HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION NO. 20

2001

HERITAGE
of
ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 20 — 2001

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe
December 2001

MEMBERSHIP OF THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

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

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

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

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

National Executive Committee Members

J. D. McCarthy, *National Chairman*
T. F. M. Tanser, *National Deputy Chairman*
I. A. B. Galletly, *National Honorary Treasurer*
C. Cochrane, *Honorary Minutes Secretary*
M. J. Kimberley, *Immediate Past National Chairman and Honorary Editor*
J. W. Bousfield
F. A. Edkins
R. D. Franks
I. Johnstone
R. C. Kimberley
K. Martin, *Mashonaland Branch Chairman*
A. M. Rosettenstein
D. E. Stephens
R. H. Wood
R. A. Zeederberg

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

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

Edited by

MICHAEL J. KIMBERLEY

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

ISSN 0556—9605

Copyright is reserved by the Society

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

Typeset by TextPertise (Pvt.) Ltd, Harare, Zimbabwe.
Origination by The Origination House, Harare, Zimbabwe.
Printed by Hunyani Paper and Packaging, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

BENEFACTORS AND SPONSORS

The Society is most grateful to the following Zimbabwean companies for their magnanimous support in committing themselves to the Society's publishing efforts for a five-year period. Without this assistance you would not be reading this journal.

Benefactors

African Banking Corporation Limited
African Distillers Limited
Central Africa Building Society
Colcom Holdings Limited
Deloitte & Touche
Delta Corporation Limited
Flora Marketing (Private) Limited
Intermarket Building Society
Johnson and Johnson (Private) Limited
MBCA – Merchant Bank of Central Africa Limited
Meikles Consolidated Holdings (Private) Limited
Sagit Stockbrokers (Private) Limited
Temple Asset Management (Private) Limited
The Edgars Group
T.S.L. Limited

Sponsors

Ariston Holdings Limited
Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited
BICC CAFCA
Discount Company of Zimbabwe Limited
Fleming Martin Edwards Securities (Private) Limited
KPMG
Olivine Industries (Private) Limited
Radar Holdings Limited
RM Insurance Company (Private) Limited
Seedco Limited
Stanbic Bank Zimbabwe Limited
Zimbabwe Spinners and Weavers Limited

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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

AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS

A. The journal **RHODESIANA**
(40 issues published from 1956–1980)

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

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

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

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

C. The journal **HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE**

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

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

For the latest price list and order form please write to —

The History Society of Zimbabwe,

P.O. Box CY 35, Causeway, Zimbabwe.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD, by Michael J. Kimberley viii

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS, by Michael J. Kimberley ix

JOHN ARCHER, MOUNTED INFANTRY, AND THE MASHONALAND CAMPAIGN, 1896, by Colin Baker 1

FREDERICK COURTENEY SELOUS, by J. L. Cloudsley-Thompson 29

'GREAT CHARACTERS OF THE LOWVELD' – THE TRIANGLE 'GUINEA PIGS', by Colin Saunders 39

GWERU, A RAILWAY CENTRE, by R. D. Taylor 61

ROBERT JAMES HUDSON (1885–1963) OUR EIGHTH JUDGE (1933–1950), by Michael J. Kimberley 82

AKRIKANER EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY RULE, by Bob Challiss 96

A WATER-WHEEL IN THE WILDERNESS – THEYDON, MARONDERA, by Robert S. Burrett 144

RETIREMENT OF ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY — 24 YEARS OF DEDICATION 148

OBITUARY: ROBERT WILLIAM SHERIFF TURNER (1917–2001), by Michael J. Kimberley 152

MEIKLES HOTEL 1915–2001, by Norman Atkinson 157

NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS, by Michael J. and Rosemary C. Kimberley 164

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY DURING 2000 167

Foreword

This is the second volume to be published by the Society in the new millennium and the sixtieth volume since the Society began publishing its journal in 1956, initially and latterly on an annual basis, and from 1963 to 1979 biannually.

This issue contains a miscellany ranging from biography to railways and mounted infantry to history of education.

Emeritus Professor Baker of the University of Glamorgan, who served for seventeen years in Malawi, writes a fascinating paper about the experiences of John Archer, a Colour-Sergeant who served in Mashonaland in 1896 with Lieutenant Colonel Alderson's Mounted Infantry, based on the diaries kept by Archer during his service in Rhodesia and letters written to his mother during that time.

Emeritus Professor of Zoology in the University of London, John Leonard Cloudsley-Thompson writes a comprehensive biography of Frederick Courteney Selous and Professor Norman Atkinson writes a history of Meikles Hotel, a quite famous 86-year-old hotel in Harare which has been so closely involved with the history and development of this country.

Dr Bob Challiss presents a scholarly paper on the education of the Afrikaners in this country during British South Africa Company Rule from 1890 to 1924 and, regular contributor, Rob Burrett writes on the Water Wheel at Theydon.

The always popular biographies are catered for by continuations of the series of great characters of the Zimbabwean Lowveld by Colin Saunders and the eighth in the series on our early judges by your Editor.

The history of this country is so closely linked to the development of the railway system and this journal is fortunate to be able to publish the continuing research of Robin Taylor, a local railway enthusiast.

Despite the severe shortage of petrol and diesel and the worsening security situation during 2000 – Zimbabwe's *annus horribilis* – the Society continued to entertain its members by presenting lectures and talks on a wide range of historical subjects. The Society's policy is to publish the texts of these talks subject to availability. The history of Meikles Hotel was the subject of a talk given this year by Norman Atkinson to some 200 members of the Society at Meikles Hotel followed by tea and a tour of the new Meikles and we are very pleased to reproduce it here.

The issue ends with an obituary of Robert William Sheriff Turner a former National Chairman and Mashonaland Branch Chairman of the Society who served on the Society's National Executive for 36 years from 1961 to 1997 and a tribute to Rosemary Kimberley upon her retirement as Administrator/National Secretary of the Society after 24 years of dedicated continuous service from 1978 to 2001.

In conclusion, the Society's grateful thanks are expressed to our Benefactors and our Sponsors who have so generously committed themselves to assisting us in meeting the cost of printing this journal. As this journal goes to press the inflation rate in Zimbabwe is 98% and the cost of printing 1100 copies of this journal is exactly double the cost a year ago.

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

Notes on New Contributors

by Michael J. Kimberley

John Leonard Cloudsley-Thompson is Emeritus Professor of Zoology in the University of London. He was born in Murree, India in 1921, and educated at Marlborough College and Pembroke College, University of Cambridge.

He was commissioned into the 4th Queen's Own Hussars in 1941 and during World War II he served as a tank troop leader with 4th C.L.Y. (Sharpshooters), 7th Armoured Division, in North Africa, (1941–42). He was severely wounded, became an Instructor at Sandhurst, and rejoined his regiment for 'D' day, 1944.

Returning to Cambridge with the honorary rank of Captain, he received the degrees of MA and Ph.D. From 1950–1960 he was Lecturer in Zoology at King's College, London, and was awarded the degree of D.Sc. (London). He became Professor of Zoology, University of Khartoum and Keeper, Sudan Natural History Museum in 1960, and was Professor of Zoology, Birkbeck College, London, from 1972–1986. He was awarded an Honorary D.Sc. (Khartoum) and Gold Medal in 1981.

Author of over 50 books and numerous scientific articles, he is Past-President of the British Herpetological Society, the British Arachnological Society and the British Society for Chronobiography, a Fellow *Honoris causa* of the Linnean Society of London, and an Honorary member of the Royal African Society and the British Herpetological Society. He was founding Editor, then Editor-in-Chief, *Journal of Arid Environments* (Academic Press) from 1978–1997, and Editor of the book series Adaptations of Desert Organisms (Springer-Verlag) from 1989–2000.

His recreations are music, photography and travel.

Colin Baker was born in Beccles, Suffolk in 1929 and was educated at the Sir John Leman Grammar School. He holds the BA degree in Geography of the University of Birmingham, and the LL B, M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees of the University of London.

He joined the Colonial Administrative Service in 1954 in Nyasaland, now Malawi, where he worked till 1971. The early part of this career was spent in district administration, as a District Commissioner. The latter part was as an Under Secretary in the Office of the President and Cabinet, and seconded as Principal of the University of Malawi's Institute of Public Administration, where he was responsible for training the first Malawian administrative officers, magistrates and lawyers.

In 1971 he was appointed Director of the postgraduate Institute of Administration in the University of Ife, Nigeria, devoted to the education and training of senior personnel in both the public and private sectors.

After three years in Nigeria, he returned to Britain and joined the staff of the University of Glamorgan. Here he became Professor and founder Director of the Business School. At one stage he concurrently held the posts of Director of the Business School, Dean of the Faculty of Professional Studies and Assistant Director of the University. He also held a professorship at the Portobello College, Dublin. He retired from the Business School in 1995 to become Emeritus Professor and Research Professor.

Professor Baker's research and publications have concentrated on the political and governmental history of Malawi. Eight of his eleven published books and the majority of his over a hundred published articles are in this field. In the past eight years he has published the biographies of Nyasaland's last three Governors, Sir Geoffrey Colby, Sir Robert Armitage, and Sir Glyn Jones, using the medium of biography to write the late colonial political and governmental history of the country. With each of the three biographies he has published a related book dealing in detail with a major aspect of the governor's period of office.

Colin Baker's current work includes the biographies of Sir Richard Turnball, last Governor of Tanganyika; of John Archer, the subject of the article in this journal; and Hugh van Oppen, who led a colourful career, part in Zimbabwe in the early 1960s, and was killed in the Congo at the age of 36 while serving as a mercenary officer in 5 Commando.

Dr Bob Challis was born in Quetta, then India and now Baluchistan in 1941. He was educated at several High Schools in England and in Rhodesia and completed his 'A' levels as part of the second intake at the relatively new school called Falcon College.

He received his tertiary education in the University of Cape Town where he graduated BA and BA Honours in history, in the University of Oxford, where he obtained his Diploma in Education and in the University of Zimbabwe where he graduated Doctor of Philosophy with a thesis on the History of African Education in Southern Rhodesia 1890 to 1930.

His working career has been entirely in secondary and tertiary education having lectured and been a research fellow at Morgan Zintec and the University of Zimbabwe and a History teacher and an English teacher at various High Schools in England and in Zimbabwe including Highfield, Mabvuku and St George's College where he currently teaches English.

He is the author of two books and numerous articles.

Norman Atkinson is Professor of Educational Foundations in the University of Zimbabwe. He grew up in Southern Ireland and came to this country in 1970. He holds doctorates from the Universities of Dublin and London. Most of his publications are in the Philosophy and History of Education, but he also has interests in the history of African Mythology, Irish Cavalry and the English Language. His wife teaches English at Arundel. He has two daughters, the elder is Director of Music at Arundel and the younger is reading French and Linguistics in the University of York.

John Archer, Mounted Infantry, and the Mashonaland Campaign, 1896

by Colin Baker

PREFACE

John Archer was born into, and brought up in, a yeoman farming family on the Essex–Hertfordshire border in England in 1871. As a young boy he enjoyed the outdoor life, riding, shooting and roaming the country-side. He reckoned not to have learned much at school. His father died when John was nine and, with his mother, he moved to London. Here he worked in the wine and spirit trade, and spent much of his leisure time boxing and running. He did not enjoy his work and consequently returned to the countryside, to his uncle's farm in Hampshire. He was keen to see the world and tried to join the navy, but his mother withheld her consent. Instead, she consulted an army officer about a career for her son, and on his eighteenth birthday John enlisted in the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade.

His first seven years in the army were spent in England and Ireland. He fast developed a fondness for army life, and a great pride in the precision and discipline of parade ground drill and in the regiment to which he belonged. He became a marksman

John Archer

during his recruits' training period, and underwent mounted infantry training. In Ireland, stationed in Belfast, in addition to his military work – including a course in military topography at which excelled – he spent a great deal of time in athletics, swimming, boxing, football, hockey and shooting. His athletics successes were outstanding; he won many prizes and became the army champion in 1895.. He was made Colour Sergeant towards the end of 1894, less than six years after he joined the army.[1]

There was considerable excitement in Archer's battalion in January 1896 about the prospects of going to West Africa, fighting and winning medals: 'The soldiers are all rubbing their hands – Ashanti War going on, row in South Africa, and another one with America; expect to find ourselves packed off to one of the above places some morning in a hurry.' Initially disappointed that he did not go, six weeks later he was able to tell his mother, with some glee: 'The men that went to Ashanti get back here next week. They get no medal as they did not have to fight.' Instead, it was the 'row in South Africa', or rather Rhodesia, that provided the opportunity for active service he was seeking.[2]

During his period of service in Rhodesia Archer wrote a number of letters to his mother and kept a diary. These documents survived and to them he added an account of his experiences in a letter to a friend which was published in the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*. Albert Jenner, who commanded the Mounted Infantry of which Archer was a member, also published an account of the expedition in the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*. Other significant sources are the published writings of the officer commanding the Mashonaland Field Force, Edwin Alderson, and a nurse who travelled from South Africa to Mashonaland at the same time as the Mounted Infantry, Elsa Green. It is upon this material that the present article is based.

THE MASHONALAND EXPEDITION

Towards the end of March 1896, in response to the Matabele insurrection, Rhodes arranged that 800 men should be recruited at Kimberley and Mafeking to reinforce local units in Rhodesia. This new force, the Matabeleland Relief Force, left by road for Bulawayo at the end of April. In addition, the British Government agreed to reinforce them and the local Rhodesia Volunteers by transferring 500 Imperial troops from Pietermaritzburg. Furthermore, and of particular importance to Archer, Britain ordered that four specially trained companies of Mounted Infantry should be sent from England to South Africa ready to move to Rhodesia if needed.[3]

On 26 April 1896 Lieutenant–Colonel Edwin Alderson, The Queen's Own (Royal West Kent Regiment), was told that he 'was to command the four companies of Mounted Infantry that were being sent out to Cape Town, in case they might be wanted in Rhodesia' – the Rifle, Irish, English and Highland Companies. Each of these companies had four sections, of about 30 men and an officer, all 'specially selected by their own battalion commanding officers for the Mounted Infantry work.' 'The conditions for the selection of the men [were] that they should be marksmen or first-class shots, of good character and physique, and not above a certain weight.'[4]

The opportunity that now presented itself for active service was one that Archer seized enthusiastically, and on 27 April 1896 – twenty four hours after Alderson had been appointed to command it he joined the newly formed Mounted Infantry as a

member of its Rifle Company. He fitted the requirements admirably. He was an outstanding marksman of several years' standing, he possessed a good conduct medal, and his intense sporting and athletic activities ensured that he had a splendid physique and was not a heavy man. It must have given him considerable satisfaction to be specially selected by his battalion commander, and so quickly, particularly since there was 'a good deal of picking and choosing.'[5] Archer was appointed Armourer Sergeant to the Mounted Infantry. His section, from 2nd Battalion the Rifle Brigade, numbering 31, was commanded by Lieutenant Reginald Stephens[6]. As a Section Sergeant he had under him two Corporals, two acting Corporals, a Bugler and 24 Riflemen.[7] Of the other three sections in the Company, with Captain Albert Jenner of the 4th Battalion of the Rifle Brigade as Company Commander, one came from the 3rd Battalion of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, under Lieutenant G. St. Aubyn; another from the 4th Battalion of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, under Lieutenant C. Eustace; and the other from the 4th Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, under Lieutenant H. E. Vernon.[8]

The clothing for the expedition was sent from Pimlico to Aldershot and the members were fitted out there. Several of them were 'surprised at the time to find that the only Khaki issued was one suit of drill for "sea-kit".' The saddlery was taken out to South Africa in bulk. The Companies assembled at Aldershot on 29 April and embarked on the RMS *Tantallon Castle* at Southampton on 2 May. They sailed the same day. Four days later they called at Madeira, where the ship took on mail and coal. They left at half past eleven in the morning and subsequently understood that a telegram recalling them to Britain arrived only twenty minutes after their departure. Archer and his colleagues would have been bitterly disappointed to have been recalled.[9]

On 19 May, seventeen days after sailing, they arrived at Cape Town at about four in the morning, anchored in the dark and went alongside the wharf five hours later.[10] Although on the whole it had been a pleasant voyage everyone was pleased to get on land again. When they arrived they were sent by train to Wynberg Castle, nine miles away, much to their disappointment because they were keen to move to the battle field and not be detained on the way. Jenner thought this 'as big a "sell" as it was possible to imagine, as none of us had doubted when we hurried away from Aldershot that we should go straight up-country.'[11] Archer understood that the British South Africa Company and the War Office were at loggerheads over who should pay for the imperial troops on the expedition. This may have been the reason for the attempted recall at Madeira. The Company was refusing to pay although they eventually did so, apparently with good grace: 'The Company was paying the bill, and certainly they stinted us for nothing it was in their power to provide.'[12] 'The Chartered Company throughout behaved very liberally to the Imperial Troops [and] paid allowances to all ranks on a generous scale.'[13] Archer looked on the bright side and felt that the delay would enable them 'to get to know what sort of officers and men the other Regiments have sent and also to be trained together.' Alderson, from the perspective of a senior officer, recalled:

> At Wynberg we . . . learnt, much to our disgust, that there was no immediate prospect of our being wanted in Rhodesia, and further, that there were no horses being bought for us. It *was* a damper! For a month we remained at Wynberg, having a very good time it is true; but this was not what we had come out for, and we all felt as if we had had cold water thrown over us. We spent the time

in teaching the men to work, and fight, through the bush on Cape Town flats, having many little field days of our own.[14]

Until the middle of June there was no hurry for the forces to move to Rhodesia, because the Matabele rebellion seemed to be at an end. But then the Mashona followed their example and mounted a rebellion in which Europeans were killed, the telegraph wires were cut and the roads were closed. As a result, on 19 June, Alderson received a telegram saying that the British South Africa Company wanted 200 Mounted Infantry – two companies – to proceed to Salisbury, via Beira, in order to help the local forces to suppress the new rebellion.[15]

> The first result of the rising on 18 June 1896 was to cause the whole [European] population of the country in the districts affected to retire into laagers at Salisbury, Charter, Enkeldoorn, Victoria and Umtali . . . One of the first steps taken was the despatch of a relief patrol from Salisbury . . . down the Umtali road. This picked up on its way the settlers in the Marandellas, Headlands and Lesapi districts and escorted them to Umtali, and until . . . the end of August, no post remained occupied by whites on the main line of communications with Umtali. The road to the [east] coast was accordingly completely closed, and it was impossible for any supplies to come forward until it could be reopened. The road to Bulawayo was similarly closed for the transport of supplies, and could only be traversed with safety by a strong force.[16]
>
> There was no doubt that at the commencement of the rising, Salisbury was in an awkward position. It then had no police, these having been taken for the Jameson raid; the bulk of its available fighting men, and of the horses, were in Matabeleland . . . some three hundred miles away: what was worse was that arms were none too plentiful.'[17]

While at sea on their way to the Cape, the officers had agreed that the Mounted Infantry companies should go on detachment in order of seniority of the company commanders. Since, however the headquarters was moving to Mashonaland, the two senior companies remained behind because *they* were now the detachment. This was how the companies commanded by Captains Jenner and McMahon, the two junior commanders, went to Mashonaland – much to their jubilation and to the delight of Archer whose section was part of Jenner's company.[18]

On 23 June Archer wrote: 'We have just received orders to proceed to Fort Salisbury, Mashonaland, and we all expect to see plenty of service up there.' Everyone, he added, was very glad to move from Wynberg, none more pleased than he, because up till then he and the other sergeants had their work cut out keeping the men in order. 'They are all right now they are under orders for the front.'[19]

The two companies were due to sail a week after the orders were received, so, in Alderson's view, there was plenty of time to draw equipment.[20] It is unlikely that the beleaguered Europeans in Mashonaland would have shared his view. In the case of acquiring horses – essential to a mounted infantry unit – there was certainly not plenty of time.

> Now that we were wanted, horses were necessary, and these of course had to be bought in a hurry; the result was that the numbers were difficult to make up, and the quality was not so good as it would have been had they been bought

gradually, and properly fed, during the last month, in which we had been doing comparatively nothing. For some time prior to the purchase of the horses, forage, especially in and around Cape Town, had been very scarce and expensive, consequently the majority of the horses were in bad condition . . . One hundred and forty five horses were bought in and near Cape Town and were put on board the Union Company's steamer *Arab,* which had been hastily fitted up, on 25th June.[21]

Their failure to start buying horses and preparing them to move to Rhodesia suggests that they did not expect to be needed to quell the Matabele rebellion nor for other purposes in Rhodesia, at least not for some time.

Members of the Rifle Company found Cape Town's ability to equip their expedition extremely limited. None the less, they acquired two Maxims, 'two old 7-pounders were dug out from somewhere', a variety of ponies were hurriedly bought and the saddlery was altered to fit them. They put 'everything likely to be useful, and a good many other things' on board the *Arab* and set off late in the morning of 26 June.[22] The vessel on which Archer and his colleagues travelled was far from comfortable. The *Arab* had for some time past been used to carry 'mules and cargo coastwise, and she was a mere shell, her bulkheads having been taken down to make room.'

The only cabin accommodation was on the upper deck and that was very rough and very limited. The men were put on the fore part of the main deck, which was roughly fitted up and partitioned off from the after part, which was full of horses. When we got out of the Bay and began to round Cape Agulhas, the swell . . . made the ship, light as she was, roll considerably, and many of the horse fittings carried away.[23]

Other soldiers, including those of the West Riding Regiment, and some civilian doctors and nurses, travelled from Cape Town by rail to East London before boarding ships, such as the *Garth Castle,* and sailing to Beira and thence inland, with Alderson's troops.[24]

Archer wrote from the *Arab* – 'a proper old tug' – when it arrived at Beira on the coast of Portuguese East Africa on 4 July and described the eventful voyage from Cape Town:

We arrived here quite safe on the 2nd after a rather eventful passage from Cape Town. We ran into a pier at Cape Town carrying part of it away. Then we encountered a gale. Luckily it blew behind us. Made a record passage to Durban Natal. [In the rough seas, the horses, and Archer, were very seasick and he and his men had great difficulty in getting the horses to their feet after they had fallen down, and in repairing their stalls. He was 'on guard all night keeping the horses on their feet'[25]] Ran aground in Durban Harbour and had to stop there about 36 hours. [Apparently we were not expected by the harbour people, and had to wait till the afternoon tide to get in.[26]] Shipped 140 horses, 80 of them had never had a bridle on. Regular wild ones. Worked all night getting them on board. One of them broke his leg the first day out from Durban and had to be shot; another died of fever the day we arrived here. Had to wait six hours for the tide when we arrived outside the harbour here and when we got in found that the tug [the *Kimberley*] had broken down that had to tow the

> lighters up the Pungwe River as far as Fontesvilla so we are still waiting here. Our Engineers and the Engineers of HMS *Widgeon* are working day and night repairing the tug and expect to finish her tonight so that the first lot can start tomorrow . . . I had another turn at the sea sickness but soon got over it. The horses were very bad for a day or two until they got their sea legs. We have 278 on board. The ones on the lower deck have had rather a hot time of it and will be glad of a roll and to stretch their legs.[27]

Alderson's account of their departure from Cape Town, their voyage to Beira and their arrival there helps to fill out some of the details given by Archer. At Cape Town the *Arab* was 'stuck fast in the harbour, while 140 odd horses were waiting on the wharf to be shipped, and the daylight was fast going.'

> Just as it was getting dark the ship got alongside, and we at once began with the horses, and a rare game we had with some of them. The ship's side being high above the wharf, all had to be put in slings, hoisted up to the upper deck, and then lowered down on to the main deck Some of the horses were only partially broken, and several appeared to have been scarcely handled at all, while a few had to be cast and their legs tied before they could be slung . . . As each horse was put into his place down below, the bar to keep him there was fixed up; several times we had to suspend operations till extra fittings were hastily put up by the ship's carpenters.
>
> All this delayed us, and it was 3.30 a.m. before we had got the whole of the horses on board . . . We left Durban at 6.30 the next morning, the 30th June. The sea being still somewhat rough, more trouble ensued with the horse fittings, many of them carrying away and a few horses getting down. Next day one of the horses taken on board at Durban developed symptoms of farcy . . . We had no veterinary surgeon with us, and, rather than run risk of infection in the crowded ship, I had the horse shot . . . On the evening of July 2nd, we were in sight of the one solitary tree, on the low flat coast to the north of Beira, which serves as a landmark to ships. The tide not serving, we anchored near the outer buoy, some twenty miles from Beira, which is approached by a shallow tortuous channel. The next morning we upped anchor at daybreak, and dropped it again in the Pungwe River, off Beira, about 10 a.m.[28]

Having arrived at Beira, the Rifle Company stayed on board for the next six days, 'laying about' as Archer put it.[29] They could not land because the steam tug that would have helped them was being repaired and this took time. Additionally, the lighters had rotten bottoms, a serious defect because of the danger that the horses would put their feet through the boards. Other vessels at anchor included HMS *Widgeon* and SS *Garth Castle,* the latter with 91 Royal Engineers[30] and other drafts on board on their way to Mauritius. Alderson, conscious that he was exceeding his instructions and wondering if he 'was perhaps going near to disobeying orders', took off 111 officers and men from the *Garth* to protect Beira if this turned out to be necessary, to help with engineering works on the way inland, and to garrison the forts he knew he would need to establish to secure the Umtali–Salisbury road once he had opened it.. The others went on to Mauritius.[31]

While waiting on the *Arab,* Archer and his men unpacked their kit ready to disembark, and the *Widgeon* carpenters put boards in the bottom of the lighters to

prevent the horses falling through. Two of his senior NCO colleagues went ashore and visited the small garrison of about 50 Portuguese and a few Africans. They reported, with admiration and envy, that the sergeants' mess had napkins and a bottle of wine for each person.[32]

Alderson discovered that no one at Beira seemed to be expecting them and many seemed indifferent to helping them.[33] He gathered, too, first, that the telegraph wire was cut north of Umtali and there was no means of communication with Cape Town or indeed anywhere else. Repairing this link became an urgent priority once the Mounted Infantry got into Mashonaland. Second, he learned that the Africans in Portuguese territory were restless and might revolt. Those who were working on the railway had already deserted. The troops available in Beira were insufficient to cope with a rising which would isolate Salisbury still further and cut the Mounted Infantry's supply line: hence, in part, Alderson taking soldiers from the *Garth* so that they could, if necessary, protect the town. As the point of entry on the shortest route to Mashonaland from South Africa, it was essential that it remain in friendly hands. Third, the only steam tug that could tow lighters up the Pungwe had a hole in her boiler, and the Beira–Fontesvilla section of the railway – which had no horse trucks on it – was still four miles short of Fontesvilla. Even if that piece of line were open, local opinion differed as to whether it was possible to get horses across the river at Fontesvilla. Fourth, 'Local labour available to repair the tug, to improvise horse trucks, and to construct a landing stage and a pontoon at Fontesvilla was nil.' This meant that the work on the tug, trucks, landing stage and pontoon had to be done by the soldiers themselves. Fortunately, they were well up to doing it, though a great deal of hard work and improvisation was involved. Alderson needed the Engineers from the *Garth* because he did not otherwise have 'a single pioneer, and possibly not a man who could drive a nail in properly', and there was no suitable labour available locally.[34] Fifth, the 'local officials and the representatives of the Boating Company, who were supposed to be responsible for the river transport, were supine and lethargic to the last degree.' Again the Mounted Infantry, with the Engineers, had to manage by themselves. Sixth, since the people at Salisbury by this time must have become very short of food, haste was essential. Seventh, and for a while the most exasperating – if subsequently amusing – of all the troubles, Colonel Machado, the Governor at Beira, said that whilst the Portuguese government had given permission for three hundred troops to pass through the country, nothing had been mentioned about arms, though he suggested these could be packed in boxes and follow the troops. Alderson, wisely, would not agree to this: parting soldiers from their arms is rarely a sensible idea and in this case, as they moved inland through unfamiliar and hostile country, it could have been fatal. In the end they amicably, if illogically, decided that soldiers without arms were not troops, and the arms could therefore be allowed to pass. A certain amount of difficulty on this score may well have been anticipated. Some of the ships leaving South Africa had been delayed in their departure:

> Everything now seemed ready, and yet we did not start. Then it leaked out that we awaited a telegram from Beira giving permission to land troops in Portuguese territory. The next report stated that we could not start without a message from England.[35]

By the time Archer reached Beira, the telegram from Portugal and the message from London had arrived, but the details of the agreement between the two governments had not been made fully clear. Clarifying them on the ground fell to Alderson and Machado.

The force now at Alderson's command consisted of 22 officers, 46 NCOs, 312 men and 284 horses. On 6 July, only three days after they landed at Beira, he started with an advance party up the Pungwe River on lighters pulled by the tug, *Kimberley* – now with its boiler repaired – to Fontesvilla and then by rail to Chimoio. He took 66 horses and equipment and a detachment of Engineers to Fontesvilla to improvise a pontoon there, so that Archer and his colleagues could get the horses across. He sent a second detachment of Engineers on to Chimoio to arrange accommodation, water and supplies.[36]

On 7 July, the *Kimberley* having grounded on a mud bank, Alderson went on in a dinghy to Fontesvilla, to check on conditions there, and then on to Chimoio by rail. The next day Archer and his men disembarked from the *Arab*. They loaded another 29 horses, and he and four[37] of his men set off for Fontesvilla in railway trucks. The country through which they were to pass was a dangerous tsetse fly area. Consequently, the trucks carrying the horses had to be improvised at Beira and were covered with wire gauze to prevent the tsetse fly biting them. Even so, two of Archer's horses died on the way inland.

In addition to the tsetse fly, Archer experienced other dangers. One of his horses fell out of the truck in which it was being carried, but he managed to get it back in again, 'minus pieces of skin and hair' – whether the horse's or his own he did not say! Nor was this the end of his troubles. The railway was 'a tiny one, the gauge being only two feet and the carriages overhanging the wheels about the same distance on each side.'[38] They used three troop trains in addition to the engine and single carriage in which Alderson had gone in advance. The train on which Archer and his four men travelled, five horse and one baggage truck, 'upset about the 57th or 58th mile peg, and . . . all the horses not hurt were loose in the bush . . . among the tsetse flies and lions!' When negotiating a curve, the whole of the train except the engine, had gone over a three foot embankment, and 'the trucks were turned almost upside down, all their upper works were smashed, two horses [were] killed outright, two so badly hurt that they had to be shot, and four had galloped off into the forest.' Fortunately neither Archer nor any of his men were injured. After a while, the engine continued on its journey, to bring help to Archer. At the same time, Alderson, now returning from Chimoio, decided to take his engine, tools and an empty truck down to help. When he got to the place where Archer's train had toppled over, he found 'a pretty mess'. The horses were led along the line up to mile sixty-two, where they were in handed over to St Aubyn, who 'was by no means pleased at having his men and horses turned out of the train.[39]

Even in getting to the site of the accident, Alderson had trouble. He described what happened on his way down from Chimoio:

> About the 56th mile peg, just as we were rounding a sharp curve at a fair pace, we heard a whistle and at the same time saw an engine [that of Archer's train] coming up on the other end of the curve and not a hundred yards from us. Both

drivers shut off steam, put on the brake and then jumped, as did [everyone else]. Crash we went down a rather steep embankment all among the bushes and boulders, and bang went the two engines together, breaking up, and entangling their cow catchers, but luckily doing no other damage and both remaining on the line. [They sorted out the crash and then] went on to the scene of the [other] accident.[40]

Archer's troubles were still not over, for when they reached Fontesvilla they 'had to get the horses off the train and get them across the Pungwe River in pontoon boats.' It was hard work getting them over as 'one bank was very muddy and shallow and the other very deep water and high bank.' They could not get some of the horses on the boats so had to swim them over. He got wet through and was told he would soon be down with fever. Since he refused to take whisky as a preventative, he was 'treated to a bottle of champagne' instead – and again the next day, when he helped other sections get their horses across, one section arriving by rail and three by river.[41]

Alderson, who presumably did not do the work, painted a somewhat less troubled picture of getting the horses across the river: the Engineers 'improvised a pontoon, by lashing two small lighters together and building a platform on them, and . . . also made a landing stage. By means of these the horses of the scouts had been easily got across the river ten to twelve at a time.'[42]

At six in the morning on 10 July Archer and his men moved on by train from Fontesvilla for Chimoio, the rail head. They stopped after about eighty miles for the night, sleeping in the trucks.[43] There was no marked stop and they just stopped where they felt like it. The next day, they arrived at Chimoio, 120 miles from Beira, and took over 21 horses and 29 sets of saddlery. There had been reports of lions roaming the streets of Chimoio:

They were said to be so hungry that they walked the streets in daylight. The rinderpest was depleting the country of game as well as transport oxen and milch cows, while the carnivorous animals were not affected by it, except that their food-supply ran short . . . All along the route we saw dead or dying oxen, victims of the terrible rinderpest.[44]

The danger from lions was real and Archer recorded how they nearly lost their rations: 'five lions had a walk around the hut where our meat had been put, but got hustled off by some scouts.'[45]

At Chimoio the 'cold of night was intense when contrasted with the heat of the day [and the] smell of the swamp lying in the vicinity was most objectionable, though not as bad as at Fontesvilla.'[46] Here Archer and his colleagues took all the horses off the train for exercise. Some of them had never had a saddle on them before. Mitchell – Archer's recently appointed batman – was thrown by one of these horses while Archer was holding its head, causing the muscles and sinews of his left arm to be strained as Mitchell pitched onto him. Archer rode several of these untrained horses that others were unable to ride, but even he could not ride two of them. The next day involved more mounted work, and Archer with Company Sergeant-Major H. Worthing, of the 4th Battalion of the Rifle Brigade – who arrived with No. 4 Section the previous evening – rode the two horses they had been unable to mount the previous day, and gave them 'a good doing'. In the course of this Archer received more dangerous blows:

They were rare buckers. I nearly got my head smashed as I dismounted. He got me in the back with both front hoofs . . . That evening someone gave me some Absinthe to drink, made me drunk. Fortunately I was afterwards very sick.

Several days later he had 'still got a very bad head' – the result of the kicks combined with the absinthe.

It took six days to get the 380 men and 284 horses away from Beira and take them via Fontesvilla as far as Chimoio.[47] Archer stopped at Chimoio from 11 to 18 July, 'breaking in horses and getting stores ready for the march.' During this time he was made Acting Sergeant-Major.[48] On 14 July he had to hand over his 29 horses, now ready for riding, to another section that had to leave immediately for Umtali. He was not in the best of temper after all the hard work he had put in with the horses over the last few days. The following day he took over another 30 horses, saddled them and began to break them in, and on 16 July he 'had all the horses out for drill, and several men got thrown.'[49] 'From the 14th until the 20th, men, horses or stores, were arriving at Chimoio daily,' and the last of them moved forward on 20 July. Despite Alderson having commandeered 'every available waggon and span of animals', so short was the ox and mule transport that they had to resort to using donkey waggons and took nine and a half hours to cover three miles.[50]

Before he left Portuguese East Africa to move into Rhodesia, Archer wrote a note to his mother. The regular mail service had been gravely disrupted by the revolt and it was difficult while on the march to find either time or materials to write proper letters. His note was written on a small scrap of paper:

If everything goes all right we expect to reach Salisbury in about 15 days time. They say here (the Portuguese) that there are 30,000 Mashonas under arms but not together. We are 12 officers 230 NCOs and men, Mounted Infantry. Two Doctors, one NCO and four men, Medical Staff. 97 men of the 43rd Company Royal Engineers. One officer, two Sergeants, six men Royal Artillery with two seven pound field guns and about 20 officers and men of the Chartered Company. We shall get about 100 natives to act as drivers for the waggons when we get up country. We have two Maxim guns with plenty of ammunition so we shall be able to give a good account of ourselves.[51]

On 14 July, while all the other men and horses were being brought up to Chimoio, the first party of the Rifle Company, three sections, 100 of all ranks, marched from Chimoio for Umtali.[52] They were under the command of Jenner, who had been placed in charge of the Mounted Infantry while Alderson assumed command of the whole Mashonaland Field Force. They took Archer's horses with them, leaving him and the others of his section at Chimoio. The day after they started out, there was an accident in which one of the horses was killed and another had to be shot.[53] It took them six marches to travel uphill from Chimoio to Umtali, where they arrived on 19 July and relieved the enlaagered citizens. They used 'enormous waggons, drawn by spans of from ten to twenty oxen or mules [through] hills, woods, ravines and rough roads.' Their mobility depended entirely on the number of mules available, and they had only a quarter of those they required. Umtali was the furthest point inland to which the road from the east, was open. The Mashona of this area had not risen, so they encountered no trouble against them.[54]

On 18 July, Alderson and the remainder of his force, including Archer – again Acting Sergeant-Major – followed Jenner's party and set out for Umtali. They had been able to obtain 'with great difficulty, forty-five waggons, about one third being ox, and two-thirds mule; each of these waggons had a team of ten to fourteen animals.' Nearly all the oxen were weak with rinderpest infection and all died within a month.[55] They started very early in the morning, before it was daylight, so as to begin while it was still cool, and travelled by the light of the moon. Archer described their daily routine: 'reveille at 4 and 4.30 a.m., march till about 10 a.m., halt about three or four hours, and then march to place appointed, but nearly always dark when we arrive at our camping place.' The first day's journey was twelve miles over a very heavy sandy road. They spent the night in two small grass huts at Fowler's store. They were disturbed during the night by the roars of several lions and kept the fires going, which made the huts even more smokey. The next day's march, to Bendulas, was relatively comfortable, being only nine miles and over a fairly good road. The following day they marched to Revue – a 'little compound with its mud huts . . . encircled with dense thicket and jungle grass'[56] – and found Lieutenants French and Stephens there, with the Irish and Rifle Company sections that had marched from Chimoio earlier. 'They appeared very comfortable and . . . had the horses picketed in a very ship-shape manner.'[57] On 21 July they reached Massikessi, 'the last place in Portuguese territory [and] slept in Portuguese Custom House, very crowded. Massikessi has about twelve huts and a small barracks. Only two Englishmen in the place.' They spent the next night at Brown's store and the following night at Christmas Pass, having stopped two hours at Leslie's store for dinner: 'Leslie, in the DTs [delirium tremens], treated several of us to some whiskey to put in our water bottles, the water [being] very bad ever since we left Beira.' On 24 July, after seven days' marching, they reached Umtali. The road from Chimoio was in a very bad state, and 'the veldt [was] dried up and poor',[58] so, their journey had been far from easy, and had involved taking the men, guns, animals and vehicles

> down dongas (steep hills where a river is crossed) almost as steep as the roof of a house, across rivers, and up the opposite bank at a like speed, unless the [vehicle] sticks in the river drift, which is not an uncommon experience. In that case it frequently necessitates waiting until a fresh span of mules can be got to help them out of their difficulties. Then on again . . . over stones, tree stumps, and watercourses.[59]

On the way, Elsa Green, going in the same direction in a 'coach' pulled by fourteen mules, passed them:

> We . . . saw waggons with mule spans, long trains of donkeys drawing guns on carriages, mounted men and foot soldiers, with all the paraphernalia of a column of Her Majesty's troops on the march. We learned that they were the mounted Infantry Regiment.[60]

Five hundred mules and twenty five waggons had arrived at Beira – presumably from South Africa – on 16 June, intended for transporting food to the civilian population of the Umtali area, but they had to be devoted almost entirely to transporting Alderson's armaments, stores and equipment to Umtali.[61] It was these mules and waggons that Elsa Green saw en route.

Umtali was a settlement in which only the Masonic Hotel had two storeys rather than one, and only a few others were made of brick: the bank, courthouse and prison. The private dwellings were built of three or four mud huts roofed with grass thatch.

> When we first saw Umtali, all places of any size were in a laager formed of sacks of earth, branches of trees and thorn-bushes, with ox waggons to further strengthen it . . . A very strong laager, with the addition of a barbed wire entanglement, was constructed round the courthouse and the gaol in the market square. A seven-pound gun further defended it . . . Umtali was full of refugees from outlying districts which were not considered safe . . . It was feared at this time that several of the powerful native chiefs were only waiting a fitting opportunity to rebel.[62]

Alderson and his men were now ready to tackle these Mashona chiefs – six weeks after they had started the rebellion. Initially he had intended to take a small group of nurses and a doctor to Salisbury, but on reflection thought this was too dangerous because the road, which ran through Makoni's country, was 'swarming' with hostile Mashona. Instead he decided first to attack Makoni's kraal, about forty miles away[63], and *then* go on to Salisbury. Makoni, one of the most powerful chiefs, 'had been giving much trouble to the country. Several murders in the Salisbury and Umtali districts had been distinctly traced to his people.'[64] It was vital to incapacitate him if the major supply route between Umtali and Salisbury was to be opened and if the danger of further attacks on Europeans was to be removed. Yet tackling him was not a straightforward task for those versed only in Western and European warfare:

> [The Shona] tactics were of the most baffling kind . . . they soon abandoned all pretence of fighting in the open and, on the approach of white troops, withdrew to their stockaded villages, which were usually situated in close proximity to clusters of granite *kopjes,* constituting an almost impenetrable second line of defence . . . Ensconced in inaccessible crevices and crannies, they were able, without exposing themselves, to use their Tower muskets, flint-locks and antiquated blunderbusses at close range with deadly effect. Military science could devise no means of dealing expeditiously with such methods, and it seemed that only a wearing down process would reduce the rebels to submission.[65]

There were about 300 huts in Makoni's kraal. The caves into which he and his people retreated were of 'considerable dimensions and almost impregnable.' Makoni claimed that he had sufficient food stored to last up to two years and that he had no intention of surrendering. His kraal was defended by high stone walls. There were also a number of circular rifle-pits about half a mile from it, with earth thrown up in front, topped with brushwood. Makon's people, who were not expecting an attack and had not occupied the pits, were armed with 'Lee-Metford and Martini rifles as well as a miscellaneous collection of muzzle-loading guns.'[66]

> No one, I think, had any idea beforehand of how enormously strong the Mashonas could make their kraals. These are built amongst huge boulders on the top of rocky hills, and are natural fastnesses, generally very difficult of access even when entirely deserted, but when occupied by an enemy concealed behind thick loopholed walls, or in caves commanding every approach, the difficulties are considerably increased. The caves, though often of fine

proportions inside, are entered as a rule by small fissures, or by holes from above. There is generally nothing to show where they are as there are numberless cracks in the rocks, and it is impossible to tell which of them are cave entrances or holes out of which the cave inhabitants can fire.[67]

After a day's rest following their week of marching from Chimoio, and two days packing the waggons with equipment and rations for sixty days,[68] Archer left Umtali with Alderson's force to attack Makoni's kraal. In order to deal with the chief in a single engagement, Alderson avoided the Devil's Pass, about twenty miles from Odzi where they camped for the night.[69] The rebels had fortified the pass and were assembled in force there. His deployment consisted of Honey's scouts two to four miles ahead of the advance party. They were followed by the advance guard of two sections of the Rifle Company under Jenner. This was followed by the main body, led by the other two sections of the Rifle Company with one machine gun, most of the Royal Engineers and the detachment of the Royal Artillery with two seven pounders. Behind them came 23 waggons, then a detachment of the West Riding Regiment and the unmounted portion of the Umtali Rifles. They were followed by 22 waggons behind which were the remainder of the Royal Engineers, with tools to help in repairing waggons, and two sections of the Irish Company. The Rear Guard, under Captain McMahon, was made up of the other two sections of the Irish Company and the mounted portion of the Umtali Rifles.[70] Archer was in the leading party of the main body and was given special responsibilities, as he recorded:

Put in charge of ten picked men to act as scouts to act with native scouts. I went with Lieutenant Ross, Native Commissioner. I got lost. Mr Ross sent me to circle a hill to look for the enemy and I struck the wrong valley, so instead of circling a small hill I had to circle a range of mountains and had to go about twelve miles before I could get out of them. Just arrived in camp as a section of thirty men were being sent out to search for me. I was six hours away from the time I left Mr Ross until I reached camp. [I] did not see any of the enemy. Mr Ross saw about 200 of them between where I went and the camp. Got a fresh horse and went out again in the afternoon and we found about 150 Mashonas in the pass (where I had come down the mountain about two hours previously, so I must have had a narrow escape) and they tried to cut us off from the main body but, other scouts coming up, we drove them into the bush. Nobody of ours hurt. Don't know how many of the enemy we killed as they carry their dead and wounded away. We estimate that we killed fifty of them.[71]

It was Archer's scouting party – of Honey and some of his scouts, accompanied by Ross, who made the first contact with the rebels and fired the first shots of the encounter with Makoni and indeed of the Mashonaland campaign. His commanding officer and his other colleagues were delighted, for they had feared that their attack might be a 'walkover' without any opportunity for real fighting.

The following day, Archer continued, they 'attacked a kraal, nearly got hit with pieces of rock that they threw at us, got some chickens, goats, monkey nuts etc.' The following day several of the men were sick though eating too many of the monkey nuts. He received orders to accompany Ross, with two men as escort, 'to visit kraals and find out if they were friendly or not, a rather risky job.'[72]

Alderson's account adds detail. Close to their outspan was Meziti's kraal. Meziti had remained loyal and had carefully looked after a large number of bags of mealies, belonging to a man called Clayton.. Unfortunately, the scouts had mistakenly fired on Meziti's men, who consequently had 'taken to the rocks, where they sat in clusters watching' them. Although attempts were made to explain what had happened they would not leave the rocks.[73]

On 2 August they halted on the main road to Salisbury, about half way between Umtali and Makoni's kraal, and laagered there on the farther side of the Odzi river. Here, Alderson issued his operation orders for the following day:

> The two companies Mounted Infantry with one Maxim, two officers and twenty non-commissioned officers and men Royal Engineers, all the detachment Royal Artillery, with the two seven-pounder guns [presumably those 'dug out from somewhere' in Cape Town], Mr Honey's scouts, forty of the Umtali Rifles, all the Native Contingent, and a portion of the Medical Staff Corps, will parade at 1.45 a.m. tomorrow. All will be dismounted except the scouts. The Mounted Infantry will carry 140 rounds of ammunition per rifle, the remainder 100 rounds. The day's rations will be carried in haversacks, and water bottles will be filled with cold tea. Reveille tomorrow will be at 5.30 a.m. Breakfasts at 6 a.m.[74]

This last sentence was a subterfuge: the late reveille and breakfast times were given so as not to reveal to spies any unusual steps. No bugles were blown at 1.45 a.m. and the men got up and fell in silently. They set off a little after 2 a.m., arrived at daybreak and immediately engaged Makoni's rebels – about 4000 of them.

> Our force was divided into two parties. The Irish Company, Mounted Infantry, Engineers and Artillery under Colonel Alderson, composed the frontal attack [on the north-west side]. The Rifle Company [including Archer and his section], some of the Mounted Infantry and one maxim, the Umtali Volunteers, and scouts under Captain Jenner, DSO, attacked the enemy on the [right or south] flank. Colonel Alderson's party commenced the attack on the kraal, and after three hours hard fighting by the two forces combined the kraal was taken and burnt.[75]

Jenner added that there was considerable resistance, but 'eventually orders were given for the party on the right to assault, which was accordingly done, and the whole force then occupied the kraal, which was burnt.'[76]

Makoni and many of his followers escaped, taking refuge in a cave from which Alderson found it impossible to dislodge them, though he did capture 355 cattle and 210 sheep and goats. Archer recorded his experiences during the attack.

> Reveille at 1 a.m., paraded at 1.30 – two companies Mounted Infantry, 60 Volunteers, Artillery, Engineers and Native Contingent, two 7-pounders and one maxim, about 350 all told. Lieutenant Ross acted as guide. We reached the place just about daybreak, the Rifle Company, Scouts and Volunteers taking the right, the remainder the left of the fortress. The 7-pounders opened the ball on the left (we had taken them by surprise as the first they knew of our coming was from their boys minding the cattle outside the fortress) and after the second shell some of them started to escape from the right of the fortress but we killed most of them.
>
> [Makoni being taken completely by surprise; several of his people tried to

escape our way and ran nearly into us.] We chased several of them into small kopjes and were just going to clear them out when shells from the 7-pounders dropped within 50 yards of us so we got under cover. (The artillery on the left had got too much elevation and the shell was going over the top of the fortress). One man of the Irish Company, Private Wickham, had been killed and a Volunteer wounded. Up till then we had nobody hurt. [After about two and a half hours of this kind of work, and putting in volleys at 800 yards, we received orders to cease fire and advance as close up as we could. We got up to about 150 yards by creeping alone, the Irish Company bullets and RA shells going over our heads all the time, and the first they knew of us was by seeing our swords fixed.]

About 7 a.m. we had got all ready to charge into the fort. The ones on the left could not charge as it was like charging solid rock. We, the right, crept up to within about 100 yards of the fort, having a rock wall about 10 feet high and 3 feet thick, with loopholes and bushes on top of it. To charge, we had our swords [bayonets] fixed, magazines filled and a round in the chamber. [Captain Jenner gave the order to charge, and you may be sure we lost no time in getting in. Directly we started to charge they fired at us as hard as they could, all the bullets going over our heads. I made for the place in the wall where there was no loophole, and started pushing the bushes off the top of the wall. Captain Jenner and Captain Haynes, Royal Engineers, and myself scrambled through the gap that I had made.] We made a rush for the wall, pushing the bushes and loose stones off the top of the wall with our swords. When Captain Jenner gave the order to charge, we scrambled over, the enemy firing at us all the time.

Captain Jenner, myself and Captain Haynes were the first over. Captain Haynes was shot through the head [directly afterwards] and killed. We then had plenty of fighting among the huts and rocks. I got into a good position that overlooked the entrance to one of the caves and fired 34 rounds at the enemy as they entered it. The mouth of the cave was about 20 yards from my position. [I soon got into a good position for shooting, which commanded the entrance to one of the caves, and put in some good shooting . . . distance twenty yards. I don't know how many I killed, as they pulled them in as quickly as I hit them.] Plenty of bullets hit the hut which I was kneeling against but I thought no more of it than if I had been rabbit shooting. The enemy fled to their caves from which it was impossible to get at them. Private Broad, 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade (my section) was shot through the leg, since taken off at the knee, and several others wounded. All doing well. [Private Broad was left at the old Police Barracks, now called Fort Haynes . . . Acting Corporal Wide got hit on the water bottle with a spear; expect we killed about 200 of them, but could not tell, as they fled to their caves, from which it is impossible to get them out.] The [African] that shot Captain Haynes was shot by Private Mitchell, my batman. Finding it impossible to get them from their caves, we burnt their huts and had some dinner while they burnt.

About 3 p.m. we started again for camp, my section rear guard. As soon as the main body had got about half a mile away several of the enemy came outside

their caves and I had a few shots at them at 600 yards. I don't know if I hit any. They were the last shots fired that day. Arrived in camp about 7 p.m. completely knocked up, having had our shoes on for about 40 hours, and marched on foot to and from Makoni's, ten miles each way, besides chasing them over rocks etc. The native reports brought in say that we killed from two to three hundred. Not a bad day's work. Lieutenant Stephens and Private Mitchell had to ride home [in the sick waggon] as they had a touch of fever.[77]

Alderson proudly – indeed gleefully – recalled the charge: 'with two sections in the front line and two in support down, they charged with fixed bayonets . . . Such a pretty sight it was, quite a picture charge in fact.'[78] Once Jenner and his men had got through the hole that Archer had made in the wall, the Mashona bolted for the caves and left only one more man to be bayoneted. Alderson estimated the enemy's losses to be 200 killed [79] and many wounded. On his own side, Captain Alfred Ernest Hayes, Private W. Wickham of the Royal Irish Regiment, and Private Vickers of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, were killed and four men, Privates W. M. Mackay, R. Broad, D. D. Young and 'a coloured boy' were severely wounded, and Private Lock was slightly wounded. Jenkins, Alderson's servant, was accidentally shot through the thigh by one of the medical staff regulars, with Jenkins's own revolver, early in the morning before they set out to attack Makoni.[80] He was taken to the temporary laager hospital in the Umtali prison, looked after by Nurse Green, but died a few days later.[81] The Medical Staff Corps were either not very good, or careless, with firearms, for another of their members had accidentally shot a scout in the groin a few days earlier.[82]

The forces then returned to their laager and arrived at 2 o'clock in the morning. Alderson left again at 7 o'clock with a hundred men, including Archer, and reconnoitred the Devil's pass. He expected to find the enemy in force, but though the pass was fortified it was deserted, because Makoni had recalled his men before the attack on his kraal. They built a fort to guard the Devil's Pass, named it after Haynes, who had made the plans for it before he was killed, and garrisoned it with 50 troops.[83] They also repaired the telegraph line, which was cut on the pass, and this enabled Alderson to be in contact with Umtali. On their return to the laager, they burnt another – deserted – rebel kraal.[84]

Repairing the telegraph line was important. Within a few days of the rebellion starting, the wires connecting Salisbury with Umtali, to the south-east, and Charter, to the south-west, had been slashed. Except for a few days in the middle of July when the line was temporarily linked with Bulawayo, Salisbury was completely cut off until permanent communication was restored on 5 August.[85] The line to Umtali was not restored until 8 August. Until the beginning of August, therefore, no arrangements about the crucial questions of supplies and transport could be made in consultation with Salisbury. Furthermore, there was no telegraphic communication between Delagoa Bay and Beira, where Alderson could have been contacted. It followed that even after communications with Bulawayo had been restored, and until the Umtali link was re-established, it was impossible to communicate rapidly with Alderson so that he could make decisions based on knowledge of what was happening in the interior.[86]

Reporting the attack on Makoni, *The Rhodesia Herald* announced that the action 'practically smashed up Makoni' and that Chipaza, a loyal chief, claimed that at least

200 men, including a witch doctor and ten councillors, were killed. 'In the engagement all our men acted with the greatest gallantry, and the plan of attack was excellently conceived and smartly delivered.'[87]

On 5 August, after the attack on Makoni's kraal and the following day's reconnaissance, Alderson and virtually the whole of his force, including Archer's section, spent five days travelling to Gatzi's kraal, north of Marandellas where they laagered on 9 August. Archer took command of the section while Stephens was suffering from malaria. Mitchell, his batman, also went down with malaria. Archer gave details of these operations in a letter to his mother:[88]

5 August: Resumed our march towards Salisbury. Mitchell able to ride. Lieutenant Stephens, in sick waggon, worse.

6 August: Marched to Headlands, a store where everybody was killed at the beginning of the rising. Mr Stephens still in hospital waggon but getting better. Mitchell quite well. One of the horses of my section died on the road. Met the Bulawayo Field force under command of Major Watts, Derbyshire Regiment, whose column had to join ours. ['August Colonel Anderson came up with Major Watt's column consisting of four officers and 70 men.'] More open country but hilly. Established another fort and left Major Browne and 50 Volunteers to look after it.

7 August: On flank guard. Mr Stephens better and able to take over command of the section.

8 August: Attacked a kraal. Not much excitement as they had no firearms. Scouting again in the afternoon. Camped at Botha's Farm.

9 August: Marched to Marandellas, a store on the bank of a river of that name.

10 August: Left the laager and went north with ten empty waggons to attack two kraals. Mangwendi's natives again fled to their caves. Tried to blow them up but failed. Lieutenant Barnes, Army Service Corps, killed at Gadza's kraal. Nobody wounded. Formed laager about a quarter of a mile from the kraal. ['A strong patrol with the colonel in command, set out, with two seven pounders and a Maxim. They came up to Gadza's kraal, the natives offering little resistance beyond firing from caves, from which their dislodgement was impossible. Lieutenant Barnes was shot dead at the mouth of one of these caves'.]

11 August: Attacked Mangwendi's other kraal, about two miles from the first one. If they had any pluck at all they could have given us a warm time of it. Marched back to Marandellas. We had to march about eight miles after sundown: a very hard job going cross country with ten waggons averaging 18 mules in each and 250 mounted men. Arrived in camp (Marandellas) about 11.30 p.m., done up. ['On 11 August they attacked Mangwende's kraal, which they shelled and burnt, returning to Marandella's the same night'.]

On 13 August after a day's rest which the men spent in 'grooming, washing, squaring up kit and general fatigues, Alderson left for Salisbury to see what he could do to assist, particularly about the grave shortage of food. In the event he was able to send them only five ox waggons. He took an escort of two Mounted Infantry sections:

Lieutenant St Aubyn, in charge of one section of the Rifle Company, and Lieutenant King-Harman, in charge of one section of the Irish Company. They left Captain Jenner in charge of the remainder, including Archer's section, to carry out punitive expeditions against a number of chiefs, destroying their kraals and collecting large quantities of grain and oat hay before themselves moving on to Salisbury.[89] Again, Archer provides details:

13 August: Went to White's Farm, about 11 miles south of main road to get grain and oat hay. Found a letter saying that Captain Bremner, 20th Hussars, had been shot and that the writer, White, was dying from loss of blood. We found Captain Bremner's body half burned. ['Lieutenant Bremner's body was found in a hut on White's farm. He was shot while reading a paper, and then had his throat cut'.] The officers buried him properly. Got about five waggon loads of oat hay – very handy as the horses are half starved. Everything was wrecked. The [rebels] could not break the ploughs so they built fires under them and burnt them. It would not have paid any Mashonas to be handy as our men would have cut them into pieces. I got some tools to do some armourer's work.

14 August: Went along telegraph wires for about 11 miles to find out where it had been broken. Could not find any breakage but found out from Beal's Column, who we saw on the road, that it was broken between Graham & Whites and Salisbury.

15 August: Five sections paraded at 5 a.m. to get forage. Burnt five kraals and killed several natives. Visited small bergers' farm. Everything broken and burnt again. Got four loads of oat hay and ten sacks of mealies. Plenty of chickens and pumpkins for ourselves. Camped near one of the kraals for the night.

16 August: Returned to Marandellas. Burnt three kraals.

17 August: Visited some of the kraals we had burnt, to get grain. Returned to Marandellas in the evening. Some of the other sections had some fighting in which Mr Joliffe, a transport owner, was killed.

18 August: Moved about five miles towards Salisbury. Acting Corporal Tracey of my section reverted to Private for neglect of duty on guard. ['After leaving Marandellas a recognisance under Captain McMahon with the scouts visited Maquaque's (or Checaqua's) kraals, which they found occupied by about 1000 rebels who showed fight and came down the hill in large numbers. Their position was also impregnable, so our force returned and the column attacked a smaller kraal, the enemy having fired on Honey's scouts. As usual, the natives were unget-at-able and there were no results. The only possible means of dealing with these natives is by destroying their crops'.] [The column swung off the road into Chiquaqua's country, found all the kraals deserted, and got only a little grain.[90]]

19 August: Went out and burnt three kraals. Mr Edwards, one of the Chartered Company's men, recovered nearly all his kit, clothing that the Mashonas had looted from his place at Marandellas. ['A patrol, under Captain Jenner DSO, visited a kraal near Marandellas . . . but found it deserted. This was

the best fortified place we have come across, and was evidently the enemy's stronghold, as a considerable quantity of European clothing, copper ware, goods etc., and plenty of grain was discovered. It had probably been evacuated owing to serious damage done to the kraal, which had been shelled on 17 August. On the kraal being visited we found signs of blood and other indications that the natives had suffered severely; one body found had seven Lee-Metford bullet wounds'.]

20 August: Marched to Graham & Whites. Everything broken or looted.

21 August: Marched to Laws Farm. Found a white man down a well, name not known. Place burnt to the ground. [The column found the ashes still warm. It had not been burned when Alderson passed it a week earlier, so it is clear that rebel activity was continuing.]

22 August: Short march to Mission Station expecting an attack on the laager, which did not come off, worse luck. Found some cattle. Raining hard. Everything wet through.

23 August: Very cold and wet morning. Went north and shelled one kraal and burnt another. Rained again in the evening.

24 August: Resumed our march towards Salisbury. Right flank guard. So much game that we nearly rode over it. Very wooded country. Camped at Hopes Farm.

25 August: Arrived at Salisbury and camped at Nursery Farm, two and a half miles east of the town. Very bad water here. [Archer lamented that they had not been able to 'get a good fight, since the one [they] had at Makoni's', three weeks earlier.[91]]

28 August: Still laagered at Nursery Farm. Sending out patrols daily. Expect to start for Fort Charter in a day or two. The Mashonas are coming in daily but I do not expect they will all give in for several months. One of the prisoners that was captured at the kraal where Lieutenant Barnes was killed was let go, but some of the Volunteers ambushed and killed him.

Destroying the power of the rebels was, however, only part of the difficulty facing the Europeans in Mashonaland. They were gravely short of food, especially flour, and other supplies, and they looked to Alderson to help solve this acute problem. At the beginning of August the people in Salisbury were daily expecting news of, and then the arrival of, Alderson's column. They anticipated that the column would bring with it large supplies of food and other essential goods, and they hoped that after a few weeks all danger would be over and they could begin to live a more secure life again. 'These expectations were, however, doomed to disappointment.' Alderson's ability to help was severely limited.

> [Because of] the difficulty of moving a large number of animals over the Beira Railway, the necessity of fighting at Makonis and other points along the road so as to ensure the future safety of transport, and the impossibility of immediately getting together sufficient waggons at the railhead to serve both for the conveyance of troops and of large supplies, it was out of Lieutenant-Colonel Alderson's power to do more than at once despatch some five ox-waggons forward . . . These, owing to rinderpest, barely succeeded in reaching Salisbury,

> and their contents, though sufficiently welcome, only relieved, without terminating the strain. Towards the middle of August, apart from Lieutenant-Colonel Alderson's forces, there were 978 white people in Salisbury, beside a large number of friendly natives of various classes. Fresh meat was nearly exhausted, and the future outlook was becoming most serious. With the exception of a few salted spans, ox-waggon transport on the Umtali road had been completely swept off by rinderpest, and the mules then available in the country barely sufficed for the conveyance of the necessary forces.
>
> [Thus] the problem pressing for immediate solution in August and September principally related to the supply of rations for both men and animals in the Salisbury and Charter districts, and along the line of communication with Umtali. The white population at these points, inclusive of the Imperial troops and volunteers, numbered at this time upwards of 2000, and the quantity of grain required for horses and mules engaged in military operations, apart from transport, was very considerable.[92]

Six days after arriving at Salisbury Archer and his section left with Jenner's column for Fort Charter and an expedition to Umtegeza's country. They took nine spans of mules, intended to be used for transporting grain. In the event, however, nearly all of them were used for military purposes.[93] Since there was not enough food in Salisbury to ration the column, instead of going direct to Umtegeza's, they went back via Marandellas, where they hoped to meet a convoy with the necessary supplies. The food shortage was gravely hampering the Mashonaland Field Force's operations because it was impossible to gather sufficient stocks to allow the force as a whole to take the field with their normal full month's rations. Fodder for their animals also restricted their ability to move fast and far *en masse*,.

> Instead of being able to push rapidly about the country with scouting parties some miles out on either flank, we had to plod slowly along a few miles at a time, saving our horses as much as possible, and letting them graze for hours in the middle of the day. Grazing at night was supposed to bring on a deadly disease known as 'horse-sickness', so at sunset they were picketed in the laager with nosebags on – well-named nosebags, being bags that contained their noses, and nothing else.[94]

The Chartered Company claimed that despite the grave food shortages, it proved possible to keep the troops, both Imperial and Volunteer, on full rations throughout the whole period of operations, unlike the civilians who were severely rationed.[95] But Jenner and Archer make it clear that this was not the case: The middle of October 'was our shortest time as regards rations . . . a three-quarter allowance of flour or biscuit being all that we could run to';[96] 'Four biscuits and one pound of bully don't make us very fat.'[97] In any case, as Alderson recognised, 'the biscuit was very hard and of inferior quality, as also was the tinned meat, and the same might be said of the tea, sugar, etc. All were very badly packed and consequently much loss occurred.'[98]

Archer marched with the Rifle Company and Honey's Scouts to Marandellas along the telegraph line, their object en route being to collect grain for their half-starved horses and mules.

> We collected what grain we could near the route. A village situated between

> the telegraph line and the main road gave considerable resistance before it was burned and depleted of grain . . . On arrival at Marandellas we found that the expected convoy had not arrived; but we had not long to wait, and then began a great off-loading and sorting and rearranging and reloading of stores. There was a good deal of difficulty about the mules too, but we managed to make a start the next morning, and very glad we were. The road between Marandellas and Charter was not quite so well watered in some parts as most of the roads, and the grass was very extensively burnt; we then had finished all our 'collected' grain, and the horses and mules were very weak in consequence.[99]

They started south from Charter on 13 September in the afternoon and bivouacked the following night at Shaw's. They left the road there at five o'clock the next morning and headed for Umtegeza's.

> Major Jenner, who, with the bulk of the Imperial troops, had been patrolling the Charter Marandella district, attacked and completely destroyed the kraal of Umtegeza, the paramount chief in the Charter district. Umtegeza surrendered on condition of his life being spared, but most of his followers escaped. Major Jenner had with him, in addition to the white troops, about 2,000 friendly natives from Victoria. The patrol went on to destroy kraals and clear the district, and were successful in capturing large quantities of the grain and cattle so urgently needed in Salisbury.[100]

> [At Fort Charter] we were joined by the Natal Troop of Volunteers, and left on September 13th, working south and east into 'Mtengeza's country, with orders to get hold of this gentleman, break up his gang, and return to Charter as soon as possible, to take part in a fresh expedition in another direction. We got back to Charter on the 25th, bringing 'Mtengeza with us, having killed a good lot of his men, taken about 30 prisoners, captured 80 head of cattle, and destroyed his three principal strongholds. In this expedition we were joined by a large number of 'friendlies' from the Victoria District. They were of great use to us in various ways, especially in finding hidden stores of grain etc. and destroying what could not be carried away. They were champion devastators, and spread out all over the country – about 2000 of them – running at a good pace for miles.[101]

After leaving Umtegeza's kraal they scoured his district, visiting Zabi, Gona and Mzimilima's. They 'cleared them out, destroyed their villages and carried off their grain.' They then returned to Charter on 25 September and immediately 'set about making arrangements for co-operating with Colonel Alderson's column against the rebels in the Hartley Hills.' They left Charter on the 6 October, travelling via Beatrice Mine – where the rebellion had started three months earlier – destroying deserted kraals and seizing the grain. They joined Alderson's column at Matshangombi's kraal on 10 October.[102]

The next day, Alderson's and Jenner's columns worked in 'such a manner as to thoroughly scour the whole district' around Hartley. Working together between 10 and 24 October, they destroyed Matshangombi's, Chena's, Zimba's and 'a very large number' of other kraals. Working separately from 25 October to 10 November, Jenner's column – 170 troops, including Archer's section, and 1000 friendlies from Victoria – burned Mapondera's and other kraals, and built a new fort at Mazoe.

By the middle of October, the soldiers' boots were falling apart – most of the men

were dismounted and walked long distances over rough ground. Their clothing was wearing thin and they were suffering the folly of the only khaki drill issued before leaving Britain being a single suit for 'sea-kit'. They were on three-quarter rations, and their horses and mules were on the point of starvation, the old grass having been burned off and the new grass not yet having sprung up. Indeed, as early as August, Archer was hungry and wrote of 'being half starved a few times'[103] and saying that he 'should like to have some of the Sergeants' Mess food for about a week, so as to have a good bust-up.'

> Four biscuits and one pound of bully don't make us very fat . . . All we can get to help the bully down with are occasional chickens and a few pumpkins . . . Everybody walking on the uppers of their boots; we only brought one pair with us . . . I look a trophy now, top boots, trousers out at the knee, khaki serge the worse for wear, equipment bandolier fifty rounds, fifty more rounds in the wallets, revolver and pouch on the left side, and I wear a slouch hat and pugaree . . . We sometimes go two or three days without washing . . . All our transport bullocks have died of rinderpest; have seen hundreds on each side of the road coming up here, a splendid smell; about fifty vultures sitting on each bullock (get fined £1 for shooting one of them). They say we shall not have fifty of our horses live through the rainy season, and that nearly everyone will get a touch of fever; a nice lookout for us.[104]

Once again, however, Archer looked on the bright side: 'There is a rumour that we are going to get extra pay from the Chartered Company; I hope so, as we shall want a new rig-out when we get back.'

From Salisbury Jenner made one more expedition, this time a peaceful one. On 15 November he had a 'successful parley with Chiquaqua and Kunzwi', petty chiefs with whom he settled peace terms.[105]

It had been intended that the punitive operations in which Archer and his colleagues under the command of Alderson and Jenner were engaged, should continue, so as thoroughly to pacify a much larger part of the country. Archer expected that they would stay in Rhodesia until 'after the rainy season, when if they don't give in, we shall be able to burn their crops and starve them.'[106] But the serious shortage of food, livestock feed and other supplies forced a curtailment.

> For almost four months the Mounted Infantry, with the local forces [were] hindered by shortage of supplies, which prevented them from undertaking more extensive operations. Eventually it was admitted that further pacification would be better left to the new Police Force, the organisation of which was now proceeding apace, and that it was important to get as many as possible of the Imperial troops out of the country quickly because if they stayed during the rainy season they would be forced to remain inactive and would be exposed to the risks of malaria.[107]

Although it was not said, they would also cost Rhodes a great deal more money in paying for their services if they remained in the country. Continued service by the Imperial forces was almost out of the question, save at great cost, because there was still a grave shortage of food, uniforms and boots were almost worn out and horses and mules were starving. In any case Rhodes would, no doubt, prefer to use his own

police force, over which he had full control, rather than British military forces, which others controlled.

Consequently, on 28 November orders were issued for 150 members of the Mounted Infantry, with the Royal Artillery detachment, to march to Umtali, so as to be ready to move to the rail head – now at Bendula – and onwards to Beira, for re-embarkation. 'The ponies or what was left of them, were handed over to the Chartered Company', partly because the rinderpest regulations would not allow them to be taken back to Natal.[108] The next day, the Rifle Company, including Archer's section, half the English Company and a convoy of the sick, began their march to Umtali 'in a tremendous thunder and rain storm'. Shortly before he left Umtali, Archer wrote to his mother:

> We have received orders to proceed down country, as the war is nearly all over and the Chartered Company have got 600 Police. We have handed all our horses over to them, so of course we have to march down here from Salisbury. We took ten days to do the 155 miles. We embark at Beira for Natal on the 27th inst., spend our Christmas day in the train and of course do not get any Christmas pudding, only the usual bully beef and biscuits or bread. Everybody will be very glad to get home again, as the wet season has commenced and of course there is more chance of catching the fever or rheumatics.'[109]

They then marched from Umtali to Bendula and the railway, where they arrived on Christmas Day, the Rifle Company, according to Alderson – who was on horseback – 'plodding along in the mud, drenched to the skin, but all as merry as crickets.'[110] It is unlikely that the soaking riflemen felt as merry as crickets!

> After dragging starving ponies behind one for some months, the idea of being whirled along in a train is decidedly pleasing. The poor train appeared however to be starving too, and we all had to get out and push it a good part of the way. It was, however, very good going downhill, which, of course, most of our journey fortunately was. We all railed this time from Fontesvilla to the coast, and the amount of game on the line was really marvellous. Water-buck, harte-beests, zebras, etc, trotted and walked by the side of the train, as it dashed at its greatest speed along the Beira Flats. Sergeant Archer got out of the train, ran after one buck, cut its throat, put it on the engine, and got into the train again, all in one motion. But it ought, perhaps, to be mentioned that the train was standing still, and that Vernon had shot the buck.[111]

Apart from 36 NCOs and men – 15 from the Rifle Brigade – who transferred to the service of the Chartered Company,[112] everyone had arrived at Beira by the evening of 28 December, the Mashonaland campaign behind them. They sailed on the *Pembroke Castle* on the last day of the year

The tasks of the Mounted Infantry in the campaign had been, first, to open up the communication and supply line from Beira to Umtali and on to Salisbury, and, second, to pacify the disturbed areas along their route and in the Salisbury– Charter– Umtali area to remove the danger of continued or renewed revolt. To fulfil these tasks, they had to feed themselves and their draught animals; protect themselves from attack; remove the danger of further attack or delay; and force their way through to Salisbury, securing the country behind them as they advanced, by building and garrisoning forts along their route.

They had needed to act speedily because they were not clothed or equipped for a long expedition; their animals were dying of rinderpest and fodder for those that survived was increasingly scarce; they themselves were vulnerable to malaria; the Europeans they were aiming to help were running very short of food and other supplies; the rainy season was imminent and once it started their difficulties of movement and the ease with which the rebels could conceal themselves would become much greater.

The most manifest aspect of the Field Force's pacifying the disturbed areas along their route and in the Salisbury– Charter– Umtali area, had been their attacks and destruction of kraals. They did this in order to remove the threat of further insurrection; to seize food and fodder to feed both themselves and their draught animals; and to deprive the rebels of the means of recuperating and renewing their attacks or hampering the Force's operations. As soldiers, they treated the whole expedition as a military operation, with all which that implies in the way of possible maiming, killing and destroying. They preferred active service, fighting, exercising their military skills and putting their training into practice. This is why they had enlisted. Archer was disappointed that they had not had 'a good fight' after the one at Makoni's', and he thought it 'worse luck' that an expected attack on the Mission Station laager was not forthcoming. Killing, wounding and destroying were inherent, and largely inevitable, risks in their profession, from which they did not shy, though they were happy to settle peace terms with Chiquaqua and Kunzwi and to accept Umtugeza's surrender. They had great pride in the unit to which they belonged, anxious to bring glory to it and themselves by fulfilling their military tasks and defeating the enemy. To them it was immaterial whether the enemy was white, as subsequently in Archer's case in South Africa in 1899–1902 and in Europe in 1914, or non-white, as again subsequently in Archer's case in Mashonaland in 1896, the Sudan in 1902–1905 and Somaliland in 1908–10.

Their operations had been conducted under a number of unusual difficulties which were outside their previous experience. Having got to South Africa by sea, they had to put on board a large number of men, horses, guns and stores, transport them in a ship that had to be adapted for their purposes, and then disembark them in a neutral port, Beira. They had to pass through the territory of a foreign state not involved in the revolution they were on their way to suppress, Portugal, and this required delicate negotiations. Though the Force commander did not conduct these negotiations himself – save a few details of interpretation – any diplomatic delays could, and indeed did, cause military delays. They then had to advance by shallow river, narrow and incomplete rail and rough road, from Beira to Salisbury and extend their line of communications over a distance of 400 miles. Of this distance, the first part was potentially, and the last 150 miles was actually, open to attack by the enemy. In parts, too, they and their animals were in danger of attack by predatory wild game. There were no reliable maps of the country in which they operated and much of it was not well known even by the European settlers living there. Their movements throughout were greatly hampered by shortage of food and foodstuffs and of transport and draught animals. In the end the operation had to be rushed in order to end operations sooner than anticipated.

Their enemy had also been unusual, in having baffling fighting methods with which western military science could not deal expeditiously. The enemy was unusual, too, in

not having a sole large settlement and not having a single army. Consequently, the Force did not have just one and clear objective to attack. In these circumstances it was extremely difficult to take really decisive action. Moreover, the army at Alderson's disposal was relatively small. Operating over 114, 000 square miles, he had 2000 men, made up of a variety of different elements: regular troops of all arms, except cavalry, though many were mounted, and irregular troops, also of all arms, including white Volunteers often in quite small and independent units recruited locally, and a fairly large number of friendly Africans.

> The result of their five months campaign in Mashonaland had been to relieve the towns and free them from any apprehension of an attack from the rebels, and to open up all lines of communication between the chief centres. They had however been seriously hampered by the shortness of supplies, and had been prevented thereby from undertaking any extensive operations; no thorough punishment had been inflicted on the natives; none of the murderers of white men had been captured, nor had the power of any important chief, with the exception of Makoni and the chiefs in the Charter District, been broken. It was considered that this work might be left to the new police . . . who were gradually replacing the troops as they left the country.[113]

The journey to Durban was 'very smooth and comfortable'.[114] Archer and his colleagues arrived on 2 January 1897 and immediately went up to Peitermaritzburg by train. All the barracks were full, and officers and men had to go under canvas. It was the time of the year when one day the rain was heavy and the next day the sun was hot. 'This, no doubt, brought out the fever which had been contracted when marching down to Beira in the rains and, in ten days, we had nearly fifty per cent. of both officers and men in hospital.'[115]

> As is so often the case, as soon as the hard work was over, the effects of climate, exposure, and indifferent food became apparent in the form of malarial fever of a severe type, which placed most of the officers and a very large number of the men in hospital on our arrival at Pietermaritzburg, Natal, where we were quartered about four months before coming home.[116]

Archer accompanied his colleagues to Peitermaritzburg. By the end of January he and two of his men were in hospital, they with fever and he recovering from a broken left leg, fractured just above the ankle while playing football. Jenner and St Aubyn had already left for England on leave. Stephens was in the civilian hospital with a third severe attack of fever. Alderson was shortly to be invalided home after a bad attack of fever and with an abscess on the liver. Archer's leg took some months to heal but he suffered no lasting effects. He was pleased with the state of his finances, for he had received £44.18.0 from the Chartered Company and £36 underdrawn on his Army pay. He had been made Armourer Sergeant to the Mounted Infantry for the whole of his time on the expedition and this gave him an extra six pence a day.[117]

On 15 May he wrote a last letter from South Africa to his mother, saying he was out of hospital and progressing well. He would embark at Durban on 23 May on the hired transport *Dunera* and expected to be in Southampton on 24 June. On the Eve of Queen Victoria's Jubilee Day, they arrived in the Solent. Alderson was there to welcome them at the Southampton Docks.

Archer was awarded the Mashonaland Medal for his services in 1896. After the campaign and he had returned to the Rifle Brigade, Alderson wrote to his Commanding Officer and commended him, saying he was 'very cool under fire, was of great assistance to the officers and [he, Alderson] could trust him with the most important duties at any time.'[118] Alderson also said:

> The section under Lieutenant Stephens did their work and behaved excellently in every way and this was specially noticed when they were on active service in Mashonaland. They were always ready and willing to work, cool and handy under fire, and gave no trouble when in town, and proving themselves at all times thoroughly good soldiers. Of the NCOs I would specially bring to your notice . . . Sergeant Archer and Corporal Morgan.[119]

POSTSCRIPT

In 1898, two years after the Mashonaland campaign, Archer accompanied Kitchener's Nile Expedition, fought at Omdurman and was awarded the Queen's Medal and the Egyptian Medal with Khartoum clasp. He served with the Rifle Brigade during the South Africa War from 1898 to 1902, and was at Ladysmith during the whole of the siege. He particularly distinguished himself during the attack on Surprise Hill, was mentioned in despatches three times and was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the Queen's Medal with the Ladysmith, Laing's Nek and Belfast clasps, and the King's Medal with two clasps. After a further period, from 1902 to 1905, in Egypt and the Sudan, and in Malta and Crete, he was posted to India. In 1908 he was made Regimental Sergeant-Major of the 1st Battalion of the King's African Rifles in Nyasaland.

He stayed with the KAR until 1914, and was on leave in England when the First World War was declared. He immediately rejoined his parent regiment, the Rifle Brigade, and volunteered for the front. Very soon after arriving there, and only three weeks after war had been declared, he was severely wounded and captured. He spent the remainder of the war as a prisoner. He was discharged from the army on pension in February 1919, and was awarded the 1914 (Mons) Star, the General Service Medal and the Victory Medal.[120]

In 1919 he was appointed to the civilian post of Superintendent of the Central Prison, the Lunatic Asylum and the Leprosarium in Zomba, Nyasaland. He was awarded the MBE in 1929 and retired in 1939 at the age of sixty eight.[121]

He joined the Supplementary Reserve of the KAR soon after he retired, and when the Second World War was declared he was commissioned – later becoming a Captain. He was awarded the 1939–1945 Medal and, in 1951, the Meritorious Service Medal. He died in 1954 and was buried in Zomba. His seventeen medals are on display in the Royal Green Jackets' Museum in Winchester.[122]

FOOTNOTES

1 Except where otherwise stated, material in the remainder of this article is drawn from Archer's diaries. The diaries are part of the Archer Papers which include letters, notes, other documents and photographs covering the whole of his life from 1871 to 1954. They have been lent to the author by Archer's daughters.

2 Letters to Mother 4 January and 19 February 1896 from Aldershot

3 Hugh Marshall Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia* (London: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 362–4.

4 E. A. H. Alderson, *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force, 1896* (London: Methuen, 1898), pp. 2–3.

5 A. Jenner, 'The Rifle Brigade Company in South Africa, 1896–97'. *The Rifle Brigade Chronicle* 1897, hereafter Jenner RBC, p. 162.

6 Later General Sir Reginald Byng Stephens.
7 These were: Corporals Morgan and Warless; Acting Corporals Back and Bryan; Bugler Mead and Riflemen Bellamy, Bottomley, Broad, Collins, Coshill, Davies, Davis, Dunkley, Fitch, Gibbons, Gough, Herrington, Honey, Johnston, Keene, Kemp, Mitchell, Rogers, Rose, Smith, Tracy, Wayman, Wide and Woodward: Jenner RBC, pp.162–173.
8 Jenner RBC, p. 166.
9 Jenner RBC, p. 164.
10 Alderson op. cit., p. 8.
11 Jenner RBC, p. 165.
12 Alderson op. cit., p. 16.
13 Jenner RBC, p. 172.
14 Alderson op. cit., pp. 9–10.
15 Jenner RBC, p. 165.
16 *The '96 Rebellions*. Originally published as *The British South Africa Company Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia, 1896–97*. Rhodesiana Reprint Library – Silver Series, Volume Two, Bulawayo 1975, (hereafter BSA Co Reports) pp. 112–113.
17 Alderson op. cit., p. 11–12.
18 Alderson op. cit., p. 15.
19 Letter to Mother from Wynberg dated 23 June 1896.
20 Alderson op. cit., p. 14.
21 Alderson op. cit., p. 16.
22 Jenner RBC, p. 165.
23 Alderson op. cit., pp. 17–18. See also Jenner RBC, pp. 165–6.
24 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury; and Green op. cit., chapters VI and VII.
25 J. Archer, 'The Rebellion in Mashonaland', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*, 1896, hereafter Archer RBC, p. 97.
26 Jenner RBC, p. 166.
27 Letter to Mother dated 4 July 1896 from SS *Arab,* Beira. Much of this letter is repeated in another: Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
28 Alderson op. cit., pp. 19–22. Archer gave a much briefer account of the Cape Town–Beira journey in Archer RBC, p. 97.
29 Archer RBC, p. 97. The arrival and stay at Beira is covered also in Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
30 Elsewhere Archer says there were 97 Engineers: Letter to Mother – a small scrap of paper – n.d., no place, but text indicates still in Portuguese territory and still down country.
31 Alderson op. cit., pp. 19-22.
32 Archer also wrote that he 'went ashore one day and visited Portuguese barracks, Sergeants' mess *a la* officers, bottle of wine, table napkins, glasses, fruit, etc on the table, got in tow with the Commandant who treated us to as much wine as we could drink': Archer RBC, pp. 97–98.
33 Material in this paragraph, unless otherwise stated, is from Alderson op. cit., pp. 25–27.
34 Alderson op. cit., pp. 29–30.
35 Green op. cit., p.51.
36 Alderson op. cit., pp. 30–31, p.42 and p. 44. See also Green op. cit., p. 55.
37 In Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury Archer indicates that 29 of his men went on the train but Alderson op. cit., p. 55, says there were 'about five men with the horses.' It is likely that all save Archer and four of his men went from Beira to Fontes Villa by river.
38 Alderson op. cit., p. 50.
39 Alderson op. cit., pp. 54–55.
40 Ibid.
41 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
42 Alderson op. cit., pp. 56–57.
43 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
44 Green op. cit., p. 52 and p. 72.
45 Archer RBC, p. 101; and Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
46 Green op. cit., p. 66.
47 Alderson op. cit., p. 58.
48 Archer RBC, p. 98.
49 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
50 Alderson op. cit., p. 36. and p. 60.
51 Letter to Mother – a small scrap of paper – n.d., no place, but text indicates still in Portuguese territory and still down country.
52 Alderson op. cit., p. 59.
53 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
54 Jenner RBC, p. 167.
55 Alderson op. cit., p. 70. Material in the remainder of this paragraph, except where otherwise stated, is from Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
56 Green op. cit., p. 69.
57 Alderson op. cit., pp. 62–63.
58 BSA Co Reports p. 114.
59 Green op. cit., p. 68.
60 Green op. cit., p. 73.
61 BSA Co Reports, p. 114.
62 Green op. cit., pp. 75–76.
63 Jenner RBC, p. 167. says 28 miles.

64 Green op. cit., p. 78.
65 Hoole op. cit., pp. 376–7.
66 Green op. cit., p. 82.
67 Jenner RBC, p. 169.
68 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
69 Alderson op. cit., p. 78.
70 Ibid.
71 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury. See also Archer RBC, pp. 98–99.
72 Archer RBC, pp. 98–99. See also Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury. The kraal was that of Chief Chirimana.
73 Alderson op. cit., p. 80. Although Alderson says that it was 'Mr Taberner, the chief native commissioner', who went to explain matters to them, it was more likely that it was Ross who did so. Both were there at the time. Alderson was writing a year later whereas Archer was writing contemporaneously.
74 Alderson op. cit., pp. 81–82.
75 Green op. cit., p. 81, from a copy of the wire sent by Alderson for transmission to the High Commissioner at Cape Town.
76 Jenner RBC, p. 168.
77 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury. The additional passages in square brackets are from Archer RBC, pp. 99–100.
78 Material in this paragraph, except where otherwise stated, is from Alderson op. cit., pp. 92–95.
79 Green op. cit., p. 81, says 60 killed.
80 BSA Co Reports, p. 137.
81 Green op. cit., pp. 79–80.
82 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury; and Archer RBC, p. 98. It is possible that Green's and Archer's reports of the shootings were of the same incident, though the differences, including the dates (Green 2 August and Archer 28 July) suggest otherwise.
83 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury.
84 Green op. cit., p. 81.
85 Jenner RBC, p. 168:
86 BSA Co Reports, p. 112.
87 *The Rhodesia Herald*, Wednesday 19 August 1896.
88 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury. The additional material in quotation marks within square brackets is from *Rhodesia Herald,* 26 August 1896.
89 Alderson op. cit., p. 116.
90 Alderson op. cit., pp. 140–141.
91 Archer RBC, p. 100.
92 BSA Co Reports, p. 113.
93 BSA Co Reports, p. 116.
94 Jenner RBC, p. 170.
95 BSA Co Reports, p. 117.
96 Jenner RBC p. 172.
97 Archer RBC, p. 101.
98 Alderson op. cit., p. 40.
99 Jenner in Alderson op. cit., pp. 147–148. See also Jenner RBC, pp. 170–171.
100 BSA Co Reports, p. 73. By this time Jenner was a Brevet Major.
101 Jenner RBC, p 171.
102 Jenner in Alderson op. cit., pp. 146–155.
103 Letter to Mother 28 August 1896 from Salisbury. It is surprising that Archer, Jenner and Alderson do not mention killing game as a source of food at this time, despite Archer having told his mother that there was 'so much game that we nearly rode over it' in the same letter in which he told her about 'being half starved a few times'.
104 Archer RBC, pp. 101–102.
105 BSA Co Reports, p. 132; and Jenner RBC, 1897 p. 172.
106 Archer RBC, p. 100.
107 Hoole op. cit., pp. 376–7.
108 Jenner in Alderson op. cit., p 172; and Alderson op. cit., p. 258.
109 Letter to Mother 11 December 1896 from Umtali.
110 Alderson op. cit., p. 259.
111 Jenner RBC, p. 173.
112 Jenner in Alderson op. cit., p 172. But *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*, 1897, p. 273 says that out of the thirty who went out eight remained with the Chartered Company.
113 BSA Co Reports, p. 74.
114 Alderson op. cit., p. 260.
115 Alderson op. cit., pp 248–262.
116 Jenner RBC, p. 173.
117 Letter to Mother February 1897.
118 Cited in letter Archer to Mother dated c.31 December 1897.
119 Battalion Orders for Tuesday 28 December 1897, issued by Major G. F. Leslie, Commanding Verdala Barracks, Malta, quoting from a letter received from OC Mounted Infantry South Africa.
120 Diary 1914–19, *passim*.
121 Nyasaland Government Blue Books 1919–1939.
122 Correspondence with Archer's daughters.

Frederick Courteney Selous

by J. L. Cloudsley-Thompson

A recess in the wall beside the left hand (west) flight of the main staircase of the Natural History Museum houses a bronze bust of F. C. Selous. He is wearing a bush hat and carries his hunting rifle at the ready. Indeed, he looks rather as he appears in the plate: 'Following a wounded buffalo in thick bush' from his book, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (1881). The inscription below the bust reads as follows: 'Captain Frederick C. Selous DSO Hunter, Explorer & Naturalist. Born 1851. Killed in action at Beho Beho, German East Africa 4.1.1917'. According to R. I. P. (Reginald Innes Pocock, Director of the Zoological Gardens, Regents Park), the author of his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1912–1921), Selous 'repeatedly repudiated the false praise of his friends in styling him the greatest hunter of all time; and he would have been the first to protest against the mistaken estimate of his contributions to science which led to the placing of his memorial tablet and bust alongside the statue of Darwin and the portrait of Alfred Russell Wallace in the British Museum at South Kensington'. The Wallace portrait is now in the Spenser Gallery of the Natural History Museum. The bust, by W. R. Colton RA, was unveiled on 10 June 1920.

Until comparatively recent times, human and game populations have maintained a balance in Africa, and it was not until the introduction of firearms that this balance was upset and game populations threatened. With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to see that Frederick Selous, like other hunters at that time, shot far too many elephants and other game; but these were plentiful then in many regions of Africa and most people thought they would last for ever. Nevertheless, Selous never shot an animal except for a definite purpose. If he made a mistake, it lay in publishing the list of game that he shot between January 1877 and December 1880. As he himself pointed out then, 'it must be remembered . . . that I was often accompanied by a crowd of hungry savages, exclusive of the men in my employ, all of whom were dependent upon me for their daily food, whilst in some of my expeditions my rifle supplied me almost entirely with the means of obtaining from the natives corn, guides, porters, etc., which better-equipped parties would have paid for with calico, beads, or other merchandise' (Selous, 1881).

Frederick Courtney Selous was born in London on 31 December 1851. The Selous family were originally French Hugenots who settled in Jersey after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Annoyed at his ancestors being evicted from France, Gideon Selous, a man of violent temper, dropped the 'e' from his surname; but this was later re-adopted by his son Frederick Lokes Selous, father of Frederick Courtney and Edmund. Frederick Lokes had a successful career in the London Stock Exchange. A fine whist and chess player he was at one time regarded the best amateur clarinet player in England. His wife, Ann (née Sherborn), Frederick Courtney's mother, was also very gifted – a poet with a great feeling for and interest in plant and animal life. According to his brother Edmund, Frederick may have inherited from her his interest in natural history and travel and, from his father, his patriotism and love of truth (Millais, 1919).

F. C. Selous

Selous as a young man, in hunting costume

At the age of nine, F. C. Selous was sent to school at Bruce Castle, Tottenham and thence, in 1866, to Rugby where he distinguished himself chiefly by his proficiency in games and his interest in birds: his list of species noted there exceeded 90, and he was a prominent member of the school Natural History Society. In August, at the age of 17, Selous left Rugby and went to Neuchâtel where he studied French and the violin at the Institution Rocelet. He also commenced his studies to be a doctor, for which profession he showed no enthusiasm. His ambition had always been to be a hunter and explorer. From Switzerland he moved to Wiesbaden to learn German.

Then, with £400 in his pocket, he travelled to southern Africa, landing at Algoa Bay in September 1871. Determined to earn his living as a professional elephant hunter, he made his way to Kimberley – only to learn that the right season of year for a trip to the interior was not due for some months. So he joined a trading expedition to

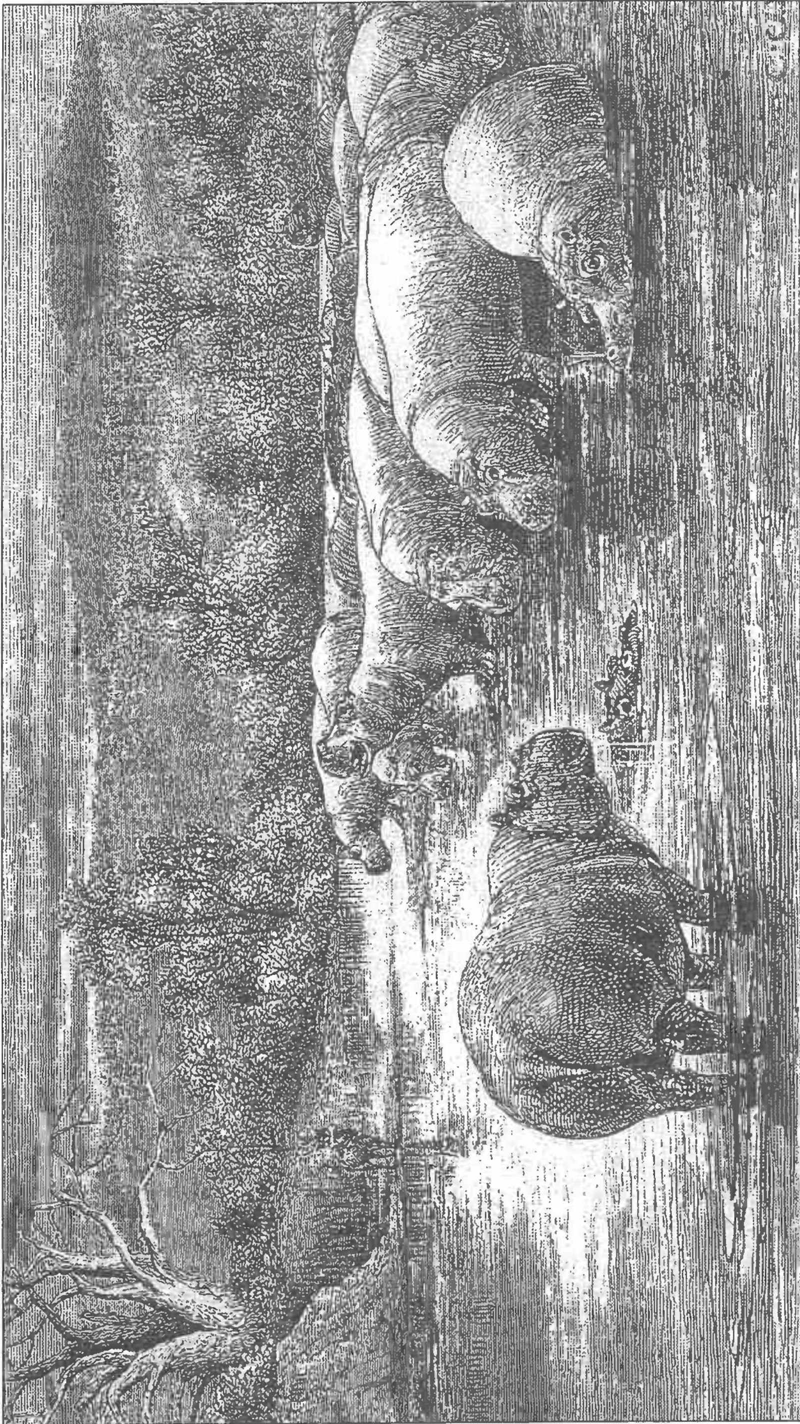
Griqualand, and it was not until the following year that he finally set forth into the region that is now Zimbabwe. In those days, the country was terrorised by the Matabele and it was necessary to obtain permission from their chief, Lobengula, to enter Matabeleland and the neighbouring territories. This was given, however, and for the next ten years Selous traversed the interior from east to west, hunting elephants and trading in ivory. At the same time he acquired an intimate knowledge of the people, the animals, and the topography of the country.

Ten years later, on a short visit to England, he wrote his first book (Selous, 1881). This was illustrated by his sister Ann. (His uncle Harry Selous was also an artist, as had been his grandfather, Gideon Selous). *A Hunter's Wandering in Africa* was widely acclaimed and reprinted five times. Its success secured for Frederick a number of commissions from museums and from dealers in big game trophies, which stood him in good stead during the following years. His younger brother Edmund, called to the Bar on 17 November 1881, was a keen field naturalist and ornithologist: he was the author of numerous natural history books.

When Fred Selous returned to Africa, in November 1881, it was his first intention to abandon a wandering life and become an ostrich farmer. However, he soon discovered that the market for ostrich feathers had disappeared, game was already becoming scarce in many places, and the ivory trade was no longer economic. He therefore spent the next few years fulfilling orders for museums and private collections, acting as a guide to hunting and prospecting parties and exploring between the Transvaal and Congo Basin. It was probably during this period that many of the finest specimens in the Natural History Museum were procured and he made his greatest contributions to zoology. He had always collected butterflies, but he now made a very large collection which he presented to the Cape Town Museum. It contained several new species. His explorations also resulted in a number of interesting discoveries which were published by the Royal Geographical Society in 1888. Other reports followed, the Society assisted him with grants and, in 1892, he was awarded the Founder's gold medal. His activities during these years were described in *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (1893). They include an account of the treacherous attack by Mashukubumbwi tribesmen in April, 1888, when his caravan was plundered, many of his followers killed, and he himself escaped with difficulty.

In 1890, Selous entered the service of the British South Africa Company. He advised Cecil Rhodes that Mashonaland should be occupied to forestall annexation by Portugal, and managed to persuade him not to attack the Matabele who were very much stronger than Rhodes realised. He then acted as an intermediate between Rhodes and Lobengula, and succeeded in obtaining a concession for the mineral rights of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Rhodes accordingly appointed him chief of the Pioneers who made a road that circumvented the Matabele further west, opened up Mashonaland (now northern Zimbabwe) and secured that country for Britain. Selous left the Chartered Company in 1892 but rejoined it the following year when the Matabele war broke out.

Between 1883 and 1890, Matabele impis has been attacking most of their weaker neighbours. In 1890, they almost completely annihilated the large Mashona tribe and war became inevitable. The campaign of 1893 was brief and completely successful. Selous was attached as Chief of Scouts to Colonel Goold Adams who commanded the



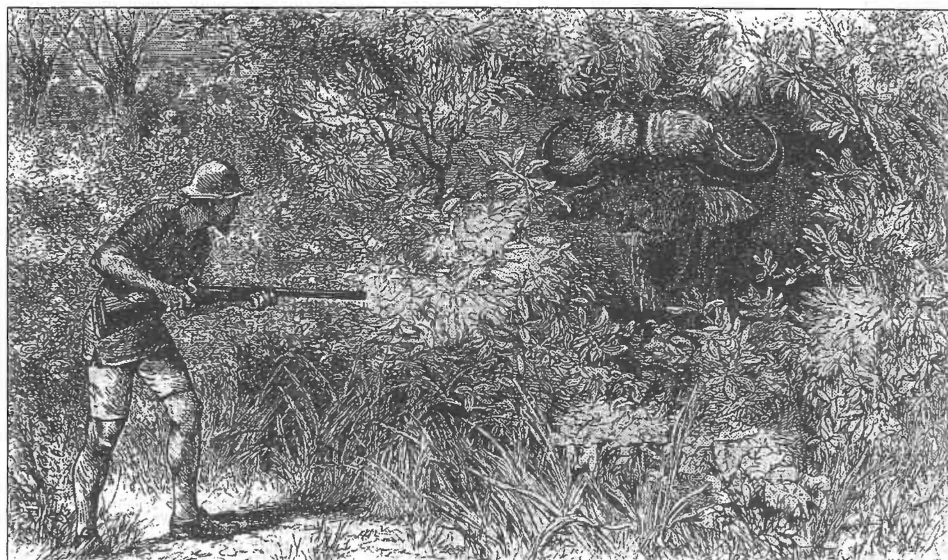
Hippopotami at home: Lower Umniati River, August 23, 1880

British southern column. This reached Bulawayo without much difficulty, although Selous himself received a bullet in the right side of his body on 2 November: fortunately it was only a flesh wound and he was not severely harmed.

The wound healed, he was discharged from hospital in Bulawayo and arrived back in England in February, 1894. On 4 April he was married to Marie Catherine Gladys (daughter of Canon H. W. Maddy, vicar of Down Hatherly, near Gloucester) to whom he had become engaged the previous spring. Fred and his wife went abroad for their honeymoon, passing through Switzerland and Italy, down the Danube to Odessa and thence to Constantinople. On their return, finding life in England rather expensive, Selous accepted the invitation of an old friend, Maurice Heaney, to manage a land and gold-mining company in Matabeleland. Gladys accompanied him – a very courageous act for those days – and they settled in Essexville, his company's farm. A wire-wove bungalow was sent, in sections, from England for them to live in.

Before many months had passed, however, the flame of rebellion spread among the Matabele, and numerous European settlers, including women and children, were murdered. Frederick took Gladys into Bulawayo for safety before returning to his farm, only to discover that all the cattle had been driven away. He was not long in discovering part of the stolen herd, however, burned the kraal at which they were found, and drove them back to Essexville. He did not take them to Bulawayo because he feared that they might be attacked by rinderpest, which was epidemic at the time. But an even worse fate befell him, because Inxozan, a Matabele warrior, with some 300 of his men, appeared a few days later, burned the farm and carried off all the cattle. There was no point in staying. Throughout the second Matabele war, appointed Captain of H troop of the Bulawayo Field Force, Selous took part in a number of engagements which he was later to describe in *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1896). This book was dedicated to his wife Gladys, and completed after the two had returned to England.

From that time onwards Fred Selous gratified his ruling passion, big-game shooting, although more as an amateur than as a professional. He visited Asia Minor, made two trips to the Rocky Mountains, hunted in Newfoundland, in the Yukon territory of Canada and accompanied his friend Theodore Roosevelt to East Africa in 1909–10. *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences,* published in 1908, contains a foreword by President Roosevelt. Between whiles, he devoted his time to writing, birds' nesting and shooting at home. Wherever he was, he took the greatest interest in the habits and behaviour of all the animals he encountered. Keen observation, indefatigable patience and a retentive memory combined to make him a field naturalist of exceptional quality. His vast store of knowledge about the behaviour of large mammals is embodied in his accounts of hunting expeditions (1881, 1893, 1900, 1907) as well as in *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences.* The first two chapters of the latter are devoted to his views on protective coloration, and others are concerned with animal behaviour – including that of the man-eating lions of Tsavo. Selous condemned the senseless slaughter of both black and white rhinoceroses by Sir Cornwallis Harris in 1836–37 and William Cotton Oswell in 1844–53. He included photographs taken by Max C. Fleischmann on the Tana River (sent to him by President Roosevelt) showing a rhinoceros being caught and drowned by crocodile which is invisible to the camera. A chapter on tsetse flies described their dependence upon different species of game. At his home in Worpleston he built a



Following a wounded buffalo in thick bush.

special museum for his numerous trophies. His personal collection was presented to the British Museum (Natural History) by Mrs Selous in 1919 (Dollman, 1921). He was a Fellow of the Zoological Society of London, but regrettably not of the Linnean Society.

A few days before the Great War began, the German light cruiser, *Königsberg* stole out of Dar es-Salaam harbour and, when Britain declared war on Germany, started raiding vessels off the coast of East Africa. She sank the British cruiser, *H. M. S. Pegasus*, while her boilers were being de-furred in Zanzibar, but was driven by three cruisers of the South Africa station into the delta of the Rufigi River further south. Here she remained hidden in the mangrove swamps for 255 days until, on 5 July 1915, she was sunk by two shallow draft monitors, *H.M.S. Severn* and *H.M.S. Mersey,* armed with six-inch guns and towed by tugs from Malta through the Red Sea. Her captain and crew then joined the forces of Lt. Colonel (later General) Paul von Lettow-Vorbek, the talented and experienced commander of German forces in East Africa who, with 11,000 men, most of them Africans trained by a tiny cadre of German officers, held some 200,000 British troops at bay for the duration of the War (Mosley, 1963).

Ten 12.5 cm (4.1 inch) and two 10.5 cm (3.5 inch) guns from the *Königsberg* were dismounted for use as field artillery – an incredible feat of engineering – lifted by hundreds of askaris along elephant tracks and dragged on pontoons across rivers and bogs. Lettow-Vorbek put them to good use when he raided Kenya and Uganda and raised the German flag on Mt. Kilimanjaro. It was whilst fighting against this force that Frederick Courtney Selous was eventually to die. When Lettow-Vorbek learned from an emissary of General J. C. Smuts (the Allied commander at the time) that one of his pre-war friends, F. C. Selous, had been killed whilst fighting for the British, Lettow-Vorbek sent back a message of condolence and regrets.

In view of his knowledge and experience of Africa, Selous was naturally desperate to join up when war broke out; but his services were continually rejected on account of his age. Perseverance finally triumphed, however: he received a commission in 25th Royal Fusiliers and sailed with the Legion of Frontiersmen in March, 1915. He was promoted to Captain the following August and awarded the DSO 'for conspicuous gallantry, resource and endurance' in September, 1916. He had never believed that the war would be over quickly. Concerned that his elder son Freddy would be 18 in April and then sent to the front, he wrote in a letter of John Millais (published in 1918): 'If he goes out and gets killed it will break his mother's heart and mine too, if I should live to come home, and it will be the same for you and your wife if you lose Geoff'. Somewhat earlier he had written: 'If I should be eliminated it would not matter a bit as I have had my day'. In the event, Selous was shot through the head on 4 November 1917, whilst leading his company through the bush near Kissaki, against an enemy four times their strength. His son, Capt. Freddy Selous, MC, RAFC, was also killed in action – on 6 January 1918, three months before his 20th birthday. (Capt. G. de C.

Yours very sincerely
F. C. Selous

Millais, Bedfordshire Regiment, son of John Millais, was killed in action, 22 August 1918.)

Frederick Courteney Selous was very much a man of his time. Like H. W. Bates and A. R. Wallace before him, he was primarily a collector and a naturalist. Unlike them, he did not produce any novel scientific theory, nor did he pay much attention

Frederick Courteney Selous DSO. Captain 25th Fusiliers Killed in Action. 6 January 1917

to invertebrates except for butterflies. But he enjoyed an even more exciting life than they did. His friend and biographer John Millais (1918)[1] who was also a well known big-game hunter wrote of him: 'The best work that Selous did and the qualities for which the British Nation should be grateful to him are those which he displayed as a Pioneer . . . in the life of any man it is character and example that count, and if Selous did nothing else, and had, in fact, never killed a single wild animal in his life, his name would still be one to conjure with in South Africa or wherever he wandered'. Perhaps he did merit that memorial in the Natural History Museum after all, as well as the painting in the National Portrait Gallery!

An obituary published in *The Times* of 8 January 1917 is reproduced, with some omissions and verbal alterations, in the Preface (by C. Tate Regan) to Dollman's (1921) *Catalogue of the Selous Collection of Big Game in the British Museum (Natural History).*

REFERENCES

Dollman, J. G. (1921) *Catalogue of the Selous Collection of Big Game in the British Museum (Natural History).* London: British Museum.
Millais, J. G. (1918) *Life of Frederick Courtenay* (sic) *Selous, DSO Capt. 25th Royal Fusiliers.* London: Longmans Green & Co.
Mosley, L. (1963) *Duel for Kilimanjaro.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
Selous, F. C. (1881) *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa.* London: Richard Bentley (Fifth edition, Macmillan).
Selous, F. C. (1893) *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa.* London: Roland Ward.
Selous, F. C. (1896) *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia.* London: Roland Ward.
Selous, F. C. (1900) *Sport and Travel: East and West.* London: Longmans Green.
Selous, F. C. (1907) *Recent Hunting Trips in British North America.* London: Witherby.
Selous, F. C. (1908) *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences.* London: Macmillan.

[1] Surprisingly, Courteney is wrongly spelled 'Courtenay' throughout this biography.

‘Great Characters of the Lowveld’ – The Triangle ‘Guinea Pigs’

by Colin Saunders

PROLOGUE

When MacDougall sold his historic pioneering irrigation enterprise at Triangle Sugar Estates to the Government of Southern Rhodesia in 1944, having demonstrated that sugar cane could be successfully grown under irrigation in the lowveld, a Sugar Industry Board was formed under the inspired Chairmanship of C. L. Robertson, an intrepid and widely respected Scot. In his capacity as Director of the government’s Irrigation Department, he had been a staunch supporter of MacDougall, a fellow Scotsman, when so many others in positions of influence thought that Mac was mad – who ever heard of anything so far-fetched as creating, single-handedly, a major new agricultural system in such an isolated and inhospitable area of the country? And taking seven years to hack and hew a daft tunnel through large granite hills which stood in his way? The man was obviously unbalanced!

Robertson’s mandate was to expand the estate, to conduct further experiments to improve the cultivation and demonstrate the profitability of sugar cane, and then to dispose of Triangle to private enterprise.

Cecil Robertson had a tremendous track record as an agriculturalist, irrigation engineer, and conservationist, and he must rank as one of the country’s greatest ever civil servants. (It is a matter of regret that the Government of Zimbabwe chose to remove the name of Lake Robertson from the Darwendale Dam, now Lake Manyame. The honour bestowed upon Robertson had nothing to do with politics, but instead acknowledged the enormous apolitical benefit this man brought to the nation’s farmers, regardless of race or social stature, during his loyal service to the country. Not only did he energetically support and guide those farmers, whether large- or small-scale, who sought to bring greater productivity and predictability to their farming ventures through the development of irrigation, but as Chairman of the infant Natural Resources Board he was dynamic in his fostering of that magnificent Intensive Conservation Area movement throughout the country).

In accepting the leadership of the new Board to operate the sugar estate at Triangle, ‘Robbie’ made it clear from the start that he did not believe that a government agency should operate commercial ventures – what a pity it is that today’s government does not demonstrate the same practical wisdom.

In 1953 the Sugar Industry Board, having carried out certain improvements and expansion on Triangle Ranch in the face of massive difficulties with staffing, financing, and natural disasters of flood, frost, and drought, recorded its first profit. Having proved a point, Robertson then set about finding a buyer for Triangle.

It was at this point that the first of the ‘Guinea Pigs’ entered the scene.

The Three 'Guinea Pigs' on MacDougall's Hill.
***L. to R*: Ritz Eastwood, Anne Hingeston, Peter Hingeston and Nainby Starling**

1. THE FIRST OF 'THE GUINEA PIGS' – NAINBY STARLING

Maurice Nainby Starling was born at a historic home called 'Herrwood' on the sugar estate at Tongaat on the Kwazulu-Natal North coast. His parents were prominent members of the cane-growing fraternity, and the young Nainby in time owned his own cane farm, which he sold when eventually he came to Triangle.

He was a very bright and energetic young man, and a highly talented cricketer, an excellent attacking batsman who played for Natal and later captained the Orange Free State provincial team. Many knowledgeable cricket followers considered that he would definitely have been selected to represent the South African national cricket team had the Second World War not intervened.

Early in 1954, on a visit to the then Southern Rhodesia, Starling learnt of the government's plan to dispose of Triangle to private enterprise, and he immediately made the long and trying journey to the lowveld to have a look at the estate. He was greatly impressed by the potential for profitable cane-growing, and on his return to Natal he set about endeavouring to interest other members of the cane-farming fraternity. He persuaded a group of them to visit Triangle to see it for themselves.

As a result of this initiative eight prominent farmers formed themselves into The Natal Syndicate, under the Chairmanship of Gerald Hammond. Nainby Starling was appointed as Managing Director, and he was given a mandate to negotiate with the Government of Southern Rhodesia and its Sugar Industry Board.

The Natal Syndicate was not the only organisation interested in the acquisition of Triangle, and it is on record that the Board had actually provisionally opted for sale to a group of Hollanders, with large-scale interests in the then Dutch East Indies, who had lodged a rival bid. The decisive factor which secured Triangle for the Syndicate

was the intention, propounded by Starling and enthusiastically supported by Robertson and government officials, as well as by the responsible Cabinet Minister, that a major settlement scheme, involving the recruitment of young farmers from within the country and from the Natal sugar-cane industry, should be responsible for producing the bulk of the cane to be processed at the Triangle mill.

The Natal Syndicate entered into a formal agreement with the Government on 4 June 1954, and Triangle passed into private hands again, the mission of Cecil Robertson and his Sugar Industry Board having been achieved. In terms of the agreement the syndicate purchased, for an amount slightly greater than the estate had cost the Government, 4 860 hectares of Triangle Ranch, and certain specified plant, machinery, equipment, vehicles, livestock, and standing crops. Furthermore, the syndicate leased, with an option to purchase, the remaining portion of Triangle Ranch, some 32 400 hectares in extent.

In order ultimately to implement its undertaking to government to establish a major settlement scheme in the lowveld, the syndicate, now operating as a company under the designation of Triangle Limited, received official approval for Nainby Starling's proposal that the viability of private settlers should first of all be established by placing three 'guinea pig' settlers on the land in a pilot scheme, with a view to investigating the economic and logistic requirements of such a scheme in general, and of individual holdings in particular. It was specified that all three were to be men of substance and proven organisational ability. It was further agreed that in order to test the viability of a range of individuals from varying backgrounds in a settlement scheme, the three pilot farmers should be selected as follows:

a) one with considerable knowledge and experience in the growing of sugar cane;
b) one who was in possession of sufficient private means to be in a position to finance and develop the establishment of his farm with a minimum of assistance from the company or government; and
c) a citizen of Southern Rhodesia.

The three individuals who were accepted as pioneer cane growers, opting to risk their future on a pilot scheme in the harsh and then undeveloped bush of Triangle, were thereafter known as 'The Triangle Guinea Pigs'.

Starling was from the start keen to be one of the guinea pigs, and his Board agreed that, once he had firmly established the new estate under the syndicate, he would be permitted to carve out a farm on vacant land for himself and relinquish his duties as Managing Director.

Thus it was that Nainby Starling pegged out the first private cane farm in the lowveld, on a tract of virgin bush behind the hill on which MacDougall had established his home; Starling was living in this house at the time. Although the company's cane fields and mill where he carried out his duties as Managing Director were all along the Mutirikwi River, most of them a considerable distance from the house, he was able to keep an eye on the farm which he was developing for himself.

It tends to be over-looked, particularly by those who expect to become farmers today, that those early days required a life-style which was rough and uncomfortable – no electricity, no water supply except by ox-drawn water carts, primitive living conditions, serious isolation, particularly when flooded rivers blocked any access to

the outside world – a far cry from the comparative ease and luxury which later success brought. For the first few years life was indeed tough for a guinea pig and his wife. At home each of the new settlers lived initially in a variety of temporary buildings, bathed in an old tin tub, and just got on with the business of carving a home and farm out of the virgin bush.

It also required considerable powers of adaptability to adjust to the fact that there were no shopping or medical facilities closer than Masvingo, 180 kilometres away, to which an exhausting monthly trek to purchase supplies was necessary. The monthly shopping trip to 'town' (Masvingo) required a drive along 90 kilometres of an atrocious corrugated road producing choking dust in the dry months and clinging slippery mud in the wet, demanding the opening and closing of nine farm gates (once each way), and absolutely impassable when the Mutirikwi and Tokwe Rivers flooded the low level bridges several times each summer. What bliss it was to emerge sweating, dirty, and bothered from the road at Ngundu and to glide on the luxury of the old strip road to 'Fort Vic'.

Nainby Starling

One year Nainby set off on the shopping trip on 23 December. He had a huge shopping list, which included everyone's food, drink, and various traditional items for Christmas. He stayed in town overnight, and on the 24th he had completed his shopping instructions and headed home. However, the heavens had opened and torrential rain caused the low level bridge over the Mutirikwi at the entrance to Triangle to disappear under flood water. This didn't worry Nainby at all, and within a very short time, with the help of a few locals who appeared on the river bank, he had set up an excellent camp and could be seen by his family on the other side of the river to have got his feet up, a drink in his hand. To add insult to injury, the following day, still marooned on the far side of the river, he proceeded to make a large spit on which he cooked a turkey. Before his family returned home to a Christmas dinner of distinctly miserable fare, he was seen collecting champagne from where it had been placed in the river previous day. By the time the level of the river had receded two or three days later all the food was finished, with Nainby saying at the time that it would have gone off if he had not consumed it all. Later he was heard to admit it was one of the best feasts of his life.

In spite of the difficulties facing him, Nainby Starling gradually created a model farm, his beloved 'Emanzini', which eventually featured one of the most notable homes in the lowveld. The house was a large thatched building, gradually filled with elegant furniture, including a number of valuable antiques, some of which he brought up from the historic family home in South Africa.

Once they had found their feet and overcome the initial primitive conditions and difficulties of everyday living, Starling and his first wife Peggy commenced a tradition of comfortable living and elegant entertainment at Emanzini, a tradition continued when he and Peggy parted ways and he married his second wife, Kay Hayward-Butt. They were all refined people of great charm.

Nainby Starling was invariably smartly dressed, his favourite garb usually featuring a colourful cravat. A delightful companion and superb host, he kept an excellent table and tasteful wine cellar. Dinner at Emanzini was an exquisite affair, though occasionally rather unpredictable, such as the occasion when I was one of four guests invited for a meal and a new cook had poured generous dollops of chilli sauce on to the chicken dish. We all gasped, red in the face, and reached urgently for a glass of water after taking the first fiery choking bite. Our host was enraged, and disappeared into the bedroom wing, scolding his wife, who soon followed. As neither reappeared, and the muffled sounds of a heated debate continued to filter to the dining room, we set about completing the meal by finishing the delicious array of dessert, savouries, and cheese and biscuits on offer after the disastrous main course, washed down with plenteous helpings of superb wine.

We then retired to the well appointed billiard room, *sans* host and hostess, only to be joined there after midnight by Nainby Starling, resplendent in a silk dressing gown and pyjamas, apologising for his wife's rudeness in leaving us to complete dinner on our own! He was in many ways a lovable eccentric.

A memorable feature of the homestead, set amongst expansive irrigated lawns and colourful flower-beds, was a decorative lake next to the swimming pool, where the Starlings fed a large flock of wild White-faced and Knob-billed Duck, which swept in daily to feed on the grain which was scattered on the lawns for them.

There was plenty of wildlife close by and around the estate in those days, and the Starling family enjoyed their outings in the bush after work and at weekends. One day, while looking for game down by the Mutirikwi river with his stepson Chris Hayward-Butt, Nainby happened to see a large crocodile basking on a rock not far from the bank. He disliked crocs intensely, as he had lost a favourite dog to a crocodile. Together the two of them crept as close as possible, and when within about 20 metres of the sleeping reptile Nainby took aim and fired, his gun being a fearsome 10,75 Mauser rifle which he had liberated from some poor German during the second world war. The tremendous blast from his elephant gun blinded the two of them, and when the dust cleared the crocodile was nowhere to be seen, presumably dead in the water. Nainby viewed himself as 'a crack shot', and he was determined to get the skin of the crocodile (he often shot crocs but they were never close enough to retrieve). He sent young Chris in to the water on one side of the rock and he entered the river on the other side. The water was about chest deep and they spent a good twenty minutes feeling all over the bottom for the body. It was only when they actually met on the far side of the rock that the realisation hit them that he had in fact missed the crocodile, and they scrambled out of the water with indecent haste.

One weekend Nainby decided to take his family camping at Chipinda Pools. Unfortunately there had been a lot of rain and what was normally a three hour trip turned into a long haul of five or six hours. The problem was that the normally dry stream beds to be crossed had flooded, bringing down tonnes of sand, in one of which, despite having a Land Rover, they sank up to the axles. They eventually arrived at their destination, only to find that the camp had been spruced up for the impending visit next morning of the Governor, Sir Peverill William-Powlett.

It proceeded to rain all night, and at first light Starling decided that it would be advisable to return to Triangle before the rivers became impassable. Knowing the problems ahead, he 'borrowed' all the new reed blinds and mats from the Governor's camp site. By laying them over the soft sand to be driven across, he reached home in record time. The family felt rather bad about this, but as it happened the Governor did not arrive at Chipinda, as the vehicle sent ahead to stock the camp with 'essentials' overturned, and all the bottles containing the drinks so essential on a camping trip by His Excellency were smashed.

A life long cricket fan, Nainby Starling was responsible for introducing the game to Triangle, and he initiated the construction of the first cricket pavilion at the Triangle Country Club, contributing a substantial sum towards the cost of construction, as well as purchasing all the cricket kit for a local league which he introduced. A stickler for traditional cricket attire and etiquette in this 'game for the sons of gentlemen', he was also President of the cricket club, and he would tolerate no breaches of cricket's solemn rituals. Shortly after I arrived at Triangle in 1963, I was playing for the Triangle mill side in a hotly contested game against their foes from the fields. Nainby was umpiring (his playing days being over), and the game was tightly poised when the second last wicket fell and a young fields assistant emerged from under the trees clad in short trousers, wearing only one pad, and sporting Plumtree School rugby socks.

He had not yet reached the crease when, on spying this dreadful transgression of all that was holy in cricket dress, Starling let out an anguished bellow, swept up all the

stumps and bails, and strode off the field, reminding the assembled throng in snarling voice that cricket was not a game for badly dressed slobs. He stormed into his car with the club's only set of stumps, and drove off at high speed, effectively deciding the outcome of the tense match as a tame draw.

Starling was a dedicated son of the old British Empire, and each morning the Union Jack was raised on a flagpole next to the front door, and lowered at sunset. (Later, in 1965, when Harold Wilson imposed sanctions on the country and whisky was in short supply, Nainby pulled down the flag in a fury and burnt it). He was a very interesting character!

On a trip to Durban to report to the syndicate's Board of Directors early in 1955, Nainby Starling was authorised to seek candidates for the appointment of the second settler (the one of independent financial means). The circumstances of how Brigadier Hingeston came to meet the members of the Natal Syndicate, and subsequently to be selected as the second candidate for the settlement scheme at Triangle, will be recounted later in this narrative.

This provides the opportunity to introduce the second Guinea Pig

2. THE SECOND 'GUINEA PIG' – BRIGADIER PETER HINGESTON, CBE

Brigadier W. H. (Peter) Hingeston, second of the three original cane planters of the lowveld's first great development at Triangle, was a man of immense presence, dignity, and charm. Before recounting the circumstances of his selection for the settlement scheme, and his subsequent life at Triangle, it is well worth recording something of the background and early life of this remarkable individual, the majority of whose male ancestors had served society in England either in the armed forces or in the church.

His father, Charles Southerton Hingeston, came to South Africa in 1882, apparently because he wanted to see the grave of his favourite cousin, Major William Henry Hingeston. He had been killed in action in 1881 while commanding the 58th Regiment against the Boers at Laing's Nek, and his earthly remains lay next to those of General Colley in the small military cemetery at Mount Prospect on the slopes of Majuba Mountain – another famous battlefield in the Anglo-Boer conflict.

C. S. Hingeston decided to stay and settle in South Africa, and in due course he went farming in East Griqualand, a short distance from the Kwazulu-Natal border, in what is now the eastern Cape. In 1906 his second son and last-born of four children was born, and he was named William Henry in honour of his heroic soldier uncle. However, the young lad hated both of his given names, and at the age of seven he announced that he would no longer respond to either of them, but only in future to 'Peter', a name he liked and had chosen to adopt. Nothing his parents or three siblings could do would make the youngster change his mind (perhaps the earliest demonstration of his resolute and determined character), and so he was known as Peter for the rest of his life.

He was a very energetic and adventurous child, and he delighted in the outdoor pursuits of horse-riding, shooting, and fishing which the family farm afforded him. He also had a mischievous twinkle, which never left him. His less responsible boyhood adventures and experiments included testing the family home's thatched roof with a box of matches to see whether it really was fire-proof as claimed. On another occasion,

Brigadier W. H. Hingeston

frustrated by his inability to catch large trout with rod and line, he tossed into the pool a lighted stick of dynamite which his brother had inveigled from an employee of the local roads department, a hazardous harvesting method which devastated all life in the pool, and earned him a dose of particularly severe corporal punishment from his father. In later years Peter was every bit as stern a disciplinarian as his father had been in his childhood.

In his early years he was constantly attended by an impressive and caring Zulu woman, and he became a fluent linguist in her language.

In due course he had to go off to boarding school in Pietermaritzburg, and he entered St Charles College, where he excelled at games and in the classroom, and became Head Boy and Head of the Military Cadet Detachment – cadet training being a prominent feature of extra-mural school life in that era. He was also appointed a King's Scout, and was one of a select few from South Africa chosen to attend the World Jamboree at Wembley in London in 1923.

He had always wanted to be a doctor, but as his family could not afford the fees,

his entry to medical school was dependent on winning a bursary. His family and teachers were confident of his success, as he had done well in all his examinations, but he was shattered when he failed his Afrikaans matriculation exam, and was in consequence ruled out of contention for the necessary financial assistance.

He then decided to pursue a military career, as had so many of his forbears. He applied for a cadetship in the South African Air Force. In due course he was one of a few – from over two hundred applicants – who were selected for the course, the selection committee being chaired by a Colonel van Ryneveld (later General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, DSO MC, Chief of The General Staff, who earned his knighthood together with Sir Quintin Brand when they successfully concluded the first flight from England to South Africa in their epic adventure in 'The Silver Queen' in the early 1920s – at that time a feat of extraordinary skill and bravery unheard of in the annals of flying. It will be remembered that they crashed on take-off from Bulawayo race course!).

And so it was that in 1928 Peter Hingeston reported to The South African Military College at Roberts Heights (later renamed Voortrekkerhoogte). He proved to be an outstanding pilot, flying Avro Avian trainers, the Avro 504K, De Haviland DH 9, the SE 5, and the Wapiti, most of them old Royal Air Force aircraft presented to the South African Government after the First World War. He revelled in the exhilaration of flying, and in his training years it was not unknown for him to be involved in what he later detailed in his memoirs as 'chancy flying episodes!' – sheer mischief in some cases!

In due course he was commissioned and appointed an instructor, where he revealed another side to his character, described in his memoirs in his own candid way: 'I have unfortunately always been impatient and intolerant in temperament, and although this fact was relatively unimportant in giving flying instruction to pupils of quick perception and intelligence, I am afraid that those with slow reactions and more ponderous in their thinking suffered a certain amount of rude and uncomplimentary comment, which in certain cases did not tend to assist in or accelerate their flying instruction!'. He was a tough but fair man.

During the 1930s he developed into one of the South African Air Force's most outstanding pilots. In 1933 he was a member of an elite flight of South African pilots who flew to Bulawayo and Harare (then Salisbury) in four Westland Wapitis for a ceremonial visit. The flight was commanded by Captain C. W. Meredith (who six years later was appointed both as Commanding Officer of this country's embryo air force and Director of Civil Aviation). The flight of Wapitis was met at the airfield in Harare by the Minister of Defence and the Mayor, and thrilled the large assembled crowd with a precision fly past and exhibition of close formation flying, before departing for Malawi (Nyasaland) to perform at the official opening of the new Chileka airport.

In the 1930s Peter Hingeston further developed his flying skills and became one of the most versatile and experienced pilots in South Africa, and he was called upon to perform all sorts of extraneous tasks, such as destroying huge locust swarms with deadly insecticide, carrying out flying displays at shows, and aerial survey photography. He was a member of The Pretoria Club and The Pretoria Country Club, and he enjoyed the social life to the full, becoming an avid 9-handicap golfer.

It was at this stage that he met and fell in love with a young lady, Anne de Waal, daughter of Judge President de Waal and grand-daughter of General Louis Botha, first

Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and formerly Commandant General of the Boer forces in the Anglo-Boer War. Anne's mother Helena was a ravishing beauty, to whose charms Winston Churchill succumbed during a time when her father was being feted in England – a fact recorded in Randolph Churchill's book, in which he refers to his father's infatuation with the lovely Helena Botha.

In 1935 Peter Hingeston was promoted to the rank of Captain, and his flair for organisation and man management soon resulted in his appointment as Adjutant of The South African Air Force, replacing C. W. Meredith (later Sir Charles Meredith), who had, by arrangement between the two governments, been seconded to Southern Rhodesia to assist in setting up an air force unit.

In 1936 Peter and Anne were married in Pretoria with all the pomp and ceremony which accompanied full dress weddings of that era, with the traditional departure through an arch of drawn swords. The prominence of Anne's family ensured that this happy event was one of the prime social events of the year. It signalled the beginning of a life-time of great companionship between Peter and Anne, whose complementary personalities and shared delights, in so many activities, such as ballroom dancing, golf, bridge, and good literature, ensured a very happy union.

Further promotion for Peter followed, and soon, with World War 2 looming, he was seconded to the Adjutant General's branch, and promoted to Major (the South African Air Force has always used army ranks), with the responsibility to co-ordinate all organisational aspects of the South African Defence Forces. Soon after the outbreak of war he was again promoted, to Lieutenant-Colonel, and he volunteered for active service. He was hoping to spend the war years as an active pilot, but again his management skills dictated that he should be involved more in administration and organisation of the Allied war effort.

When the East African and Ethiopian campaigns against Germany and Italy ended successfully, the Allied Powers decided on a massive build-up of British and South African forces for the battles in North Africa and the Middle East, and Hingeston was appointed South African Air Force Liaison Officer to the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Air Force in Cairo. Although he had fundamentally a desk job, he managed to contrive to do a certain amount of his favourite pursuit, flying fighter aircraft, piloting Hurricanes, Tomahawks, Spitfires and other aircraft, the procurement of which from Great Britain for the South African Air Force was included in his responsibilities.

As the war progressed through North Africa and the Middle East and on to Sicily and Italy, Hingeston was entrusted with more and more command responsibility. The number of SAAF personnel under his jurisdiction swelled to 18 000, and they were spread over a number of widely separated fronts. From the RAF he managed to wangle a Hurricane fighter to use as his personal aircraft in visiting the wide-spread units and co-ordinating their efforts. The air force units for which he was responsible were heavily involved in the disastrous defeat at Tobruk, and then played a crucial role in stopping the brilliant German General Rommel at El Alamein, and in 1943 he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier and awarded the CBE, having been mentioned in dispatches three times for his outstanding strategic performances.

Through the conduct of these campaigns Peter Hingeston inevitably came into contact with a number of distinguished military leaders. These included General Sir

Pierre van Ryneveld, then Chief of the General Staff of the South African Armed Forces, with whom he formed a relationship of mutual respect and friendship, and through him he met Field Marshal Jan Smuts, Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of South Africa. When the North African campaigns were approaching a successful conclusion, and the invasion of Sicily and Italy was being planned, Field Marshal Smuts came to Tunis to consult with senior British and American commanders. Brigadier Hingeston was privileged to be invited to a dinner, attended, among others, by Field Marshal Smuts, Generals Eisenhower, Alexander, and Van Ryneveld, RAF Air Marshals Tedder and Conyngham, and Admiral Cunningham.

He had also previously met General Montgomery, who was appointed to replace General Ritchie after the fall of Tobruk and the withdrawal of the allies to El Alamein, where he assumed command of the 8th Army. Although he readily acknowledged Montgomery's tremendous drive and energy, and his subsequent brilliant military campaign, Brig Hingeston considered 'Monty' (a non-smoker and non-drinker) to be often unnecessarily aggressive, abrasive, and unpleasant, and always seeking to exploit opportunities to enhance his own image through careful manipulation of propaganda and publicity. Hingeston recounted with glee one of the legion of stories about Montgomery, arising during a press interview on a visit to HQ in Cairo:

Q 'General, I understand you don't drink'.

A 'No – tried it once, didn't like it'.

Q 'I understand that you don't smoke either'.

A 'No – tried it once, didn't like it either'.

Q 'Are you married and do you have a family?'.

A 'Yes'.

Q 'Only one child I presume?'.

Peter Hingeston's opinion of Montgomery contrasted sharply with his impression of General Alexander, who was later promoted to Field Marshal and Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and subsequently appointed to be Governor-General of Canada. He found Alexander to be a man of intense courtesy and charm, always neat, orderly and tranquil, and exuding an aura of complete self-assurance , control, and quiet strength. He liked and respected him very much indeed.

Towards the end of 1944 Brigadier Hingeston was advised that he was being posted back to South Africa, a move he accepted with mixed feelings, being ignorant at that stage of what was being planned for him. He had established an excellent relationship of mutual respect and trust with Air Marshal Slesser, then commanding the Royal Air Force in the Italian theatre of war, and he managed to persuade Slesser to agree to a suggestion that an RAF De Haviland Mosquito fighter-bomber should be declared surplus to requirements and made available to Peter Hingeston so that he could realise his ambition to fly back home down the length of Africa. He made this exciting flight in the company of Lieutenant-Colonel Glyn Davies, a friend who had been Officer Commanding No 60 Mosquito Photographic Reconnaissance Squadron. As this aircraft could fly at 400 miles per hour, they decided to break all existing records by flying back to Pretoria in one day, with a brief landing to refuel from fuel cans which they planned to carry.

They nearly came to grief, as their radio malfunctioned, they took an hour longer

to refuel on the ground at Juba than they had calculated, they were confronted by impenetrable cloud cover as they approached the Zambezi, and they were rapidly running out of daylight. They decided to make an emergency over-night stop, and in the last minutes of daylight they landed at Kwe Kwe, where unfortunately they ran into a storm drain at the end of the runway and bent both propellers. Thus their adventure ended somewhat ignominiously, though safely. The aircraft was later recovered, and is now exhibited at the War Museum in Johannesburg.

Back in South Africa, Brigadier Hingeston was appointed to a Selection and Appointments Board chaired by Major General Everard Poole, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, to sort out the impending post-war defence force, a massive task in the aftermath of war. The following year, not yet forty years of age, and the youngest Brigadier in the history of the country, he superseded a number of more experienced colleagues in being appointed Adjutant General of the South African Defence Force. He was then informed that he was being sent to the Imperial Defence College in London in January 1947 for a command course of one year's duration, only the second South African ever to attend that distinguished institution, then considered to be the most senior Services Academy in the world. It appeared that greater things were being planned for his career as a professional soldier.

He excelled in all aspects of his sojourn at the College, in which the Commandant was General Sir William Slim, later Field Marshal Lord Slim of Burma, subsequently to be Governor General of Australia. Peter and Anne became friendly with Bill Slim, on one occasion joining him as his guest in the Royal Box when he took the salute on behalf of the Sovereign at the splendid Royal Tattoo at Olympia. They were also guests at an official Garden Party at Buckingham Palace and were presented personally to King George the 6th, and at the same occasion they met Winston Churchill, who enquired very tenderly after Anne's mother, with whom he had become infatuated in his youth.

Peter was later summoned to Buckingham Palace to be invested with the CBE by the King, and he was advised that he had been appointed as Aide de Camp to King George VI, a prestigious honorary position which entitled him to wear the Royal Cipher superimposed on his badges of rank.

Back in South Africa again early in 1948, he resumed his post of Adjutant General of the South African Defence Force, and it was revealed to him what plans Field Marshal Smuts and General van Ryneveld had for his future: Van Ryneveld was to retire as Chief of the General Staff, to be succeeded by Everard Poole, then his Deputy, and Hingeston was to be appointed to the more senior Territorial Commands as part of his grooming to take over from General Everard Poole as Chief of the General Staff.

However, during that year Smuts was removed from office at the General Election, and Dr. Malan swept to power at the head of the Afrikaner right wing National Party. It was made perfectly plain at the outset that the new government intended to reduce to a minimum the influence of senior ranking English speaking officials in the civil service, including the Defence Force, (except of course where any individual could be retained by the new political masters in any useful capacity) and the process got underway immediately. Most senior English speaking senior officers were visited during the infamous 'midnight ride', when a courier from the government visited them without warning in their homes late at night to hand them documents which declared that their

(unproffered) resignations had been accepted and that they would be recipients of full pension, leave, and gratuity rights.

Hingeston was not visited by the midnight riders, and it transpired that as he was fluent in Afrikaans (although speaking it with such a pronounced English accent that it sounded almost comical), he had more or less passed one minor acid test. It further transpired that the nationalists were sensitive to the need not to antagonise too soon the considerable numbers of English speaking South Africans in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban, where an English speaking military commander would be more likely to be welcomed into the social scene which surrounded such appointments.

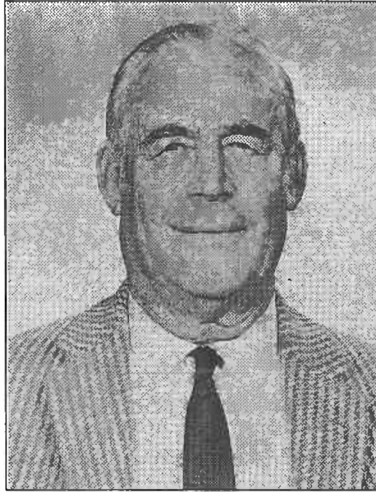
Peter was soon relieved of his post of Adjutant General of the SADF to make way for a National Party supporter, and he was posted to Witwatersrand Command in Johannesburg as Officer Commanding. It was clearly apparent that he had no place in any future career prospects under Malan's government. He successfully applied for the post of OC Natal Command when it became vacant in 1952, as he was in a sense going home to the area in which he had spent much of his early life, and where he and Anne would be happy to spend the years remaining to them. He was determined to bide his time as he sought a meaningful position in civilian commercial life which would enable him to resign from the Defence Force. Although he received several tempting offers, none were really sufficiently attractive.

In 1955 he met Nainby Starling at a dinner party in Durban, a story we were leading up to earlier in this narrative; and so we return to this period in his life.

He then met with other members of the Natal Syndicate, and as a result he was offered the second settler farm at Triangle. He flew to Cape Town to request that the Minister of Defence grant him permission for early retirement. He was shocked by the Minister's refusal, and it became obvious that whereas those who had been discarded prematurely by the new government had been offered full pension, leave, and gratuity benefits, he himself would suffer the financial hardships of a reduced pension and loss of all other normal benefits if he were to resign.

However, it also became obvious that the Minister was unexpectedly sensitive about the embarrassment which might arise if one of the SADF's most successful and distinguished commanders were to resign, and so a compromise was reached: although he was fit and robust, it was agreed that Hingeston would be prematurely retired on medical grounds, the Surgeon-General having discovered in Peter a mild deafness which he personally would never have accepted as grounds for the termination of a military career. The only down-side to this contrived situation was that he was to be denied the normal pension-enhancing pre-retirement promotion by one rank. Despite this, he was only too ready, after twenty seven loyal and productive years, to leave the service of which he had once been so proud, demeaned as it was now by what he considered an unacceptable mediocrity brought about through a fawning comedy by a supporting cast of National Party sycophants masquerading as senior officers. He was understandably bitter, but with his characteristic fortitude and determination he and Anne decided to seek a new life in a different country.

Peter and Anne thus sold up their sedan car, bought instead an Austin A40 'vanette', loaded up, and headed North for Triangle. It was something of a shock to them to experience the old dirt road to Triangle, a severely corrugated and very dusty



Brigadier W. H. Hingeston

thoroughfare, the negotiation of which required frequent stops to open and close nine gates, and extreme care in crossing innumerable streams and rivers. It was with considerable relief that they crossed the old low level causeway across the Mutirikwi River which heralded their arrival at their new home.

They arrived at Triangle on 20 May 1955, twenty-two years to the day after Peter's first visit to the country as a Wapiti pilot in the SAAF. They were house guests of Nainby Starling and his wife, their fellow guinea pig settlers, in the General Manager's hill-top house which is now the Tandarayi Social Club, while they awaited the arrival of their furniture from South Africa. Thereafter they were accommodated in another hill-top complex of buildings which is now the Murray MacDougall Museum.

It was a strange experience that after a well ordered military life of close contact with many like-minded people, and frequent social events, Peter and Anne Hingeston found themselves amongst an isolated and introspective group of people which included several eccentrics. He wryly recorded in his memoirs many years later 'all those who at this time ended up in the lowveld were either running away from something, were social misfits, or were mentally unbalanced'!

He later recalled the shock he experienced when, standing on the hill with Gerald Hammond, he was told 'Look down there – that's your farm'. 'Where?' he asked. 'There'. 'But that's just a bit of bush' he protested. 'Yes, and that's your farm!' was the reply. Anyway, he found himself the proud owner of 200 acres (80 hectares) of uninhabited and undeveloped virgin bush, of which one quarter was soon cleared by a D7 bulldozer hired by the company, the cost of which was to be recovered from the eventual sale of the first cane to be cut and delivered to the mill. Cane growing in the lowveld after MacDougall's pioneering efforts was not yet an acceptably productive form of farming in the country, and it was through much reading and study, considerable experimentation and innovation, and sheer hard work that the Brigadier managed within a couple of years to out-perform the Natal Syndicate in respect of cane yields – a pre-eminence which he managed to sustain in all his years at Triangle.

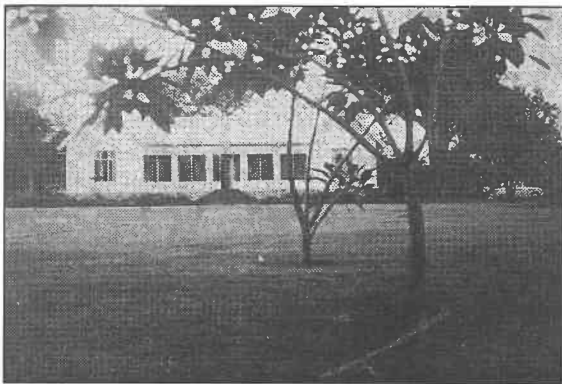
Things did not go well for the Natal Syndicate, and their viability was threatened by inadequate capitalisation and poor management, particularly in the cane fields. Hingeston showed quite clearly that his naturally orderly mind and management skills ensured that his fledgling cane farm was far more productive than the syndicate's cane fields, and this fact was obvious to the syndicate's Board. However, Peter Hingeston was somewhat taken aback when in 1956 he was requested to meet the Chairman and asked if he would take over as General Manager of Triangle.

He agreed somewhat reluctantly, and entered a new phase of increased work-load, attending to his own farm in the early hours before breakfast, and spending the rest of the day in re-organising and managing the syndicate's affairs. He brought about greatly increased productivity on the estate, but the financial problems persisted. In two consecutive months Hingeston and Cedric Gibbs, the hard-working and loyal Company Secretary, had to advance loans from their personal bank accounts with the Standard Bank to enable the syndicate to pay its monthly wage bill!

In 1957 the syndicate approached Guy Hulett, Chairman of Sir J. L. Hulett and Sons in Natal, in an attempt to interest him in purchasing Triangle. He at once recognised its great potential, and serious negotiations commenced, with Hingeston as General Manager deeply involved.

Guy Hulett was a dynamic 'no nonsense' character. Having secured general agreement on terms with the syndicate owners, he entered into negotiations with the government with a view to taking over Triangle and guaranteeing the funding of Kyle Dam. In the course of these negotiations he strenuously attempted to free himself from the 'private cane planter' requirement, as his experience in Natal had been that such independent farmers to supply cane to his planned mill would be nothing more than 'a damn nuisance'. He made it quite clear that he would not pursue the matter unless the government dropped the requirement for a major settlement component, and in this he was ultimately successful.

The acquisition of Triangle Limited by Sir J. L. Hulett and Sons, and the consequent construction of Kyle Dam, brought about enormous and rapid expansion in the lowveld, with the accompanying provision of all normal amenities. With his beloved farm 'Stonehenge' eventually well and truly established as a thriving and productive unit,



'Stonehenge'

Peter Hingeston was able to afford the time to indulge in certain community activities. He soon gained the respect of the whole expanding lowveld community, and he demonstrated anew his enormous capacity for leadership and organisation.

As the first Chairman of the Cane Planters' Association, a post he held for many years, he was responsible for the historically fortunate decision to decline membership of the Commercial Farmers' Union as yet another commodity association, electing instead for the cane farmers to become an integral part of the then Rhodesian Sugar Association. This body was dominated by Triangle Limited, Hippo Valley Estates Ltd., and the refineries in Harare and Bulawayo, but as members of that association the private growers were able to confront the large companies as full members. Many were the battles fought by the intrepid Brigadier in his determination not to accept domination by the large corporate concerns, and the cane farmers of today owe him an enormous debt for the firm foundations on which he built the cane farmers' case for recognition as equal partners in the industry, with just reward for the cane they supplied for the sugar millers and refiners.

Brigadier Peter Hingeston also served the lowveld community in many other fields: he became Chairman of the Lowveld Security Committee, Chairman of the Lowveld Committee of the Agricultural Assistance Board, Chairman of The Steering Committee to establish the Sugar Association Research Station, a founder member of the Chiredzi Rural Council, a member of the Lowveld Licensing Board and the Military Exemptions Board, a Charter Member of The Rotary Club of Chiredzi, and a member of the Murray MacDougall School Board and the Murray MacDougall Museum Committee. In connection with this last-named appointment it is worth mentioning that the Hingestons and the MacDougalls were very dear friends, each of the characters involved admiring very much the pioneering role played by the others.

While her husband occupied himself in his many community interests, Anne busied herself in establishing one of the lowveld's leading gracious homes, participated in leading roles in the activities of the Triangle Branch of The Womens' Institute and the Triangle Garden Club, and involved herself in domestic science and educational activities for the benefit of wives and children of the farm's employees.

Brigadier Hingeston had been deeply offended by the discriminatory political policies of the Nationalist Government in South Africa which had caused him to abandon his professional military career and to leave his native land. He was apprehensive about similar developments he recognised taking shape in the new country of his adoption. He firmly opposed the policies of Rhodesia's right wing political leader, Raymond Stockil, who was also involved in the lowveld's development through his Chairmanship of the new Hippo Valley Estates company. Hingeston contemplated entering politics, and he was offered an uncontested seat in Parliament by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, but on reflection he decided to stay at home and concentrate on his farming and community activities, and of course on his family.

He and Anne had one son, Peter Sotherton Hingeston, and they were also generous and kindly foster parents to Daniel ('Tich') de Waal, only son of Anne's brother Louis. Tich's parents had been divorced and fallen on difficult times when he was still a very small boy, and he was brought up as a second son to Peter and Anne.

At home the retired Brigadier and his wife continued the great companionship

they had enjoyed throughout their lives together. The ritual consumption of sundowners each evening was usually preceded by a game of Scrabble. They were both very well read, and had a comprehensive vocabulary. They were both also very competitive, and open copies of The Concise Oxford Dictionary and Roget's Thesaurus were always on the table and frequently referred to. Despite the normally unquestioned arbiter role of these twin authorities, vigorous arguments developed from time to time concerning the legitimacy of words spelt out on the Scrabble board – particularly by Peter, who Anne considered to have gathered an unofficial second 'barrack-room' vocabulary through his patronage of various Officers' Mess establishments over the years!

Anne had a great and sometimes mischievous sense of humour, and she occasionally teased and even goaded her adoring husband, whose furious temper when aroused was legendary. He once caught his farm labour gang resting when they should have been working, and in a fit of temper he threw his favourite hat on the ground and jumped on it. This awesome display was often recalled and acted out by his employees in good humour at ceremonial gatherings such as the Christmas and end-of-season celebrations which the Hingestons organised for their employees.

Although his command of the English language was exceptional, his command of the writing pad was less so, as he had the most execrable and thoroughly illegible hand-writing I have ever seen – and I have seen plenty of examples of doctors' hand-writing, which society considers to be often bad. Peter was peculiarly sensitive about this failing in an otherwise unusually immaculate character. It was said that once in war-time, when bringing certain military dispatches to be signed by the Brigadier, a lowly Corporal was moved to snigger at the untidy scrawl defacing the neatly prepared documents; the Brigadier noticed this indiscretion and the poor fellow was immediately reduced to the ranks.

Peter (a left-hander) and Anne enjoyed playing golf together on the magnificent course developed at Triangle, though they did not enter competitions. They regarded golf as an ideal family game, and deplored the existence of so many 'golf widows'. In keeping with these sentiments they sponsored a popular annual tournament which they named 'The Hingeston Family Trophy', with a requirement of entry being that one had to play with a partner who was a relative.

Although he was a devout family man, he abhorred the periodic ritual visits to his numerous in-laws which Anne's family demanded as part of their tradition. Furthermore, although never a snob, the one thing that he missed in the isolated community at Triangle was the opportunity to wine and dine occasionally in gracious surroundings with old and dear friends of similar intellect and shared interests. Accordingly he and Anne evolved a mutually acceptable *modus vivendi* to satisfy their differing requirements: the annual 'pink ticket' as Peter described it with glee, in terms of which he was authorised to part for a week or two from his wife each year. Through this agreement they travelled to South Africa, Anne to drop off in Pretoria to do the family rounds (and catch up with many members of her old bridge schools), and Peter to carry on to Durban, book in to The Oyster Box Hotel at Umhlanga Rocks, and spend quality time entertaining, and being entertained by, his old cronies.

It is now time to consider the appointment of the third 'Guinea Pig'.

3. THE THIRD 'GUINEA PIG' – J. H. R. (RITZ) EASTWOOD

John Wilson published an excellent story of J. H. R. Eastwood in last year's *Heritage 19*, and there is no need to go over old ground. Ritz Eastwood was a Chartered Accountant, another great character in his own right. As a partner in a prominent firm of auditors in Harare, he had been appointed to look after the financial affairs of the Natal Syndicate, and it came as something of a surprise to him to be invited to take up the appointment as the third cane farmer in the pilot settlement scheme.

I knew Ritz well, and I had the privilege of editing his memoirs (*'After MacDougall: From Tickbird to Guineafowl – Being The Recollections of a Pioneer Sugar Planter'* published by Triangle Limited 1966).

Eastwood was an impeccable man in everything he did – a true gentleman, possessed of great charm and good manners. His farm 'High Syringa' was immaculately laid out and run, and he created a beautiful garden around his delightful home, complete with wooden bridges across a meandering rippling stream, with a croquet lawn on the far side.

His artistic flair in the lay-out of beautiful grounds was soon recognised by the company, and he was responsible for designing and establishing a significant area of the decorative gardens in Triangle village and in the grounds of Triangle Country Club.

Like Starling he was a keen cricketer, an elegant batsman who continued playing local league cricket on the estate until he was over fifty years of age. In 1964 he managed a Triangle cricket team which toured the North coast of Natal, and his gift for managing

***L. to R*: Nainby Starling, Brig. Peter Hingeston, young Peter Hingeston (at the back), Mimi Eastwood, Anne Hingeston, Ritz Eastwood. *In front*: Brent and Rodney Eastwood.**

and mixing with a potentially unruly band of young men with consummate ease earned him the admiration of all.

It was an interesting coincidence that he should have come to Triangle as a junior to the Brigadier, for Peter Hingeston had been his Commanding Officer in the South African Air Force in North Africa, and Peter had to turn a blind eye to Ritz's marriage to his charming wife Mimi, a lovely lady who was living in Egypt and was of Italian Extraction. She was therefore technically an alien from the axis ranks, and consequently not an officially acceptable marriage partner for an allied serviceman!

Mimi was a delightful and cultured lady, sometimes exhibiting flashes of Mediterranean temperament, and it was rumoured strongly that she only consented to move from Harare, where she was blissfully happy, to Triangle, where she was not, when her devoted husband agreed to pay her a daily allowance for every day she lived away from the delights of the capital city. Be that as it may, the Eastwoods fitted in to the Triangle community very well, adding a matching touch of class to the family of Guinea Pigs.

4. THE GUINEA PIGS AT HOME – AND AT WAR!

Irrigation water was supplied to the three private cane growers via a leaky old earthen canal, which reached the settlers after it had supplied water to all the company's cane upstream. It frequently happened that there was insufficient water in the canal to trickle down to the first two settler farms, or else the company section managers appropriated more water than was their due, and this caused frequent explosions of temper. The situation was exacerbated when the third guinea pig (Ritz Eastwood) arrived on site to claim his farm, and his water right, upstream of Hingeston.

Periodic breaks in the canal lead to intermittent shortages of water. However, there were times when insufficient or no water was let down by the company section managers upstream, and it then became a case of every user accusing his upstream neighbour of taking more than his fair share of water, with the result that feelings between the Starlings and the Hingestons became strained, a certain coldness became apparent in the relationship between the Hingestons and the Eastwoods, and a common hostility to the company by all three settlers manifested itself.

It is said that differences over water supplies caused range wars in the legendary Wild West; it was not different in the wild lowveld, where stories handed down about irate settlers grimly patrolling the canals with a spade in one hand and a shotgun in the other were not altogether untrue. On one famous occasion Starling and Hingeston, both irate about the lack of water in the canal, met on its banks, and the first guinea pig, in a towering rage (which did not much increase his slight stature) was unwise enough to accuse the second of dishonesty and of stealing his water. Hingeston, severely affronted by this attack on his integrity, knocked Starling into the canal with one tremendous blow; Hingeston's young son Peter, who was accompanying his father and was fearful that Nainby Starling might drown, leapt into the canal to rescue him, while a pack of little white poodles belonging to Kay Starling, and which were accompanying Nainby, leapt yapping to their master's defence, snapping at the elder Hingeston's ankles in a concerted attack which made him leap around on the bank of the canal like the proverbial Dervish.

No permanent damage to the long-term relationship between the settlers ensued, as all parties to the conflict retired somewhat sheepishly to the safe haven of Starling's lounge, there to have a few drinks and a chortling reconstruction of the day's events.

The inaccurate and often unfair system to supply water to the three guinea pigs from the company's canal continued to cause frustration, and in fact to threaten the viability of the settlement scheme, for many years. The problem was not solved until a separate and dedicated 'settlers' canal' was constructed much later, with its origin directly from the new Kyle Canal.

The guinea pigs considered their future prospects threatened by inequitable water distribution systems, but a much more serious threat was looming in the wings.

On taking over the estate in 1958, and being highly irritated by the continued presence of the three guinea pigs, Guy Hulett tried every possible means to get rid of them, including eviction from the old company house that Hingeston was occupying, and withdrawal of the right to utilise the company stores, workshops, and cane haulage facilities. The three guinea pigs were required to employ their own mechanic, resulting in the establishment of Cane Service Station – a story of note in its own right, but beyond the boundaries of this narrative.

Starling and Eastwood were by this time in a somewhat precarious financial position, and did not rock the boat too strenuously, but in Brigadier Hingeston the crusty Hulett found a determined and formidable opponent. Eventually he agreed somewhat reluctantly to accept the rights of the three private cane farmers to remain as a legitimate part of the Triangle scene, and Hingeston and Hulett in time became firm friends, based on mutual respect for their respective expertise and achievements.

One item in their relationship continued to rile Guy Hulett: Hingeston had purchased 1000 shares in the company through which the Natal Syndicate owned Triangle, and Hulett had managed to acquire all the other minority share-holdings, being determined from the outset that his new estate would have no other share-holders. It so happened that when Starling set up the original trial settlement scheme, he had managed to convince the syndicate's Board that as the incumbent General Manager and 'discoverer' of Triangle, his farm should be twice the size of the other two, with double the water supply. This discrepancy always rankled with Peter Hingeston.

Despite considerable pressure from Hulett, Hingeston refused to dispose of his shares, even at a considerable premium, until one evening the Hingestons, on holiday in Natal, were having dinner with Guy and Irene Hulett at the Oyster Box Hotel at Umhlanga Rocks, and Guy raised the share-holding issue in a friendly but somewhat bibulous atmosphere. A gentleman's agreement was struck through which Hingeston surrendered his shares in Triangle in exchange for the additional land and water allocation he sought to bring his farm up to the same dimensions as Starling's 'Emanzini'.

For some extraordinary reason Hulett developed an intense dislike of Company Secretary C. A. Gibbs, and he mentioned to Hingeston during a time when Guy and Irene Hulett were house guests of Peter and Anne Hingeston that he intended to get rid of Gibbs. The Brigadier was able to convince Hulett that such a move would be a serious mistake, as Cedric Gibbs was an extremely competent, loyal and industrious

employee. Fortunately the advice was heeded, and C. A. Gibbs eventually rose to become Managing Director and Deputy Chairman of Triangle Limited.

Once their legitimacy was accepted by Hulett, and they had earned the respect of the new Triangle Limited, the three guinea pigs set about developing their farms, each one ultimately a prosperous show place.

Each of the three new settler families were thoughtful and charming hosts, and their dinner parties were delightful affairs. Their collective sense of humour was often manifest – at one stage, having decided that if they did not dress properly for dinner on Friday and Saturday nights they would rapidly become 'bushed', they evolved an unusual but environmentally suitable variation of 'black tie' evening dress, with the men wearing starched shirts and black bow ties (tied, not clipped on, of course), with their nether regions clothed in colourful and cool sarongs.

After dinner games and exuberant pursuits were not unusual. On one occasion a tug of war was arranged in Hingeston's drawing room between the senior citizens and the more youthful members of the party, with the table cloth serving as the rope. The contest was more or less even until the youngsters relinquished their hold on the rope, whereupon the seniors collapsed backwards in a heap, with the anchor man (Judge Anton Hathorn of the High Court) falling backwards through a plate glass door and sustaining lacerations of his buttocks which required the insertion of several stitches by the local doctor. Said the Honourable Judge: 'A bum end to a great evening'.

5. THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

First to leave the lowveld, after establishing a very neat and efficient farming enterprise on 'High Syringa', were the Eastwoods, who decided to sell up and move back to the capital city. Triangle Limited exercised its right of first refusal, and purchased the property, incorporating it in the fields department as Section 27.

The old homestead was modified and expanded to create a company guest house to replace that out at the Old Mill, and the guest house was subsequently renovated and expanded again to create the renowned 'Muwonde Lodge' Director's quarters, still surrounded by the gardens originally laid out in the wild lowveld bush by Ritz, and now incorporated into the company's High Syringa Game Park.

Ritz and Mimi eventually retired to England to live in Hove, Sussex, and a few years ago they came out to Triangle to visit all their old friends, as sprightly and charming as ever. Now in their nineties, they are still living in Hove, from where they continue to keep in touch with old friends of those halcyon lowveld years.

The Starlings were the next to leave, and on this occasion Triangle Limited for some reason did not exercise its option to acquire the property, and Rodney Style could not believe his good fortune in being enabled to purchase this jewel of a property for Buffalo Range, the Style family business. In confirming Triangle's approval of the purchase of Emanzini by Buffalo Range, he was delighted to receive from Triangle's MD, Dick Ridgway, a telegram which simply stated 'Welcome to the family Rod' – a more than adequate demonstration of the warm co-operation of Triangle with its settlement farmers of that era, after the hostility Guy Hulett had exhibited towards them in the earlier years.

Nainby and Kay Starling established another charming home in Lewisam, Harare, where Nainby developed an interest in spiritualism and continued to follow the cricket scene, while she pursued an earlier interest in painting, and they continued to entertain their friends as charming and gracious hosts.

Nainby Starling died several years ago, and Kay followed him last year, being well into her nineties.

Last to leave Triangle were the remaining Guinea Pig couple, Peter and Anne Hingeston. After a full, active, and very productive life at Triangle, finding the lowveld summer climate increasingly oppressive, and wishing to leave their son Peter to carry on farming at 'Stonehenge', Peter and Anne Hingeston purchased a property at Penhalonga and moved up there to start another farming venture. They subsequently retired to the Natal south coast in 1981, where Brigadier Hingeston died in 1985 after 49 years of marriage, to be followed a year later by his wife.

He was a truly remarkable character of distinguished bearing and great charm and courtesy. He was also indefatigable and very neat and orderly in his work, and he left one of the lowveld settlement scheme's most productive and exemplary cane farms as his legacy – truly a very successful guinea pig.

In many ways Brigadier Hingeston will be remembered as 'first among equals', the undoubted doyen of the cane planters, when those who knew these three remarkable characters come together to talk about their contributions, to what is now one of the greatest examples of sustained agro-industrial development that the country has experienced in the last one hundred years.

And so the story of 'The Three Guinea Pigs of Triangle' ended. Let no one doubt that the experiences of the chosen three constituted a vital milestone in plotting the course of subsequent policy and development in the lowveld.

Gweru, a Railway Centre

by R. D. Taylor

The Provincial Capital of the Midlands, Gweru, has for a long time claimed to be the warm heart of the Midlands. In a railway context this is a valid claim as three branch lines radiate from this friendly city.

The line from the Cape reached Bulawayo in October 1897 with the official opening taking place on 4 November 1897. Early in 1899 Edward Rosher started to survey the route from Bulawayo to Gwelo and on to Globe and Phoenix gold mine, the site of the future town of Kwe Kwe. Construction started when the first sod of the new line was cut in Bulawayo on 30 May 1899. Pauling and Company had been given the contract and expected to have the work complete in twelve months. However, the outbreak of the Anglo–Boer War in South Africa resulted in the line from the Cape being closed. Consequently the flow of rails, sleepers and other equipment ceased and construction was halted at Insiza some sixty miles from Bulawayo. In the meantime work continued from Salisbury and this line was opened for traffic as far as Gwelo on the 1 June 1902. Once construction materials became available again work was pushed on and the line linked up on the 6 October 1902. Through working between Salisbury and Bulawayo started on 1 December 1902. Thus Gwelo became an important station on the main line between the two major towns of the new colony.

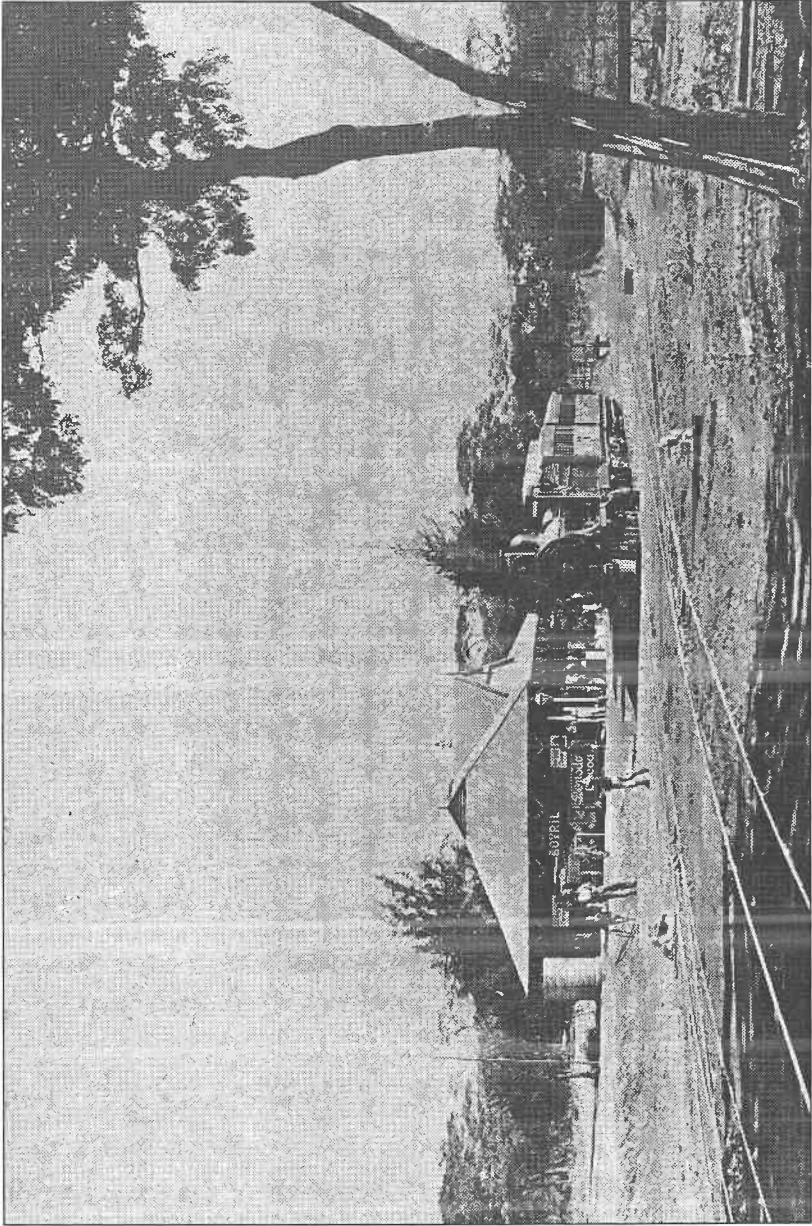
SELUKWE/SHURUGWI BRANCH

The gold mines in the vicinity of Selukwe were opened in the early 1890s and the decision to build a railway from Bulawayo to Salisbury through Gwelo led to calls for the building of a 23-mile branch to Selukwe.

On 9 August 1899 an Ordinance was promulgated providing for the survey and construction of a number of railways in the country including one from Gwelo to Selukwe. In the same month Willoughbys Consolidated Company instructed Messrs Fletcher and Espin to commence a survey of the route. Construction would be similar to the Cape railways. The survey was completed by the end of September 1899 and it was reported that the sale of stands in Selukwe had been postponed pending the outcome of the survey.

Construction was by Pauling and Company and the line opened for traffic on 21 August 1903. In the same month the Gwanda branch was opened so these two branches share the distinction of being the first branch lines in the country. The line was laid with 45lb rail, which was originally laid in 1870 on the main line between Cape Town and Worcester. Later they were used between Vryburg and Mafeking and subsequently remained in use on the Selukwe line until 1923, a tribute to the quality of steel from which they had been rolled. The first Station Master at Selukwe in 1903 was Mr James Hopwood who rose through the ranks of railway service to become Chief Superintendent of Transportation by the time he retired in July 1947.

Passenger and goods train services started on 21 August 1903 with trains leaving Gwelo at 09.00 on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Arrival in Selukwe was at 11.30.



Selukwe Station 1910
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Departure from Selukwe was at 3.00 p.m. and the train returned to Gwelo at 5.30 p.m. Single fares were 6 shillings first class, 4 shillings second class and 2 shillings for third class. From 15 September 1903 a service running on Tuesdays to the same timetable was added. By 1 July 1904 the service operated daily except for Saturdays. The February 1914 timetable provided for a departure from Gwelo at 9.00 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. However, on Tuesdays the train left at 11.30 a.m. and arrived in Selukwe at 1.40 p.m. Return workings all left at 4.00 p.m. getting back into Gwelo at 6.10 p.m.

Chromite mining started in Selukwe in 1905 and chrome ore has been the most important traffic on this branch ever since. In the year ended 30 September 1913, a total of 54 611 tons was moved with a World War 1 peak of 98 338 tons being reached in 1916. By 1920 the annual quantity had dropped back to 48 801 tons. Asbestos from Shabani also built up during the war years with the greatest quantity of 9 362 tons being railed in the year ended 30 September 1917. This mineral was moved by ox wagon to the Selukwe railhead.

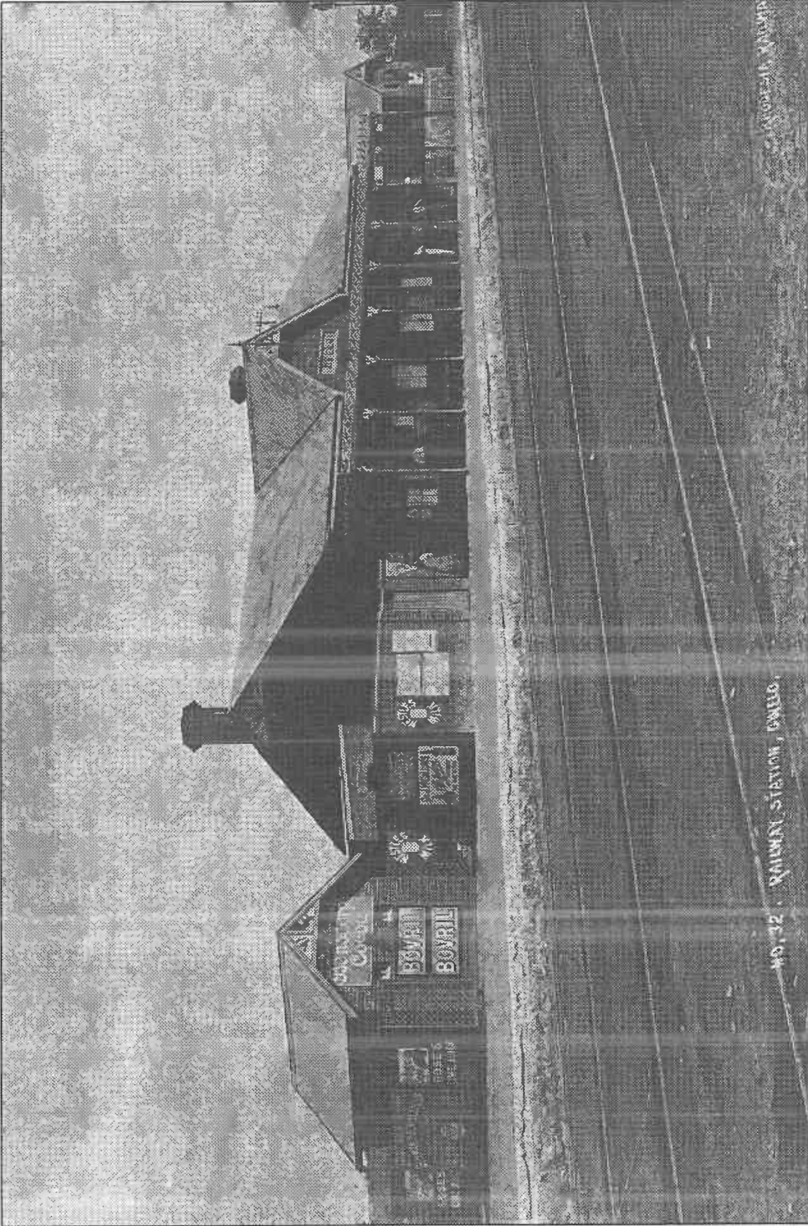
The 13 mile climb from Selukwe (4734 ft) up to Guinea Fowl (4818 ft) and the heavy loads being moved led in 1922 to the introduction of a system of cross trip working. This meant that when the locomotive and crew had completed shunting the yard and mine at Selukwe they hauled a rake of full wagons up as far as Guinea Fowl.

The locomotive then returned to Selukwe and collected a further load, which it took for 10 miles as far as Surprise siding (4794 ft). The wagons left in the storage loops at Guinea Fowl and Surprise would be picked up on the final run of the day and the complete train then had an easy run down the last 10 miles into Gwelo (4637 ft). On 23 December 1927 during such a return working a locomotive running tender first collided with a wagon loaded with chrome ore about 1½ miles out of Selukwe. The wagon, which had been left at Explosive Siding had not been properly secured and consequently ran onto the main line.

In 1922 roads had improved somewhat and from 1 December passenger services ran on Monday, Wednesday and Friday reaching Selukwe at 09.30. Departure from Selukwe was at 15.30 arriving back in Gwelo at 17.25.

The Shabani branch was opened in May 1928 and this meant the loss of the asbestos traffic on the Selukwe Branch. Tonnage of this commodity moved in the year ending 30 September 1927 was 18 631 tons. Passenger trains continued, but in April 1932 the Gwelo–Selukwe service was reduced by one train per week due to the lower volume of traffic caused by the worldwide economic depression. However, in December 1935 the third weekly passenger service was restored as traffic built up again.

The new timetable introduced on 21 March 1938 provided for a mixed train leaving Gwelo at 08.10 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday arriving in Selukwe at 10.55. The return train left Selukwe at 16.20 and arrived in Gwelo at 18.15. Passengers for Salisbury would have had a one and a half-hour wait to catch the mixed train to Salisbury. Bulawayo bound passengers didn't have it so easy. On Mondays and Wednesdays they could join the Rhodesia Limited at 02.20. On Fridays they would have to wait until 06.00 the following morning. A first class coach was attached at Gwelo to the Rhodesia Limited so no doubt Bulawayo bound passengers could settle down earlier in the evening.



Gwelo Station
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

By the end of the Second World War the mixed still ran on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, but left Gwelo at 07.30 and arrived back at 17.00. The demand for chrome was such that a goods train ran on the other days of the week. A major structural change on the Selukwe branch took place in 1941. When first constructed the branch started from the southern end of Gwelo station and then curved east along what is today Kopje Road. The Municipality of Gwelo wanted to expand the town in a southerly direction but the railway line impeded this. It was agreed to build one mile of new track to the east of the town to link the Selukwe line to the Fort Victoria branch at what became known as Selvic Junction. This line was opened in 1942 and the old line lifted. Selvic junction did not last long, however, as an unattended junction was a handicap to train services and the short section of track into Gwelo was soon doubled.

In the 1950s passenger services continued to operate on a Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and trains at the end of the decade comprised four lower class coaches and a guards van which had accommodation for upper class passengers and parcels. An example of this type of guard's van is in the Bulawayo Railway Museum. The service in the mid 1960s continued the long established pattern of a mixed running on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays leaving Gwelo at 07.45 returning to Gwelo at 17.35. However, the number of lower class coaches dwindled. Passengers intending to travel on to Salisbury could catch mixed train 49 Down leaving Gwelo at 20.00. Bulawayo passengers had to wait until 03.45 to catch 6 Up. Goods trains ran on the other days of the week. The running of passenger trains on the Selukwe Branch came to an end on 8 September 1969. In announcing the withdrawal of this and the Salisbury Branch line passenger services a railways spokesman said the services were being withdrawn because a decline in passenger patronage was making them uneconomic to run. The Shurugwi branch continues to play an important role in the movement of chrome ore between the Shurugwi mines and the smelter in Kwe Kwe. A daily, except Sundays, train leaves Kwe Kwe at 18.50. Just north of Gweru station the train takes a chord line directly to the Shurugwi line. This line eliminated the need for time consuming reversing movements in Gweru station. The train arrives in Shurugwi at around 23.00 hrs and is scheduled to depart again one minute after midnight. The train worked by Kwe Kwe based locomotives and crews arrives back in Kwe Kwe at around 03.40. A train working under Ballast Train Regulations runs from Gweru during the hours of daylight and caters for other traffic on the branch line.

SPECIAL PASSENGER TRAINS

In 1930 delegates to the Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress toured Rhodesia by train. The train arrived in Gwelo from Shabani at 21.30 on 17 April and left at 05.20 on 18 April 1930 as train 907 Down. It arrived in Selukwe at 07.00 and left after delegates visited local mines at 12.00 as 708 Up, to arrive back in Gwelo at 13.36.

The Selukwe line celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1963 and in September a special train ran between Gwelo and Selukwe. The train hauled by 7th Class locomotive No 43 comprised of dated balcony passenger stock. On the run the crew repeated an old ritual when they stopped the train and headed into the bush to shoot guinea fowl for the pot. Not for nothing, is a siding named Guinea Fowl on this route!

Another special ran on the 29 November 1964 when a train of balcony coaches left

Umvuma Station 1930s
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

Gwelo behind 12th Class No 209. The locomotive was painted in two shades of green with black and yellow lining. All the brass work was polished to a sparkle. The purpose of this run was for the official opening of a new narrow gauge branch line by the chrome mines.

UMVUMA/FORT VICTORIA BRANCH

Copper and gold were discovered early on at Umvuma and as a consequence the construction of a railway to this new mining centre, became an important issue as Rhodesia entered the 1900s.

The Member of the Legislative Council for Midlands, Col. Heyman, moved on 24 June 1903 a motion calling for an Ordinance to be drafted for the construction of a railway from Gwelo to a point in the Victoria District. After a debate on the 29 June 1903 the words from Gwelo were dropped and the motion adopted. As a consequence the Victoria Railway Ordinance was published on 4 September 1903. This provided the legal basis for the building of a railway from an existing railway, to any point in the Victoria District. No survey had been done hence the legislation could not be specific about the route.

On the 1 May 1905 in answer to a question in the Council the Chief Secretary said the British South Africa Company had the matter under consideration for some time. On the 23 May 1906 Mr H. T. Longden representing the Midlands moved a motion calling for a railway connecting Gwelo and Victoria and stressed the urgency of the matter. In August of the same year the Gwelo Chamber of Commerce submitted a petition urging the building of the railway to develop the main sources of grain, cattle and labour for the supply centres of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The Rhodesian Chamber of Mines said it would assist mines such as the Falcon, Athens, and Excelsior. A public meeting was held in Victoria on 14 August 1906 during which a resolution was carried requesting immediate construction of the railway.

On 7 May 1907 the Charter Railway Ordinance was tabled in the Legislative Council. This provided for the construction of a railway from a point upon the existing system of railways to a point in the Charter District. Mr Newton, the Treasurer, said the issue was in the clouds but the application was to build a line from some point on the Gwelo Selukwe line to Ortons Drift, which was north of Umvuma, and in the Charter District. I have been unable to discover why Ortons Drift, which is where the present day Mvuma–Chivhu road crosses the Sebakwe River, was the intended destination. The Treasurer went on to state that it was impossible to say when the line would be constructed. Two days later at the Committee stage he gave the proposed route in more detail. The start would be a point on the Gwelo–Selukwe line with a stop at the Falcon Mine (Umvuma) and on to Ortons Drift.

A survey of the route was started in 1906 and on 13 June 1908 Pauling and Company were instructed to commence construction. The Rhodesia and Mashonaland Railway Companies were unable to finance the project and the Beit Trustees in the form of the Blinkwater Railway Company agreed to provide the necessary capital. Hence in its earlier years the Gwelo–Umvuma line was known and operated as the Blinkwater Railway. Work started six miles from Gwelo on the Selukwe line in August 1908; this point was later named Lyndhurst Junction. The 35 mile peg was reached on 27 January

1909; work was delayed by non-delivery of bridge girders. The line was taken over from the contractors on 9 June 1909 and the first public train was run ten days later on 19 June 1909. Telegraph communication was established on 28 June 1909. The contract called for the building of a station master's house, station office and goods shed at Umvuma in addition to five gangers' cottages at ten mile intervals along the route. The line never reached Ortons Drift. It was laid with 45lb rail recovered from the Vryburg–Mafeking section. The total expenditure on the line as at 30 September 1910 was £107 509 9*s.* 7*d.*, and the accounts of the Blinkwater Railway Company contain a note to the effect that Rhodesia Railways had the right to purchase the line from Lyndhurst Junction to Umvuma. This right was exercised on 20 July 1931 when the Rhodesia Railways purchased the Beit Railway Trustees shares in and loans to the Blinkwater Railway Company for £172 367.

The initial train service consisted of one train per week running on a Saturday and stopping at Indiva and Iron Mine Hill sidings. By 1 February 1914 the service had increased to trains leaving Gwelo at 08.30 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays arriving in Umvuma at 12.45. The return left the same day at 15.30 to reach Gwelo at 19.45 hrs. These trains stopped at Lyndhurst Junction, Indiva, Lalapanzi and Iron Mine Hill.

Lalapanzi was to become in time the major siding between Umvuma and Gwelo. In March 1910 the Resident Engineer of the Railways asked for the reservation of land for railway purposes on vacant ground between the farms Lalapanzi and Mansfield. After inspection by the Inspector of Lands it was decided that the farm Lalapanzi was slightly more central for surrounding farms and the adjoining open ground more suitable for store sites etc. The occupier of the farm was under notice to quit and it was decided to wait before actioning the reservation. No mention was made of the chrome deposits, which at a later date would provide considerable traffic for the railway. When the line to Umvuma was surveyed and built in 1908/09 it diverged from the Selukwe branch some six miles from Gwelo at what was called Lyndhurst Junction. It was found that an unattended junction was a complication to train working and therefore, in 1915 a new line was constructed from the north end of Gwelo Station curving round the edge of the township and running in an easterly direction to link up with the original line some $10^1/_2$ miles out. This saved about $2^1/_2$ miles compared to the route via Lyndhurst.

UMVUMA TO VICTORIA

The arrival of the railway in June 1909 at Umvuma soon led to representations for it to be extended to Victoria with the matter being raised in the Legislative Council in August and September 1909. On 2 June 1910 Mr H. T. Longdon representing the Midlands moved a motion in the Council saying that the attention of the British South Africa Company should be drawn to the pressing need for the construction of a light railway between Victoria and the terminus of the Blinkwater line. The Treasurer in reply confessed that the results of the Blinkwater line if they had not been disappointing, because no one had expected much, had been discouraging. He agreed Zimbabwe was one of the principle attractions and people would go if they could get there easily. This was good reason for building the line. On the 18 February 1911 the Acting Commercial representative of the Chartered Company advised the Victoria Farmers Association

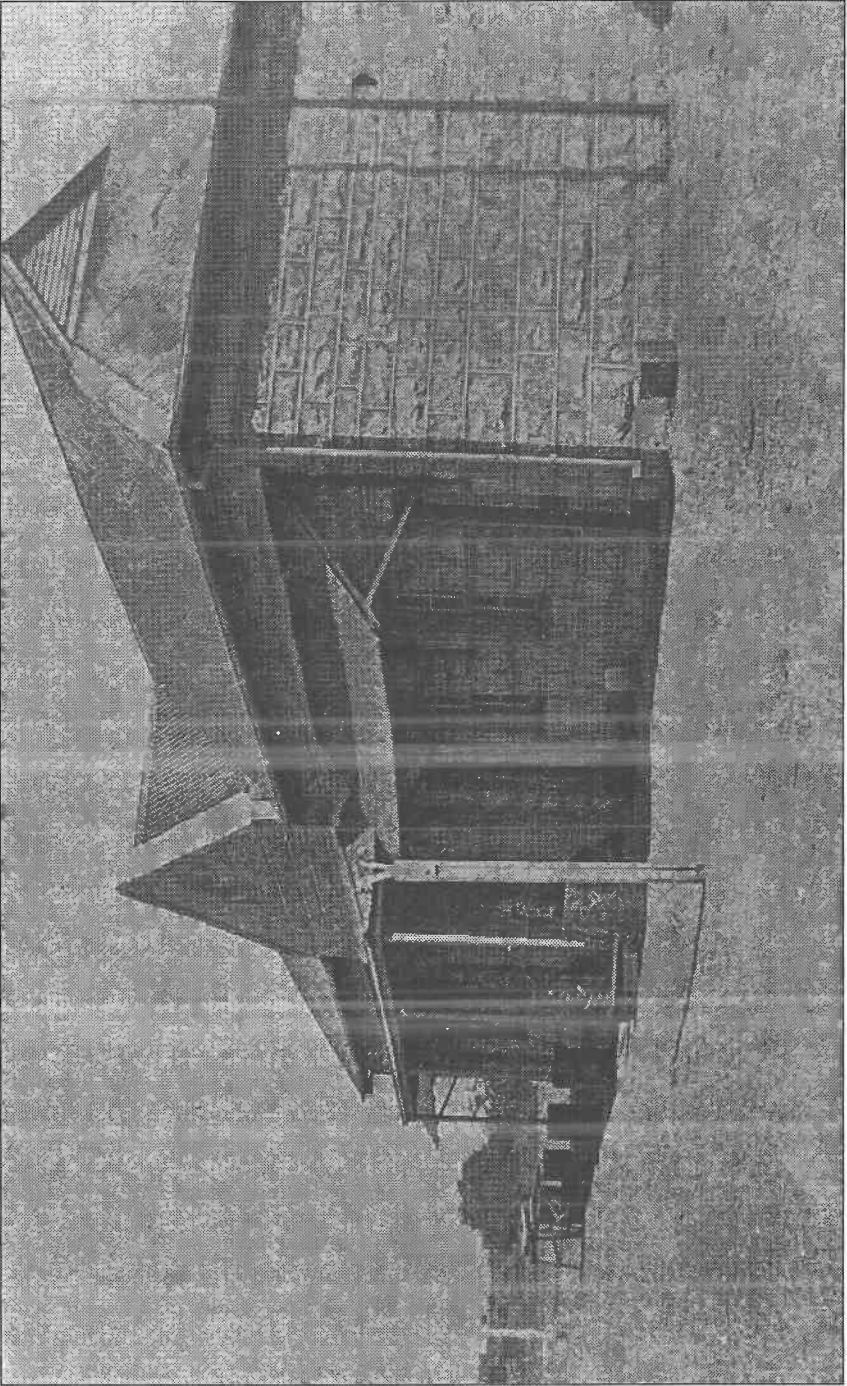
that the Board had decided to connect the district with the existing system by means of a light line to Umvuma. By a light line, he meant a 2 ft gauge line as opposed to the standard Cape gauge of 3 ft 6 in. The Victoria Farmers Association passed a resolution on 21 June 1911 saying it was most necessary that the gauge should be the same as Umvuma – Gwelo otherwise great expense and delay would be entailed by all goods having to be transhipped at Umvuma.

A major factor, which was causing the delay in building the Victoria line, was its routing. A view had been expressed that a line should be built connecting the Blinkwater line with the Mashonaland railway at Odzi, which would bring the port of Beira much closer to the Victoria District and other parts in the Midlands. The proposed route would proceed some 22 km in an easterly direction from Umvuma to a point on the farm Bultfontein and then in a southerly direction towards Victoria. The Odzi line would continue eastward from Bultfontein across the headwaters of the Sabi River to Odzi. It is interesting to record that as recently as October 1996 a detailed investigation was done on building a railway from Felixburg, a point on the Masvingo branch, to Odzi. The major use of this proposed line would have been to move large quantities of iron ore from Redcliff to Beira. Returning to the more distant past another possible way of reaching Victoria was from Selukwe and on 9 January 1912 the General Manager of the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways wrote to the Acting Director of Land Settlement asking:

1. Has a line from Selukwe ever been considered?
2. Is country between Selukwe and Victoria difficult?
3. Is it being borne in mind principal object of proposed branch is to open up unalienated land for settlement?

The Acting Director replied in the same month saying no question of superior advantage of the Umvuma route. Country is easier with only one large stream to be bridged as against some six large streams on the Selukwe route. A far larger extent of land could also be opened up. The Selukwe route would certainly pass tin, asbestos, and other mines in Mashaba Mountain but these were only at prospecting stage.

The Chairman of the Blinkwater Railway Company told the Annual General Meeting of the company in London on 24 June 1912 that the survey of Victoria extension had been completed and they were now proceeding with a survey of the line Bultfontein to Odzi. A subsequent Annual Report gave the cost of the Umvuma–Victoria survey as £622 11*s.* 10*d.* and the estimated construction costs being in excess of £200 000. The 1912 meeting was also informed that as a favourable opportunity had occurred the Board had decided to give immediate orders for the acquisition of permanent way material for the extension to Victoria. A draft Ordinance for the construction of an extension from the present railway to Victoria was given a Second Reading in the Legislative Council on 9 May 1912. The 1903 Ordinance mentioned earlier appears to have been overlooked. The Minister of Mines and Works said the line would be standard gauge and in giving the route said he hoped the contract would be entered into at once. The final route was south east from Umvuma and then in a southerly direction. The Third Reading took place on 13 May 1912 and the Victoria Railway Ordinance became Ordinance number 3 of 1912. Pauling and Company carried out a final survey and commenced construction on 1 September 1913. The contract included building six



Fort Victoria Station
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

gangers cottages along the route and two houses in Victoria. The line was completed in July 1914 and on 10 July a special train carrying officials from Pauling and Co, and the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railway Company arrived in Fort Victoria to inspect and handover/takeover the line and buildings. After spending the night in Fort Victoria the officials left the following morning by train for Gwelo. The first Station Master was Mr Hiten. No festivities were held to mark the opening of the line and the first passenger train arrived the following week.

Victoria became known as Fort Victoria in 1914 hence the name change in this article. The district however remained as Victoria until 1980.

The initial service from 13 July 1914 to 1 August 1914 provided for mixed trains leaving Gwelo at 08.30 on Mondays and Fridays arriving in Fort Victoria at 18.55. The returns left Fort Victoria at 08.30 on Tuesday and Saturday arriving in Gwelo at 19.00. A new timetable was introduced from 1 August 1914, but was changed yet again on 7 September 1914. This shows a mixed train, leaving Gwelo at 08.30 on Mondays and Saturdays reaching Lalapanzi at 10.30, Umvuma 12.15 and finally Victoria at 17.40. The return service left Victoria at 09.00 on Mondays passed Umvuma at 14.50, Lalapanzi 16.14 and arrived in Gwelo at 18.00. Lunch could be taken at the Falcon Hotel in Umvuma. On Sunday the return train left at 14.30 and finally arrived in Gwelo at 23.30. These times may appear to be slow but the track was laid on sand, stone ballast was to come many years later. Goods trains ran between Gwelo and Umvuma on the other days of the week. By October 1916 the mixed trains left Gwelo for Victoria on Mondays and Thursdays and returned the following day running to a similar timetable. On Wednesdays and Saturdays mixed trains ran only as far as Umvuma, returning to Gwelo in the afternoon.

Looking forward eight years the timetable introduced on 1 May 1924 contained the following service:

	Train 213 DOWN Sunday, Tuesday, Friday
Depart Gwelo	07.45
Arrive Lalapanzi	10.02
Depart Lalapanzi	10.17
Arrive Umvuma	11.54
Depart Umvuma	12.50
Arrive Fort Victoria	17.00

	Train 214 UP Wednesday, Saturday	Train 216 UP Monday
Depart Fort Victoria	09.00	18.00
Arrive Umvuma	13.41	22.35
Depart Umvuma	14.40	22.50
Arrive Lalapanzi	16.34	00.42
Depart Lalapanzi	16.48	00.55
Arrive Gwelo	18.35	02.40

This service gave a tourist a full day on a Monday in which to tour Great Zimbabwe.

On the 1 September 1925 the Falcon Mine at Umvuma closed resulting in the loss

of valuable copper traffic, some 2622 tons in 1925. The mine in future years underwent periodic openings and closings. Despite the loss of Falcon mine traffic the General Manager of the Railways in his 1926 Annual Report felt that 3 trains weekly to Fort Victoria were justified by other interests served by the branch notably tourist traffic to Zimbabwe. Total revenue was £42 099 as against expenditure of £41 194 so the branch was profitable. A report in July 1926 records that the Railway Company had embarked on planting various varieties of Eucalyptus for timber for sleepers and wagon repair and construction. A start would be made by planting two acre plots near six ganger's cottages on the Gwelo/Victoria route. The following year more plantings were made and the remains of these plantations can still be seen today. Apart from the timber the trees would remove barren aspects of long stretches and provide travellers a pleasant view of well ordered activity according to the report. It is ironic that as this paper was being prepared in February 2001 National Railways of Zimbabwe invited tenders for the removal of the various plantations that survive along this and other railway lines.

April 1932 saw the withdrawal of one weekly service due to prevailing economic circumstances. However, in November 1936 it was announced that traffic on the Fort Victoria branch was showing an encouraging increase and therefore from 6 December 1936 a train leaving Gwelo at 08.00 on Sundays arriving in Fort Victoria at 17.00 would be reintroduced. The return left at 11.00 on Mondays arriving in Gwelo at 20.00 hrs Departure at 11.00 was fixed in order to allow residents the opportunity of replying to urgent mail matters received on the Sunday train. This new service meant the branch had two daylight and two night trains weekly in each direction.

Goods traffic at Lalapanzi was building up and in December 1937 an additional siding was built and the loading bank extended by 75 feet. Chatsworth was also growing such that early in 1938 a wood and iron station building was erected, the goods shed extended and a waiting room built for lower class passengers.

In January 1939 a new timetable was introduced providing for a mixed train leaving Gwelo on Wednesdays and Fridays at 08.00, stopping at Lalapanzi at 10.08, Umvuma at 12.00 and arriving in Fort Victoria at 17.00. The return workings left Fort Victoria at 08.00 on Thursdays and 11.00 on Saturdays reaching Gwelo at 17.45 and 20.00 respectively. In addition on Monday and Saturday night's trains left Gwelo at 23.30 and arrived in Fort Victoria at 06.00. They left again at 17.30 on Sundays and Tuesdays arriving in Gwelo at 0.45. These night trains had through first class coaches to and from Bulawayo, thus it was possible for a passenger to leave Bulawayo at 18.00 hrs, travel overnight, have a day in Fort Victoria, and be back in Bulawayo by 07.00 the next morning.

By the end of the Second World War in May 1945 the service had changed again with day passenger trains running between Gwelo and Fort Victoria on Fridays and Sundays and night passenger trains on Mondays and Wednesdays. Return workings in each case were on the following day or evening and through coaches to and from Bulawayo continued to be attached to the overnight trains.

Mrs Joan Puttick of Gweru writes that in the 1940s the Gwelo–Fort Victoria line was very active. The train would pull out of Gwelo at 8.30 a.m. and arrive in Lalapanzi at approximately 10.30 a.m. twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays. It would be farmers

day out. They would pick up their goods such as cattle feed, dip and empty egg boxes usually made from old paraffin boxes. At the station tea would be served by the station master or gangers wives. Farmers would also collect post and meat from the hotel butchery. The hotel was owned by Mr and Mrs Bradford. The storekeeper, Mr Birsen, would receive a weekly order of stock, luxuries today, such as kingclip, haddock, olives, large cheeses cured and covered with muslin cloth, butter, dates, dried fruits and fresh fruits.

At Umvuma the train arrived at approximately 12.30 and passengers would head for the Falcon Hotel where drinks, snacks and lunch would be supplied. The train would reach its destination, Fort Victoria, at 5.30 p.m. On the return the train would pull out at 8.30 a.m. collecting farmers produce such as cream, eggs, grain, etc. being sent to Gwelo. There was also a couple of goods trains per week. On arrival in Gwelo the eggs would be collected at the Station by the Manager of the Egg Circle who used a mule cart as his transport. In those days stockfeeds consisted of ingredients such as bone meal, oatmeal, bran which would be mixed on the farm with home grown maize. At times when petrol or money was short Mrs Puttick and her brothers would be put on the train for boarding school at Chaplin and the Bulawayo Technical College.

Chatsworth was in the news again in December 1945 with the construction of a 401 ft storage loop and extended crossing loop to handle the traffic on offer. The following year Umvuma enjoyed the installation of platform lights and in February 1948 a new house was built for the Station Master at Chatsworth. Extension at Chatsworth took place again in 1950 with an addition to the goods shed and more storage loops.

January 1951 saw the announcement of the construction of a new goods shed in Fort Victoria and stone ballasting of 14 miles of track from Chatsworth towards Fort Victoria. Next followed additional sidings in Fort Victoria and Felixburg.

In June 1952 the service had changed with the mixed trains running in daylight except for 245 Down which on Wednesday nights left Gwelo at 21.30 and arrived in Fort Victoria at 06.00. The daylight mixed trains left Gwelo at 09.15 and reached Fort Victoria at 17.25 on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. These trains still had a first class through saloon from Bulawayo, which would have left Bulawayo at 22.15. The journey for a passenger starting from Bulawayo was now taking much longer than it had done a decade or so earlier. The return workings were similar, the day trains having a through coach for Bulawayo, which after arrival in Gwelo at 17.00 hrs would be kept waiting until 23.15 before it was attached to a mixed train arriving in Bulawayo at 06.30 the next morning. This long wait was not a good inducement to travel by train.

In 1961 it was reported that production of lithium ore from Bikita was being stepped up to nearly 7 000 tons per month and that farmers in the Fort Victoria and Chatsworth areas had railed 1 600 000 lbs of tobacco to the Salisbury auction floors. Looking at April 1965 one finds a service consisting of a daily mixed train leaving Gwelo at 09.00, reaching Fort Victoria at 18.00. In the opposite direction the train left Fort Victoria at 08.00, crossed the down mixed at Umvuma and arrived in Gwelo at 18.20. These trains which normally consisted of at least eight coaches, had accommodation for first, second and fourth class passengers. They conveyed a lower class cafeteria car with limited third class accommodation. These cafeteria cars were introduced on

this route in May 1960 and had been converted from older 3rd/4th class composite coaches. No serious attempt was made to provide convenient connections to or from either Bulawayo or Salisbury, and was an indication that passenger traffic was being given a lower priority.

The pattern of services continued into the 1970s with some speed up in times. Daily all class mixed trains left Gwelo at 10.30 and arrived in Fort Victoria at 18.35. The return train left at 08.30 and reached Gwelo at 17.30. The cafeteria cars remained in service except they did not operate on Thursday and Friday. Maybe it was the crew's time off! On weekdays a goods train was scheduled to run overnight.

Passenger train services on this once well used branch line came to an end on Monday 20 April 1981 when National Railways of Zimbabwe said the decision had been made because of poor patronage and the need to utilize all available motive power to best advantage.

SPECIAL TRAINS

Apart from Royal trains the Masvingo branch has had some special workings over the years. On the 12 July 1924 the railway staff in Gwelo arranged to travel as far as Indiva for a sports and recreation day. The train with 180 adults and children left Gwelo at 08.30 and returned in the late afternoon.

Later that year on Friday 3 October 1924 a special train carrying the Empire Parliamentary Delegation left Gwelo at 01.45 and after 3 minute stops at Lalapanzi and Umvuma, arrived in Fort Victoria at 09.00. The train left Fort Victoria again at 22.00 and arrived in Gwelo at 05.46 next morning.

Members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science visited this country in two separate trains during August 1929. The trains ran on Friday 9 August and Thursday 15 August. They arrived in Gwelo at 00.05 hrs and stopped at Lalapanzi from 01.48 to 01.53 and Umvuma 03.15 to 03.20. Arrival in Fort Victoria was at 07.00 and departure four days later at 17.45 hrs The trains arrived in Gwelo at 01.30 and then carried on to Salisbury.

Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress delegates visited Fort Victoria for the day on Monday 14 April 1930. The train number 901 Down left Gwelo at 01.00 and reached Fort Victoria at 06.50. The return working, 902 Up, left at 18.15 to arrive back in Gwelo at 01.00. Short stops were made at Lalapanzi and Umvuma.

In 1935 the Fifth Imperial Press Conference was held in South Africa and over one hundred delegates visited this country over the period 13 – 21 February. A visit to Fort Victoria was included. Two trains were provided by the South African Railways, each consisting of a refrigerator truck, staff van, three articulated first class coaches, two first class saloons, a twin diner, and observation car.

The 8 July 1974 saw the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the opening of the line into Fort Victoria. To mark the occasion some one hundred passengers in period dress travelled by bus to Umvuma where they entrained in clerestory roofed balcony coaches. The train contained third and fourth class saloons for normal passengers plus the museum coach and diner Chimanimani. The engine was 14A class No 510. The town's drama circle and a Gay Nineties band entertained the revellers. A supper and dance in the Fort Victoria goods shed followed the train trip.

ROYAL TRAINS

The Fort Victoria branch has seen a number of Royal Trains during its existence. In June/July 1925 the Prince of Wales visited Fort Victoria and Zimbabwe. He also spent three nights camping on Central Estates near Umvuma where he did some shooting. Seventh class locomotives handled both the Royal and Pilot trains. Both trains were double headed and the crews of the Royal Train locomotives were Drivers W. T. West and S. C. Gulliver and Firemen R. Reid and A. van Rooyen. The guard was Mr Tarr.

In March 1934 Prince George visited this country and on 22 March he toured Zimbabwe. His train was headed by 9th Class No 82 with sister engine No 93 powering the pilot train. The train consisted of six saloons provided by South African Railways plus two saloons and a guards van from Rhodesia Railways.

The final Royal Visit was that of Her Majesty the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret who travelled in the Royal Train from Fort Victoria to Salisbury via Gwelo on the night of Saturday 11 July 1953. The train, number 1002, headed by 16th Class No 640 and No 641 locomotives left Fort Victoria at 17.30, Chatsworth at 19.08 and after a stop at Umvuma from 21.00 to 21.30 passed Lalapanzi at 22.55 to arrive in Gwelo at 00.20 on Sunday 12 July. The pilot train, which ran ahead of the Royal train was powered by 16th Class No 638 and No 639. The Royal Party motored from Umtali to Fort Victoria.

ACCIDENTS AND OTHER TRAGIC EVENTS

In February 1953 Driver I. H. Carlsson was in charge of the mixed train to Fort Victoria when in the early hours of the morning he noticed a lot of debris covering portion of the track. He stopped his train to investigate and discovered a section of a bridge had been washed away. He immediately warned Fort Victoria who provided road transport for the passengers after which he returned his train slowly to Chatsworth. The General Manager gave Mr Carlsson a Special Award of Merit.

In February 1976 the crown sheet on 14A Class No 509 collapsed some 10 km north of Fort Victoria. Driver H. Powick and Fireman R. J. Fisher succumbed from their burns in hospital.

SHABANI/ZVISHAVANE BRANCH

Asbestos was discovered in this country at Mashaba in 1907 with the large Shabani deposits being developed in 1914. The nearest railhead to Shabani was at Selukwe and this meant product had to be moved by ox wagon over a distance of some 45 miles. Tonnage's railed from Selukwe built up from 161 tons in 1913, 9 362 tons in 1917, to 14 515 tons in 1920. It was not surprising therefore that the 1920 Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railway General Manager's report indicated that a proposal was under consideration to construct a 62½ mile railway from Somabula to Shabani. The difficult terrain south of Selukwe precluded building a line direct from Selukwe to Shabani. It was proposed that the mining companies provide the funding and that the railways on behalf of the mining companies carry out construction and working of the line.

On 26 April 1921 an ordinance was introduced in the Legislative Council which authorised the British South Africa Company, on behalf of a company to be formed

to construct, equip and maintain a railway from a point on the Bulawayo – Salisbury main line to a point called Shabani. In support of the ordinance it was said a road had been built through very bad ground in order to bring asbestos to Selukwe. Between 4 500 and 5 000 oxen and 400 wagons were on this road continuously to move 18 000 tons a year in addition to the merchandise and plant which had to be taken to the mine. It was also proposed to move coal to Shabani to create power. The Bill was passed without debate.

The railways report for the year ending 30 September 1921 records a serious drop in the market value of asbestos. The tonnage railed from Selukwe as a consequence dropped to 13 109 tons and the mining companies were not inclined to raise capital for the railway.

In April 1926 the proposed line to Shabani received further consideration and it was reported that arrangements were being made for its construction at an early date. The line was to be financed by the Shabani Railway Company, which was formed for this purpose. New 60 lb rail had been ordered. A survey party was in the field re-surveying parts of the route and setting out in preparation for the contractor who once again was Pauling & Company.

The first 49 miles from Somabula to Mount Wedza were built to main line standards with maximum curvature of 10 chains, axle load of 20 tons and a maximum permitted speed of 35 miles per hour. The remaining 14 miles was built to branch line standards. The reasoning was that the line at some future date could be extended to Belingwe or further southwards. Those early engineers showed considerable foresight as in the 1950s the line was extended right through from the then Bannockburn siding to Rutenga and on to Maputo in Mocambique. In 1965 a branch was built from Mbezi on the Maputo line to the lowveld to serve the sugar industry, and in 1974 a line was built from Rutenga to Beit Bridge to connect with the South African system. So what started out as a line to serve asbestos mining interests became a major lifeline of the country.

After eight months culverts and earthworks for the first 30 miles had been completed. The total cost to the Shabani Railway Company of building the line was £315 000. The Shabani Railway Company retained ownership until March 1953 when the line was sold to Rhodesia Railways. The line was formally opened on 11 May 1928, by Sir John Chancellor the Governor of Southern Rhodesia. A special train left Somabula at 07.30 and reached Shabani at 11.45. The train consisted of 10 coaches carrying 200 visitors. On reaching the outskirts of Shabani it stopped and the driver handed over to Mrs Noel Griffin wife of the Consulting Engineer of the Rhodesia and General Asbestos Corporation. Mrs Griffin drove the train under an archway into Shabani Station. The train left again at 16.00 and reached Somabula at 21.00 where the mail train was waiting to take passengers to Gwelo and Salisbury. The initial passenger service left Gwelo at 08.00 on Tuesdays and Fridays. The return left the following day at 07.00. In the first year of operation the engine mileage on the branch was 35 012 miles. In May 1930 due to growing traffic demand additional tracks, new goods shed and office, plus loading bank were built. The worldwide recession of the early thirties had an impact on the branch when asbestos tonnage dropped from 34 918 tons in 1931 to 12 186 tons the following year. Engine mileage also dropped to 16 410 miles.

Ten years after the line opened, in March 1938 a mixed train left Gwelo on Sundays,

Tuesdays, and Thursdays at 08.15 and arrived in Shabani at 13.20. The train overnighted in Shabani and left the following morning at 11.30 arriving back in Gwelo at 17.25. However, in mid January 1939 departure from Shabani was brought forward three hours to 08.30. The traffic on the branch increased in 1939 with the construction by the Electricity Supply Commission of a power station in Shabani.

On 29 December 1940 the mixed train from Gwelo ran into a washaway at $32^{3}/_{4}$ miles. The engine, tender and eleven vehicles being derailed. There were no injuries to passengers or crew and the line reopened on the 2 January 1941. Five trucks had to be scrapped as a result. Shortly after a further derailment took place. Again there were no injuries despite much damage to the rolling stock of which a further five wagons had to be scrapped. The cause of this second derailment was never established.

At the end of the Second World War in 1945 the service continued with three mixed trains per week in each direction and slight changes to timings. The 1950s were a decade of expansion and from June 1952 the service had increased to a daily train in each direction. These comprised mixed trains leaving Gwelo at 07.15 on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays arriving in Shabani at 12.40. The return left on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays at 10.15 to arrive back in Gwelo at 16.40. On the other days of the week a goods ran but to slightly slower timings. The mixed train normally had four coaches, two for upper class and two for lower class passengers. This pattern of service continued through the 1960s and as late as 1978 mixed trains continued to leave Gwelo every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 08.00 arriving in Shabani at 14.10. Return trains left Shabani at 10.00 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, arriving back in Gwelo at 16.50. By this time only one fourth class coach was attached to the mixed train.

The passenger service was finally withdrawn on 1 July 1979. The withdrawal of Shabani passenger services did not mean however, that passenger trains ceased to pass over the line between Bannockburn and Somabula. As foreseen by those early planners daily passenger trains between Bulawayo and Chiredzi were introduced and continue to run to the present time. Between late 1991 and the end of March 1998, South African Transport Services also ran its weekly Limpopo service between Johannesburg and Harare via Beit Bridge over this section. They also operated a similar service between Johannesburg and Bulawayo appropriately known as the Bulawayo. Sadly these popular international trains are no more.

In 2000 and 2001 a South African based luxury train operator took its Shongololo Express on this route during its Zimbabwe tours. The train stopped at Zvishavane for its passengers to embark in road vehicles to visit Great Zimbabwe.

SPECIAL TRAIN

A rare special train on the Shabani Branch was the visit made by Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress delegates. The train arrived in Gwelo from Salisbury at 18.18 on 16 April 1930, and left again at 18.35. A ten minute engine servicing stop was made at Somabula from 19.30 to 19.40. The visitors arrived in Shabani at 23.25. They left at 16.00 on 17 April 1930 arriving back in Gwelo at 21.30 to await an early departure for Selukwe the following day.

Mr. Eric Caldecourt of Harare has provided the following recollections of two train journeys through Gwelo about 50 years ago.

October 30th, 1951, hot as only October can be, my first month's pay in my packet, four weeks since I arrived from England by mail ship and train; my transfer takes me to Shabani. I know next to nothing about Shabani, as I know next to nothing about my new country but I am enthusiastic and enjoying all my new experiences. Go to station in back of a lorry; exchange rail voucher for ticket; board overnight mail train bound for Bulawayo; instructed to get off at Gwelo and change to train for Shabani. Sounds simple enough, except until the train ride from London to Southampton this country boy had never travelled by train and the idea of sleeping on one, as from Cape Town, was so novel as to be the stuff of fiction.

To Gwelo in darkness all the way, all I remember were what seemed like quite long stops at Norton, Hartley and Que Que, then I was dragging my two battered suitcases off the train on to Gwelo station. It must have been about 2 a.m. – I did not boast a watch – and the station was deserted. Spotting the sign 'Waiting Room' I headed there; well it was a room and you could wait in it. There was a bench along one side and what looked like an over-size dining room table. I slept, after a fashion, on the table, devoured by mossies and was quite relieved when an early sun came up. A somewhat startled railwayman was surprised when I came out of the waiting room; he pushed his heavy cap back an his head and with a wry smile pointed out the Shabani coaches which were alongside on a nearby track where I could have slept in comparative comfort. Lesson learned, from then on I knew to ASK!

There was nowhere to get any breakfast on Gwelo station but I was too excited by the coming journey to be bothered. The train left about 8.30 as I recall, much huffing and puffing and plenty of real steam and we were off. I do not think I left the window for the whole trip, there was no other passenger in my compartment so I was not even distracted into talk. I could not tell you what kind of engine was doing the hard work up front but I can remember many of my 'first sights' as we travelled fairly gently, again with plenty of stops, through Somabula to Shabani. Plenty of bush, of course, trees I had never seen before in my life, plenty of birds of which I recognised only pigeons and doves, my enthralled watch of life in African villages with ploughing by oxen and donkey carts drawn by four-abreast donkeys living in my memory. I was puzzled by the tin-roofed Railway 'huts' which looked forbiddingly hot compared to the cool thatch of the villages and intrigued by the stops to fill up with water. It was something of an anti-climax to reach Shabani, with its huge slag heaps of grey-silver asbestos waste.

Four years later I had saved up enough money and enough leave to go on holiday to England. Again the mail boat and train journeys, tremendous fun for a young man with time and money to spend. When I arrived in Cape Town on the return journey I had to get myself to Gutu, nearest station, Chatsworth. The booking office at Cape Town station was busy with everyone from the boat buying tickets home so I went for a walk around while the crowd cleared, then, the only customer at the counter, asked for my single ticket to Chatsworth. The rather elderly Railwayman at the desk beamed as I asked this, looked as though he had won the sweep; behind him there was a wall of hundreds of small pigeonholes named with all the stations and filled with the requisite

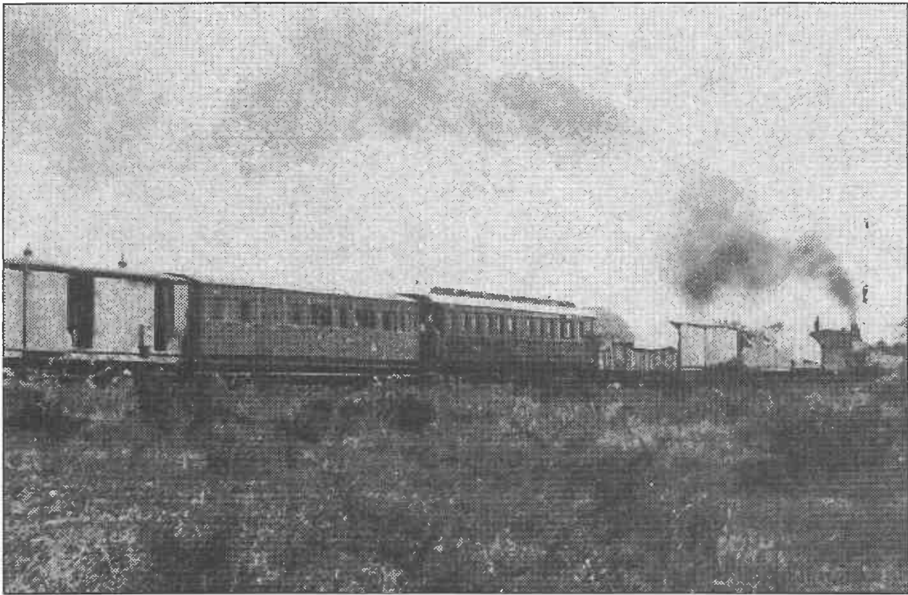
tickets. With a flourish he pulled out the packet for 'Chatsworth' and sold me ticket 00001, saying as he did so that he had always wanted to sell a ticket to Chatsworth, while I had to tell him where it was and why I was going there. It was a most unusual start to my journey 'home'. At Umvuma the train stopped and the guard walked along the coach corridor saying if you want lunch follow me to the Falcon Hotel. It wasn't far and the lunch cost 10*s*. 6*d*. When everyone had eaten the guard rounded up the five or six passengers and led us back to the train which then continued its journey.

GWELO LOCOMOTIVES

Gwelo has always had an allocation of locomotives to work its branch lines. The first recorded locomotive was Mashonaland Railways No 2 which was allocated in 1906 to work Gwelo–Selukwe round trips with a load of 220 tons. This locomotive and its sister No 1 were the first locomotives on the Mashonaland Railway and operated the first train service from Umtali to Salisbury. They were built by Neilson and Co in 1882 for the Cape Government Railway and were purchased by the local railway in 1899. They did not serve for too long having been withdrawn and written off in 1911.

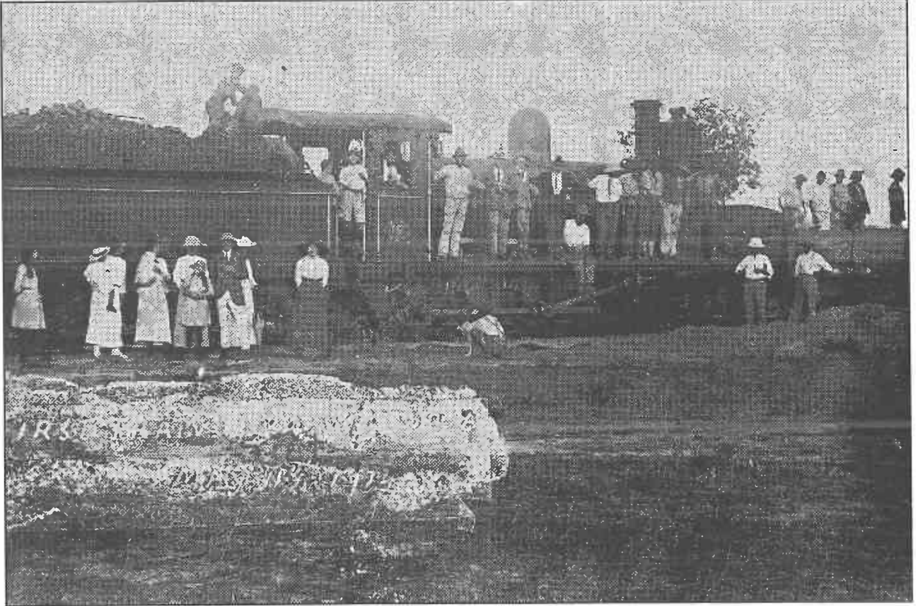
The next class of locomotive was the 7th Class of which some 52 examples were purchased from several different builders over the period 1899 to 1903. In 1913 six of these locomotives were recorded at Gwelo being numbers 22, 23, 24, 27, 29 and 30. They could haul 460 tons between Gwelo and Umvuma and 300 tons between Umvuma and Fort Victoria. By 1927 Gwelo had an allocation of seven and one was still allocated to Gwelo as late as October 1950. One member of the class, number 43 built in 1903 is still in running order in the Bulawayo railway museum.

The mid 1930s saw Gwelo becoming home to 9th Class locomotives. These

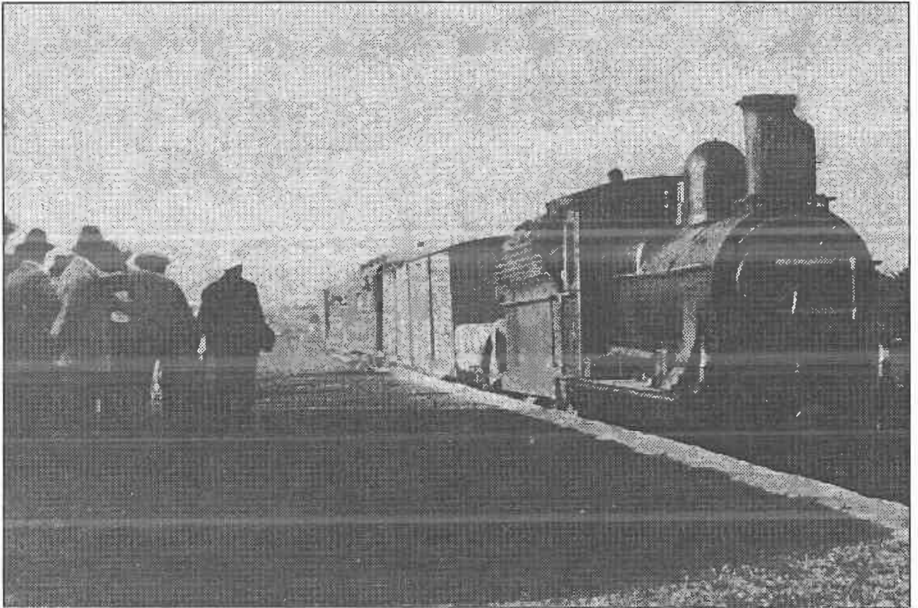


Mixed train approaching Fort Victoria 1922/23 *(R. W. Crow)*

originally came into service over the period 1912 to 1917 and remained active well into the 1960s after being rebuilt to Class 9B. In July 1950 Gwelo had an allocation of eight Class 9Bs. On the Fort Victoria Branch these locomotives could haul a load of 415 tons on a mixed train at a maximum speed of 30 miles per hour.



7th class locomotive No. 15 at Victoria July 1914 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*



7th class locomotive heading train into Fort Victoria 1922/23 *(R. W. Crow)*

Gwelo lines were also served by the ubiquitous 12th Class built by the North British Locomotive Company in Glasgow over the period 1926 to 1930. As these locomotives were replaced on the main lines by 15th Class Garratts, they were relegated to branch and other duties. In 1965 Gwelo had an allocation of ten 12th Class but this number, however had been halved by 1970.

The first Garratt articulated locomotives to be based in Gwelo were 14th Class numbers 500 and 501, which arrived in October 1954 after having served since 1930, firstly on the Umtali–Beira line and then in Bulawayo. In the 1950s a thoroughly re-designed version of the 14th Class was introduced as 14A Class. These locomotives came into service in 1953/54 and in April 1962 Gwelo acquired three and by early 1963 had six on its roster. They were capable of hauling 725 tons on the Fort Victoria line and a similar tonnage on the Selukwe branch.

Another class of steam locomotive based in Gwelo was the 16A Class Garratt introduced to our railways in 1952/53. In June 1975 Gwelo had nine of this class and still had six in June 1979. They could handle a greater tonnage of 900 tons to Fort Victoria. On the Selukwe branch they were capable of hauling 1 200 tons from Selukwe to Surprise and 1 640 tons from Surprise to Gwelo.

Two 15th Class Garratts were also allocated in 1978 to Gweru for use on the Fort Victoria line. These locomotives underwent attack in the liberation war and No 410 was reported lying in the Masvingo yard following a derailment in April 1979. It survived to be refurbished in June 1981 and was still in service in Bulawayo in the 1990s.

Gweru steam shed closed in late 1983 and since that time the Gweru branch lines have normally been worked by light diesel units of 9 and 9A Classes, often in tandem. In tandem these locomotives can haul 1240 tons on the Masvingo branch, and 1 700 tons on the Shurugwi branch. They came into service over the period 1972 to 1976 and during 1992/95 were re-engined with Caterpillar 3512 engines, which should allow them to remain in service at least until the end of this decade.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The production of a paper of this nature would not be possible without the willing assistance of a number of persons and organisations. I thank them for all the help and advice they have given.

The Director and Staff National Archives of Zimbabwe.
Eng. R. A. Bridgeford, Bulawayo.
Mr R. W. Crow, Harare.
Mr E. Caldecourt, Harare.
Mr R. G. Pattison, Bulawayo,
Mrs J. Puttick, Gweru,
Mr D. M. Rhind, Claremont Cape,
Mr & Mrs C. E. Rickwood, Bulawayo.

REFERENCES

Croxton A. H. (1973) *Railways of Rhodesia,* David and Charles.

Durrant A. E. (1997) *The Smoke that Thunders,* Africa Publishing Group, Harare.

Robert James Hudson (1885–1963) Our Eighth Judge (1933–1950)

by Michael J. Kimberley

Robert James Hudson, known to his friends as Bob, was born in Mossel Bay, Cape Province, South Africa on 15 May 1885.

PARENTS

He was one of four sons (they also had four daughters) of George Matthews Hudson and Rosa Sophie Hudson née Crozier. George was born on 20 May 1858 and was one of six children of John Frazer Hudson and Catherine Hudson née Matthews. Rosa's father was a magistrate in Stellenbosch and her mother, Hester, was of the well-known Cloete family. George worked in the family business, Hudson Vrede and Company in Mossel Bay.

GRANDPARENTS

Bob's paternal grandparents were John Frazer Hudson and Catherine Hudson née Matthews who had married at St. Peter's Parish Church in Dublin in 1856. John worked in the family business, Hudson Vrede and Company, in Mossel Bay. Apart from George, John and Catherine's other children were Sarah Marie, James Ruthven – a solicitor, Francis Joseph – a doctor, Catherine Louisa, and Maria Jane.

EDUCATION

Bob Hudson's secondary education was at Diocesan College (Bishops), Cape Town from 1888 to 1901 and he matriculated there in December 1901. His elder brother Jack was also at Bishops between 1896 and 1899 and for reasons only schoolboys can devise, their respective nicknames were 'Big Fish' and 'Little Fish'.

UNIVERSITY

Bob went up to Cambridge in 1902 entering Caius College and reading the Law Tripos, graduating BA and LL B (Honours) in 1906. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in January 1909 and was in Chambers in London until he returned to South Africa in October 1909. He represented his University at tennis and was awarded a Half Blue in 1908 and he played rugby football for his College.

CAPE BAR

He practised as an Advocate at the Cape Bar from October 1909 to July 1910 when a good friend, J. D. McKenzie, who was Solicitor General of Southern Rhodesia, suggested he emigrate to Southern Rhodesia.

BULAWAYO BAR

Persuaded by McKenzie, Bob Hudson settled in Bulawayo in July 1910 and practised at the Bulawayo Bar until 1914. A signal tribute was paid to him when in 1916 whilst

on active service he was called upon in the famous John Bull case in London to give expert advice on the law of Southern Rhodesia appertaining to the difficult question of extra-lateral mineral rights.

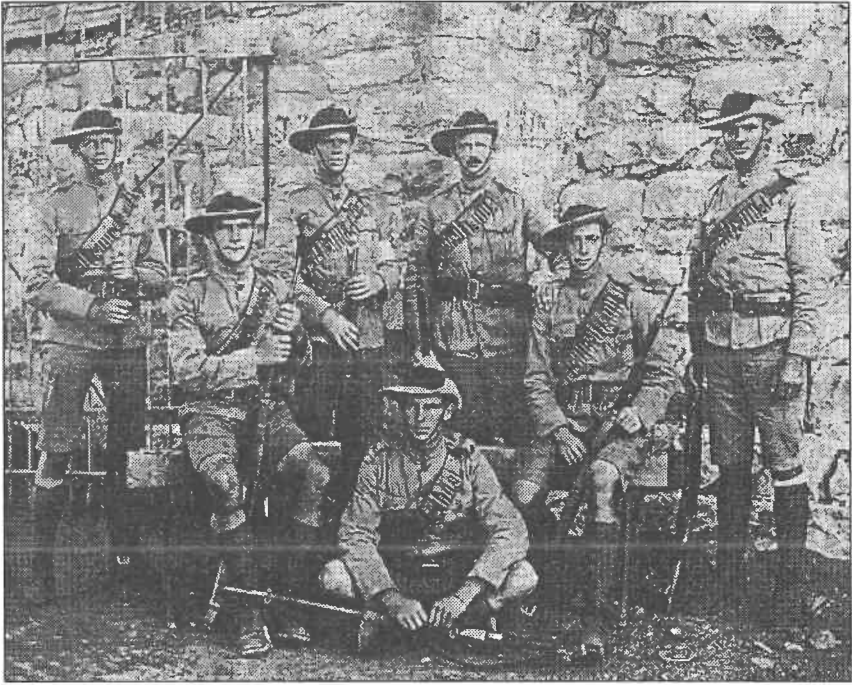
SOLDIER AND AIRMAN

In 1914 he joined the Rhodesia Regiment and saw action in German South West Africa in Botha's campaign there against the Germans. In October 1915 he joined the 5th Royal Fusiliers and through it the Royal Flying Corps, becoming a pilot. He saw action in France from April 1916 onwards. He was promoted to Flight Commander with the rank of Captain in September 1916, awarded the MC in November 1916 for valour in the air, and promoted to Squadron Commander with the rank of Major in August 1917.

FIRST MARRIAGE

In December 1920 he married Constance de Beer the elder daughter of Mr and Mrs Houlton Augustus de Beer. Houlton was Manager of the Bulawayo Board of Executors from 1925 to 1929 and farmed outside Bulawayo. Constance was born in Kimberley where her father had been Secretary of the Kimberley Hospital from 1889 to 1895.

Sir R. J. Hudson
National Archives of Zimbabwe



Lance-Corporal R. J. Hudson, Rhodesia Regiment (sitting middle row left).

She was educated at Cheltenham College in England and was very musical, often singing in concerts at Milton School in Bulawayo. Sadly, Constance died suddenly in October 1925 at the age of 29 as a result of cardiac failure.

SECOND MARRIAGE

After several years as a widower and shortly after the 1928 General Election, he married Millicent Bruce Sutherland the daughter of Mr and Mrs George Sutherland of Bulawayo – George was Manager of the Standard Bank, Bulawayo. Millicent was educated at St. Peter's Diocesan School in Bulawayo. There were two children from this marriage, namely, Gillian born in 1930 who married Francis George O'Hea Walker, and George Michael Bruce Hudson (known as Michael) who was born in 1934 and married firstly Catherine Elizabeth Edygar-Jones and subsequently in 1971 Penelope Margaret Tennant. Gillian and Francis lived for many years in Beatrice where they farmed mainly cattle. Michael was a legal practitioner in Harare and a partner in the long established legal firm called Gill Godlonton & Gerrans, until he emigrated to England.

BACK TO BULAWAYO

With the defeat of the Germans and the conclusion of the First World War, Hudson returned to Bulawayo where he resumed his legal practice as an Advocate in August 1919. Whilst still a junior at the Bar, he received leading briefs in the High Court both in Bulawayo and Salisbury.

On the occasion of his retirement as Chief Justice on 15 May 1950 (his 65th birthday)

the Acting Chief Justice, Mr Justice V. A. Lewis had this to say about the qualities which marked Hudson out for success at the Bar:

> The qualities . . . were many, but amongst others I would instance his great thoroughness . . . He had the ability always to grasp the fundamentals of a case and to eliminate all side issues and all that was irrelevant. He had the powers of clear and lucid and logical thought and also of lucid and logical expression of his thought. In cross-examination he was a master. His cross-examination was always concise and brief, polite, and devastating in its results. It was said of him whilst he was at the Bar that he used to administer his cross-examination to his patients in the witness box with such brevity and such politeness that the witness never realised until he left the witness stand that he had had most of his back teeth painlessly extracted. He was a model of courtesy both to the Bench and to his fellow practitioners in both branches of the profession.

1922 REFERENDUM

On 27 October 1922 a Referendum of Voters was taken on the question whether Southern Rhodesia should join the Union of South Africa as a fifth province or assume Responsible Government.

This Referendum followed an intense campaign by the adherents of the Responsible Government party led by Charles Coghlan, and the Union Party strongly supported by the Prime Minister of South Africa, Field Marshal J. C. Smuts.

CABINET APPOINTMENT

Following the announcement on 6 November 1922 that 8774 voters had voted for Responsible Government and 5989 had voted for union with South Africa, and the granting with effect from 1 October 1923 of the Letters Patent containing the new Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, Charles Coghlan was asked by the First Governor, Sir John Robert Chancellor, GCMG, DSO, to accept the office of Premier and to form a Ministry. He was sworn in on Monday 1 October 1923 as Premier and Minister of Native Affairs. He announced his first Cabinet – F. Newton as Colonial Secretary and responsible also for Health, Education and Internal Affairs, P. D. L. Fynn as Treasurer, H. U. Moffat was given the portfolio of Public Works and Industries and W. M. Leggate Agriculture and Lands. Coghlan did not appoint as Attorney General, as is usually done, a keen supporter and senior member of his own party, but he wisely decided to appoint the man in the country whom he considered to be the most fitted and suitable for the position. And so Robert Hudson was appointed our first Attorney General under Responsible Government and when the name of that office was changed to Minister of Justice he became our first Minister of Justice and he performed not only those duties for the next ten years but also the duties of Minister of Defence. Since all Cabinet Ministers were required to spend most of their time in Salisbury he and his wife moved from Bulawayo and resided in the first double storey house built in Salisbury called 'The Residency' and situated at the corner of Baines Avenue (then called Cape Avenue) and Second Street.

As indicated above Hudson was appointed as Attorney General and Minister of Defence in the Coghlan Ministry (i.e. Cabinet) as from 1 October 1923. He served in

the same position in the First Moffat Ministry from September 1927 and in the Second Moffat Ministry. His last spell was as Minister of Justice and Defence in the Mitchell Ministry from 6 July 1933 until 6 September 1933 when he retired from politics and when G. M. Huggins, the leader of the Reform Party, became Prime Minister.

Hudson therefore effectively served as Minister of Justice and of Defence for ten years from 1923 to 1933 and throughout the seven sessions of the First Parliament (opened 30 May 1924 and finally prorogued on 6 July 1928) and the six sessions of the Second Parliament (opened 22 April 1929 and finally prorogued on 12 June 1933).

TEN YEARS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Generally speaking the Legislative Assembly tended to be in session for about two to three months each year which gave members of the Assembly a relatively easy time and enabled them to involve themselves in other occupations and pursuits for nearly ten months of the year.

Ministers, of course, welcomed this as it enabled them to devote most of their time to managing their Ministries and the various Departments for which they were responsible.

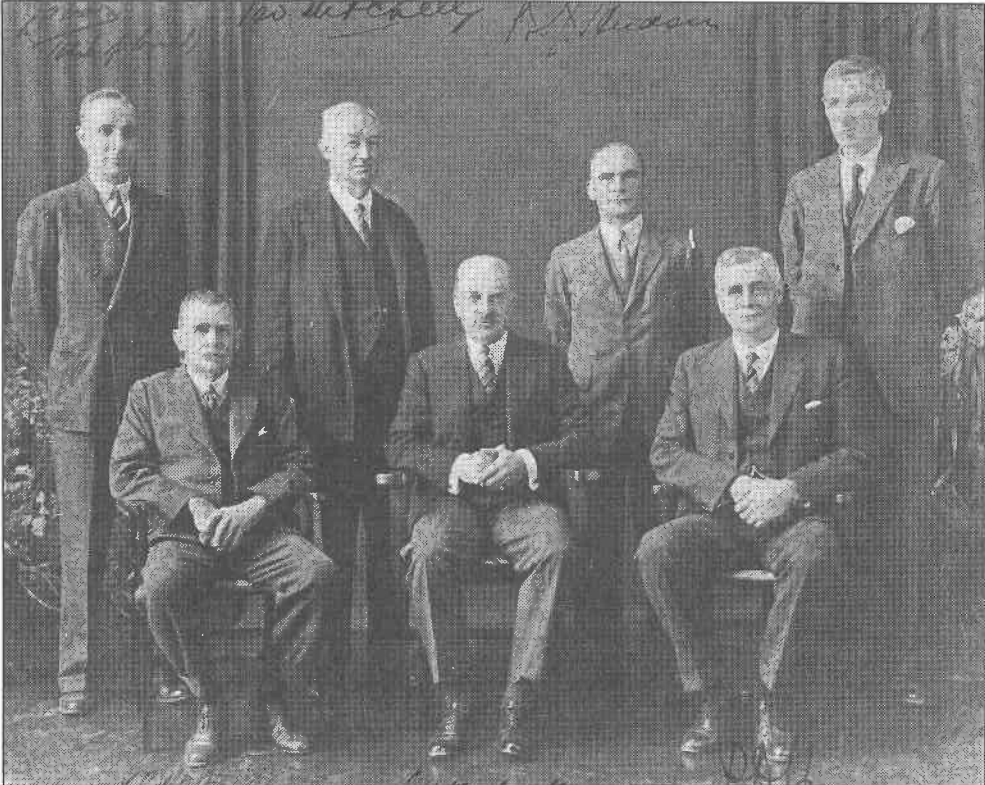
Looking through the Southern Rhodesia Hansard for the ten years that Hudson was a member of the Legislative Assembly one finds that he was very busy when the Assembly was in session for not only was he responsible as Attorney General for piloting a number of bills through the Assembly, but he also fulfilled a sort of Parliamentary Counsel role in drafting amendments which were required during the Committee stage of Bills.

On 3 November 1926 he moved the second reading of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Bill which was a codifying and consolidating measure consisting to a large extent of a repetition of what was already the law and practice. In very general terms this particular legislation is still in force in this country today.

The very next day (4 November) he moved the second reading of the Defence Bill the main aspect of which provided for all men aged between 19 and 24 to give 85 days to military training over a period of five years in order that they might make themselves efficient to defend their country when the need arises if it should do so.

On 3 May 1927 Hudson as Attorney General moved the second reading of the Hire Purchase and Suspension Agreements Registration Bill which *inter alia* required all Hire Purchase Agreements where the goods are of the value of £50 or more to be registered by the Registrar of Deeds and a record kept of the details of the Agreement by the Magistrate of the district in which the holder of the goods resided. If the Agreement was not registered it was deemed to be a sale on credit under which the ownership of the property has passed to the buyer.

In June 1927 Hudson moved the second reading of the Criminal Trials (High Court) Bill which made provision *inter alia* for trials of certain accused in the High Court by a Judge and two assessors who would be Native Commissioners or ex-Native Commissioners. Provision was also made for accused persons to elect whether to be tried by a Judge and jurymen or a Judge and two assessors. The Bill also proposed that the concept of nine jurymen be replaced by five jurymen. On 24 June Hudson moved the second reading of the Native Affairs Bill which laid down the basis for native



Southern Rhodesia Cabinet, 1933. Retirement of the Premier, Hon. H. U. Moffat, CMG

Front row L–R: **Hon. H. U. Moffat (Premier); H. E. Sir Cecil Rodwell,** KCMG **(Governor); Hon. P. D. R. Fynn,** CMG **(Minister of Finance).**
Back row L–R: **C. Forder, (clerk); Hon. G. Mitchell (Prime Minister); Hon. R. J. Hudson,** MC KC **(Minister of Justice and Defence); Hon. W. M. Leggate,** CMG, **(Minister of Internal Affairs)**

National Archives of Zimbabwe

administration in the country. On the same day he moved the second reading of the Water Bill.

On 17 May 1928 he moved the second reading of the Arbitration Bill the need for which arose from the fact that there was at that time no law in force which dealt generally with arbitration.

The next day 18 May he moved the second reading of the Married Persons Property Bill which was designed to change the common law, which provided that marriages domiciled in the colony were in community of property unless an antenuptial contract excluding that community is entered into, to a situation where marriages domiciled in the colony were out of community of property; in other words at law marriages would be in the same position as marriages entered into under antenuptial contract excluding community of property. The bill became law in 1929 and is still in force 72 years later.

In May 1929 Hudson moved the second reading of the Aviation Bill to bring legislation in Southern Rhodesia into conformity with legislation in England and other parts of the British Dominions and self-governing colonies by enabling Southern Rhodesia to adopt or ratify the International Air Convention of 1919, and the second reading of the Commissioner of Oaths Bill which created the office of Commissioner of Oaths and provided that all the duties and powers vested by law in Justices of the Peace in connection with the administration of oaths and swearing of affidavits could be exercised by Commissioner of Oaths.

On 25 April 1929 Hudson moved the second reading of the Deceased Estates Succession Bill which was to amend the law in regard to intestate succession by giving greater rights in succession to the surviving spouse than was the case at that time.

On 18 March 1930 he moved the second reading of the Administration of Justice Bill which provided for the appointment of a Chief Justice, for the jurisdiction of the High Court to be exercised by one or any two or more of the judges, for the decision of the Court to be the majority of the opinion of the judges, and for what should happen if two judges sitting together disagree as to what the verdict should be.

On 3 April 1930 he moved the second reading of the Police Bill to consolidate and amend the several existing laws governing the constitution, organization and administration of the Police.

In March 1931 he moved the second reading of the Administration of Justice (Appeals) Bill which provided that appeals from decisions of the High Court in civil and criminal matters would be to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, and the second reading of the Magistrates Court Bill and on 27 March he moved the second reading of a Consolidated Prisons Bill.

On 25 and 30 March 1931 the Legislative Assembly debated a motion moved by L. J. W. Keller:

(a) that the Old Cape Law of 1889 dealing with lotteries and sweeps should be repealed and replaced by a law conforming to the wishes of the people; and

(b) that in the amending law sweepstakes should be made legal for approved clubs in the colony and conducted under Government supervision; and

(c) that in respect of all such sweepstakes, a tax be levied at 10%, the proceeds to be utilised in and for hospitals and schools.

Hudson expressed his views against the motion in the strongest of terms stating

inter alia '*It* is wholly undesirable that the state should adopt a method such as this for the raising of public revenue. It would seriously impair the credit of the State, and would make it appear to the world that we were bankrupt'.
He continued:

> I am in entire agreement with those people who think that gambling which takes the form of what is commonly called a gentle flutter is practically innocuous and harmless. To my mind, it is very much like drinking. One whisky and soda does not do anyone any harm, but to imbibe a bottle rapidly, or the systematic drinking of too many bottles of whisky or any other form of liquor, everyone will admit is harmful, and the position is very much the same in regard to gambling. I have nothing to say against an occasional indulgence of this sort, particularly when the odds are fair, but the odds are anything but fair in a sweepstake. In fact, they are most unfair, and where there is present the lure of a fabulous prize to tempt people to gamble more than they can afford, there is no doubt in my mind that the thing becomes an evil. I have said already that to the ordinary flutter there can be very little objection. The hon. member has drawn me personally into the debate, and I admit at once that I personally have no objection to this form of amusement, and that I indulge a little in it myself. But gambling carried to excess, as the hon. senior member for Salisbury South (Captain Bertin) has pointed out, becomes an even more objectionable vice than drinking, and the great objection to these systems of legalised gambling on a big scale and to the State giving its sanction and support to them, is that inevitably, sooner or later, and in most cases sooner, it tempts people to indulge in the thing on such a scale that it becomes a national vice and a serious evil in the community. As the same hon. member has said, one of the objections to it is that it tends to sap the moral fibre of the people. Therefore, I repeat that a system of State gambling in an average country such as this, whether conducted by the State itself or under State sanction or supervision, must inevitably and in a short space of time react to an alarming extent on the moral fibre of the citizens of that country.

The motion was put to the vote on 9 April 1931 and was negatived by 21 votes to 7.

APPOINTMENT AS A JUDGE

On 9 September 1933 Hudson was appointed as a Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia and the following year he returned to Bulawayo as resident Judge and served there for ten years until 1943 when he was appointed Chief Justice and returned to live in Salisbury until his retirement from the Bench on 15 May 1950.

In paying tribute to him at the High Court on 19 June 1963 following Hudson's death on 17 June, the then Chief Justice Sir Hugh Beadle said of Hudson as a Judge:

> He was a brilliant Advocate. Those who knew him predicted that on his elevation to the Bench his qualities as an Advocate would be reflected in his work as a Judge, and they forecast for him a brilliant judicial career. To say that that forecast was amply borne out is an understatement. No poor words of mine can add one atom to the stature of Robert Hudson as a Judge. His judgements are a permanent record of his greatness. There is indelibly printed on the minds of

all who knew him the memory of the man who gave those judgements, coolly, logical in his approach to every problem, lucid and clear in the expression of his views – he never used an unnecessary word, yet never omitted a necessary one.

Later in his speech Sir Hugh Beadle said:

This country itself owes a great deal more to Robert Hudson than a country usually owes to its Chief Justice. He was asked to perform many duties outside those normally performed by a Chief Justice. He served on many tribunals. He was, for example, chairman of the tribunal which sat throughout the last war and decided what men could or could not be spared for military service. He served as chairman of very many Royal commissions. He was peculiarly suited for such tasks. The wisdom and clarity of the many Hudson Reports are a by-word.

In Robert Hudson the Territory had a Chief Justice who was conspicuous in his capacity for leadership. He was particularly jealous of this country's reputation for the fair administration of justice, and by his leadership and example he inspired all those concerned with the administration of justice, and did much to enhance this country's reputation. He set a standard which all those who follow after will strive to attain. If we come only within measurable distance of attaining that standard we, too, will be remembered when the time comes for us to go for a task well done.

In a broadcast on 18 June 1963 The Honourable J. M. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law said of Robert Hudson:

As an Advocate myself I frequently appeared before Sir Robert. I found him to be a man who wasted no time with irrelevancies, who was able to get to the root of any matter in the shortest time, and who was invariably courteous to all in his Court, but withal was as firm as the needs of the case demanded. He was fair and just in all his dealings, and of course a master of the law.

In an interview given by Chief Justice Beadle in the National Archives of Zimbabwe Oral History Programme, Beadle is recorded as saying to the interviewer in answer to a question, 'Hudson, I would think, is probably the best Chief Justice we've had!'.

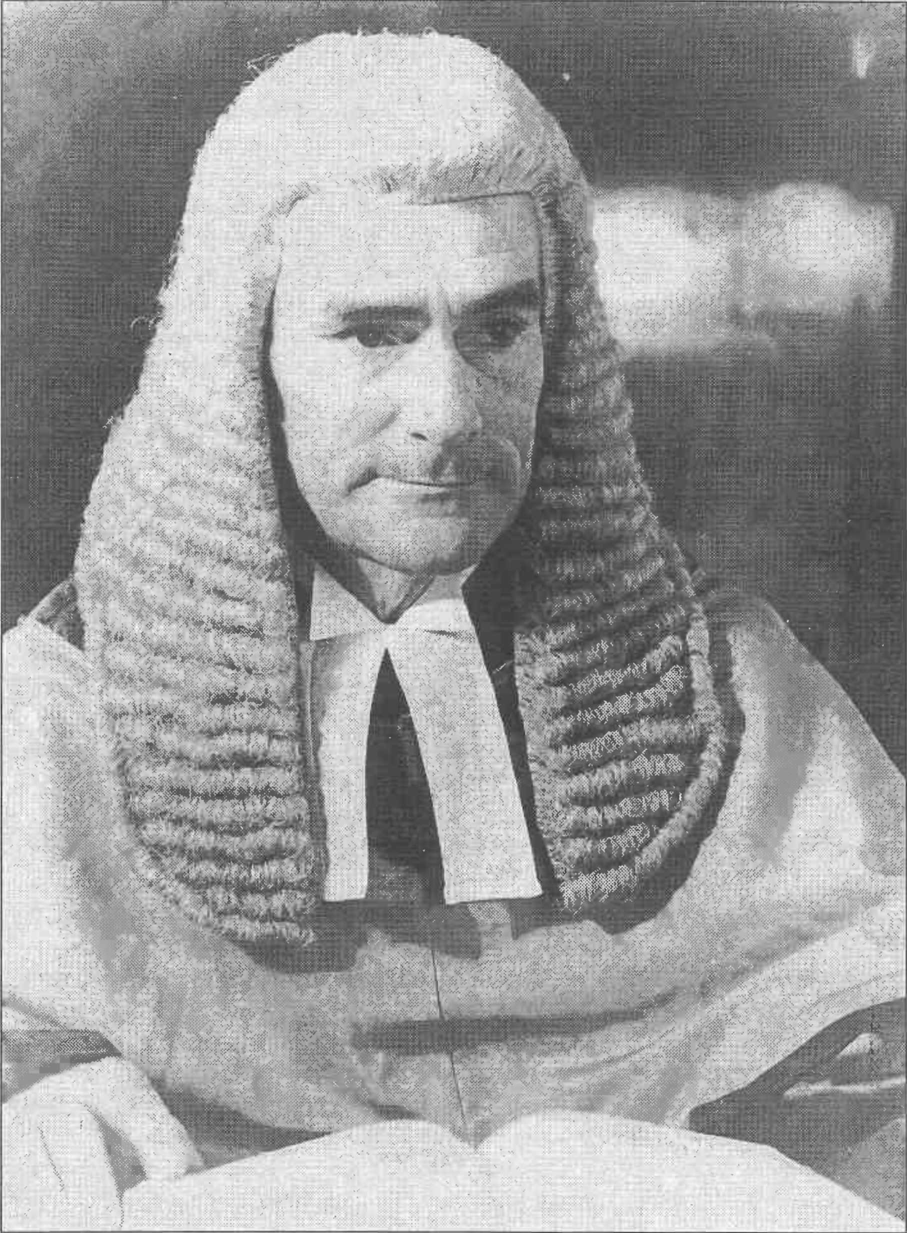
SOME OF HIS JUDGEMENTS

Eleven of Hudson's judgements were the subject of appeals to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa with his decisions only being reversed in three cases.

No less than three of the appeals involved the importation, printing or distribution of Jehovah's Witness publications in contravention of the Principal Defence Regulations. In Hudson's judgement in *Kabungo v The Magistrate Bulawayo* (1938 AD 304) which was upheld on appeal, the Governor had prohibited the importation of certain religious books and 14 copies thereof had been detained by the Magistrate Bulawayo. Though the books contained an attack on all rulers and their Governments it was held that they did not promote violence of any kind and therefore did not contravene the Sedition Act. Accordingly they were correctly released .

In *Rex v Arsenis* (1943 AD 55), however, the appeal Court confirmed the conviction

of the accused in the Court below (Hudson J.) for contravening the Principal Defence Regulations of Southern Rhodesia by printing and distributing a 59 page extract from the 1941 year book of Jehovah's Witnesses published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society and International Bible Students' Association of Brooklyn, New York, all of whose publications had been banned by the Minister of Defence.



Sir Robert Hudson *National Archives of Zimbabwe*

Hudson presided over a full bench of the High Court (Hudson C. J., Tredgold J. and Lewis J.) in *Hackwill v Wise and Beadle* (1946 SR 80) in a matter arising out of a general election for the electoral district of Lomagundi in which the result of a poll had been declared to be Wise 374 votes and Hackwill 372 votes. The returning officer had, at the actual counting of the votes, rejected eleven ordinary ballot papers on various grounds and, at the conclusion of the poll but before the counting began, he had rejected eight postal ballot papers on the grounds that the declarations of identity accompanying them had not been properly attested by a competent witness as required by the Electoral Act. In the case of 6 of the papers the witness had stated as their qualification 'registered voter' and in the other two cases the witness had described herself as 'matron Sinoia Hospital' though she was in fact a registered voter.

Hudson ruled that 6 of the 8 postal ballot papers had been wrongly rejected and the remainder had been correctly rejected. As regards the 11 ordinary ballot papers rejected, one which was blank and bore no cross or mark had been rightly rejected, six in which the cross had been placed in the space in which the candidates name appeared had been wrongly rejected, two in which two crosses had been made in each case opposite the candidates name and over the candidates name had been wrongly rejected, one in which the voter had not blotted the inked cross with the result that a duplicate cross was made when the paper was folded had been wrongly rejected, and the final one was held rightly rejected.

In the result nine votes were to be added to Hackwill's votes and 6 to Wise's votes, making the total votes for Hackwill 381 and for Wise 380. Accordingly Wise was not duly elected as had been previously announced and Hackwill was entitled to be declared duly elected. The judgement was given on 13 July 1946 just under three months after the 25 April election.

In *Rhodesia Metals Limited* (in Liquidation) *v Commissioner of Taxes* (1938 AD 282) an appeal against his judgement was dismissed by the Appellate Division and, interestingly, a further appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (which was then the final Court of appeal from Southern Rhodesia in civil cases) by the Liquidator of the Appellant Company from an assessment to income tax in the sum of £146 000 for the year ending 31 March 1936, was also dismissed.

In *Moubray v Syfret* (1935 AD 199) his decision was confirmed by the Appellate Division but for different reasons.

This case concerned a cattle farm near Harare through which an unfenced public road ran. Moubray, a mining engineer and farmer whilst driving along that road encountered a herd of cattle belonging to Syfret which were being driven to a cattle dip in the same direction as the car.

Moubray and his assistant got out of the car and drove the cattle off the road when the herd boy failed to do so. Before getting back into his car Moubray stopped to relieve himself and whilst doing so a bull rushed out from among the cows and tossed Moubray who sustained considerable injury.

It was held on appeal that the farm owner could only be found negligent if he knew or ought to have known that the bull was vicious and that it was not negligent to allow his cattle to roam over his farm including on a public road running across the farm.

The legal principle here is that 'though every bull may become vicious at times

and attack strangers on a country road, its owner is not bound by law to take precautions against that mere possibility, that is to say, there must be a probability or likelihood. Affairs would come to a standstill if everyone were bound to foresee and guard against bare possibilities of harm. No one could drive a motor car in a town, for there is always the possibility that, notwithstanding all care and caution, he may accidentally injure someone. Indeed almost every human action may possibly cause unforeseen harm to another'.

COMMISSIONS

Hudson served as Chairman of a number of Commissions of Inquiry including on Native Disturbances (1938), Sales of Native Cattle (1939), Control and Co-ordination of Transport (1940), and Draft Federal Scheme of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Judicial Commission (1952).

HOBBIES AND CLUBS

Hudson was a member of both The Bulawayo Club (Life Member from 1950) and The Harare Club. He was keen on gardening and his sporting interests were tennis, shooting and golf.

He was a Patron of the Rhodesia Amateur Swimming Association from 1932 and was President of the Association from 1926 to 1931.

HONOURS AND AWARDS

He was knighted in 1944 following his appointment as Chief Justice and appointed a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George in the New Years Honours List of January 1950. He acted as Governor of Southern Rhodesia on a number of occasions.

RESPONSE TO RETIREMENT GOOD WISHES

In responding to the remarks of Acting Chief Justice V. A. Lewis in the High Court on 15 May 1950 Robert Hudson, in expressing his thanks for the warmth and generosity of the speeches made by Lewis ACJ as well as Northern Rhodesia Chief Justice Sir Herbert Cox, Nyasaland Chief Justice Sir Enoch Jenkins and Southern Rhodesia Minister of Justice Mr Hugh Beadle, made some interesting remarks on aspects of the British legal system which are particularly relevant in 2001:

> The British legal system which we have adopted in this Colony is the admiration of all other countries, and we have every reason to be proud of it. The importance of maintaining this high standard cannot be exaggerated. The administration of that system depends on many factors. The proper application of the legal principles on which it is based depends in the first instance on the observance of rules of practice and procedure devised to ascertain the true facts of every case and to bring before the Court a true appreciation of the issues that have to be decided.
>
> These rules, excellent as no doubt they are, would entirely fail in their purpose were they not observed not only in the letter, but in the spirit, by all practitioners; and over and above that, more important than the observance of written rules, is the necessity for adhering to the standard of conduct demanded of all lawyers

by the traditions and the ideals of our profession.

These demand as between practitioners and the Bench the utmost good faith and trust and an ever-present willingness to help each other. The whole foundation and structure of our administration of justice depends on the confidence of the Bench in practitioners. It was due to the observance by lawyers of these traditional rules of conduct that, as has been said by Lord Macmillan, 'There is no other profession which binds its members in a closer fraternity'. It is not for nothing that we call each other brother. The bond of brotherhood arises inevitably from our common devotion to the traditions and the ideals of our profession. It follows that no matter how able and learned in law a man may be, he cannot succeed as a lawyer unless he observes the rules of conduct laid down by those traditions and ideals.

As Lord Brougham has said, 'Conduct without eloquence is safer to trust to for success than eloquence without conduct'. There is no doubt that the Lord Chancellor of England had the same thing in mind when he said, 'I like my Judges to be gentlemen. If they know a little law so much the better'. Bearing this in mind, it is not as I have said surprising that you my lords, the Chief Justices, and Mr Minister, have referred to me in such kindly and wholly over-generous terms. All I can do in return is to express my thanks to those with whom I have been associated in my works'.

RETIREMENT WORK

Following his retirement in 1950 he became quite heavily involved as a Director of a number of companies including Rothmans Tobacco Company and Tanganyika Concessions Limited, and Chairman of several including Porters Industrial Enterprise Holdings, African Finance Corporation and the Standard Bank (local Board).

A position in which he served with distinction and which gave him much pleasure was that of Chairman of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation from 1958 to 1963. In a tribute to Sir Robert's work for the FBC the Honourable J. M. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Justice, in a broadcast on Tuesday 18 June 1963 said:

When broadcasting became a Federal Government responsibility some people were suspicious that we might manipulate this powerful instrument for party political purposes. To allay these suspicions the Federal Broadcasting Corporation was founded in 1958. It was necessary to find someone to head the Board of Governors who would command universal confidence. Sir Robert Hudson with his reputation for complete integrity and impartiality was the obvious choice. The people of the Federation were fortunate indeed that he accepted this task.

Under his careful guidance the Federal Broadcasting Corporation was constructed from the fabric of separate Government departments in the three Territories. It soon gained the confidence of the listening public of all races throughout the Federation and the respect of similar corporations outside, so that today the reputation of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation stands high in the broadcasting world.

Sir Robert from the outset gave unstintingly of his time to the affairs of the

Federal Broadcasting Corporation. He was no mere figurehead. He made himself master of the problems of broadcasting to our diverse community, and guided the affairs of the Corporation and its staff with skill and prudence.

The value of his experience and wisdom were shown in the very successful introduction of Television in Rhodesia under the auspices of the FBC.

Sir Robert's last few months were saddened by decisions made elsewhere which will result in the break-up of the very fine edifice he did so much to construct. He was specially anxious for the future and welfare of the staff and was concerned with these matters to the last.

The people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should all be grateful to Sir Robert for a lifetime of service to the nation of a quality that few can equal or even approach.

OLD DIOCESANS' UNION

He remained a strong supporter of his old school for some sixty years and shortly before his death he was elected as President of the Old Diocesans Union. Sadly he was only able to serve for less than two months.

DEATH AND TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY

He died in Salisbury on 17 June 1963 a month after his seventy-eighth birthday.

There were many tributes to his memory. At a special sitting of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia Chief Justice Beadle in a brilliant obituary said *inter alia*:

'He came into the world endowed with sterling qualities of character which he inherited from a long line of distinguished forbears.'

'Of Robert Hudson the man we remember his quiet dignity, his unfailing courtesy, his unbounded kindness and, above all, his warm friendship.'

'Great as was our admiration for him as a lawyer, it was surpassed by our affection for him as a man. Not that he was a man who wore his heart upon his sleeve. Far from it. He was a gentle and a shy person, but lest his gentleness belied him came the occasion when beneath that gentleness was revealed a man of steel. His shyness made him not an easy man to know, but when you knew him, he was a man worth knowing.'

'He served this country as soldier, Minister of the Crown, and Judge for over thirty years.'

SOURCES

Law Reports of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa 1933 to 1951

National Archives of Zimbabwe, Oral History Series, references HU.Z, HA.8, PA.1, F.15, ST6, BE.2, 234

Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia No. 1, 1924

One Man's Hand – The story of Sir Charles Coghlan and the Liberation of Southern Rhodesia, by J. P. R. Wallis, 1950

Outpost, Volume 4 No. 12 June 1927; Volume II No. 3 September 1933

Rhodesia Herald, 2 October 1923;10 September 1925 and 3 January 1950

Rhodesiana Journal No. 21, December 1969

South African Law Journal, Volume LXVII (Part III) August 1950 and Volume LXXX (Part III) August 1963

Southern Rhodesia Hansard, Volumes 1–12, 1923 to 1933

Southern Rhodesia Law Reports 1933 to 1950

The African World, Volume 92, 1925

The Hon. Sir Robert James Hudson KCMG, MC, QC, 15 March 1885–18 June 1963, Obituary and Tributes, assembled by G. M. B. Hudson, March 1991

The Hudson Chronicles, compiled by G. M. B. Hudson;

Akrikaner Education under British South Africa Company Rule

by Bob Challiss

Rhodes hoped to promote Anglo-Boer cooperation when he embarked on his northern enterprise in 1890.[1] Although Afrikaners never constituted more than a fifth of the predominantly British settler population,[2] their role was vital in the achievement of Rhodes' aims. Particularly valuable for him was the effective occupation of the eastern districts by successive waves of trekboers. Rhodes assured these Afrikaners that their Dutch language would be respected and he offered generous aid for the education of their children.[3] The Jameson Raid, the Anglo-Boer war and Rhodes' death, largely put paid to his hopes for Anglo-Boer cooperation. For nearly two decades, Boers and Britons in Southern Rhodesia engaged in often bitter disputes over schools. Political expediency rather than genuine reconciliation prompted the achievement by 1924 of a *modus vivendi* with regard to policy on education which remained virtually unaltered until the U.D.I. period.

During the Pioneer Decade, differences rather than disputes between Boers and Britons prevailed. Most Afrikaner settlers were Boers whose attitudes to the formal education of their children contrasted sharply with those generally adopted by Britons. In the wake of Forster's *Elementary Education Act, 1870*, Britons became more than ever aware of the paramount importance of a sound formal education for their children, and tended to look increasingly towards the state for its provision. Trekboers tended to be wary of sophisticated education, particularly when it was offered by government.

For many Trekboers it sufficed that their children acquired literacy in *die taal* and learnt the Heidelberg Catechism and enough Dutch to follow Dutch Reformed Church services. This *boerematriek* (farmer's matric) was essential for acceptance into D.R.C. congregations and could be taught by parents, relatives or itinerant schoolmasters whose professional qualifications were often rudimentary in the extreme. Children learnt the alphabet from *De AB-Jab* and studied *Trap der Jeugd* (Steps for Youth), two Dutch texts that, apart from the Bible, were the only books likely to be found in the Boer homes before the turn of the century.

Devout trekboer parents feared that advanced education, particularly at distant boarding schools, might inspire children with yearnings for life in towns and cities where corrupt influences abounded. Many trekboers subsisted on little more than mealies, livestock and game, so lacked steady incomes to pay school fees. Attendance at school also meant that children could not provide farm labour, which was particularly important when adult males periodically left home to earn some ready money, usually as transport riders.[4]

During the Pioneer Decade most white settlers were single males, usually resident in villages and towns, but Afrikaners, most of them trekboers, often came to the territory with wives and numerous children and lived on farms. Until shortly after the turn of the century, however, educational initiatives were almost entirely taken by voluntary, mainly church bodies, whose town and village schools were beyond the reach of rural

trekboer children. Unlike other denominations, notably the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, who soon opened schools for their congregations, the Dutch Reformed Church was relatively slow to cater for its Afrikaner flock.[5]

In 1896 the Afrikaner patriot and friend of Rhodes, S. J. du Toit, feared that prolonged inaction by the D.R.C. would result in losses not only to its flock but also to the Afrikaner 'nation'. This inaction was partly the result of divisions in the D.R.C.[6] Afrikaner settlers came from all parts of Southern Africa, where, by 1890, there were four independent branches of *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* in the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and two schismatic branches, *Die Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* and *Die Gereformeerde Kerk*, both based in the Transvaal, although the latter branch was active too in the Cape and the O.F.S.[7]

Black D.R.C. missionaries had crossed the Limpopo to work amongst the Southern Shona some years before 1890, and the Revd A. A. Louw founded Morgenster Mission Station near Fort Victoria, in the following year.[8] In 1892, the Cape Synod sent the Revds A. L. J. Hofmeyr and G. W. Stegmann to assess the spiritual and cultural needs of Afrikaners, but the first minister appointed specifically to serve whites, the Revd. P. Nel, only entered the country in 1893.[9] Nel soon left and two more years went by before his work was resumed by the Revd. P A. Strasheim.

On 31 August, 1895, Strasheim made an agreement with the Administrator, Leander Starr Jameson, whereby the B.S.A. Company provided grants towards teachers' salaries and building costs for schools conducted by the D.R.C. This agreement was to lapse on 31 March 1901, and if an undenominational system of public schools should come into force before then, pupils of other denominations would be allowed to attend the D.R.C. schools.[10]

Strasheim was unable to conduct a school under the agreement with Jameson in Salisbury because other religious bodies did not receive regular aid for their schools in the town. However, the main purpose of the Jameson-Strasheim agreement was to cater for Afrikaner children in rural areas. A few Afrikaner children attended an ephemeral Anglican church school in Salisbury which eventually closed to facilitate the success of a public school founded under the joint management of the Municipality and the B.S.A. Company in 1898.[11]

In Bulawayo, two D.R.C. schools operated under the Jameson–Strasheim Agreement. One of these, conducted by the Revd. J. S. Groenewald, opened in the town centre in October, 1895 and catered mainly for boarders.[12] The second school, situated at Lobenvale, on the outskirts of the town, catered mainly for younger pupils resident on farms in its immediate vicinity. This school had closed by the turn of the century,[13] but was revived by the D.R.C. a few years later. Groenewald's town school enjoyed an uninterrupted life until 1910.

Strasheim's efforts to open a D.R.C. school in Fort Victoria were protracted and in vain. The Morgenster missionary, A. A Louw and his wife taught Afrikaner children in the town when it went into laager in 1896.[14] Subsequently, Strasheim complained that his efforts to found a school were 'repeatedly thwarted' by the local *kerkraad* of the D.R.C.[15] Strasheim returned to the Cape and in his absence a public meeting held in the town in July, 1897, saw the election of a school committee representing 'all classes and denominations', including two Afrikaners, D. Helm and W. Maritz. It was

The Revd. and Mrs A. A. Louw of Morgenster Mission, 1981.
National Archives of Zimbabwe

resolved that an undenominational school should serve the estimated 60 to 80 mainly Afrikaner children living in and near the town and that 'every aid would be given to afford denominational religious education by accredited teachers on weekdays and also on Sundays'.[16] This anticipated by two years the 'Rhodes Clause' in the *Education Ordinance, 1899*, which made government aid to voluntary schools contingent upon them giving ministers of recognised denominations right of entry during the first half hour of each school day for the 'religious instruction of the children of such several denominations'.[17]

Telegraphed negotiations between Strasheim in the Cape, the Fort Victoria school committee and the Administrator of Mashonaland, W. H. (later Sir William Henry) Milton, in Salisbury, for a school under the joint management of the D.R.C. and the committee, had broken down by October, 1897, because Strasheim balked at the omnidenominational principle and favoured exclusive D.R.C. control. Eventually, the committee, aided by the B.S.A. Company, opened a school in June, 1898, which was attended by 18 Afrikaner pupils until its closure on the eve of the Anglo-Boer War, for want of pupils and funds.[18] Many Afrikaners had left the district, but some Afrikaner pupils attended an Anglican school in the town. Children whose parents were averse to the Anglican school attended a government aided school opened by Louw at Morgenster in 1901. This school closed in 1904 when the government agreed to assume entire responsibility for the Anglican school in January 1905.[19]

In the remote Melsetter district in 1895, the Revd. P. Le Roux, initially assisted by Strasheim, tried to establish three schools for the widely dispersed trekboer farmers. Evidently, difficulties posed by illness, travel in mountainous terrain, the reluctance of some farmers to send their children to schools run by the Cape Synod of the D.R.C. and the elopement of a pupil with one of the school principals meant that only the school in Melsetter village, where Le Roux taught about a dozen pupils, endured until 1900. However, since 1895 some trekboer parents had sent their children to a boarding school, magnanimously conducted by the American Methodist Missionaries at Mount Selinda, where pupils numbered 20 at one stage.[20] In 1900, J. G. F. Steyn secured government grants under the *Education Ordinance, 1899*, for a school on his Johannesrust Farm in the Northern Melsetter district, which soon attracted 30 pupils.[21]

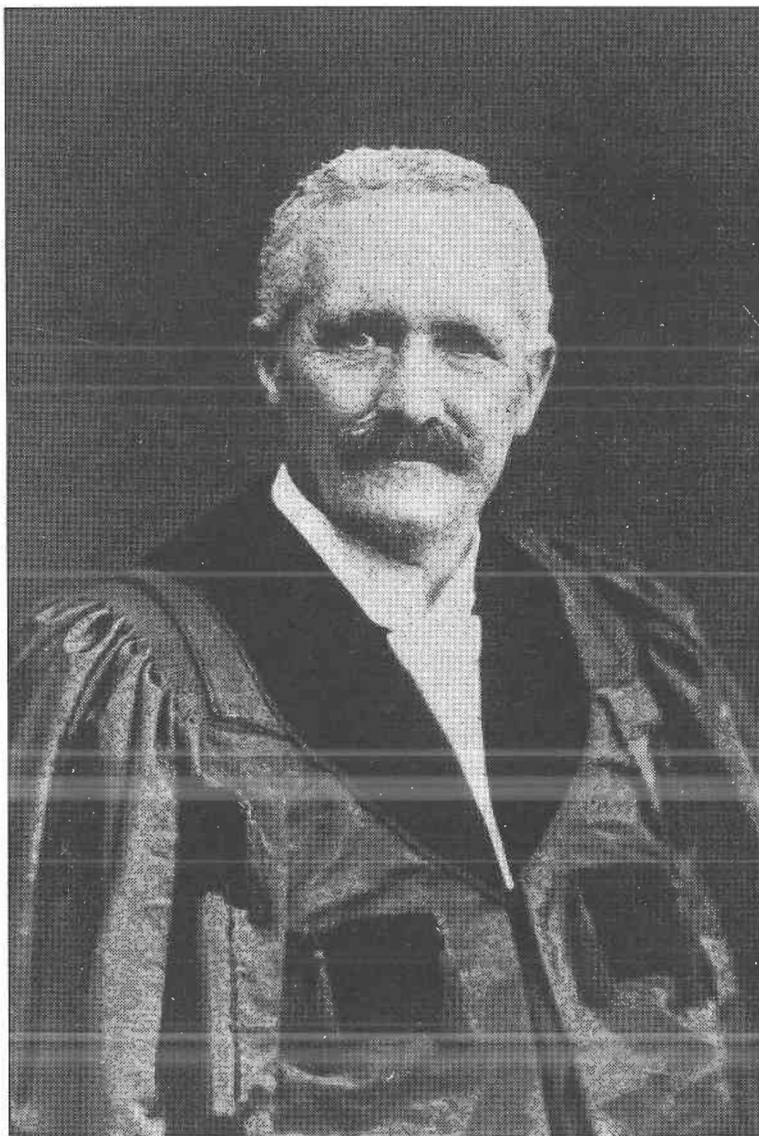
When Le Roux left for South Africa on long leave in 1901, his school closed down, as did the Johannesrust school, after its teacher, well known for 'disloyalty and pro-Boer sympathies', was dismissed for causing unrest amongst local Afrikaners.[22] Alarmed by the large number of children in the Melsetter-Chipinga districts who failed to attend school and were 'running wild from one year to another', Miss G. B. Moodie, sister of the local trek leader, sent an appeal for help from the rapidly ailing Rhodes.[23] As it happened, the Civil Commissioner, W. M. Longden, had already consulted the Revd. F. W. Bates of Mount Selinda about transferring their boarding school to Melsetter Village, where it was likely to attract larger attendances.[24] This was done in 1902 when the Principal, Miss Helen J. Gilson took lessons in the D.R.C. pole and dagga hut vacated by Nel.[25] Thanks largely to donations from the United States, the school soon acquired new buildings and catered for over 40 pupils. Even so, for nearly two decades, hundreds of Afrikaner children in the Melsetter-Chipinga districts were to receive little or no formal schooling at all.

A third D.R.C. minister recruited by Strasheim, the Revd A. J. Liebenberg, arrived in Salisbury on 5 May, 1896, and rose to the rank of sergeant-major in the Salisbury Field Force during the Ndebele-Shona risings,[26] before he joined his Afrikaner flock in Enkeldoorn. Field Cornet. H. Ferreira had applied for government aid for a school in the district in June, 1895,[27] but further information on what happened in this instance has been elusive. As for Liebenberg, in August, 1898, he opened the first school conducted on the site that had been granted by Rhodes in 1897 for the location of Enkeldoorn village.[28] Liebenberg and his wife had to cater mainly for the children of often distant farmers, so boarding facilities were necessary from the inception of the school.

When the Jameson-Strasheim agreement expired on 31 March, 1901, the Enkeldoorn School continued to receive government aid, but under a Public Board of Management, for one third of its Afrikaner pupils were Anglicans.[29] Even so, Liebenberg continued to influence strongly the school's affairs by securing regular selection as chairman of the Board. The D.R.C. school in Bulawayo, now conformed with government regulations under the *Education Ordinance, 1899*, for continued assistance as a voluntary institution.

POLICY CHANGES AND AFRIKANER DISSATISFACTION 1903–1909

In 1903, practical considerations like needs to restrict school hours to mornings only



The Revd. A. J. Loebenberg of Enkeldoorn wearing the toga of the D.R.C.
National Archives of Zimbabwe

and to lower the number of 25 pupils required to qualify for government aid, prompted revisions of the *Education Ordinance, 1899*. However, insistence under the *Education Ordinance, 1903*, on the use of English as the sole medium of instruction in public schools departed radically from Rhodes' aim to promote Anglo-Boer co-operation and reneged on his guarantee that Afrikaner language rights would be respected in the territory.[30] Legislative Council members defended their new language policy on the

ground that whites in Southern Rhodesia constituted an essentially 'English community and as such should be assisted.'[31]

South of the Limpopo, the anglicisation policy on the education of Afrikaners adopted by Lord Milner since 1901, had soon resulted in the appearance of a *Christelik Nationaal Onderwys* (Christian National Education) system of schools in opposition to government ones in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. By 1908, confrontation between the C.N.O. and government schools came to an end.[32] With the advent of Union in 1910, C.N.O. requirements for parental influence on teacher selections and the management of schools, and appointments of 'Christian and God-fearing teachers' who ensured that Afrikaner pupils retained their cultural identity through 'mother-tongue' instruction in *die taal* and by learning Dutch, the official language of the D.R.C., and the history of Afrikaners, were largely satisfied in the public educational system.[33] However, in Southern Rhodesia, the British majority of settlers were determined to resist bilingualism and denominational bias in their public schools.

The revised legislation of 1903 meant that pupils conversant only in *die taal* had to learn English as quickly as possible and whilst doing so they were not to be taught any other subjects. The 'mother-tongue' of most Afrikaner children, *die taal* was officially regarded as hardly more than a 'collection of some hundreds of old Dutch, old French, Malay and other words clipped and mangled to the point of inarticulateness, incapable of producing a literature and indeed' in the words of Olive Schriener 'incapable of expressing higher thought'.[34] Failure to sanction 'mother-tongue' instruction was particularly hard on less bright pupils who were unlikely to learn much through a language medium that they could never hope to master.[35]

The Director of Education, George Duthie, repeatedly had to remind the Revd J. N. Geldenhuys, who had by 1903 succeeded Groenewald at the D.R.C. school in Bulawayo, that government grants were contingent upon adherence to the English medium.[36] Eventually, to ensure compliance with this law, Duthie insisted on the appointment of a teacher at the school who had been recruited by the Department of Education and was fluent in English.[37] Geldenhuys was informed that if he wished to teach Dutch, this could be taught for an hour daily, but only after the four hours prescribed for school work under the Ordinance.[38]

Shortly after 1903 the D.R.C. conducted a small number of farm schools independently of government aid. In 1906 Duthie publicly praised these efforts 'to reach children in outlying districts'.[39] However, the Resident Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel R. Chester-Master expressed concern about the very limited extent to which English was taught in these schools. Mindful of views expressed by the High Commissioner for South Africa, Lord Selborne, that children who failed to acquire a practical knowledge of the official language of the country would be 'handicapped for life, Master urged the B.S.A. Company administration to persuade Afrikaner parents to accept this point of view.[40] By 1907, three of the independent schools, at *Lobenvale*, near Bulawayo, *Driefontein*, near Marula, and *Eben-Haizer*, near Gwelo, joined the government-aided system.[41] Evidently, this meant that the schools conformed with requirements that Dutch should not be taught during official school hours and that English should be the sole medium of instruction.

Use of the English medium in public schools was not always insisted on during the

first half-hour reserved for religious instruction each day. In 1907, Mrs Liebenberg, wife of the Enkeldoorn minister, informed Duthie that parents had threatened to withdraw pupils from the village school if Dutch was not taught during the 'right of entry' period. Duthie acceded to this parental demand, evidently reasoning that

George Duthie, Director of Education. 1901-1915 *National Archives of Zimbabwe*

instruction in the official language of the D.R.C. could be equated with 'religious' instruction.[42]

By 1906 there was widespread white settler dissatisfaction with education under B.S.A. Company rule. Many urban settlers opposed the heavy reliance placed on voluntary schools and there was a pressing need to improve educational provision for the rapidly growing numbers of rural white settler children. Eventually, a public committee of enquiry into education was appointed in January, 1908, under the chairmanship of H. M (later Sir Hugh Marshall) Hole.[43] By now Afrikaners had joined in the agitation for reform and they hoped that the Hole Committee would recommend that stringent language restrictions imposed under the *Education Ordinance, 1903*, would be relaxed. However, rather impractically in view of their minority status in the territory, some Afrikaners agitated for parity with regard to the language rights of Boers and Britons in schools. This demand was evidently inspired by General Hertzog who, as Minister of Education, instituted a policy of parity in the Orange Free State in 1908, which was balked at even by many Afrikaners.[44]

In Enkeldoorn, a dispute arose over the government appointed teacher in charge of the school, Miss McManus. Recruited from England, McManus resigned in 1907 because, Duthie cryptically reported, her 'position was made uncomfortable'. Her resignation prompted the removal of 12 of the 14 Anglican Afrikaner pupils at the school. Without consulting the school management board, the Revd Liebenberg recruited a replacement teacher from South Africa who could give instruction in Dutch. This teacher soon 'made a slip', as Duthie curtly put it, and had to resign. By 1908, as a result of the 'division in the camp between the Anglicans and the Dutch Reformed Church and a further division in the camp of the Dutch Reformed Church', Mrs Liebenberg was 'carrying on the school herself under considerable difficulty.'[29]

In January, 1908, a new Management Board was elected, with Liebenberg again in the chair and one of its members was a local Anglican priest, the Revd. Arthur Shearly Cripps.[45] However, since the inception of the Board in 1902, Liebenberg had received funds 'from his co-religionists in the Cape', which had usually allowed him to have 'his own way' in its decisions and had also enabled him to run a D.R.C. hostel for boarders attending the school. By July, 1908, Liebenberg was unable to raise further funds from the Cape and the Board asked the government to assume entire responsibility for the school, but not the hostel, which remained under D.R.C. control. Duthie agreed to this request, for it was impracticable for the government to assist small, rival schools in the district. Although difficulties were likely to arise, even under government control, the Director believed that there would be no excuse for the non-attendance at the school of certain children whose parents, in the opinion of the Local Magistrate, were simply 'indifferent in the matter of education'.[29] A Local Schools Advisory Committee was now appointed by the government, which elected Liebenberg as its chairman. Cripps was also a member of this committee until he resigned to take extended leave in England in 1909.[46]

In Melsetter in 1907, the local D.R.C. minister, the Revd. J. J. Wessels was averse to Chimanimani School plans for a fifth hour of Dutch lessons daily in accordance with the special concessions made by Duthie in the Enkeldoorn and Bulawayo schools. Wessels threatened to open two schools independently of government aid, in north

and south Melsetter respectively, where Dutch would 'be made a special feature' of the curriculum.[47] In 1908 matters were resolved to the extent that the government opened a boarding school in Chipinga, in South Melsetter, to serve 'the poorer and more backward Dutch farmers' who, so Inspector of Schools, L. M. Foggin, reported, had an 'unreasoning prejudice' against the Chimanimani School.[48]

Upon the recommendation of Wessels, an *ouderling* (elder) of the D.R.C., Mr P. J. Cilliers, was appointed as Principal of this school with an annual salary of £120. However, Duthie promised Wessels that if a better qualified teacher could be found, the government would offer a higher salary of £240.[49] As for the Chimanimani School, which was patronised by the 'better established and better educated Dutch farmers' in the region,[48] it came entirely under government control in 1910, when its seventy year old American Methodist missionary Principal from Mount Selinda, Helen Gilson, retired from teaching.[50]

In Fort Victoria in 1907 'Col Flint and others' incited Afrikaner dissatisfaction with the village school by pointing out that 'religious symbols' in the Anglican Church hall rented as a classroom 'might have a baneful effect on the pupils.' Shortly afterwards a 'certain Mr Geldenhuys, a teacher from the Transvaal, who had collected about £800 from friends and relations south of the Limpopo River with which to finance his project, was touring the district, energetically whipping up religious fervour and persuading parents to attend his school.'[51] Duthie reported in April that Geldenhuys' school had opened on *Spes Bona* (formerly *Welkom's Hoek*) Farm, which was soon attended by 10 pupils withdrawn from the village school.[52] Although attendances at the village school, which fell to five at one stage, had improved to the extent that 11 pupils were in attendance in October 1907, the institution remained 'threatened by Geldenhuys' school'.[53]

In 1908 the Hole Committee endorsed strictures on Afrikaner language needs in schools. Although it was recommended that Dutch should be taught during official school hours wherever there was sufficient demand for the subject, instead of cutting down on the use of the English medium, five instead of four hours would be devoted to lessons.[54] However, the teaching of Dutch was to be generally stimulated by the Hole Committee's recommendation that the farm and mine school system should be expanded.

Only brief consideration can be given in this article to Farm and Mine schools. Established wherever eight or more children could be gathered together, the schools offered primary education up to standard V. For further education pupils had to attend centralised town or village boarding schools. The Department of Education supplied teachers, mostly single women. Living conditions, particularly on trekboer farms were often primitive. In one notorious case a woman complained of having to subsist on only 'dry bread, biltong and coffee'.[55] Some farmers were more interested in the cash they received from the government for the board and lodging of teachers, than in providing basic comforts.[56] A few farmers were keener to secure salaried posts for their modestly qualified friends, relatives or even their young children, than they were to secure competent teachers recommended by the government.[57]

Often a single teacher had to cope with Afrikaner pupils ranging in age from seven or eight to eighteen years and older. The frequent need to replace female teachers who

had to resign when they got married, and difficulties in the recruitment of teachers who could give Dutch instruction greatly strained the resources of The Department of Education. However, prior to 1908, teachers were mainly recruited from the British Isles, for Duthie was averse to the employment of their 'colonial' or Afrikaner contemporaries.[58] The need for teachers in Dutch from 1908 onwards meant that by 1918, about two thirds of those who taught the language in 33 of the 76 public schools were Afrikaners.[59]

Endorsement of the 1903 anglicisation policy by the Hole Committee was to be fully supported by the Beit Trustees. In 1909 the Trustees refused to accept Dutch as an alternative to French in the examinations for white pupils seeking scholarships for the completion of their secondary education.[60] The Trustees remained obdurate about this until 1923, when the government took charge of the bequest. Hendrik Verwoerd, the future premier of South Africa, was awarded a Beit scholarship in 1915 in order to complete his matric studies at Milton High in Bulawayo, but resigned the scholarship early in 1916, when he attended a school in Brandfort in the Orange Free State.[61]

CLOSURE OF THE D.R.C SCHOOL IN BULAWAYO 1910

In conformity with Hole Committee recommendations for the development of an undenominational education system for whites, two government schools, named after the administrator, Sir William Milton, and his wife, Lady Eveline, which catered for boys and girls respectively, were opened in Bulawayo in July 1910. An Anglican school, St. John's closed to make way for the new institutions and, by the end of 1910 the D.R.C. school had also closed.[62] The Revd. Geldenhuys had experienced great difficulty in the retention of teachers for the school, whilst few parents could afford fees. In higher classes pupils were generally a year or two behind their British contemporaries. This difference was less pronounced in lower standards, but there were 'marked exceptions such as boys of 17 and 18 in standard IV, showing want of early opportunity' to attend school.[63]

Affluent parents, whose children tended to be the brightest pupils at the D.R.C. school, were likely to patronise the new government schools. As the D.R.C. hostel was financed largely by double boarding grants awarded under the *Education Ordinance, 1903*, for destitute and orphaned children, it was decided in 1910 to convert the institution into an orphanage.[64] Originally, it was intended to transfer the orphanage to Daisyfield Railway Siding, near Gwelo, in July 1911, where the children would attend a farm and trade school.[65] However, execution of this plan was shelved until 1915. Pending the transfer to Daisyfield, the children attended a government primary school in Grey Street.

The government hoped that the Milton and Eveline schools would attract children of affluent parents, particularly those who might otherwise attend schools in South Africa and the British Isles. Consequently, to safeguard the 'social status' of the new schools, it was decided by the B.S.A. Company Administration, in consultation with the Bulawayo Schools Advisory Committee, to exclude from them pupils whose parents could not afford fees or who were 'doubtful coloured cases'.[66] Instead of calling the Grey Street institution a 'Free School' it was to be known officially as the Bulawayo Primary School, for, in addition to accepting some pupils free of charge or at reduced

rates, it was intended also to accept children of allegedly mixed race on a fee-paying basis. When the Revd. Geldenhuys heard about the children of mixed race, he refused to let the orphanage children attend the Grey Street school. He subsequently changed his mind when he received assurances that 'coloured' children would be 'rigidly excluded'.[67] A peripatetic teacher of Dutch was appointed for the Afrikaner children at the three government schools.[68]

THE SUCCESS OF ANGLICISATION BY 1912 AND DR MALAN'S ALARM

In a letter to his counterpart in the Cape, Duthie stated in 1904:

> When we bear in mind the Dutch element and the problem of the future Federation of South Africa and Imperial policy generally the aim, I think, might be to restrict local powers as much as possible and manage education from the Treasury. That is, if you are always sure of a progressive majority! I think if the Dutch got their education cheaper even they would not object.[69]

This policy proved to be remarkably successful by 1912. Most Afrikaners, benefiting largely from generous remissions of fees, patronised public schools despite restrictions on local parental influences on teacher appointments, the use of *die taal* and the teaching of Dutch, which were all so dear to the wishes of their South African compatriots. Although a Hole Committee recommendation that local Schools Advisory Committees should assist the Department of Education in its work was to be of special significance in Afrikaner education, these bodies, unlike local authorities in South Africa, were strictly 'advisory'. Sometimes composed entirely of government nominees, but when practicable, of government and locally elected members, the committees kept the Department of Education informed about local affairs, assisted with awards of free tuition and remissions of fees and, pending appeals to the Department and eventually the Administrator, could either refuse or suspend pupil attendances, which usually happened when it was suspected that a child was of mixed race. However, these committees never exercised the powers of local bodies in South Africa, particularly with regard to influence on teacher appointments.[70]

Generally, by 1912, most white settlers were British South African immigrants, many of whom had fled from bilingualism and the rising tide of Afrikaner nationalism.[71] This trend allowed the Department of Education to cater for the rapid expansion of the white settler educational system by facilitating the recruitment of additional inspectors of schools who were very experienced in dealing with Afrikaners. In 1907, L. M. Foggin joined the Department at a lower salary than he had received in the Transvaal, because of the 'dismal political outlook' there.[72] In 1910, R. McIntosh and J. B. Brady joined the inspectorate after their dismissal by Hertzog for opposing his language policy in O.F.S. schools.[73] In 1916, distaste for political developments in the Union prompted J. Condy to join the Southern Rhodesian inspectorate.[74]

In 1912 the future premier of South Africa, the Revd. D. F. Malan was delegated by the Cape Synod of the D.R.C. to investigate Afrikaner needs in the Rhodesias and the Congo. Malan deplored the neglect of Dutch in many government schools, but particularly in the Salisbury and Umtali high schools. Like du Toit in 1895, Malan feared that the D.R.C. would lose from its flock those Afrikaners who grew up unable to follow its church services in Dutch and he favoured Hertzog's 'two streams' language

Robert McIntosh
National Archives of Zimbabwe

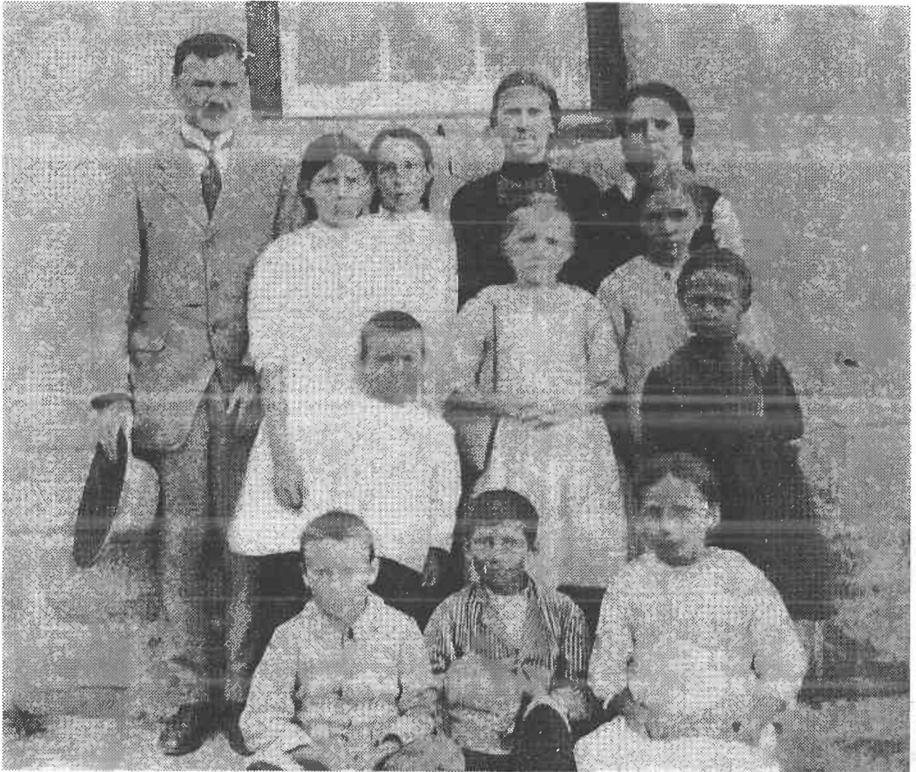
policy.[75] In Salisbury D.R.C. ministers had repeatedly requested Dutch lessons in the Government high schools and the primary schools. In his rejection of such a request in the wake of Malan's visit in 1913, Duthie stated he would only consider petitions from parents themselves. However, pupils often found the study of Dutch harder than English, so parents were reluctant to sign petitions for lessons in the language for fear that they might prejudice the progress of their children in the study of English and other subjects. To curb Afrikaner acquiescence to Anglicisation policies Malan felt

that there was a 'great need' in the territory for 'a leader' who would 'keep them together' and 'stand up for them in the storm'.[76]

In Melsetter, where Dutch lessons had been suspended in the village school for want of a teacher, Malan encouraged Afrikaner parents to petition for the equal treatment of Dutch and English. This request had to be refused, of course, as bilingualism was contrary to the law. However, M. M. Jackson, the British teacher appointed to give instruction in Dutch in 1913, soon had to be cautioned officially for expressing 'strong feelings against the Dutch'.[77] Jackson resigned in 1914, when he volunteered for military service in the First World War. The Revd F. H. Badenhorst, who had succeeded Wessels as the local D.R.C. minister, agreed to take over Jackson's classes for a few weeks to prepare pupils for the *Taalbond* examinations in October that year.[78]

KOTZE'S C.N.O. SEPARATIST MOVEMENT, 1913–1916

Early in 1913, the Cape Synod of the D.R.C. appointed the Revd C. R. Kotze as its minister to Afrikaners in Salisbury. A veteran of the Anglo-Boer war, Kotze's appointment apparently conformed with Malan's recommendation for a strong leader of Afrikaners in the territory.[79] Soon after his arrival in Salisbury, Kotze informed Milton that there was 'a feeling of dissatisfaction among the Dutch speaking people throughout Southern Rhodesia, on account of the present system of education; it [was]



J. Condy visiting a farm cchool in the Eastern districts. *National Archives of Zimbabwe*

generally felt that their language [was] barely tolerated, if not wholly ignored, and, in every possible way, the rights of the parents [were] being usurped by the Education Department – hence, a petition bearing on the question [would] before long be brought before the government.'[80] After consulting Duthie, Milton informed Kotze that he was 'unable to admit either that such general dissatisfaction exist[ed], or that their [was] any occasion for it.'[81]

In July, 1913, Kotze led a deputation of Afrikaners and D.R.C. ministers claiming to represent Salisbury, Enkeldoorn, Melsetter, Umtali, Felixsburg, Headlands, Somabula, Marandellas and Bulawayo, to present Milton with petitions from these places demanding mother-tongue instruction up to standard IV and local control of schools by parental committees, which should appoint suitably religious teachers and prescribe what should be taught during the half hour reserved for religious instruction every morning.[82] These demands were, of course, unacceptable. Milton simply asked the Department of Education to investigate one demand that could be legitimately recognised under the *Educational Ordinance 1903* namely for the introduction of Dutch instruction in the Salisbury and Umtali schools.

With reference to the Salisbury petition, made on behalf of 21 children, it was found that 'at least one of the parents concerned repudiated Mr Kotze's demand, others were proved not to have any children in attendance at any school, and . . . the demand referred genuinely only to 10 or 11 children of various ages between 7 and 16 years attending four different schools'. The Local School's Advisory Committee in Umtali reported 'that no such demand existed'. However, the daughter of a D.R.C. minister had employed to teach Dutch to children at the Umtali High School. She soon 'proved to be extremely unpopular with the Dutch parents and at their request was transferred to another school'.[83]

The rejection by Milton of the demands of the Kotze deputation was quickly followed by the establishment of separatist schools. In a pamphlet appealing for funds and teachers, which was published in South Africa early in 1914, *Rhodesie Een Pijnbank Van Onze Taal* (Rhodesia, a wrack for our language), Kotze accused the B.S.A. Company government of trying to destroy the cultural identity of its Afrikaner subjects by disregarding Afrikaner history in schools and refusing to allow mother-tongue instruction in *die taal.*[84] Support was to be received from 'churches, societies and private persons' in South Africa,[85] but even before these funds were raised, Kotze embarked on the establishment of his schools.

Department of Education plans to provide recently arrived O.F.S. trekboers in Headlands with a farm school were 'frustrated' when Kotze opened a Christian National school for them in 1913.[86] Athlone Farm School near Umtali closed in 1913 as a result of plans to open a Christian National school in the neighbourhood. When the separatist school failed to materialize, aid for the Athlone Farm School was resumed in May, 1914.[87] In 1915, two separatist schools appeared in the Melsetter district.[88] One of these, on *Voorspoed* Farm, had defected from the government system, but returned to the government fold in 1916.[89]

Information on the separatist schools is scant. They tended to make ephemeral appearances in remote regions and at one stage they numbered 'seven or eight'.[90] By early 1916 the movement had begun to lose its momentum, mainly because funds

tended to be diverted to causes closer to home after the South African Beyers-De Wet Rebellion of September 1914.[91] However, some teachers who were either suspended from their posts or proscribed from further employment in South African public schools for involvement in the Rebellion, were employed in separatist schools north of the Limpopo.

Early in 1915, the Department of Education requested lists from the Union of their rebel teachers, evidently to guard against their employment in Southern Rhodesia. No teachers were involved in Natal and the Transvaal and the Cape sent the names of 38 and 3 respectively. A year went by before the O.F.S. sent 79 names,[92] which meant that at least one of their rebel teachers evaded immediate detection north of the Limpopo. Miss C. J. Holloway, suspended from Heilbron School in the O.F.S. but not proscribed, taught at various separatist schools before the Department gave her a farm school post in December 1916.

Holloway was described by Foggin as 'hot headed' but capable of 'very satisfactory work' as a Farm School teacher.[93] Later in 1916 a proscribed teacher from the Transvaal was dismissed after it was discovered that he had used forged testimonials to obtain a post at *Uitkyk* Farm School, near Enkeldoorn.[94]

THE GREAT WAR AND ANGLO-BOER TENSIONS GENERALLY

A biographer has related an apparently apocryphal story of how Hendrik Verwoerd was kicked down the stairway to the Milton High School Headmaster, E. de Beer's study when he told the man that he had resigned his Beit Scholarship because he sympathised with the Beyers-de Wet rebels and wished to join them.[95] In fact Verwoerd only resigned the Scholarship in 1916, nearly eighteen months after the rebellion. Verwoerd's D.R.C. lay minister father was allowed to send him and his brother to Milton in 1914 as free scholars, a special favour granted on the understanding that fees would be paid when the financial circumstances of the family improved.[96]

Shortly before Hendrik resigned his scholarship, his father was engaged in an acrimonious dispute with Foggin, who succeeded Duthie as Director of Education in 1916. The unruly pupils of a certain Mr Bester, who worked under the supervision of the Revd Verwoerd and taught Sunday School classes at Newmansford Farm School, near Bulawayo, had maliciously damaged property on the premises. When Bester was locked out of the school by its female principal, evidently on the Sunday following the destructive behaviour, Bester broke into the premises. When the matter was referred to the police and Foggin refused to let Bester continue his classes at the school,[97] the Revd Verwoerd claimed that the 'basis of the [Education] Department's action [was] racial, and that the Dutch children and Dutch parents [were] being differentiated against'. Foggin denied these accusation and said that the classes could be resumed if Bester was removed from a position of authority and the principal of the school was 'treated with proper courtesy in future'.[98] In November, 1916, the Revd Verwoerd was allowed to use another school in the town for Sunday School classes.[99]

In 1915, Lionel Cripps, the elected member for the Eastern Districts, attributed the Beyers-De Wet Rebellion 'to the gross and crass ignorance of the people who participated in it'. He observed that while Southern Rhodesia was at that time 'losing by emigration a large proportion of their best manhood' mainly as a result of the call

to arms 'there was a stream of immigration coming in from the Union which had so lately been in the Rebellion, so that possibly a large proportion of the future population of [Southern Rhodesia] might be supplied by those very people who, through ignorance and misleading, had taken part in the recent rebellion'. Cripps urged the B.S.A. Company administration to guard against the possible consequences of this settler trend which he viewed as a strong 'political reason why he desired to see compulsion in [the] country'.[100]

By 1914, when about 3000 white children attended schools, over 21,000 blacks were doing so.[101] Anxieties about large numbers of white settler children, most of them Afrikaners, receiving little or no education at all were to be expressed with growing frequency in the Legislative Council. One speaker went so far as to assert in 1915 that it was 'absolutely essential that the superior race should at least in every case receive a superior education to the inferior race'.[102] The Hole Committee, 1908, recommended that all white settler children within reasonable reach of schools should be compelled to receive at least a primary education.[103] The call for compulsion was regularly made in subsequent years and Afrikaner dissidence played a significant part in delaying its introduction until 1930.

In 1913 Duthie linked the urgent need for compulsion with 'Black Peril' fears when he reported on rural white girls 'clad more or less like natives and 'quite at home amongst them.' In Salisbury he knew of uneducated white children whom he feared could 'hardly avoid the ultimate destiny of adding to the criminal classes'. A white girl was 'daily employed along with natives' by her parents and Duthie suspected that the immoral earnings of another girl provided her parents' livelihood.[104] Not all of these cases involved Afrikaners, but they tended to be prominent amongst 'Poor Whites' in the territory. In 1921, Judge C. H. (later Sir Clarkson Henry) Tredgold had to admonish the Afrikaner parents of two girls, aged 12 and 15 years, who failed to attend school and were guilty of seducing blacks, as follows:

> 'You people,' he said, 'by the way you neglect your children, not only disgrace your race *[sic]* but bring the whole of the white people into disrepute. Two cases have been dealt with of attempted rape on white women, and I am confident that the cases are connected. If girls allow themselves to go with [. . .], then [. . .] will try to take advantage of other white girls'.[105]

When the D.R.C. made the long-delayed transfer of their orphanage from Bulawayo to Daisyfield in 1915, Duthie was keen to respond positively to their request for continued government aid. A school and hostel had been erected by the D.R.C. on a farm acquired from the B.S.A. Company which was situated near a railway siding 25 miles from Gwelo.[106] To conform with the recommendation of the Hole Committee that government aid should be confined to undenominational public schools, it was decided that the Department of Education would be solely responsible for the conduct of the school which also catered for the children of local farmers.[107] The government furnished the school and, by 1917, spent £540 a year on teachers' salaries, about £60 a year on school books and requisites and, under a revised system of computation which superseded the double boarding grant system of 1911, £480 towards the maintenance of the orphanage children. The D.R.C. contributed £500 towards the two institutions and paid the salaries of the orphanage superintendent and the matron.[108]

Duthie favoured the move to Daisyfield since Afrikaner children in urban areas tended 'to delay work and increase the difficulties of teachers,' mainly because of language problems, and, in many cases, their late entry to schools.[109] Duthie also felt that a rural environment was best suited for the vocational emphasis which the D.R.C. hoped to place on the education of the orphanage children.[110] In the context of the separatist movement conducted by Kotze, Duthie felt that government aid to Daisyfield was particularly important:

> It is of the highest importance that the school should come under government. Otherwise there is a grave danger of alienating a large section of the Dutch people from the government school system and from the point of view of the future of the country, it is really this class that has to be carefully cared for. If they were left to fend for themselves, the children will be either uneducated or placed under the poorest type of teachers with little or no qualifications. The poorer class of Dutch are content with the most meagre qualifications in their teachers and they are not able to afford any others. The result would be a large ignorant class which has been greatly to the disadvantage of such colonies as the Orange Free State, and they would be a great danger and great loss to the future government of Rhodesia.[111] Politically it is also important that the Dutch should be made to feel that they are at one with the rest of the inhabitants of Rhodesia.

At the specific request of pupils who had enjoyed cadet training at the Bulawayo Primary School, and particularly their attendance at an annual camp in the company of cadets from other schools, a cadet corps was formed at Daisyfield in 1915.[112] When the teacher in charge of the corps left the school later that year, training was continued by one of the cadets, John Basson,[113] who had been one of the first eight children accepted by the orphanage in Bulawayo. John and his brother Matthew later became headmasters of government schools in the territory. 4 However, the Revd A. J. Botha, who had succeeded Gildenhuys as Superintendent of the orphanage in 1911, did 'not regard the cadet movement with undue favour' and it soon disbanded.[114]

THE RUSSELL COMMITTEE AND THE REVIVAL OF THE D.R.C. SEPARATIST MOVEMENT 1916–1917

Mainly as a result of pressure exerted by farmers it was decided in 1916 that another public enquiry into white settler education was necessary. At the turn of the century most of the 11,000 white settlers lived in towns. By 1911 when whites numbered 23,000, urban and rural settlers were almost evenly balanced.[115] The children in the rapidly growing rural white community of miners and farmers, however, were generally disadvantaged in the education system. Considerable attention to education at the annual conferences of the Rhodesia Agricultural Union and in the Legislative Council, particularly from 1914 onwards, resulted in the appointment of the Education Committee, 1916, under the chairmanship of Chief Justice A. F. (later Sir Alexander Fraser) Russell.

The Russell Committee repeated the call for compulsory education made by the Hole Committee, 1908. However, instead of making compulsory education free, fees continued to be charged, except in necessitous cases, for, particularly in time of war,

fees would help to maximise funds for general improvement and expansion.[116] To improve rural education, larger boarding schools in main centres were recommended and smaller centres should have hostels for schools that would cater for pupils up to the seventh instead of the fifth standard.[117] To secure better teachers for farm schools, salaries should be raised, living conditions improved and, where sufficient numbers could be assembled, governesses should be appointed to instruct very young rural children in their homes.[118] The Russell Committee emphasized that only by 'making adequate provision for the education of all (*sic*) children within the territory of Southern Rhodesia' could 'the continued progress of the country be secured, and the . . . danger be averted of a large number of poor whites growing up uneducated.'[119]

The Russell Committee began its enquiries in July, 1916, but long before its report was tabled in the Legislative Council in January, 1917, Afrikaners knew that it would not recommend any departures from the anglicisation policy adopted in 1903. In September, 1916, F. P. D. (later Sir Francis Percy Drummond) Chaplin who had succeeded Milton as Administrator on 1 November, 1914, toured the Eastern Districts. A farmer, J. Martin, described by Chaplin as the 'main channel' between Afrikaner nationalists in South Africa and their brethren in Southern Rhodesia, vainly tried to persuade local residents to boycott the Administrator's welcome by Melsetter. At a meeting with a hundred Afrikaners in Chipinga, the Revd Badenhorst brought up the mother-tongue question. Chaplin explained that the Legislative Council opposed bilingualism and any change in the law on the English medium in schools. However, Chaplin promised special financial aid for the Chipinga school hostel, which received little more than payments in kind from parents who were unable to raise cash because East Coast Fever rendered their cattle unsaleable.[120]

Pupils who had finished standard 3 at Chipinga were supposed to attend the Chimanimani School[88] in Melsetter to complete their primary education. However, since the opening of Chipinga School in 1908 under its D.R.C. ouderling Principal Cilliers, the Revd Wessels, succeeded by Badenhorst, wished to develop the institution as a rival to the Chimanimani School. Apparently, Badenhorst was particularly soured against the Chimanimani School when Jackson was appointed to teach Dutch. When Foggin and Judge Russell toured the Melsetter district shortly after Chaplin's visit, Badenhorst told them that he regarded it as 'an insult to the Afrikander nation that Dutch should be taught at the Melsetter school by an Englishman.'[120]

Foggin attributed repeated failures to establish government farm schools in the district to Badenhorst's 'attitude'. Foggin lamented that when local D.R.C. ministers were 'hostile or even lukewarm' in support of proposals it was 'very difficult to effect anything'.[88] In 1915, McIntosh attributed the appearance of two separatist schools in the district to the 'surreptitious' influence of Badenhorst. McIntosh deplored the fact that more 'talent' was devoted by American missionaries to teaching blacks in the district, than was evident amongst whites, many of whose children either received very inferior instruction at separatist schools or else failed to attend school at all. McIntosh knew of a white farmer in the district who asked a black to read an English letter to him and then 'he kicked the native for knowing more than himself'.[121]

Matters came to a head in the Melsetter district in the wake of a visit by the Revd F. S. Van Heerden, from Ladybrand in the O.F.S. Inspired by Van Heerden, Badenhorst

told Foggin and then, early in December, Chaplin, that if mother-tongue instruction was not conceded, he would have to establish more separatist schools. Chaplin curtly replied that if Badenhorst 'was not satisfied, then he would have to do so.'[120] Foggin described Van Heerden as a 'high priest' of Afrikaner nationalism who, like 'the great Dr. Malan himself', had been 'called in to fan the dying embers' of Afrikaner agitation 'into a flame'.[122] In reaction to Chaplin's reply, Badenhorst and two parents, J. Martin and Z, Joubert, in late December, 1916, resigned as government nominees on the Melsetter Schools Advisory Committee.[123] By now the teacher at *Voorspoed* farm school had been dismissed for 'fostering disloyalty' to the government[124] and the resignation was demanded of the Chipinga school hostel matron, whom Foggin described as 'an active agent of anti-British propaganda'.[125]

Demands in Melsetter for mother-tongue instruction were accompanied by agitation for the removal of an English language test from the Electoral Law. In fact, 'not a single person had failed to get his name included on the voter's list on account of the language test' which, according to Chaplin, was used mainly as 'a valuable safeguard against the inclusion on the voter's list of coloured persons and undesirable foreigners'. Chaplin reported in February 1917 that 'Practically all the Predikants in the country' met to discuss these matters, either in Umtali or Salisbury.

Early in 1917 a teacher recruited by the Salisbury minister, B. J. Kloppers, was stopped at the border because he had been proscribed as an 'active rebel' in 1914. Kloppers had succeeded Kotze as the Predikant in Salisbury in 1915. While Van Heerden was 'going around the country' as Chaplin put it, Kotze visited Salisbury where he and Van Heerden evidently met to co-ordinate their separatist schemes.[120] In January Badenhorst was elected Chairman and Kloppers Secretary of a D.R.C. Education Committee representing ministers and Afrikaners from various parts of the territory, which planned to establish twelve C.N.O. schools.[126]

In an appeal for funds from South Africa, published in *Het Voksblad* in February, 1917, the Education Committee strongly criticised the treatment of Afrikaners in Rhodesia:

> It is today no longer an unknown fact that the Dutch speaking Afrikander in Rhodesia has by the laws of the country been placed on the same footing with the alien be he Coolie, Greek or Jew and that in the realm of education he has even less rights than the [. . .] who lives here in a barbaric or semi-civilized state. An hour of Dutch a day is, as a favour, allowed where the parents demand it, and as long as pressure is brought to bear on the department.[127]

One of the first actions of the Education Committee in the Melsetter district was to organise the parental boycott of the Chipinga village school and to persuade its Principal, Cilliers, to resign from government service. The volatile situation was aggravated when the Umtali Recruiting Committee issued 'khaki papers' for the registration of local men fit for military service. Afrikaners regarded these papers as 'the thin end of the wedge' leading to conscription. Prominent amongst agitators against registration were the former Local Schools Advisory Committee members, Badenhorst, Martin and Joubert.[128] When the local magistrate, J. B. Elliott, reported that Cilliers regularly attended the meetings of disaffected Afrikaners, Foggin vainly tried to persuade him to remain loyal to the Department of Education.[129]

In February the Assistant Native Commissioner, E. C. Lenthall had to reassure a meeting of local farmers at the Chipinga courthouse that the government had no intention of introducing conscription. One farmer had been spreading rumours that Germany had already won the war, and Lenthall believed that if local Afrikaner leaders were not so active in their opposition to the war many youngsters in the district would have willingly enlisted.[130] Elliot also had to reassure about forty farmers about the 'Khaki papers' at a meeting held in Melsetter and reported on 'wild talk among malcontents' which included a threat by one farmer 'of blowing the head off the first Englishman who sought to force military service on him or any member of his family'.[131] After one term at St. John's College, Oxford, as a Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar, Elliott's son enlisted in 1916. Captain V. A. E. Elliott was killed in action on the 25 March 1918.[132] In 1917 the B.S.A. Company administration compromised with its anti-bilingual principles to the extent that pamphlets in Afrikaans – *Engeland en de Oorlog* and *Strijd aan de Somme* – were procured from the Cape for distribution to various schools in the territory.[133]

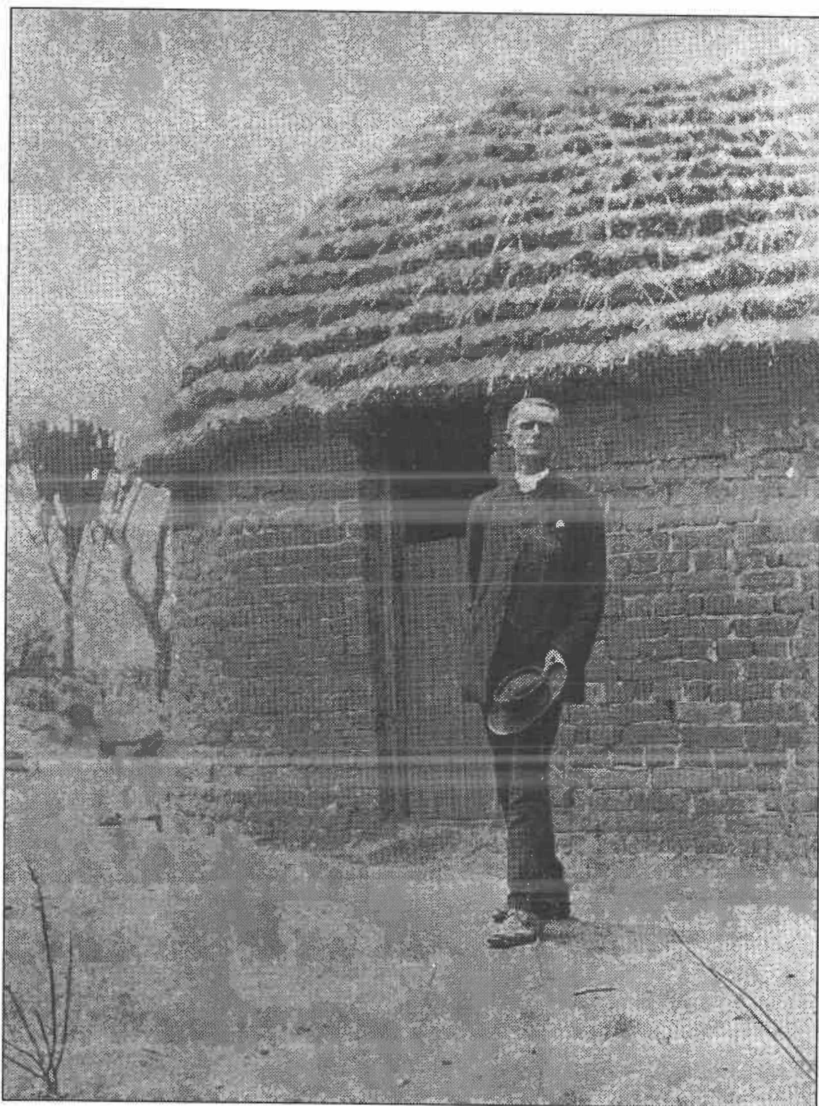
The parental boycott and the resignation of Cilliers at the end of the first term prompted the closure of the school in June, 1917.[134] Cilliers took charge of a C.N.O. school in the village and by April 1917 there were four separatist schools in the Melsetter district and four others near Enkeldoorn, Fort Victoria, Mazoe and Headlands.[126] In this month Badenhorst convened a meeting of D.R.C. ministers from various parts of the country who asked him to inform Chaplin that they strongly objected to a claim made by the Russell Committee, 1916, that white settlers would 'cheerfully' bear the burden of extra taxation for the implementation of its recommendations. Apparently with compulsion at the forefront of their minds, the ministers warned Chaplin of 'serious difficulties' likely to arise from the implementation of the recommendations for 'the greater majority of the Dutch speaking parents' felt 'weighty grievances on account of the system of education' in the territory.[135] Chaplin informed Badenhorst that no such legislation was being contemplated.[136]

After consultations between Chaplin, the London Board of the B.S.A. Company and elected members of the Legislative Council, it was decided that there was no need for 'any special action' to deal with the revived separatist movement. It was felt that 'all provision that [could] reasonably be demanded [was] made for the teaching of Dutch in government schools.'[137] As for mother-tongue instruction up to standard IV Chaplin evidently shared Foggin's view that any concession would simply 'result at once in Dutch districts in the teaching of characteristic anti-British and anti-imperialist principles of the [Hertzogite] Nationalist Party'.[138] Badenhorst was rather contemptuously dismissed by Chaplin as a 'rabid nationalist and racialist' who condemned marriages between Boers and Britons as a disgrace to Afrikanerdom. Chaplin felt that the 'Dutch in Rhodesia [were] merely a pawn in the game' of South African politics.[120] Indeed, Chaplin suspected that Badenhorst and Van Heerden were merely intent upon publicising their campaign in South Africa 'with the object probably of making out that General Botha [did] nothing to support the interests of Dutch people in Rhodesia.'[126]

Chaplin took comfort from the fact that only a small minority of Afrikaners in the territory actively supported the separatist cause. Indeed, even in the Melsetter district, it was evident that the separatists were unpopular amongst 'older Dutch settlers'. In a

letter published in *Ons Vaderland* on 13 March, 1917, A. D. Olwage, whose children had attended the Melsetter school since 1902 and, so he claimed, spoke better Dutch than English, censured Badenhorst for neglecting his flock. The 'door of the church' was 'closed on Sundays so that children [were] forced to hold Sunday School in private homes' whilst subscribers to the church foundation 'left empty places in the building.'[139] Olwage and his family had arrived in Melsetter with the Martin Trek in 1894.[140]

In March, 1917, there were 692 Afrikaner children at public schools, but full fees



Fr. A. S. Cripps outside his mission buildings near Enkeldoorn, 1912.
National Archives of Zimbabwe

were received for only 252 of them. Twenty-three of the children were granted remission of half their fees, and 417 received free tuition.[141] About a hundred children attended separatist schools, a number that remained unchanged in 1918. Generally cordial relations were to be maintained between the Department of Education and certain prominent D.R.C. ministers in various parts of the territory, which meant that the separatist movement never became a cause for a major public alarm.

D.R.C. CO-OPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN ENKELDOORN, FORT VICTORIA AND DAISYFIELD, 1913–1922

As Chairman of the local schools Advisory Board, Liebenberg continued to exercise a powerful influence on Afrikaner education in the Enkeldoorn district. He actively assisted the Department of Education in the establishment of farm schools where he was particularly vigilant in the promotion of Dutch instruction and Sunday Schools.[142] In 1915 trouble arose when the village school Principal suspended Dutch lessons, allegedly because teachers could not spare time for the subject. Following complaints from Liebenberg and a parental petition, the Principal was cautioned by the Department and ordered to resume classes immediately.[143] Public relations evidently improved to the extent that, in 1917, Foggin specially praised the Principal for celebrating Empire Day in an 'admirable manner' and for the pupils' generous contribution to the Rhodesia Children's Motor Ambulance Fund for the benefit of troops on the Western Front.[144]

A difficulty arose in 1917 when the Advisory Committee excluded the children of a local farmer from the Enkeldoorn village school because they were of mixed race. The Anglican priest, Arthur Shearly Cripps, protested to Foggin that this was unfair because the children were only 'slightly coloured' and therefore no different than some pupils attending the school who had 'definite traces of coloured blood' in their ancestry.[145] The matter was referred to Chaplin, who apparently decided that the matter should not be contested with Liebenberg and the Advisory Committee. Arrangements were made with Cripps for the education of the excluded children in their homes.[146]

In 1919 Foggin had occasion to inform Liebenberg that he had 'always appreciated [his] co-operation on educational matters in the Enkeldoorn district' and it was his belief that this co-operation between the government and the D.R.C. had been 'productive of great benefit educationally and otherwise'.[147] When Smuts toured Southern Rhodesia on the eve of the 1922 Referendum, Enkeldoorn school had a holiday for his welcome.[148] Greatly impressed by the way Liebenberg and Cripps had co-operated over the years, Smuts cited this as an example of how all Boers and Britons might one day work amicably together.[149]

The Morgenster missionaries, like Cripps, were concerned primarily with work amongst blacks, but they continued to be drawn into Afrikaner educational affairs. They too helped the Department of Education in the establishment of local farm schools. One of these schools was opened at Morgenster in 1917 to cater for the children of missionaries.[150] In 1921 the Revd Louw tried vainly to seek sanction for the attendance of children of mixed race at another white farm school in the Fort Victoria district on the grounds that they belonged to 'a respectable family'. Eventually, an arrangement similar to the one made with Cripps for the children excluded from the Enkeldoorn village school was authorised by Chaplin.[151]

J. C. Smuts
National Archives of Zimbabwe

It will be noted presently how the Morgenster missionaries, particularly the Revd Louw, played a significant role in matters concerning Government relations with the separatist movement. It is important, therefore, to understand why they continued to co-operate with the government. Although Louw had lost a brother in the Anglo-Boer War and he had married Cinnie, the sister of D. F. Malan in 1894, he had been reared in such a way that his faith transcended nationalist animosities and he regarded Britons with genuine toleration. His attitude can be summed up as 'a tactful but firm' approach to the B.S.A. Company administration based on the principle that missionaries should refrain from political interference in the country where they worked—a principle of policy that was eventually given explicit approval by D.R.C. missionary authorities.[4]

Addressing the Cape Synod of the D.R.C. in February, 1915, Kotze criticised a relatively recent decision in Southern Rhodesia to accept state aid for mission schools because it would divert the main aim of Christian conversion into what 'the government desired to be taught'. He opposed government aid being made contingent upon pupils learning English because this encouraged them to seek salaried employment by whites and exposed them to 'the evil influence of towns'. Indeed, Kotze deplored the teaching of any European language to blacks, including Dutch, for he believed that they should receive only 'a Christian education' in the vernacular. The Morgenster missionaries argued that if the D.R.C. refused to teach English, the determination of pupils to learn the language would prompt their defection to rival missionary bodies. Moreover, the D.R.C., missionaries did not wish 'to have the government against them' and 'it treated them in a most friendly and sympathetic manner'.[152]

Although relations between the Department of Education and the Superintendent of Daisyfield Orphanage, the Revd Botha, were hardly more cordial than they had been with his predecessor, the Revd Geldenhuys, he remained co-operative, albeit without enthusiasm, throughout the separatist era. Indeed, it will be noted presently that events at Daisyfield were to be vital in the eventual resolution of the disputes between the government and the separatists.

THE REVIVED SEPARATIST MOVEMENT AND THE D.R.C. MODERAMENS PETITION 1917

As a result of representations made in South Africa by Van Heerden on behalf of the separatists, *The Moderamens of the Federal Dutch Reformed Churches in the Four Provinces of the Union* asked him to forward a petition to Chaplin on 13 June, 1917, which was evidently concerned mainly about the possibility that compulsory education would soon be implemented in the territory. The petitioners argued that as Afrikaners had played a vital part in the successful settlement of Southern Rhodesia by whites, and as about 'a quarter' of the pupils in white settler schools were Afrikaners, the B. S. A Company administration should pay more respect to their demands for mother-tongue instruction, at least in the early stages of their education, and for the exercise of parental control of teacher appointments in the schools.[153]

Amongst those consulted by Chaplin on the petition was the Treasurer, F. J. (later Sir Francis James) Newton:

> This agitation is engendered and fostered by outside influences – possibly originated by Mr Kotze and Mr Badenhorst. I do not believe there is much real

feeling on the subject amongst the Dutch lay inhabitants. Some of them come up here, and stay up here, to get away from bilingualism and its attendant difficulties, and it is probable that most of the signatories of the petition are quite unaware of local feeling and conditions in Rhodesia and do not realise that the question is hardly a 'live' one up here – and that any reform of the law in the direction suggested would be distasteful and summarily rejected. I think the Legislative Council, and its unofficial members are our strong point.[154]

In his rejection of the Moderamens petition, Chaplin decided to provide the petitioners with clarification of some of their misconceptions about the educational system in Southern Rhodesia. One of their criticisms was that Afrikaners were deliberately excluded from Local School Advisory Committees. Foggin explained that 'no question of nationality [had] hitherto arisen in connection with the constitution of Schools Advisory Committees' which were sometimes nominated entirely by the government when, in the cases of Melsetter and Enkeldoorn, Afrikaners were included. Elsewhere, the committees were nominated equally by government and local authorities and these members chose additional representatives from the parents of pupils at local schools. As for a complaint that the committees were not consulted about teacher appointments, Foggin explained that they were purely advisory in their nature; but he pointed out that where the power of appointing teachers was exercised locally in the union it tended to be 'a fruitful cause of strife'.[155]

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THE TEACHING OF DUTCH IN SALISBURY AND UMTALI 1917–1918

In January, 1917, Foggin warned the Principal of the Chimanimani school in Melsetter, A. J. McLeod, that he should give local Afrikaners 'no cause . . . for legitimate complaint' by always ensuring that Dutch was adequately taught.[156] Foggin's application in Umtali and Salisbury of this policy of giving 'no cause for legitimate complaint' evidently played a significant part in the escalation of the separatist movement from rural areas into these two towns in 1919 and 1920.

In May, 1917, Foggin informed the Revd W. C. Malan in Umtali and Kloppers in Salisbury that they must present him with petitions from parents before Dutch could be taught in the local schools.[157] In June Malan presented Foggin with a petition signed by 26 Umtali parents and in July Kloppers presented one signed by 50 parents.[158] After investigating the legitimacy of these petitions Foggin told the ministers that he would arrange for Dutch classes to start in the schools in January 1918.

In June, 1917, Foggin asked Malan to help him in the recruitment of a part-time teacher of Dutch, who would be paid at the rate of 4 shillings an hour. A teacher found by Malan was then rejected by Foggin because her Third Class Teacher's Certificate rendered her inadequately qualified for a high school post.[159] Eventually Foggin appointed a full time teacher of French and Dutch, who Malan complained was 'unsympathetic' towards Afrikaners.[160] In May, 1918, the teacher had to be dismissed for 'misconduct'[161] but her eventual replacement proved to be similarly averse to Afrikaners. In an interview with Chaplin in July 1918, Malan was particularly critical of the attitudes of these teachers who had the effect of undermining all sense of 'noble national pride' amongst Afrikaner pupils.[162]

In Salisbury, Foggin had first proposed that Dutch classes be offered on a voluntary basis, like music, but when Kloppers objected, it was agreed that Dutch should be incorporated into the ordinary school hours. In a manner similar to the one adopted in Bulawayo since 1911, a peripatetic teacher would give Dutch lessons at the Boys' and Girls' High Schools and at the Primary School.[163] Problems arose when Foggin insisted that the post should go to a Miss M. M. Gildenhuys, who was 'thoroughly conversant with the Dutch language, both literary and colloquial' and who had specially requested a transfer from the Melsetter district to an urban post in 1915.[164]

Badenhorst had originally recommended Gildenhuys to Foggin as a temporary replacement for Cilliers when he went on long leave in 1915.[165] Subsequently, Gildenhuys rowed with Afrikaner parents at a farm school who objected to her severity with pupils.[166] In Salisbury a deputation composed of Kloppers, the Revd T. C. B Vlok, who was engaged in missionary works amongst local blacks, and a Mr Maritz, who was apparently a lay representative of parents, objected to Foggin about Gildenhuys' appointment.[167] However, Foggin was insistent and refused to accept the deputation's demand that teachers of Dutch should be members of the D.R.C.[168] Gildenhuys taught for two years in Salisbury. In this time she was refused an allowance to cover wear and tear on her bicycle and her claim that a new one was needed every two years was dismissed as being extravagant.[169] In June, 1919, she was refused a post as a hostel mistress because she had annoyed the domestic staff and her disciplinary methods were considered to be unduly harsh.[170] In November, 1919, it was decided that Gildenhuys should transfer to Penhalonga Public School.[171]

Evidently, Foggin insisted on the Salisbury appointment of Gildenhuys because he did not wish to compromise the principle that only the government should decide on teacher selections. In Umtali and Salisbury, Foggin may have been concerned too about the extent to which teachers of Dutch might be compatible with predominantly British loyalist colleagues. However, he was not entirely unsympathetic with Vlok, Kloppers and Maritz in December, 1917, in his response to their request that Dutch should be accepted as an alternative to French in the Beit Scholarship examinations. Foggin advised them to consult the Beit trustees on the matter, but also promised to support personally their representations.[172] Consequently, in a letter to the Trustees, in February 1918, Foggin pointed out that immigration to the territory from overseas had 'practically ceased' and now consisted 'almost exclusively of immigrants from the Union of South Africa to whom the idea of dual languages [was] already familiar and whose children [were] accustomed to learn Dutch in schools'.[173] The Beit Trustees remained obdurate in their refusal to make this concession.

THE REVIVED SEPARATIST MOVEMENT AND THE D.R.C. INTERNAL MISSION COMMISSION 1918

Early in 1918 Badenhorst took extended leave to seek greater South African support and raise funds for boarders to attend the Chipinga C.N.O. School.[174] In a public lecture published by the *Ladybrand Courant and Ficksburg News*, Badenhorst asserted that Rhodes' promise of 'equal rights for all civilised men South of the Zambezi' was ignored in Southern Rhodesia. An editorial agreed that Afrikaner settlers deserved better treatment in view of 'the debt which the European element [owed] to the sturdy

Dutch pioneers of Rhodesia'.[175] These views were echoed a month later in *Die Vriend Des Volks,* (Friend of the People), Bloemfontein, which praised the 'energetic efforts' of the D.R.C. Education Committee and lamented that despite the pioneer contributions of Afrikaners, in recent years 'everything [was] being done to make them feel . . unwelcome'. It was claimed that intending Afrikaner immigrants were turned back at the border 'without a hearing' and with only third class rail tickets. If they could not afford to pay the difference to travel in a better class they had to travel with blacks. *Die Friend* also alleged that British settler demands for conscription were intended to prevent Southern Rhodesia 'being further overrun by Afrikanders from the Union'.[176]

Badenhorst also sought help from the Cape Synod of the D.R.C., conveying the special concern of his Committee about Department of Education refusals to consider Afrikaner wishes in Dutch teacher appointments in Salisbury, Umtali and elsewhere, the unsatisfactoriness of using peripatetic urban teachers of Dutch, the employment of uncertificated teachers 'right and left', insufficient numbers of Schools Advisory Committees and their inadequacies with regard to parental rights and Afrikaner representation. In April, 1818, the Revd H. P. Van der Merwe, Chairman of *Die Inwendige Zending Commissie* (Internal Mission Commission – I.M.C.), which distributed the philanthropic funds of the *Die Nededuitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, asked the Union Government Minister of Education, F. S. Malan, to arrange for a meeting between the I.M.C. and Foggin to discuss the D.R.C. Education Committee's complaints. The I.M.C. agreed with Badenhorst that 'even' blacks in Southern Rhodesia received respect for their languages, which was denied Afrikaners; it was hoped therefore, that the 'British flag' would be seen to signify 'freedom not suppression'.

Van der Merwe explained to Malan that the I.M.C. had £60,000 from *Helpmekaar* funds available to assist the separatists, but hoped to avoid 'racial friction' by finding a '*modus vivendi*' whereby the B.S.A. Company administration and the D.R.C. could work in harmony.[177] Malan explained to Van der Merwe that he could hardly interfere in the domestic affairs of a neighbouring state, but he agreed to forward an I.M.C. letter to Chaplin which he thought was 'couched in very reasonable terms'.[178] The High Commissioner for South Africa, Lord Buxton, also wrote to Chaplin advising him to receive the deputies personally. Buxton hoped that this would help to placate them and remove any misunderstanding about educational policy in Southern Rhodesia.[179] In May, 1918, Chaplin informed Malan that he would meet the delegates 'at their convenience' but explained that there was not 'the least likelihood of the Legislative Council agreeing to the alteration of any existing laws, even if [he] proposed that this should be done'.[180] In June the Revd A. D. Luckhoff, Secretary to the Committee for Home Missions of the D.R.C. in the Cape Province, informed Chaplin that he, Van der Merwe and the Revd J. H. Van Wyk intended to tour Southern Rhodesia in July and they hoped to meet him on the 19 August.[181]

Shortly before the date scheduled for the meeting with Chaplin, a body campaigning against a proposed Defence Ordinance, which would allow for conscription, the Rhodesia-South Africa Union (R–SAU), planned to hold a congress in Salisbury. Chaplin suspected that the I.M.C. meeting might 'be used for the purpose of discussing not merely educational matters, but other questions in which the Dutch settlers, as such, [were] specially interested'.[182] Chaplin's suspicions were strengthened by

knowledge of a telegram from Badenhorst to the Revd D. S. Eksteen, of Bulawayo sent in June, 1918, advising him to hold *Nachtmaal* (a quarterly gathering of D.R.C. members to celebrate communion) on 25 August so that advantage could be taken of the visit of the I.M.C. delegates.[183] Eksteen was a prominent campaigner against the proposed Defence Ordinance. In search of support for the R-SAU, Eksteen, and Pat Fletcher, brother of elected Legislative Council member, R. A. Fletcher, visited Daisyfield. As a result of this visit the orphanage superintendent, Botha, and fifteen local farmers, whose sympathies were for Germany, rendered the position of the Daisyfield School Principal, D. T. Cranna, who was 'quite' loyal to the government, 'most untenable'.[184] The R-SAU Congress, chaired by J. Martin of Melsetter, was held from 17 to 19 August and included in its resolutions an 'appreciation of the work . . . done by the Rhodesia Education Committee' in its establishment of separatist schools.[185] In response to R-SAU protests Chaplin advised Buxton not to ratify the Defence Ordinance.[186] However, his suspicions that the I.M.C. delegates would stray beyond the boundaries of educational matters during the 19 August meeting, proved to be unfounded.

In preparation for the August meeting, Chaplin asked Foggin to provide a defence against criticisms made in the D.R.C. Education Committee's appeal to the I.M.C. Foggin pointed out that the majority of teachers giving instruction in Dutch were Afrikaners, that the majority of teachers in the territory were certificated, the proportion of uncertificated appointments was much smaller than it was in the union and D.R.C. nominees often lacked adequate professional qualifications. Moreover, the Education Department could not deviate from the undenominational policy recommended by the Hole Committee 1908 by giving religious bodies a 'right' to appoint teachers. Foggin also clarified matters with regard to possible misunderstandings about the role of Schools Advisory Committees. It was impractical to appoint committees for individual mine and farm schools, mainly because of the mobile nature of the white settler population. Consequently only thirteen committees existed for the exercise of purely advisory powers in the conduct of groups of schools in their respective localities.[187]

When Chaplin met the I.M.C. delegates on 19 August, they were accompanied by Louw and Vlok, two senior *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* missionaries in Southern Rhodesia. The attentions of the delegates were confined solely to educational matters and Chaplin found that their attitude 'was not so uncompromising as that of some of the Predikants resident in Rhodesia'. Indeed, 'at the close of proceedings they stated in so many words that they were not in sympathy with the attitude adopted by Mr. Badenhorst, the Predikant of the Melsetter District'. The I.M.C. delegates expressed approval of much that was done by the government for Afrikaners, particularly at Daisyfield and Morgenster.[188]

Chaplin told the delegates that his administration could not accept mother-tongue instruction and bilingualism in public schools, nor could it allow parental nominations of teachers. However, Chaplin agreed to consider sympathetically a number of matters raised by the delegates, notably their requests for improvements in rural hostel facilities and assistance for local students who sought teaching qualifications in South Africa. Although Chaplin agreed that local facilities for the vocational training of indigent Afrikaner children should be developed, he did not think they should be sent to industrial

training institutions in the Union. Chaplin expressed sympathy with I.M.C. desires for compulsory education, but regretted that government funds did not allow for this measure. The I.M.C. desire for free primary education could not be satisfied for similar reasons, but Chaplin pointed out that the great majority of Afrikaners pupils in the territory were already exempted from paying fees.[189]

Ethel Tawse-Jollie, a Melsetter resident who was shortly to become the first woman elected to a national legislature in the history of the British Empire, when she staunchly supported Responsible Government for Southern Rhodesia,[190] in the wake of Chaplin's meeting made pertinent points on the separatist movement in *The Herald.* Tawse-Jollie noted that the basic problem was that Afrikaners were generally 'at a different stage of civilisation to their British counterparts'. In advanced Western European countries, the state had largely superseded local, usually denominational, influences in schools. Local Afrikaners therefore were struggling against a worldwide trend. Tawse-Jollie suggested two possible courses of action. The government should either make education compulsory and free and trust to economic pressure to drive Afrikaners from separatist schools, or else, it should co-operate with the dissidents, who also favoured compulsion, and concede mother-tongue instruction, at least in the lower standards.[191] It will be noted presently how the eventual solution to the problem approximated closely to Tawse-Jollie's latter advice.

In *The Bulawayo Chronicle* Eksteen recalled the adoption of mother-tongue instruction in India under Lord Curzon in 1904 and recognition of the principle that English should not be taught before children have received a thorough grounding in their own languages. This principle was endorsed by delegates at the Imperial Education Conference at Whitehall in 1911 for application in various parts of the British Empire. Eksteen asked if Southern Rhodesia intended to be the only exception to this rule.[192]

The Great War was drawing to a close and Anglo-Boer feeling ran high on both sides. Early in August the Mayor of Salisbury, George Elcombe, invited Kloppers to attend monthly 'Citizen Fellowship Services' to pray for those at war. Kloppers wrote to tell Elcombe that he had no wish to pray to 'prolong [the] awful bloodshed'. Elcombe had this letter published in *The Herald,* where Kloppers was vilified for his alleged unwillingness to support the British war effort. Kloppers objected that the Mayor had no right to publish what had been a personal communication. An editorial entitled 'War and Politics' condemned Kloppers along with bilingualism and praised 'most settlers for their determination to keep Southern Rhodesia British'.[193]

Sir Charles Coghlan, 'unofficial' leader of the elected member of the Legislative Council, endorsed the line taken by Chaplin with the I.M.C. delegates. Coghlan felt that any consideration given to Afrikaners should not be allowed to injure the existing system of public schools and declared that if their 'Dutch friends insist on going their own way, then they must'.[194] The London Board of the B.S.A. Company also supported Chaplin. It feared that any attempts to alter the *Education Ordinance, 1903,* in deference to D.R.C. language demands would 'arouse strong opposition' from the British majority of settlers. Indeed this opposition would 'possibly result in a demand for the restriction of the facilities [already] given for the teaching of Dutch' and thereby provoke 'that racial division, to minimise which' should 'be the aim of all thinking people in South

Africa'.[195] Chaplin confided in a letter to Rhodes' banker and biographer Sir Lewis Mitchell, in August 1918:

> You will have seen from the papers that a section of the Dutch community have been pressing their views on various subjects, their contention, put shortly, being that they are entitled in Rhodesia to anything they can claim in the Union, which is, of course, absurd.[196]

In the wake of the I.M.C. visit, the separatist movement thrived. Pupils attending separatist schools rose in numbers from 100 in 1918 to 240 in 1921 and the separatist school in Chipinga acquired hostel facilities. In 1919, Malan opened a separatist school in Umtali and early in the following year, a large separatist boarding school, offering secondary education, opened in Salisbury.[197] Evidently, in conformity with assurances given to the I.M.C. delegates by Chaplin that wherever practical, a sympathetic response would be given to their recommendations, initiatives were to be taken by the Department of Education from 1919 onwards which signalled a departure from the policy of simply trying to give Afrikaners 'no cause for legitimate complaint.' Indeed, without amending the *Education Ordinance, 1903*, and without provoking very strong objections from the British majority of settlers, the more conciliatory approach adopted by the Department of Education meant that by 1922 a '*modus vivendi*' was achieved that conformed very closely with what the I.M.C. delegates had sought in 1918.

CONCILIATORY GOVERNMENT POLICY AT DAISYFIELD – THE TEACHING OF AFRIKAANS

The more conciliatory and positive approach to Afrikaner education manifested itself most importantly at Daisyfield. Apparently, the armistice and the ravages of the influenza pandemic did little to stifle the flames of Afrikaner nationalism at the place, for Foggin described it in June, 1919, as a 'centre of political influence . . . antagonistic to the government'. To restrict 'the scope of the political energies' of the orphanage authorities, Foggin urged acceptance of requests for increased government aid to the institution and for Afrikaans to replace Dutch in the curriculum of the school. Foggin feared that failure to make these concessions would be interpreted by 'the D.R.C. authorities and their friends in the Union as evidence of hostility to Afrikaners'.[198]

One purpose of the increased aid was to assist with the development of vocational training, evidently in conformity with assurances given to the I.M.C. in 1918. The main aim of this training was to prepare older boys 'to earn their living by agriculture and handicrafts, and in the case of girls by domestic duties'.[199] By 1920, the hostility of the orphanage authorities towards the government was apparently curbed to the extent that cadet training was resumed.[200] However, steps taken to introduce Afrikaans into the curriculum at Daisyfield and eventually all public schools in the territory were particularly significant.

In 1914, Afrikaans was sanctioned as a medium of instruction in the Cape, Transvaal and O.F.S., and became one of the official languages of the Union in 1918 and the official language in all the Dutch Reformed Churches in 1919. However, Foggin was cautious about its introduction as a subject at Daisyfield, believing that this had 'a direct connection with political nationalism' rather than genuine concern about the

virtues of mother-tongue instruction. It was to be taught up to the fourth standard as an 'experiment',[198] but Foggin resisted its replacement of Dutch in other schools before 1921. He argued that the range of Afrikaans literature was narrow and, at a time when financial stringency was generally called for in public expenditure, he was reluctant to commit his department to the costly exercise of replacing Dutch with Afrikaans texts.[201] In response to parental requests, the switch to Afrikaans was sanctioned in some instances in 1919, but Foggin generally asked parents to wait until the end of 1920.[202] In February, 1921, Condy drew up an official Afrikaans syllabus.[203] When the Principal of the Morgenster Farm School adopted Afrikaans, her orders for text books included arithmetic and geography titles. Foggin had to remind her that these and other subjects should be taught in the English medium.[204]

There was only slight British settler resistance to the change. The Eveline High School Headmistress balked at the switch in the curriculum for pupil teachers because she felt that Afrikaans was of less academic value than Dutch.[205] Foggin informed her that parental wishes rendered Afrikaans a prerequisite in most of the farm schools where her pupils would teach.[206] Macintosh personally persuaded the Headmistress to yield in 1922.[207] The Local Schools Advisory Committee in Fort Victoria, resisted implementation of the change in the village school until 1923, when Foggin estimated that half the pupils would take the subject and Afrikaner attendances would increase.[208] In Salisbury in March,1922, Miss A. H. Fletcher was unable to meet the demand for Afrikaans lessons during school hours and had to take extra classes for three hours a week.[209] Although Dutch teaching was likely to cease altogether, Foggin expressed approval in his report of 1922 that at least one school had ordered 'works in Netherlands' for its library 'to keep the knowledge' of the language 'alive if possible and for their 'greater literary value' compared with what was contained in 'more popular Afrikaans'.[210] Whatever his personal reservations might have been, Foggin had to report in 1923 that in high schools, children whose home language was English accounted for 80% of pupils taking Afrikaans.[211]

CONCILIATORY GOVERNMENT POLICY IN FORT VICTORIA

The new policy adopted at Daisyfield was evident too in Fort Victoria in 1919. Since 1905 attendances at the government village school had been small and consisted mainly of British pupils. Many local Afrikaners were either unable or unwilling to patronize the institution, but their wandering way of life, mainly as transport riders, precluded the establishment of farm schools for their children.[212] In 1919, Chaplin visited Morgenster where he hoped hostel facilities at the farm school for missionary children might cater for local Afrikaner children who failed to attend school at all. Louw was unwilling to take this responsibility, for the D.R.C. missionaries were fully occupied by their endeavours amongst blacks, which exceeded those of any other denomination in the territory.[213] However, Louw did help to establish what was officially categorised as a farm school near Fort Victoria, on land leased by the Revd I. Botha of Pamushana Mission Station. With a government loan of £100 the D.R.C. erected a teacher's house and classroom, the government debt to be written off at the rate of £20 a year for depreciation of the value of the building.[214]

The Victoria Plots School opened in April, 1920, under Miss A. Frylinck from the

O.F.S. Foggin wished to appoint a married male to the post, but yielded to Louw's preference for Frylinck,[215] who was described by Brady as 'elderly and of an independent character' but prepared to 'rough it, and . . . make any sacrifice in the interest of her work'.[216] Despite strong pleas from parents and Foggin, Frylinck could not be persuaded to remain at the school beyond 30 September 1921.[217] Foggin wanted J. J. Smit, who was 'young, energetic and pleasant to get on with' to succeed Frylinck, but, yet again, he yielded to Louw, who favoured T. E. Ferreira.[218] Foggin described an inspection report on Ferreira's work at *Vlakplaatz* Farm near Enkeldoorn as 'one of the most disappointing which [he had] read for a long time'.[219]

By February, 1922, there were 34 pupils at Victoria Plots, warranting the appointment of Mrs A. M. Lavers as a temporary assistant teacher.[220] When Lavers resigned, numbers required the appointment of the Principal's sister Miss A. M. Ferreira on a full-time basis. When Miss Ferreira asked for a transfer to Enkeldoorn village school, Louw recommended Mrs C. J. Spies, nee Holloway, but Foggin was unable to accept the ex-separatist teacher, for regulations forbade the full-time employment of married women.[221] The post went to another ex-separatist teacher, Miss M. C. De Jager.[222] In September, 1922, Miss Ferreira married the ex-Daisyfield pupil and keen cadet M. Basson, who taught at Enkeldoorn before he became Acting Principle of Victoria Plots in 1923, when Ferreira went on long leave.[223]

CONCILIATORY POLICY IN ENKELDOORN

In Enkeldoorn, the new policy of 1919 was particularly evident in connection with the village school and hostel. When the Local Schools Advisory Committee recommended large numbers of exemptions and remissions of school fees in 1919, Foggin defended them against Treasury queries on the grounds of 'special circumstances in the Enkeldoorn district' where settlers were almost entirely farmers whose incomes were low, although their assets in cattle and land might be considerable.[224] Although Foggin endorsed generous grants of free tuition and remissions of fees, which sometimes amounted to as much as 95%[225] of all fees charged, he had to caution Liebenberg's Committee in 1922. In that year it recommended grants of free tuition that were in many cases 'beyond the period asked for by the parents and in some cases for the period when the child was not at school'.[226] In 1920 Foggin supported electioneering speeches opposing tuition fees in elementary education for they involved clerical work that was disproportionately expensive in relation to the revenues received.[225]

In 1916 the Russell Committee recommended that the policy favoured since 1908 of concentrating boarding facilities in the main centres, where secondary education could be most efficiently developed, should be modified to cater for parents who were reluctant to send very young children to distant hostels. Although the Committee envisaged government hostels in smaller centres for at least 30 boarders,[227] special arrangements were made for the Department to assist boarders at Enkeldoorn, where numbers never exceeded 20 before 1923.

To conform with the undenominational principle, the D.R.C. surrendered control of its hostel to a local management committee in 1920 and the government provided additional accommodation for the separation of the sexes. The government paid the salary of the matron and granted financial assistance for children whose parents could

not afford the hostel fees of £30 annually.[228] Financially, the hostel committee was responsible 'in a purely nominal sense', for it would soon have disbanded if liable for heavy debts. Even so, under the committee the hostels could be run much more cheaply than government ones, where the fee was £48 a year. Moreover, if the government had assumed full responsibility for the hostels, a demand might have arisen for 'the general accommodation and arrangements in the boarding houses' to 'conform to those which prevailed elsewhere in the territory' and this would have involved much heavier expenditure.[229]

At first, prompt payments of fees were not always insisted on by the hostel committee. The full charge was greatly reduced for additional boarders from the same family. By 1922 this meant that one parent with five children had run up arrears of £60, while the charge for a third child of his at the hostel was only £10. When Foggin sanctioned a loan of £200 to help the committee out of its financial difficulties that year, he insisted that it tighten up on food purchases, refused to let parents accumulate debts in fee payments and instructed that it must charge at least £20 for boarders. However, Foggin promised that the government would award grants-in-aid for necessitous cases. The parent in arrears was now granted £3 a quarter for each of his five children at the hostel and grants of £4 to £2 were awarded for eight other boarders.[230] As there were only about 20 boarders, over half of them were subsidised by the government. Generally, the hostel committee performed what Foggin described in 1923 as 'a very useful function in the education arrangements of the Charter district'.[229] At a time of economic recession, when East Coast fever added to the burdens of local farmers,[231] a great advantage of the hostels was that their fees 'were low indeed' by comparison with those charged elsewhere in the territory.[229]

During the period to 1923, most Afrikaner farmers were 'not in a position to send their children to schools outside their own district'.[232] In cases where parents could not even afford to patronise local institutions, despite boarding grants and free tuition, they could send their children to the Daisyfield Orphanage or the Bulawayo Primary School, where the Loyal Women's Guild offered free hostel accommodation for boys. However, Foggin felt that some of the conditions of administration at Daisyfield were 'unduly harsh' as parents were unable to remove their children from the place before the D.R.C. authorities felt that their vocationally orientated education was complete, and the children could not return to their homes during school holidays. Foggin approved of these conditions for children from homes where 'normal influences [were] bad', but felt that they should not apply to cases of parents who were 'poor but respectable'.[233] The orphanage was also a forbidding prospect for health reasons. A relatively high incidence of illness, including pneumonia was partially attributed to poor living conditions and neglect at the D.R.C. hostel in Bulawayo.[234] Matters hardly improved at Daisyfield where deficient accommodation and distance from adequate medical attention contributed to the death of a teacher during an enteric epidemic in 1920.[235]

For the rural Afrikaner children attending secondary boarding schools the maximum quarterly grants were £5, just less than half of the annual fees of £48. During the rurally depressed period in the early 1920s the government in necessitous cases accepted promissory notes in lieu of fees. Liebenberg in 1922 required grants and concessions for his son Albert at the Boys' High School in Salisbury. After completing his primary

education at Enkeldoorn in 1919, Albert failed to win a Beit Scholarship [236] so attended a secondary school in South Africa.[237] By September 1922, Liebenberg suffered financial losses in a business venture and his clerical income fell into arrears as a result of economic depression generally in the Enkeldoorn district. Albert was withdrawn from school in the Union and awarded a £5 quarterly boarding grant in Salisbury in 1923.[238] On the strength of a promissory note payable at the end of 1923, Liebenberg was allowed a year's credit for the remainder of Albert's boarding fees that year and had to pay only £20 for games and tuition fees.[239]

THE CONCILIATORY POLICY GENERALLY

Although the government had for long awarded free tuition and boarding grants in its attempts to combat illiteracy amongst whites in the territory, it is evident that from 1919 onwards this financial assistance was motivated too by a political desire to contain the spread of the separatist movement. For instance, in March, 1919, Foggin recommended that although Afrikaners in the Rusape district could afford to pay school fees, it would be inadvisable to compel them to do so. The D.R.C. separatists had for some time tried to open a school in the district and Foggin reasoned that 'rather than see a centre of nationalist intrigue' established there, it would be preferable to give the Afrikaner parents 'the benefit of any doubt . . . as to their ability to pay fees'.[240] Soon after this, the recent arrival of Afrikaner settlers in the Marandellas district prompted Foggin to respond to their request for a school 'without delay'.[241] Early in 1920, Foggin quickly rectified defects in the teaching of Dutch which had suddenly kept Afrikaner children away from the Umvuma public school. Foggin informed the principal that it was 'the policy of the Department to do everything possible to attract children of Dutch parentage into the schools in order to minimise racial division and to ensure that as far as possible all children [*sic*] growing up in Rhodesia shall receive an efficient education'.[242]

EFFECTS OF THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN THE MELSETTER DISTRICT

It was only in the Melsetter district where the revived separatist movement enjoyed sustained success and seriously undermined progress in government schools. Prior to the outbreak of the Great War there were four government aided farm schools and the Chimanimani School in the district.[243] By 1919, there were five separatist schools in the district and only the Chimanimani School in Melsetter village was run by the government. Until 1915 an annual average of 37,4 boarders constituted the main body of the school.[244] This number fell to 25 in that year, an average of 7,5 by 1919 and only 5 when the hostel closed in 1922.[245] Meanwhile, the rival Chipinga separatist boarding school thrived, with over 30 boarders when it was eventually taken over by the government in 1922.[246]

The fall in numbers of the Chimanimani hostel between 1915 and 1922 was largely, but not entirely, a result of separatist influence. The school Principal, A. J. McLeod and his wife had always experienced difficulty in managing the hostel, mainly because they often had to accept payments in kind instead of cash for boarders. For some years after 1915, Chaplin had to authorise the acceptance of promissory notes in lieu of fees,

mainly because East Coast fever prevented cattle sales.[247] At the separatist hostels in Chipinga and on *Johannesrust* Farm, parents generally made payments in kind, although some, in addition to providing food for their children could afford £1 a quarter towards the salaries of hostel matrons.[265]

The acceptance in 1918 of a child of mixed blood also inhibited patronage of the Chimanimani School hostel. When the Local Schools Advisory Committee refused to let the child return to school in January 1919, it declined to give any reason for its action.[248] In the absence of any proof, apart from the appearance of the boy, neither the Committee nor Chaplin, were prepared to tell the father why his son had been expelled.[249] When Chaplin authorised the return of the boy to the hostel 'to test the feeling of the district' the father refused to subject his son to such an experiment.[250] As in other cases of this kind, arrangements were eventually made for the tuition of the boy in his home.[251] McLeod was transferred to Enkeldoorn village school whose principal, J. Harvey took charge of Chimanimani school.[252] In 1921 Harvey was involved in a controversy with parents when a local doctor accused him of caning a girl on the palms of her hand with undue severity.[253]

SPREAD OF THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT INTO SALISBURY AND UMTALI

In his annual report in 1919, Foggin stated that the separatist school opened early that year in Umtali and one planned for Salisbury in 1920 were the result of 'differences' that had 'been admitted in a friendly spirit' without any 'undercurrents of hostility'.[254] The Umtali school was very small and the humbly qualified Cilliers was transferred from Chipinga to take charge of it. The mainly secondary school in Salisbury, on the other hand, which opened in January, 1920, by June attracted 100 pupils, of whom 40 were boarders, thereby nearly doubling the number attending separatist schools.[255] To raise funds to buy a piano, the D.R.C. in December 1920, hired the recently erected Beit Hall in Salisbury, which served general scientific, cultural and educational purposes, to stage a play called '*Die Wereld Die Draai*' (the World it Turns/goes round).[256]

In 1919, with what Foggin called 'goodwill on both sides,' the D.R.C. had purchased Broadway House, private premises leased until then by the government to serve as a public school hostel.[257] In 1920, the D.R.C. charged boarders £6 a quarter, half the sum charged at government hostels. In March, 1920, Vlok asked Foggin if grants might be awarded in necessitous cases, as the D.R.C. wished to run their hostel in 'harmony with the government'.[258] In May, when government hostels were becoming 'seriously overcrowded', Foggin informed the D.R.C. school Principal that government grants might be forthcoming, although sons and daughters aged 18 and 20 would be ineligible and the D.R.C. institution would be subject to government inspection.[259] In August, the D.R.C. authorities declared that 'whatever arrangement [was] entered into with the government in respect of the award of grants or any other consideration, there would be no restriction or curtailment of the present system of language teaching' at their school.[260] It was claimed that Foggin had given assurances to this effect before going on leave, but Brady, as Acting Director, was averse to any departures from the undenominational principle and the use of the English medium.[261] In response to his

refusal of grants, the D.R.C. censured the Department, yet again, for depriving Afrikaners of their 'rights and privileges' in education.[262] Evidently, Broadway House boarders were eligible for grants from the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railway Company.[263]

Government expansion of hostel facilities between 1917 and 1922 necessitated the rental of premises because funds were unavailable for building purposes. The B.S.A. Company contemplated a loan in 1918, which it shelved in the wake of the adverse Cave Commission decision on land ownership. In 1920 the High Commissioner for South Africa, Lord Milner recommended that imperial loans should be made available from April, 1921, but the newly appointed Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill delayed this until 1922. By exerting financial pressure, Churchill evidently hoped that white settlers would favour union with South Africa instead of Responsible Government in the October referendum.[264] However, this strategy was likely to be seriously undermined by the persistence of the separatist movement.

In March 1921, 'An Appeal for Help from Rhodesia' was published on behalf of the separatists in Holland where donations were collected by H. J. Emous of Amsterdam, Dr Mansvelt of Heemstede and Prof. Dr. J. H. Pont of Bussum.[265] Hendrik Jan Emous, '*Bedelaar voor de Boeren*' (Beggar for the Boers), was an educationist and journalist based in Amsterdam, whose soubriquet was earned as a result of his fund-raising for the assistance of Afrikaner women in concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War. Emous subsequently supported the C.N.O. movement in the former Boer republics. Dr Nicolas Mansvelt had been appointed Secretary of *Die Suid Afrikaans Taalbond* in 1890, when it was formed to encourage the use of Dutch and later Afrikaans and whose examinations set the standard of proficiency in these languages. From 1892 to 1900 Mansvelt was the first Superintendent-General of Education in *Die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (the Transvaal). Exiled by the British in 1900, Mansveld in Holland remained actively interested in South African affairs until he died in 1933. The theologian, Prof. Johannes Wilhelm Pont, from 1915 to 1926, worked on behalf of the World Alliance of Churches, the forerunner of the World Council of Churches and for many years helped Afrikaners to study in Holland.[266]

The separatists claimed in their appeal that although Afrikaners constituted almost a quarter of the white populace, they were rigidly subjected to anglicisation by the 'exclusive use of English' in public schools. Chaplin and Foggin were accused of sheltering 'behind objections and difficulties' and trying to appease Afrikaner 'protesters with promises, not one of which [had] been fulfilled'. 'Boer children' could learn French as a second language but 'provision for Dutch' seemed to be 'a positive impossibility'. Use of the English medium injured the 'intellectual development of children whose home language [was] Africander Dutch'. Under 'teachers imported from England' only 'a few gifted pupils' overcame learning difficulties, but were 'anglified', whilst the majority of Afrikaner pupils remained 'backward'. It was hoped that Netherlanders would help to maintain eight existing separatist schools and establish three more for which there was 'a great need'. As the authorities in Salisbury had exhausted their funds and the General Netherlands Federation could not afford to give further assistance, Netherlanders were asked 'to save the nationality of [their] kinsmen' who were supported by 'Dutch Africanders in the Union.'[267]

The British Ambassador at the Hague drew Churchill's attention to the appeal, and he sent a translation to Prince Arthur of Connaught, the High Commissioner of South Africa, who forwarded it to Chaplin in May.[265] Although the appeal expressed a wish to widen the scope of separatist activity, it soon became evident that the costs of schools attended largely by pupils whose parents rarely paid fees could not be sustained indefinitely. Attendances generally increased in 1921 from 220 in April to about 240 by the end of the year,[268] but numbers at Broadway House fell from 100 pupils, of whom 40 were boarders in June 1920,[269] to 70 pupils and 37 boarders in April 1921.[267] For a few months after the movement ended in 1922, the salaries of some separatist teachers remained unpaid.[270] By October 1921 the closure of Broadway House was evidently anticipated by the Principal, J. Boshoff, when he applied for a government post in Bulawayo as a teacher of Dutch and woodwork. His two children already attended government schools.[271] In his annual report written in December, 1921, Foggin stated that the separatists had recently indicated 'an increased willingness to discuss matters with the government, and it [was] confidently expected that during the year 1922 a solution to the problem [would] be found, and a wound which [had] been open for most of ten years [would] be healed'.[272]

For a meeting in December with the Revd D. S. Botha, a prominent Afrikaner educationist in the Cape and a signatory of the Moderamens petition of 1917, Chaplin was supplied by Foggin, yet again, with an explanation and defence of government educational policy. Foggin stated that only recently the Legislative Council had expressed its determination to retain the English medium and non-denominational system in public schools. In response to a charge that Afrikaner pupils in public schools had teachers 'whose moral character was not above reproach', Foggin declared that there were 'more cases among Dutch speaking teachers of services terminated on moral grounds' than amongst others, but even these had been 'very few' in number. As for criticism that Afrikaner pupils in public schools had teachers ignorant of their language, Foggin pointed out that although Afrikaners constituted only 20% of pupils, 35% of the teachers were bilingual Afrikaners and the language was taught almost universally in public schools. Moreover, where special privileges were granted to the D.R.C. at Daisyfield over the choice of teachers, 'far more frequently than not . . . it [was] found impossible to secure teachers through this agency and the Department [had] to step in to fill vacancies on the staff of that institution'. Foggin concluded his memorandum by pointing out that at Melsetter, where separatist influence was strongest, many Afrikaner children failed to attend school at all, whereas the proportion failing to do so was very low in the Charter District where there had 'always been reasonable co-operation between the D.R.C. and the government.'[273]

On 23 January, 1922, Foggin met Vlok and the Revd A. J. Olivier, the new minister to Afrikaners in Salisbury, to discuss the incorporation of Broadway House into the public system.[274] It was proposed that the government should either assist the hostel with boarding grants, furniture costs and the matron's salary, or take it over entirely and pay rent to the D.R.C.[275] Some of the boarders would return to the Hartley district where the government intended to open a special low-cost hostel.[276] In March the D.R.C. opted to manage the Broadway House as an 'unofficial' public school hostel, and receive government aid in the manner just prescribed. The school closed on 1 April

when Boshoff's successor as Principal, N. H. Conradie, declined government service in order to take up a post in the O.F.S. at a higher salary than he was offered in Southern Rhodesia. It was noted earlier that the assistant teacher at Broadway House, Miss de Jager, eventually received a post at Victoria Plots.

It was also proposed in March that the separatist schools and their teachers in the Melsetter district should be incorporated into the government system on 1 April,[277] but this was delayed, apparently because Malan in Umtali and 'those who [thought] with him', still hoped that Afrikaans would be a sole medium up to standard IV. Malan published views in the *Kerkbode* in March which Foggin described as being 'so largely political' that he 'could not possibly take part in the discussion'.[278] However, the *Kerkbode* also published a letter from P. N. Miller, the Chairman of the Umtali Schools Advisory Committee, which greatly heartened Foggin.[279] The Director thought that it was 'an admirable thing that some members of the D.R.C. like [Miller], who [were] interested in language teaching and who [found] their requirements met by the government schools, should give their view of these matters to the readers of such a paper as the *Kerkbode*.'[278]

To expedite matters, Foggin visited the Eastern Districts in June 1922, where the Revd A. B. Wessels, who had replaced Badenhorst, informed him that he 'had no feeling of hostility towards the government schools, and hoped that in the course of time it would be possible for [him] to work with the Department.'[280] In the negotiations that now took place it appears that Foggin agreed, informally, that, in the Melsetter district, at any rate, Afrikaans could, after all be used as the sole medium of instruction up to standard IV. In a letter to the Principal of the Melsetter village school written in September, Foggin stated that the Department of Education had 'no wish to interpret the law harshly or to enforce the prescribed medium to such an extent as to interfere with the children's progress in their school work.' Consequently, teachers should make 'all necessary explanations . . . in Afrikaans until children [could] profitably be taught through the English medium'.[281]

By 1 October 1922, it was decided to close the government school hostel in Melsetter, transfer the five remaining boarders to the Umtali school hostel and award their parents, who were always loyal to the government, maximum boarding grants and travel subsidies.[282] The separatist school in Melsetter village closed and its teacher, R. A. Jearling, became an assistant master at the public school, where Afrikaans was now taught. The separatist school in Umtali also closed and one of its teachers, Sophia Martin, was transferred to assist the Principal of the Chipinga school which, along with *Johannesrust* Farm School, now came under government control. Rental was paid to the D.R.C. for these school buildings and hostels and boarding grants were awarded in necessitous cases.[283] In March it was proposed that two unqualified married teachers, the wife of J. G. F. Stein, the Principal of Johannesrust, and a Mrs Joubert at Chipinga, would only be offered temporary employment,[277] but the latter had left by October, allowing for the transfer from Umtali of Martin. As she had a better general education than the others and was 'unusually proficient in music' Martin was employed as an unqualified assistant but, pending favourable inspection reports, had the prospect of a permanent appointment as a teacher.[283]

Special problems arose over the re-appointment of Cilliers to government service.

Modestly qualified even for a farm school teacher, he apparently hoped to specialise in Afrikaans at Umtali High.[284] When Foggin recruited a university graduate, A. J. Hoffman, to teach Afrikaans in Bulawayo, Boshoff agreed in September 1922 to transfer to Umtali in the following month.[285] Foggin hinted at the possible awkwardness of the situation had Hoffman not agreed to this when he informed Condy in September that he now 'did not think that there [would] be any difficulty in replacing Mr Cilliers in a farm school'.[286] Foggin cryptically informed his government superiors that 'for private reasons' he intended to give Cilliers a farm school post when he returned from long leave in January, 1923.[283]

When conferring with Malan, Wessels and Condy in October, 1922, Cilliers gained the impression that he would be appointed to the fixed establishment of Civil Service and receive a teaching post with suitable accommodation for his family.[287] After refusing the offer of a post at a notoriously uncongenial farm school in December,[288] Cilliers received one where the accommodation proved to be inadequate for his family. He lamented to Foggin that as a farm school teacher he remained 'at the bottom of the ladder after twenty year's experience.' Foggin agreed to find Cilliers a more congenial post, but pointed out that government regulations disregarded previous service for grading purposes. Foggin added that Cilliers should have heeded warnings in 1917 that he would be 'seriously compromising' his career by defecting and by ignoring intimations soon afterwards that the Department would be 'glad to welcome [him] back to the service'.[287] Chaplin confirmed in November, 1923, that Cilliers was ineligible for fixed establishment because he was over 45 and had not given a minimum number of 3 years' continuous service.[289]

Despite his grievances, Cilliers appears to have acquitted himself well as a teacher in 1923 and was specially thanked by Foggin for his help towards the provision of improved school buildings on the farm where he taught.[290] Later in 1923, Cilliers was transferred to Daisyfield where, Foggin sarcastically observed to Condy, 'a man with his academic, professional and ecclesiastical qualifications' should be eminently suitable. 'They may as well consume their own smoke' was how Foggin expressed his feelings about this appointment when he first suggested it to Condy.[291] Cilliers soon wanted to resign because of accommodation difficulties at Daisyfield, but Foggin promised to rectify matters and asked Cilliers not to leave the school 'in the lurch' as it would be improbable that a replacement could be found in time for the next term.[292] After Botha died in 1943 Cilliers acted as Director of the orphanage for a year and the Revd A. F. Louw, who became Director in 1945, described Cilliers as 'a reasonable man and genuinely concerned over the education of Afrikaner children'.[4]

It was very likely that negotiations between the separatists and the Department of Education included consideration of language problems posed by the Beit Scholarship examinations. In May, 1922, two elected members of the Legislative Council, R. McChlery and Ethel Tawse-Jollie, expressed hopes that government assumption of control of the Beit funds for education in the territory would result in more sympathetic treatment of Afrikaners, who were relatively numerous amongst their respective constituents.[293] In March 1923, Foggin informed the Revd H. J. Barrish, who had replaced Eksteen as the D.R.C. minister to Afrikaners in Bulawayo, that Afrikaans would be accepted as an alternative to French in Beit Scholarship examinations in

1924. It was not possible to offer this alternative in 1923 on account of the short time available.[294]

When the Imperial Education Conference asserted in 1923 that the most effective medium of instruction in the preliminary stages of schooling was the home language of a child, Foggin felt that he should point this out to the incoming government of Southern Rhodesia. In doing so, Foggin explained that it had been impracticable to stick to the letter of the law with regard to the English medium and he wondered if the new government might decide that legislative changes were necessary. The main departures from the law involved Afrikaner pupils who were often 'totally unacquainted with English', when efforts were 'directed towards making the English medium effective at the earliest possible step of school life',[295] right of entry classes, when the use of English was inapplicable because 'not a single word of English' was used in D.R.C. services and, of course, during Afrikaans lessons. Coghlan agreed that these departures from the law were unavoidable, but thought that immediate legislative changes were unnecessary. Legally, if a parent objected, particularly in the case of a child receiving D.R.C. religious instruction in the Afrikaans medium, then the objection would have to be upheld. However, it was extremely unlikely that any Afrikaner parent would ever care to raise the matter.

It was also impracticable to adhere strictly to the letter of the law in right of entry classes under the *Education Ordinance, 1903*, which stipulated that instruction should be given only by ministers of religion. Foggin pointed out that 'in the great majority of country schools there would be no religious instruction at all if this were dependant on visits by the minister.'[296]No immediate legislative change was made in this regard, but the separatist movement generally and the agreements made with the separatists in 1922, do seem to have stimulated concern about the spiritual welfare of pupils in public schools. For some years, religious instruction in public schools had tended to be unsatisfactory and in a debate in the Legislative Council in April, 1921, Captain Douglas-Jones observed that white settler children 'should be brought up in the same knowledge as the Scriptures that they [whites] were trying to impress upon their black brethren.'[297]In 1923 it was decided that an interdenominationally devised syllabus of religious instruction should be introduced in public schools, a scheme supported by the D.R.C.[298]

Arrangements made with the separatists in 1922 and with Louw at Victoria Plots revealed greater deference to the D.R.C. over teacher appointments than was evident when Geldenhuys was insisted upon in Salisbury. Teacher appointments were particularly important to the D.R.C. with regard to religious instruction in farm schools. In 1923, Foggin observed that D.R.C. ministers took advantage of right of entry only 'to some extent', for most Afrikaner pupils were widely dispersed around the country in farm schools, where teachers belonging to the D.R.C. did the work of the church.[299] However, certain D.R.C. ministers seemed to think that the Department of Education had by 1922 surrendered its exclusive responsibility for the selection and appointment of teachers. In April, 1923, Foggin had to inform Botha at Daisyfield that no guarantees could be given that D.R.C. nominations would be automatically accepted by the Department, but, subject to the professional suitability of D.R.C. nominees, they would receive preferential consideration.[300] In October, 1923, Foggin informed Barrish, who

was particularly active in the encouragement of Afrikaners in the environs of Bulawayo to patronise farm schools, that he had 'every wish to offer appointments to teachers recommended by the clergy' of the D.R.C., but warned that 'to save disappointment' he should ensure that nominees were properly qualified.[301]

When Afrikaans was accorded enhanced status in high schools in 1923, and as teachers might in the near future be required to give religious instruction, Barrish asked Foggin if teachers of the language could be appointed only with the approval of the Chairman of the Council of the D.R.C. at the place where such appointments were to be made. Foggin could hardly accede to this request, as some of the new teachers would in all probability be unknown to the councils. Nevertheless, Foggin assured Barrish that when Afrikaner teachers were recruited, their references 'almost without exception' included D.R.C. ministers.[302]Evidently, Barrish was concerned about the appointment of Hoffman, the graduate teacher of Afrikaans who replaced Boshoff in Bulawayo in October, 1922. In November, 1923, the Colonial Secretary, on behalf of the incoming government, queried the appointment of another well qualified and highly paid specialist teacher of Afrikaans in Salisbury, C. W. de Kiewiet. Foggin explained that this appointment was justified by the 'increasing importance attached by parents to the teaching of Afrikaans'.[303]A graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand, de Kiewiet later gained widespread international respect as an authority on the history of South Africa.[304]

Most importantly, agreement with the separatists in 1922 meant that relatively rapid progress could be made to ensure that all white settler children attended schools. In February, 1922, Foggin anticipated that 'applications for farm schools [would] be more numerous than in recent years owing to the difficulties as regards educational policy between the D.R.C. and government having been composed'.[305]However, even with the undivided assistance of the D.R.C., rural attendances remained particularly problematical. In 1921 census returns indicated that 850 white children from 7 to 14 years of age did not attend school.[306]This number fell to 509 by 1924, but 298 of these children received formal education of some sort in their homes. In this year the Department exerted 'every possible kind of pressure to bring into school every [white] child of school age not hitherto reached by the education system.'[307]In 1926 there were still about 200 white children of school age not in receipt of formal education and it was only in 1930 when compulsory education was at last introduced.[308]By then, economic recession rather than educational problems undermined confidence in the maintenance of white settler supremacy.

POSTCRIPT

In a Legislative Council debate in May, 1922, elected member Lionel Cripps praised 'the firmness of the administration' in its refusal to accept bilingualism, for this would tend 'the quicker to mould the people [*sic*] of Rhodesia into one united race.'[309]As it happened harmony between Boers and Britons in the territory for long remained elusive. By 1924 merely a *modus vivendi* was achieved, which remained in essence unchanged for half a century, although it was never regarded as satisfactory by either side. The issues that caused dissention shortly before the Great War, had arisen again by 1939, resulting in appeals for funds in South Africa and threats to revive separatist education.

An 'armistice' was declared in 1946,[4] following the death as a result of bullying of an English boy at Enkeldoorn village school. A government inspector of schools ruefully recalled the 'non-racial' work there of the Revd Liebenberg, who had died in 1933.[310] The last deputation on the Afrikaans language medium was made in 1977 when the prime minister was asked to sanction greater scope for its use at Bothashof School, named in honour of the former director of Daisyfield, which institution was transferred to Salisbury in 1948.[311]

In 1922 the Revd W. Withnell, S. J., objected to Foggin about the re-opening of a school at Nyombi Siding because the building was unsightly and its mainly Afrikaner pupils subjected his black mission to abuse. Foggin had this to say:

> It can hardly be contended that Europeans are likely to become more useful members of society by being left without education than by being educated. Indeed, I believe that you could hardly agree with such a statement in the case of natives, although as you no doubt know, many Europeans in Southern Rhodesia take the view that education is not for the good of the native.[312]

Progess in white settler education in the context of racial segregation under privileged white rule posed special problems which have hardly been touched upon in this article. In the early 1920s Imperial Government, international missionary and American philanthropic bodies advocated the implementation of racially differentiated educational policies in Southern Rhodesia. These had the effect of aggravating the consequences of racial discrimination generally in the territory.[313] Consideration of special problems in Asian and mixed race education in the territory will be the subject of a forthcoming article by the author in this magazine.

FOOTNOTES

1. B. Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (Constable, London, [1921], New Ed. 1938) 157–8
2. R. S. Roberts, 'The Settlers', in *Rhodesiana 39*, Sept. 1978, 55–61, 57, D. J. Murray, *The Govermental System in Southern Rhodesia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970), 14.
3. S. P. Olivier, *Many Treks Made Rhodesia* (Howard B. Timmins, Cape Town, 1957), 64, 130.
4. Revd A. F. Louw, personal communications, 31 Mar. 1978; I am also grateful to the Revd F. Maritz for drawing my attention to the Heidelburg Catechism, personal communications, 6 May 2001.
5. Unless otherwise indicated, general information in this paper is based on R. J. Challiss, *The European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1930* (Univ. of Zimbabwe, Salisbury, supplement to *Zambezia*, 1982).
6. S. J. Du Toit, *Rhodesia Past and Present* (Heinemann, London, 1897; Repr. Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1977), 166.
7. *Lest We Forget: The History of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) in Southern Africa* (The Andrew Murray Congregation and the Information Bureau of the Dutch Reformed Church, Johannesburg, n. d.), 10.
8. D. N. Beach, 'The Initial Impact of Christianity on the Shona: the Protestants and the Southern Shona', in J. A. Dachs (ed), *Christianity South of the Zambezi* (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1973), 25–40, 39.
9. Olivier, *Many Treks*, 131; J. Malherbe, 'Rev. Paul Nel A Rhodesian Pioneer, in *Rhodesiana 20*, July 1969, 49–59.
10. P. A. Strasheim, *In the Land of Cecil Rhodes* (Juta, Cape Town, 1896), 61.
11. R. R. Langham Carter, 'Alice Margaret Allen: Rhodesia's First Headmistress,' in *Rhodesiana 36*, Mar. 1977, 47–52, 50–51; R. J. Challiss, 'The Origins of the Educational System of Southern Rhodesia', *Rhodesian History* (1973) *VI*, 57–77, 62.
12. Olivier, *Many Treks*, 132.
13. British South Africa Company, *Reports on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1898–1900* (The Company, London, [1901]), 338.
14. *The Central and East African Who's Who for 1956* (Central African Who's Who, Salisbury, [1956], 193.
15. [National Archives of Zimbabwe, British South Africa Company Administration] T [Department of the Treasury] 2 [In Letters and Correspondence] 1 [General] 16 [Victoria Undenominational School: 16 June 1897–25 November 1899] P. A. Strasheim the Civil Commissioner, Victoria, 15 Sept. 1897.
16. ibid., Col. O. T. Duke, Civil Commissioner, Victoria, to Acting Under Secretary, Department of the Administrator, Salisbury, 31 July 1897.
17. [Southern Rhodesia, *Government Gazette*, 15 Dec. 1899, Government Notice 307 of 15 Dec.] *The Education Ordinance, 1899* (No. 18 of 1899) Order A, Section 9.
18. T/2/1/16, G. M. Huntly to Sec[retary] Dep[artment of the] Admin[istrator] 18. Nov. 1899.
19. [Southern Rhodesia], *Rep[ort of the] Insp[ector of] Schools [Upon Education]*, 1901 (Sess[ional] Pap[ers] 1901), 4; [Southern Rhodesia] *Report of the] Dir[ector of] Education for the Year Ended 31 March] 1904*, (Sess. Paps. A7–1904), 1.

20. *Olivier, Many Treks*, 129–30.
21. *Rep. Insp. Schools, 1901*, 3.
22. [National Archives of Rhodesia] British South Africa Company Administration] E [Education Department] 2 [Correspondence] 11 {schools: European] 43 [Melsetter] 2 [Public School 9 May 1899–13 Feb 1923] W. M. Longden, Civil Commissioner, Melsetter, to R. M. McIlwaine, Acting Inspector of Schools, Salisbury, 19 June 1901.
23. ibid., G. B. Moodie to C. J. Rhodes, 1 Nov. 1901.
24. ibid., Longden to McIlwaine, 23 Aug. 1901.
25. ibid., G. Duthie, Superintending Inspector of Schools, to Chief Sec. Dep. Admin. 23 March 1902.
26. *Supplementary Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men Entitled to the Medal or Clasp for Operations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1896, together with those who have forfeited the same by misconduct* (Cape Times, Cape Town, 1900) 33. Sergeant-Major Liebenberg of the Salisbury Field Force was awarded the medal and the clasp; [National Archives of Zimbabwe, Historical Manuscripts] WO [Federation of Womens' Institutes] 5 (newspaper cuttings) 11 (Miscellaneous) 2 (Papers concerning a proposed Southern Rhodesian National Biography) 2 (Completed Questionnaires), Questionnaire completed by Mrs Liebenberg 16 March 1942.
27. (National Archives of Zimbabwe, British South Africa Company) EC (Executive Council) 3 (Minute Books) 1 (Council meetings) 1 (10 Nov. 1894–24 Jan 1905), Minutes of the 25th meeting, 4th July 1895.
28. D. V. Steere, *God's Iregular: Arthur Shearly Cripps: A Rhodesian Epic* (S. P. C. K., London, 973), 32.
29. E/1 [out-letters] 1 [General] 8 [2 May–17 Dec. 1908], Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin., 10 July 1908.
30. [Southern Rhodesia, *Government Gazette*, 30 Oct. 1903, Govt. Notice 275 of 29 Oct.] *The Education Ordinance, 1903* (No 1 of 1903), Order A, Clause 9.
31. *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 8 Aug. 1903, (Editorial)
32. E. G. Pells, *The Story of Education in South Africa* (Juta, Cape Town, [1938], 87–89.
33. E. G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1652–1922* (Juta, Cape Town, 1925), 321, 342–79, 413–448.
34. H. E. D. Hammond, 'The system of education in Southern Rhodesia (1890–1901): Its origin and development', in Great Britain, *Board of Education Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 13: Education systems of the Chief Crown Colonies. . . . . . Including Reports of the Training of Native Races, Part II: West Africa . . . . . Seychelles* [cd. 2378] 163 (H. C. 1905, XXVI,')
35. Pells, *The Story of Education*, 88.
36. E/1/1/4, [2 Jan. 1903–5 Sept. 1904] Duthie to Revd J. N. Geldenhuys, 22 March 1904;
37. E/2/11/43/2, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin., 23 March 1906.
38. E/1/1/5, [17 Apr. 1905–23 Oct. 1906] J. S. Blackwell, Acting Director of Education, to Sec. Dep. Admin. 3 June 1906.
39. *Rep Dir Educ. [for the Year Ended 31 March] 1906* (Sess. Paps. A2–1906),1
40. [National Archives of Rhodesia, British South Africa Company] RC [Resident Commissioner] 3 [Correspondence] 8 [High Commissioner for South Africa] 3 [Transmittal Series : 1905–7, Nos 118 of 1905–29 of 1907] H. C. 188 1905, Resident Commissioner, Executive Council Minute, 22 Feb 1906, RC 23 Feb 1906 : Schools Directed by the Dutch Reformed Church.
41. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year Ended 31 Dec.] 1907*, [Sess. Paps, A1–1908]1.
42. E/1/1/6, [23 Oct. 1906–27 Aug. 1907] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 4 Apr. 1907.
43. [Southern Rhodesia] *Rep[ort of the] Com[mittee Appointed . . . . to Enquire into] Education]. . . . . 1908*{Sess. Paps. A5–1908).
44. Pells, *The Story of Education*, 89.
45. F/1/1/7, [27 Aug. 1907–2 May 1908] Duthie to Under Sec. Dep. Admin. 21 Jan. 1908.
46. E/1/1/10, [3 June–6 Dec. 1909] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin., 19 Oct. 1909.
47. E/1/1/6, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 14 Aug. 1907.
48. E/1/1/8, L. M. Foggin to Duthie, 17 Nov. 1908.
49. ibid, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 12 Sept. 1908.
50. E/1/1/12, [27 Apr–30 Sept. 1910] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 13 June 1910; Foggin to Miss H. Gilson, 19 Aug. 1910.
51. K. Sayce, *A Town Called Victoria or the Rise and Fall of the Thatched House Hotel* (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia 1978) 107–8; apparently this was Colonel J. T. E. Flint formerly of the first (King's) Dragoon Guards who commanded the Mashonaland division of the British South African Police in 1899.
52. E/1/1/6, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin, 20 Apr. 1907.
53. E/1/1/7, Duthie to Chief Sec. Dep. Admin, 7 Oct. 1907.
54. *Rep. Com. Educ. 1908*, 14.
55. Southern Rhodesia *Debates in the Legislative Council during the Fourth Session of the Seventh Council, 25th to 31st May, 11th to 14th June, 20th to 28th June, 23rd to 27th July, and during the special session of the Seventh Council, 3rd to 11th October, 1923*, (Being a reprint from the *Rhodesia Herald* [1923]) Fourth Session of the Seventh Council, 23 July 1923, Col. 537. (Capt. Walter D. Douglas Jones, representing Midlands Electoral District).
56. E/1/1/106, [1 May–11 May 1923], Foggin to P. P. J. Heymans, 9 May 1923; E/1/1/83 [4 July–23 Aug 1921] R. McIntosh to Native Commissioner, Fort Rixon, 21 Aug. 1921.
57. E/1/1/96, [2 Aug–28 Aug 1922] Foggin to Inspector of Schools, Gwelo, 12 Aug. 1922; Foggin to H. E. Botha, 12 Aug. 1922; Foggin to R. J. Cloete, 15 Aug. 1922.
58. E/1/1/2, [26 Aug. 1901–21 Apr. 1902] Duthie to Hon. Mrs Lyttelton Gell, 16 Oct. 1901.
59. E/1/1/50, [23 Sept–18 June 1918] Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin, 27 May 1918.
60. E/1/1/48, [22 Jan–4 March 1918] Foggin to Sec., Beit Trust, 12 Feb. 1918.
61. E/1/1/36, [19 Apr.–15 June 1916] Blackwell to Revd W. J. Verwoerd, 20 Apr. 1916.
62. *Rep. Dir. Educ [for the Year Ended 31 Dec.] 1910* (Sess. Paps. A7–1911) 2–3.
63. E/1/1/11, [6 Dec 1909–27 Apr. 1910] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin, 16 Dec. 1909.
64. E/2/11, [Schools, European] 6 [Bulawayo] 9 [Primary : 3 Dec. 1910–28 Feb. 1927] Foggin to Revd. J. N. Geldenhuys, 3 March 1911.
65. E/1/1/18, [17 Oct. 1911–9 Jan. 1912] Duthie to Revd A. Botha, 19 Oct. 1911.
66. ibid., I. G. W. Brownhead, Sec. Bulawayo Schools Advisory Committee, to Director of Education, 1 Dec. 1910.
67. E/1/1/15, [3 Feb–20 Apr. 1911] Duthie to Geldenhuys, 11 Apr. 1911.

68. E/1/1/22, [23 Oct. 1912–29 Jan. 1913] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 14 Jan. 1913.
69. E/1/1/4, Duthie to Herbert Smith, Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town, 11 July 1904.
70. E/1/1/43, [6 June–24 July 1917] Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin., 25 June 1917.
71. Roberts, 'The Settlers', 57.
72. E/1/1/22, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 22 Nov. 1912.
73. A. L. Behr and R. G. MacMillan, *Education in South Africa* (J. L. Van Schalk, Pretoria, 1971), 139; C. M. Van Den Heever, *General J. B. M. Herzog* (APB Bookstore, Johannesburg, 1946), 124–6.
74. E/1/1/34, [11 Feb. 1915–29 Feb. 1916] Foggin to Superintendent General of Education, Cape Town, 25 Feb. 1916.
75. D. F. Malan. *Naar Congoland! Een reisbeschrijving* (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij, Stellenbosch, 1913).
76. E/2/11/43/2, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 14 Jan. 1913, enclosing translation of article by Malan in *De Kerkbode*.
77. E/1/1/25, [25 Aug.–28 Nov. 1913], Duthie to R. McIntosh, 30 Oct. 1913.
78. E/1/1/28, [24 Aug.–25 Nov. 1914] Blackwell to A. J. McLeod, 6 Oct. 1914.
79. After the period under review, apparently Kotze was a co-founder of the extremist Afrikaner Nationalist *Ossewa-Brandwag*, M. Roberts and A. Trollip, *The South African Opposition, 1939–1945* (Longmans, Cape Town, 1947), 74; H. Van Rensburg, *Their Paths Crossed Mine* (C. N. A., Johannesburg, 1956), 56.
80. [National Archives of Zimbabwe, British South Africa Company] A [Administrator's Office] 3 [Correspondence] 9 [Education] 7 [Dutch Language in Schools : 12 March 1913–16 Dec. 1918], C. R. Kotze to W. M. Milton, 11 March 1913.
81. ibid, H. Marshal Hole, Sec. Dep. Admin., to Kotze, 12 Apr. 1913.
82. ibid, Kotze to Milton, 28 July 1913.
83. ibid, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 14 March 1917.
84. [C. R. Kotze], *Rhodesie EenPijnbank Van Onze Taal* (Paarlse Drukpers Mij., [Paarl], 1914); see also, A/3/9/7, Chaplin to Sec. B.S.A. Company, London, 10 April 1917, containing translations from *Het Volksblad 6 Feb. 1917* and *Kerkbode 22 Aug. 1914*.
85. A/3/9/7, Chaplin to Sec. B.S.A. Company, London, 10 Apr. 1917 containing translated extract from *Het Volksblad, 6 Feb. 1917* on the history of the separatist movement in Southern Rhodesia.
86. E/1/1/38, [9 Aug.–3 Oct. 1916] Foggin to R. Le S. Fischer, 21 Aug. 1916.
87. E/1/1/26, [11 March–5 July 1914] Blackwell to Sec. Dep. Admin. 23 May 1914.
88. A/3/9/7, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 16 Aug. 1915.
89. E/1/1/33, [24 Dec. 1915–11 Feb. 1916] Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin., 7 Jan. 1916.
90. [Southern Rhodesia, *Abridged] Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year] 1916* [Sess. Paps. A8–1917] 1.
91. A/3/9/7, Chaplin to Sec. B.S.A. Company, London, 10 Apr. 1917, to *Het Volksblad, 6 Feb. 1917*.
92. E/2 (Correspondence) 13 (Teaching staff) 3 (Suspension of South African teachers who took part in the South African rebellion 10 Jan. 1915–1 March 1916). W. Viljoen, Director of Education, Bloemfontein, to Acting Director of Education, Salisbury, 23 Feb. 1916; Sec. Transvaal Education Department to Acting Sec. Dep. Admin., Salisbury, 30 Apr. 1915; Provincial Secretary of the Administrator, Cape Town to Sec. Dep. Admin, Salisbury, 24 June 1915, E. D. Davis, for Sec., Education Department, Natal to Acting Sec. Dep. Admin, Salisbury, 26 Jan. 1915.
93. E/1/1/40, [17 Nov. 1916–16 Jan. 1917], Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 5 Dec. 1916.
94. E/1/1/39, [3 Oct.–17 Nov. 1916], Foggin to J. J. K. Roothman 15 Nov. 1916; E/1/1/40, Sec. Dep. Admin, 6 Dec. 1916.
95. A. Hepple, *Verwoerd* (Pelican, Harmondsworth, 1967), 14.
96. E/1/1/27, [14 Apr.–24 Aug. 1914] Blackwell to Verwoerd 10 Apr. 1914; for an account of the Revd Verwoerd's life generally see the Premier's biography by P. W. Grobbelar, *This Was a Man* (Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, 1967).
97. E/1/1/35, [29 Feb.–18 Apr. 1916] Foggin to B.S.A. Police, Bulawayo, 9 March 1916.
98. ibid., Foggin to Verwoerd, 27 March 191.
99. E/1/1/39, Foggin to Verwoerd 9 Dec. 1916.
100. Southern Rhodesia, *Debates in the Legislative Council During the Second Session of the Sixth Council, 28 Apr.–8 May, 1915* (Being a Reprint from the Reports of the *Rhodesia Herald*], cols. 189–90 (Lionel Cripps, Eastern Electoral District).
101. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year] 1914* (Sess. Paps. A8,–1915) 10.
102. *Ibid,* 19.
103. *Rep. Com. Educ. 1908*, 16–19.
104. E/2/15, [Miscellaneou] 1 [23 Nov. 1900–25 Nov. 1923] Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 19 Apr. 1913.
105. *The Gwelo Times*, 29 Apr. 1921.
106. E/2/11, [Schools Bulawayo] 10 [Daisyfield] 3 [Dutch Reformed Church Orphanage 14 July 1914–29 Sep. 1923 Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 1 Feb. 1915; E/1/1/29 [25 Nov. 1914–3 Mar. 1915] Duthie to Revd A. J. Botha, 13 Jan 1915.
107. E/1/1/30, [28 Feb.–10 May 1915] Blackwell to Sec. Treasury, 19 Apr. 1915.
108. E/1/1/4, [16 Jun.–5 Mar. 1917] Foggin to Sir Lewis Michell, 27 Feb. 1917.
109. E/1/1/7, Duthie to Under Sec. to the Admin. 16 Jan. 1908.
110. E/1/1/8, Duthie to Sec. Beit (Rhodesia) Bequest, 12 Dec. 1911.
111. E/2/11/10/3, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin 1 Feb. 191.
112. E/1/1/29, Duthie to Commandant General, Defence Force, Salisbury, 25 Feb. 1915; E/1/1/30 Blackwell to Chief Staff Officer, Defence Force, Salisbury, 14 Apr. 1915.
113. E/1/1/32, [30 Oct.–24 Dec. 1915] Foggin to Staff Officer, Southern Rhodesia Cadets, 11 Dec. 1915.
114. E/1/1/51, [18 June–13 Aug. 1918] Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 30 June 1918.
115. Roberts, 'The Settlers,' 56.
116. [Southern Rhodesia] *Rep[ort of the]Ed[ucation]Com[mittee] 1916* (Sess. Paps., A2–1917), 5–6.
117. *Ibid,* 6–10.
118. *Ibid,* 7–8.
119. *Ibid.,* 1
120. [National Archives of Zimbabwe Historical Manuscripts Collection], CH8 [Papers of Sir Francis Percy Drummond Chaplin] 2

[Correspondence and Other papers] 2 [by correspondent] 12 [Sir Lewis Michell, Director of the B.S.A. Company, of De Beers Consolidated Mines and a Trustee of the Rhodes Estate; 4 Apr. 1914–5 June 1923, folios 1–326] folios 166–172 Chaplin to Michell, 19 Feb. 1917.

121. A/3/9/7, McIntosh to Foggin, 24 July 1915.
122. E/1/1/41, Foggin to Michell, 27 Feb. 1917.
123. E/1/1/40, McIntosh to Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Melsetter, 29 Dec. 1916.
124. ibid., Foggin to Director Land Settlement, 27 Dec. 1916.
125. ibid., Foggin to P. J. Cilliers, 16 Dec. 1916.
126. A/3/9/7, Chaplin to Sec. B.S.A. Company, London, 10 Apr. 1917.
127. ibid., Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 2 Apr. 1917.
128. ibid., J. B. Elliott to Sec. Dep. Admin. 5 Mar. 1917.
129. E/1/1/42, [23 Apr.–6 June 1917] Foggin to Cilliers 7 May 1917.
130. A/3/9/7, Elliott to Sec. Dep. Admin., 5 March 1917.
131. ibid., Elliott to Assistant Native Commissioner, 28 Feb. 1917.
132. T. McCarthy, *'Men for Others' St. George's College, 1896–1996* (Old Georgians Association, Harare, 1996) 41; see also, R. J. Challiss, *Vicarious Rhodesians: Problems Affecting the Selection of Rhodesian Rhodes Scholars 1904 to 1914* (The Central African Historical Association, Local Series No. 33, Salisbury, 1977) 7, 24.
133. E/1/1/42, Foggin to J Maskew Miller, 27 Apr. 1917; ibid same to same, 29 May 1917.
134. E/1/1/43, [6 June–24 July 1917] Foggin to Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Melsetter, 6 June 1917.
135. A/3/9/7, F. H. Badenhorst to Chaplin, 1 May 1917.
136. ibid., T. Robertson, Sec. Dep. Admin., to Badenhorst, 15 May 1917.
137. ibid., N. Millar, Sec., B.S.A. Company, London, to Chaplin, 16 June 1917.
138. ibid., Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 11 May 1917.
139. ibid., Translation of Olwage's letter in *Ons Vaderland 13 March 1917*, which was forwarded to Foggin by the local magistrate Melstter, 27 March 1917.
140. Olivier, *Many Treks Made Rhodesia*, 156
141. A/3/9/7, Newton to Chaplin, 16 March 1917.
142. E/1/1/31, [6 Sept.–29 Oct. 1915] Foggin to Liebenburg, 9 Sept. 1917. E/1/1/94 [5 May–8 June 1922] Foggin to R. Williams.
143. E/1/1/31, Foggin to Liebenburg, 9 Sept. 1915; E/1/1/32 Foggin to Principal, Public School, Enkeldoorn, 7 Dec. 1915.
144. E/1/1/42, Foggin to James Harvie, 31 May 1917.
145. E/1/1/41, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 26 Feb. 1917
146. E/1/1/56, [10 March–9 Apr 1919] Foggin to H. H. Hulley 31 March 119, E/1/1/7 28 July–25 Aug. 1920 Brady to Kripps [sic] 23 Aug. 1921.
147. E/1/1/58, [16 May–17 July 1919] Foggin to Liebenberg, 2 June 1919.
148. E/1/1/96, Foggin to Civil Commissioner, Enkeldoorn, 5 Aug. 1922.
149. Steere, *God's Irregular*, 32–3.
150. E/1/1/44, [25 July–8 Sept. 1917] Foggin to Revd J. Reyneike 7 Aug. 1917.
151. 166 E/1/1/83, Foggin to Louw, 10 Aug. 1921.
152. A/3/9/7, Report from *Cape Times, 5 Feb.* 1915 on proceedings of the Cape Synod of the D.R.C.
153. ibid., *Petition from the Moderamens of the Federal Dutch Reformed Churches in the Four Provinces of the Union* (dated 13 June 1917 and received by Chaplin, 21 June 1917); the Moderamen is an executive elected by synod, usually consisting of moderator (chairman), vice-moderator, secretary and actuary (whose concern is the interpretation of church law), F. Maritz, 'Church-State Relations in the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) in Zimbabwe: A Case Study', in C. Halencrautz and A. Moyo (Eds), *Church and State in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Gweru, 1988), 347–360, 359.
154. ibid., Newton to Chaplin, 1 July 1917.
155. ibid., T. Robertson, Sec. Dept. Admin. to Revd P. S. Van Heerden, 4 July 1917, E/1/1/43 Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 25 Jun 1917.
156. E/1/1/40, Foggin to Principal, Public School, Melsetter, 9 Jan. 1917.
157. E/1/1/42, Foggin to B. J. Kloppers 15 May 1917; same to Revd W. C. Malan 15 May 1917.
158. E/1/1/43, Foggin to Revd Kloppers 4 Aug. 1917; Foggin to Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Umtali, 23 June 1917.
159. E/1/1/45, [8 Sep.–26 Sept. 1917] Foggin to Malan 29 Sept. 1917.
160. [National Archives of Zimbabwe, British South Africa Company] LO [London Office] 1 [Board of Directors' Papers] 1 [Agenda with Annexures] 170 [June 6–19 Dec. 1918] Agenda: 17 Dec. 1918: Chaplin to Sir Charles Coghlan, 21 Aug. 1918.
161. E/1/1/49, [4 Mar.–23 Apr. 1918] Foggin to Mrs G. K. Swan, 21 March 1918.
162. LO/1/170, Agenda, 17 Nov. 1918, Malan to Chaplin, 14 Aug. 1918.
163. E/1/1/43, Foggin to Kloppers 4 July 1917, E/1/1/44, same to same, 4 Aug. 1917.
164. E/1/1/32, Foggin to M. M. Gildenhuys 18 Nov. 1915.
165. E/1/1/44, Foggin to Kloppers 4 Aug. 1917; E/1/1/32 Foggin to Gildenhuys, 18 Nov. 1915.
166. E/1/1/39, Foggin to Mrs E. A. Welldon, 18 Nov. 1916.
167. E/1/1/47, [27 Nov 1917–22 Jan 1918] Foggin to Revd T. C. B. Vlok 31 Dec. 1917.
168. ibid., Foggin to Vlok 5 Dec. 1917.
169. E/1/1/52, McIntosh to Gildenhuys: 2 Sept. 1918.
170. E/1/1/58 Foggin to Gildenhuys, 20 June 1919.
171. E/1/1/62, [3 Nov.–5 Dec. 1919] Foggin to Gildenhuys 25 Nov. 1919.
172. E/1/1/47, Foggin to Vlok, 5 Dec, 1917.
173. E/1/1/48, Foggin to Sec. Beit Bequest, 12 Feb. 1918.
174. A/3/9/7, Translated extract from *Die Vriend Des Volks, Bloemfontein, Monday 3 June 1918*, report entitled 'Boarding School at Chipinga'.
175. *ibid.* Extract from from *Ladybrand Courant and Ficksburg News, Thursday 2 May 1918*, report entitled 'Dutch Speaking Rhodesians: Rev. Mr Badenhorst's Lecture'.

176. ibid, *Die Vriend, 3 June 1918.*
177. 192. ibid. H. P. Van der Merwe, Chairman of the 'Inwendige Zending Commissie', D.R.C., Capetown to Hon. F. S. Malan, L. L. D. Minister of Education, Cape Town, 27 Apr. 1918.
178. ibid, Malan to Chaplin, 15 May 1918.
179. Lord Buxton to Chaplin, 21 May 1918.
180. ibid, Chaplin to Malan, 22 May 198.
181. ibid, Revd A. D. Luckhoff to Chaplin 19 June 1918.
182. ibid, Memorandum, Chaplin to B. S. A. Company Board of Directors, London 29 June 1918.
183. ibid, translation of telegram, Badenhorst to Eksteen, 25 June 1918.
184. ibid., Chaplin to London Board, 28 Aug 1918.
185. ibid., extract from Rhodesian Herald August 21 1918, entitled 'A Dutch Protest Against Defense Ordinance Warning to Government'.
186. *Ibid.*, Afrikaners were also alarmed by the disbandment of rifle clubs in Southern Rhodesia and plans to reconstitute them under the proposed Defence Ordinance. It was suspected that this plan was not for war service and protection against blacks, but for action against Afrikaner Nationalist settlers. ibid.
187. E/1/1/50, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 27 May 1918.
188. A/3/9/7, Chaplin to London Board, 28 Aug. 1918.
189. *The Rhodesia Herald, 21 Aug. 1918.*
190. See generally, E. T Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia* [Hutchinson, London 1924]
191. *The Rhodesia Herald 20 Sept. 1918.*
192. *The Bulawayo Chronicle*; *4 Nov. 1918.*
193. *The Herald; 30 Aug. 1918*, which cites Kloppers to Geo Elecombe, 22 Aug. 1918.
194. LO/1/1/170, *Agenda*: 17 Nov. 1918: Coghlan to Chaplin, 26 Aug. 118.
195. A/3/9/7, A. D. Miller, Sec., London Board, to Chaplin 17 Nov. 1918.
196. CH/8/2/2/12, folios 325–6, Chaplin to Michell, 30 Aug. 1918.
197. E/1/1/88, [30 Dec. 1921–25 Jan. 1922] Foggin to Pvt. Sec. Admin. 31 Dec. 1921.
198. E/1/1/58, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 30 June 1919.
199. E/1/1/71, Brady to Revd A. J. Botha 7 Aug. 1920.
200. E/1/1/74, [18 Oct. to 13 Nov. 1920] Brady to Headmaster, Milton School, 5 Nov. 1920.
201. E/1/1/64, [9 Jan –10 Feb. 1920] Foggin to McIntosh 21 June 1920.
202. E/1/159 [8 Aug.–25 Aug. 1919] Foggin to Principal Tel-El-Kebir Farm School, 17 Aug 1919; E/1/1/67 [16 Mar.–5 Apr. 1920] Foggin to Principal Morgenster Farm School 7 Apr. 1920.
203. E/1/1/77 [4 Feb.–3 Mar. 1921] Foggin to Condy 18 Feb. 1921.
204. E/1/1/79 [30 Mar.–25 Apr. 1921] Foggin to Principal Morgenster Farm School, 19 Apr. 1921.
205. E/1/1/81 [17 May–14 June 1921] Foggin to Headmistress, Eveline High School, 20 May 1921.
206. Ibid. Foggin to Headmistress Eveline High School, June 1921.
207. E/1/1/87, [25 Nov.–30 Dec. 1921] Foggin to Headmistress Eveline High School, 25 Nov. 1921.
208. E/1/1/102, [13 Feb.–9 Mar. 1923] Foggin to Inspector of Schools, S. De J. Lenfesty, 1 Mar. 1923.
209. E/1/1/91, [3 Mar.–9 Mar. 1923] Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 13 Mar. 1923.
210. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year] 1922* (Sess. Paps. A23–1923), 16.
211. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year] 1923* (C[olony of] S[outhern] R[hodesia] 10–1924) 19.
212. *Debates in the House of Assembly During the First Session of the First Parliament, 30 May–1 Aug., 1924* (Government Printer, Salisbury, being a reprint from the reports of the *Rhodesia Herald,* 1925), 4 July 1924, col. 689.
213. E/1/1/63, [5 Dec. 1919–9 Jan 1920] Foggin to Louw, 29 Dec. 1919, E/1/1/66, [24 Feb.–6 Mar. 1920], Foggin to Louw, 4 Mar. 1920.
214. E/1/1/64, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 13 Jan. 1920; Foggin to Louw 19 Jan. 1920, E/1/1/67, [16 Mar. 15 Apr. 1920], Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 12 Apr. 1920; E/1/1/68, [15 Apr.–7 May 1920], Foggin to Louw 26 Feb. 1920.
215. E/1/1/68, Foggin to Louw, 1 May 1920; E/1/1/52, Foggin to Miss A. Frylinck, 6 Sept. 1918.
216. E/1/1/74, Brady to McIntosh, 12 Nov. 1920.
217. E/1/1/80, [25 Apr.–17 May 1921], Blackwell to C. Glass, 27 Apr. 1921; E/1/1/81, Foggin to J. S. Smith, 26 May 1921.
218. E/1/1/83, Foggin to Louw 2 Aug. 1921.
219. E/1/1/81 Foggin to T. E. Ferreira 9 June 1921.
220. E/1/1/90 [14 Feb.–3 Mar 1922] Foggin to Principal of Victoria Plots 24 Feb. 1922; E/1/1/95, [8 June–3 July 1922] Foggin to Mrs M. Lavers 10 June 1922.
221. E/1/1/96, Foggin to Mrs C. J. Spies, 11 Aug. 1922; Foggin to Louw, 11 Aug. 1922.
222. E/1/1/98 [28 Sept.–1 Nov. 1922] Foggin to Sec. to Treasury 6 Oct. 1922.
223. E/1/1/97, [28 Aug.–22 Sep. 1922], Foggin to Mrs M. Basson, 23 Sep. 1922; E/1/1/99, [28 Sep.–1 Nov. 1922] Foggin to M. M. Basson 17 Nov. 1922.
224. E/1/1/58, Foggin to Sec. to Treasury 2 June 1919.
225. E/1/1/68, Foggin to Sec. to Treasury 26 Apr. 1920.
226. E/1/1/96, Foggin to Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Enkeldoorn 21 Aug. 1922
227. *Educ. Com. Rep. 1916,* 7–8.
228. E/1/1/81, Foggin to Thomas Leith, 19 May 1921; Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 26 May 1921; E/1/1/95, Foggin to Sec. School Hostel Committee, Enkeldoorn, 2 Jun. 1922. E/1/1/103, [20 Mar.–5 Apr. 1923], Foggin to Sec. to Treasury, 22 Mar. 1923.
229. E/1/1/108, [17 Oct.–10 Nov. 1923], Foggin to Sec. Dep. Colonial Sec., 26 Oct. 1923.
230. E/1/1/95, Foggin to Sec. School Hostel Committee, Enkeldoorn, 28 Jun. 1922.
231. E/1/1/103, Foggin to Sec. to Treasry 27 Mar. 1923.
232. E/1/1/37, [16 Jun.–9 Aug. 191] Foggin to Sec. Beit Trustees, 29 Jun. 1916.
233. E/1/1/36, Foggin to A. J. Botha, 10 May 1916.

234. E/1/1/23, [29 Jan.–1 May 1913], Duthie to Revd Adshade, 22 Feb. 1913; Duthie to Botha, 9 Apr. 1913; E/1/1/25, Duthie to Dr. E. Strong, 1 Nov. 1913.
235. E1/1/69, [7 May–5 Jun. 1920], Foggin to Botha, 136 Jun. 1920; E/1/1/70, [5–30 Jun. 1920], Foggin to Botha 16 Jun. 1920.
236. E/1/1/58, Foggin to Liebenberg, 19 Jun. 1919.
237. E/1/1/97, Foggin to Sec. to Treasury, 18 Sep. 1922.
238. ibid., Foggin to Liebenberg 22 Sep. 1919.
239. E/1/1/100, [29 Nov. 1922–23 Jan. 1923], Foggin to Liebenberg 11 Dec. 1922.
240. E/1/1/56, Foggin to Native Commissioner, Rusape, 25 Mar. 1919.
241. E/1/1/58, Foggin to J. Smit, 28 May 1919; for an account of Afrikaner history in the Marandellas district, see generally, R. Hodder-Williams, 'Afrikaners in Rhodesia: A Partial Portrait', in *African Social Research*, Dec. 1974, *11*, xviii, 616–638.
242. E/1/1/65, [10 Feb.–24 Feb. 1920], Foggin to Principal, Umvuma Public School, 23 Feb. 1920.
243. *Rep. Dir. Educ. 1914*, 8.
244. E/1/1/34, Foggin to Civil Commissioner, Melsetter, 22 Feb. 1916.
245. E/1/1/60, [24 Aug.–29 Sep. 1919], Foggin to Principal, Public School, Melsetter, 13 Sep. 1919.
246. E/1/1/95, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 20 Jun. 1922.
247. E/1/1/20 [18 Apr. 20 Jul. 1912], Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 20 Apr. 1912; E/1/1/25, Duthie to Sec. Dep. Admin. 24 Sep. 1914; E/1/1/29, Blackwell to Sec. Dep. Admin. 14 Jan. 1915; E/1/1/34, Foggin to Civil Commissioner, Melsetter, 22 Feb. 1916; E/1/1/39, Foggin to Civil Commissioner, Melsetter, 27 Oct. 1916.
248. E/1/1/58, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 24 Jun. 1919.
249. ibid., Foggin to F. King, 5 Jul. 1919.
250. E/1/1/61, [29 Sep.–3 Nov. 1919] Foggin to King, 7 Oct. 1919.
251. E/1/1/62, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 10 Nov. 1919; E/1/1/97, Foggin to King, 2 Sep. 1922.
252. E/1/1/62, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 10 Nov. 1919.
253. E/2/11/43, [Melsetter] 2 [Public School: 9 May 1899–13 Feb. 1923] Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Melsetter to Director of Education, 6 May 1921.
254. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year] 1919* (Sess. Paps. A8, 1920), 9.
255. E/1/1/70, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 9 Jun. 1920.
256. E/1/1/75, [12 Nov.–24 Dec. 1920], Brady to Sec. Dep. Admin. 2 Dec. 1920; E/1/1/78, [3 Mar.–30 Mar. 1921], Financial Clerk, Dep. Ed. to Senior Engineer, Audit Dep., 9 Mar. 1921.
257. E/1/1/64. Foggin to Vlok, 3 Mar. 1920; *Rep. Dir. Educ. 1919*, 9.
258. E/1/1/64, Foggin to Vlok, 3 Mar. 1920.
259. E/1/1/69, Foggin to Principal D.R.C. School, Broadway House, 20 May 1920.
260. E/1/1/71, Brady to Sec. D.R.C. School Committee, Salisbury, 11 Aug. 1920.
261. ibid., Brady to Sec. Dep. Admin., 24 Aug. 1920.
262. E/1/1/75, Brady to Sec. Dep. Admin., 23 Nov. 1920.
263. E/1/1/62, Foggin to District Traffic Superintendent, Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Salisbury, 7 Nov. 1919.
264. See generally Challiss, *The European Educational System*, 35–6.
265. LO/1/1/178, [6 Jan. 1921–26 May 1921], Agenda for 26 May 1921: G. C. Candler to Chaplin, 19 May 1921, enclosing translation from *Het Vaderland 15 Apr. 1921, Evening Edition,* and copy of letter, W. S. Churchill to Prince Arthur of Connaught 3 May 1921.
266. For biographical information on Mansvelt, see E. Rosenthal (Ed) *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* (Frederick Warne, London, 1961) 316 col. 2; and the *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa Vol. 7* (Nassou, Cape Town, 1970), 179–80; for biography of Emous, *Ibid., Vol. 4*, 304, and on Pont, *Ibid., Vol. 8*, 653.
267. LO/1/1/178, translation from *Het Vaderland 15 Apr. 1921, Evening edition.*
268. E/1/1/87, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 3 Dec. 1921.
269. E/1/1/70, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin. 9 Jun. 1920.
270. E/1/1/106, Foggin to P. J. Cilliers, 8 May 1923.
271. E/1/1/85, [29 Sep.–28 Oct. 1921], Foggin to Auditor General, 6 Oct. 1921.
272. *Rep. Dir. Educ. [for the Year], 1921* (Sess. Paps. 8–12, 1922), 13.
273. E/1/1/88, Foggin to Pvt. Sec. to Admin. 31 Dec. 1921; the Revd D. S. Botha, (1882–1927) was a founding member of *De Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal Letteren en Kunst* (South African Academy of Language, Literature and Art) in 1909 (*Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa vol. 1*, 271; Botha 'was keenly interested in educational matters' and was first appointed as Moderator of the Cape Synod in 1919, *Ibid Vol. 2*, 447.
274. E/1/1/88, Foggin to Vlok, 16 Jan. 1922.
275. E/1/1/89, [25 Jan.–14 Feb. 1922], Foggin to Sec. to Treasury, 9 Feb. 1922.
276. E/1/1/90, Foggin to Revd A. J. Olivier, 14 Feb. 1922.
277. E/1/1/91, Foggin to Olivier, 13 Mar. 1922.
278. E/1/1/93, [5 May–12 Apr. 1922], Foggin to Miller, 18 Apr. 1922.
279. E/1/1/93, Foggin to Miller, 10 Apr. 1922.
280. E/1/1/98, Foggin to A. B. Wessels, 12 Oct. 1922.
281. ibid., Foggin to Principal, Melsetter Public School, 30 Sep. 1922.
282. E/1/1/95, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin., 20 Jun. 1922; Foggin to Sec. Schools Advisory Committee, Melsetter, 1 Jul. 1922.
283. E/1/1/98, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Admin., 2 Oct. 1922.
284. E/1/1/98, McIntosh to Cilliers, 6 Oct. 1922; E/1/1/104, [5 Apr.–17 Apr. 1923], Foggin to Revd H. R. Barrish, 10 Apr. 1923.
285. E/1/1/97, Foggin to A. J. Hoffman, 27 Apr. 1922; Foggin to Malan, 21 Sep. 1922.
286. ibid., Foggin to Condy, 21 Sep. 1922.
287. E/1/1/103, Foggin to Cilliers, 23 Mar. 1923.
288. E/1/1/100, Foggin to Cilliers, 14 Dec. 1922; E/1/1/101, [13 Jan.–13 Feb. 1923], Foggin to H. U. Moffat, 19 Jan. 1923.

289. E/1/1/108, [17 Oct.–10 Nov. 1923] Foggin to Condy, 9 Nov. 1923.
290. E/1/1/106, Foggin to Cilliers, 8 May 1923; E/1/1/107, [20 Sep.–17 Oct. 1923] Foggin to Cilliers 20 Sep. 1923.
291. E/1/1/103, Foggin to Inspector of Schools Umtali, 22 Mar. 1923.
292. E/1/1/109, [4 Dec.–28 Dec. 1923], Foggin to Cilliers, 22 Dec. 1923.
293. *Debates in the Legislative Council, Third Session of the Seventh Council, 1–25 May 1922*, 11 May 1922, (John Mchlery, representing Marandellas Electoral District), col. 208; (Mrs E. Tawse-Jollie representing Eastern Electoral District) cols. 239–40.
294. E/1/1/103, Foggin to Barrish, 27 Mar. 1923.
295. E/1/1/108, Foggin to Colonial Sec. 17 Oct. 1923.
296. E/1/1/109, [4 Dec.–28 Dec. 1923], Foggin to Sec. Dep. Colonial Sec., 21 Dec. 1923.
297. *Debates in the Legislative Council During the Second Session of the Seventh Council, 25 Apr.–27 May 1921*, (being a reprint from the *Rhodesia Herald* [1921] 27 Apr. 1921, col. 50 [Captain Walter D. Douglas Jones representing the Midlands Electoral District] col. 50.
298. E/1/1/109, Foggin to the Revd W. G. Webster, 21 Dec. 1923.
299. E/1/1/101, Foggin to Advocate du Toit, 13 Feb. 1923.
300. E/1/1/104, Foggin to Botha, 11 Apr. 1923.
301. E/1/1/107, [20 Sep.–17 Oct. 1923], Foggin to Barrish, 16 Oct. 1923.
302. E/1/1/13, Foggin to Barrish, 27 Mar. 1923.
303. E/1/1/108, Foggin to Sec. Dep. Colonial Sec., 7 Nov. 1923.
304. G. P. Gilmour, 'Preface' to C. W. de Kiewiet, *The Anatomy of South African Misery* (O. U. P., London, 1956), vii.
305. E/1/1/90, Foggin to Treasury, 14 Feb. 1923.
306. *Rep. Dir. Educ. 1924*, (C. S. R. 15–1925) 8.
307. *Rep. Dir. Educ. 1925*, (C. S. R. 14–1926) 6.
308. *Rep. Dir. Educ. 1926*, (C. S. R. 12–1927) 5; Southern Rhodesia, *Compulsory Education Act, 1930*, Act No. 7, 2 May 1930.
309. *Debates, Third Session of the Seventh Council 1–25 May 1922* (being a reprint of the reports of the *Rhodesia Herald)* cols. 341–342. [Lionel Cripps representing Bulawayo District Electoral District].
310. WO [Federation of Women's Institutes] 1 [Correspondence and Other Papers–General 22 May 1928–29 July 1958] 1 [Education: 1 Jan. 1931–29 July 1958] 31 [Enkeldoorn Public School Commission of Enquiry: 16 Feb. 1945–22 Jan. 1922. Includes newspaper cuttings and reports], *The Bulawayo Chronicle 9 Mar. 1945* quoting Inspector of Schools, H. D. Southerns.
311. S. F. Pretorius, *The History of Daisyfield Orphanage, Bothashof Church School and Eaglesvale School Between 1911 and 1991*, thesis submitted in fulfulment of the requirements for the degreee of Master of Theology in the subject Church History at the University of South Africa, Nov. 1922; S. F. Pretorius, *A History of the Dutch Reformed Church in Zimbabwe With Special Reference to the Chinhoyi Congregation*, thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Theology in the subject of Church History at the University of South Africa, 1999.
312. E/1/1/98, Foggin to Revd W. Withnell, S. J., 14 Oct. 1922.
313. See generally, R. J. Challiss, 'Education Planning for Zimbabwe: The Problem of Unreliable Historical Perpectives', in *Zambezia* (1979) *VII*, ii, 215–241; R. J. Challiss, 'Phelps – Stokesism and Education in Zimbabwe', in *Zambezia* (1983) *XI*, ii, 109–125; R. J. Challiss, 'Zimbabwe's Booker T. Washington Connection, in *Morgan Zintec Magazine* (1985) 2, 92–107; R. J. Challiss, 'Education and southern Rhodesia's Poor Whites 1890–1930', in R. Morrell (ed), *White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880–1940* (Pretoria, Univ. of South Africa, 1992).

A Water-wheel in the Wilderness – Theydon, Marondera

by Rob S. Burrett

At this time with all the changes in some of the rural communities here in Zimbabwe, it seems right to place on record the few notes I have been able to gather concerning a mysterious Water-wheel which I was taken to see while teaching at Peterhouse, Marondera. The three photographs that accompany this article were taken in November 2000.

The wheel lies on the Nyamachota stream that flows northward before joining the Nyakambiri River that passes just west of the Bernard Mizeki Shrine and Tsindi Ruins. Its map reference is 1831 B1– 613947 on the farm 'At Last'. The present owner was unable to enlighten me as its origin and seems rather bemused by the interest of an amateur historian in this derelict contraption. At one time he did offer to sell it to a group of people he located picnicking there. However its sheer size, weight and general inaccessibility mitigates against its early relocation. I guess it will remain a fixture in the human landscape of the area for some time to come.

It consists of a central cast-iron wheel that I think may have originally derived from the mining industry, but I stand to be corrected. Welded onto this are lengths of angle iron with the outer portions completed with sheet iron forming the buckets. It is set in a concrete trough and the wheel still turns once it is freed from the undergrowth that has encroached upon it. In fact the bearings are still in an excellent condition so that despite its rusty appearance it rotates with ease and it wouldn't be too much of a problem to get it fully functional once again. Leading away from the top to the neighbouring high bank is the remains of what must have been a metal trough that would have carried the water. This was held in place by wooden poles but these are now decayed in their lower portions (not visible in photographs) and the structure hangs precariously – this hindered my investigation as to how water left or entered the wheel at this point. On the bedrock in the stream immediately to the east of the wheel is a concrete block that clearly once held an engine in place.

At the top of the neighbouring river bank there is a concrete trough which branches into two channels. One section can be traced heading northward but it disappears after a short distance near a huge metal cylinder that lies in the open veld. This heavy sealed cylinder has no features to indicate its possible use. It seems to me that this channel from here dips steadily down slope to a flat section of land downstream. The other channel from the wheel seems to head off on a rather meandering course upstream. This may have been to allow it to follow the contour line to facilitate the water flowing by gravity, but certainly in a couple of places it appears to have gone slightly uphill. This really flummoxed me, as such flows would be unnatural. However on thinking on this and having seen examples elsewhere, this improbability is possible if the water was restricted in its channel by narrow shuttering or it is in pipes so that the sheer force of the water behind it would force it up hill. Such short section could operate

albeit inefficiently. This southward channel can be traced to a small concrete and stone weir that lies on the southern border of this property with the farm 'Gatzi'. This reservoir shows signs of several periods of building and rebuilding and at the time of investigation

The wheel looking towards the north. Note the concrete engine block on the extreme left.

The wheel from the hihg river bank lookinf towards the east.

The water-wheel from the stream looking towards the east.

it had again been breached near the outflow point. All the way along this channel there are signs of brick manufacture and I initially assumed, erroneously, that the two were contemporary episodes in the farm's recent history.

My initial concern was whether the wheel was being driven by falling water to generate power from the motor or was it actually powered by the motor to lift water to a higher level. Both situations seemed unlikely to me. The former would have required greater volumes of water than this relatively minor stream possesses, while the latter scenario seems to me to be impossible given the position and shape of the cradle at the top which was presumably the off-take point. In fact for these reasons I still think that the wheel never actually worked as its maker intended. The idea was grand but the practicality was weak. Should any reader know more about the contraption and can say how it worked I would be glad to hear.

Initial enquires about the wheel brought an overwhelming negative response. Yes some people knew about it was there but that was all that they could say. Most however expressed surprise as to its existence. At first I thought that I had reached a dead end – a mystery never to be solved. However, a fortunate lead picked up at a Marondera Rotary Lunch, which I was honoured to address, soon led to a long standing resident of the area Mr Ted Blackwell. I interviewed him about the wheel in October 2000 and his recollections are recorded here, combined with several conclusions I have made based on my on the ground investigation

Mr Blackwell recalled chatting to the builder about the project over drinks at the Marandellas Country Club (now Marondera). It would seem that the water-wheel was

built by a middle-aged Afrikaner by the name of Sheppard who was originally a bricklayer and plasterer from Gweru (then Gwelo). He had given up his earlier trade and was trying his hand as a dairy farmer on the farm 'At Last'. Mr Blackwell is uncertain of the year but knows it was before the advent of television in that area. He puts it roughly at 1957.

It is probable that Sheppard wanted to use the wheel to water a fairly extensive area of flat land that lies down stream. By lifting water from the stream to a high point on the bank he could then allow gravity to feed it to the desired location. This is supported by Mr Blackwell's comment that the wheel was turned by an engine that was secured on the neighbouring concrete block – this puts pay to the idea that it was a traditional water-wheel generating power. Later it seems that Sheppard chose to elaborate the scheme and he decided to pump additional water into a large concrete reservoir that is a fair distance up slope. The idea being that he could then irrigate pastures closer to home and to water his animals. This circular concrete tank still stands alongside the Theydon Road. According to Mr Blackwell the wheel was put together on the farm with the arc welding done at the homestead and the sections were then transported to the site were they were bolted together.

Sheppard's efforts do not seem to have been marked by much success and at one time he is reputed to have tried to commit suicide. His dairy was marginal and the water-wheel to which he seems to have paid so much attention was a failure. There was just too little water on the stream to operate such a scheme. It may be at this point that he tried to build a back flow channel to carry unused water back upstream of the wheel to be stored in a weir until required. But this is however mere supposition. All we do know about Sheppard and the water-wheel is limited and is given above.

It would seem that the water-wheel never really worked and by the 1960s it had been abandoned. Subsequently, and this I have still to verify, the area was used as a local brickworks with a number of pits being dug into the deep alluvial clays which are associated with this stream. Several of these hollows and the associated sites where the bricks were burnt lie along side the water distribution channels. However the important point is that they are a separate historical event and are not associated.

It may seem to some that this short note is dealing with a relatively recent event, well within the lifetime of some readers. However, given my experience with the fading memories of people in the Marondera area concerning the mere existence of this water-wheel, I really feel it is appropriate that we record for posterity what we do know. There are probably many such local structures, follies and personalities throughout Zimbabwe which require documentation otherwise the changes we are currently living through are likely to mean that these hitherto oral histories will be lost or at the very least distorted. One can only appeal that through mediums such as *Heritage of Zimbabwe* we endeavour to record these cameos of our past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the Boys of the Conservation group at Peterhouse Boys for their patience as we explored the area and I offer a special thanks to Mr T. Blackwell for providing me with the vital information as to the origin of this structure.

Retirement of Rosemary Kimberley
24 Years of Dedication

After almost 24 years (1978–2001) of service to The History Society of Zimbabwe basically as its Administrator, Rosemary Catherine Kimberley (née Lighton) has retired.

Rosemary was born in South Africa and grew up in the Transvaal where her father was successively a teacher, a Headmaster, an Inspector of Schools, a Principal of a College of Education, a Professor of Education in the University of the Witwatersrand and Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Cape Town.

She received her secondary education at Parktown Girls' High School, Johannesburg, and at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg where she graduated Bachelor of Arts majoring in English, History and History of Art. She received her Transvaal Teacher's Higher Diploma from the Johannesburg College of Education at a time when her father Professor Reg Lighton was Rector of the College.

After teaching English and History at Forest High School in Johannesburg, she married Michael John Kimberley in Johannesburg in April 1961 and they settled in Rhodesia where Mike had lived all his life.

Rosemary taught A Level English for a short while, initially at Girls High School, then at Churchill and Roosevelt Schools and for a few years at Speciss College.

She received some notoriety in 1962 when she was cajoled by Mike into participating in a Television quiz programme called 'Naught to Lose'. Her knowledge of mythology,

Rosemary Kimberley

history and music enabled her to defeat the then quiz reigning champion, a chemist and sport expert Maurice Kramer, who had been unbeaten on the show for about 9 weeks.

Rosemary's life over the past 25 years had been one of exemplary, loyal and dedicated service to a number of organisations in this country.

She was, for about ten years, a reader for the Board of Censors and on the censorship panel for live shows, and from 1973 to 1979 she served on the Rhodesia Education Advisory Board.

She has had four links with history and with the History Society of Zimbabwe.

Firstly, her paternal grandfather Frank Tomlin Lighton came to this country by bicycle and ox-wagon from Mossel Bay in 1896 and his journey is the subject of an article in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* Volume 9.

Secondly, for her BA degree she majored in History as well as English and History of Art.

Thirdly, when a now defunct firm of chartered accountants, which had been doing all the History Society's secretarial, administrative and accounting work for the past six years, decided in 1978, the Society's Silver Jubilee year, that it needed to double its annual charge for this work, her husband Mike, then National Chairman of the Society, shanghaied Rose into taking on the secretarial, administrative, revenue collecting and banking roles. That was 24 years and 24 annual dinners ago!

Fourthly, she has reviewed a substantial number of books for successive Editors of our Society's journal and her scholarly reviews appear in numerous issues of our journal.

During those 24 years she processed all the new member applications, she billed existing members, she receipted all subscriptions and banked the proceeds, she maintained the membership records, she mailed the journal every year to each member, she sold back-numbers of the journal, she organised all the annual dinners in Harare, and so it goes on.

Through this long association and by having a friendly open-door approach to members needs she got to know a large number of members many of whom found it convenient to pay for and collect things like Heritage back-numbers, dinner tickets and so on from Rose's house rather than through the unreliable and inefficient post. She always made time for a chat and even a cup of tea with many of those callers.

As a token of the Society's appreciation of Rosemary's loyal, efficient and dedicated service to the Society from 1978 until 30 June 2001 the Society made available some money for a gift to her which Rosemary has herself chosen. The gift comprises some Glyn Jones jewellery and three water colours by a well known local wild life artist.

In 1975, she was appointed by the President to the Commission of Enquiry into Termination of Pregnancy (the other members being Mr W. A. Pittman, Chairman, Professor R. H. Christie, Mr R. W. Weinberg and Mrs S. Pichanick), which reported to the Government in February 1976. The Commission's recommendations were incorporated into law in the Termination of Pregnancy Act, which is still the law on termination of pregnancy in Zimbabwe.

Rosemary was a member of the Association of University Women of Rhodesia and served as National Honorary Secretary of the Association for several years.

She became Honorary Secretary of the National Trust of Zimbabwe in 1990 and

retired from that post in 2000 after ten years service. She is currently a member of the Council of the Trust.

However, apart from running a household, being a competent and enthusiastic contract bridge player, being well known in the cookery sense for her outstanding desserts and her wonderful black forest cake, and being a prolific reader on a wide range of subjects, Rosemary's most time consuming task was the one from which she retired in 1995 after 16 years of outstanding service, namely National Honorary Secretary of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Zimbabwe.

Whilst membership numbers are no longer 1 000 with all that that entails when it comes to billing, receipting and banking subscriptions every year for local and foreign members, the main volume of the work was concerned with the sale of the Society's publications. The journal *Excelsa* (edited since 1971 by Mike) and the occasional volume *Excelsa Taxonomic Series* have sold extremely well in about 30 countries overseas for the last 20 years and Rosemary handled these sales all of which involved the labour intensive aspects of special packing to obviate damage in the post, the red tape of forms for registered post to prevent theft in transit, special banking procedures for payments in foreign currency and so on.

Zimbabwe has always been starved of the latest in natural history books and about 20 years ago John and Viv Parsons made arrangements for the Society to have the latest in books on succulent plants available to our members. Rose also handled this aspect of the Society's work which has increased in volume over the last few years.

Perhaps Rosemary's greatest contribution to the Society was her role as organising Secretary of Aloe 88, the Society's highly successful International Succulent Plant Congress held over 10 days in Zimbabwe in July 1988 and as local organising Secretary of the XXth Convention of the International Organisation for Succulent Plant Study (IOS) also held in Harare in July 1988 under the auspices of our Society. Administrative arrangements for 150 delegates to Aloe 88 (half from overseas) and 50 to the XXth IOS (about 30 from overseas) involved an enormous volume of administrative work over a continuous period of two years, the bulk of which fell on Rosemary's shoulders.

Rosemary was elected an Honorary Vice President of the Society in 1989 and a Fellow of the Society in 1991 in recognition of her outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objectives of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Zimbabwe.

Her plant interests include the Aloes and the Stapeliads and, in more recent times, through encouragement from the late Alan Percy-Lancaster, the *Brachystelma*. Her patience and unhurried approach to botanising has resulted in an ability to spot the dwarf like *Brachystelma* including a possible new species found in the Nyanga district a few years ago. Her name is commemorated jointly with Mike in *Aloe inyangensis* variety *kimberleyana* and *Monadenium kimberleyana*.

Rosemary was a Director of the Aloe Breeding Institute and after preliminary instruction from Tony Weeks and others, she and Dr. S. W. (Pip) Nelson made a large number of Aloe hybrids which were exported to South Africa and sold locally in the 1970s.

With her work for the History Society of Zimbabwe, for the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Zimbabwe, for the Association of University Women of Rhodesia, for the National Trust of Zimbabwe, for Aloe 88 and for the XXth Convention of the

International Organisation for Succulent Plant Study, and for several other tasks, Rose has certainly been an administrator par excellence for almost the entire 40 years that she has lived in this country.

Therefore, The History Society of Zimbabwe salutes Rosemary for her mammoth, dedicated and comprehensive contributions to a number of organisations over a long period and wishes her well in her retirement.

OBITUARY

Robert William Sheriff Turner (1917–2001)

by Michael J. Kimberley

Robert Turner was born in Lahore in 1917, Lahore then being part of India. His mother was a Scot and his Irish father was from Tipperary, and was involved in the large canal system in Lahore and its environs.

UNIVERSITY

Robert entered Aberdeen University in about 1937 to study electrical engineering. Whilst at University he joined the Black Watch and upon the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 he was sent to India on an officers' training course and was commissioned in the 1st Punjab Regiment, one of the oldest regiments in the British Army.

PUNJAB REGIMENT

The 1st Punjab Regiment was established in 1759 and served the East India Company for the first hundred years of its life and then in succession one queen and four kings of England, the last of whom, King George VI, recognised its long and loyal service by becoming Colonel in Chief. For nearly two hundred years the battalions of the Regiment served the British and fought in their wars not only in India but in many countries overseas. It was senior in service of all the corps and units of the Old British–Indian Army. In 1947, keeping its name, badges, distinctions and traditions it became part of the army of the new and sovereign state of Pakistan.

Robert served in the 7th Battalion of the Regiment which was raised at Jhelum on 1 April 1941 by Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Smith with its commissioned and non-commissioned officers being drawn from the regular battalions, mostly the 1st and 2nd, and raised on a five-company basis and participated in operations on the North-West frontier.

In October 1945 the battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel N. S. Holmes and Majors Turner, Jackson, Lewis and Singh was sent to the Andaman Islands for an occupational role following the surrender of the Japanese in August 1945 because it was felt that the Japanese might fight it out in some of the Islands rather than surrender. Besides performing its allotted tasks of disarming the Japanese and dumping their arms and ammunition into the sea the 7th Battalion contributed much to the welfare of the inhabitants with the Medical Officer playing a major role in this regard.

The Battalion left for India in February 1946 and by March 1947 it became the first of the Regiment to have none but Indian Officers.

In 1946 Robert's Battalion was sent to Port Blair in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, where he met Mary, who was serving there as one of twelve members of the Queen Alexandra Imperial Nursing Service.

ARCHIVES SERVICE

After the end of the War Robert and Mary both ended up in Southern Rhodesia where Robert joined the staff of the Central African Archives in 1947 and they married in Bulawayo that year before proceeding to Zomba in Nyasaland to establish a branch of the Central African Archives. In 1950 he was transferred to Salisbury where he remained until his retirement as Director of National Archives of Zimbabwe in 1981. With 34 years' service in the National Archives he was the longest serving member of staff in the history of the Department.

In 1956 he visited the main archival institutions in the United States of America under a State Department Fellowship. On his return from this trip he installed the present system of records management in the National Archives which still exists today virtually unchanged.

He was Director of the National Archives of Zimbabwe during the most momentous period of the country's history, from 1978–1981. During this time he introduced many changes, the most noteworthy being the Africanization of staff and the installation of a highly economical system of storing archives and printed material. His management of the National Archives Publications Trust Fund has resulted in much profit accruing. He has also left his mark on the grounds of the National Archives which, apart from the magnificent garden, have inspiring inscriptions on great natural boulders.

Robert conceived the idea that the permanent home for the National Archives should be built by private rather than public funds. This resulted in the enactment in 1958 of the National Archives Construction Act to provide for the construction and equipment of a building for the housing and storage of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Act established a Board called the Trustees of the Archives Building. The Board was a body corporate and its members, being not less than four and not more than six, were appointed by the Federal Minister of Home Affairs. The members received no remuneration except for travelling and subsistence expenses when engaged in the business of the Board.

The functions of the Board were two fold, firstly, to construct at Salisbury the Archives Building and, secondly, to furnish, decorate and equip the Archives Building for the housing, preservation and storage of all public archives, records and judicial records transferred to the National Archives. The Board was empowered to enter into all contracts necessary for the exercise of its functions, to construct the Archives Building, and to appoint employees and remunerate staff. Furthermore, it was authorised to borrow up to £250 000 on certain specified conditions.

The Board's funds comprised monies borrowed and monies donated to, vested in or accrued to the Board.

Once the Minister of Home Affairs was satisfied that the Board had fully and faithfully completed its functions in accordance with the provisions of the Act, he published a notice in the Federal Gazette to that effect whereupon the Act was *ipso facto* repealed and the assets and liabilities of the Board were transferred to the Federal Government.

The Board's task was fully and faithfully completed following the opening of the Archives Building and the Act was repealed in 1963.

Robert was the Board's first Secretary and played a major part in the fund raising efforts which resulted in the construction of the National Archives Building which exists today on the Borrowdale Road.

HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

In 1961 Robert became a member of the National Executive Committee of The Rhodesiana Society, which became the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1980, and served on that Executive for 36 years until he retired in 1997. During this period he saw the Society's membership grow from 187 in 1961 to a record 1300 in 1972. He was Chairman of the Society's Membership Sub-Committee and his leadership in that particular role was a major contributing factor to the phenomenal growth of the Society and its membership.

He was the Society's National Chairman from 1975 to 1977, its National Deputy Chairman from 1973 to 1975, and he edited Numbers 6, 1986 and 7, 1988 of the journal *Heritage of Zimbabwe*. For over ten years he personally sold all the advertisements that appeared in the Society's journal. He was a life member of the Society and in 1978 he was awarded the Society's Gold Medal for his outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

SUCCULENT PLANT SOCIETY

Robert had an interest in succulent plants and was an active member of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Zimbabwe for some thirty years, and its National Chairman from 1974 to 1976. In 1972 Robert and I, and our wives, Mary and Rosemary, were travelling together to Inyanga to attend an annual dinner of the Rhodesiana Society. I was driving and Robert was back-seat driving. Somewhere between Rusape and Inyanga, Robert conceived the idea of organising an Aloe Congress in Rhodesia. He sold the idea to the Society's National Council of which I was then National Chairman, and we immediately appointed Robert as Convener of the organising committee of what was known as Aloe 75. I was honoured to serve as Robert's Deputy Convener. The Congress was an outstanding success and over 300 delegates from some 30 countries attended. The Congress comprised a week of lectures and social functions preceded by a week long pre-congress tour to Manicaland and a week long post-congress tour to Matabeleland.

Aloe 75 was the world's first Aloe Congress and the first Succulent Plant Congress to be held on the continent of Africa and its resounding success gave world wide recognition to the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia. In

The 1978 Gold Medal Presentation.
***L. to R.*: The National Chairman, Mr. M. J. Kimberley; Sir Humphrey Gibbs; Mr. R. W. S. Turner, the recipient.**

recognition of his work in connection with the Congress, Robert was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal by the Government of the day. A year before the Aloe 1975 Congress, Robert produced a most attractive hybrid between *Aloe ballii,* which occurs naturally near the Haroni Gorge in the Southern Chimanimani Mountains, and *Aloe musapana,* which occurs on the mountains between Cashel and Chimanimani. This hybrid was displayed for the first time at the Congress in July 1975 and was acclaimed by all delegates as a plant with great commercial potential.

PUBLIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Robert was a very active member and served as Vice President of the Public Service Association. He donated much of his energy to the enhancement and protection of civil service pensions and his endeavours included efforts to have civil service pensions underwritten by the British Government and involved Robert and others in visits to Great Britain to lobby Members of Parliament.

PLANTSMAN

Robert had a feel for plants of all kinds and had a particular interest in staghorn ferns, which he propagated successfully from his own flourishing stock, in orchids, in Epidendrons and in African violets. He and I were together on an expedition in

December 1969 to the Eastern border where we both saw cycads in habitat for the first time. That well populated habitat has been depleted through the activities of hawkers and greedy collectors. On that particular expedition it rained most of the time and we both wore raincoats – mine was too long for me and whilst negotiating my descent I stood on the bottom corner of the coat and went head-over-heels down the mountain. Robert thought that was the end for me but I must have been a parachutist in a previous life and I ended up ten metres further down completely unscathed but slightly shocked.

NATIONAL TRUST

He was a life member of the National Trust of Zimbabwe and served on its Committee for a number of years.

FAMILY

Robert is survived by his widow Mary who lives in Christchurch, New Zealand, his son George who is a medical practitioner in private practice in Marondera, a daughter, Cathy, who is a medical practitioner in Christchurch, a daughter Marie who lives in Cork, Eire, and nine grandchildren in Zimbabwe, New Zealand and Eire.

AS A PERSON

Robert had a very fertile imagination and his mind was often absolutely bursting with ideas – Aloe 75 was one of his many ideas, as was the sale of advertising space in the history journal. Those of us who knew him well will remember his cone and canyon scheme which involved the excavation by pick and shovel of a canal from the Zambezi to the Lowveld. The excavated soil would be placed in a 16 kilometre sided pyramid and this would create a mountain higher than Everest with snow on its top all year round – at long last a solution not only to unemployment but also to Zimbabwe's ever-ailing tourism.

Meikles Hotel 1915–2001

by Norman Atkinson

There are two different ways of looking at history. We can consider a broad topic or collection of events, such as the causes of World War Two, or the emancipation of women. Alternatively, we can concentrate our attention on the experience of one particular feature, perhaps a family, or educational institution, or business enterprise.

Obviously, the first approach, which gives a kind of horizontal perspective, is good for making broad generalisations about the past, but it does not always provide insights and intimate understanding. The second method, with a more vertical or limited perspective, is less useful for generalisation, but it may provide insights and understanding which contribute significantly to the main judgments of history.

The history of Meikles Hotel, in Harare, studied in vertical perspective, provides many insights on the past century or so in our country. To appreciate this, we can hardly do better than take position on the Roof Garden, where there is a perspective northwards across Africa Unity Square, originally Cecil Square.

Midway along the western side is the site of the Flagpole, where the Union flag was raised by the British South Africa Company's Pioneer Column on 13 September 1890. The trees and pathways in the gardens clearly retain the form of the Union Flag. Facing the north-eastern corner of the Square is the Harare Club, founded in 1893 as the Salisbury Club, rebuilt in 1911 and given its present building in 1961. The Club's original hitching pole remains in position beside the entrance. Further to the west is Zimbabwe's Parliament House, erected in 1895 as the Cecil Hotel. When the hotel proved unprofitable, the building was used as the administrative offices of the BSA Company, becoming the home of the legislature after the achievement of Responsible Government in 1923 On the north west corner is the Anglican Cathedral of Saint Mary and All Saints, begun in 1913, according to a design which originally included a conical tower along the lines of Great Zimbabwe. Buildings on the west side of the Square are more recent, the Herald Office having moved there from the western part of the city in 1961. The CABS building dates from the 1970s. On the south-eastern corner the Land Bank stood for many years, providing most of the capital for the development of the country's agriculture.

The present-day Meikles Hotel is the successor of the original building put up in 1913. For several years previously Stewart Meikle, on behalf of the partnership operated with his elder brother Thomas, had been buying plots in the vicinity. Evidently the Meikles brothers realised the potential importance of the Square as the administrative and social centre of the capital.

The historical role of Meikles Hotel has, however, been much more than that of eye-witness. Not infrequently it has itself been the setting where important events have taken take place.

Among them, we might note the Opening of the first Parliament, on 30 May 1924 in Meikles Hall (on the site of the present car park); the City's formal reception of its

first royal visitor, HRH the Prince of Wales, in July 1925; the experimental growth of American tobacco seed, later to become the country's standard variety, in the hotel garden during 1926; the dinner given for four prime ministers (Harold Macmillan, Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edward Whitehead and Lord Malvern) on the eve of the break-up of the Central African Federation, in January 1960; and the State Banquet on the eve of Zimbabwean Independence on 17 April 1980. Visitors since Independence have included most African heads of state and a long list of other notables among whom were HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, HRH Princess (later Queen) Sonja of Norway, Vice-President (later President) George Bush and David Rockefeller. There are also countless numbers of less famous people from all parts of southern Africa.

THE EARLY DAYS

Meikles Hotel is part of a long established family business. The chief founder, Thomas Meikle (1860–1938), or Tom as he was generally known, exercised immense influence over its affairs.

Tom was the eldest of the three Meikle brothers, who operated very successfully as transport riders, one of the most demanding business careers in late nineteenth century southern Africa. Transport riding demanded a unique blend of foresight, courage and endurance, together with both physical and intellectual toughness. It also provided special opportunities for reflection and forward planning.

Notwithstanding his success in business, Tom Meikle continued to live simply. The qualities which he most admired, honest hard work, humility and a striving for excellence, were expected from all who served in his enterprises. Stories of his travel in Third Class railway compartments or on a bicycle are well supported by evidence. So are the tales about his life-long love of animals, especially the oxen who drew his wagons. He also enjoyed the companionship of his horses, mules and cattle. On his arrival at any of the stores, it was invariably the well-being of the animals which first received an inspection.

Once committed to the hotel venture, Tom Meikle pressed forward with all the means at his disposal. With the assistance of a Scottish architect, W. H. Mason, and an Irish builder, named Mullins, he produced one of the most magnificent buildings in Africa north of the Limpopo. Inside the parapet of the upper storey was a walkway 700 feet long – as Mullins noted, about 100 feet shorter than Cape Town Pier. Among other features were unusually thick walls, overhanging eaves, high ceilings, excellent ventilation, hot and cold water and electricity (supplied in the City of Salisbury since 1913). Over the west entrance there was a water-tower and cupola, surmounted by the original two Meikles lions. The lions, as generations of patrons in the hotel's bars were wont to declare, would growl if a virgin passed in the street below!

The intended purpose of Tom Meikle's building is somewhat unclear. Architectural plans for the ground floor suggest that he may have intended to establish a business centre as well as a hotel. If so, this intention may have been abandoned after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The building was opened as a hotel, without special ceremony, on 15 November 1915.

Interior fittings of a very high quality were supplied by Meikle's London agent, William Fowlie. Teak panelling was used extensively in the public rooms. The china

was of such superior quality that the kitchen staff apparently treated it with a degree of care unusual in hotels.

The food was splendid from the outset, reflecting Meikle's intention to meet market needs, at prices which his clients could afford. The late H. M. Barbour recalled that 'the menus were as long as your arm and the service was immaculate. There was never any skimping on food, and if you wanted ten eggs for breakfast they would bring them without batting an eyelid.' Barbour described the huge cold buffets, laden with every imaginable kind of meat. The cost of a dinner was five shillings (three shillings and sixpence to members of HM armed services). (*Rhodesia Herald*, 5 January 1974).

There were frequent public banquets, served in lavish style. At a reception for Viscount Burton, the High Commissioner for South Africa, in June 1916, ten courses were served – pâté de foie gras, turtle soup, oysters, truffles – and European liqueurs. All this was achieved despite the German blockade of British sea routes. Twelve courses were served at the reception for Jan Smuts in August 1916.

As in other aspects of his business, Tom Meikle was careful in selecting suitable staff for his hotel. The third manager, J. G. Robinson, appointed in 1919, was the ideal person to carry the hotel through its early formative years. A large muscular man, with a background in the BSA Police, he was thorough and forceful in everything. During 1923 he built Meikles Hall on the site of the present Car Park. Here the first Parliament of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia met in 1924, as depicted in Sidney Ivey's painting, presented to Parliament by the Thomas Meikle Trust fifty years later. It was a notable occasion in many respects: never before had the legislature of an English-speaking country been convened on the premises of a hotel; the meeting-place had a certain symbolism, since business enterprise had played a key role in preparing the way for constitutional advances in the colony; and for the first time a woman, Mrs Ethel Tawse Jollie, was taking her seat in a legislature of the British Empire outside the United Kingdom.

One of the first matters discussed by Parliament was arrangements for the impending visit to the Colony by the Prince of Wales. HRH was formally entertained by the City at a ball in Meikles Hall during July 1925, an event which was organised by Robinson with characteristic thoroughness and attention to detail. This did not save him from an embarrassing incident at the main doors, when some people were slightly crushed in their anxiety to get inside early. Although it had apparently been agreed that admittance to the hall would be the responsibility of the Municipality rather than the hotel, the manager had to make an embarrassing appearance before the Salisbury magistrates to answer a charge – subsequently withdrawn – of having contravened a City by-law.

By gracious permission of the Prince, Meikles Hall was henceforward known as the Prince's Hall.

IN BOOM AND SLUMP

The years immediately following Responsible Government in 1923 brought considerable prosperity to the Colony. Tobacco farming became both popular and profitable, encouraged by the experimental growing of a standard type of leaf in the garden of Meikles Hotel by two Imperial Tobacco executives during 1926. Farmers on their visits to town could increasingly be found discussing their business in the hotel lounge.

Then, during 1928, the bottom fell out of the tobacco market. There was serious oversupply, a drop in prices and widespread unemployment. The situation was exacerbated by the onset of a world slump during the 1930s.

Meikle and Robinson, threatened by catastrophe, struggled hard to keep their hotel open. Their most successful approach proved to be an extension of the permanent resident system, already operating very successfully in the time of H.M. Barbour. Many more residents began to enjoy the advantages of a way of life which combined the qualities of a home with those of a hotel and a city club. Among them were such colourful characters as Cope-Christie (architect of many of the city's chief buildings), Lionel and Douglas Hoskings (formerly of Imperial Tobacco) and Marshal and Violet Symons (the latter well known for the elegance and style of her dress). Such residents helped to enrich the life of what had previously been a rather dull, hard-working urban community. They also introduced the money needed to enable the hotel to survive. It became possible to engage in an ambitious programme of modernisation, including the installation of hot and cold water in bedrooms, bedside lamps, spring mattresses, telephones and a lift. These amenities were, in fact, provided without increase in tariff.

The programme of banquets and balls was continued as before, reaching an annual climax in the August Show Ball. This was an affair of much formality, with lines of immaculately dressed Indian waiters, contrasting with much exuberant merrymaking.

Other functions included concerts, dances, card drives, lectures, plays and films, usually in the Prince's Hall.

TOM MEIKLE'S SUCCESSORS

The death of Tom Meikle on 8 February 1939 removed the guiding influence from the affairs of the hotel. His widow, Winifred, though little experienced in the world of business, stepped into the task of discharging his responsibilities with remarkable fortitude. Her intention was to ensure that in the hotel, as in other aspects of the Meikle organisation, her late husband's principles would continue to be practised.

Winifred Meikle was one of the first to appreciate the opportunities created by the establishment of the Royal Air Force flying training schools in Rhodesia early in World War Two. The arrival of many hundreds of young men in uniform set the scene for some of the gayest and most elaborate functions yet organised in the hotel, organised by J. G. Robinson with customary administrative skill.

After the war, there was a spate of immigration from the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth. The hotel had the novel experience of running short of rooms.

The organisation of the Central African Federation, extending from 1953 to 1963, and bringing into association the two Colonies of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and the Nyasaland Protectorate, marked the period of greatest expansion yet seen in the southern African region. It had far-reaching effects for Southern Rhodesia, where there was massive expansion in agricultural and manufacturing industries in coordination with mining enterprises to the north; for the City of Salisbury, which began to expand prodigiously into new northern suburbs; and for Meikles Hotel, which began to take an increasingly larger proportion of its clients from the international marketplace.

The implications of the new situation were clearly appreciated by the Meikles Vice-Chairman, Reginald Donald Moxon, who had come down from Kenya after his marriage to Tom Meikle's eldest daughter, Marjorie. By inclination a convivial family man, cast in much the same mould as his father-in-law, Moxon might in other circumstances have been content to maintain the character of Meikles as a local institution. His business perception, however, taught him that the time had now come to take a wider view.

Plans for rebuilding the hotel, drawn up by the Thomas Meikle Trust in 1947, were rejected by the Salisbury Planning Committee, which had recently designated property east of Second Street as a non-business area.

Moxon nevertheless persisted, convinced that a programme of modernisation was necessary to meet international competition. An extensive programme of modernisation included the refurbishment of the colonial-style front entrance with armour-plated doors and steps in Sicilian marble. There was also mukwa panelling and concealed lighting in the foyer, giving an impression of coolness and space.

During 1955 the Causerie was created, providing a small contemporary-styled cocktail bar which set new standards of sophistication for the city. The designer, Colonel Kenneth Harvey, of Messrs Rinaldo, MacDonald and Harvey, was making his first major contribution to the development of the hotel.

Harvey and Bruce Macdonald were designers of the new East Wing, erected in 1956–1958, after the city authorities had given in to the hotel's continued arguments that expansion was necessary in order to meet greatly increased demands for accommodation. This development was apparently received with mixed feelings. It meant sacrifice of the beautiful hotel garden, where a long succession of local families had held their wedding receptions, and young people had relaxed during Show Balls. There were, however, considerable compensations. The new building, originally of seven storeys, but with provision for the addition of a further five, had 120 bedrooms with individual bathrooms. The Jacaranda Lounge, with long windows looking out on the gardens of the Square, soon became a place of emigration for the regular inhabitants of the old hotel lounge. In La Fontaine there were dining facilities well up to French and other international standards; its tasteful furnishings were carefully selected by Tom Meikle's second daughter, Joan and her husband, Captain A. H. G. Hampshire; among innovations, each of the 160 chairs had an unobtrusive knob to hold a lady's handbag; preparations for its very high standard of cuisine were made for many weeks before the opening, including a period when senior members of staff were given a free run of the menu and were expected to criticise. The adjoining Can Can Bar was intended to outdo the Causerie in standards of sophisticated fittings and decor.

For many years the East and West Wings (as they were now named) were run as one unit. This imposed difficult management problems because of the enormous floor space, including many long corridors, the replication of many public facilities and the need to maintain an unusually large staff, numbering several hundred. The mind-set of many staff was reflected in a tendency to refer to the 'new' and 'old' hotels, drawing from management a semi-humorous ruling that use of these terms would result in a fine of one penny for each infringement! We do not know if the fine was ever exacted!

Residents and staff found themselves coming to terms with life in what was now

a very large hotel community, acquiring some of the attributes of a village and others which belonged to a large country house. There was apparently at the same time a certain informality and even intimacy such as other major hotels did not often enjoy. It was 'above all a very happy place,' judged a Manager's daughter (Fiona Cadell), who lived there for most of two decades. 'It was happy because the staff enjoyed their work and felt proud to be part of a great enterprise'.

There was nevertheless a tendency for the hotel community to become too sheltered from political events in the world outside. The Suez crisis of 1957, and Britain's subsequent retreat from empire, appears to have made little immediate impact on the inhabitants. They were, however, brought into intimate contact with great events by the meeting of the four prime ministers, Harold Macmillan, Roy Welensky, Edgar Whitehead and Lord Malvern, who had dinner in the hotel on 26 January 1960, to discuss some implications for the Central African Federation.

The end of the Federation was marked by a magnificent banquet in Meikles, given by the Federal Government for the heads of government departments, during December 1963.

Rhodesian UDI, on 11 November 1965, and the subsequent imposition of international mandatory sanctions, marked the beginning of a new and very difficult period in local politics. The reaction of Meikles Hotel was to decline to be forced into any changes in policy. The programme of modernisation continued, in anticipation of renewed opportunities to engage in international marketing.

Among international visitors was the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home, who came during November in a new attempt to arrange a constitutional settlement. Sir Alec stayed in Marimba House, where catering was provided by Meikles. His staff occupied the sixth and seventh floors of the hotel's East Wing.

When a Commission of Inquiry was appointed early in 1972 to evaluate the proposals agreed between the British and Rhodesian Governments, the Chairman, Lord Pearce, and his three chief lieutenants, were accommodated in the hotel.

DEMOLITION AND REORGANISATION: 1974 ONWARDS

The demolition of the West Wing during 1974 represented an act of extraordinary courage by the Directors of the Meikles Trust. Scenes of remarkable nostalgia were recorded by the local press as different sections of Rhodesian opinion expressed their awareness of the significance of this symbolic break with the traditions of the colonial past. The break was, nevertheless, inevitable. Meikles was preparing for an even more challenging role as a player on international markets.

Plans, released by R. D. Moxon during September 1974, provided for a fourteen-storey block, sited to the south-west of the East Wing and connected to it by a suite of public rooms.

The public rooms were opened in 1976, one of the earliest functions being the ninetieth birthday party of the local pioneer retailer, H. M. Barbour. Other early functions included a visit by the Time Group of forty US businessmen during March 1978 and the Zimbabwe Independence Banquet on 7 April 1980.

The South Wing, designed by Kenneth Harvey, was completed during the four years which followed, nine floors being ready for occupation or use by some 700

members of a distinguished international gathering at the time of Zimbabwe's Independence celebrations.

Other early visitors to use the new facilities were HRH the Duke of Edinburgh (who addressed the Royal Agricultural Society at the Conference during May 1983) and the US Vice-President, George Bush (on an official visit to Africa during November 1983).

Renewed hopes for development followed the inauguration of Zimbabwe's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, with support from the World Bank, during 1990. During 1991 there was remodelling and refurbishing of the North Wing (as the East Wing was now renamed). Five storeys were added, creating improved architectural balance with the Tower Block (a new name for the South Wing).

In 1993 the Meikles Lions – carefully preserved and restored since the demolition of the West Wing in 1974 – were remounted under a cupola at the north-east corner of the hotel complex. A time capsule was placed under the cupola.

On the site of the original hotel, the Southampton Life Shopping Arcade appeared during 1993, with a roof garden at approximately the same level as that of the original walkway.

The L-shaped Southampton Life Centre, the largest and most spectacular office block yet erected in Harare so far, was completed in 1995. Viewed from the north, the Meikles complex now presented an impression of a balanced precinct, giving character to the city centre and helping to preserve the adjoining thoroughfares as a main area of business.

What insights can we glean from this study of Meikles?

Among them, it would seem, is the unique and influential role of the hotel in maintaining the morale and cohesion of the country's economic developers during the early formative years, when there was much back-breaking work to be done.

Again, there is the courage and foresight with which the Meikles Directors, themselves steeped in tradition, accepted the need to adopt new strategies and relationships during the period which saw the disappearance of European colonial systems.

Tradition, in any long-established institution, can be either an invigorating or a debilitating force. Perhaps it is most likely to invigorate when, as in Meikles, there is clear appreciation of certain underlying values, which become a springboard for both adaptation and advance.

This article is taken from N. D. Atkinson. *Hotel in Africa*. Harare: Meikles Africa, 1999, by kind permission of the publishers.

Notes on Recent Books

by Michael J. and Rosemary C. Kimberley

1. MEIKLES HOTEL, HOTEL IN AFRICA

by Norman Atkinson, published by Meikles Africa Limited, Harare 1999

In March 1869 an adventurous pioneer family from Strathaven in Scotland settled in Natal. John and Sarah Meikle had three young sons, Thomas, Stewart and Jack. In 1883, aged 21, Tom went to the goldfields in Barberton and soon realised that he could profitably supply the miners urgent needs for firewood and goods. He set up a transport business which grew so rapidly that his father and brothers joined him; in May 1892, the brothers ventured into Mashonaland where they remained for the rest of their lives.

They shared a deep love of animals, thus ensuring a dependable delivery of supplies by intelligent management of their many spans of oxen, and this, together with their careful assessment of market needs and reasonable pricing laid the solid foundations of their many business enterprises, which included stores in most of the growing towns and shrewd purchases of land.

Construction of the hotel began in 1913 on the south side of Cecil Square and along Second Street, where the main entrance was surmounted by a cupola flanked by the famous lions.

The furnishings, teak panelling and china were of the highest quality and electric light was a great attraction. The new hotel opened on 15 November 1915, a testing time for any new venture. The drawbacks of the country's falling economy due to the World War were overcome by the three-fold business strategy that had served Tom Meikle so well in setting up his first business.

This delightful book is a chronicle of the Meikles Hotel and is profusely illustrated. Norman Atkinson has given a remarkably detailed account of the growth of this splendid and well-run hotel. Society members lucky enough to visit the hotel will remember Norman Atkinson's talk, the tour of the rooms and the speed with which the smoothly competent staff provided tea and coffee to over 200 people.

The comprehensive account of the building and refurbishment exercises highlights the meticulous attention to detail of architects and decision-makers.

In-house courses in effective communication for all staff members were expanded to include quality management training, the Meikles Code of Conduct and producer and sales training. New internationally recognised management training courses have been in place since 1993.

As the author says, family tradition has continued to 'provide the impetus for future development. Hotel affairs are still guided by members of the Meikle family and Tom Meikle's business policies are still followed by the management staff and those they have trained to assist them . . . only the most exacting standards are good enough'.

An engrossing book that will bring back warm memories of a very special hotel to generations of Zimbabweans. It will make an impressive present.

2. FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE, WOMEN AND ZANLA IN ZIMBABWE'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE

by Josephine Nhongo-Simbanegavi, published by Weaver Press, 2000

After obtaining her BA Hons in history at the University of Zimbabwe, the author obtained her doctorate at Oxford University, where she studied from 1993 to 1997. Her thesis provided the basis for this work.

Invaluable material was sourced from the reports of meetings of the Central Committee, the High Command, the General Staff of ZANU and ZANLA, and a few reports from the field, mostly from 1977 onwards. Some records were destroyed after internal purges.

Oral interviews, largely from the Dotito area of Mount Darwin and Bindura, produced a wealth of information once tensions were resolved between former combatants and civilians who provided them with logistical support.

Dr. Terence Ranger notes in his foreword that the ZANLA archives were housed in the ZANU PF headquarters. 'The author was the first scholar to have free access to the archives, and she found remarkable things' . . . including 'frank reports of indiscipline and brutality; complaints by women combatants'.

Dr. Nhongo-Simbanegavi does not glorify the struggle, but seeks to explain why women have not benefited as anticipated – and promised. During the struggle, they were carriers and formed a support system to their male counterparts. They were not allowed to make policy, nor to take command of men. After 1980, most were 'demobilised' and returned to the 'command' of their husbands. Rural women today face greater poverty and hardships than before.

The book covers the myths of female liberation, mass mobilisation and recruitment from 1972–1976, experiences in ZANLA's rear base camps and at the front, civilian relationships with militaries in ZANLA operational zones, and women's transition to peace and national independence.

In the final chapter of this well-researched book, the author warns that the nation should be responsible enough to see 'what lessons can be learned for the present and for the future. Undesirable tendencies covered up in the name of 'national solidarity' can mutate into monsters that will gobble up that hard-earned nationhood'.

A most readable and important account of women's part in the struggle and their prospects thereafter.

3. A LOWVELD SON

by J. R. C. Beverley, published 2000

In the author's words this 300 page book is 'a record of our family and also of life as it was lived in those long ago years', and it basically combines family history with lowveld history.

The latter part begins with Murray MacDougall, Mark Spraggen and Billy Mowbray and the establishment of the first police station in the lowveld in 1894.

The family part starts with the author's father, Basil Beverley becoming Manager of Bangala Ranch in 1929, and describes the development of the family ranch Faversham.

Although the book is of particular interest to the family and to lowveld residents, it should be of general interest to collectors of books on this country. If you require a copy contact the author at P.O. Box 98 Triangle (telephone (033) 627921).

4. A CENTURY OF CATTLE

by J. R. C. Beverley, published 2000

This 24 page booklet contains the story of cattle production in the south eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe from roughly 1900 until the present.

The first cattleman in the region was Tom MacDougall from Pilgrim's Rest and he was followed by Lucas Bridges who arrived from Argentina in 1918 and established the vast one million acre Devuli Ranch, and Dick Dott of Angus Ranch. Others who followed included Despard Bridges, Hamman, Laird, Posselt, Bob and Gordon Francis, Yoeman, Sommerville and many others including Basil Beverley on Faversham, Ian de la Rue on Ruware and Jimmy Whitall on Humani.

'These pioneer ranchers suffered incredible hardship and deprivations in the unchartered and undeveloped land they had acquired as their new homes'.

The first cattle brands to be registered in the lowveld were those of Beverley, Whitall and de la Rue and the first members of the Greater Victoria Ranchers Association were Triangle, Nuanetsi, Liebigs and Bangala and Messrs Beverley, MacDougall, Bowker, Dott, Stockil, Bridges, Whitall, Hingeston, Sommerville, de la Rue, Sparrow and the Southwoods.

Most of the booklet comprises a chronological history of the proceedings of the Chiredzi Farmers Association insofar as cattle producers were concerned.

Copies of the book are available from the author at P.O. Box 98 Triangle.

The History Society of Zimbabwe National Chairman's Report on the Proceedings of the Society during 2000

1. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Our National Committee for 2000 consisted of myself as National Chairman, John McCarthy as National Deputy Chairman, Ian Galletly as National Treasurer, Rosemary Kimberley as Minutes Secretary, and as Additional Executive Committee Members Messrs Bousfield, Franks, Johnstone, Rosettenstein, Stephens, Tanser, Wood and Zeederberg, plus Keith Martin our Mashonaland Branch Chairman. To all of them I extend my thanks for their support.

We have a rule which we have enforced rigorously since 1970 when our first Chairman vacated the Chair after occupying it for 17 years, whereby nobody may be National Chairman or National Deputy Chairman for more than two years in succession. Your present incumbents of these posts have completed two years so they are not eligible for re-election to their present posts of Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

2. MEMBERSHIP

Our membership has dropped below 1000 and at the year end comprised 231 individuals, 698 husband and wife members, 13 institutional members and 20 life members. Except for 17 foreign members and a few of the life members all are resident in Zimbabwe.

Our membership first reached 1000 in 1969 and peaked at 1300 in 1972. Then came the civil war, emigration and uncertainty and memberships dwindled to 700. It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the drop in membership but the inactivity of the Branch during 2000 is certainly a factor because in 1999 when the Branch had its most active year our membership easily passed the 1000 mark.

3. PUBLICATIONS

As always the annual journal Heritage of Zimbabwe was published for 2000. This issue was a bumper one of 180 pages. Its production cost was $193 933 equivalent to about $1 077 per page or $175 per copy. Paid up members receive a copy of the journal without charge and since the subscription for 2000 was about 50% less than the actual cost of one journal, membership of our Society is still the only bargain left in Zimbabwe.

4. BENEFACTORS AND SPONSORS

Nine major Zimbabwean Companies are benefactors of our journal and a further nine are sponsors of our journal. With the journal costing $193 933 and with our members subscriptions only bringing in about $90 062 Heritage of Zimbabwe could not appear on a regular annual basis without that benefaction and sponsorship. We are eternally grateful for that support which in all cases involves a five year commitment.

I also thank Eaglesvale School and its Headmaster, Mr J W Bousfield, for assisting with the printing, folding, stapling and mailing of circulars to our 1000 members.

Finally, grateful thanks to the Partners of Honey and Blanckenberg, especially Mr Barry Brighton, for computerising the Society's list of the names and addresses of our paid up members and for printing address labels when required by the National Executive Committee and the Mashonaland Branch Committee which is normally about eight times each year.

5. ANNUAL DINNER

Our 34th National Annual Dinner took place on Saturday 24 July 1999 at our traditional venue The Harare Club. There was a good attendance, reasonable food, a nice atmosphere and a very good talk by Richard Wood.

6. BOOK SERVICE

As is now well known the Society offers a book service to its members and others whereby mainly Africana, Rhodesiana and Zimbabweana books are bought and sold for the benefit of buyer and seller with a commission of 15% being charged, five per centum of which accrues to the Society. The book stock is housed in a pre-fabricated building financed by the Society and for the efficient management of the book service the Society's thanks are extended to John Ford.

7. THE SOCIETY'S J. A. PHAIR TRUST

One of our members, John Anthony Phair, died during the year and bequeathed one third of his Estate to the Society and the remaining two thirds equally to The Borradaile Trust and the SPCA.

The Estate consisted mainly of shares in Zimbabwean Companies. The Society's shares were sold and we realised $1 551 249.77 from the sales. With interest and dividends the Society's J. A. Phair Trust had $1 889 095.63 as at 31 December 2001. The National Executive Committee would welcome suggestions on what to do with this wonderful bequest.

Although the National Executive has not taken a final decision in the matter, I believe that the only secure investment in Zimbabwe today is in immovable property and I personally would like the Society to purchase centrally situated premises, possibly in joint venture with the National Trust of Zimbabwe who are keen on the idea, in which a permanent pictorial exhibit depicting the history of this capital city could be established, with the Trust and our Society each having an office cum library and record centre. An exhibit of this nature could, as is the case with similar exhibits elsewhere, be self financing with admission fees easily covering the cost of the curator who would reside in the staff quarters on site. The Society's book scheme and its computer might also find a home in such premises in the future.

Perhaps what I have just said will cause one of our members to bequeath his or her residence in the Avenues or in a suburb such as Belvedere, Milton Park, Eastlea or Avondale to the Society for the purpose outlined above.

8. PLAQUES ON HISTORIC BUILDINGS

I am pleased to say that our National Executive Committee accepted my proposal to

earmark up to $100 000, as did the National Trust of Zimbabwe under my Presidency, to finance the cost of name and date plaques to be fixed to 50 of the historic buildings shown on the Harare City Walk Map which was a project of our Society, of the National Trust, of the Institute of Architects of Zimbabwe and of the National Museums of Zimbabwe.

Architects Jackson and Dickens are currently working on the design and material aspects and I hope that the plaques will be installed on the buildings by the end of this year.

9. HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE TRUST FUND

Mindful of the fact that all our members receive our journal Heritage of Zimbabwe your National Executive Committee decided that it would be prudent to make sufficient financial provision to ensure the continued publication of the journal in the knowledge that the annual cost of printing our journal exceeds our annual income from subscriptions plus the generous annual contributions from our benefactors and sponsors.

Accordingly, your National Executive has established a Heritage of Zimbabwe Publication Trust Fund with an initial sum of $1 million and has resolved that all benefaction and sponsorship amounts and half of our annual subscriptions would be credited to the Trust Fund. In this way the cost of printing our journal will be secured for many years to come.

10. FINANCE

Income for the year was an all time record $777 420 and Expenditure was a record $338 563 resulting in an all time record surplus of $438 857. Of particular significance is that our accumulated funds as at 31 December 2000 amounted to $3 045 430. Investment income for the year was a record $578 396. The Society is therefore in an extremely sound financial position and in fact in the soundest position we have ever been in since our establishment in 1953.

For this we thank, firstly, our outstandingly efficient and dedicated Honorary Treasurer Ian Galletly, secondly, our Benefactors and Sponsors, and, thirdly, of course, the Late John Anthony Phair.

11. MASHONALAND BRANCH

Our only extant Branch, the Mashonaland Branch, had a very quiet year, in fact its quietest for 20 years, and this was attributable mainly to the security situation, to the chronic shortage of fuel and the postal strike.

12. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY – 12 JUNE 1953

The Society will turn 50 in June 2003 and your National Committee intends to present to our members a comprehensive programme of functions, events and publications to commemorate that major milestone in the Society's history. A working paper outlining a number of possible functions and events has been prepared and the new National Executive Committee will devote its attention to these as our 50th Anniversary is now only two years away.

13. THANKS

A Society with 1000 members, an annual publication and an annual dinner among other things cannot exist without an efficient administrator. As I said last year Rosemary Kimberley has been doing this since 1978 which is a very long innings indeed and we are most grateful to her for her efficient and dedicated service over the past 24 years. She will retire from this post on 30 June 2001 when Mrs Carol Cochrane will, hopefully, succeed her. At a later date the National Executive Committee has agreed to make a suitable presentation to Rosemary.

Michael John Kimberley
National Chairman