selous, a dramatist.

These latter two adopted the Anglicized family name Selous whereas Frederick Lokes (the father of Fred) kept the name spelling Slous to avoid confusion in the business world.

They were a close family. A cultured well-to-do class flourishing in untroubled gentility. A close family with liberal convictions and cultivated tastes in the arts. Music was a common bond.

The Three brothers built homes together overlooking Kensington Gardens.

His father, Frederick Lokes Slous, whom I shall refer to as Frederick after this, was married three times.

Firstly to Elizabeth Clipperton who bore him a son Edrich, of whom I can tell you nothing further.

Secondly to Julia Mole, who died childless; and

Thirdly to Ann Sherborn, who was 20 years younger than her husband.

She was a broadminded woman with advanced views and a love of nature and poetry. She bore Frederick five children: the eldest being Frederick Courteney Selous (our subject) born on the 31st December 1851, in their Regents Park Home in Gloucester Road - and he lived fully for 65 years; then Edmund, who married Fanny Maxwell - a delicate boy but a noted naturalist and ornithologist; then three girls - Florence, known as "Locky" who married Hodges; Ann, - called "Tottie" - married R. F. Jones and lastly Sybil, known as "Dei" - who married C. A. Jones. The Jones' were brothers.

Our subject was known as and signed himself more often as, Fred, which is how I will address him to avoid confusion with his father Frederick.

To his character: He was always "different;" He had little in common with his father whom he disturbed and baffled; yet to his three sisters he was affectionate, distant and awesome.

As a youth the writings of David Livingstone first stirred his imagination for adventure and exploration in Africa in 1857.

His holidays from the age of six were spent on a farm on the Isle of Wight where his mother interested him in nature, and here he started his egg collecting; for school prizes he invariably chose books on Africa, and it was William Charles Baldwin's "African Hunting and Adventure" book and drawings which finally convinced Fred's direction to Africa.

He was a veritable handful from the start - egg and skin collecting always landed him in trouble by day and night!

Africa's notable explorers and men like Livingstone, Stanley and Rhodes had normally come from poverty, deprivation and the like, yet here we have a well-educated, gifted son of a wealthy family breaking all bounds and ignoring the warmth and safety of a British family bosom and all its emotional security.

From his earliest days his outdoor interests and activities led him foul of his parents, teachers and even the law. A prankster to boot, full of pluck; one to be hero-worshipped from early in life.

His first schooling was at Bruce Castle, a gloomy mansion in Tottenham in North London, where he arrived bewildered and miserable at the age of nine years. On his first day he got into a fist fight! He worked well and was obviously bright and stayed there for four years until he was 13.

Next he spent a brief time at Belton under the watchful eye of the Reverend Charles Darnell. Incidents which highlighted his nature and outlook are on record where Fred was found lying on the floor only in his nightshirt. Asked the reason for this he replied, "One day I am going to be a hunter in Africa and I am just hardening myself to sleep on the ground." He was also known to sleep with the windows wide open for the same reason.

Then he gained a place in that famous English Public School Rugby in 1866, where, at the age of 14, he entered Whitelaw House. Now he experienced new reforms of a fine, strong, rough, vigorous and self-confident society. Strict discipline, but fair - just Heaven to our Fred!

Here his characteristics were noted. He had the fire and modesty of a genius and was a delightful creature. His bird interest developed and was encouraged in the Natural History Club. He poached; swam where forbidden; disliked opposition and was quick tempered; forbidden meant it had to be tried! But he would never tell a lie. He was good at books, an excellent swimmer and good at games. He resorted to guile and thus ingratiated himself with authority. Puberty extended his power and strength, whilst his sight and hearing were exceptional. He was well muscled, wire taut, nimble and fast of foot.

At rugby football he became, at 14, the youngest boy ever honoured with a house cap.

His father looked for him to go to Medicine or the Law; but father and son differed and the gap grew through his excellence at sport and his indifference to the arts, although he learned the violin.

In his second year he returned with a rifle with which to collect specimens, which was hidden on a local farm.

So we can see he was a fine lad, manly and honest - also bumptious and intolerant, who was contemptuous of opposition then and right into his middle age, as we will see.

He left Rugby School in 1868 to go to finish his education for three years in Switzerland, Prussia and Austria.

We are most fortunate to have some 300 folios of his original letters written from 1868 to 1900, right here in our National Archives of Zimbabwe. Time has permitted me to only study a fraction of these absolute gems from Fred, mainly to his mother whom he addresses, "My dearest Mother," and some few to his respected father. His handwriting is clear, legible and formed. Here I have been able to feel Selous' real self - his anecdotes, descriptions, intense interest and the very fine pen-pictures he draws all along the way. The human warmth and family love and respect.

I dwell a little on these gems of his correspondence which have survived - and I thank and appreciate those whose wisdom saw to their safe keeping and preservation for posterity - for in them we see the true character of young Fred, right through his developmental stages. But so much of his character and nature show clearly through from the start.

Of Selous, much has been written (some 66 books of mine have references to him) - the two biographies take an in-depth view into his whole life.

That of John Guille Millais, "Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous D.S.O." (with the spelling of Courtenay with an "A" throughout, strangely) being that of a younger man than Selous and a personal friend who, seeing a need to record for posterity this hero of Victorian time in 1918, within a year of Selous' death; while that of Stephen Taylor, "The Mighty Nimrod", of 1989 attempts to bring in a more recent perspective.

Both books are invaluable and very readable "The Mighty Nimrod" retails locally at $122,50, but a mere £17,50 in U.K.!

Then we have Selous' own three books, "A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa" of 1881; "Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa" of 1893, and "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia" of 1896. He did write other titles and also for a variety of books, journals, magazines and papers, for varying reasons and at different periods of his life. Some for science, for sport, for pleasure and enjoyment and sometimes for money.

But possibly nowhere does one share Fred Selous' real self better than in the reading of

his original letters; written in his own hand in pen, pencil and spaced over a long period of time, dating from 18 November 1868, when he was merely 16 years of age. To read of his character, determination and opinions in expression, being formed, moulded and later even manipulated. To experience his convictions, his intense interests - and many and varied they were too. Quite frankly this was a thrilling experience in itself.

Selous went to Switzerland in August 1868 at the age of 16, to Neuchatel to the Institution Roulet, to learn Medicine, French and Music. He accepted for a while the idea of becoming a doctor rather than a career in the City - possibly as an army doctor or ship's doctor, - but a month later he was back in England!

Then Frederick took him to Wiesbaden in September 1869, by which time medicine had been abandoned for learning German and the violin. But Bismark's crushing life with authority was not approved by Fred. "Whoever lives in Prussia feels at every step that the military and police state encloses him in its net" . . . that from a local newspaper of the time.

Fred was in the Wiesbaden Forest with a friend of his own age, one Charley Colchester, collecting eggs from a honey buzzard's nest. Forrester Keppel apprehended them, a scuffle ensued and Fred's coat containing the eggs got torn, so Fred dropped Keppel with a blow to the jaw! The outcome was that Fred was advised to leave hastily or to face a possible prison sentence, so off he fled to Salzburg in Austria.

Frederick was astounded by Fred's actions in Wiesbaden, Prussia, and obviously expressed his great displeasure. Fred in turn wrote to his mother of his father's " . . . very Prussian views of the affair", which, I might add, also upset his mother. Fred realised he had riled his parents and ingratiated himself. His father, now approaching 70 attempts to order Fred home, but Fred liked Austria and strongly resisted any return. Here it is that he learns the zither, which he later plays in Africa. He next writes home asking to be allowed to learn farming in Hungary.

Before a reply could come, in August, 1870, the Franco-Prussian war erupts in Central Europe on the French and Prussian frontier. Selous only heard of this news in a letter from his now anxious mother. Fred now gloats on his fortuitous escapade and escape from Wiesbaden! Here he chased butterflies - and the locals thought that he was a lunatic! He hunted and shot his first bag here also, a pair of chamois deer in October 1870, at Untersberg, Bavaria, thus whetting his appetite for a future of hunting in Africa; looking to the *Terra incognita* of Africa for sport and adventure. He stayed in Salzburg until 1871.

What happened next we do not quite know, but to Africa Fred went. Doubtless Frederick felt - let it be Africa, let it make him, or let it break him.

Fred was not yet 20 when he landed at Algoa Bay (later Port Elizabeth) on 4 September 1871 - knowing no one, - with 300 lb. of baggage, weaponry, trading goods, £400 from his father and a copy of Thackeray!

The 440 miles up country to the Diamond Fields took two months and cost him £8. On the 15th September 1871 he shot a hare! The first thing he had shot in Africa! He went to "New Rush Kopje" (now known as Kimberley) and here had his only good rifle stolen.

Another teenager was also in Kimberley - Cecil John Rhodes - but they were not to meet for another 10 years yet. Rhodes was making about £200 a week. Selous was no dreamer and had a fixed purpose in life, and it wasn't wealth. For six months he set off trading with Arthur Laing in Griqualand, until the start of the dry season, and in that time he made £50 profit!

His initial reaction to his first meeting with primitive Bushmen was of repungnance: "Very few steps from the brute creation" he remarked. An attitude he changed later when realising their bush ability and companionship.

One day I am going to be a hunter in Africa

In superb physical condition. Strikingly handsome, powerfully muscled. "... He had such lovely legs!"

Ag Selous! That is a man. A man whose word could be trusted

The last of a line of Old Breed Hunters. *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

His first trip North came in April 1872, when, with George Dorehill (from the ship's journey out,) and a friend of his T. V. Sadlier, they travelled 700 miles up the Missionary Road to Kuruman, which took one month. Robert Moffat of the Mission was away, but he met William Williams and purchased for £12 two muzzle-loading elephant guns which he used for the next three years. They were to head for Gubulawayo. Here Selous had his first, of numerous accidents when powder flared up burning his face. His next incident came when chasing his first giraffe, he separated from the party and was lost for four days without food, water or blanket and used his powder to try and light his fire. Then his horse wandered off on the second night. The nights were fearfully cold and the days extremely hot and he was in a bad way when, before sundown on the fourth day, he came across two Bushmen who cared for him and got him back to his friends. They were joined by Frank Mandy and pushed on to Tati. It was beyond here that Fred saw his first lions, Baobab trees and the boulders of the Matopos Hills.

Fred now met up with Lobengula for the first time - an association which was to last some 20 years. He described him: "He looks like what he is - the king of a savage and barbarous people." Lobengula had a special affection for Selous, allowing him to hunt without restriction.

Lobengula succeeded Mzilikazi, his father, in 1870, and his sway held from the Limpopo in the south, to the Zambesi in the north, the Kalahari in the west to almost the Portuguese in the east. When Selous was introduced to Lobengula, the king was advised that Selous wished to hunt elephant, and remarked "Why, you are only a boy," and passed it off. To Selous' next request Lobengula remarked that "the elephant will soon drive you out of the country, but you may go and see what you can do!" Lobengula had moderated the soldier-savage brutality of his father and was more a diplomat - but a lot of hard traditions remained and most tribes dreaded the Matabele raids. Lobengula's word, once given, was absolute.

Here at Gubulawayo, Selous met James Fairbairn and George "Elephant" Phillips who, years later, would be Fred's best man. And from here he set off to hunt big game with Sadlier. It is estimated that some 45 000 elephants a year were being killed in Africa during the late nineteenth century.

Selous was the last of a line of Old Breed Hunters from Cornwallis Harris in 1837 onwards. He met many of them. Jan Viljeon allowed Selous and Sadlier to join his hunting trip from Lobengula's Kraal. He was a hospitable Boer who had no reason to like the British. Selous learned much of his great respect for the Boers from this association, and spoke up for them openly and often. There he also met Petrus Jacobs, almost 70 years old. Selous became well liked by the Boers for he learned their language and they admired his stamina and strength, his strong personal magnetism and his good company.

Unfortunately he cut his foot badly so was unable to accompany the hunters, but instead met up with Cigar, a Hottentot, an alcoholic and a rogue - but a better, kinder teacher Selous never had - he had never seen his equal thereafter as a foot hunter. They were 150 miles north east of Lobengula's. He learned to go sparsely equipped and killed his first elephant, he was exaltant! Hottentot and Rugby scholar spent three months along the Umniati. He had killed 12 elephants giving 450 lb. of his own ivory plus 1200 lb. from African hunters 6 /- a pound. He made a profit of £300. At this success, Lobengula welcomed him with "You are a Man. You must take a wife." Selous was not yet 21 and Lobengula knew how to hunt as he had been with Phillips and Westbeech. When separated from them, Selous missed white companions after a day's hunting.

Selous attended the first fruits Inxwala ceremony at Lobengula's and then linked up with George Wood, a man of most lovable disposition and many fine qualities, and together they

hunted for two years. This was another great foot hunter who, in 1870, had led a group to Mashonaland of which 18 got malaria - he lost his wife, brother and five others. Malaria and the tsetse fly were their worst problems always. By the way, his brother Swithin Wood lies buried in the Old Mutare Cemetery on Premier Estate, Mutare - a continuing research interest of mine. He and Wood went north-west towards Victoria Falls where Hwange Game Reserve is now - for four months. Selous was now in superb physical condition weighing about 12 stone, 5 foot 9 inches high, and perfectly happy for he had killed 42 elephants.

His elephant hunting habit was interesting if nothing else! Light running gear he called it. Dressed in hat, leather belt, shirt and shoes, - for they dropped their trousers before the chase, - he ended up one chase almost starkers! - as three parts of his shirt had been torn by the bushes and there was hardly a square inch of skin left uninjured anywhere on the front of his body. I leave the picture to your imaginations! At this stage in one hunt his gun was handed to him with an inadvertent double charge loaded into it. The stock shattered and cut his face so badly he was left permanently scarred - and he had no stitches. By November they had 5000 pounds of ivory worth £1700. He gained the unqualified respect of his partner Wood who termed him "a brave and tenacious performer, a good fireside companion and a man whose word could be trusted."

He received no letters from outside for two years.

In May 1874, his third hunting trip started from Tati to the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi River with Wood and the brothers Francis and John Garden. Seven weeks later they viewed the Falls. Selous was overwhelmed by "this glorious river - looks green and smiling" for later he canoed and walked 1000 miles of it. He spent a week at the Falls then went 60 miles west to the Chobe and later rejoined Wood. He now had £2000, was bursting with health and good spirit in December 1874, just three weeks before he turned 23, and shot his first lion on the banks of the Tati. From 1871 to 1874 he wrote no letters - but promised his mother to rectify this in future - and did. From May 1875 to February 1876 he was in England. He reckoned "I am not a hunter by nature, I am a naturalist." He became more reserved and shy. He did not write much on the remarkable men who were his companions. Now he was strikingly handsome with fair hair turned blond and a bronzed skin, blue eyes and powerfully muscled, and he had grown a beard. Still quick to anger. He gave a lecture at his old school, the first of many. Their home was at Wargrave on the Thames. Also he was able to speak man to man with his father again.

He returned to Africa in 1876 via Port Elizabeth with 6000 lb. of baggage. Costs went up. He was delayed on the Sneeuberg with six Boers of whom he felt "More alone with these men with whom I have not one thought, sentiment or feeling in common than with untutored savages on the banks of the Zambesi." He headed to Tati for five months until April 1877, and then did a quick supply trip to Kimberley. He now had a 10 bore breech-loading rifle. He killed a lion and by now his youthful cockiness had gone. He found that elephant had been greatly hunted out. In April 1877, he hunted the Chobe for six months and returned with only £2 of ivory! By October 1877, he was in despair. Not yet 26, now a teetotaller - he drank black tea. He then set off to Mushukulumbe country (now in Zambia) north of the Zambesi where he was disturbed at witnessing slave trading. At Sitanda's, they had come farther north than any white man before.

In 1878 he reached the Zambesi and on the way to Inyati he named Mount Cromwell, a hill near the Sengwe River in north Zimbabwe. After this trip he felt he had changed into a morose and sad-tempered man.

In August 1876, Lobengula granted him permission to hunt in Mashonaland. It was on this

trip that in an elephant chase he actually got trapped beneath an elephant when it stumbled, thus trapping him under its chest. He broke free covered in blood and looking a terrifying sight.

In 1879 he had an expedition to the Chobe and Botletle Rivers with French, Clarkson and Collinson. Clarkson got struck by lightning. French followed a wounded animal, got lost and died - which Selous blamed himself for for many years after. He and Collinson turned back. He felt ivory was finished in Africa. Thus ended his elephant hunting days.

In January 1880, Selous rethought his life and considered the writing of a book after exploring from Sitanda's to Lake Tanganyika - or even of farming in the Eastern Cape. The Tanganyika Expedition was abandoned. Instead he did a trip visiting Lomagundi and there confined that the Umfuli ran into the Sanyati and not into the Zambesi as previously accepted. It was now that Selous learned that Cecil John Rhodes' favorite elder brother Herbert, who had been a wanderer, had died in a fire the previous year to the north of Mashona country. Through this event he met Rhodes when he took him the news on his way back through Port Elizabeth on the way to England.

It was in 1880 he sent despatches and a sketch map of Mashonaland to the Royal Geographical Society, and one landmark he named Mount Hampden after John Hampden "who gave his life in the defence of the liberties of his countrymen in those evil days when the second Prince of the House of Stewart reigned". He described it thus: "The very best parts of the Transvaal are not to be compared to it; it is splendidly watered, droughts and famines are unknown, and nowhere do the locals get such abundant and diversified crops as here."

Selous produced his first book of 1000 copies in 1881 - "A Hunters Wanderings in Africa". It sold out, and three more editions followed. He received £61 in royalties, having spent £73 towards illustrations - some by his sister Ann. He now had £400 working capital 10 years after setting out with that amount from his father. Selous supplied the British Natural History Museum with specimens as well as to Cape Town.

Now over 30, in 1882, he returned to Africa. Lobengula welcomed him back at a time when expansionism by Boer, German and Portuguese was evident, and the king was aware of this. Despite restive indunas he placated them for some years to prevent any military action. Selous enjoyed the special privilege and trust of Lobengula, which present circumstances began to erode.

The Matabele had, from about 1840, plundered the Mashonas repeatedly. The Mashonas were a people from whom Selous came to have an abiding affection.

In 1882 - 1883, Fred travelled onto the plateau beyond the Manyame and remarked on the gentle nature of the people whom he liked better than any other Africa tribe with which he had come in contact. He was angered when Lomagundi was murdered along with other chiefs he knew, by the Matabele. Many Mashona tribes were in a pitiful state due to Matabele incursions.

Selous filled in blanks on his earlier map and for this and his mapping north of the Zambesi and the Chobe, the Royal Geographical Society gave him the Cuthbert Peek Award in 1883.

Around August 1882, he made a new friend, an excellent Afrikander hunter, Cornelius Van Rooyen. They held each other in esteem and he said of Selous: "Ag Selous! That is a Man. He has a heart of Iron!" What a tremendous tribute. This friendship greatly broke down Selous' anti-Boer prejudices.

On lonely days he would take out his book of Thackeray.

In December 1883, came the Sea-Cow Row. Selous returned to Bulawayo to find that a trader had killed a hippo against all instructions from Lobengula. So too had one of Selous' Griqua drivers, as well as Fred himself, for the pot. Several of them were tried for killing the

King's Sea-Cows, Selous was denounced as a witch and his life threatened by indunas. He was fined 10 cattle; the trader 50 cattle. Selous' injured feelings toward Lobengula stemmed from this incident, but it was a blessing in disguise for it took the limelight and heat off the major issues building up against the whites by the warring and demanding indunas.

In 1883, German South West Africa (now Namibia) was proclaimed, then in 1886 gold on the Witwatersrand created British fears of the Germans and Boers strangling the Missionary Road to the north and thus a chance of British expansion. This resulted in the annexation of the Southern part of Bechuanaland (now Botswana) by the British.

In 1884, Selous broke a collar bone and was out of action for two months. By 1885 he became melancholy over his situation financially. He tried a bit of Rhino hunting - which he regretted many years later.

Edmund, his younger brother visited him and thereafter they were never close - the reason was never known. Edmund, by the way, was the most influential writer on bird life in his generation.

In May 1887, there arrived Frank Johnson, aged 21; Maurice Heany, aged 30 and the shrewdest; and Henry Borrow, aged 22, a good-looking, charming cavalier; with Ted Burnett; all originally from General Warren's Bechuanaland Force, seeking a concession from Lobengula, and after two persistent months Lobengula gave them the right to prospect for the Great North Goldfields Exploration Company. Frank Johnson was describes as a squat, dark man with an ugly temper and enormous vigour. At this juncture may I explain that this was the start of an enmity between Selous and Johnson. Selous was leading J. A. Jameson, Captain A. C. Fountaine and Frank Cooper on a guided hunting trip with 150 men. In July 1887, Johnson and Burnett headed off for the Mazoe River with a 21-man escort. Their escort turned nasty near the Umfuli and, as Selous was in the same area, he rode over to Johnson's party, assessed the situation, and sent a letter to Lobengula. Johnson resented being rescued by Selous, and Lobengula cancelled Johnson's prospecting rights which Johnson chose to ignore, and crossed the Umfuli and panned the Mazoe River. Meanwhile, Selous' party visited Baines' old Hartley workings - the outcome was that Lobengula had slaughtered all 150 of the escort men - but no others. A reminder of Lobengula's absolute authority. Johnson returned to Bulawayo, was fined a reduced fine of £100 and ordered out of the country. At this point Selous fell out with Lobengula, and Mashonaland was closed to whites, other than from the Portuguese side.

In February 1888, the John Moffat Treaty with Lobengula relinquished the latter's right to dispose of any territory without British approval first. (Lobengula had no intention to part with land and he presumed he would be protected in this respect against possible Boer or Portuguese aggression.) This included Mashonaland. Objections from the Boers and Portuguese were immediate. John was the son of the Reverend Robert Moffat.

In April 1888, Selous made a 1500 mile trip back to the Mushukulumbwe (with his books and a butterfly net!) aiming for Lake Bengwelu (Katanga.) He crossed the Zambesi in June. His driver died. Porters deserted and trade was extortiante. He was up to near the Kafue, away from the Batonka, when the Mushukulumbwe warriors attacked their camp of 25. Selous escaped with his rifle and four cartridges. 12 died and 6 were wounded. He started back to the Zambesi to the south, and his rifle got stolen at one refuge hut where they tried to shoot him. He escaped only with a piece of meat. He got to the Zambesi a week later and met there the two escaped headmen and a few survivors. Three weeks later they got to Pandamatenga. He had lost everything, but he felt in excellent health. He regrouped and now set off undaunted towards Lewanika, the Barotse King on the Upper Zambesi, travelling 600 miles and meeting

the Paris Missionaries, the Coillards, who described Selous as "A most noble character." He met Lewanika, but on his return a hippo upturned their canoe and they lost everything - again!

The Leask Concession of 14 July 1888, granted by Lobengula, gave Thomas Leask, George Phillips, James Fairbairn and, had he not died three days later, George Westbeech, "the sole right to dig for gold and other minerals in my country". Lobengula was to get half of any proceeds. The holders took the chance to quickly sell their interest to Rhodes.

Then came the Charles Rudd Concession signed on 30 October 1888, between Lobengula, Rochfort Maguire, Francis "Matabele" Thompson, who had tried from August to gain the Concession, eventually having to get Shippard, the Administrator of Bechuanaland representing the Great White Queen, in all his finery of Office - pith helmet and silver cane - to conclude a deal for 500 gold sovereigns and champagne.

This famous Concession gave "complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals contained in my kingdom, principalities and dominions". This in return for 1000 Martini Henry rifles with ammunition and £100 a month.

In January 1889, Selous got back to Bamangwato, ignorant of all that had transpired during his disastrous season. Here he met Johnson, Heany and Borrow to hear that Johnson had visited Portugal, getting a Concession to prospect along the Mazoe River in East Mashonaland. He contracted Selous, who was to get a half share of any profits, to lead an expedition there on behalf of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company. Selous would go to London in February 1889, and thus also help float the Company.

Selous, more than any other man, plotted the course of British Occupation, influencing policy for the good, especially preventing confrontation between black and white. He stood for fair play and would have no part in the corrupt activities which led to the Jameson Raid. Undoubtedly he allowed himself to be used - whether knowingly or not - by the politicians. He was a wide-eyed innocent often out of his depth with these tycoons. Rhodes recognised the value of getting Selous on side for all his local knowledge and sway with the Mashonas.
But gratitude he never received, nor true recognition. Not even a knighthood. Nor could he stand all the fuss. He did earn enough three years though, to retire to England in comfort, although he constantly worried about his finances.

Without Rhodes, Selous' mark on history may not have been. Because of him, it was. Selous recognised that in Rhodes "he alone possessed the breadth of mind to appreciate the ultimate value of Mashonaland".

Lobengula perceived the aim being laid at his Matabeleland; he averted a clash with no mean juggling and diplomacy between war-hungry indunas and gold-seeking whites. Playing for time for the scramble for Africa was on. This was 1889!

Lobengula and Rhodes never ever met. Imagine what a coalition of Rhodes and Lobengula could have done!

In the late winter of 1889 in England: Selous' father was 87, his mother Ann 64. Edmund his brother married Fanny Maxwell who had also been his old flame. Florence had married. Ann "Tottie" would marry Richard Jones two years hence and Sybil "Dei" was still living at home and would marry Charles Jones two years hence. Fred was 38. His father offered to take over Fred's debt to Thomas Leask at £50 a quarter.

Rhodes arrived with the Rudd Concession to apply for a Royal Charter.

The whole Zambesia area was all the topic. To ease British ignorance of the area Selous openly attacked the attitudes of the Anti-Slavery Society and pointed out the murderous ways of the Matabele, and that after all they were invaders of Matabeleland and that they lived by the sword.

Rhodes and Selous realised their dependence on each other at this time and confirmed that the Mashonaland plateau was the ideal settlement site. Rhodes wanted him in Kimberley after Selous' next Mazoe Expedition. Rhodes had not yet been to Mashonaland or Matabeleland but Selous had been almost 20 years there. He reckoned the Rudd and Moffat Treaties were invalid over Mashonaland based on the limit of extent of the Matabele Raids. Selous reckoned the Umfuli was the limit of Matabele domain and Mount Hampden was even beyond the Hunyani (Munyame.) The suggested treaties with the Mashona chiefs who would welcome protection from the Matabele. Treaty with the Mashona and avoid the Matabele! Rhodes allied the Bechuanaland Exploration Company with his Concession, and Selous' claims had to be quieted - with great difficulty, for he still claimed the Mashonas were outside of Matabele dominance. Frank Johnson made much of Rhodes' supposed anger over Selous' attitude on this. Selous did state that British settlement would save the Mashonas.

Also, in 1889, Johnson's Mazoe Concession from the Portuguese was withdrawn by Lisbon, but Selous kept his agreement to lead the expedition nevertheless, and on 25 May 1889 he arrived in Cape Town, met Frank Johnson and continued with their plan to go to Mozambique and up the Mazoe. There he hoped to secure a mineral concession from the Makorekore, and, either way deal profitably with Rhodes' Charter for amalgamation, or, directly exploiting the Concession. The Selous Exploration Syndicate was floated in June 1889, with £10, 000 capital. Selous left for Delagoa Bay, Beira and Quilemane by the 15th July 1889, with Stephen Thomas and Ted Burnett. The Portuguese obstructionist attitude riled Selous. He hoped this alternative route to Mashonaland would be an advantage by distance, and so too to avoid the Matabele. he learned that use of the River Zambesi to Tete was futile, due mainly to its shallow waters, but especially the Portuguese attitudes would kill the idea.

Between July and December 1889, Selous and his party travelled 1000 miles up to Tete then by foot to the source of the Mazoe River, just down here near Mount Hampden on Lowdale Farm, and then back. Here, along the Mazoe River he recorded the wild Lemon Trees which are a subject of particular interest to me. Ted Burnett wrote of Selous "Man, Selous does travel. I kept up with him, but had to do a little run now and again." Selous, not surprisingly, was not impressed with Tete either. Inland, their porters deserted, so rather than be exploited, they burned all their excess baggage and carried on. It was then that Selous named Mount Darwin after "an illustratious man whose far-reaching theories had revolutionized modern thought, and destroyed many beliefs which have held men's mind in thrall for centuries". And, next to it Mount Thackeray after the "immortal novelist whose genius has so often enabled me to escape, for the time being, from my surroundings". Also on the map of that area appears sometimes Mount Kipling. Does anybody know if this name was given to the hills? By whom? And when and why?

The Portuguese under Andrada had previously been into the area handing out Portuguese flags, but the locals remembered Selous well from a previous time. Mapondera and Temaringa give him a mineral concession and denied any tribute to the Portuguese, nor any hold over them by the Matabele. So he had his Concession to this rich Mazoe area, but still concerned himself over the possible Portuguese influence. He wrote of Mashonaland, "There is no country in the interior of Africa more worthy that it will pay any company to spend money on".

Early in December 1889 Selous arrived back in Cape Town, receiving there a summons to go and see Rhodes in Kimberley. Already holding the Concession, and now in terms of a Royal Charter, the British South Africa Company had been licensed to engage in mining, commerce and trade, to make and enforce laws, build roads, railways and other public works.

Selous noted gratefully that Mashonaland was the chosen area, NOT Matabeleland, but vigorously dissuaded Rhodes from any plan to first attack the Matabele.

At this stage, Dr Leander Starr Jameson now appears on the scene to persuade Lobengula to accept the Charter.

Johnson and Heany tried unsuccessfully to claim compensation from Rhodes for their Concession, but then set about to make themselves indispensable. They planned a Memorandum between themselves and Rhodes to raise a force of 500 men to attack the Matabele for £150, 000 and 50, 000 morgen (105,000 acres).

Selous' dislike of war is aptly stated by him "I am not a fighting man, and neither look forward to the prospect of being shot, nor feel any strong desire to shoot anyone else." Selous strongly advised against this action. To his mother he wrote, "I abhor the Matabele, yet I would not have them interfered with or their country invaded without cause".

Rhodes yielded to reason. He also scrapped a notion to enter Mashonaland from the Zambesi on advice from Selous. Selous seriously suggested entry from the south, thus avoiding the Matabele. To go in from the north of Khama's country, then east following the Limpopo and Shashi Rivers, and then north to the Mashonaland Plateau, to terminate at Mount Hampden, thus keeping clear of any area controlled by Lobengula and avoiding Matabele ambush.

Selous' public claims that many Mashona were not under the dominion of the Matabele made Rhodes realise the advantage of having Selous on his side. He convinced Selous that their Concession was not valid, but nevertheless paid Selous £2, 000 privately as well as £750 each to Burnett and Thomas. By this action Johnson's dislike of Selous was made worse.

Rhodes finally opted for Johnson, Heany and Borrow to recruit 250 men at a cost of £94, 000, to occupy Mashonaland. They each gained £20, 000 from it.

Rhodes' letter to Cawston informs him that "Selous has arranged to take an expedition to Mashonaland before July 1890, . . . we hope we will be able to do it without hostilities with Lobengula".

Selous still recommended treaties with independent Mashona chiefs.

The Mapondera Concession gained the Selous Exploration Syndicate no compensation from Rhodes, much to the chagrin of the Board.

In early 1890, "the finest body of men ever got into uniform" were selected for the Column. By late March 1890, Selous was ready to start cutting a road from Tati to the Macloutsie River from where the expedition would set out. He had been told that Jameson and Colenbrander had been promised 100 men by Lobengula to help Selous cut this road. When they did not appear, Selous rode to Bulawayo with Sam Edwards to visit Lobengula again. Lobengula denied any such promise - he insisted that the only road was through his country and that he would resist any other. He and Selous happily reminisced of earlier hunting. Lobengula requested that Selous bring Rhodes to him to settle the issue. This was the last meeting between Selous and Lobengula.

Selous then rode a horse, Mars, 600 miles in 11 days to Kimberley to try and persuade Rhodes to return with him. Rhodes had gone off to the Orange Free State and was not available. In April 1890, Jameson was sent instead, but achieved no change. So the road was cut without Lobengula's assistance.

At this point ranks must be understood: Johnson was a Major and Rhodes' contractor; Selous was a Captain only and was Guide and Intelligence Officer with absolute authority in those respects. Jameson represented Rhodes; and Colquhoun was to organise a Civil Administration on arrival in Mashonaland. Lock, High Commissioner, insisted that the 200

Pioneers needed also to have 500 Military men (the B.S.A. Co. Police) to be led by Colonel Edward Pennefather. No longer being the senior officer put Johnson's nose out, but he never let up against Selous. Colquhoun wrote to Harris, "Selous is very valuable. If Johnson should write anything against him, ask Rhodes not to believe it". Pennefather also acknowledged the situation and cleverly detached Selous from the Column and gave him "a free hand to conduct the road cutting independently". To which he added, "He is a man with a wonderful knowledge of country and of great tact dealing with the natives - and is absolutely reliable . . . I never knew a man more conscientious of his duty". While Johnson continued with derogatory remarks thereafter.

On 24th June 1890, the column at Macloutsie comprised: 200 Pioneers; about 400 B.S.A. Co. Police; plus about 400 labourers, drovers and cooks; hundreds of horses. more that 1, 000 cattle, plus wagons - and 460 miles to go. The track from Macloutsie to Tuli was cut through thick Mopane bush - some indication of what was ahead. Always there was an alert attitude for fear of Matabele attack.

On 5 July 1890, Rhodes' 37th birthday, Selous, Jameson and about 100 men of an advance guard crossed the Shashi River at Fort Tuli. A few Matabele appeared and expressed concern for what they saw. Even Selous had not transversed the initial road being cut. Days later, the main body of the column followed - all two miles of it! The first 250 miles were to be the worst due to thick Mopane bush, trees, rivers and hills. The track had to be hacked out and rivers forded. Selous constantly rode out to the villages beyond and in a ten-mile radius around. The men were always with rifles and horses to hand for they always expected to be attacked by the Matabele. Khama sent a further 200 men to assist.

By mid-July 1890, Jameson wrote that "the men were working well and keen to get on". Selous expressed a cautious optimism. By the end of July 1890 they reached the Lundi River (now Runde), 200 miles in less than five weeks since Macloutsie. Selous' greatest concern was to find a wagon ascent route up the escarpment to the Mashonaland Plateau. Setting out on 2nd August 1890, with four others, they searched and skirted for two days until he found a pass ascending gently through the broken country. Selous describes his finding on 4 August 1890: "When the sun went down we were still in the pass, but I felt we were now only just below the edge of the plateau. . . . I cantered on myself up the pass. About a mile ahead stood a small rocky hill whose summit rose well above the broken ridges by which I was surrounded. This hill I climbed, and my feelings may be better imagined than described when I say that I saw, stretched out before me, as far as the eye could reach, a wide expanse of open grassy country, and knew that I was looking over the south-western portion of the high plateau of Mashonaland". He felt total relief of responsibility as they excitedly returned to the Lundi camp with the news. He was pent-up and, while relating their discovery a din erupted through the camp. "My God, they've caught us on the hop" Selous explained, thinking of the Matabele and dashing out with revolvers at the ready, only to find a mob of men and dogs chasing a hare through the camp!

Christopher Harrison, Colquhoun's Secretary, suggested the name Providential Pass. By 14 August 1890, they were on the plateau and created Fort Victoria (now Masvingo.) On 1st September 1890, Selous came across some of his old wagon tracks which went all the way to Mount Hampden. At this stage 3 September 1890, Colquhoun took Selous, along with Jameson, off to Manica to parley amicably with Umtasa, and there gained a treaty offering protection from Gouveia and payment for land and mineral rights. By this Selous was denied of the chance to deliver the Column to its destination. Fort Charter was established and the Column arrived at the Hunyani and then on to the Kopje, which was selected in preference to Mount Hampden,

because of the available water from the Mukavisi River. Here on 12 September 1890, the Column stopped near Cecil Square (now Africa Unity Square) and camped. On 13 September 1890, the Union Flag was unfurled by Tyndale-Biscoe on a Msasa pole. The latest in Empress Victoria's possessions, Fort Salisbury, was built on the spot.

Nothing gave Selous more satisfaction than guiding the B.S.A. Co's Pioneer Corps to the peaceful occupation of Mashonaland. They came up the Selous Road, the main road for many years after 1890. Skipper Hoste complimented Selous with these words "Without Selous we would certainly have lost our way". Fort Salisbury was named after the then British Prime Minister and was set up on the site to be called Cecil Square until recent times. The British South Africa Company expedition had been successfully completed.

Of Mashonaland, Selous wrote home "This Mashonaland is really a magnificent country . . . there is no other part of South Africa that can compare. So far everything has gone off so successfully that it seems like a dream and I have played a not unimportant part in it all, I am proud to be able to say. The road to Mashonaland is now being called the Selous Road and I hope the name will endure, though I don't suppose it will. But it is too bad of me to sing my own praises in this style, yet in the matter of the road I do feel most proud at the share I had in putting it through. . . . The Mashona are few and scattered and a very harmless, peaceful lot. They all seem delighted to see us . . .". Selous' part in the settlement of Mashonaland has often been viewed as that of a guide only. It was a great deal more than that in essence. He was a resourceful frontiersman.

Selous remained with the Company a further two years from 1890 to 1892 in a relatively minor role. Rhodes paid tribute to his "unique assistance". Selous now received from Frank Johnson, a cheque for £3, 858-10-0 and shares in the Company which were due to all Pioneers. He received a monthly salary of £50 and was offered other inducements, and delayed his return to England seeing likely profit from staying on a while, like land and further shares. He was offered a one-year contract and began with a visit to Chief Mutoko where he gained the Mutoko treaty with mining rights. Selous' companion wrote, "Glorious country. Riding ahead with Mr Selous; envied nobody at home. Dinner - antelope, rice, honey, jam, potatoes, milk and nuts". There followed similar treaties with Chief's Maranke and Makoni.

Now aged nearly 40, he set to and cut 150 miles of the main Odzi to Salisbury (Harare) Road in just three months. Before this he assisted in the cutting of the road from Umtali (now Mutare) to the Lower Revue at Umliwan's kraal. By the end of 1890, Settler disgruntlement at the want of management was commented on by Selous.

In July 1891, he accepted a further year's contract with the Company for £1, 000 and all expenses for the year, plus 20, 000 acres of land and his gold claims, which he put into a company started by Sir John Willoughby called Willoughby's Consolidated Company, which had acquired 3, 900 mining claims and over 500, 000 acres of land. Selous never farmed his own land in Mashonaland. He was getting £330 annually from his De Beers shares. In his second book, "Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa", he wrote that he might live to see the territory "endeared to me by so many reminiscences, grow and increase in prosperity until it has become a rich portion of the British Empire". But he later became disillusioned when his shares dropped, and caustically attacked the mining prospects of the country, but never the agriculture. In mid-1892, Selous left from Salisbury to the coast - along his own road to the east and killing the last elephant in his life in the Gorongosa - with tusks weighing 100 lb.

After Christmas 1892, Selous turned 41 and was back in England. His father died in his 90th year. He met and fell in love with an 18-year-old Gladys Maddy, cousin of his two

brothers-in-law, and daughter of a country pastor. A startlingly pretty and vivacious girl. Ann, his widowed mother was delighted. The Maddys not so! On 25 May 1890, they announced their engagement. The Mighty Nimrod, the Hunter was hunted and smitten!

He had finished "Travels and Adventures in South-East Africa", and received the Royal Geographical Society's Founder's Gold Medal in recognition of his work in Mashonaland, after which he delivered a lecture, "Twenty Years in Zambesia". He also spoke to the Zoological Society and the Royal Colonial Institute.

War broke out in Matabeleland just as he was about to go to the United States in 1893. The Victoria incident sparked it off when a Matabele impi raided near Fort Victoria. No whites were harmed, but a real skull-bashing orgy followed. The Matabele could not accept that the Mashona were no longer fair game and demanded refugees who came to the town. Nine warriors subsequently got killed. War was determined. Selous offered his services, left his mother and fiancé and came out to Fort Tuli on 27 September 1893, and joined the Bechuanaland Border Police under Lt. Col. Goold-Adams, whose Column started from the south and Selous entered his first military engagement. He was wounded on 3 November 1893, near Mangwe, when a ball struck three inches below the right breast, was deflected by a rib and exited eight inches away. He took no further part in the fighting. It was all over within a month. Selous made every effort to join the ill-fated Shangani Patrol but was forbidden due to his wound. Selous was deeply distressed at the loss of all 34 men of the Patrol on the 4th December 1893, and disappointed with Jameson who blamed Forbes. In January 1894, Selous headed south and back to England.

Lobengula headed for the Zambesi, died and was buried, and was remembered as "The Calf of the Elephant. He, as head of the cruelest tribe in Africa always protected the whites . . . he was a gentleman himself".

Frederick Courteney Selous married on 4 April 1894, Marie Catherine Gladys Maddy, now 20 years old. He had invited Forbes to be his best man, but due to illness George "Elephant" Phillips carried out the duties, and the couple took off on an exotic three-month honeymoon. His book was enjoying large success and Selous started lecturing again. March 1895, saw Fred and Gladys sailing for Africa, leaving their Alpine Lodge in Worplesdon, Surrey, to take up Maurice Heany's request for Selous to help manage a large farm in Matabeleland. They stopped two months with Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape, at Groote Schuur, reaching Bulawayo in August 1895. Fred was mainly to run an Estate at Essexvale (now Esigodini), 20 miles south-east of Bulawayo. By December 1895, 40 acres of land was cleared and maize, melons and fruit trees and 1,000 head of cattle were in his care. Gladys named their home "Hatherley Cottage." The ill-conceived Jameson Raid ended on 2 January 1896, and Selous was totally disillusioned with his contemporaries for their roles in this affair. Rhodes was thus ruined.

The Matabele were getting restless over the severe cattle policy and the supply of labour by the chiefs. Then rinderpest broke out wiping out many local herds. On 23 March 1896, Fred was inspecting cattle for rinderpest and was away, leaving Gladys on her own. One morning the Matabele came to buy axes from their store and sharpened them there and acted very nervously. Selous returned and was disturbed by the story. Next morning they had to hurriedly pack and set off the 20 miles to go into laager in Bulawayo for five months, during which time some 140 whites were brutally murdered in the surrounding areas. Selous was a Volunteer Captain in the Bulawayo Field Force and visited the farm, finding Hatherley Cottage still intact. He was dutied to fortify the route to Tati and keep it open. The Matabeleland Relief Force of

750 men under Lt. Col. Herbert Plumer was mustered in Kimberley and came north, including my Great Uncle John Webster!

Selous had another narrow escape when in a skirmish his horse shied and left him on foot. Lt. Windley tried to catch the horse, then returned and Selous ran alongside a while until they were clear. He mounted, only to be bucked off, landing heavily on his back. Again, with the Matabele 100 yards away, he ran beside the horse until they reached the rest of the patrol and safety.

Selous witnessed the results of brutal and savage murders of woman and children, and later saw the burned remains of their Hatherley Cottage.

By June 1896, the whole rebellion process was repeated in Mashonaland, with wanton and brutal murders. Selous could only exclaim "After over 20 years of my life amongst them, I now see that I know nothing about them . . .". With the farm destroyed, Selous' employment terminated in the farming venture. They had lost everything. So by the end of 1896, Selous turned for the last time, after 25 years, from this part of Africa he had come to know so very well in former-times, and he and Gladys returned to England.

Back in England he became an English country gentleman - back to his butterfly and egg collecting, grouse shooting (badly!), playing cricket locally, and attending dinners. He worried about money and made lasting new friendships, whilst he and Gladys lived in their home "Heatherside." He travelled a lot. She gardened and enjoyed her homemaking. He wrote "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia"; it was published, sold out, and republished and well received.

On 21 April 1898, their first son was born, Frederick Hatherley Bruce Selous, "Freddie" or "Young Selous." A second son arrived some 18 months later, Harold Sherborn Selous in 1899. Their third child a daughter, was lost at birth in 1900.

The Boer war saw Selous speaking up boldly for the Boers, to his own detriment. In June 1902, that ended, and in the same year Selous was introduced to hunting in East Africa. He returned there again in 1909 and for the last hunt in 1911-1912 when he killed his last bull Buffalo in March 1912.

In 1913 his mother died, aged 87, and he inherited the Estate which removed his financial worries. Both sons were at boarding school and Fred - but not Gladys - travelled extensively.

The 4th August 1914, saw the outbreak of the First World War. Selous volunteered for service in German East Africa where he was accepted in February 1915, to be a Lieutenant and subsequently a Captain in the 25th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. Here they achieved a measure of success, but illness, dysentery and diarrhoea played havoc with thousands of men throughout the campaign. At the beginning of 1916, some 30, 000 South Africa troops arrived, my father, Leslie Harwood Ford, amongst them.

Taveta was reoccupied but the elusive Von Lettow continued with his Askaris. Apart from a six-day lay-up with jiggers, Selous was constantly on the go. Freddy had left school, gone to Sandhust and to the Royal Flying Corps. Fred suffered from piles and was sent, in June 1916, to England, and home - for the last time, and was laid up for 12 days after the operation. Freddy, now 19, and Fred were together in uniform. By September 1916, Captain Selous was back on service and was awarded the Distinguished Service Order "for conspicuous gallantry, rescourcefulness and endurance". His unit was moved up from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro, marched eight days to Kisaki for a wet Christmas. The day after his 65th birthday on 1st January 1917, they advanced on the Germans so that they were on the hills near Beho-Beho on 4th January, 1917 Selous and his men deployed and attacked the withdrawing Germans who

Selous' elephant gun

Frederick Courteney Selous
31.12.1851 to 4.1.1917

". . . and his bones still lie, enriching the soil of Africa."

Selous' grave, Rufiji, Tanzania

Selous' gravestone, 1932. Selous Game Reserve, Tanzania *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

outnumbered them, driving them back into the bush. Selous sent forward and an Askari sniper fatally shot Selous in the head. Six others also died in the engagement. They were all buried that afternoon in uninhabited bushland. A simple cross on each grave, after a most impressive service. Years later all the other bodies were exhumed and rebuired, but Selous' remained, marked now by a simple concrete slab and tablet reading: "Captain F. C. Selous, D.S.O., 25th Royal Fusiliers, killed in action 4.1.1917" and the area is now a wild life sanctuary near the Rufiji River, later named the Selous Game Reserve.

* * *

Tributes came from many quarters, even from Von Lettow. Robert Baden Powell said "He was the finest scout of our time." Gladys, his wife, wrote in reply to Kelties letter, " . . . it has been a fine ending to a wonderful life . . . full to the brim right up to the end . . . I am very proud."

Freddy Selous won the Military Cross at 19 and the Italian Silver Medal for Valour, and was made a Captain. His flying machine broke up on 6th January, 1918, in mid-air and he was killed instantly.

Gladys, his mother, was bereft, and never after spoke of Freddy.

Harold was commissioned before the armistioe, went to Cambridge, joined the Colonial Service and came out to Nyasaland (now Malawi) where he died in 1954.

Gladys stayed on at Heatherside - a wealthy, lonely woman. She died in hospital at Guildford in 1951, aged 77.

Thus, childless, the Selous line was ended.

On the 10th June, 1920, a bust by W. R. Colton of Selous was erected by public subscription at the Natural History Museum in South Kensington, and a Selous Memorial Scholarship at Rugby School was set up primarily for the sons of Officers killed in action.

". . . and his bones still lie, enriching the soil of Africa".

Thank God for men of the calibre of Frederick Courteney Selous.

Aspects of the Early History of Chimanimani

by H.S. de Bruijn and Louisa de Bruijn

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Chipinge on 29th September 1990

Early Treks

The Pioneers who trekked to this part of the country did so in the following organised treks:

Moodie Trek - 1892/93
Moolman/Webster Trek - 1893
Edenburg (Gifford) Trek - 1894
Mynhardt/Utrecht Trek - 1894
Martin Trek - 1894
Du Plessis (first Trek) - 1894
Du Plessis (second Trek) - 1895
Kruger/Bekker Trek - 1895
Henry/Steyn Trek - 1895

The area, as far as the Europeans were concerned, was an area - Terra Incognita - and like so many other places, was named after the African reference, or a bastardization of such reference, and in this case was named "Melsetter" after the African reference of "Marusetta", and this was changed by Moodie to Melsetter after Melzter in the Orkneys, where the Moodies hailed from. The name Marusetta denotes the intense haze that shrouds the area for long periods every year, and then the area is covered with mist for a great period of the year.

Initially, the administrative boundaries of the Melsetter district were, to the South, the Rusitu and Changadzi rivers, to the west the Sabi and Odzi rivers, to the North the Umvumvumvu River (this was later changed (1925?) to the Wengezi), and to the East the water shed between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the area with rivers flowing west from the watershed being Zimbabwe and the area with waters flowing East being Mozambique.

The Martins and their cohorts settled in the Melsetter area, the Henry/Steyns in the North Melsetter area. This area was later named Cashel. The first law enforcement officer in this area was a Mr Cashel who came from Cashel in Ireland. He lived on the farm Thabanchu. The first owner of this farm was a Mr van der Riet who came from Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State.

The Cashel Police Camp is built on a sub-division of Thaba Nchu farm. Thaba Nchu was later owned by Hallam Elton who was the first man in this area to own and fly an aeroplane. He also built the very popular Black Mountain Inn. Thaba Nchu is a Xhosa word meaning Black Mountain. This hotel was later owned by Mr and Mrs Botes. Prior to the Botes' owning the Black Mountain Inn they managed the Midlands Hotel in Gweru. The last registered owner of this hotel site is a Mr van den Berg. However, the hotel was abandoned in 1980, and the building demolished, but the site is still owned by Mr van den Berg.

The history of the treks to this area was researched, recorded and published by Dr S.P. Oliver, in his books Pioneer Trekke Na Gazaland (in Afrikaans) and the English version Many Treks Made Rhodesia, and the later history of Melsetter was researched and published by Shirley Sinclair's, The Story of Melsetter.

To my knowledge there is no published record of the history of Cashel. There is a recorded work on the memories of one of the early reachers of the area, in Afrikaans, and well worth reading, called **"Tant Chrissie Vertel"** (Aunt Chrissie Relates) by Mrs. Chrissie Steyn, nee Euvrard.

There is also, a recording of a narrative by C.C. Steyn, a young Pioneer who came with the Henry Steyn Trek. These are his memories of the trek and the early days in Cashel.There are also the notes written by J.G.F. Steyn, a grandson of the trek leader, J.G.F. Steyn - these are also his memories of the stories related to him by his grandfather, his father, the youngest son of J.G.F. Steyn, and his mother, Lenie Steyn, born Herselman, a daughter of a pioneer. These latter notes are in the possession of P.F. de Bruijn.

The early days in the Cashel area were difficult. The treks moved through areas infested with a cattle disease, *Bovine Pleuropneumonia* also known as Lungsickness. There is no cure for this disease and in those days no preventative vaccine; some cattle contracted the disease and cattle were dying from it. However, in 1896, another disease, Rinderpest, swept down from Uganda and Tanzania and killed most of the cattle and the larger ungulates in this country, and, with all the cattle all but decimated, Lungsickness disappeared from this part of the country. Lungsickness was eradicated from Zimbabwe in 1912.

The farm animals brought to the country were introduced to other endemic diseases unknown to the pioneers and to which the animals had no natural or maternal resistance. One of the diseases was Heartwater, which affects and kills cattle, sheep and goats. This disease is spread by the *Amblyomma* or "Bont Tick", fortunately the "Bont" tick is, in this country only found in areas where the Baobab trees grow as higher altitudes are unsuitable for this tick. Horsesickness killed most of the settler's horses and most of the sheep were killed by a disease known as "Blue Tongue." In 1901, a cattle disease called East Coast Fever was introduced into this country by cattle imported from Kenya and Tanzania. This is also a tick-borne disease for which there was, until 1984, no cure and up to 1910 there was no practical means of controlling the vector.

At this time, however, dipping cattle in an arsenical solution at weekly intervals gave satisfactory tick control. The first plunge cattle dip in the Cashel area was built on Steynsbank farm in 1910; thereafter diptanks were built on most farms and the last recorded case of East Coast Fever in the Cashel area was in 1930. In the Melsetter area the disease was not eradicated until 1947 and in the Chipinge area in 1954.

During that period the regulations to control the disease and prevent further spreads were very stringent. The farm on which infection was found, as well as two farms deep round the infected farm were placed in quarantine and no cattle movements onto these farms, from these farms, or across these farms, were permitted for two years after the last recorded case of East Coast Fever on the farm.

As a result of these restrictions incomes from cattle farming were curtailed and this resulted in farmers introducing Friesland cattle for milking, and separated the milk and sold the cream.

The firm Hodson and Myburg in Mutare started a creamery and the farmers sent their cream to Umtali by Road Motor Service twice a week, and if the cream graded well they realised

60 cents (six shillings) a gallon. Ten gallons of milk when separated produced one gallon of cream. The separated milk was usually fed to pigs and the pigs sold as baconners in Umtali.

Initially there were no education facilities in the area, and up to the time of responsible government in 1923, most of the children in the area were taught in farm schools and by teachers recruited by church organisations. The people took turns in providing a suitable building in which the children could be taught. The farmer providing the classroom also boarded the children who were too far from the school to walk there every day- usually this meant those children who lived more than 3 miles (5 km,) from the school. So schooling facilities were supplied on Johannesrust farm, Hendriksdal, Pietershoek, Vergadering and Ruwaka.

The first teachers were Mr. Swanepoel, Miss Wessels, P.F. de Bruijn, Miss Euvrard, and J.G.F. Steyn (son of C.C. Steyn). In 1923 two farmers, L.C. Steyn and W.K. Bezuidenhout, donated land on which a permanent school and boarding facility was erected. This school was successively known as Excelsior School, Johannesrust Farm School, Johannesrust Central School, and later Tandaai Primary School. This school was closed for security reasons during the chimurenga war. The buildings are still there but are not being used at present.

After 1923 the School at Ruwaka was continued as a one teacher school. The headmasters being DuToit, who later went to Daisyfield, P.A. Cremer, and J.D. Bosch. When that school was discontinued at the end of 1929, Bosch was transferred to Matopo South, where he later retired and farmed. In 1929 Cremer was transferred to Tandaai School, and J.G.F. Steyn was transferred to Headlands. Initially there were only about thirty children at boarding school. Getting food supplies for these children was a bit difficult. There were no regular transport services to the area, so most of the vegetables were grown on the school grounds, and some of the parents sold vegetables to the school too. The hostel had its own cows and the bigger boys had to help with the milking every morning. Later this was discontinued and milk was supplied by Mr. L.C. Steyn of Johannesrust farm. Meat however was a problem. A Mr, Cooper who was residing on Steynstroom Farm opened a butchery and every Friday he slaughtered an animal and the one hind-quarter of the animal was put into a grain bag and carried to the school. The meat was usually delivered round about eleven o'clock. After lunch on Fridays the bigger boys had to help the matron cut up the meat and get it ready for the meat safe. As you know in those days there were no refrigeration machines and a meat safe was made with mosquito gauze to keep the flies and stuff out and the meat was kept in the coolest spot that there was. On Saturdays and Sundays we got stews, Wednesday it was curried meat, Thursday and Friday mincemeat with all kinds of additives to make the meat more palatable.

Ablution facilities were rather primitive. During summer we used to be taken down to the Tandaai river on Wednesday and Saturday where we swam, washed and cleaned up. During the winter months we had baths at the hostels on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The water was heated in four gallon paraffin tins over an open fire, the boys having to heat the water for the girls as well, and one tin of hot water plus the required amount of cold water was given to four children and after they had bathed the water was cleaned out and fresh water put in. This worked quite well. The rest of the time we carried water from the furrow that flowed through the grounds and did our daily wash in the hostels.

The children also played a very active part assisting with the hostel functions. The girls were divided into three teams. One team working on Mondays and Thursdays, the next team on Tuesdays and Fridays and the third team on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In the morning they had to go and help the matron, lay the tables, put out the food for breakfast, and this was also done in the evening. The girls also assisted with the mending of the clothes, sorting the washing

into each childs little heap of cloths and that was collected on the Friday. One thinks back today and is grateful for the assistance the girls gave at the school. The boys assisted in the garden, helping to grow vegetables, watering, and taking the vegetables to the kitchen for use. The transport supplies to the area was always a problem. Initially, most of the cattle had died of Rinderpest, and East Coast Fever made the movement of cattle difficult and there were on motor transport, so transport was done by wagon and donkeys, but it took about a week to get to Umtali, and a week to get back, and not an awful lot could be carried on a wagon. Farmers who had wagons went in turns to fetch supplies. Later two enterprising gentleman, Freddie Heyns and Abraham Smal, started their own motor transport to the area and this was later taken over by the Railways Road Motor Service, and these two men became the first regular drivers of the Rhodesian Road Motor Service on that route. The lorries came out twice a week to Melsetter and returned to Umtali the following day. This was eventually stepped up to three lorries a week both ways.

There were a few other farmers who bought lorries and augmented the regular transport services. Initially, there was the Zeederberg Mule Coach Service which was a passenger and mail service from Umtali to Melsetter twice a week and took about three days to get to Melsetter and three days to get back. There were overnight stops, initially at Penkridge and Weltevrede Farms, and this was later changed to a stop at Cronley Farm and Johannesrust Farm, then on to Chimanimani. This passenger and mail service was of course later taken over by the Railways as a regular service.

Roads and Communications

Initially, of course, there were no roads, and wagons travelled on relatively flat ground to a mountain, and then the ascent up the mountain was straight up the neck of the mountain and down the otherside to the valley, and straight up again to the next neck. Initially, the road to Cashel from Chimanimani was from Chimanimani to Rocklands farm then to the Musapa area, up the mountain to Musapas Neck, down to the Nyanyadzi river to a point where one turned north east again up to a neck which was called Skilpads Nek (Tortoise Neck), down the other side to the valley known as Skilpads Gat (Skilpads Hollow), then up to the next Neck, which is Pollins Nek (Paulings Neck), down to what is now Hendriksdal farm, and up the side of the mountain again to Moodies Nek. From Moodies Nek to what is now Steynsbank farm, across Johannesrust farm to Poko's Nek, then down to what is now Ostend, Cashel Police Camp, then down to MacAndrews Mission, then across to Cronley and to the Wengezi River and up to the Mpudzi river, then to Muradzikwas Nek, and then to Umtali. Eventually, a road was made from Umtali to Chimanimani and with the wagon transport there were many stops along the road, many of which were referred to by incidents that happened along the road. The first stop from Mutare was usually at night about twenty kilometres out, and often a lot of wine was consumed and the empty bottles dumped in a granite koppie next to the road, and it became known as "Bottle Koppie". From there they went to Murazikwas Nek and then down to the Mpudzi River and then to a drift a few miles from there where six oxen were once swept away in a flood, and that was known as the Six Ox Spruit (Ses Os Spruit). From there to a gap in the granite mountains was known as "Granite Gates" down to the Wengezi River and on to Nyambeya River on to Cronley Farm where there was a night stop. Once a dance was held there and the place was known as "Dans Spruit" (Dance Spruit). Then to MacAndrews up to Penkridge Farm, then up to Ostend Farm, then up the ridge to Poko's Nek which was known as Rutherford's Heights.

Old man Rutherford had trouble with his wagon there once. From there along Johannesrust's eastern side to Steynsbank to a very difficult bend in the road known as "Verdomde Draai" (Terrible Bend). Up to "Komiek Nek" and then to the top of the mountain and there is a bit of a nek there, and once a water tank fell off the wagon and that was known a "Tank Nek". Then to a camp which the German road overseer had, Wahl's Camp. From there to Groen Nekkie descending down to Weltevrede, Umsapas and then on to Rocklands. The river just north of Rocklands was called "Elands Spruit" because there were so many eland there, and there are still eland there today.

The present scenic route from Cashel Police Camp to Komiek Nek was built in 1922 by an Italian, Aimini. This road started from Ostend Farm and went up the Tandaai River to Moodies Nek, and joined the old road at Komiek Nek.

Farms and Occupants

In view of the fact that most farms in this area have been bought by Government and the Title Deeds cancelled, the names have disappeared, and I consider it important that we now make a list of the farms with their occupants so that the names and places can be remembered. Starting from Rocklands Farm outside Chimanimani along the scenic route down to Cashel I'll mention most of the farms that were occupied, and give the names of the original owners. Rocklands farm was occupied by M.J. Martin and his son J.L. Martin who was later Member of Parliament for the area for many years. Then we get to Clifton Farm. This is now just marked as Crown Land. This was originally settled by T.I. Ferreira. He later moved away to a farm south of Chimanimani. Clifton Farm in the early 1930's was occupied by P.A. duPreez. He farmed there for a few years, then left and joined the Roads Department and was Road Overseer and Constructor in the Eastern Districts for many years. Then there were two farms called Jameson and Constantia, whose names have now disappeared. Jameson was farmed by Cornelius Heyns and Constantia was farmed by Stoffel Kloppers. Both these gentleman eventually left the area and these farms were unoccupied for many years and then bought, consolidated and sub-divided by the Steyn brothers from Cashel, sons of Stoffel Steyn. A small section of the farm was sold to P.A. Cremer and known as Umsapa and the other farms were renamed Jantia and farmed by Jan Steyn and is still in possession of his son. The other section of the farm was called Groenkop and Middelpunt, and was farmed by Titus Steyn and Jurie Steyn. The farms were subsequently sold to Masori Ranch, the present owners. Then we get to Weltevrede farm. This farm was occupied by Johannes Steyn, the eldest son of the Trek Leader, J.G.F. Steyn. He and his three sons, Herculaas, Pieter and Dawid, farmed this farm until they sold it to Titus and Jurie Steyn, who subsequently sold it to Masori Ranch. The farm Weltevrede and Glazier were subdivided between three sons of Johannes Steyn and renamed Verlos, Rietvlei and Weltevrede.

Then we move on to Hendriksdal, this was settled by Hendrik Steyn and later sold to P.F. deBruijn one of the early teachers in the area and the farm still belongs to his three sons. Then we move on to Steynsbank. This was settled by Willem Steyn, son of Hendrik Steyn the brother of the Trek Leader and this farm was subdivided between his sons. Hendrik, the eldest retained the farm with the name Steysbank. Ben Steyn the youngest son got the western section known as The View. Then there was Johannes (Dopper) Steyn who named his place New Cape. Antonie named his place Summervale and Pieter named his farm Leopards Den. Hendrik Steyn, son of J.G.F., and of Hendriksdal Farm, sold a section of his farm to Hendrik Steyn and Pieter Steyn of Steynsbank and this was subdivided between the two of them and these were known as Moodies Nek and Tank Nek, Tank Nek was later sold to Masori Ranch.

KEY

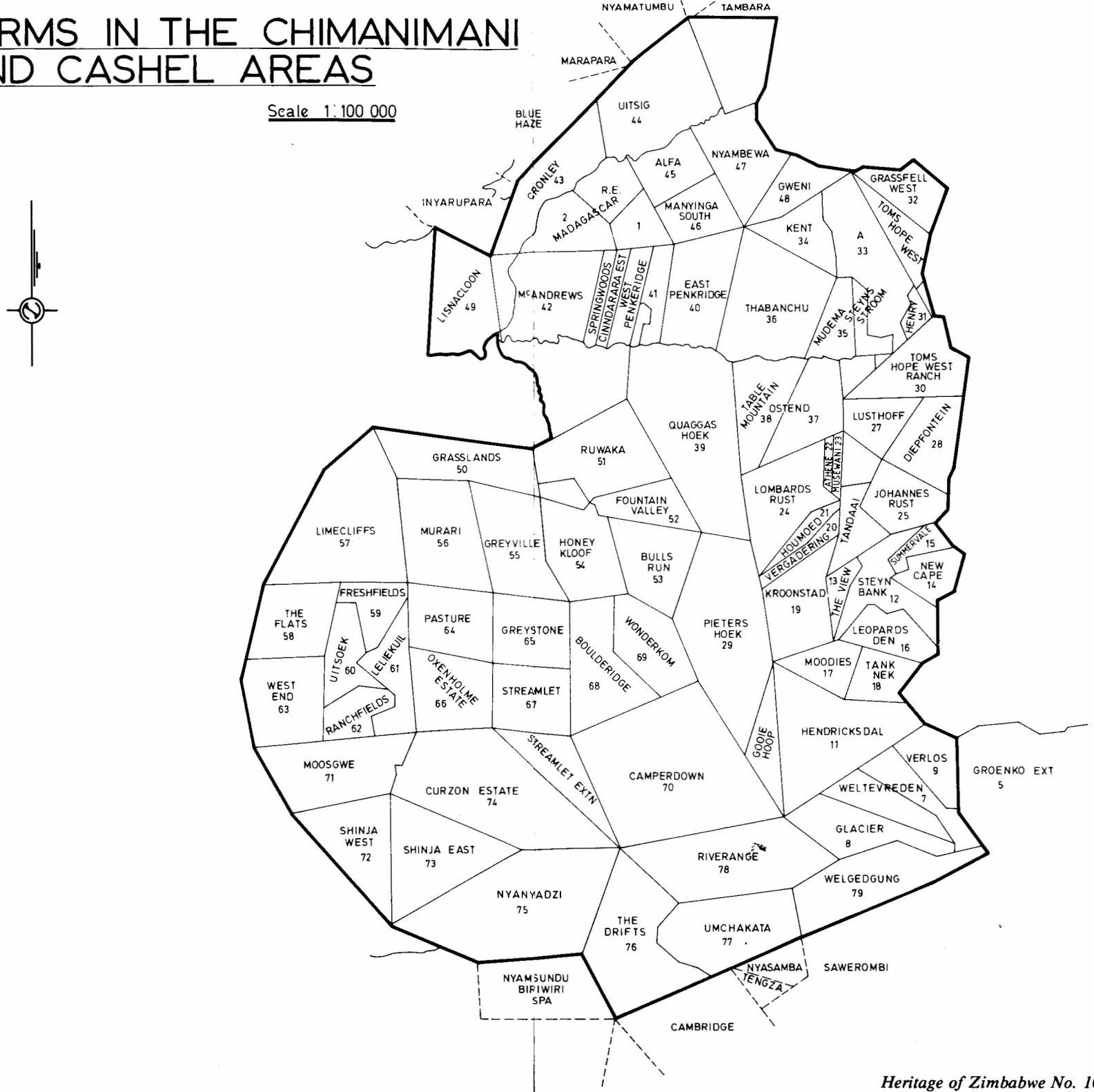
1.	Rocklands	M.J. Martin
2.	Clifton	T.I. Ferreira
		P.A. du Preez
3.	Constantia	Stoffel Kloppers
		Steyn Bros.
4.	Umsapa	P.A. Cremer
		Jan Steyn
		Louis Steyn
5.	Groenkop	J.J. Steyn
		Masori Ranch
6.	Middlepunt	Titus Steyn
7.	Weltevreden	Johannes Steyn
8.	Glazier	Johannes Steyn
9.	Verlos	H.P. Steyn
10.	Rietvlei	D. Steyn
11.	Hendriksdal	Hendrik Steyn
		P.F. de Bruijn
12.	Steynsbank	H.B. Steyn
13.	The View	B.J. Steyn
14.	New Cape	J.G. Steyn
15.	Summervale	A.C. Steyn
16.	Leopardsden	P.W.J. Steyn
17.	Moodiesnek	H.B. Steyn
18.	Tank Nek	P. Steyn
19.	Kroonstad	S.J.M. Lombard
20.	Vergadering	W.K. Bezuidenhout
21.	Houmoed	N. Bezuidenhout
22.	Athene	C. Bezuidenhout
23.	Musewani	J. Bezuidenhout
24.	Lombardsrust	B.J. Lombard
25.	Johannesrust	J.G.F. Steyn
26.	Tandaai	J.G.F. Steyn
27.	Lusthof	Maria Steyn
28.	Diepfontein	P. Steyn
29.	Pietershoek	C.C. Steyn
30.	Toms Hope	T. Henry
31.	Henry	T. Henry
32.	Grassfell West	T. Henry
33.	Steynstroom	H. Steyn
		Cooper
34.	Kent	H. Steyn
		Cooper
35.	Mudema	V. Margesson
		J. Wright
36.	Thaba Nchu	Van der Riet
		H. Elton
37.	Ostend	H. Marais
38.	Table Mountain	H. Marais
39.	Quaggas Hoek	W.C. Coetzer
40.	East Penkridge	Woodhouse
		Sir Richard Codrington
		W.E. Mildenhall
41.	West Penkridge	Woodhouse
42.	MacAndrews	Mr MacAndrew
		Methodist Church
43.	Cronley	J.G.A. de Beer
44.	Uitsig	J.S. Steyn
45.	Alfa	J.G. Coetzer
46.	Minyinga South	W.E. Mildenhall
47.	Nyambewa	J.G.F. Steyn
48.	Gweni	W.E. Mildenhall
49.	Lisnacloon	P. Rautenbach
		G.A. Roberts
50.	Grasslands	J.T. Webster
51.	Ruwaka	T.F.J. Steyn
52.	Fountain Valley	C.J. Steyn
53.	Bulls Run	C.J. Steyn
54.	Honeykloof	A.J. Barnard
55.	Greyville	P. Marais
56.	Murari	J.G. Steyn
57.	Lime Cliffs	F. du Preez
		Jan Coomans
58.	The Flats	F.C. Steyn
59.	Freshfields	F.C. Steyn
60.	Uitsoek	J.J. Steyn
61.	Leliekuil	Titus Steyn
62.	Ranchfields	J.T. Steyn
63.	West End	A. Olwage
64.	Pasture	H. King
		Titus Steyn
65.	Greystone	never occupied
66.	Oxenholme	J.T. Mynhardt
67.	Streamlet	J.T. Lombard
68.	Boulderidge	B.J. Mynhardt
69.	Wonderkom	E. Mynhardt
		G. Steyn
70.	Camperdown	G. Steyn
71.	Moosgwe	E.J. Jelliman
		van Heerden Bros.
72.	Shinja West	J.T. Steyn
73.	Shinja East	Titus Steyn
74.	Curzon	Petter-Boyer
		Oberholzer
75.	Nyanyadzi	P.W. Coetzer
		T. Brent
76.	The Drifts	Jopie Coomans
77.	Umchakata	Jopie Coomans
78.	Riverange	never occupied
79.	Welgegund	J.J. van der Linde

Springwoods and Chindandara are sub-divisions of West Penkridge.

Where two or more names appear next to that of the farm, these are the subsequent occupants.

FARMS IN THE CHIMANIMANI AND CASHEL AREAS

Scale 1:100 000



On the Western side of the Tandaai River we had Lombardsrust. This farm was settled by S.J.M. Lombard and subdivided between two of his sons and portions were sold to two Bezuidenhouts. The one section known as Kroonstad was settled by Fanie Lombard, and the other section known as Lombardsrust by Bennie Lombard. The section sold to the Bezuidenhout brothers between Fanie and Bennie's farms, one piece "Vergadering" was settled by W.K. Bezuidenhout and the other section "Houmoed" by Nicolaas Bezuidenhout. It was on a portion of Vergadering that the Tandaai School was later built. A further two sections of Lombardsrust were sold to two other Bezuidenhout brothers. The section called Athene was sold to Cornelius Bezuidenhout and Musewani to Jan Bezuidenhout. The name Musewani was given after the bush on top of the hill on that farm, which is the place where the Rainmaker Musewa performed his rituals for rainmaking.

Then there was Johannesrust, the farm which was occupied by the Trek Leader, J.G.F. Steyn, and after his death it was taken over by his youngest son, Lucas Steyn. And that farm was later subdivided onto Johannesrust and Tandaai, and was farmed by his two sons Johannes and Japie. Then there is Lushof, which was taken up for the Trek Leader's daughter Maria, and later sold first to Cornelius Bezuidenhout and later to Freddie Heyns. Then there is Diepfontein which was taken up by the Trek Leaders son, Stoffel, but later he swopped it for his brother Peiter's farm, Pietershoek. Stoffel lived on Pietershoek and Pieter lived on Diepfontein. Two of the Trek Leader's sons, Christiaan and Theunis, both took up farms east of Johannesrust. These farms were called Paardekraal en Palmfontein but it was found later that they were in Mozambique and they had to leave these farms, and take up two other farms. Christiaan took up Bulls Run farm and Theunis Ruwaka Farm. Then we get to the next farm Toms Hope Farm, Henry and Grassfell West. These farms were taken up by the other Trek Leader, Tom Henry. He lived there, but again, a large portion of these farms fell in Mozambique and had to be abandoned. When he died his widow married a Mr. Rutherford and after Rutherfords death and Mrs. Henry's death the farms were idle for a number of years until they were bought by Freddie Heyns.

Then we get to Steynstroom, which was taken up by the Trek Leader's brother, Hendrik Steyn. He and some of his sons lived there, but after his death the farm was sold to a Mr.Cooper who lived there until his death. His daughter Helen married Fred Muggleton. Muggleton farmed there until his death, and later the farm was sold to Freddie Heyns, but a section of the farm had already been sold to a Mutare man Harold, and called Langley Green. Then we get to Thaba Nchu farm which was initially occupied and farmed by Van der Riet and later taken over by Cashel, an Irishman who came from Cashel in Ireland. He was also the first law enforcing officer in the area. This farm was later sold to Hallam Elton and the farm was subdivided, the eastern section called Mudema being sold to Vere Margesson who farmed there for many years and later sold that section to John Wright. Hallam Elton was the first man to own and fly an aeroplane in the area. He also built the Black Mountain Inn hotel and that became very popular particularly during the second World War period. South of the old Thaba Nchu Farm there was of course Ostend which was taken up and farmed by Cornelius Marais and the farm was eventually subdivided, one portion called Ostend and the other Table Mountain. Ostend was farmed by Cornelius's son Paul and Table Mountain belonged to his other son, Cornelius. To the West of Ostend was Quaggashoek farm which was taken up and farmed by Wentzel Coetzer, son-in-law of J.G.F. Steyn the trek Leader, and after his death it was farmed by his two sons, Hans and Pieter. Hans eventually bought another farm. Pieter lived and died on the farm.

Then we get Penkridge Farm which was eventually divided into three sections, known as

Penkridge East, Mid-Penkridge and West Penkridge. Originally the farm belonged to a Minister of Religion, Mr. Woodhouse who worked on the Mutambara Mission station, and he later farmed on Penkridge East. After his death this farm was sold to Sir Richard Codrington and later to Willie Mildenhall. Penkridge was further subdivided and sold to various other people. Mid-Penkridge was taken over by Filmer who called it Sutton Park. The last owner who lived there was Victor Versfeldt. His wife was wounded during the Chimurenga war, they then left and sold the farm to Freddie Heyns. His son John farmed there until the farm was bought by Government, for land re-settlement. One of the sub-divisions was farmed by Oscar Johnson and Holland-Ramsay.

Then we get to MacAndrews farm which was initially occupied by MacAndrews who had a trading store there. It was later sold to the Methodist Church and the Mutambara Mission was established there. Then there is Lisnacloon Farm, which was initially occupied by Piet Rautenbach and later bought by G.A. Roberts, a missionary at Mutambara Mission and he farmed there until the late 1960's. Then there is Cronley Farm where Hans de Beer (J.G.A.) farmed for years, and then we go across down to the Wengezi River which was the boundary of the Melsetter district.

South of the Mutambara Communial Land were two farms, Bulls Run and Ruwaka. A section cut out of Bulls Run, is known a Fountain Valley. Then there was Honeykloof Farm that was farmed by A.J. Barnard, and Grasslands Farm which was farmed by J.T.Webster, Murarie Farm was farmed by Dopper Steyn. Lime Cliffs Farm was initially occupied by Frikkie duPreez and later by Jannie Coomans. After Jannie Cooman's death, his widow was married to a Mr. Sinclair, and some of you may still remember doing "Bright Light" duty on Mrs. Sinclair's farm. Then there is Pasture farm which was initially occupied by one of the Kings of Chipinga. He farmed there for a short while, and left, and this farm was then occupied and farmed by one of Stoffel Steyn's grandsons.Then there is Freshfield Farm and The Ranch Farm which were bought by Stoffel Steyn for his sons, Japie, Jurie, Jan, Titus, Frikkie. Frikkie lived on Freshfields, and the farms were subdivided and each got their section. To the East of the Ranch was Oxenholme farm which was occupied by Jan Mynhardt and east of that is Streamlet occupied by Johannes Lombard, a son of Fanie Lombard who occupied Kroonstad. Then you get Boulderidge farm, initially occupied by Berrie and Ewert Mynhardt. They later left the area. It is rather an inaccessible farm and the eastern half was divided off from Boulderidge and sold to George Steyn, the youngest son of Stoffel Steyn, who lived on Pietershoek and he called that section Wonderkom. Then of course there were the Shinjas farms, Shinja West and Shinja East. Shinja East was never really occupied. Shinja West was worked from the Ranch by Jan Steyn. Then there was Moosgwe, initially owned and occupied by J.E. Jelliman. Later a lime works was started on the farm, produced quite a lot of lime and there are still large lime deposits there. In later years the farm was owned by two van Heerden brothers and was farmed by their father-in-law, J.N. Moolman. Curzon farm was not occupied until the early 1950's when Paul Peterbowyer lived there. After him a man called Oberholzer lived on the farm for awhile. This Oberholzer was the first victim of the Chimurenga war being killed in a road block in the Biriwiri area. Then there is Nyanyadzi farm, farmed in the mid-1930's by Pê`iter Coetzer and Danie Steyn and the farm was later sold to Sir Hugo Sievebright. Camperdown farm,a rather inaccessible bit of land, was never really occupied. It was farmed by George Steyn of Pietershoek and the farm was never occupied. The farms The Drifts and Umchakatawere in turn occupied by Jopie Coomans, and again these are two very inaccessible farms and not a very paying proposition.

Returning to the Cronley area there are a few farms up in that corner on the Nyambeya River. Manyinga North and Manyinga South belonged to the Manica Trading Company and were never occupied until the later 1930's when Manyinga North was bought by Japie Steyn. Manyinga South was bought by W.E. Mildenhall and Hans Coetzer. Hans Coetzer's was called Alpha. Manyinga North was eventually renamed Uitsig. Then we had Nyambeya and Tambara farms, these were bought and occupied by Johannes Steyn, son of Pieter Steyn who lived on Diepfontein.

There are two other farms, Greyville and Greystone, - West on Honeykloof - these two farms were never settled. They are too dry and have no permanent streams. Paul Marais tried to farm on Greyville but had to abandon the farm because of the lack of adequate water. To the west of the Ranch was West End and the Flats - West End was originally farmed by Abraham Olwage on Lindley, Melsetter and it was later incorporated into the Ranch. The Flats was never occupied because of the lack of water. Virtually all these farms have been bought by Government either for resettlement or forestry and their Title Deeds and names cancelled. The farms not yet bought are Fountain Valley and Lisnacloon, owned by black farmers, and Pietershoek, Hendriksdal, Weltevrede, Welgegund, Verlos, Groenkop, Middelpunt, Jantia, and Umsapa, which are still in the hands of white farmers.

Health and Medical Service

Initially there were no medical services in the area and many of the tropical diseases and conditions were unknown to the inhabitants. Most households had medicine chests of Lennons Dutch Remedies, most of which were not effective for the treatment of malaria. Effective as they may have been for other ailments.

These people were very resourceful - two or three families kept a coffin in the loft of the house and should a member of the community die a coffin was readily available; if one had to be obtained from Mutare this would have taken about a week and a body could not be kept that long. After the funeral another coffin would be made and the used one replaced. These coffins were very suitable for storing goods, i.e. dried fruit, biltong, empty bags, etc. In 1903 Dr. W. Rose settled in the Chimanimani (Melsetter) area and, though this brought very great relief, it did mean that for a message to get to Dr. Rose by a horse rider and for him to get to the patient could take from eight to twelve hours, thus it was only the most critical cases that got doctor's attention. When the Methodist Mission was established at MacAndrews (Mutambara) very welcome additional medical assistance was available from the trained sister at the Mission clinic. Despite the fact that the clinic was primarily meant for the medical care of the black residents of the area, their ethical approach made their nursing of white residents possible and quite often they walked to attend a patient as far as 20 km from the clinic. And respectful mention must be made of the wonderful work done in succession by Misses Parmentor, Guigan, Oral A Penny, Viola Mabie and Sister Ruth Hansen.

After the second World War the Government appointed a District Nurse to the area. This work was initially done by Mrs. Dobel, the wife of the Member in Charge of Police, and then by Mrs. Rutherford. In about the 1930/31 Dr. Macrae was appointed G.M.O. of Melsetter/North Melsetter and initially he visited the school and Mission clinic once a month and later twice a month.

Malaria was always rife in the area and though a number of people died from this affliction more would have died had it not been for two saving graces. Firstly the health department made a very effective prophylactic "Quinine" easily available to the public. This could be bought at

any Post Office Agency at 3 shillings and ninepence (38 cents) for 100 - 5 grain tablets. 1 Tablet a day during the malaria season effectively prevented the disease. Secondly the Melsetter (and Chipinge) doctors dispensed what was commonly called "Fever Mixture" which was a very vile tasting concoction but very effective in not only curing an attack but preventing a further attack that season. Although the Tandaai area was relatively free from malaria, at least five children under the age of six years and one adult died from cerebral malaria.

Early Settlers in Chipinge

by Pat Edwards

This is the text of a talk given to the Mashonaland Branch of the Society at Chipinge on 29th September1990

Greetings and welcome to Chipinge. I hope you have all enjoyed your trip and that you have been given a good insight into the early days of the settlement of this part of the country. You know of course that this is the best and loveliest part of the country!!!

Richard, whom I have known since he was a young schoolboy and whose parents I am proud to have known as friends, has asked me to speak on how the pioneers settled in this part of the country, how they survived in the early part of the century, how they went to school, how they got from Chipinge to Mutare and elsewhere, and the development of the area, farming-wise, up to the advent of the establishment of the coffee industry here.

I am sure you all know what has been recorded about the pioneers from different books written. I have a book here (it is looking a bit like pioneer material itself) called **Many Treks Made Rhodesia.** (I recently made enquiries as to the availability of this book in Bulawayo and one firm had one copy but did not know whether it was for sale or not).

Of the Pioneers who settled in the Chipinge area, I wish to speak only of the ones known to me personally; the others would require a lot of research work and I haven't had the time for this.

The Pioneer Treks in chronological order are:

1. Moodie Trek - arriving at Waterfall 3/1/1893
2. Moolman-Webster Trek -arriving August 1893
3. Du Plessis Trek - arriving August 1893
4. Edenberg Trek -arriving September 1894
5. Mynhardt-Utrecht Trek -arriving October 1894
6. Martin Trek -arriving October 1894
7. Kruger-Bekker Trek -arriving July 1895
8. Du Plessis Trek -arriving October 1895
9. Steyn-Henry Trek -arriving October 1895

I would like you to know that I only arrived on the scene in 1911 and it was some years after that before I got to know what was what and who was who.

The Moodie Trek has been well written about and I gather you will hear a talk on this at Moodie's grave on Waterfall this afternoon.

The Moolman-Webster Trek (enter my ancestor!) My mother was a Webster, 12 years of age when they trekked and she walked all the way from the Transvaal to Chipinge - their one wagon carrying food for twelve months and the elderly and very young people on the trek.

Mr Moolman pegged his farm on what is now known as the Eastern Border; I personally

knew the Moolman descendants, Jon and Hendrik. I knew these sons. There aren't any of them left here now.

The Websters (my connections of the trek) went further East and when the International Boundary was delineated, found they were in Mozambique, and so had to move, and then settled on the farm Meadows; Webster's grandson and great grandson are still farming Meadows; another Webster grandson is currently Headmaster of Mururachena School (a private school set up and run by farmers and others of the District). Another grandson of the Websters is talking to you now!

I knew my Grannie Webster very well, but not my Grandfather Webster, as he was accidently killed while still on the farm over the Border: My mother, Hannah Louise, first married a man by the name of Robertson who died of malaria and then married my father and they farmed Chipinge Farm, which is still in the family. The other half of Chipinge Farm, Chipinge West, was taken up by John Ballantyne (Whom I knew well) - a pioneer of the Moolman-Webster Trek. It was subsequently left to David P.J. Odendaal, son of Willem Odendaal of the Mynhardt- Utrecht Trek who settled on Houtberg Farm at the foot of Mount Selinda adjoining the forest. A grandson is still farming there and another grandson is now a leading dairy farmer. I personally knew the original Odendaals well and all the sons and daughters (Paull, Petrus, David, Tommy, Sarah, Bobby and Dickie).

The Giffords of the Edenberg Trek of 1894 settled on the farm Wolverhampton, right on the Mozambique border (in fact, he also encroached over the Border and had to get back). A grandson and great-grandson are still farming on the original farm. John Walker Scott (also of the Edenberg Trek) settled on an adjoining farm (Vermont) and married Alice Gifford. A grandson and great-grandson still farm on Vermont.

Du Plessis (1894) settled on Clearwater farm on the Eastern border and two grandsons still farm here with another grandson farming next door on Laughing Waters.

Herselman (1894) settled on the Eastern Border. A grandson is farming now on Oribi Rellago Farm on the Mount Selinda Road. Human settled on the Eastern Border and his grandson still farms there. Kruger settled on the Eastern Border more to the left.

There are certainly others who don't readily come to mind, but given more time, could be included with the foregoing. Of course many went further North- Martius, Steyn-Henry, etc.,to Chimanimani and beyond to the Cashel areas.

Farming in those early days was a hazardous life with many problems indeed. To mention a few: Rinderpest struck; 1901 ACF and further outbreaks of this in subsequent years; foot and mouth disease; wild animals, including lions, leopards, wild dogs, hyenas, etc.; locust infestations (much later). I can remember the hardships caused by these.

Other pioneer problems of course were illnesses amongst the community and with shortages of medical supplies and no doctors, the distance from markets and the difficulty of getting in supplies. But they were of a calibre of people who somehow managed to survive (or some of them).

Coming now to the early part of the 20th Century and how people went to school and how they travelled: initially there were a couple of farm schools in the District (Meadows Farm for instance) and then, with the advent of the American Board Missions, a school was based at Mount Selinda.

But the first real school was established in Melsetter (now Chimanimani). We as children and those before me could only travel to school by trap and horses or just on horseback or donkeys and some of us just walked. I recall we would set off on horseback with a carrier

carrying our trunks and we would travel as far as Lemon Kop and spend the night with Dr and Mrs Rose and then travel on to Melsetter the next day. It took two days to get to Melsetter in those days. The carriers would then return home with the horses.

A Dr Thompson of the American Board Mission was based at Mount Selinda and he served the District for many years as the only local doctor. He travelled to visit his patients on a bicycle and would nearly always call in at our house and ask my mother if he could just rest up for a while on one of the beds before moving on. He used to call our house 'The House Beside the Road'. There was also Dr Rose at Lemon Kop, Melsetter area and he too would serve the district when required. He travelled on horseback and was known to have forded a river in flood by undressing, tying his clothes to his horse's bridle and then clutching the horse's tail while the horse swam the river. These doctors would always get through somehow.

Our supplies, before the advent of the RMS in the late 1950s was first by wagon (ox-drawn or mule drawn) from Umtali - a trip by wagon and back could take up to 2 months.

I recall, as just a young kid my father as member in charge of Chipinge Police and my mother as the first Postmaster (or Postmistress) of Chipinge. The Post Office was a rondavel hut on the corner of our stand (which now houses the Community Church). Mail used to come to Melsetter by Zeederberg coach - always blowing a trumpet as they neared the village and all would gather to see who was on the coach and gather their mail. From Melsetter a carrier postman used to carry the mail for Chipinge to Chipinge and I can still remember the village folk gathering together on mail day and watch for the postman (carrier) to appear over the Hill. It was all very exciting.

After 18 years' service in the Police my father resigned and we went farming on Chipinge Farm which until then had been farmed by my grandparents and an uncle of mine. Those too were arduous years - a fully-grown ox would fetch £3-5 (if you got £6 you considered yourself very lucky). Markets were far off and roads were just tracks - the road to Umtali went through Melsetter and Cashel to Umtali until the local farmers pioneered a track through the Sabi valley and this track served for many years until the Government took it over and started to straighten it out a bit. There were no bridges on either the Melsetter or the Sabi valley roads in those days, and I remember one year (1923 or 1924) was a very high rainfall year and we kids were on the road for two months getting to Umtali and we arrived in time for the Easter weekend. My brother-in-law and my sister and a Mr Farrell were all teachers and were very anxious to get back to school for the beginning of the term so they set off on horseback, leaving their car here, and when they got to near Lemon Kop my brother-in-law thought he could get his car through after all, so he got a message from Lemon Kop for my father to bring the car and they would return on the horses and where they met they would swop over. Meanwhile, Farrel said he would walk on and they would catch up. Well they never did catch him up. He walked all the way to Umtali and my sister and brother-in-law finished up catching a lift in a Roads Department cart which was travelling from Umfudze River to Umtali.

Enough of that and back to farming. The early farmers could not grow crops as they could not be transported to market, so it was mainly cattle farming and milking the beef herd. As an outlet for this milk and for a bit of cash, they started a cheese factory (two in fact). One on Chiriga, south of here, and on the Eastern border. Later these two amalgamated and a factory was built in Chipinge for the whole District (round about 1946) and soon Chipinge Cheese became well-known throughout the country and was sought after. But when the farmers first started making cheese in the original factories they received only 4 pence per gallon.

That was the position, more or less, when I came farming in 1946 after the Second World

War. We were desperate for a good cash crop of some sort and while we were building up our dairy herds we tried all kinds of crop to get a cash crop that would stand the high cost of transport.

During the war the farmers grew onions which the country was short of but they couldn't find the transport to carry them to market and so the onions just rotted on the farms. After 1946 we tried cigar-leaf tobacco and the Government agreed to run a Research Station for this for five years but after only two years they ran out of funds and so this blew up; we tried castor oil beans without success; we were persuaded to grow pineapples with the promise of the sky being the limit, but when we sent these in for canning we were told they carried too much juice; the same happened with granadillas and the bottom fell out of the market here. We grew cauliflowers for canning then peas and the canners opened a canning factory here in Chipinge to can the peas and the farmers were delighted until the canners decided to cut overheads and do all the canning under one roof in Umtali. This killed that little enterprise as it was too expensive to transport all that distance

The District was doing reasonably well with pigs by sending them to Umtali Cold Storage until the Pig Industry Board decided that all pigs had to be sent to Harare for slaughter. That killed the pig industry here. And so it went on - we progressed with our dairying and beef industries, but very slowly, until the advent of coffee growing - introduced by Hugh Fennell, whose father was a coffee grower in India at one time. Then the problem was to get enough coffee grown to make some sort of impact on the world markets. But, though expensive to establish, the industry started to grow and this crop more than any other has transformed the area. Of course, coffee was grown here in the early days by the Tanganda Tea and Coffee Company and by Ward and Phillips, pioneers of this industry here, but through the lack of proper insecticides being available in those days coffee was dropped and Tanganda Tea continued only in tea. Now tea is another major industry in the area with many farmers growing and sending the leaf into the factories for processing.

I can remember the advent of motor cars in the District and when headlamps had to be used both at the start and the end of a journey to Mutare. The next step of advancement when someone did the trip without having to use headlamps at all, and then someone actually went to Mutare and back in one day - we couldn't believe this was possible. We never travelled in those days without what was called "pad- kos", that is, enough food to exist on if a breakdown occurred and always a stop would be made to brew a pot of tea.

I could go on and on, but all must be exhausted by now and certainly, I have exhausted myself. Sorry about the length of this talk, but how to condense it all (and much more) into twenty minutes was beyond me. We have been talking of events and people stretching back nearly a century. So with that I will close.

Insurance at Risk
Gourlay's Ranch, 1963

by H. M. T. Ashwin.

"Nkosi, there is a leopard lying up in one of the mine shafts," reported my vermin hunter, Kumalo. I was the manager of a 45,000 acre ranch in the Bubi district. The homestead was situated near the site of a defunct gold mine. Leopards lived in the hills and kopjes. On occasion they killed calves. It was necessary to control their numbers. I set two trap-guns and dropped pieces of poisoned bait near the shaft's entrance. As an attraction I erected a stout pen nearby and placed within it an orphan calf. I fed and watered the calf daily. Although fresh leopard spoor was seen, neither the poison bait was taken nor the trap guns tripped. The leopard was wary and kept its distance. I persisted in my efforts. About a fortnight later an official of the Forestry Commission drove up to the homestead in a two-ton four-wheel drive vehicle. "Are you trying to trap a leopard down at the mine?" he asked. "Yes," I replied. "Well, there is a leopard sunning itself on an outcrop near the road." "That's nonsense, leopards are rarely seen in the day-time." "Jump in, I will take you down and show you." I climbed into the high back of his lorry. I took my 303 rifle and an attendant. Sure enough, there lay a leopard, thirty to forty yards away, lolling outstretched and clearly seen behind a thin thicket of mopani regrowth, quite unperturbed at our arrival. I fired. There was a loud roar. The leopard reared up and fell over backwards and disappeared. My attendant whispered, "There is a prospecting trench behind that outcrop. The ingwe is hiding in it." I asked the official to drive up as close as possible. I wasn't going to approach a wounded leopard on foot. Over the truck cab I peered - not into a trench but into a vertical mine shaft. We decided that was that: the leopard had fallen into the deep dark shaft and must be dead.

Several months later the hunter again reported a leopard in the mine . On investigation spoor was seen entering an incline shaft. The spoor imprints seemed unusual. One pad mark seemed odd and incomplete. The hunter explained: "That shows it is the same leopard you shot at before. It is frightened and walks carefully on tip toe." I blocked the shaft entrance with thorn bushes leaving a small entrance. I extended a short passage from the entrance with stout poles. At the side of the passage I fixed a Martini-Henri rifle with a trip-wire through the passage. To make doubly sure of a kill I fixed a large bear-trap at the passage end. The final setting of the bear-trap and the gun was done by myself. The staff had knocked off. I was alone except for my wife. She sat in the ranch truck nearby. I proceeded with great care. I had a finnicky and dangerous job to do. The sun was setting. My wife grumbled. "Hurry up! It's getting dark. I don't like it here." Pause. "Finished yet?" "No, not quite."Finished yet?" "O. Betty, don't bug me! This is a dangerous occupation. I could shoot myself." "Dangerous! If that leopard gets you because of your foolishness the insurance won't pay out." At last the job was done to my satisfaction and to my wife's relief. We drove the 500 yards or so home. I poured a sundowner. Bang! The gun had fired. I jumped up to dash to the truck. Betty snatched the keys from my hand. "No. you don't!" Next morning at 5 am I was at the shaft. The leopard lay dead, very dead, with a heart shot. The front paw was transfixed by the bear-trap. It was a female leopard in very poor condition. The hunter was right. It was the same I shot at months before. Both her forepaws had been almost shot away. The pelt wasn't worth the skinning. I threw the carcase down a nearby shaft.

What's in a Name?

by Richard Holderness

One evening some of us old timers were swapping yarns and airing our opinions about the changes in Zimbabwe, and the subject of place-names cropped up. One of us, who claimed some linguistic knowledge, pointed out that all names, of places and people, have meanings, and especially in Bantu languages. Another added the fact that this was equally true in Biblical times. Which led us to enquire about the meaning of the new place names in Zimbabwe. And that in why I am writing this note for "Heritage on Zimbabwe". with the suggestion that contributors might help to provide information regarding place names, and so build up a dictionary of place names.

In the course of our discussion one amusing anecdote emerged. After independence, when the process of renaming began, the first name chosen for Fort Victoria was that of a neighbouring mountain. But those responsible had not bothered to inquire into its meaning. Now I remember many years ago hearing a lecture by the Reverend Soulby Jackson, who was an authority, having been born and grown up at Morgenster Mission, and having spoken Chikaranga as his first language. He mentioned this mountain, which is shaped like a man's head, with a tuft of thick hair on top, and its name means "the owner of lice." When someone pointed this out to the authorities, the name of Fort Victoria was promptly changed to Masvingo. But what does **that** mean?

Another who is fairly fluent said that the real name of the Zimbabwe Ruins means "buildings of stone", and should be spelt DZIMBABGE (i.e.DZIMBA:houses, BGE:stone) but that doesn't sound grammatical to me. However, if that is the correct spelling, with all the enthusiasm for correcting the names of other places, why do we cling to the English spelling?

One Name that fascinates me is Mwari. Could it mean "Thou who art" and therefore be the exact equivalent of YAHWEH or JEHOVAH which is said to mean "I am that which I am". I have never come across this idea and should be grateful if someone who knows would confirm or contradict it.

National Chairman's Report for the Year to 31 March 1991

by R.D. Franks

I have pleasure in presenting my report on the activities of the Society during the last year.

1. Committee

The Committee elected at the Annual General Meeting in 1990 consisted of me as Chairman, Mr A.M. Rosettenstein as Vice-Chairman, Mr J.A.Ogilvie as Treasurer, and Mr. R.H. Wood as Secretary, and Messrs Tanser, Zeederberg, Loades, Kimberley, Turner and Johnson as Committee members. In June last year Mr Peter Locke in Mutare accepted our invitation to be co-opted onto the Committee. He is unable to attend meetings of the Committee but he had shown and continues to show much interest in the Society and its magazine, and your Committee was very glad to have him as our representative in Mutare. The Mashonaland Branch representative during the year has been Mr J. Bousfield.

2. Heritage of Zimbabwe

The subject which during the year attracted the attention of the Committee to a greater degree than any other matter has been our journal Heritage. I am sure that this has been the case every year in the past. While it is the function of the Mashonaland Branch to arrange for periodic outings and gatherings for members, visits to places of interest, and addresses, it is vital in a society such as ours to continue the publication of a journal which members will value and will continue to collect and hold indefinitely, a journal of which they are proud. This is the function and responsibility of the National Committee.

We have all received in the last month Heritage 9 which I consider to be of a very high standard and a great credit to our Editor Mr. Mike Kimberley. This publication however has not been without its problems. The material was first sent to the printers in April last year and distribution was anticipated I recall in September or October 1990. What with breakdowns of the printer's computer, then of his camera, and other difficulties such as the printer going on leave, we constantly saw distribution as an event still in the future.

A major difficulty which the Committee has experienced with Heritage in recent years has been the cost of printing, and this certainly was the case in 1990. Consideration was given to reducing costs by altering the size of the page, and the quality of paper. We were obliged to accept a change in the paper when the glossy paper previously used was not available, but fortunately the paper available to us has proved satisfactory and indeed yielded a saving in cost. The cost of printing Heritage 9 which we all have just received works out at almost $23,00. per copy. If this is compared with members' subscription which has just been increased for 1991 to $25,00. for individual membership, it will be seen that very little of a subscription is left to contribute to the Society's administration costs. The Committee was active in arranging advertising in the Journal, and the financial report to be presented by our Treasurer Mr. Lex Ogilvie will show the increased amount of advertising revenue which came in this year. If any

members of the Society are willing to advertise or can introduce us to persons or companies which would agree to advertise or to sponsor our journal, your Committee would be very glad to hear from them.

The Committee has decided that our advertising rates are low and should be increased, but there is in any event a limit on the volume of advertising material which a magazine of the nature and quality of Heritage will carry, so that it is essential to make provision for the cost of printing Heritage when the level of our subscriptions is reviewed each year.

On a happier note I am glad to say when one sees the quality of Heritage 9 one feels that the increase in subscriptions is justified and the trials and tribulations and the considerable effort made by our Editor throughout 1990 were well worthwhile.

Before leaving the subject of Heritage I appeal to members to contribute material to our journal. We are always looking for suitable text to include in Heritage, and amongst our members there must be persons who are able to write or know someone who could contribute. Please give some thought to this appeal.

3. Subscriptions

Our Treasurer Lex Ogilvie will deal with the income and expenditure of the Society in presenting his Financial Statement for the year ended 31 December 1990. I would like just to stress that the main source of revenue to cover the cost of printing of Heritage is the members annual subscriptions. These were increased in 1990 and the Committee felt compelled again to increase subscriptions for 1991. Single subscriptions have increased to $25,00. and husband and wife subscriptions to $30,00. The Committee has been concerned at the impact of the increases on our members, but I ask members to take account of the fact that apart from contributing to the costs of the adminstration of the Society their subscriptions provide them with what I consider to be a very fine journal.

4. Centenary Year

The event which gave me greatest pleasure during 1990 was the gathering arranged by the Mashonaland Branch and Tim Tanser in particular in July on Mt. Hampden to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the City of Harare. I think that some people may have anticipated a function of greater spectacle and publicity, and we are conscious of the functions held in South Africa and London. The Committee considered however that it was prudent to avoid publicity and indeed to hold the gathering in July rather than September. I am satisfied that this decision was correct. In any event the gathering on Mt. Hampden was a memorable function, well organised, with a brief service conducted by Mr. Hank Blowers and three excellent addresses. I congratulate Mr. Tanser and his Committee.

5. Membership

Our membership in 1990 was 730, (as against 734 in 1989) of whom 34 members are overseas and 32 in Africa outside Zimbabwe, mainly South Africa. Membership in 1984 was 545, our lowest figure after the emigration which took place some ten years ago, and there has been a fairly steady increase in our members since then. We need to see this increase continued by the introduction of new members. Apart from the question of subscription income, the Society would be stronger and more active with a larger membership - especially if new members were younger in years than many of us!

6. Branches

Once again the Mashonaland Branch under the very sound guidance of Mr. Tim Tanser, has had an excellent year. The Manicaland Branch has limited membership, and I think it correct to say that we have not had contact this year with members from Manicaland, apart from Mr. Peter Locke. As you know the Matabeleland Branch ceased to exist some ten years ago. I reported last year that a new body had been established in 1989 in Bulawayo, known as the Matabeleland History and Archaeological Society, but we have not heard from that Society in 1990

7. Society Tie

It is some years now since the Society's tie has been available, and a Sub-Committee has been established to investigate the production of a new tie.

8. General

We have continued this year to receive the ongoing support given to us in the past by Anglo-American Corporation, and I wish to thank Anglo-American for this support. I thank all the members of the Committee for their efforts during the year and I single out Mr. Lex Ogilvie as Treasurer and Mr. Richard Wood as Secretary.

The Society owes a very substantial debt to our Editor Mr. Mike Kimberley. The publication of our journal sits square on the shoulders of the Editor. It always has, but I do not think that the weight and continuity of that load has ever been as substantial as in the last two or three years. Without Mike Kimberley's persistence and patience and also his knowledge of and skill in the complexities of publishing a journal, we would go without our journal. He is also a writer and contributor to the journal. So we owe him a particular vote of thanks.

We are also indebted to Mrs. Rosemary Kimberley. I do not know of any title or official appointment which she has but she is in fact the unofficial membership Secretary and general worker of the Society, whose work continues week by week through the year. I would especially like to thank Rose Kimberley for her efforts on behalf of all of us.

Office Bearers in The History Society of Zimbabwe 1953 to 1991

National Chairmen

1953-1970	H.A. Cripwell	1981-1983	R.C. Smith
1970-1973	A.S. Hickman	1983	M. Spencer Cook
1973-1975	G.H. Tanser	1983-1985	A.M. Rosettenstein
1975-1977	R.W.S. Turner	1985-1987	T.F.M. Tanser
1977-1979	M.J. Kimberley	1987-1989	R.H. Wood
1979	G.H. Tanser	1989-1991	R.D. Franks
1979-1981	M.J. Kimberley	1991-	A.M. Rosettenstein

National Deputy Chairmen

1969-1970	A.S. Hickman	1981-1983	A.M. Rosettenstein
1970-1973	G.H. Tanser	1984-1985	T.F.M. Tanser
1973-1975	R.W.S. Turner	1985-1987	R.H. Wood
1975-1977	M.J. Kimberley	1987-1988	R.A. Zeederberg
1977-1979	G.H. Tanser	1988-1989	R.D. Franks
1979	M.J. Kimberley	1989-1991	A.M. Rosettenstein
1980-1981	M. Spencer Cook	1991-	T.F.M. Tanser

National Honorary Secretaries

1953-1955	B.W. Lloyd	1972-1976	C.W.H. Loades
1955-1956	J.M. van Heerden	1976-1979	J.G. Storry
1957-1958	G.B. da Graca	1979-1981	Miss P.I. Burton
1959-1960	H.J. Mason	1982-1985	D.H. Whaley
1960	J.L.P. Garrett	1986-1988	C.J. Ford
1961-1962	Mrs P. Haddon	1988-1989	T.F.M. Tanser
1962-1972	M.J. Kimberley	1989-	R.W. Wood

National Honorary Treasurers

1953-1955	B.W. Lloyd	1968-1969	F.A. Staunton
1955-1956	J.M. van Heerden		Miss C. von Memerty
1957-1958	G.B. da Graca		M.J. Kimberley
1959-1960	H.J. Mason	1970-1978	S.A. Rowe and Partners
1960-1961	J.L.P. Garrett		Dove Cowper and Lefevre
1961-1962	W. Mills		Moss. Dove and Company
1962-1967	M.J. Kimberley	1979-	J.A. Ogilvie

Editors of Rhodesiana (1956 to 1979)

No. 1	J.M. van Heerden	No. 6	W.F. Rea
No. 2	G.H. Tanser	No. 7	H.A. Cripwell
No. 3	G.H. Tanser	No. 8	J. Drew
No. 4	B.W. Lloyd	Nos. 9 to 16	E.E. Burke
No. 5	H.A. Cripwell	Nos. 17 to 40	W.V. Brelsford

Editors of Heritage of Zimbabwe (1981 to 1991)

No. 1, 1981	W.E. Arnold	No. 6, 1986	R.W.S. Turner
No. 2, 1982	W.E. Arnold	No. 7, 1988	R.W.S. Turner
No. 3, 1983	W.E. Arnold	No. 8, 1989	M.J. Kimberley
No. 4, 1984	R.C. Smith	No. 9, 1990	M.J. Kimberley
No. 5, 1985	R.C. Smith	No. 10, 1991	M.J. Kimberley

Book Review

by Michael J. Kimberley

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF ZIMBABWE (2nd Edition,1990),
by R.Kent Rasmussen and Steven C. Rupert.
Published by The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen N.J., and London.

This 540 page volume is No 46 in the African Historical Dictionaries Series edited by Jon Woronoff. The Series began in 1974 and the earliest volumes dealt with Cameroon, Botswana, Swaziland, Somalia, Burundi, Lesotho and Sierra Leone.

The first edition, entitled Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, was published in 1979, the year before legal independence and the year of the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference in London. This, the second edition, appears after a decade of independence and includes notes on the significant people, places and events of that extremely important ten year period, as well as most of the previous references, updated here and there, to the colonial period from 1890 to 1980, and the period prior to 1890.

There is a useful 20 page Chronology, a rather skimpy 6 page introduction, and a 78 page Bibliography preceded by an introduction which makes it clear that the bibliography is only a selected sampling of what is available in Zimbabwe studies, and that it gives priority to books over articles, to recent publications over older publications, and to specialized studies over general studies. Unfortunately, though understandably, priority is given to materials accessible to British and American researchers over the more difficult-to-find materials.

As indicated by the authors, there is an abundance of published material on almost every aspect of Zimbabwean studies. Consequently, the authors had to be reasonably selective in compiling the bibliography and, for this reason, as an example, the items listed under natural history could easily have been expanded without too much effort.

The bulk of the volume, naturally, is the Dictionary itself and here, in 405 pages, the authors provide extremely useful and well researched notes on virtually every relevant subject one can think of.

No book is perfect so perhaps some additional political figures of the past decade could have been included without any difficulty. Similarly, there is a conspicuous absence of biographical notes on judges, especially Chief Justices, with only Sir Robert Tredgold mentioned and no notes included on the first two Chief Justices of Zimbabwe, namely Chief Justice Fieldsend and Chief Justice Dumbutshena. Of the leading military commanders during the liberation war, four Generals are included, but several others who were obviously of considerable importance historically, including, for example, General Walls, find no place.

The inclusion of notes on Aloes, whilst dear to this reviewers heart, is strange since there appears to be no other reference to plant genera or species, nor does the bibliography refer to West's well known book on the Aloes of this country which is not only specialized but also relatively recent.

As is well known to all Zimbabweans, the names of many rivers and lakes changed in 1990 and no doubt the third edition will bring matters up to date in this respect.

All in all this dictionary is without any doubt whatsoever a most worthwhile publication

for all historians, both professional and amateur, and I strongly commend it and recommend it to all.

The price is reasonable but with Zimbabwe's chronic shortage of foreign currency especially for the importation of books, it is unlikely that copies will be available for sale to all in local bookshops. Hopefully, all principal libraries will be able to acquire a copy which the public can peruse for reference and research purposes.