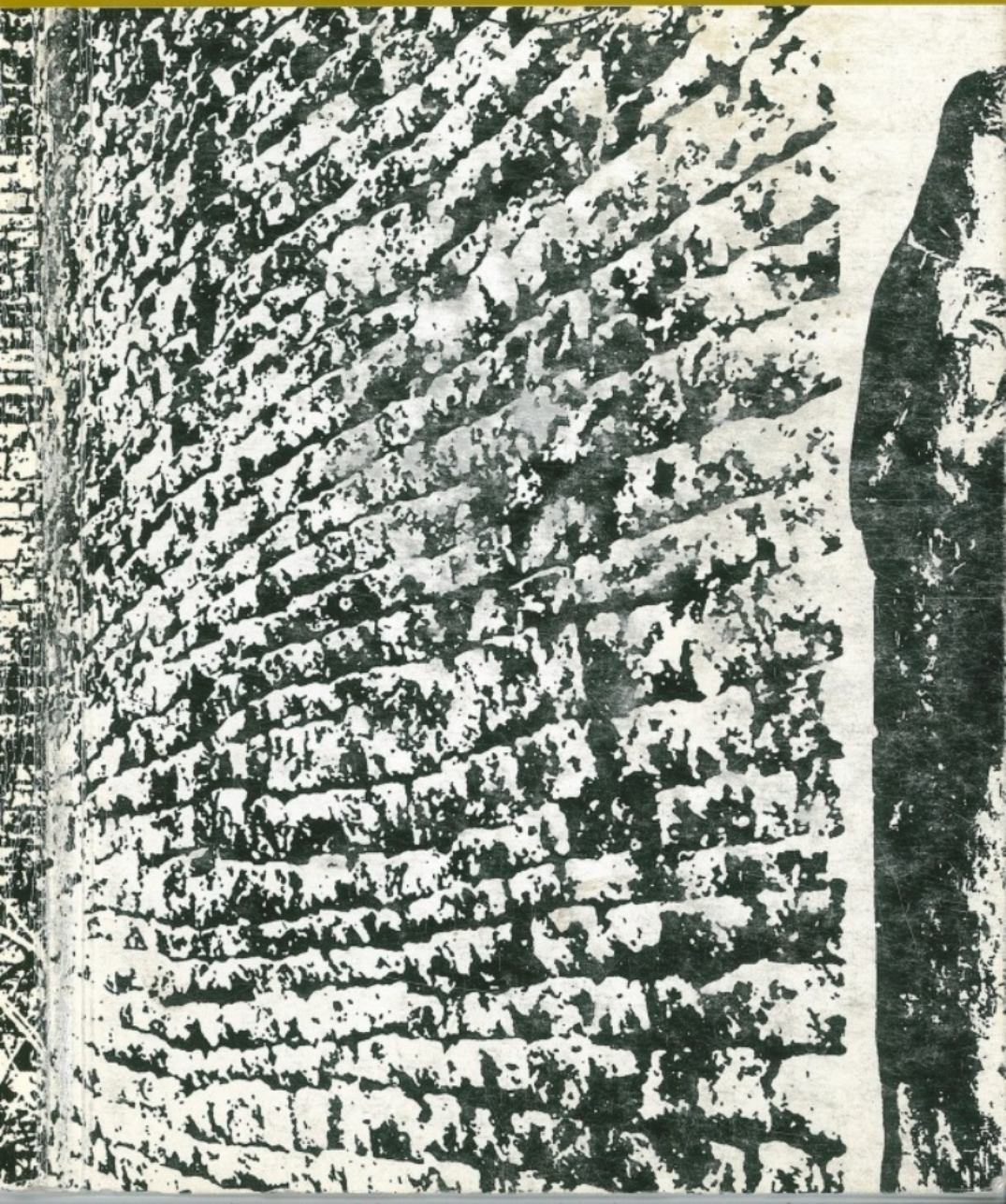
HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 23 2004



HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

Publication No. 23 — 2004

THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe
November 2004

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 or e-mail her at <ianco@mweb.co.zw>.

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

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

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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. 24, 1971	No. 30, 1974	No. 35, 1976	

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. 1 to 9 are out of print but the following issues are available though some issues are in short supply —

No. 10, 1991	No. 15, 1996	No. 20, 2001
No. 11, 1992	No. 16, 1997	No. 21, 2002
No. 12, 1993	No. 17, 1998	No. 22, 2003
No. 13, 1994	No. 18, 1999	No. 23, 2004
No. 14, 1995	No. 19, 2000	

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Foreword

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

The issue begins with introductory remarks by National Chairman Tim Tanser and a keynote address by Colin Saunders at the banquet held at the Harare Club on 14 June 2003 to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of the Society.

This issue contains articles on a miscellany of subjects ranging from biography and reminiscences to railways and company history.

Perhaps pride of place must be accorded to The Treasure and Grave of Lobengula: Yawns and Reflection, by Ray Roberts formerly Professor of History in the University of Zimbabwe. This is a fascinating presentation based on many years of scholarly research.

The ever popular biographies are catered for by Elspeth Parry's comprehensive biography of the versatile Neville Jones as well as an interesting paper on a BSAP trooper who also served in the RCMP in Canada.

Margaret Dickinson, formerly Elliott, offers an interesting article on the Fairbridge Farm School in this country which she attended from 1948, and Edone Logan contributes a well-illustrated article on the Coach House Inn, Bindura.

This country's history is inextricably bound up with the history of the railways and we include another paper from Robin Taylor's continuing railway research. Also included is the final part of the reminiscences of Colonel H. G. Seward, a former BSAP officer.

An innovation is provided in an article by Peter Munday on the four medals awarded to Hugh Marshall Hole.

The Society's Mashonaland Branch continues to present to our members talks on historical subjects and the text of a talk on the early history of beer brewing in Zimbabwe given at Northridge Park, the headquarters of Delta Corporation, is included.

The present Czechoslovak Ambassador to Zimbabwe, His Excellency Jaroslav Olsa, provides a well-researched article on the appointment of a controversial honorary consul for his country in Southern Rhodesia.

The issue ends with two obituaries, firstly of Roger Howman who was a member of the Society for nearly fifty years, a member of the National Executive for several years and a contributor of a number of articles to the *Rhodesiana* Journal and to *Heritage of Zimbabwe*. Secondly, of Ian Arthur Bruce Galletly who was the Society's National Honorary Treasurer and financial advisor for ten years.

In conclusion, the Society's grateful thanks are expressed to 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 somewhere between 500 and 700% and the cost of printing two thirds of our usual print order is five times last years total cost making it quite an achievement for a non-profit Society such as the History Society of Zimbabwe to publish at all. Finally, my thanks to my wife Rosemary Kimberley who has as always helped me with the editing.

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

National Chairman's Remarks at the History Society of Zimbabwe 50th Anniversary Dinner, 14 June 2003

by Tim Tanser

We are here to celebrate, not only the first fifty years of the life of our Society, but also the accomplishments, trials, hardships and successes of all those who have contributed to the development of our country.

Recorded in the 62 journals published by the Society is a finely woven fabric of the peoples, policies and practices of the folk who have gone before. The legacy bequeathed through the mass of interest and information in those journals is surely the finest legacy we could have bequeathed to following generations.

This is the appropriate moment to express our gratitude to those who have painstakingly edited those 62 journals. Our special thanks go to our senior member, Mike Kimberley, who has devoted so much of his time to the interests of the Society, 40 years as a Committee member but particularly as Editor of the last 15 journals. Mike's wife, Rose, also has played a significant part in the affairs of the Society for many years. Thank you, Mike and Rose.

We are also here to celebrate the energy, dedication and commitment of all those who have helped guide the Society, who have organized outings and meetings, who have spoken or written articles, but above all, for all of you, the members of the Society.

You have been incredibly supportive and constant as the marvellous turn-out tonight shows.

The Society has provided the catalyst for many close and enduring friendships; it has enabled us to visit distant parts of the country, meet outstanding characters, absorb stories of the past and to positively feel the heartbeat of the nation.

It has also provided moments of extraordinary humour. An example of this occurred when we visited Chimanimani. I had booked the hotel some six months prior to our arrival and the hotel management was aware of precisely what number of people would be using its facilities.

All members of the Society were duly and properly shown to their numbered rooms. We then foregathered for drinks and were then summoned to the dining room.

The bat wing doors of the dining room flew open and several waiters emerged with plates of steaming soup on their trays. Those plates were deposited at the one end of the table and ten or so of our members tucked in gleefully to the soup placed before them. Some time later the doors opened yet again and the waiters appeared and uplifted the now empty soup plates and disappeared through the bat wing doors into the kitchen.

Some time later, a second round of soup plates appeared and the next ten or so members sat down to enjoy their soup.

I then went into the kitchen to find out when the rest of us might be so favoured as to receive soup, to be met with the answer that there were only ten soup plates!

I notified the Chef and the management of the Hotel that somehow, by the next morning, they had to have begged, borrowed or stolen crockery and cutlery for all of us! Somehow they achieved this feat and the next morning we had a variety of tin cups, plastic utensils and all manner of crockery.

Notwithstanding the above, everybody retained a fine sense of humour and a wonderful evening was had by all!

Great efforts were made to widen our celebrations of this, our Jubilee year. Sadly, in spite of the enormous amount of work put into such an event, which was to have taken place this last week, and which was to have brought many outstanding speakers for our edification as well as involving kindred societies, politics and shortages combined to scuttle the wider events.

At this moment fuel is unavailable and even to secure our guest speaker's attendance here, we had to accept the generosity of two members of the Society who very kindly donated 20 litres of diesel each!

We did, however, have the stamp issue and a special edition of *Heritage* is to be published in the very near future. Also, some of our excellent speakers, such as Prof. Ray Roberts, who is one of our special guests tonight, will address the Society later in the year.

The vast bulk of the work in seeking to organize our celebration event fell on the shoulders of John McCarthy, the then National Chairman, assisted by a committee comprising Robin Taylor, Keith Martin, Fraser Edkins, Mike Kimberley and myself. We are all most grateful for their efforts.

We have some special guests with us tonight and I should like to introduce them to you.

Our guests of honour tonight are Dr Colin and Mrs Jenny Saunders. Colin will speak to us after dinner, but I should like to set out some of his many accomplishments.

Colin has been a regular contributor to our journal in which articles he has concentrated on notable Lowveld personalities. Nobody else has his depth of knowledge of the Lowveld as Colin's entire medical career was spent there, where he rose to the position of Chief Medical Officer of Triangle Limited, and also sat on the Board of that Company. So great was his impact on that community that the hospital there now bears his name.

Colin has also made a significant impact on environmental and conservation matters in Zimbabwe. He was for ten years the Chairman of the National Parks Board and is currently Chairman of the Malilangwe Trust.

In addition to all of his many other attributes and interests, Colin has been a member of our Society for many years and is a most suitable person to address us tonight.

Mr Ian "Hole in One" (having achieved that feat last week) and Mrs Heather Godden, who has recently stood down as Managing Director of African Distillers. We shall have no need for the miracle of turning Municipal water into wine as a result of the incredible generosity of Afdis. Afdis is also one of our very generous benefactors.

I would add that Mr Jarvis, who is now the Managing Director of African Distillers, and his wife were also meant to have been with us tonight, but sadly Mr Jarvis' father has just died and we offer them our sincere condolences.

Professor and Mrs Roberts. Prof. Roberts is one of our top line speakers who will speak to us on another occasion.

Mr & Mrs Jackson. Mr Jackson is President of the Vintage Car Club which was to have coincided an event with our celebrations.

Mr John Ford. "Mr Books" who is well known to all of you for his knowledge, passion and dedication in buying and selling books on behalf of the Society.

John is our only honorary member present. The others, Roger Howman, Michael Spencer Cook and Ian Galletly were all unfortunately, unable to be with us this evening.

There are certain members of this Society whose contributions have covered a considerable portion of the 50 years we celebrate. In addition to Mike Kimberley's 40 years, to which I have already referred, the following have held positions as Committee members for lengthy periods: Richard Franks since 1972, Bert Rosettenstein since 1975 and Richard Wood since 1976. My father, Tony Tanser, was a Committee member from the inception of the Society until he died in 1979. As I became a Committee member in 1975, I am thrilled that my dad and I have spanned the entire life of the Society.

You will all have noticed the disturbing propensity for domination of the Committee by members of the legal profession! To bring some discipline into proceedings, two notable headmasters were drafted in. Mike Whiley, he of the stentorian voice and lengthy gait, and John Bousfield, who showed fine style as a purveyor of ties and cuff-links! Then, to make us all aware that no judgment or decision on earth is final and that there is only one certainty in life, we brought in an undertaker, Keith Martin, who is now Deputy National Chairman.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our buffet is now ready. Before we partake of the food, I conclude with three comments:

1. Each menu is numbered. To conclude the evening, we shall have draws, the prizes for which are a set of some of the more recent journals.
2. Fairways Table. A young farmer has most generously paid for 15 members of Fairways Old Age Home to become members of the Society and to join us for this splendid dinner this evening. That young farmer wishes to remain anonymous, but I thank him most warmly for his wonderfully generous offering, and also welcome Mr Ray Champkin, the Chairman of Fairways and the posse of Fairways residents with him.
3. I conclude by reading to you the following letter:
   [reproduced overleaf]

What could more vividly illustrate the perpetual pendulum of history? How, I wonder, will history regard these last turbulent years in 50 years time, when, God willing, there will be another celebration just like this one.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA NATIVE ASSOCIATION.

GATOOMA
17th January, 1936.

The Native Commissioner,
HARTLEY

Sir,

We, your humble servants of the Southern Rhodesia Native Association, feel that we wish to extend a welcome to you, for you are the channel through which our affairs are conducted.

We trust that you will be happy in our midst, and that you will extend your sympathetic consideration to this Association, helping us and guiding us in our need.

We are as chickens crying for the mother hen to foster them under her warm breast.

We have the honour to be, Sir
Your humble servants,

L.O.O. Chanakira Chairman
[L.O.O. Chanakira]

H.P.R. Chinake Secretary
[H.P.R. Chinake]

A Toast to the History Society of Zimbabwe at its 50th Anniversary Dinner, 14 June 2003

by Colin Saunders

I am sorry that Wilbur Smith is not here this evening. I was looking forward to hearing him speak. I wonder what he would have spoken about. Handsome heroes of the African bush? Nubile maidens? Brave men fighting evil forces and enjoying steamy sex under the canopy of the stars?

I am sure that his subject would not just have been boring old history.

I was not at all offended to be asked by Keith Martin to be second (or maybe third, or fourth) choice of speaker to replace the admirable Mr Smith. I was not even apprehensive, in spite of the fact that the last time I addressed members of the Society after dinner I was vigorously attacked by a distinguished member of the legal profession who had been invited to thank me!

I stand here before you now, sincerely honoured to be addressing this August society. I noted in the circular I received a few weeks ago that the subject I have been given is "50 years of association with history". With respect, I think that that could be persuasively soporific, and I intend to deviate somewhat.

If, fifty years ago, anyone had suggested that I would even consider travelling 600 kilometres – actually 372 miles in those days, when petrol cost two and six a gallon and there was plenty of it – to talk on history, I would have laughed out loud. Of the eight subjects in which I had to sit examinations, to prove to the examiners that the long-suffering teachers at Plumtree school had not entirely wasted their time on me, history was the subject in which I was least interested.

It was not the fault of our teacher. His real name was Reg Harland, but he was known to generations of Plumtree schoolboys as "Tickey Duckfoot" – goodness knows why "Tickey", but his gait was as duck-footed as mine was knock-kneed. He was a decent upright fellow, and I am sure that he was a good teacher, when the historic seed which he faithfully sowed did not fall on barren infertile ground like my immature schoolboy mind at that time. I remember vaguely being taught about The Magna Carta, and The Great Trek, and other landmark events in the progress of civilisation, but it all seemed irrelevant then to what I wanted to do later in my life.

When, some years later, I developed a thirst to learn of my country's history and the heritage of our nation, it was the Society's excellent annual journal *Heritage of Zimbabwe* (formerly *Rhodesiana*), which first assuaged that thirst, and I shall say not a little about that fine publication.

I always enjoy browsing through my collection (alas incomplete) of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage*.

I was interested to read in the second published journal that the society's original objective was stated to be "... to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana, and to assist in the preservation of books and documents ...". From this it appears that it

was created to serve in the main the interests of dusty antiquarian book-collectors and the National Archives. This objective appeared each year until 1961.

Mercifully in that year a short note was published, stating that the objectives had been broadened to include "... to add to the pleasure and knowledge of those interested in the early history of this country and adjacent territories, to record personal experiences of those days, to preserve books and documents relating thereto, and to assist collectors ...". The Society has since pursued those objectives with distinction over the past half century, and I congratulate its leaders.

I read in the July 1967 issue of the society's journal an account of the first annual dinner. It is there recorded that under Colonel Hickman's direction "the proceedings were based on some ancient military procedures". I have been fervently hoping that under Keith Martin's direction the proceedings this evening would not be based on ancient funeral rites.

I also read that when the gallant Colonel took the floor "there were two toasts, four speeches, and six courses on the menu still to be tackled". Being mindful of the need to learn from history's lessons, I conclude that brevity on the part of speakers may be more important than intellectual content. Watch this space!

At the same dinner the Society's crest was unveiled, and I studied that rampant lion with interest. I know that it is a fine rendition of heraldry, indeed an armorial masterpiece. However, I could not resist telling you that my first impression was that it was a rather desperate lion, standing on its hind legs and endeavouring to extinguish a flaming torch by peeing on it, all the while looking frantically over its shoulder for help. Forgive me for being irreverent.

Again at the same dinner, a distinguished historian, replying on behalf of the guests, stated that his copy of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defined a guest as "a person entertained, or a parasite, animal or vegetable". It's funny how one's own interpretations change as history rolls on. As a doctor at Triangle I waged a constant war on parasites which caused malaria and bilharzia, and I considered them to be a curse in the land. As a pensioner today, I consider other beings to be greater parasites and equal curses in the land – things like certain politicians, insurance companies, and banks. Anyway, thank you for allowing me to parasitise this gala occasion, and I must get on with my attempt to sing for my supper.

I wonder how many of you have read the three sentences chiselled into a large granite rock which stands at the entrance to our National Archives. The first one reads:

Dzidzai zvakare, kuti munzwisise zvanasi, kuti muronge zvamangwana.

You are probably not all comfortable in Shona (is that something of which to be slightly ashamed?).

The next sentence reads:

Fundani okwaizolo, ukuze lizwisise okwalamuhla, khona lizalungiselela.

For those of us who are not conversationally fluent in either Chishona or Sindebele, the final sentence reads:

Study the past, to understand the present, and to plan for the future.

But what is the story of the past?

Consider for a moment the story of an intrepid column of westerners arriving here a hundred and thirteen years ago.

My father's esteemed medical colleague Dr Godfrey Martin Huggins might have said:

> On September 12, 1890, Lieut Tyndale-Biscoe hoisted the Union Jack in Cecil Square. This historic event marked the deliverance of Shona people from the terror they suffered at the hands of their neighbours. It also marked the first flow of a strong tide of development, which brought to this country and its people the benefits of western civilisation – clothing, footwear, education, health care, transport, food security, formal employment, law and order – which had not previously existed in that primitive land.

On the other hand, Mr Herbert Chitepo, a respected professional colleague of many who are members of the legal profession and of this Society (a number of whom have served this body with distinction), might have said:

> On September 12, 1890 a Lieut Tyndale-Biscoe, who was a member of a party of hostile invaders, hoisted a foreign flag on the site of Africa Unity Square. This unwelcome act signalled the impending destruction of the fabric of an age-old indigenous culture with deeply cherished values. What is more, those invaders unashamedly occupied and stole the land which had been occupied by peaceful people for many centuries, and they denied the original inhabitants equal opportunity to participate in the benefits of their civilised way of life.

Probably the only thing on which everybody would agree, is that we can be reasonably certain that the Tyndale-Biscoe fellow was chosen to hoist that flag aloft on that day. The two versions of the results of hoisting that flag are very different interpretations, held by men with widely differing agendas.

However, I believe that both of those interpretations are largely true, and a matter of historical record. What we need now is to acknowledge the past, let history lie, and get on with the urgent job of healing and developing this country. We have many valuable lessons to learn from those who went before us. At the end of the First World War Winston, Churchill said what many of us must today be thinking (but perhaps not in such eloquent language): "If we open a quarrel with the past, we shall find that we have lost the future".

Sadly, it seems that there is diminishing room for reasonable objective acknowledgement in our land today. A Jewish friend of mine once recited to a small gathering, of which I was a member, the first two lines of a quaint poem by Ogden Nash, which went "How odd, of God, to choose the Jews". A faintly anti-Semitic snigger followed, but when he completed the poem: "But far more odd are those who choose the Jewish God and spurn the Jews", there was a thoughtful and uncomfortable silence.

I know how those Jews must feel. How nice it would be if, from time to time, the good arising from the past, and, yes, still the present, were less grudgingly acknowledged. How good it would be if constructive thought replaced the continuous stereotyped bashing and lumping together of all whites, and those of western origin, as inherently racist, avaricious, unfeeling towards the needs and aspirations of our fellow citizens. That is as boring as it is untrue.

Yes, there is in this land a strange reluctance to acknowledge the good or admirable things which people have done. As Mark Antony said "The good is oft interred in their bones".

In troubled times such as we are now going through, it is easy to gain the wrong impression, to look only for the bad news. I remember an occasion when Jenny and I were travelling to the Vumba via Birchenough Bridge, and we crossed that impressive structure over the Save River. I was incensed to see that someone had removed, from the concrete piers inside which the remains of Sir Henry Birchenough and his lady Maud had been interred, the large commemorative bronze plaques. This was obviously some mischievous official of the ruling party spitefully altering the course of history.

A year later the bronzes were back in position, clean and bright. Enquiries revealed that when the decision was made to widen the bed of the bridge to permit double lane traffic, the piers had to be modified. The Bishop from Mutare came to Birchenough, blessed the remains of Sir Henry and his wife, and removed them to the cathedral in Mutare. They lay there behind the altar until they were returned to their resting place, after the completion of the civil engineering project where the process was repeated. At the same time the opportunity had been taken to have the bronzes cleaned.

I felt so guilty that I had jumped to the wrong conclusion.

Wrong conclusions have caused serious racial rifts amongst our people concerning another and far more important structure in that region – the Great Zimbabwe National Monument. Few people know of the depth of insult and irritation caused to black Zimbabweans by those who aver – and it was official government policy under the previous regime – that the great masonry complex must have been constructed by Phoenicians or some other non-indigenous visitors, because, they say, the Shona people could not have been possessed of the necessary skills. This is arrant nonsense.

Some of you may know that when the western entrance to the great enclosure at Great Zimbabwe collapsed in the early years of the last century, the then Curator, a man named Wallace, was tasked with repairing the damage. The original entrance had been a doorway with a lintel supporting a massive section of wall above. It was considered to be both dangerous and difficult to attempt to restore the original architecture. As Roger Summer writes in his book *Ancient Ruins and Vanished Civilisations in Southern Africa*:

"As we see it today, the wall differs from its original state in one important point, the shape of the entrances. Just as on the Acropolis, it proved impossible to rebuild doorways with lintels and so the present slit-like entrances were constructed as a safety measure, to prevent further falls of stone from the rough sides of the openings".

The open un-roofed doorway irritated some of our excellent archaeologists. Eighty years after Wallace's work, archaeologist Edward Matenga, now Director at Great Zimbabwe, was tasked with planning an authentic reconstruction. He was utterly confident that he could assemble a team of local stone-masons to do the job to the highest standards.

As this is the nation's most important shrine, Cabinet approval had to be sought. National Museums and Monuments were instructed to erect an experimental free-standing facsimile on a remote site, and to leave it standing for at least a year to test its durability in all seasons.

Accordingly, there soon arose at the Great Zimbabwe Conservation Centre a splendid full scale section of wall, complete with lintelled doorway, and as close as humanly possible to the dimensions and appearance faithfully recorded in photographs

taken at the end of the 19th century. This beautifully crafted model survived for two years without the faintest cracks or shifts in position of individual blocks of granite.

Permission for the authentic restorative work was granted. Today the restored wall and entrance blends in beautifully with the walling constructed four or five hundred years ago. Next time you are in those parts, make a point of examining this great work by ordinary gifted local Shona stone-masons.

Of interest is the nature of the lintels used in the restoration. Surviving lintels at Great Zimbabwe are either of long thick slivers of stone, or sturdy beams of African Sandalwood (Tambuti or Mutovoti, *Spirostachys africana).* Matenga and his colleagues decided that it would be prudent to have both, and so they used granite lintels quarried near Bondolfi Mission, and Tambuti timber cut and donated from Malilangwe Estate in the lowveld. They are carefully concealed in the stone-work.

Perhaps we should invite Mr Matenga to submit an article for *Heritage*, complete with photographs, to record this elegant work of restoration for the benefit of our members and readers.

This Society has largely concerned itself for the past half-century with studying the stories, both old and on-going, which have been evolving from the time of the famous (or infamous) hoisting of that flag in the capital city, and the twenty or thirty years which preceded that event.

I have been privileged in my professional life to meet and treat a number of very interesting people. I have written about some of them, and I continue so to do. Our Editor, Michael Kimberley (and if anybody deserves a Bar to the Society's Gold Medal which he was awarded in 1975, it is surely Mike) has graciously accepted some of my contributions for publication in a series entitled "Great Characters of the Lowveld". After one of them appeared in print, a good friend (another lawyer!) came up to me and asked why I had "deified" (his word) a person whom he considered to be a bigoted, pig-headed and selfish crank.

Well, what is my definition of "great characters"? In my estimation they are interesting people, achievers of good works or remarkable feats, usually sturdily independent, and often delightfully eccentric. I tend to ignore any less admirable acts or attitudes which may come to light. It is mainly positive achievements or unusual skills which interest me.

The only folks who have no skeletons in their cupboards, and have committed no errors of judgement, are those who do nothing – parasites if you will. I am reminded of a memorable remark by the manager of a large organisation, who, when asked "How many people work here?", famously replied "Oh, about half!". Do they seem to number more than half in our country at this time in our history?

It is said that the only constant is change. Well, since going to live in the Vumba mountains, I have browsed through my copies of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage* in a search for information on early days in our new home in Manicaland. It seems that the benefits of civilisation visited this area rather slowly, and many things do not appear to have changed at all.

In the 1963 edition appears a letter written by a Miss Ethel Campbell in 1896 to her mother in England. The letter ends "Send me an almanac if you have one, you can't imagine what a little there is in this country, barring drink, rain, and filth".

An article in the 1971 edition records that in the early 1900s the residents of what is now Mutare were fed up with the large pot-holes in the main street. When a particularly large one filled with rain, they erected a sign announcing "Swimming and paddling free of charge, bathing costumes optional".

Again, in the same street, a municipal public transport vehicle had to be pushed up the street because there was no motive power.

It was also reported that residents woke up to the fact that commercial premises had sprung up in what were designated as residential areas.

The 1972 edition carries a story concerning early surveyor Rhys Fairbridge, whose daily food included a dish made from mealie meal, water, and ants – he apparently ate such items from choice, whereas today of course many of our residents have no choice.

In the 1975 edition we read that old man Fairbridge's more famous son Kingsley, a Rhodes Scholar and philanthropist, had to relocate to Australia to establish one of his great enterprises, because it was impracticable to implement it at that time in this country.

And so it goes on. What has actually changed?

Truly, the Society's journal is a masterpiece of information, and often entertaining too. It is essential that it should continue to be published, though I am horrified by the current costs of production – more than $1600 per copy (and it would have been considerably more had Michael Kimberley not prudently purchased the paper a year ago)!

While on the subject of finance, I have here a clipping from a copy of the *Herald* dated April 18th 1980, the date on which our new independent government took power. The value of the United States dollar is quoted at 1,5418 per Zim dollar on that day. My information is that one United States dollar now purchases approximately 2000 Zim dollars; put another way, one Zim dollar is now worth 0,03242 of a US *cent*. The value of the Zim dollar is now 0,021 per cent of what it was when inherited by the new government; put another way: our currency has lost 99,98% of its value since the present government took over the reins just 23 years ago.

Is that some sort of perverse world record for economic mismanagement? It would be interesting to see how a future contributor to *Heritage* treats these facts in the years to come – *if* the Society can afford the costs of printing.

Many of us may be financial prisoners as a result of this spectacular mismanagement of resources, but I suspect that I am not alone in being an emotional hostage as well. I hold very dear our national heritage. I am proud of the contribution to the welfare of our people which has resulted from the faithful work of my family and friends.

In one of his epic poems, Tennyson wrote "Love thou thy land, with love far-brought from out the storied past". I think that most of us are here tonight because we do just that – love this land, and its stories of achievement, and disaster, and valour, and fun, and good or interesting human beings. I believe that it is that love, and the scholarship of the journal, and the fascinating story-telling of the outings, and the companionship of the evening functions, which are the ties that bind us.

Long may this continue. *Viva* the History Society of Zimbabwe! *Pamberi ne Heritage!*

Mhlagazanhlansi (He who blows on the embers and stirs the fire) Neville Jones

by Elspeth Parry

The life of Neville Jones, a remarkable but self effacing man, is a tale of unbounded dedication and enthusiasm for life, both as a missionary and, subsequently, in the archaeological field. Neville rose from humble beginnings to achieve world recognition in archaeology by virtue of hard work and determination.

Neville Jones was born on 8 July 1880 at Tulse Hill, Brixton, London. The boy's grandfather was said to be descended from Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, born in 1482. At the age of six, the family, which now included a daughter, Dorothy, moved to Herne Hill and, in due course at the age of twelve Neville was enrolled at Dulwich College. It was during this time that the Pioneer Column marched from Salisbury and Fort Victoria to defeat Lobengula, in a country that was to become his home and the focus of his life's achievements. Neville said that,

> As a small boy, I was keenly interested in geology and I spent my holidays collecting fossils in the south of England, but it was not until I went to stay with some relatives in the country that I discovered where my real interest lay. Nearby were some gravel pits where I experienced what I remember as one of the thrills of my life when I picked up a hand axe.

In another related incident he always remembered his father taking him, as a lad, to Burton Bradstock in Dorset where he found a fossil and instantly wanted to be a geologist.

At the early age of fourteen an interest in archaeology and prehistory had emerged and his school awarded their pupil the first prize for a geological collection and appointed him as curator of geology and osteology. Neville remarks in his diary that the added benefit was release from compulsory games which he detested!

The Norwood Press accepted an article of his during this time on estuarine shells that he had observed thrown to the surface by workmen in local road-works, showing that this had been the estuary of an enormous river in the remote past.

After the untimely death of his father the spectre of poverty hung over the family and in 1896 it became necessary for Neville to leave school to earn a living and thereby assist the family financially. On leaving Dulwich College, the headmaster asked him what he would like to do – the reply, "work in a museum".

Shortly after leaving school he was appointed secretary to a delegation from Swaziland which had come to Britain to consult the government. This appointment came about through a cousin who owned a hotel in the Strand, London. Two unusual guests had arrived at the hotel, one the headman of a Swazi tribe, Umhlippisa the other an old hunter, Rathbone. Their visit was to protest to the British government over the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPE TOWN.

7 April 1949

DIE VOLKSRAAD,
KAAPSTAD.

My dear Mr. Neville Jones

I send you my warm thanks for sending me your Prehistory of S. Rhodesia. I am glad to have this record of your fine work and to read it in my few spare moments.

I have often admired your work in Prehistory and understand you in the way you have placed S. Rhodesia on the map of Prehistory. The Abbé Breuil's modern work in your rock paintings goes to add to the importance of Rhodesian Prehistory, and Rhodesia's special place in the whole prehistoric story is now fully recognised. With kind remembrances and good wishes I am sincerely

J. C. Smuts

Letter from General Smuts to Neville Jones

treatment the Swazis were receiving at the hands of the Boers. Rathbone, at the time, was reputed to be the prototype of Rider Haggard's Alain Quatermain. The British government refused to be party to discussions but appointed Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, a sympathiser to the visiting Africans, as intermediary and negotiator. The outcome is unclear but Neville Jones spent four months with the parties concerned. It was 41 years later that he visited Swaziland and found the one member of this delegation, Umhlippisa, with whom he had struck up a friendship during the delegation's deliberations. A faded sepia photograph of this friend appears in Neville's diary with a personal note from Umhlippisa, in which he says "There is a great admiration to see that you are greatly in love of me. For it is uncommon among white people to acquaint a native be a friend."

During this time, 1897 to 1898, he acted as secretary for the Norwood Technical Institute and published a paper on *The Tertiary Beds of the Isle of Wight.* As a member of the St Judes Literary and Scientific Society another paper appeared entitled *A Piece of Chalk.* In December 1898 there was a further paper on *Plant Life in its relation to Animal Life,* followed in 1899 by *The Fossil Fauna of the London Basin,* published whilst Neville was a committee member of the Birkbeck Natural History Society. He was now widely known as the discoverer of a fossil bird from the Wealden Beds of Ansty Lane, near Cuckfield, written up in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society Vol. IV. Yet another paper appeared in the Streatham Science Society journal on *Eocene Mollusca.* Valuable spare time was totally given over to scientific studies and his various publications earned the budding researcher a scholarship. Unhappily this was not taken up due to the family's financial constraints. He was now working at the local Labour Exchange and, possibly seeking more fulfilling employment than this tedious existence, he obtained an alternative position in the City of London's Westminster Health Department but unfortunately this was no more stimulating than the previous job.

Life for Neville Jones finally expanded into opportunity in 1903 when he joined a two-man gold mining expedition to Madagascar as geologist and French linguist. Thankfully he resigned from Westminster and the gloomy prospect of being an underpaid clerk forever, now to travel the length and breath of a tropical island and while there to make the far reaching decision to become a missionary.

Sailing in 1903 on the Messagerie Maritime steamship the Djema from Marseille a travelling companion executed some excellent sketches of the geologist which appear in his diaries. The artist signs himself *Rimbaud* and one wonders if this man was any relation to the poet Rimbaud who travelled the same route to Africa some years earlier.

The Foreign Office furnished Neville Jones with a letter displayed in his diaries allowing him "to pass freely when travelling abroad." Would it were so easy in our present day society.

The steamship berthed at Majunga and the party travelled by steamer up the Betsiboka River, landing at Maevajanana ,and then by palanquin into Sihanaka country where he stayed for a year although sick with fever much of the time. When bouts of fever became overwhelming he was transported to Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar, to recuperate. Here he met with the local London Missionary Society members and was very impressed by their kindness and work. He stayed amongst the

Sakalava tribesmen for most of the time and learnt their language. In September 1905 he received a letter from a Christian Malagasy blacksmith, Fiangonana, employed by himself at the time, the contents of which persuaded him to become a missionary. Written in Malagasy the author has, unfortunately, been unable to obtain a translation.

Returning to Britain in 1905 he worked initially as a geologist before being awarded a bursary and enrolling as a missionary student at the Yorkshire United Independent College of Bradford. He passed out three years later in 1909 and was ordained to the service of the London Missionary Society as a junior to the Reverend A. N. Johnson at Mission House in St. John's Road, Gilders Green, London. While in service at the mission house he put on record his experiences in Madagascar, publishing *In the Midst of the Floods*. During the three years of work at the mission he met and married Ruth Collard. His wife had been one of the secretaries to Campbell Bannerman, the British Prime Minister, and was to accompany her husband to Southern Rhodesia in 1912 when he was posted to Hope Fountain Mission, Bulawayo. They arrived in November of that year with a three month old daughter, Betty, and this was to be home for the whole of Neville's missionary career of 24 years.

The mission had been founded in 1870 by the Reverend J. B. Thompson who obtained permission from King Lobengula to erect a building. Thompson chose the name *Hope Fountain*, Mthombowethemba in Ndebele, because the mission at Inyathi had so far been of little success, but he looked forward with hope to the future in this valley with its springing fountain.

Mrs Jones

Yorkshire United Independent College

ORDINATION

OF

Mr. Gavin Smith, M.A.,

AND

Mr. Neville Jones,

AND THEIR

DEDICATION

TO THE WORK OF THE

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Wednesday, June 23rd, 1909.

The Rev. Professor DUFF, M.A., LL.D., D.D.,
will Preside and Conduct the Service.

It is particularly requested that there be no applause during the Service.

As the Service must close at Five o'clock, all who take part are earnestly desired rigidly to adhere to the timed Order of Service within.

Mr Neville Jones' ordination, 1909

Twelve years later, after the death of Thompson at Ujiji in Uganda, two missionaries, a German, Charles Daniel Helm, and a Scotsman, David Carnegie, arrived to take up their posts.

It was during the early years of their religious endeavours that the intrepid woman explorer Marie Lippert journeyed out to Hope Fountain from Bulawayo with her German husband. She comments on the difficulties experienced by them in the attempted conversion of the Africans to Christianity and she suggests that the only way forward is for the missionaries to try and earn money, mix with the Matabele in order to learn their culture and language, and to hope that in the fullness of time a change of heart would be experienced by the "flock."

Of the visit she says,

> Our drive to the Hope Fountain Mission was very pleasant. It is prettily situated on the slope of a hill, two comfortable houses with fruit trees and vegetable gardens. In one of the houses lives the Scottish missionary Carnegie, quite an ordinary farmer. His wife, the daughter of a missionary in Matabeleland, is very quiet but clever and nice. The other house, that of the Helms, is much more pretentious.[1]

With the arrival of the Jones family the mission entered a new era of development and expansion. From then until his retirement in 1936 many changes took place. New buildings sprang up, a new clock tower, the Jeanes village for disadvantaged girls, classrooms and the new dam. It was the era of change over in transport from the good old mule cart to the first Fords. It saw the first ordained African ministers hard at work; it saw visits from inspectors in the education department, children learning alphabets of texts and reading "Line upon line", girls becoming well known for their "needlework, basketry and singing"[2].

Mr. Helm had died a year after Neville Jones' arrival but the vigour and enthusiasm with which the new missionary threw himself into his work rather perturbed the carefree residents who had become used to a somewhat indolent lifestyle. An undercurrent of resentment erupted in the form of a letter to the Society's board members from Hope Fountain residents demanding his removal.

Neville asked a board member to visit and investigate various allegations, although the people were already anticipating his departure! This visit cleared his name completely and from that day on mutual trust reigned. However, the incident was commemorated in his African name Mhlagazanhlansi (He who blows on the embers and stirs the fire).

The family of five, there were now three children Betty, Barbara and John, took home leave in 1919 staying in Winchester. On returning on 17 February 1920 he was appointed local correspondent for the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

His enthusiasm was unbounded, able to preach in Sindebele five months after arrival, his father's prowess as an architect reflected in his ability to build not only classrooms but a boarding house for orphans and persecuted girls. He made furniture and displayed

[1] *The Matabeleland Travel Letters of Marie Lippert 1891*. Written at Bulawayo 4 November, 1891. Translated from the German by Eric Rosenthal. (Capetown, Friends of the South African Public Library, 1960), p. 29

[2] Iris Clinton, *Hope Fountain Story*, p. 90

an artistic flare for pottery. A storage dam was built and the construction details published as a paper in the Agricultural Journal of April 1932. A teacher training college was built at the mission in 1927.

Unable to find relaxation in idleness, he looked for a hobby and, on the advice of Dr George Arnold, the director of the Bulawayo Museum, who subsequently became one of the foremost entomologists in Africa, started collecting insects. Almost immediately, on his collecting expeditions, he noticed stone tools ,and butterflies were forgotten, although he never lost an interest in the wealth of flora and fauna that surrounds us to this day in the Matopo. As a botanist he was especially interested in xerophytic plants. In later years the family were the author's neighbours and I am told that when visiting he invariably brought over a new plant to discuss with my mother.

Neville recalls in his diary,

> When I first came to South Africa I felt the need for some sort of scientific hobby. I had been told in England that there was little likelihood of my finding any scope in prehistory which had interested me for many years, so I took up entomology. I soon found however that a great deal of research in prehistory was possible and I reverted to my old love.

Undaunted by the demands of the mission he plunged into research and published *The Stone Age in Rhodesia*[3].

Interested visitors began arriving as his archaeological work was now becoming known in the outside scientific world. A publication had appeared in the South African Journal of Science in 1929 describing the *factory site* of stone age implements on the Hope Fountain boundary and red ochre mining nearby.

His diary displays an historic photograph, taken at the stone implements site, of the missionary, his wife, Abbe Henri Breuil, the famous French archaeologist, the prehistorian Harper Kelly, his wife, Miles Burkitt another leading prehistorian of his time and friend of the Abbe, H. J. Braunholtz of the British Museum and Professor Lestrade, the great South African linguist.

Bambata Cave was first seen by Neville Jones in 1917, although excavation only took place in 1929. The British Association for the Advancement of Science had commissioned the Rhodesian Archaeological Expedition in this year and it was led by Mr. A. L. Armstrong. The excavations at Bambata were under the auspices of the expedition leader and for Neville this was his first learning experience in excavating techniques.

The new found archaeologists name now appeared in the literature of many countries and a correspondence sprang up with Professor Pavlov, the Russian scientist who sent the family a Christmas card in 1933. Neville remembers an unexpected visitor, Professor Van Riet Lowe, out from Bulawayo on his motor bicycle. Goodwin, another prehistorian, also kept close contact with the missionary. His appreciation of these two archaeologists' contributions to science expressed itself in his Presidential address to the South African Archaeological Society in June 1954 when he said:

> To these two men I, in common with all others interested in prehistory, owe an incomparable debt. Between them they have made what in South Africa had hitherto been more or less the part-time pursuit of the dilettante archaeologist

[3] N. Jones, *The Stone Age in Rhodesia* (London, Oxford University Press, 1926).

into an exact science and they have established a foundation on which future research security lies.

In 1932 the Bulawayo Museum authorities accepted his large collection of artefacts and simultaneously asked him to become Honorary Keeper of the prehistoric collections. He accepted with alacrity and by working in the evenings started to bring scientific order to the relics now in his care. That same year the family's six week holiday to the coast – a much needed rest from the hurly-burly of mission life was abandoned in favour of excavating Nswatugi Cave.

The University of Pretoria then offered further invaluable excavating experience in 1934 at Mapungubwa in the Northern Transvaal for which Neville obtained special leave from the mission. Amongst those present at this historic site were Professor Schofield, the pottery specialist, Professor Lestrade, Professors Van Tonder and Van Riet Lowe, the friend of many years. The diary shows a photograph on site of these participants with General Jan Smuts who himself had a lifetime interest in archaeology.

At a meeting on the 22nd June 1933, a National Historical Committee was formed with a view to establishing a National Historical Museum. The first meeting at the Grand Hotel in Salisbury on the 14th November 1933 included the Reverend Neville Jones.

A year later Southern Rhodesia celebrated the 40th year of occupation and a collection of relics connected with the early history of the colony was put on display as part of a larger exhibition. As a result of this it was decided to form a national

Field Marshall the Rt. Honourable Jan Christian Smuts with Revd. Neville Jones, 1934

historical collection to be housed in the museum, and a keeper was to be appointed. The post was offered to Neville Jones. At the age of 55 he had reached a crossroads in life that he could hardly have anticipated all those years ago when telling his headmaster that he *wished to work in a museum.*

The long letter of explanation for his decision to leave Hope Fountain, a copy of which is appended in his diary, ends with these words:

> Prehistory has been a hobby and a recreation but it also acted as a continual tonic and has helped to keep my mind fresh and alert ... I do not look forward with any pleasure to uprooting myself from Hope Fountain ... it will indeed be a bitter pill ... I have known here a happiness as nearly perfect as anything can be on this earth. ... and I pray I will go out of it leaving a mark upon it for the good.

The exact reasons for this momentous decision are interesting to relate and I quote again from his letter, "While I am fully aware of the necessity for the prosecution of missionary work I nevertheless feel that, under existing conditions the opportunity is so restricted that my future usefulness is less real than apparent". His feelings were that initially the parish consisted of many small churches to which small schools were attached but now larger schools had taken over and evangelism taken second place. Partial funding by the government had made the missionary a servant of the state and this body used these teachers as a cheap convenience. It goes without saying that the missionary requires teacher training and many had been unable to acquire this.

He said:

> I am quite capable of visiting a kraal school and inspecting it, but to explain to a teacher how he should teach a subject is beyond me simply because I know nothing of teaching method and I have no particular flare that way. ... I am therefore fully convinced that, if the present unsatisfactory state of things is to be maintained, a missionary, if he is to be of any use at all, must be first and foremost, an educationalist, and, in so far as I am not one, I am standing in the way of progressive missionary work.
>
> We have here (at Hope Fountain) a piece of work which has established itself as the most efficient girls training institution in the country. It was established to meet an urgent need and at a time when nothing was being done for native girls .... until recently I have found real pleasure in the task of building up the institution.

Deploring the fact that much financial aid had ceased (the exact nature of this reduction is not given) and regretting the dependance on government financial assistance, Neville Jones felt there was justification in his decision to resign while understandably looking forward with eager anticipation to a new life immersed in prehistory.

The resignation was effected on the 31st December 1935 and he wrote:

> I leave Hope Fountain Mission after 24 years service in order to become Keeper of the Department of Prehistory, Ethnography and National History at the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, thus realising my hopes of being able to devote my remaining years to scientific research.

The London Missionary Society awarded Neville a pension of 120 pounds sterling

per year and the family moved to 48 Fort St. in Bulawayo, a far cry from the fertile fields and gardens of Hope Fountain. Finances were difficult and mention is made of a close friend, Arnold Carnegie, son of the missionary at Hope Fountain, who kindly lent him some money to alleviate the crisis of house buying.

Museum tasks were tackled with customary vigour as he was now in a position to plan systematic work. While at Hope Fountain and the Museum, between 1923 and 1947 he worked out the complete succession of Stone Age cultures in the western part of Southern Rhodesia whilst also publishing 20 papers and articles on prehistory. During the 13 years before retirement much was achieved, not least of which in collaboration with Dr Geoffrey Bond, to establish the presence of a pebble-tool culture in the 40 to 50 ft. gravel level of the Hunyani River.

The year after taking up his new post he donated five cabinets containing about 6000 stones to the Museum, the fruits of 15 years loving and patient search and he said:

> We now have, in Bulawayo, a magnificent institution where they can be comfortably housed and displayed. I feel that no useful purpose can be served by my retaining these. ... I place little value on the personal possession of a large collection. ... I hope now to have increased the facility for research work.

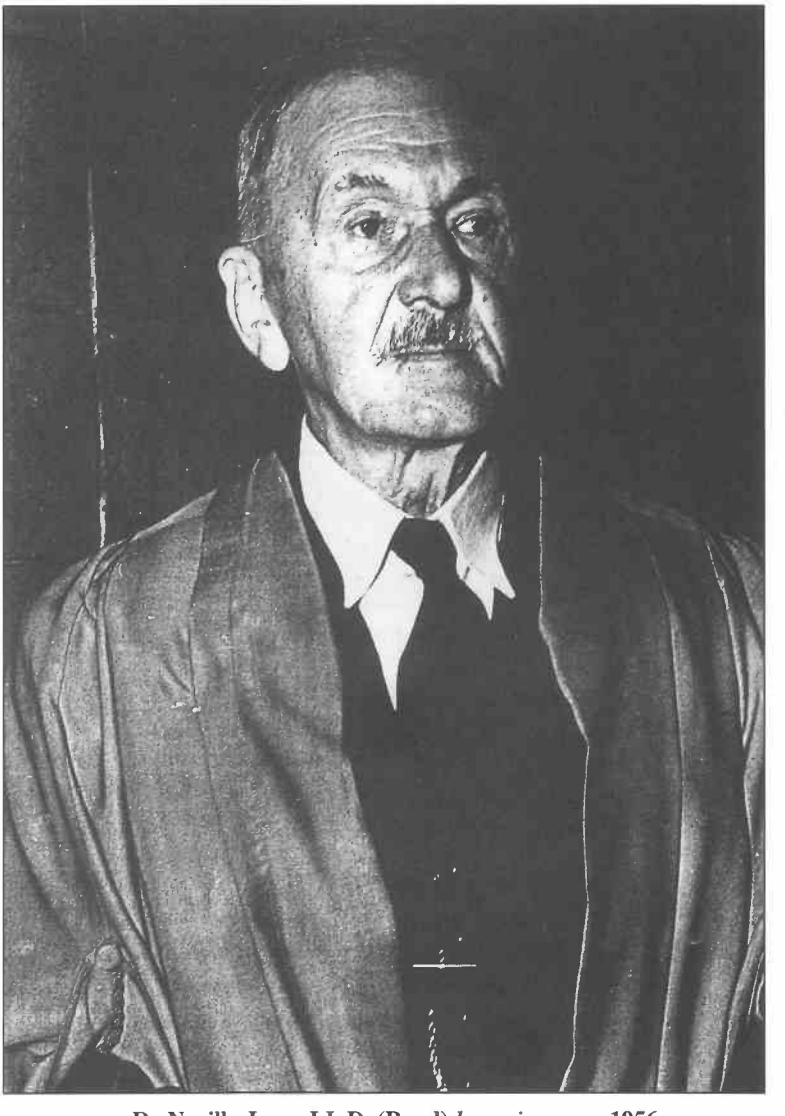
In 1946 the British Royal Family visited the colony and Neville accompanied them as guide to the Victoria Falls. In the previous year he had published *My Friend Kumalo,* conversations with the companion who had helped and supported him for many years at Hope Fountain. In the well earned role of highly informative guide he accompanied the British Under Secretary for the Colonies to the Matopo, no doubt intriguing his companion with his wealth of knowledge. Reminiscences are many of the fascinating walks with a man who had not only a wide understanding of prehistory but knew much of entomology, plant and animal life.

Neville was amongst a cavalcade of eminent scientists who gathered in Nairobi in 1947 for the Pan African Congress of Prehistory. These are the legends of Southern African historical knowledge, Abbe Breuil, Dr. Broom, Dr. Leakey, Professors Desmond Clark, Raymond Dart and Van Riet Lowe. This year was momentous in another respect as Neville was made a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

At this time a letter was received from Sir Arthur Keith, described by many as the greatest living anthropologist of his time, in which he declares that Neville Jones' work has placed Southern Rhodesia as a "Prehistoric Garden of Eden". After the publication of *The Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia* there were letters of congratulations from Miss Caton Thompson, Dr. Braunholtz, the Keeper of Ethnology at the British Museum and L. S. B. Leakey. From now on he was deservedly known as the *Father of Rhodesian Prehistory.*

Retirement from the museum was now inevitable and after 13 years hard but rewarding work he declared that these had been the happiest of his life. In recognition of Neville Jones' services to the country in so many fields, an OBE was awarded in the New Year's Honours list of 1948. Of the many congratulatory messages that of the London Missionary Society speaks for many when they said, "You have served Rhodesia in a very special way, one in fact in which very few would be competent to serve, and it is good to know that you have been well recognised."

Although appointed to the National Parks Advisory Board and also a member of



Dr Neville Jones LL.D. (Rand) *honoris causa*, 1956

the Bulawayo District Roads Council and Bulawayo Publicity Association, he detached himself from these bodies over the next few years, but he was not yet to be allowed the luxury of a quiet retirement to Burnside where he had bought a house in what was then a rural retreat.

In 1953, having been awarded a Doctorate of Science by the University of Witwatersrand, he was then elected President of the South African Archaeological Society. Receiving awards simultaneously were Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Sir Ernest Oppenheimer. This award of a doctorate

The Rt. Honourable the Lord Malvern and Dr Neville Jones

to the self made archaeologist, he considered to be the pinnacle of his career. In May of the same year, *Rhodesian Genesis,* the history of the early pioneers, was published on behalf of the Pioneer Society of Southern Rhodesia.

Neville Jones, aged 75, died unexpectedly in 1954 and was buried at Hope Fountain amongst many of his friends and previous missionaries.

He left profound advice for prehistorians to come, when he wrote:

> There is solid comfort to be gained for all who set out to grapple with the problems of the past, in the words of the greatest theoriser of modern times, Charles Darwin, 'No one can expect to solve the many difficulties which will be encountered and which for a long time will remain to perplex, but a ray of light will occasionally be his reward and the reward is ample.'

Towards the end of his life he wrote "Life has given me all and more than I have ever asked for or sought and I am grateful". Let that be his epitaph. Undoubtedly Neville Jones is one of the countries "unsung heroes."

Further publications not mentioned in the text:
Early Days and Native Ways Sold in aid of the National War Fund, 1942
The Prehistory of Rhodesia Cambridge University Press, 1949

Without access to the personal papers and diaries of Dr the Revd Neville Jones this short biography of a great man could not have been written. For this privilege I have the family to thank most profoundly and especially his daughter in law, Mrs Ruth Jones, who has assisted me in every way.

The Treasure and Grave of Lobengula: Yarns and Reflections[1]

by R. S. Roberts

The creation of Southern Rhodesia was predicated upon treasure and, metaphorically at least, the burial of Ndebele kingship. The Portuguese identification of the country with Ophir and the mines of Solomon was resurrected in the nineteenth century by Hugh Walmsley and then used to bolster the prospect of a Second Rand. When that did not materialize in Mashonaland, Lobengula's days were numbered.

Meanwhile Rider Haggard's hugely popular adventure stories had begun to appear and they fixed the idea of buried treasure in Southern Rhodesia firmly in the public imagination; and for Whites, at least, the idea has continued, through Wilbur Smith's often violent 'adult' novels to a recent addition to the series of Wallace Boys Books specifically about Lobengula's treasure.[2] Those of a *marxisant* disposition no doubt see in all this what must be the rawest form of primitive accumulation in the colonization process, typified by the concession to the Ancient Ruins Company to dig for treasure in historic sites.[3] Thus it is not surprising, however illogical, that the politically correct have raised the question of financial restitution to the government and people of Zimbabwe even for Lobengula's treasure 'which vanished . . . [but] is rumoured to be still hidden'.[4]

The treasure and the grave (in which, according to some, the treasure was hidden) have been the subject of many articles and newspaper reports over the years. But they have not given any authority for their often inaccurate claims, and they have not only sensationalized the two subjects but have also tended to confuse the two. The object of this article is the modest one of providing the evidence for what is known and so setting the record straight as far as can be done with an affair in which, almost by definition, hardly anyone told the truth. In doing this the events leading up to the death of Lobengula will only be touched upon in so far as they affected later events, or my analysis of them; and similarly the question of whether he really did die in 1894 is referred to only in so far as it affects our understanding of the grave.

For, put simply, there indisputably was a grave-burial, with human remains and some personal possessions of Lobengula in a cave close to the Manyanda (Mubobo)

[1]Different versions of this article have been presented as talks at many meetings over the years, most recently at the History Society of Zimbabwe, in November 2003 and June 2004, and at the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe in June 2004. The file-codes cited in the footnotes are all, unless otherwise indicated, to files in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare; their full description is given at the end of the article.

[2]H. M. Walmsley, *The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land* (London, Chapman & Hall, 2 vols, 1869), I; H. R. Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (London, Cassell, 1885); *Benita: An African Romance* (London, Cassell, 1906); W. A. Smith, *The Sunbird* (London, Heinemann, 1972), and *Men of Men* (London, Heinemann, 1981); D. Watt, *The Legacy of Lobengula* (Singapore, Graham Brash Publ., 1996).

[3]For a brief description of its activities and other bits and pieces of Rhodesian treasure-lore, see the chapter, 'Queer coins from Rhodesia', in E. Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked: True Stories of South African Treasure* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1951), 88–95.

[4]B. MacGarry, 'Jubilee: Restitution for Exploitation' (Jubilee South–South Summit, Jesuits for Debt Relief and Development, Discussion Paper, 1999) <www.jesuit.ie/ijnd/Discussion%20Papers/MacGarry1>.

River, in Pashu's country, just inside the Gokwe (later Binga) District by the border with Wankie District; the exact spot with its nearby stream was called Mlindi which means a haunted place where there are dead and spirits. The burial appears to be that of Lobengula in 1894 and was quietly recognized as such by the Administration as early as 1912, and this was openly confirmed by leading Ndebele in 1943, whereupon it was declared a National Monument (No. 48).

For a long time, before and after its first acknowledged discovery by Europeans in 1912, it was thought that as with the interment of other kings the cave-burial might contain any valuables that Lobengula possessed and had carried north with him. In particular these could have included what was left of the many presents given him by White visitors and of the £8 000 or so in gold sovereigns paid to him under the Rudd and Lippert Concessions. It is also possible that he inherited some old sovereigns from Mzilikazi; and at some point there had developed sensational estimates of how much ivory he held and rumours of uncut diamonds brought back by migrant workers at Kimberley, and even raw gold.[5] Jameson knew of these stories and consequently had the smoking ruins of the royal quarters searched to no avail as soon as the invading column entered Gubuluwayo in 1893; and so pervasive were the stories that Daniels and Wilson, the troopers accused of stealing the £1 000 that Lobengula sent as a peace offering, sought to explain their wealth as the result of digging up a chest containing sovereigns at Inyati.[6] Then there were suspicions that the help and encouragement given by the British South Africa Company to several expeditions to map the upper Zambezi between 1895 and 1900 were, in part at least, an attempt to check stories of buried treasure just north of the river.[7]

Consequently rumours of treasure did not die away, and several circulated for many years around Johan Colenbrander, one of the first in the field after Lobengula's disappearance, who was said to have made 'finds' along Lobengula's route and at the Queens' Kraal – whether by unearthing, or by theft or by extortion from Lozigeyi is not clear but she did later say that she had 'given' two pots full of coins to a European well known in Matabeleland.[8] Then there was the gilt chain and the necklace of lion claws set with gold that he returned to Rhodesia in 1911 – almost certainly Lobengula's but their previous history as obscure as their fate, for they then disappeared again, as mysteriously as they came.[9] Three years later there were raised eyebrows again when

[5]J. Cooper-Chadwick commented on the store of expensive presents, *Three Years with Lobengula* (London, Cassell, 1894), 91–2; H. M. Hole, *The Passing of the Black Kings* (London, Philip Alan, 1932), 254–5. So firmly did Europeans associate burials with treasure that the son of a farmer near Fort Victoria sparked off a treasure story in 1924 that involved the new Governor of Southern Rhodesia, when all that he had discovered was clefts in the hills of the Chikwanda Reserve used as burial places by the local inhabitants, S917, A312/802/1, L. P. Spies, Fort Victoria, to Governor General [sic], Salisbury, 4 Aug. 1924; Secr[etary to/of] Premier to Governor, 13 Sept., encl[osing/ure] Sup[erintendan]t [of] Natives Fort Victoria to Chief Native Comm[issioner], 4 Sept. 1924; I owe this reference to Eira Kramer.

[6]H. M. Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days* (London, Macmillan, 1928), 93; *The Passing of the Black Kings,* 255; S. Glass, *The Matabele War* (London, Longmans, 1968), 255.

[7]'Major Lightwood' and O. Letcher, 'Lobengula's treasure', *Africa* (1936–7), III, iv, 24. For these expeditions, see A. St. H. Gibbons, *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa 1895–96* (London, Methuen, 1898), and *Africa from South to North through Marotseland* (London, John Lane, 2 vols, 1904).

[8]A/3/18/18/8, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1923; J. G. Storry, *The Shattered Nation* (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1974), 148.

[9]Storry, *The Shattered Nation,* 148; *Rhodesia Herald,* 26 Feb. 1927. They reappeared in Cape Town later, and the necklace stolen from the Natural History Museum in Bulawayo recently (see *Zimbabwe Independent,* 6 Dec. 2002) may be one of them, but I have not been able to confirm that.

he planned to work the Queens' Kraal for gold under an agreement from Lozigeyi, which he called a 'concession' – a Freudian slip back to the easier, swashbuckling ways of getting rich in pre-Occupation days, before the failures that followed, both as a businessman generally and in particular as the leader of first treasure-hunt for Kruger's Millions, in the northern Transvaal in 1905 that had impoverished him. The Administration, in puzzlement or suspicion, recorded that there was 'nothing in the property to warrant belief that payable minerals exist', and so any prospecting on the Queens' Kraal remained forbidden.[10]

Meanwhile another, and more deliberate, source of rumour, was John Jacobs, who was found to have a few rough diamonds on him in 1894 and claimed to know their secret source.[11] Then in 1895 he was said to be spending freely in Bulawayo with, and on behalf of, Nyamande, Lobengula's oldest son, and to have boasted that he knew the hiding-place of Lobengula's money which he could help himself to at any time because even the king's sons did not know where it was; and indeed he disappeared from Bulawayo from time to time to reappear with money.[12] Someone fitting his description, indeed, had been seen with Lobengula in the north near where the grave was to be, and it is possible that before that he had been involved in some way in Lobengula's sending £1 000 in gold to buy off the pursuing Company troops, and later stole gold from his waggons, with Lozigeyi as accomplice.[13]

Furthermore after the Rising Lozigeyi, Lobengula's most important wife and ally of Nyamande, was reported as having taken rifles and ammunition from the grave during the fighting,[14] and later had been spending old sovereigns, which were assumed to have come from the same source.[15] Nyamande thereafter was known to disappear secretively into the bush on hunting trips, and Ndebele sources told Noel Robertson in 1930, soon after Nyamande's death, that his otherwise inexplicable wealth came from the grave.[16] Certainly both European and African sources attested to the wealth of Lozigeyi and Nyamande for the rest of their lives (Lozigeyi died in 1919 and Nyamande in 1929).[17]

But it is clear from the earliest reports of inspection of the cave by European intruders, from 1912 to 1915, that it no longer contained anything of real value, if indeed it ever had; and by 1919 this had become public knowledge through newspaper articles. Consequently interest in this cave-burial then recedes until 1943, when Shoko Nkosanzana, a rain-bringer of the Mlimo cult (*uMtaka Mlimu*), who had lived in Nyamande's village, got some Africans and Europeans together to make another attempt

[10]T. V. Bulpin, *The White Whirlwind* (Johannesburg, Nelson, 1961), 339; N/3/19/3, J. W. Colenbrander, Bulawayo, to Lord Winchester, Resident Director, Bulawayo, 12 Aug. 1914, and encl.; Lozigeyi, 'Agreement ', 5 July 1914 (copy); [Adm., Salisbury,] to Lord Winchester, Bulawayo, 21 Aug. 1914.

[11]Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days*, 95; A/3/18/18/8, Hole, Salisbury, to J. A. Stevens, B.S.A.Co., Cape Town, 9 Apr. 1901.

[12]S903, Jim Ngamlana, Statement, 2 Nov. 1905.

[13]H. M. Hole, *Lobengula* (London, Philip Allan, 1929), 196–210.

[14]N/3/19/2, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm[inistrator], 30 May 1912.

[15]A/3/18/18/8, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1923; Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days*, 95.

[16]Testimony from N. Robertson, Deputy Secr., Internal Affairs, quoted in C. K. Cooke, 'Lobengula: Second and last king of the Amandebele: His final resting place and treasure', *Rhodesiana* (Dec. 1970), XXIII, 52.

[17]For Nyamande, see A/3/18/10, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 16 Nov. 1921; testimony of Shoko Nkosanzana, 16 Oct. 1943, and Cronje Ndondo, 8 Oct. 1943, in Cooke, 'Lobengula', 19, 29. For Lozigeyi, see above, f[oot]n[ote] 15; and N/3/19/3, Supt Natives Bulawayo, minute, on Acting Native Comm. Bubi to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 Feb. 1919. Also for more on both, see below, fns 161, 162.

to find treasure there; this was the point when the cave was given protection as a National Monument.

Meanwhile, however, from about 1904, and particularly after the newspaper article on the grave in 1919, the interest in treasure was diverting from the grave and the personal valuables of the king to the idea of a separate and huge cache of gold (raw and specie), diamonds and ivory buried for safety some six months before the abandonment of Gubuluwayo, in mid-1893; this switch of interest to a much more exciting possibility was the work, single-handedly, of John Jacobs who spent the next thirty years perfecting what must be the longest-lasting confidence trick in criminal history. This 'persistent and peculating treasure seeker'[18] first raised the subject with the British South Africa Company in 1901, his first known 'cons' were in 1904–5, and fuller versions of his claims began to be published by the press in 1917 and were elaborated over the years, reaching a definitive form in the years 1930–41 – a form which is periodically reproduced in the popular press down to the present day. Some of his victims were still seeking the treasure when he died in 1937.

It should be noted that, for the limited purposes of the exposition that follows, it does not matter whether the burial in the cave was really of Lobengula or not. There is considerable evidence, and continuing popular belief, that Lobengula did not die in 1894 but crossed the Zambezi to join Mpezeni, and that the burial was therefore a cover for his escape. Alternatively, if that is a legend, the burial could have been a decoy to divert attention from his actual grave somewhere else in the area. Whatever its exact nature, however, it was, as has been seen, acknowledged as Lobengula's grave by both Europeans and the Ndebele down to this day.

As for the contents of the grave, it inconceivable that Lozigeyi and Nyamande, would have taken anything from the actual burial place of the king, their husband and father, respectively; but it is equally unlikely that the Ndebele would ever have put the armament and money they needed to resist the invaders into so hallowed a place as a royal grave, and in so inaccessible an area. Furthermore it is hardly possible that any great bulk could have been taken that far north; for Lobengula's waggons had stopped at the Pupu, just beyond the Shangani, and he and a few followers had then travelled light for speed, by foot and on horseback. And this would surely have precluded the conveyance of large numbers of rifles and ammunition or for that matter the safes that were later reputed to hold at least some of the treasure. At the most only the sovereigns – and few probably were left by then – could have gone north with him.

The inference therefore must be that the rifles and ammunition, and perhaps the sovereigns, that Nyamande and Lozigeyi later had access to had stayed on the waggons. When Nyamande went back to the waggons, after being dismissed by his fleeing father, he killed Ndebele found plundering them – which implies something of value was in them which Jacobs perhaps had sampled, as Hole claimed – and then the rifles, ammunition and any remaining sovereigns were hidden in the Pupu–Shangani area where he and Lozigeyi could retrieve them. Or, even more likely, they were kept in the serviceable waggons and driven to what became the Queens' Kraal, Lozigeyi's home thenceforth, where they could be hidden and retrieved even more conveniently;[19]

[18]S903, Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, to Assistant Chief Immigration Officer, Salisbury, 3 Sept. 1917.
[19]A/3/18/18/8, Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1923.

for Gielgud, the Native Commissioner at Inyati, actually did see boxes of ammunition there later in 1894,[20] and Colenbrander was reputed to have made his haul there, as has been mentioned.

The general direction in which the grave had to be was known to the Administration as soon as Dawson came back from his inspection of the battlefield on the Pupu in February 1894, and more exact details became available when R. Lanning, the Native Commissioner at Inyati in 1903, was told more by Chiefs Sihuluhulu and Sivalo how and where Lobengula had died. Lanning suggested that the cave should be cemented up but nothing was done. That he knew that the entrance needed attention implies that unknown to his informants or indeed his superiors he had gone and found the grave; certainly we know that he looked for it in the right area so assiduously that Pashu and Mwanapenzi moved their residence to be farther away[21] lest, if and when he found it, they be accused of divulging what was still a closely guarded secret. Sihuluhulu then took Lanning secretly to the grave and now, if not before, Lanning looked inside over the fallen stones at the mouth of the cave to see a heap of bones, some guns and silver (plate) vessels; he then replaced the fallen stones.[22] Nothing more was said or done at this stage, for fear of upsetting the Ndebele.

Meanwhile, in 1901, the matter of a treasure had been raised and discussed by the Administration; that is when Jacobs, now employed by the Detective Force in Pretoria, informed the Cape Town office of the British South Africa Company that he knew where Lobengula's treasure was. Marshall Hole, in the Administrator's office, was told of this and he recalled that when Jacobs had been imprisoned in Salisbury in 1894 a few uncut diamonds had been found on him and he had tried to bribe his way to freedom by offering to show Hole as magistrate the location of the mine source; and it was Hole's considered opinion that Jacobs was the 'biggest scoundrel at present unhung in South Africa'.[23] Thus it was not entirely a surprise to Hole and his colleagues in the Administration that for the next thirty years or more Jacobs was to be the moving spirit and confidence-trickster behind numerous treasure-hunts ranging from the south-east of Southern Rhodesia to the south-west of Northern Rhodesia and even into Angola.

Our knowledge of this inveterate but ever plausible liar comes partly from these and other reminiscences of Marshall Hole for the 1890s, from journalists who had interviewed his various backers/victims over two decades from 1917, but mainly and most factually from a long statement that Jacobs himself made, for what it is worth, to a Southern Rhodesian Immigration Officer in 1917.[24] So various and fantastic are

[20]LO/5/6/6, Native Comm. Bubi to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 19 Oct. 1896.

[21]Testimony of Ginyilitshe Hlabangana, 13 Oct. 1943, in Cooke, 'Lobengula', 34.

[22]NB/3/1/2, Native Comm. Bubi to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 20 Feb. 1905; N/3/19/2, idem to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 29 Sept. 1914; in author's possession, idem to [Supt Natives Bulawayo, post 1914] (copy).

[23]A/3/18/18/8, J. A. Stevens, B.S.A.Co., Cape Town, to Hole, Salisbury, 23 Mar., and reply, 9 Apr. 1901.

[24]H. M. Hole, *The Making of Rhodesia* (London, Macmillan, 1926), 333; *Old Rhodesian Days,* 94–5; *Lobengula,* 184–210. *Bulawayo Chronicle, East London Daily Despatch* and *Rand Daily Mail,* 7 Sept. 1917; *Bulawayo Chronicle,* 5 Aug. 1922; *Star* [Johannesburg], 29 June 1930; 'Major Lightwood' and O. Letcher, 'Lobengula's treasure', *Africa* (1936–7), III, iii, 8–14; iv, 21–9; v, 18–19. D. H. Van Zyl, 'Die skat van Lobengula, *Die Huisgenoot* (24 Oct. 1941), 9, 47–9; 'Die skat van Lobengula—II: Vergeefse soektogte . . .' (31 Oct. 1941), 15, 51; 'Die skat van Lobengula—III: Op die regte spoor . . .' (7 Nov. 1941), 11–13. S903, John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917. Something of his career has been summarized briefly in Storry, 'John Jacobs: A peculating treasure seeker', *Rhodesiana* (July 1972), XXVI, 37–42, and even more briefly in *The Shattered Nation,* 149–50.

some of Jacobs's claims and of later journalistic glosses that account will be taken only of the more factual and most relevant.

He gave his name variously as John James Andrew (Andries) Jacobs or James Henry Jacobs and claimed to be a 'Hottentot' born in the Eastern Cape in 1842 (Hole, however, said he was born to a Mfengu woman by a poor Afrikaner father[25]). He was educated by missionaries, ending up, he claimed, at Loveday [sic] College (a dubious claim that the Principal of Lovedale College, knowing his reputation, asked to be substantiated[26]). From 1862 to 1879 Jacobs worked as a teacher for the London Missionary Society. Then he served with the British forces in the Zulu War and the first Boer War. This was followed by brief spells as a coach-driver and in the mounted corps of the South African Republic, before becoming an independent teacher-preacher. In 1886 he became a missionary worker for the Church of England, first in the Transvaal and then in Bechuanaland, initially at Palapye and later at Tati. When his flock on the Tati Concession dispersed on the cessation of mining in 1890, Sam Edwards gave him a letter of introduction to Lobengula (Hole, however, said that he had been convicted of illicit diamond buying in Kimberley and on release from prison had fled north, reaching Gubuluwayo in 1893, whilst an African detective with the C.I.D. in Bulawayo recalled that he had met Jacobs in 1888 teaching in the location in Palapye whence he fled to Matabeleland after the disappearance of some money[27]). Jacobs claimed that the king out of distrust for the White concession-hunters gave him work as clerk-secretary-translator because he could make 'the paper speak' (but there is some doubt if he had really held such a position, although he may well have done odd jobs for Lobengula[28]).

After the occupation of Matabeleland in 1893–4 Jacobs was held briefly as a political prisoner in Salisbury, as Hole recalled, and was imprisoned again in 1895 in Bulawayo for a string of offences, notably assault, theft, robbery and taking Ndebele cattle by false pretences.[29] It could have been the proceeds of such crime that accounted for his free spending in Bulawayo in 1895 that has been noted, and if so it could be that Nyamande was being set up as his first potential victim rather than being an accomplice in actually retrieving treasure! Be that as it may Jacobs was sentenced to lashes and to a total of sixty-one months imprisonment for his crimes, most of which he served in the Cape. He appealed to the High Commissioner for remission in 1899 but this was refused on the advice of the Southern Rhodesian administration.[30] After release from the Breakwater in the Cape in 1900 Jacobs joined the Army Service Corps and at the end of the Anglo-Boer War became a detective in the Provost Department in Pretoria.

Then had come his first essay in the saga of the treasure when he had written to the Cape Town office of the British South Africa Company in 1901, as has been described above; within two years the matter had been raised in Bulawayo by an Afrikaner of

[25] *Lobengula*, 194.

[26] S903, James Henderson, Lovedale, to Resident Magistrate Bulawayo, 13 Sept. 1917.

[27] Hole, *Lobengula*, 194–5; S903, Statement of [Samuel] Mahoko, [1905?].

[28] A/3/18/18/8, Hole, Salisbury, to J. A. Stevens, B.S.A.Co., Cape Town, 9 Apr. 1901.

[29] Storry, 'John Jacobs', 37; S138/10, J. C. Brundell, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo, to Staff Officer, B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 3 Mar. 1923.

[30] AM/1/4/1, Adm. Matabeleland to High Comm., Cape Town, 21 Feb. 1899.

Essexvale who in 1903 let it be known that for half the value of the find he would lead the authorities to it.[31] Jacobs meanwhile had turned to teaching, first in Pretoria and in 1904 in Pietersburg.[32] There he met Hendrik Van Rooyen who had been in Bulawayo in the early days,[33] and in early 1905 the Administration was warned by C. H. Zeederberg (of the coaching company) of Pietersburg that Jacobs was on his way from the Zoutspanberg into the Tuli area in the company of Van Rooyen in order to seek the treasure in the Bembesi area.[34] The Administrator immediately ordered his arrest as a prohibited immigrant whereupon he was tried and found guilty;[35] and a disgruntled Van Rooyen soon went back to Pietersburg alone,[36] but was to reappear in connection with the grave some years later, as will be seen.

Meanwhile the deportation of Jacobs was delayed for a few days because Zeederberg intervened. The Sheriff of Pietersburg had just told him that Jacobs before leaving had divulged to him the details of the treasure and Zeederberg thought that Jacobs should be held for further questioning. The Chief Secretary, Marshall Hole, would have been happy to settle what was becoming a 'perennial affair' but he felt that he could not detain Jacobs indefinitely and that he should not be seen to be negotiating with such a person.[37] So Jacobs was returned to Pietersburg where he resumed his teaching job; but as was so often to happen he had successfully planted the seed and by October 1905 Zeederberg himself had got a group together, to be led by Jacobs to the treasure near the Bembesi, if approval was granted.

The Administration took this offer seriously. Legal opinion confirmed that such treasure belonged either to the Crown (under English law) or to the owner, namely the British South Africa Company as Lobengula's successor (under Roman Dutch law). A sliding scale of reward was worked out with a maximum payment of £1 500 and it was agreed, with some misgivings, that Jacobs should be permitted to enter Southern Rhodesia provided he was taken out of the country again by Zeederberg and his group.[38] Zeederberg, however, refused this limitation of the maximum and insisted on a full one-third of whatever the value proved to be. The Administration decided that it would accept this counter proposal if re-application for the exploration trip was made.[39]

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[31]Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 57; this episode has left no trace in official records.

[32]S903, John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917.

[33]Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 58.

[34]A/3/18/18/8, Civil Comm. Bulawayo to Chief Secr., Salisbury, 7 Feb. 1905 (telegr[am]); NB/3/1/7, Assistant Native Comm. Tuli-Manzamnyana to Native Comm. Gwanda, 3 July 1906, encl. 'Report . . . on . . . the Tuli Portion of the District'.

[35]S903, Docket Form of Case: 'Extract from Apprehension Record Book No. I, 14, 15 and 18 Feb. 1905; 'Extract from Town Police Station Occurrence Book', 14 and 19 Feb. 1905; 'Extract from Letter Book No. 7', 23 Feb. 1905. See also John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917; A/3/18/18/8, Attorney General, Minute, 8 Feb. 1905; Chief Secr. to Civil Comm. Bulawayo, 10 Feb. 1905 (telegr.); Secr. Law Dep[artment] to Chief Secr., 15 Feb. 1905; Civil Comm. Bulawayo to Chief Secr., Salisbury, 15 Feb. 1905; NB/3/1/7, Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Native Comm. Gwanda, [10–11 Feb.], (copy telegr.), and reply, 11 Feb. 1905 (copy telegr.).

[36] Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 59.

[37]A/3/18/18/8, Civil Comm. Bulawayo to Chief Secr., Salisbury, 17 and 18 Feb., and reply, 20 Feb. 1905.

[38]S903, C. H. Zeederberg, Pietersburg, to Chief Secr., Salisbury, 26 Oct. 1905 (telegr.); F. J. Newton, minute, 26 Oct. 1905; Acting Attorney General, minute, 30 Oct. 1905; Minute Paper for circulation, 31 Oct. 1905; W. Milton, Minutes 5 and 12 Dec. 1905; Acting Attorney General, Minute, 9 Dec. 1905; Chief Secr. to Zeederberg, 13 Dec. 1905.

[39]S903, Zeederberg, Pietersburg, to Chief Secr., Salisbury, 4 Jan 1906; Minutes by Attorney General and Milton, 3 Apr. 1906.

At this point Zeederberg became ill[40] and Jacobs seems to have left Pietersburg for missionary work in Pretoria,[41] and so nothing came of this proposed search.

This, however, did not dampen Jacobs's enthusiasm for what was no doubt already becoming a profitable sideline, and rumours of the treasure soon spread back to Matabeleland. Thus in late 1907 a Mrs T. H. Mackenzie from Bulawayo or nearby asked the Administration for help with transport to go to the Belingwe area to verify details of treasure which an old African had, indirectly from Jacobs. Ivory apparently was buried near where Government House in Bulawayo now stood and a gold pipe and other things were near Khami. Hole, now Civil Commissioner in Bulawayo, did not doubt that some treasure existed and that Jacobs knew its location;[42] and so the directors agreed to try to find it.[43] Mrs Mackenzie, however, balked at the proposed involvement of the Native Affairs Department in contacting the African in Belingwe lest he be frightened off, and so the authorities, now suspecting some deception, let the matter drop.[44]

C. L. Carbutt, the Native Commissioner Bulawayo, however, was given permission to go to Belingwe unofficially to try and settle the question of treasure once and for all, but with no result as far as is known.[45] Certainly the rumours did not stop; indeed one suspects that the immediate source was someone then in Bulawayo, for within three months another hopeful applicant emerged. This was a somewhat disreputable local barman, Sydney P. Willson, who claimed to know the site of the buried treasure near Umvutsha, which he had been shown by night. Again the information was said to have come indirectly from Jacobs but this time diamonds and gold coin were involved, and Willson wanted to know what reward he would receive if the treasure were found. Again Hole recommended that positive action be taken, recalling how Jacobs had a few stones in 1894 and had offered to show Hole the source.[46] And again the Administration agreed to go ahead and offer a twenty per cent reward provided that a senior police officer supervise the dig. Willson held out for fifty per cent but the Administration insisted that any treasure of Lobengula belonged to the British South Africa Company (in other words it was not treasure trove) and that its best offer would be thirty per cent.[47] Like Mrs Mackenzie Willson then appears to have backed off, although of course secret digs may well have been made.

Meanwhile in South Africa the indefatigable missionary had found new backers for yet another treasure hunt that he would lead. Messrs Spinner and Monks of Pretoria

[40]A/11/2/12/7, Minute by A. H. Holland on H. M. Hole, Bulawayo, to A. H. Holland, 15 Jan. 1908.

[41]S903, John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917.

[42]A/11/2/12/7, H. M. Hole, Memo for Directors, 24 Oct. 1907. This and the following episode have been briefly described, with some inaccuracy, in C. Hind, 'Does Lobengula's treasure exist?', *Personality* (18 Aug. 1966), 57.

[43]A/11/2/12/7, Hole to A. H. Holland, Private Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1907.

[44]Ibid., Hole, Civil Comm. Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 21 Oct. 1907; C. L. Carbutt for Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Civil Comm. Bulawayo, 24 Oct. 1907; Hole to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 25 Oct. 1907.

[45]Ibid., C. L. Carbutt to Hole, 30 Oct. 1907; Hole to Holland, Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1907. I. Findlay, 'Lobengula's grave', *Zuro* (1971), 32, wrongly refers to Mrs Mackenzie as Mr MacKensie and says that the Native Commisioner, presumably Carbutt, did make a search of Khami, but I have found no evidence of this in the documents.

[46]A/11/2/12/7, S. P. Willson, Bulawayo, to Hole, Civil Comm. Bulawayo, 14 Jan. 1908; Hole to A. H. Holland, Private Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 15 Jan. 1908.

[47]Ibid., Civil Comm. Bulawayo to Willson, Bulawayo, 25 Jan. 1908; Willson to Civil Comm. Bulawayo, 27 Jan. 1908; Adm. to Civil Comm. Bulawayo, 31 Jan. 1908 (telegr.).

agreed in 1908 to finance a journey to Livingstone and they brought in Eli Susman, a prominent trader in Lialui, to provide the wherewithal to proceed westward to the Lukolwe river near the Angolan border. After nearly three months of stumbling around the bush in circles, the Europeans realized that Jacobs had no idea where he was going and so gave him a flogging. Jacobs was reported later as saying that he had deliberately not led them to the treasure because he had overheard them plotting to kill him as soon as the treasure was found.[48] When the authorities learned of all this, Susman was prosecuted and fined, and Jacobs put on a train to Bulawayo with a ticket back to his home, Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape.[49] When he reached Bulawayo on 22 January 1909 he was arrested by the police and deported four days later.[50]

It was some time after this that Jacobs went to Johannesburg and joined the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion of Bishop Brander.[51] The Church posted Jacobs to Pretoria in 1910 as a teacher; and his duties evidently kept him busy judging by the absence of treasure hunts over the next few years. But another reason may have been that Lobengula's grave as a possible source of treasure now became the focus of attention; and this was perhaps not entirely unconnected with Jacobs, for it appears that the Van Rooyen of the 1905 expedition was in the area of the grave in 1913, as will be seen.

In May 1912 Albert Giese of Deka Farm in the Wankie area, where he had located coal in 1894, wrote to the Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland, Herbert J. Taylor, to say that three local Africans could lead a party to the grave. They claimed to have been present at the burial of Lobengula who died two months after the battle of the Shangani; at his death Magwegwe and one of the queens took poison and all three were buried together in the cave. In forwarding this news to the Administrator Taylor told how his department had learned via Gielgud and Lanning something of the cave burial and the weapons, which Lozigeyi retrieved, but had decided that, as long as participants at the burial were alive, it would not be admitted that the whereabouts of the grave were known. The Administrator agreed with that decision and so Giese was thanked for his offer but told that nothing should be done and that he should keep the

[48]'Extracts from District Notebooks—No. 3 [Balovale]. Lobengula's treasure', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* (1953–5), II, iii, 71–2. More detail of this expedition is expected from H. Macmillan, *An African Trading Empire: The Story of Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn* (London, I. B. Tauris, in press).

[49]S 903, Secr. Native Affairs, Livingstone, 'Memorandum: Bishop Brander, John Makue & John Jacobs', 5 Aug. [Sept.], encl. in High Comm., Cape Town, to Resident Comm., Salisbury, 19 Oct. 1917; John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917; Assistant Secr., Livingstone, to Supt C.I.D. Livingstone, 30 Aug. 1917; Public Prosecutor Livingstone to Commandant Barotseland Native Police, Livingstone, 18 Jan. 1909; Storry, 'John Jacobs', 38.

[50]Ibid., B.S.A.P. Docket Form of Case, 'Extract from "Record of Immigrants"'; 'Extract from Gaol Records', and 'Extract from Record of Undesirables Deported Book', 28 Aug. 1917; Secr. Native Affairs, Livingstone, 'Memorandum: Bishop Brander, John Makue & John Jacobs', 5 Aug. [Sept.], encl. in High Comm., Cape Town, to Resident Comm., Salisbury, 19 Oct. 1917; Officer in Charge, C.I.D., Northern Rhodesia Police, Livingstone, to Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917, and encls: Officer in Charge C.I.D. [Livingstone,] to Secr., Livingstone, 29 Aug. 1917, encl. Public Prosecutor Livingstone to Commandant Barotseland Native Police, Livingstone, 18 Jan. 1909; Assist. Secr., Livingstone, to Supt C.I.D. Livingstone, 30 Aug. 1917.

[51]Samuel James Brander (1851–1925) described himself as the son of a 'Mosuto' father and an American negress mother, both Wesleyans; in 1893 he joined the ex-Wesleyan Revd M. M. Mokone's Ethiopian Church, one of the earliest African Independent Churches, which then merged with the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Brander appears to have seceded in about 1904 to establish his own church, South African Archives, Pretoria Archives Repository, NTS/ Box 1420, 5/214 (Departement van Naturallesake: Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion: African Independent Churches).

information to himself;[52] whether that headstrong and difficult character did so is not known but Lanning at Inyati heard a rumour that he had rifled the cave.[53]

Certainly it was about this time that there was spoliation of the grave by Europeans, although the version of events published in 1968 did not involve Giese. Two Afrikaners, Piet Briers (sometimes rendered as Bree, Bray and even Gruyer), a local farmer, and Barend Cristofel Labuschagne, from Zimba near Kalomo, were grazing cattle on the Gwaii and heard something of the grave. Their Ndebele herdsmen disclaimed all knowledge but some local Bushmen offered to lead them to the grave in return for meat. On the way to the grave the San told how in 1894 they had spied on Lobengula and a dozen or so followers (including a 'coloured' man who soon left [John Jacobs?]) putting his possessions into a cave. Lobengula and two induna then killed the rest of the men as they slept. When the last of Lobengula's possessions had been taken into the cave Lobengula shot the two induna and went into the cave and was not seen to reappear – a somewhat different account from that given to Giese.

Inside the cave Briers and Labuschagne found a skeleton which they took to be Lobengula sitting in a chair surrounded by a few possessions – notably a rifle, bandolier, walking stick, and lastly a bridle and bit which they took as souvenirs after failing to uncover any hidden treasure.[54] About a year later, in 1913, a certain Van Rooyen, probably the Hendrik of the 1905 expedition with Jacobs, was shown a silver snuff box and a bridle by Piet Briers who admitted that he got them from the grave;[55] but the Administration did not learn about it until 1914 when Giese wrote again to say that Briers had found the grave and had contacted R. N. Hall, the author and erstwhile curator at Great Zimbabwe, offering to conduct him there; the details were similar to the earlier description, except that silverware was now mentioned, as it had been by Lanning.[56] The Chief Native Commissioner, H. J. Taylor, in forwarding this news to the Administrator said that the general description corresponded to what the Department had recently been told of the grave by Chief Sihuluhulu, via Lanning that is, and, therefore, it was time to verify the facts and then apologize to the Khumalo family. Taylor feared that the family might expect legal action against Briers for desecration and, more generally, that there would be consternation among the Ndebele at the news,[57] as had happened in 1896 when Rhodes's Indaba in the Matopos had been jeopardized by the desecration of Mzilikazi's grave by European soldiers.[58]

The Administration, therefore, proceeded cautiously; the Native Commissioner at Inyati passed the information to Lozigeyi together with a suggestion that some

[52]N/3/19/2, A. Giese, Wankie, to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 15 May 1912; Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland to Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 30 May, and reply, 5 June 1912.

[53]In author's possession, R. Lanning to [Supt Natives Bulawayo, post 1914] (copy).

[54]Oral testimony of Mrs Nortjie, daughter of Labuschagne, quoted in A. C. Adams, 'Lobengula's gun', *The Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa* (1966–8), IV, v, 28–9. A slightly different version of these events is given in Cooke, 'Lobengula', 6–9, and 44, 46 (for a photograph and account of the return of the bridle and bit to the National Museum in Bulawayo which were given by Briers before his death in Cape Town to a friend who made the return).

[55]Findlay, 'Lobengula's grave', 29.

[56]N/3/19/2, Giese, Wankie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 30 Aug. 1914.

[57]Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 2 Sept. 1914.

[58]A/3/18/18/7, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 4 Sept. 1914; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 5 Oct. 1914. For the desecration and looting of Mzilikazi's grave in 1896, see J. G. McDonald, *Rhodes: A Life* (London, Philip Allan, 1927), 259–63.

protection, such as walling, be devised.[59] The Native Commissioner Wankie, F. W. T. Posselt, meanwhile made inquiries. The grave had clearly been desecrated by Briers and others, before or after him, but there were still some remains of a large body in a sitting position surrounded by numerous possessions.[60] As the legal position was doubtful and as there had been no reaction from the Ndebele, not even Lozigeyi, the Administration decided to take no further action beyond warning Briers to keep quiet.[61]

A few months later, in early 1915, yet two more farmers, J. A. Chalmers and Edward Jowitt, stumbled on the cave – so was it said – while out hunting; Chalmers soon informed the authorities (via J. G. McDonald, agent for Rhodes's interests in Matabeleland) and described the contents of the grave. The Administration now seriously considered the need to take action to remove the remains and have them reburied or to have the cave walled up but the Chief Native Commissioner Matabeleland still advised silence and inaction.[62]

Nevertheless Posselt, the Native Commissioner at Wankie, was instructed to inspect the grave but it emerged that Chalmers had not himself seen the grave and was acting only on what his companion had told him; and Briers for his part was unco-operative, first insisting on a reward and then, when that was agreed, pretending that he feared for his life to return to the grave. Why Lanning was not called in is unclear, but perhaps Posselt had already reached the conclusion, which he did not publish until after retiring from the Department, that the grave was but a cover or decoy. So again the Administration decided to do nothing and leave it to the Khumalos to take the initiative.[63] There the matter rested for the time and there were no more reports of attempts on the grave until 1943, as will be seen later. But not a coincidence, perhaps, was the almost immediate resurgence of Jacobs and treasure-hunting.

Even if Jacobs had not been indirectly behind these various visits to the grave, his irrepressible and irresistible story-telling had not been dimmed and a new band of fortune seekers gradually coalesced around John Makue, a police sergeant at the Johannesburg Market who had probably met, or at least heard of, Jacobs while fighting for the B.S.A. Company in Matabeleland in 1893–4, and had now as a neighbour of Bishop Brander met again. Through Mr Gilbert, the Pretoria Location Superintendent, he brought together Solomon Glass, a butcher in Pretoria, Schaffer Maurice and Harry

[59]A/3/18/18/7, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 5 Oct. 1914, encl. Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 30 Sept., encl. Native Comm. Bubi to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 29 Sept. 1914.

[60]Ibid., Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 16 Oct., encl. F. W. T. Posselt, Acting Native Comm. Wankie, to Taylor, 13 Oct. 1914.

[61]Ibid., idem, and Attorney General to Adm., 15 Oct. 1914; Secr. Adm. to B.S.A.Co., London, 27 Oct., and reply, 28 Nov. 1914.

[62]D. Lytton, Chipping Norton, to author, 15 May 1984, quoting L. A. Heatile (a former trooper in the B.S.A.P. at Wankie) to Major J. G. W. Leipoldt, [between 1928 and 1945]; Leipoldt was a treasure hunter and Lytton is his son, and both appear later (see below, fns 111–14)); A/3/18/18/7, J. A. Chalmers, Gwaii, to J. G. McDonald, [The Gold Fields Rhodesian Development Co., Ltd,] Bulawayo, 12 Mar. 1915; McDonald to Adm., 17 Mar. 1915; Priv. Secr. Adm. to Chief Native Comm., 18 Mar. 1915; Chief Native Comm. to Priv. Secr. Adm., 22 Mar. 1915.

[63]A/3/18/18/7, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 8 Apr. 1915; Acting Native Comm. Wankie to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 2 June,.1915; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 5 June 1915; Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 25 June 1915; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 28 June 1915; Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 5 July 1915; Acting Native Comm. Wankie to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 1 Sept. and 12 Nov. 1915; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Adm., 22 Nov. 1915; Adm. to Chief Native Comm., 24 Nov. 1915. For more on Posselt, see below, fn. 146.

Wolpert, mechanics, and Sam Davis, a produce dealer, who formed a syndicate to accompany Jacobs to Barotseland to find the treasure.[64] To provide cover for the expedition Jacobs in late 1916 persuaded Bishop Brander to apply for permission for himself, Jacobs and Makue to visit Barotseland for religious purposes. What exactly was proposed is not clear as the Northern Rhodesian authorities were known to be hostile to non-White missions. Jacobs later said they planned to open missions at Shesheke and Lialui, and Brander wrote to Yeta but later gave an undertaking not to preach while in Barotseland .[65]

Surprisingly permission was granted and the incongruous party – of Jews, African clerics (who were taken to be Coloureds by most Europeans), a 'Basuto' police sergeant and Jacobs's two sons – arrived in Livingstone in August 1917 but quickly ran into trouble. Glass soon learned from several Europeans that he was being hoodwinked by Jacobs who had taken other hopefuls similarly 'for a ride' around Barotseland in 1908–9. Jacobs for his part saw Susman in the distance and panicked in fear of another beating in revenge for the prosecution and fine some eight years earlier.[66] Consequently the party soon broke up in disarray and acrimony; the Europeans simply returned home; Brander, who was possibly not a knowing accomplice to Jacobs's plans, was admonished by officials and put on a train south; Jacobs, the officials thought, deserved to have been prosecuted for breaking immigration regulations but they preferred not to have such a trouble-maker in prison in Livingstone and so deported him. When Jacobs reached Bulawayo, however, he was arrested as a prohibited immigrant and it was the long statement that he then made that is the source of much of our knowledge of his interesting career. A few days later Jacobs was found guilty of contravening two sections of the Immigration Ordinance (No. 7 of 1914) and sentenced to a total of five months in prison.[67]

Brander back in Pretoria appears to have publicized Jacobs's predicament, and the story of his journey to Livingstone and of the treasure was taken up by newspapers which increased interest in the treasure as never before.[68] Still believing in Jacobs and knowing but little of his criminal history, Brander then petitioned the High Commissioner for a pardon for him. After some perfunctory interdepartmental correspondence the High Commissioner was advised that there were no grounds for clemency and Brander was informed accordingly.[69]

But given the publicity there was no diminution of would-be-treasure hunters. From

[64]S903, John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917; 'The "Treasure" Seekers', [Aug. 1917].

[65]Ibid., John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917; Secr. Native Affairs, Livingstone, 'Memorandum: Bishop Brander, John Makue & John Jacobs', 5 Aug. [Sept.] 1917. I plan to publish more on the religious aspect of this episode as part of a wider study of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion and other such churches.

[66]Ibid., S. Glass, [statement, Victoria Falls,] 27 Aug., encl. in Officer in Charge, C.I.D. [Victoria Falls], to Secr., Livingstone, 28 Aug. 1917; Secr. Native Affairs, Livingstone, 'Memorandum: Bishop Brander, John Makue & John Jacobs', 5 Aug. [Sept.] 1917.

[67]Ibid., Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, Memo, 3 Sept. 1917.

[68]See, for example, *Bulawayo Chronicle; East London Daily Despatch;* and *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 Sept. 1917.

[69]A/3/18/18/8, S. J. Brander, Pretoria, to High Comm., Cape Town, 13 Oct., encl. in High Comm. to Resident Comm., Salisbury, 19 Oct., encl. in Resident Comm. Salisbury, to Acting Adm., 24 Oct., and reply 16 Nov. 1917; Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo to Secr. Law Dep., Salisbury, 31 Oct. 1917. Acting Imperial Secr., Pretoria, to Brander, Pretoria, 30 Nov., encl. in Resident Comm. to Acting Adm., 5 Dec. 1917.

1917 to 1919, for example, there was lengthy correspondence with Dr B. S. Woodruffe of Amersfoot in the Transvaal, married to a niece of Dr L. S. Jameson, who wanted help and permission to search for the treasure in Barotseland on the understanding that he would keep Jacobs under control.[70] In the end Woodruffe by then resident in Britain was persuaded of the inadvisability of trusting Jacobs and he so informed the syndicate that he had got together in Johannesburg.[71] Meanwhile at the end of his sentence in February 1918 Jacobs was deported to South Africa.[72] But, irrepressible as ever and boosted by the publicity, he had within a couple of months found a new backer, Petrus Coetzee of Pretoria, who applied for permission to take through Southern Rhodesia *en route* for Livingstone 'Chief, John Jacobs, also known as King Jacobs', who – for a royal consideration, no doubt – had given Coetzee his power of attorney. This request, of course, was rejected and the British South Africa Police asked their South African colleagues to check up on Jacobs's activities.[73] Within four months another hopeful from Pretoria was making the same request to be followed by yet another from Germiston six months later.[74] At the same time there was more interest in Southern Rhodesia than hitherto. An unidentified Indian in Bulawayo in 1918 claimed to know where the treasure was and asked what share he would receive if he led the authorities to it; a year later another Bulawayo applicant, R. McLagan, who had met Jacobs in South Africa some years earlier, now thought patriotically that the time was right to find the treasure to help pay off the war debt![75]

There was then a bit of a lull, brought on perhaps by the publication in newspapers in 1919 that a farmer out shooting had stumbled on the grave and entered it; when he reported this, the Administration had investigated and made an inventory of objects in the cave before sealing it up. Whether this really did relate to an otherwise undocumented episode in 1918, or whether it was a journalistic rehash of the events of 1912–1915 is not certain; but the main point is that the newspaper reports very definitely said that there was no treasure in the cave.[76]

Nevertheless Jacobs would not be deterred for long and indeed he had always said the treasure was elsewhere, buried under his supervision on behalf of the king some six months before Lobengula's flight from Gubuluwayo, and therefore nothing to do with the grave. Thus in 1920 C. G. Fynn, asked the Administration for permission to come from Kimberley to uncover the treasure, the whereabouts of which he had learned when Native Commissioner at the Fingo Location (why he had not done something

[70]See notably, ibid., H. H. Hitchcock, B.S.A.Co., London, to B. S. Woodruffe, Amersfoot, Transvaal, 12 Sept. 1917; Woodruffe, Southampton, to Hitchcock, B.S.A.Co., London, 4 Nov. 1918; Hitchcock, B.S.A. Co., London, to L. J. Robertson, Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 25 Nov. 1918 and 11 Mar. 1919.

[71]Ibid., B.S.A.Co., London, to Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 11 Mar. 1919.

[72]S903, 'Southern Rhodesia. Immigrants Regulation Ordinance, 1914: Warrant for the Removal of a Prohibited Immigrant', 2 Feb. 1918.

[73]Ibid., W. R. Kennerley, Pretoria, to Adm., 5 Apr., and Secr. Dep. Adm., reply, 11 Apr. 1918; Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo to Comm. S.A.P., Pretoria, 16 Apr. 1918.

[74]A/3/18/18/8, Reitz and Pienaar, Pretoria, to Secr. Dep. Adm., 15 Aug. (on behalf of J. A. Deetlefs), and reply, 23 Aug. 1918; P. G. Hartley, Germiston, to Adm., 22 Feb. 1919.

[75]Ibid., Cecil Roberts & Letts, Bulawayo, to Secr. Adm., 3 Jan., and reply, 7 Jan. 1918; R. McLagan, Bulawayo, to Adm., 17 Jan., and Secr., reply, 27 Jan. 1919.

[76]See, for example, *Cape Argus,* 20 Jan. 1919; I have found no record in the government records of such an episode after that of 1915, and the Resident Commissioner had not been informed of one, RC/3/1/63, 126/19, Resident Comm., Salisbury, to Imperial Secr., Cape Town, 30 Jan. 1919.

about it then was not explained!); and other hopefuls in Johannesburg and Brakpan were soon making their applications. All were refused permission because of the obvious or suspected involvement of Jacobs.[77]

Late in 1920, however, the situation changed. The authorities in Livingstone informed the Administration that a group led by a S. Gillingham had arrived there and had been allowed to make a fruitless search; and it was implied that this was policy as long as there as there was no evidence of Jacobs being involved.[78] The Administrator in Salisbury quickly reminded his counterpart in Livingstone that, in view of the Privy Council decision in 1918 on the ownership of the land, any treasure was Crown property with the British South Africa Company merely an agent; he himself then began to ponder the implications of allowing searches.[79] At that point Gillingham gave the Southern Rhodesian authorities a jolt by approaching the Grahamstown guardian of Albert and Rhodes, the sons of Njube, Lobengula's eldest 'royal' son and presumed successor, in the belief either that one of them was Lobengula's eldest son or that their father was still alive. Any such contact was immediately forbidden by the Native Affairs Department.[80] For Njube's will and estate had left Albert and Rhodes a claim to 'royal' cattle, Lozigeyi who had recently died recognized them in her will as above Nyamande, and they already had extravagant tastes with debts commensurate.[81] Thus as recently as August of that year the Chief Native Commissioner had warned: 'I anticipate that we shall have considerable trouble with them'.[82] The thought that they might be bedazzled into adding Lobengula's treasure to cattle claims was bad enough, but the fear that this might bring them into contact with Jacobs did not bear thinking about. In the midst of all this a firm of solicitors in Windhoek brought matters to a head by asking for permission for a group connected with Jacobs which, they said, was trying to pre-empt others who had documentary evidence of the location of the treasure from the German archives there (this was the Leipoldt group which will appear later). The Administration after some tergiversation lamely concluded that there was no obstacle to their searching but Jacobs was debarred and any finds were Crown property.[83]

Two days later the Administration, obviously rattled by these developments, wrote to the High Commissioner for advice. The legal ownership, the Acting Administrator presumed, vested in the Crown by virtue of conquest and the Privy Council decision but the question was whether the British South Africa Company as agent for the Crown

[77]A/3/18/18/8, C. G. Fynn, Kimberley, to Adm. 12 Jan., and reply, 20 Jan. 1920; S903, J. Willand [Willmott?], Johannesburg, to Adm., 29 Mar. 1921; T. Chalmers, Brakpan, to Adm., 6 Dec. 1921.

[78]Ibid., Adm., Livingstone, to Secr. Adm., Salisbury, 24 Sept. 1920.

[79]Ibid., Acting Secr. Adm., Salisbury, to Secr. Adm., Livingstone, 8 Oct. 1920.

[80]S1561/10/IV, 1920–1, S. Gillingham, Pretoria, to Revd W. Y. Stead, Grahamstown, 25 Oct., and reply, 29 Oct., encl. in Stead to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 29 Oct., and reply, 4 Nov. 1920; Gillingham to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 4 and 24 Nov. 1920, and reply 31 Jan. 1921.

[81]South African Archives, Cape Town Archives Repository, MOOC 7/1/885, No. 1409, A. N. Lobengula, 'Last Will and Testament', 21 May 1910; and No. 1410, Mary Nongokwake Lobengula, 'Inventory of . . . Property Left in the Estate of Alban Njube Lobengula . . .', 14 June 1910, entry: 'All the cattle looted by the Chartered Company in Rhodesia after the war of 1893 . . .'. N/3/19/3, R. Lanning, Native Comm. Bubi to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 15 May 1919; RC/3/1/94, 978/20, Stead, Grahamstown, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 30 July 1920.

[82]A/3/18/10, Chief Native Comm., to Secr. Adm., 11 Aug. 1920.

[83]A/3/18/18/8, O'Reilly and Lardner-Burke, Windhoek, to Secr. Treasury, Salisbury, 12 Oct., and reply, Acting Secr. Adm., 22 Nov. 1920. For the 'Windhoek Archives' group, see Leipoldt, below, fns 111–14.

could offer a reward and a share.[84] This was forwarded to the Colonial Office in London, which not surprisingly was more concerned with the constitutional future of Southern Rhodesia than buried treasure; and so it put its mind to the problem only in mid-1922 after a reminder from the Administration and an appeal from McLagan of Bulawayo still smarting from the refusal he had received in 1919.[85]

The Colonial Office opinion, when finally given in 1923, was that the Administrator's assessment was correct and that any question about a reward or a share should be left for decision until such time as the treasure was found. More to the point, according to the High Commissioner, was whether the treasure really existed.[86] Now for the first time, as far as is known, the evidence for the treasure was seriously reviewed by the Administration.

The Chief Native Commissioner's assessment was that in matters of money or treasure Lobengula would not have taken anyone into his confidence except Lozigeyi, but he asked that a discreet enquiry be mounted.[87] This was done and Makumbesi who had gone north with the King and fought on the Shangani proved to be the most useful informant. The conclusions were that it was unlikely that Ndebele migrant workers brought back diamonds – any they might have stolen would have been sold in Kimberley (where alone they had marketable value) in order to buy blankets, cutlery and other trade goods. It was also thought unlikely that Lobengula had much gold left in view of his and the Queens' expenditure on champagne and the large sum, of a peace offering, that went astray after Gubuluwayo was abandoned. When Lobengula had fled northward his waggons went no further than the Pupu and Lobengula and his small party went north on horseback. There was some plundering of the waggons before they were taken by Nyamande and Lozigeyi – which might explain their later wealth in sovereigns. It was inconceivable that the treasure could have been buried north of the Zambezi and if it existed anywhere it would have to be on the Pupu.[88] This was forwarded to the High Commissioner with the comment that, as this was the only evidence, Jacobs's stories were obviously not to be believed.[89]

Thus ended, somewhat perfunctorily, the only real assessment of Jacobs's stories – an assessment that to some extent ignored Jacobs's claim that the treasure was taken from Gubuluwayo and buried before the 1893 war, not in 1894 during the flight to the north – whether on the Pupu or at Mlindi being a fine and irrelevant distinction. This assessment remained confidential but the public had known since the newspaper report on the grave in 1919 that there was no treasure there. So Jacobs could continue to claim, as he always had, that the treasure existed somewhere else; and those gullible or greedy could still put their trust in him.

Furthermore some substance to Jacobs's stories was given by Marshall Hole, publishing his histories of Rhodesia in retirement over the next few years. As has been seen, when he was in office he had always taken the treasure seriously, and had never

[84]RC/3/1/97, 1391/20, Adm., Salisbury, to High Comm., Cape Town, 24 Nov. 1920.

[85]Ibid., Adm., Salisbury, to High Comm., 28 June 1922; A/3/18/18/8, M. W. Barnard, Magistrate's Office, Bulawayo, to Secr. Adm., 26 Aug. 1922.

[86]RC/3/1/97, 1391/20, High Comm., Cape Town, to Adm., Salisbury, 26 Jan. 1923.

[87]A/3/18/18/8, Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 3 Feb. 1923.

[88]Ibid., Supt Natives Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 16 Feb. 1923.

[89]Ibid., Adm. to High Comm., Cape Town, 8 Mar. 1923.

related it to the grave. Now he publicly proclaimed that he had 'no doubt whatever that Loben had, for many years before his downfall, been accumulating treasure' and that a cache of ivory in particular lay waiting to be unearthed. Also there was 'nothing inherently impossible in the existence of the hoard' of uncut diamonds, tribute from Ndebele workers returning from Kimberley, particularly as three or four were found hidden on Jacobs's person when put in jail in Salisbury in 1894. And there might even have been some gold coins left over, in view of Lozigeyi's later spending sprees.[90] But this was the real point, for Hole concluded that surely those in the know like Nyamande, Lozigeyi and even Jacobs would long since have retrieved whatever had been hidden and spent it.[91]

The concluding caveat, however, was not seen by those dazzled by the mere mention of ivory, diamonds and gold; and dazzled they were, for to keep the punters rolling in Jacobs during 1922 seems to have gained the interest of Johannesburg journalists, one of whom announced that Jacobs was now willing to sell details of the location of the buried treasure to anyone ready to pay £250.[92] His arrest in Bulawayo later that year (which is dealt with below) gave added momentum to the story, for Jacobs was in an enviable position for a confidence trickster in that the more he was arrested and imprisoned the more there seemed to be to his claims and the more people heard about them; as the well known attorney, Rocco de Villiers, was to say a couple of years later, the very stealth that Jacobs had employed so often in trying to approach the treasure gave credence to its existence.[93] Thus it was not surprising that the quest did not abate at all, and indeed over the next decade or so there were actual searches and of a more determined and professional nature than anything before – so much so that they largely evaded official notice and thereby, regrettably, have left less evidence in government records than have the many rejected applications and the débâcles of the 1908–9 and 1917 trips across the Zambezi.

The first of these more determined efforts came from the Visser brothers of Koster in the Transvaal from about 1922 to 1926 at least; they gathered around them a varied and fluctuating group, both shadowy and shady, and there was some suspicion in South Africa that in this case it was the Visser brothers who were 'conning' others rather than being 'conned' by Jacobs.[94] The initial forays came in 1922 and are all poorly documented. First a Mr Haverman from the Rand was given permission to search for Kruger's Gold and did so in the lowveld south of the Lundi.[95] We cannot be sure whether this alchemy, of transmuting the treasure into the legendary Kruger's Millions, was a ploy used by Jacobs when South African interest in Lobengula seemed to be flagging or whether it was a decoy of the Vissers' making to deceive the Southern Rhodesian authorities; what we do know is that two years later Haverman was a member of the Visser group that entered Southern Rhodesia near Wankie looking for

[90]*Old Rhodesian Days,* 94–5; see also *The Passing of the Black Kings,* 254–5.

[91]*The Making of Rhodesia,* 333.

[92]*Star* [Johannesburg], 25 Mar. 1922; *Bulawayo Chronicle,* 18 Apr. 1922.

[93]*Bulawayo Chronicle,* 5 Aug. 1922; *Sunday Times* [Johannesburg], 6 Aug. 1922; for de Villiers, see below, fn. 106.

[94]A/3/18/18/8, G. Maasdorp, Attorney, Volkrust, to Colonial Secr., Salisbury, 9 Oct. 1923; Sergeant in Charge, S.A.P., Volkrust, to Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 13 Oct. 1923.

[95]S903, Secr. Dep. Adm. to Adm., [June] 1922, and A/3/28/41, H. J. Nanson for Secr. Dep. Adm., Salisbury, to Haverman, Pretoria, 28 June 1922 (telegr.), and Staff Officer B.S.A.P., Salisbury, to Secr. Dep. Adm., 27 Sept. 1922.

Lobengula's treasure.[96] Meanwhile in 1922 Jacobs seems to have entered Southern Rhodesia illegally without being caught, into the Wankie area with one Steyn, who, like Haverman, was a member of the Visser group of two years later.[97] Lastly – and this is certain – Jacobs also attempted later in 1922 to enter openly with a shooting party, that has not been identified, and he was immediately arrested, charged, found guilty and jailed (effectively for three months, after review).[98] Jacobs had a visa for Angola and his companions did admit under journalists' questioning that the treasure had been mentioned – but only in passing, as they put it.

While he was serving his sentence, a member of an Afrikaner family well known to Lobengula, F. A. Grobler, wrote from Mafeking probably as a front for the Vissers; he asked to be allowed to come up and interview Jacobs in prison prior to searching for the treasure of which a mere one eighth to one quarter would be sufficient as reward. The Administration replied that no contact with or encouragement of Jacobs was allowed and that any treasure was the property of the Crown.[99] At this point Jacobs was released and deported – the last time that the authorities ever had hold of him, although he may have re-entered north-western Southern Rhodesia in the dry season of 1924 with the Visser group and the south-eastern lowveld with another group in the 1930s, as will be seen. The fear of his return was always there, and there was suspicion even as he was deported in 1922 that in fact he would detrain in Bechuanaland to be met by the Visser brothers who were ready for another attempt to the north.[100]

In the event they all disappeared from view but correspondence and surveillance continued through 1923; and so suspicious did they appear that when Sir Charles Coghlan saw their correspondence, only three weeks into his premiership, he immediately ruled that no applications to seek the treasure were to be approved in future.[101] In the following year the Vissers went north with Jacobs along the old Hunters Road[102] and crossed into Southern Rhodesia near Wankie pretending to be hunting.[103] One can only assume that Jacobs had convinced them that the treasure was near the grave. Unlike Monks, Spinner and Susman in 1908–9 they seem not to have been deterred by Jacobs's failure to lead them straight to the treasure but they did chafe under the restrictions of maintaining secrecy because of their illegal entry; and so a firm of Mafeking attorneys unsuccessfully asked for permission yet again later in

[96]S138/199, Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, to Staff Officer, B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 26 June 1924.

[97]S138/10, A Giese, Wankie, to H. J. Taylor, Salisbury, 23 July 1924.

[98]S903, 'Declaration of Passenger or Other person', signed by Jacobs, 3 Aug. 1922; Immigration Officer to Gaoler, Bulawayo, 4 Aug. 1922; Review papers. *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 5 Aug. 1922.

[99]S903 F. A. Grobler, Mafeking, to Adm., 25 Oct. 1922; A/3/18/18/8, Attorney General to Premier, 19 Oct. 1923; Secr. Adm. to Grobler, 7 Nov. 1922. Grobler was the son of Frederik Albertus, the Assistant Commandant-General in the northern Transvaal during the Boer War (whose objective had been to capture Bulawayo) and nephew of Pieter D. C. J. (who in 1887 had negotiated the short-lived treaty between Lobengula and the South African Republic and had briefly been consul in 1888 until his death at the hands of Khama's people); see A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884–1902* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1983), 34–6, 41–3, 59–62, 591, 594–5).

[100]S903, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo to Secr. Dep. Adm., 4 Nov. 1922; Immigration Dep., Bulawayo, to Immigration Dep., Mafeking, 4 Nov. 1922 (telegr.); A/3/18/18/8, Immigration Dep., Bulawayo, to S.A.P., Koster (Transvaal), 4 Nov. 1922.

[101]A/3/18/18/8, G. Maasdorp, Attorney, Volkrust, to Officer in Charge, C.I.D. Bulawayo, 13 Sept. 1923, and to Colonial Secr., 9 Oct. 1923; Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, to District Commandant, S.A.P. Volkrust, 18 Sept. 1923; Coghlan, minute, 22 Oct., on Attorney General, minute, 19 Oct. 1923; S138/10, Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 21 Dec. 1924.

[102]S138/199, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo to Magistrate Bulawayo, 5 Feb. 1924; Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, to Staff Officer, B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 26 June 1924.

[103]S138/10, A. Giese, Wankie, to Chief Native Comm., Salisbury, 23 July 1924.

1924.[104] The syndicate was then expanded to include Rhodesians and they took up the quest for permission, still asking without success two years later.[105] Meanwhile in 1924 – and perhaps connected with them – the well-known Bloemfontein attorney, Rocco de Villiers, wrote to say that he held Jacobs's power of attorney and wanted to come and discuss locating the treasure. This generated more discussion than most applications. For the Chief Native Commissioner suggested that there might be merit in allowing such a responsible person to come with Jacobs – and be seen to have failed to find the treasure, thereby putting an end to the saga once and for all. Coghlan, however, thought that a confidence trickster as devious as Jacobs would always find a way to wriggle out of failure; and so the ban was maintained.[106] Applications continued to be made from South Africa, as will be seen,[107] and some of them were perhaps connected with the Vissers but they themselves fade from view.

The second of the more determined treasure-seekers was Thomas Lloys Ellis, who does not appear in official records at all. He was a successful florist-nurseryman turned hotel-owner in Johannesburg, and his interest in the treasure was also aroused by Jacobs. In his case, however, Jacobs had given a completely different account of the whereabouts of the treasure – namely far south-east of Bulawayo, below Chibi's country (where Haverman had gone in 1922, as has been seen); Jacobs no doubt had concluded that his face and reputation were too well known by now in the west, from Tuli to Livingstone. Thus Ellis mounted searches, disguised as hunting expeditions, in the lowveld between the Limpopo and the Lundi, looking in vain for an induna of Lobengula who knew the treasure site. He was said to have made half a dozen attempts between 1926 and 1930; and when Chilvers in 1930 published his popular book on treasure-hunting, Ellis was, at the age of sixty-five, about to make one last attempt.[108] A later would-be seeker of the treasure was to divulge to the Southern Rhodesian authorities in 1936 that Jacobs had accompanied Ellis on at least two of these expeditions.[109] Certainly it appears that Jacobs had remained fairly close to him; for in 1929–30 Jacobs was living and working at the Orange Grove Hotel, Johannesburg, which was owned by Ellis[110] – one of the many benefits no doubt that came from his story-telling.

The third of the more assiduous seekers of Lobengula's treasure also makes no appearance in official records. Johann G. W. Leipoldt was a man of a completely different character from the rest. He was of a prominent Rhenish missionary family

[104]S457/S55181, Minchen and Kelly, Mafeking, to Secr. Lands, 8 Sept., and reply, Secr. Minister of Agriculture and Lands, 6 Oct. 1924.

[105]S138/199, G. T. Lloyd, Mafeking, to Acting [Chief] Native Comm., Salisbury, 18 May 1926; H. L. Lloyd, Willoughby's Halt, Gwelo, to Chief Native Comm., 23 Sept. 1926.

[106] S138/10, R. de Villiers, Bloemfontein, to Premier, Salisbury, 8 Dec., and reply 23 Dec. 1924; Chief Native Comm. to Secr. Premier, 16 Jan 1925; see also S482/280-39, I, R. de Villiers, Bloemfontein, to Premier, Salisbury, 5 Jan. and 12 Jan. 1925; Secr. Premier to Chief Native Comm., 15 Jan. 1925 (I am grateful to Jocelyn Alexander for drawing my attention to the latter file).

[107]See below, fns 115, 116.

[108]H. A. Chilvers, *The Seven Lost Trails of Africa* (London, Cassell, 1930), 108–16; *Star* [Johannesburg], 29 June 1930; *Cape Times,* 30 June 1930. See also the obituary in *South Africa* (22 Nov. 1941), 340; Ellis never found anything according to L. G. Green, *Something Rich and Strange* (Cape Town, H. Timmins, 1962), 167.

[109]S246/48, Mrs Vera Bevan, Liverpool, to High Comm., London, 25 May, encl. in Official Secr. High Comm., London, to Secr. Dep. Internal Affairs, Salisbury, 10 June 1936.

[110]Green, *Something Rich and Strange*, 169; Ellis's obituary in *South Africa* (22 Nov. 1941), 340; Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 59.

and brother to Dr C. F. Louis Leipoldt, the famous physician, and journalist and poet in both English and Afrikaans. A land surveyor by training he had joined the South African Republic artillery as a young man and later became chief intelligence officer in the South African Department of Defence. He accompanied Botha in the successful campaign against the Germans in South-West Africa in 1915. When going through the files of the German administration in Windhoek he found one entitled 'Nachlass von Lobengula' which indicated that a German syndicate with some official backing either had mounted or had been about to mount a search for Lobengula's treasure from the Caprivi Strip into the Rhodesias. Leipoldt kept the file, and intrigued by a letter in it addressed to one of Lobengula's sons he started to ask about the history of the last days of Lobengula and the Ndebele state. By coincidence a brother officer in Windhoek in 1915 was Colonel J. H. Venning who had been an official in Northern Rhodesia and had questioned Jacobs when his 1908–9 visit there had collapsed in acrimony and violence.[111] Also, no doubt, Leipoldt's imagination was fired by the idea of treasure-hunting after his successful participation in finding the cache of diamonds that Dr Theodor Seitz, the German Governor, had commandeered from the diamond companies and hidden to avoid their seizure – no yarn this, but it brought Leipoldt as little luck as his subsequent treasure-hunting, for he was still petitioning Parliament unsuccessfully for a reward over twenty years later.[112]

Back in Pretoria Leipoldt made contact with Jacobs who ingratiated himself by claiming to have been educated by Leipoldt's maternal grandfather, the Revd Louis F. Esselen. Once again Jacobs was able to weave his almost magical web of golden threads and the intelligence officer, of all people, was enmeshed; and once again Jacobs had his second source of income in the form of £5 a month that Leipoldt paid him to come to Pretoria for an hour's chat every week.[113] In 1920 Leipoldt bought a Model T Ford in which he was the first to drive all the way from South Africa into Angola where he thought the treasure was; and a trip to Southern Rhodesia a year later, that does not appear in official records, convinced him that this was so. So began a series of arduous and surreptitious visits into south-eastern Angola where, Leipoldt and the Germans before him believed, Lobengula intended to refound his state. Accounts vary as to when exactly and how many expeditions were mounted but Leipoldt resigned his commission and returned to his profession of surveyor, the better to devote himself to the search. His expeditions continued until 1934, ruining his fortune and his health in the process. He believed that he had found the site – of which a photograph was published later by Van Zyl – but he could not crack the code of clues and markers to the exact hiding place.

In the end Leipoldt gave up, mainly from exhaustion, physical, mental and financial,

[111]Green, *Something Rich and Strange*, 167–8; Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked*, 60; and see generally, 'Major Lightwood' and O. Letcher, 'Lobengula's treasure'; *Africa* (1936–7), III, iii, 9; Van Zyl, 'Die skat van Lobengula—III', 11–13; D. Lytton, 'The treasure of Lobengula', *Illustrated London News* (Christmas 1972), 9–10. 'Major Lightwood' was in fact Leipoldt and this account is somewhat dramatized. D. Lytton, the novelist —probably best known for *Goddam White Man* (London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1960)—is Leipoldt's son, who has been helpful in my inquiries; his account of 1972 is more factual than that of 'Lightwood' and Letcher but his father's papers on the subject are by no means complete.

[112]South Africa, Parliament, House of Assembly, *Report of the Select Committee on the Petition of E. J. E. Lange (and Petition of J. G. W. Leipoldt and Two Others)* (S. C. 9 of 1938); Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked*, 174–81; Green, *Something Rich and Strange*, 151–60.

[113]D. Lytton to author, 15 May 1984.

but also in part, it was said, through fear of litigation from De Beers, the Portuguese authorities and even the London Missionary Society on behalf of the Ndebele.[114] His pseudonymous collaboration with Letcher for the article published in early 1937, his interview with Howell five months later, and the information and photographs that he gave to Van Zyl for his articles in 1941 (all mentioned earlier in footnotes) in effect mark his admission of the end of a dream; but the fever for treasure is never extinguished entirely, and so the dénouement of his 1937 article (in which the treasure was found but lost again when the aeroplane carrying it away crashed into the sea) was pure fiction to deter others because Leipoldt still could not quite give up hope of success and even planned one more try.

However, the treasure-hunting was nearing its end. As long as Jacobs could weave his magic in South Africa hopeful treasure hunters had continued to apply into the 1930s and perhaps came in without permission, as did a pair from Durban, J. Rodney and J. D. Hughes, who went up the Zambezi in 1928 and another group which came into the Matopos in 1930.[115] And occasionally the alchemy of Kruger's Millions was again utilized, as in 1930, but now openly associated with Jacobs – proof that Lobengula's treasure was losing its appeal.[116] Jacobs himself fades from the picture at about this time. He had long been an ordained minister in Brander's church (indeed the photograph of him taken by the police in Bulawayo in 1917 shows him incongruously dressed for a treasure hunt in a 'dog-collar'[117]), and one can only assume that as time passed the old man found that promising treasure in heaven to Blacks was in fact as profitable and certainly less arduous than promoting, and participating in, treasure hunts in the bush by Whites. Be that as it may, he appears to have been destitute for the last four years of his life – Ellis presumably finally saw through him and kicked him out of the Orange Grove Hotel – and he died in the Bantu Refuge in Germiston

[114]N. Howell, 'In search of the Lobengula millions', *Cape Times,* 3 July 1937'; Van Zyl, 'Die skat van Lobengula—III', 11, 13; 'Major J. G. W. Leipoldt [obituary]', *South Africa* (24 Mar. 1945), 187; D. Lytton to author, 15 May 1984.

[115]This former cinema-manager and a journalist, respectively, went on into Barotseland searching for unspecified treasure; see Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 94–5. Another seeker E. L. Lezard (mistakenly referred to as Nizzard in Findlay, 'Lobengula's grave', 32) came up from Johannesburg and was refused permission; see S138/99, Priv. Secr. Premier to Lezard, Salisbury, 21 Aug. 1929; but it appears that he nevertheless did make some sort of a search and waste a lot of money, then or later—he 'left here a wiser and poorer man', S482/803-39, Chief Native Comm., minute, 5 Mar. 1945. For other applicants see S482/803-39, G. F. Van Tonder, Johannesburg, to Premier, 8 Oct. 1929; and F. S. Van Manen, Springs, to Prime Minister [sic], 30 June 1930; S457/S55181, T. M. Maskew, Belfast, Transvaal, to Minister of Lands, 31 Mar., and reply 15 Apr. 1930. For the police alert around the Matopos in 1930, see S903, mss notes, unsigned,.

[116]S138/99, S. W. de Kock, Brakpan, to Resident Magistrate Bulawayo, n.d. [Oct. 1929]; this hopeful is mistakenly referred to as Kok in Findlay, 'Lobengula's grave', 32. The idea of Kruger's Millions as a great cache of gold hidden at the end of the Anglo-Boer War is almost certainly as illusory as Lobengula's treasure, but there probably were several small wartime caches, for there have been finds over the years (see, for example, D. W. Kruger, *Die Krugermiljoene* (Johannesburg, Perskor, 1979); C. L. P. Kruger, *Krugermiljoene en Ander Skatte in Suid-Afrika* (Rustenburg, privately, 1999); Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 72–81, 124–63), and recently, after the unearthing of a statue of Kruger near Ermelo, it emerged that locals had been digging up gold coin and quietly selling them for years; see *Citizen* [Johannesburg], 8 June 2001; *Daily Telegraph* [London], 9 June 2001.

[117]S903, police photograph, 1917; this was reproduced in Storry, 'John Jacobs', 39. There is no doubt that he was ordained, for he appears in a group photograph of ministers (as priest in charge at Germiston) at their episcopal congress in Pretoria in 1918; see E. Fonoti-Daniel (ed.), *The Constitutions and Canons of The Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion* (Bloemfontein, [The Church, 1919]).

in 1937, aged 105 according to an obituary.[118] This occasioned yet another article on the treasure based on an interview with Major Leipoldt in which he said that he was contemplating one more try, but whether he did so is not known.[119] There appears to have been at least one surviving son of Jacobs who with a brother had been taken on both the 1908–9 and the 1917 expeditions to Livingstone, in order that the secret location could be pointed out to them – so Jacobs had said – but nothing was heard of him after 1941.[120]

The lure of the treasure, however, did not die completely, perhaps because of the continuing popularity of Chilvers's book. In 1936 a descendant of a Pioneer family living in Britain hoped to find the treasure to start a fund to 'save Ethiopia and uplift Africa'; she had been in touch with Ellis and with Jacobs whom she wanted to take with her to Barotseland where the treasure was – again: with Leipoldt in Angola and Ellis in the lowveld Jacobs obviously had to take care not to have two people searching in the same area at the same time! The reply, of course, in view of Jacobs's proposed involvement, was that the government could not countenance such an expedition.[121] And as late as 1944 the Vicomte de Parcevaux who lived in Buenos Aires asked for aerial photographs to pinpoint the exact hiding place of the treasure near the confluence of the Tokwe and the Lundi, the rough position of which he had determined by 'radiestesie'; as he claimed to have used the same method to locate oil deposits in Britain, the government viewed him as a crank, along with Mrs Bevan, and so dismissed the whole idea as 'myth and mere wishful thinking'.[122]

Meanwhile in 1943 the grave had come into the news again, after an absence of over twenty years, and this time it was official and more detailed than ever before. The upshot was the decision to have the grave declared a National Monument (No. 48) and as part of this process the relevant papers were lodged with the Historical Monuments Commission in Bulawayo. C. K. Cooke in his capacity as Director visited the grave in 1967 and made a thorough inspection of it and its contents; and he then published in *Rhodesiana* in 1970 a very detailed, but rather rambling, report not only of his findings but also of the papers and events of 1943, which has been cited many times in footnotes above.[123] For this reason, then, only the briefest summary is now required to complete the story, although some points are elaborated because Cooke did not realize their significance for the fuller picture that I have tried to paint.

[118]*South Africa* (31 July 1937), 152; Green, *Something Rich and Strange*, 167. Not in the late 1920s as claimed in Storry, 'John Jacobs', 40, and *The Shattered Nation,* 150; nor 1935 as in Van Zyl, 'Die skat van Lobengula—II', 51. According to Jacobs's own evidence he was born in 1842, S903, John James Andrew Jacobs, [Declaration] before Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 30 Aug. 1917; that would make him only 95.

[119]Howell, 'In search of the Lobengula millions', *Cape Times,* 3 July 1937.

[120]Van Zyl, 'Die skat van Lobengula II: Vergeefse soektogte . . .', 51. The brother was said to have died on the 1917 expedition which, however, is conflated with that of 1908–9, and both were alive and well when they were deported with their father in 1909 and in 1917; see S903, 'Extract from Record of Undesirables Deported Book', 26 Jan. 1909; B.S.A.P. Docket Form of Case, 4/238/1917, Case 309 of 1917.

[121]S246/48, Official Secr. to High Comm., London, to Secr. Dep. Internal Affairs, Salisbury, 10 June 1936, encl. Mrs Vera Bevan, Liverpool, to High Comm., London, 25 May, and reply by Official Secr. High Comm., London, 28 May 1936; Mrs Vera Bevan, Liverpool, to High Comm., London, 5 June, and reply, 10 June 1936.

[122]S482/803-39, P. de Parcevaux, Buenos Aires, to Chargé d'Affaires, British Embassy, Buenos Aires, 30 Oct. 1944, encl. in Dominion Office, London, to Officer Administering the Government, Salisbury, 17 Jan. 1945; Acting Secr. Native Affairs to Secr. Prime Minister (Native Affairs), 1 Mar. 1945; Prime Minister to Governor, 5 Mar. 1945.

[123]Southern Rhodesia, *Government Gazette,* Government Notice 547 of 12 Nov. 1943. Cooke, 'Lobengula', 10.

Shoko Nkosanzana was well known as an *uMtaka Mlimu* (Child of God); born at Matojeni, one of the cult centres in the Matopos, she almost certainly belonged to one of the Venda priestly families there (*shoko=ncube,* the *sibongo* of most of the families). But her involvement with the grave was for purposes mercenary rather than religious. She had long lived at Nyamande's village and clearly had been impressed with his wealth and with rumours that it came from the grave, although she tried to play this down in her testimony. In about 1939–41 while on a tour through Pashu's country blessing grain, so she said, she had learned by chance the whereabouts of the cave-burial from Gundwani, the son of the late Nsibazanungu, a Tonga village headman who claimed to have been at the burial and had always maintained close contact with Nyamande. The Native Commissioner Bulawayo, A. J. Huxtable, who carried out the official enquiry and went to the site to prevent spoliation, disbelieved most of Shoko's explanation of events because of inconsistencies; and he may have had doubts anyway whether it would have been normal for an *uMtaka Mlimu* from the Matopos, now living in the Fort Victoria district, to have been active in 1939–41, so far north, beyond the Makugusi Ridge at the north-western edge of the Mlimo domain.[124]

And her explanation of her return and spoliation of the grave in 1943 was even less satisfactory, but the inference from the testimonies of those involved, which the Native Affairs Department recorded and Cooke printed in full, is as follows. By chance or design, she had aroused the interest of a H. Wessells, a prospector based at Lonely Mine, in alleged treasure in the cave, for Solomon's Mine was mentioned several times in the statements. Wessells facilitated her journey there and then quarrelled with her after the cave revealed nothing of value; then Shoko hurriedly wrote to the Native Affairs Department asking for a reward.[125] Also the one official document available that Cooke did not consult said two weeks before her journey to the grave that one of the Greenspans was involved in what was proving to be a money-making racket by Shoko.[126] A popular secondary source, on the other hand, with no authority cited, puts the matter differently – and more bluntly – by claiming that Shoko was bribed by a European to reveal the location in hope of treasure.[127] Whichever is nearer the truth, the spirit of Jacobs was still at work.

There was no treasure, of course, – just a rifle and gun parts, a couple of skeletal remains which were assumed to be of Lobengula, and a few bits and pieces of his personal possessions, largely as the interlopers of 1912–15 had described it, except for the absence now of the skull; and with the concurrence of leading Khumalos these were put back in the cave which was then protected and visited from time to time by Monuments Commission's inspectors. There appears to be no government file on the subject after this but an unprocessed departmental file on Mzilikazi's grave does mention

[124]On the other hand Pashu's country was something of a spiritual frontier area; between various Tonga local rain-makers to the north, Nevana to the east and Mlimo to the south. Also she was known to have spread the influence of the Mlimo cult northward from Inyati towards Nkai and Lupane, J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T. O. Ranger, *Violence & Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland* (Oxford, James Currey, 2000), 62–3.

[125]Cooke, 'Lobengula', 14, 19–40.

[126]S903, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo, 'For Information of the Inspector General: Report: Lobengula's Grave and Treasure', entry for 17 Sept. 1943. The reward from the government that she envisaged was a two-storey house and seven bottles of whiskey!

[127]L. Kondor, 'What happened to Lobengula's buried treasure?', *Africa Calls* (May–June 1987), 31.

rumours emanating from Kamativi Mine in 1960 that some hunters had found and taken silverware from Lobengula's treasure.[128] Silverware had not been seen in the grave in 1943, but had featured in Lanning's original description and in the second of Giese's descriptions, concerning Briers in 1914. Cooke also heard these rumours but neither he nor the police could get to the bottom of them. This raises the question of whether there was another grave – the real one? – or was it that loot from Briers or even Giese himself had come back into circulation somehow. On the other hand inspection of the grave indicated that it had been entered again and perhaps the silverware had simply been overlooked in 1943.

Whatever the answer might be the rough stone walling in the entrance was rebuilt but not cemented.[129] According to the District Commissioner Binga, writing a few years later, there was then another request to search for the treasure in 1966;[130] and this appears to have sparked visits to the grave by officials of Internal Affairs in 1967.[131] On one of these visits the late Dr Oliver Ransford, the Bulawayo anaesthetist and author of numerous works on local history, was taken along; and he removed the tibia lying in the cave, which had been mentioned in 1943, and took it to London for determination of the age at death of its owner. The results showed that it belonged to someone not older than twenty years.[132] Cooke also made inspections at this time and a thorough examination was then made. Most of the identifiable items were removed and kept for cleaning, photographic recording and research, the full details of which are given in his article of 1970. The skeletal remains and unidentifiable items were left in, or put back into, the grave and the wall to the entrance to the cave was rebuilt.[133]

Until more documentary evidence become available the story of grave and treasure must rest there, although treasure hunts may still have gone on, as snippets of information from published sources indicate. For example, in 1949 the son of Johannes Bergman (who had accompanied Leipoldt in his expedition of 1930) was said to have decided on a new attempt but whether he did is not known.[134] Ten years later the British novelist and biographer, Margaret Lane (the later Countess of Huntingdon), and her husband certainly did mount a search, disguised as a safari, in the Mount Selinda area, which she made the subject of her next book, *A Calabash of Diamonds.*[135] An early prospector in the Eastern Districts, later retired to a Pacific island, had given her husband a map and the details of his own unsuccessful search in about 1910 after obtaining information from a Zulu woman looking for her lost relatives; the treasure on this occasion, however, was buried with Mzila (the ruler of the Gaza state who died in 1884, son of Soshangane, and father of Gungunyane), but otherwise was uncannily similar to Lobengula's – gold, ivory, and diamonds brought back from Kimberley by

[128]National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, Record Centre, 21.18.10e, Box 100823, X41 (Mzilikenzi's Grove [sic], July 1935 – Oct. 1966), Native Comm. Binga to Provincial Native Comm., Bulawayo, 21 Oct. 1960.

[129]Cooke, 'Lobengula', 40.

[130]Findlay, 'Lobengula's grave', 32.

[131]Ibid., 31; Cooke, 'Lobengula', 40.

[132]I was supervisor of Ransford's doctoral thesis on Livingstone in the years 1975–7 and he told me this story on one of my many visits to him in Bulawayo.

[133]Cooke, 'Lobengula', 41. I have not yet been able to confirm the fate of the items Cooke described.

[134]Rosenthal, *The Hinges Creaked,* 62.

[135]*A Calabash of Diamonds: An African Treasure Hunt* (London, Heinemann, 1961).

'Shangaans'. It seems that if Jacobs had not existed, Whites would have invented someone very similar.

Thus it is not surprising that interest in the treasure by the reading public has remained lively; Chilvers's book was followed by Rosenthal's in 1951 and by the one of Green's many adventure stories in 1962, all of which have been referred to in footnotes. Journalists continue to mine such easy sources, often introducing new mistakes or exaggerations, for popular articles that have continued to appear fairly regularly in the press in Zimbabwe; and it is notable that latterly African journalists find the subject as irresistible as their European predecessors did,[136] just as the government of Zimbabwe enthusiastically facilitated the filming of the trashy 1985 remake of *King Solomon's Mines*.

Whether all these books and articles have inspired clandestine treasure hunts by residents of the Rhodesias is not clear, for it is remarkable that almost everyone that figures in the records was from South Africa – mainly Afrikaners or Jews – or even farther afield. There must surely have been some, such as Willson or McLagen of Bulawayo, for example, who went out and tried their hand on their own, as we know outsiders such as Rodney and Hughes, Ellis, Leipoldt and Lane had done without entering the official record; certainly whenever I have given talks on the subject someone in the audience has admitted to visiting the cave and/or knowing somebody who had a theory where the treasure was hidden and had acted upon it.

What significance – if any, other than greed – the treasure had for White Rhodesia is also not very clear. I can think of only one novel that specifically deals with treasure of an Ndebele king, Bertram Mitford's *The Triumph of Hilary Blachland;* but published in 1901 its subject is Mzilikazi's grave at Entumbane, well known from the spoliation in 1896, not Lobengula's which was not yet known. Treasure in Rhodesian novels is linked more to the theme of the Lost City, which goes back to Great Zimbabwe and exotic origins – a theme that still has resonance for Whites in southern Africa, as can be seen in the Lost City at Sun City,[137] which, fittingly, was the first casino in South Africa. Thus Wessells and others in 1943 referred to the grave as Solomon's Mines,[138] but it is possible that this was an advance excuse to ward off any charge of desecration rather than an evocation of White mythology (just as Haverman referred to Kruger's Millions as a cover for Jacobs's involvement in yet another quest for Lobengula's treasure).

Treasure specifically as treasure seems to be the focus of attention only in the early period, when Rhodesia was still to be won (the Rider Haggard era), and in the later years when nationalism and insurgency threatened that it might be lost again (the Wilbur Smith era). For the quieter years between we have to look deeper, for the search for

[136]See for example, Hind, 'Does Lobengula's treasure exist?', 55–7; anon., 'Who wants to be a millionaire?', *Illustrated Life Rhodesia* (18 July 1968), 16–17; 'The secret of Lobengula's grave was closely kept', *Sunday Mail* [Harare], 17 Nov. 1985; Kondor, 'What happened to Lobengula's buried treasure?', 27–31; D. Masunda, 'Where is Lobengula's lost millions?', *Sunday Times* [Harare], 7 Nov. 1993; D. Bonde and D. Khumalo, 'King Lobengula's "lost treasure"', *Moto* (Nov. 1995), 5–6, 16.

[137]M. Hall, 'The legend of the Lost City: Or, the Man with Golden Balls', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (1995), XXI, 179–99.

[138]Cooke, 'Lobengula', 27.

treasure is subsumed into the basic quest myth that lies at the heart not only of all myths and all literary genres but also of colonial settlement itself. Thus, according to Anthony Chennells, the essence of the Rhodesian experience as seen in its novels is a search – indeed the titles of all but the last of the chapters of his study begin with the words 'The search for'; and the basic desideratum underlying much of what he describes, seen in novels of the leading Rhodesian writers – from Cynthia Stockley, Gertrude Page, Jane England and Sheila Macdonald through to the early Doris Lessing – is wealth, a wealth that has to be wrung from a hostile and alien land.[139]

The locus of this quest is, of course, in raising crops rather than digging for precious metals – both as historical fact and in the novels (indeed it is notable how few mining novels there were, just as it is strange that the treasure-seekers pretended to be hunters rather than prospectors – or did the prospectors having perfect cover avoid official eyes all together?). But discovery and extraction of wealth is still what was involved, the essence of the colonial project. The sought-for riches soon appeared to be at hand in Rhodesian agriculture, and first cattle, then cotton and then tobacco boomed; but one by one they collapsed, even before the Great Depression also brought maize tumbling down. Thereafter a small core of better capitalized farmers did slowly find prosperity from the land – in maize, cattle and after the Second World War in tobacco, affectionately, but significantly, known as the 'Leaf of Gold'.[140] But the greater majority of farmers, two thirds of the total number and often little more than smallholders, struggled in the continuing search for wealth. For them it was always the gambler's hope that 'next year will be better';[141] but, with the development of pest and disease control, better seed and fertilizer, and irrigation, this mantra became more an apology for failure than an expectation of success. The only thing that did keep them going was the quest for the wondrous new crop that would finally bring the bonanza – whether pyrethrum in the 1960s–1970s, Kiwi Fruit, grenadilla and roses of the 1980s, protea and paprika of the 1990s: a virtual gambling for wealth from the land, the colonial project in decline, that has now regressed into a pre-colonial struggle for mere subsistence.

Equally in mining, the other mainstay of the Rhodesian economy, the precariousness of it all is striking; for it was essentially a smallworker form of mining, as unique as it was risky. Rhodesia was never a Second Rand where highly capitalized mines worked a geologically predictable ore-body in a scientific and business-like manner. It was a country where seams pinched out and gold was 'freakish in occurrence and unpredictable in distribution', of interest only to the prospector-smallworker, those 'great hustlers working for themselves' in hope of the lucky strike. And many of the bigger mines that did exist – they accounted for less than half the gold produced – such as the Cam and Motor, came from lucky finds by prospectors who then sold out to those with access to development capital.[142] It remained very much a form of treasure-

[139]A. J. Chennells, 'Settler Myths and the Southern Rhodesian Novel' (Harare, University of Zimbabwe, D.Phil. thesis, 1982), xiii, xx–xxi, 46–9, 193–8, 229, 242–50.

[140]F. Clements and E. Harben, *Leaf of Gold: The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco* (London, Methuen, 1962).

[141]H. Richards, *Next Year Will Be Better* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1952).

[142]I. R. Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890–1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle* (London, Longman, 1988), 46–8, 57, 104 (quotations at 46, 47).

hunting, the imperial romance with diminishing returns, that is today regressing to pre-colonial gold-panning.

Thus the hunt for treasure can be said to underlie both the colonial development and the imperial romance but at the level of myth or sublimation, which, for some readers, may seem to have led us rather afar from Lobengula's treasure, which was elusive enough in itself. The significance of Lobengula's grave for Whites also, it is feared, is difficult to define; but it is perhaps more interesting.

No doubt the first consideration in giving the grave protection as a National Monument in 1943 was to prevent desecration and avoid upsetting the Ndebele, particularly the Khumalos; but it also reflected a new emphasis on domesticating an alien environment. This required an effort by Whites to conserve history and the landscape in which it was embedded – witness the establishment of the National Archives and the Historical Monuments Commission (in 1935 and 1936) and of the Natural Resources Board, the National Parks Advisory Board and the Mining Timber Permit Board under the Forest Act (in 1941 and 1949 *bis*).

But domestication involves control just as conservation involves appropriation, obviously in the case of land, but equally also of history. Until 1936 the government had resisted attempts to erect a memorial to such a 'barbarian' as Mzilikazi, as part of the Native Affairs Department's policy of opposing any form of recognition of the Khumalos,[143] but within six years the Mzilikazi Memorial had been erected near Fort Usher and the Entumbane burial site declared a National Monument. A contested terrain was thus being impropriated. So also, at some time unspecified, according to Ndebele oral testimony, the Native Commissioner at Inyati would order the cleaning up of the area along the Pupu, where the Wilson Patrol was annihilated; he would then make a ritual visit of the battlefield before proceeding north to Lobengula's grave.[144] The last victory of Ndebele arms and its leader were thus being incorporated.

Then under the very different circumstances of an insurgency came a disjuncture in this narrative of co-option. Just as ZIPRA incursions were beginning in the Wankie area came the flurry of renewed official interest in the grave in 1967, already mentioned, when first the District Commissioner with Dr Ransford and then an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs together with Cooke made their visits. This was when Ransford removed the tibia, in circumstances that seem suspicious; for he could never give me a straightforward answer to the question whether this had been done with official approval, and whither the fate of the bone. Nor could he or Cooke explain a contradiction in Cooke's 1970 article on the contents of the grave in 1967: the article lists only a femur and a clavicle as the human remains found, which were left in the cave (p. 41), but later the text refers to an examination and measurement of a tibia (p. 51). So where was the tibia and when; who had it and why?[145] Had long-standing doubts about the burial in the Native Affairs Department, dating back to Posselt at

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

[144]Quoted in Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, *Violence & Memory,* 107–8, 259.

[145]Dr Ransford, knowingly or not, was used by officials for covert activity on another occasion; he once made a journey retracing Livingstone's steps from Kuruman to the Zambezi, to the west of the Rhodesian border, and the more he told me about it and the more he showed me photographs of his companions, the clearer it became that the journey had also been a 'busman's holiday' for Rhodesian military intelligence.

Wankie at the time of the first spoliations,[146] been resurrected as an early exercise of Internal Affairs' pre-occupation with the possible spiritual dimension of guerrilla war: an attempt to find evidence to discredit if necessary any elevation of Lobengula's grave to shrine status? As will be seen, a development in that direction did occur in the 1970s; and Internal Affairs the better to counter such developments produced a manual for each province describing all spiritual figures and places. Unfortunately I have never seen the one for Matabeleland, which might show how seriously Lobengula's grave was viewed during the war.[147] Otherwise the grave's remoteness (both in geographical location and, increasingly, in White experience) has diminished whatever significance it may have had for Whites; once the narrative of co-option faltered, with the rise of African nationalism, to be fatally ruptured by the war that followed, Whites have joined their cousins of the First World and become tourists in their own home, visiting accessible game lodges for the 'African experience' in a landscape that they failed to domesticate: the past is another country (except, of course, for the distinguished readership of *Heritage!*).

The significance of the grave to the Ndebele, however, seems nearly as elusive. We have seen how the spoliations of the grave between 1912 and 1915 did not provoke any reaction whatever, even from Lozigeyi; and the interest in the grave in 1943, which was said to have been considerable,[148] arose fortuitously because of Shoko and her mercenary motives that derived from Nyamande and his wealth. Although Nyamande may have had contact with the Mlimo cult,[149] perhaps through Shoko, and although Shoko may have cultivated wider contacts with the royal family, there is no evidence that her visits to Lobengula's grave in 1939–43 marked an attempt to link the Matopos shrines with his grave – a link that may already have developed for Entumbane, which Nkomo was publicly affirming by the early 1960s.[150]

This indeed is the comparison that has to be made, for it was the long-known grave of Mzilikazi that became the focus of Ndebele attention just at the very time that Lobengula's secret grave was at last made known. A mere seven months after the declaration of Lobengula's grave as a National Monument Nguboyenja, Lobengula's son, was buried at Entumbane; and eighteen months later the Matabeland Home Society made its great pilgrimage there. This discrepancy in interest is part of that turning away from Lobengula and his descendants, from the late 1950s, in favour of the wider and more inclusive attraction of the founder figure, which I have described elsewhere,

[146]Posselt published his doubts only after he had retired and left the country; see, *Upengula* (Bulawayo, Rhodesian Printing & Publishing, 1945), 113; and Society of Malawi Library, Blantyre, Rangeley Papers, F. W. T. Posselt, Mbabane, to W. H. J. Rangeley, Mzimba, 29 June 1949: 'I never believed that he [Lobengula] died in S. Rhodesia & was buried there. Such [a] story satisfied the B.S.A.Co. & has readily been accepted in various circles.' However, as we have seen, his influence, or masterly inactivity, may have contributed to the Department's surprising lack of action to protect the grave from 1912 to 1915.

[147]For guerrillas visiting the grave, see below, fn. 157. For Internal Affairs and the spiritual dimension of counter-insurgency, see the compendium it compiled in several volumes covering most of the country: S3276, 'Notes on the Mediums, Spirits, Healers, Church Leaders and Cult Places'.

[148]S903, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo, 'For Information of the Inspector General: Report: Lobengula's Grave and Treasure', entry for 20 Oct. 1943.

[149]T. O. Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture & History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe* (Oxford, James Currey, 1999), 223.

[150]Ibid., 221. Dabengwa Khumalo in 1968 remembered her dancing at the Queens' Kraal, S3274, 'Mlimo Cult', [26].

and which has recently divided even the Khumalos themselves;[151] although the cynical might add that for the (re)invention of traditional sites the existence nearby of a tarmac road is necessary to get dignitaries and politicians home in time for dinner. Also, of course, it may be that the Ndebele, or at least the Khumalos, knew what Posselt had always suspected – that the grave was not the real one but either a decoy for the actual grave nearby, or a cover for a much later burial in Zambia. But there was another possibility that an anonymous Ndebele informant had presented to Cooke as fact just before he published his article in 1970, namely that as with Mzilikazi the corpse of Lobengula had a temporary resting place until some time after decomposition when the skeletal remains were removed to Entumbane[152] – thus leaving the temporary Mlindi grave with a few of his unimportant possessions and the remains of a young slave (Ransford's tibia) as a decoy. This possibility has the attraction of squaring the circle. It explains how Nyamande would later have dared to rifle the Mlindi burial (aptly all he took was one or two rifles, which other Khumalos inherited on his death,[153] not the earlier rifles and ammunition distributed for the Rising which as has been seen must have been kept farther south); and it may also help explain why he did not bother to keep it a secret from Shoko. Furthermore it makes perfectly natural the burial at Entumbane of Lobengula's sons, of Nguboyenja in 1944 followed by that of Sidojiwe in 1960.[154]

If this was so, however, it would appear to have been known only to the Khumalos, for there later developed a wider concern that the situation in Matabeleland would never be right until Lobengula's remains were brought to Entumbane (reburial back 'home' has become a popular form of closure to the colonial experience that seemed appropriate to the London representative of ZAPU in 1980 even for the remains of the hitherto unknown Prince Lobengula buried in Salford[155]). However both the 'nationalist' Sitwanyana of the Njelele shrine and ZIPRA combatants seem to have assumed that this transhumation of Lobengula himself was to be from a grave in Zambia,[156] not Mlindi. On the other hand it is also said that guerrillas regularly visited the grave at Mlindi, as well as the Pupu battlefield, for the performance of ceremonies to gain ancestral spirit support.[157] As the centenary of the battle on the Pupu and Lobengula's death (or disappearance) approached there was a move by local people to have a memorial to Lobengula's warriors to commemorate the continuity of resistance. In the

[151] 'The End of the Ndebele Royal Family' (Harare, University of Zimbabwe, History Dep. Seminar Paper, 1988), 7. See the example of its coming into the open in 1998 over different candidates for the guardianship of Njelele, Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks,* 290.

[152] Cooke, 'Lobengula', 51.

[153] S903, Supt C.I.D. Bulawayo, 'For Information of the Inspector General: Report: Lobengula's Grave and Treasure', entry for 17 Sept. 1943.

[154] For Nguboyenja's funeral, see R. S. Roberts, 'Nguboyenja Lobengula' (Harare, University of Zimbabwe, History Dep. Seminar Paper, 1984), 39; for Sidojiwa's burial, see R. S. Roberts, 'Some relatives of Lobengula and close associates of the Khumalo family', *Heritage* (1986), VI, 29.

[155] My indicating that he was an imposter seems to have put an end to that idea; see 'Peter Lobengula—A prince or an imposter?', *Herald* [Salisbury], 19 Apr. 1980. This is discussed in more detail along with such re-burials, of Sarah Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus', and Ishi, the 'Last Wild Indian in North America', in my *Prince Peter Lobengula, Frank Fillis and Imre Kiralfy: Imposters and Impressarios in the Early History of Modern Mass Entertainment in Britain* (Harare, Quest Publ., 2003).

[156] Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks,* 222.

[157] Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, *Violence & Memory,* 259.

event Heroes Day in 1992 was marked at Pupu by a special celebration organized by ex-ZIPRA combatants with the intention of building a shrine to ZIPRA on the battlefield site.[158] This was not achieved as local elders and spiritual leaders insisted that the shrine had to wait on proper ceremonies for the dead of 1893 and an *umbuyiso* ceremony for the return of Lobengula's spirit. Nothing was then done until 1998 when an official monument to The Unknown Soldier was unveiled by the Provincial Governor near Lupane administrative centre. This appears to have been considered inappropriate by the people generally and ex-combatants in particular, for whom the battlefield at Pupu and the grave had more resonance.[159] Whilst in the past the Europeans had tended to appropriate and co-opt history, their memorial to Mzilikazi was specific and generous – a sort of atonement for the events of the 1890s; now a distant government was disrupting history, with a memorial that was both vague and begrudging – an attempted occlusion of the events of the 1980s.

Where all this leaves the grave at Mlindi is not clear. Had contradictory versions about Lobengula's burial played a part in the Pupu débâcle, if only by delaying or complicating an *umbuyiso* ceremony, or was it just too remote a location? Both factors could be seen at work, perhaps, in the new focusing of interest in 1992 on the *mtswiri* tree near the Pupu battlefield, reputed to have been Lobengula's command post and 'last resting place' before he disappeared. What evidence there is for this is not clear, for Lobengula left before the battle, which indeed was why it was fought: a rearguard action to give the king time to escape. But at least the tree is there and accessible, and has something of reputation as a shrine with ex-combatants, which the Mlindi grave appears not to have maintained, and perhaps never will until the Khumalos give up their grip on the knowledge of the grave(s) and burial. Significantly the Khumalos did not respond to the extensive newspaper debate as the centenary approached in 1993 concerning Lobengula's end – now said more definitely than ever before to have been among Mpezeni's people near Fort Jameson (Chipata), and not at Mlindi.[160]

What significance the treasure had for the Ndebele is even less clear; judging by the absence of recorded evidence the answer is probably none at all. Indeed George Kahari tells me that buried treasure does not occur at all in African folklore, not even the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow that figures so widely in the lore of pre-industrial Europe. No doubt, as Hole had surmised, the only people who knew where the sovereigns were and had access, Nyamande and Lozigeyi, would have quietly retrieved them and quickly spent them[161] – by 1906, probably, for by then the two

[158]Ibid., 260–1.

[159]Ibid., 261–2. For a wider discussion of some of these issues, see N. J. Kriger, 'The politics of creating National heroes: The search for political legitimacy and national identity', and J. Brickhill, 'Making peace with the past: War victims and the work of the Mafela Trust', in N. Bhebe and T. O. Ranger (eds), *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publs, 1995), 139–62, 188–96; 163–73, 196–98.

[160]*Sunday Times* [Harare], 24 [31] Oct. 1993; *Sunday News* [Bulawayo], 14 and 28 Nov. 1993.

[161]For their earlier spending, see above, fns 12, 15–17. Nyamande seems to have spent most on cattle, horses, waggons and guns, testimony of Shoko in Cooke, 'Lobengula', 19. How much the Administration really knew of their wealth is not clear. But the Africans who dug up the cache of Kruger gold coins near Ermelo appear to have been selling them for cash for several years without attracting official attention at all; see above, fn. 116.

erstwhile allies (accomplices?) had quarrelled, so irrevocably that Lozigeyi vowed that nothing of her estate (over £2 000 in cash in the event) would go to Nyamande.[162] From 1915 to 1921 Nyamande complained to the Administration about many things and demanded even more – land, cattle, status – and his nephews Albert and Rhodes followed to a lesser extent in the years 1926–1932,[163] but treasure was never once mentioned. Either there never had been one at all, or it had been a modest amount of sovereigns, which Khumalos had soon spent.[164] The one reference to the treasure by a Khumalo came from one Thomas Ndaba Khumalo, owner of a fruit shop in the Ndabeni Native Residential Location in Cape Town in 1923. He was Ndebele and claimed to be the true heir of Lobengula; and as such he knew the whereabouts of the treasure but was frightened that Nyamande might therefore have him killed. However, investigations by the High Commissioner for South Africa and the Native Affairs Department in Southern Rhodesia soon indicated that this pretender was a complete fraud,[165] who had probably been prompted by the reports of Jacobs's activities in the South African press in 1922, which have already been noted. This episode is a fitting end to this article, for it is symptomatic of the whole saga.

Thus, in conclusion, it can be said that both grave and treasure have remained a family affair, veiled in deception if not deceit, for over a hundred years: the stuff of yarns for the fireside on a winter's night rather than an integrated part of any wider historical narrative, whether Ndebele or national.

[162]NB/3/1/7, R. Lanning, Native Comm. Bubi to Chief Native Comm. Matabeleland, 26 Apr. 1906; N/3/19/3, Supt Natives Bulawayo, minute (on Acting Native Comm. Bubi to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 17 Feb.) 19 Feb. 1919; R. Lanning, Native Comm. Bulilima, minute, 15 May, on Chief Native Comm. to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 12 May 1919; S138/92, I, Native Comm. Bubi to Supt Natives Bulawayo, 18 Jan. 1926; Master of the High Court Bulawayo to Chief Native Comm., 19 Jan. 1926. S607, 1926, 'In the matter of the Distribution of the Estate of the late Queen Lozegezi, 1 Feb. 1926.

[163] See T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1970), ch. 4, 5.

[164]There have been rumours of Khumalos buying land from proceeds of the treasure, D. Lytton, Chipping Norton, to author, 15 May 1984, quoting L. A. Heatile (a former trooper in the B.S.A.P. at Wankie) to Major J. G. W. Leipoldt, n.d. [between 1928 and 1945]. Madhloli (son of Lobila, son of Mzilikazi), Nyamande's cousin, closest political ally and only friend, was known, of course, to have bought land (with 500 head of cattle) in 1922, Ranger, *The African Voice,* 130–1.

[165]This episode will be dealt with in more detail in my forthcoming article on pretenders. It is fully documented in RC/3/1/131, 443/23; see notably, Revd H. R. Ngcayiya, Johannesburg, to Lloyd George, London, 6 Feb., encl. in Colonial Office to High Comm., 21 Apr., encl. in High Comm., Cape Town, to Adm., Salisbury, 21 May 1923; statements of Revd H. R. Ngcayiya, 9 July, and of Ndaba Khumalo, 9 Aug., encl. in Supt Natives Ndabeni Native Reserve Location, Maitland, Cape Town, to Secr. Native Affairs, Pretoria, 9 Aug., encl. in Acting Secr. Native Affairs to Imperial Secr., Cape Town, 20 Aug., encl. in High Comm., Cape Town, to Adm., Salisbury, 24 Aug. 1923.

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The Coach House Inn – Bindura

by Edone Ann Logan

The ox wagon was the only form of transport within this country until 1891, when it was decided that there was an urgent need to improve things from the point of view of opening up the country more rapidly, and making travel faster, especially for mail, perishables and other important consignments. Doel Zeederberg, with his brother, ran a comparatively small coach service in the Northern Transvaal at that time. Rhodes thought Zeederberg would be the ideal man for the job, and summoned him to construct a road from Pietersburg to Salisbury (now Harare). Having agreed to do this, Zeederberg said he would consider running a coach service on the road when he had completed it. While Zeederberg was building this road, towards the end of 1890, Rhodes ordered from America, six coaches of the familiar "Wild West Stage Coach "style. This proved to be the ideal vehicle for the purpose. (ref A. F. Baxter – "The Couriers"). The first mail coach service was established from Pietersburg via Ft. Victoria (now Masvingo), then Charter, to Fort Salisbury, in 1891.

In 1901 Mr Walter Thurlow, Bindura's original pioneer, purchased a plot of land between his two mining claims, the Asp and the Kimberley, and erected a thatched building with a hitching post – Bindura's first 'modern ' structure. The area became known as the "Kimberley Reefs".

Gold was the great attraction in the area, and the township mushroomed. Claims were also being pegged further down the Mazoe River at Tafuna and Abercorn (now Shamva). There was need for a transport system in the Valley, and Zeederberg agreed to run a coach service from Salisbury, via Mazoe, to Kimberley Reefs and Abercorn. This would carry passengers, the Royal Mail and the newspapers.

In 1902 Arthur Trusson built a staging post about 5 km south of Mr Thurlow's building. Mr Trusson managed the post, having available animals to replace a team of mules before a coach proceeded to Abercorn. Passengers disembarked at Trusson's and were able to wash and obtain a simple meal and liquid refreshment. Trusson's Hotel, as it was known, became a popular gathering place for small workers in the vicinity, and for horseback travellers. At Trusson's it was not unusual for a customer to ride his horse into the bar, down a pint, and leave without dismounting. There was usually a bottle of quinine tablets on the bar counter, as malaria and black water fever were rampant in the Valley.

The Zeederberg coaches held twelve passengers – six inside and six on the top and next to the driver. The seats were thinly padded and the two middle seats had only a three inch strap as a back-rest. A wide strap was fitted from side to side in front of the seats, preventing passengers from being thrown onto the floor or out of the window when the going got rough. Ten mules pulled each coach, and they averaged about six to eight miles an hour on a good run.

However, the road from Salisbury was a mere track, hot and dusty or muddy and

Mail Coach *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

slippery, depending on the season. During the rains the rivers flooded, delaying the coaches for hours, or days. Sometimes wild animals were encountered, which frightened not only the passengers, but more seriously, the mules. It was not uncommon for a wheel or a tyre to come off. The coach operators carried all manner of tools, and with the assistance of passengers, usually managed to overcome any problems encountered.

The coaches left from the Commercial Hotel in Salisbury, which later became the Grand. Nearby was a small store, where travellers could buy provisions for the road. The hotel was a low building with earthen floors and a small bar of corrugated iron that was called "The Rat Pit" (ref. K D Charter). There were benches outside where passengers waited for the coaches.

The settlement at Kimberley Reefs grew, and in 1907 a Money and Telegraph Office (MTO) was opened. Amenities improved and at last, in 1913, the railway opened from Salisbury to Shamva. This ended the Zeederberg coach regular service. Kimberley Reefs became "Bindura". The success of agriculture was attracting farmers to the area. Arthur Trusson bought Dandazi Farm. He was joined in 1911 by a lifelong friend, Billy Freeston. Mr Freeston named his farm "Stella" after his daughter, and his mine, the "Freda Rebecca", after his wife.

In the 1920s, horse racing took place from below the Rifle Range to Trusson's. These races were a great attraction for residents, as social events were few and far between.

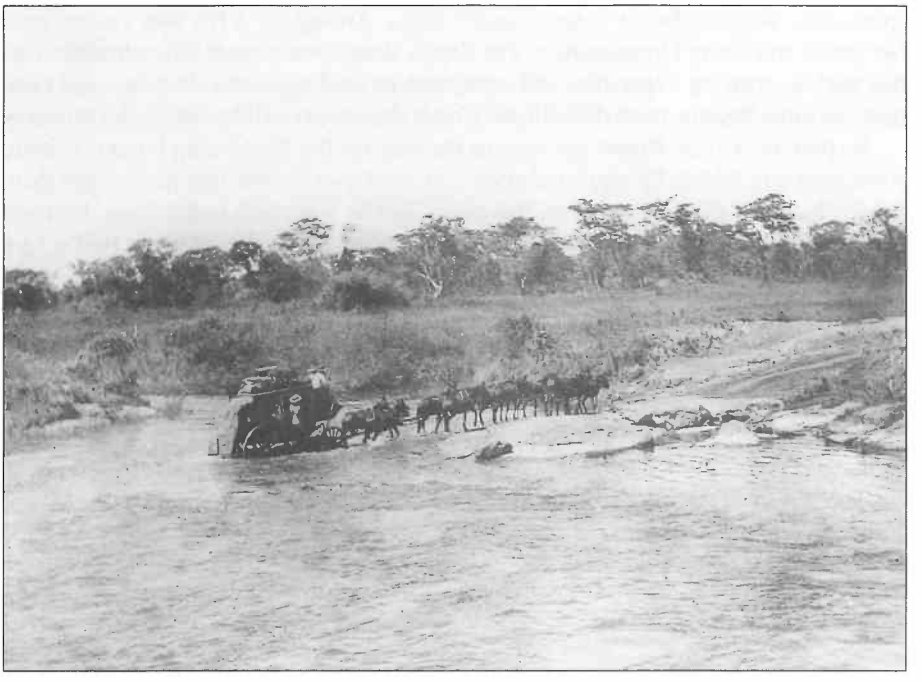
As production increased on the Phoenix Prince Mine, the Hotel became the single quarters for the mine. In the 1930s the Prince of Wales Gold Mining Company went into partnership with the Phoenix Prince, and the company boomed. Bindura was supplied with electricity by the Phoenix Prince for many years.

During the 1950s, the Jordaan family lived at Trusson's. Mr Jordaan worked on the Phoenix Prince and his wife was a popular dressmaker, much in demand, as the social life in Bindura at that time was quite hectic!

During the late 1960s and early '70s, the old hotel was renovated and enlarged, and in 1968, was renamed the Coach House Inn. The owners, GWAKS Syndicate (Athenides, Smith, Venning, Konschel) were responsible, with assistance from the new Government Hotel Industry Fund, for building twenty en-suite rooms and a swimming pool, and for a while, the Motel, as it was called, flourished.

In 1967 the Anglo-American Corporation decided to invest in the Trojan Nickel Mine, and built a refinery. Great development took place in the district and town. Anglo opened up a nickel mine at Madziwa and built Eben Dam. In spite of all this development, the Coach House ran at a loss.

In 1973 the Athenitis brothers took over two-thirds of the shares and offered the other shares to Ben and Lyn van Slot. Ben was at the time working in the BSR smelter at Trojan Mine, and Lyn (Curtis) had established a very successful School of Ballet in Bindura. Ben became the Managing Director of the Coach House Inn and ran the hotel with his wife. During the ensuing years many of Bindura's important functions took place at the Coach House; weddings and wakes, celebrations and ceremonies, balls and banquets; functions organised by the Lions Club, the Women's Institute, the Caledonian Society, Farmers' Association and the Esther Group. Carols by Candlelight and Christmas luncheons were organised, and some visitors came from the City, in



Zeederberg coach crossing a river near Salisbury, 1896 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Coach stuck in a drift. Photograph taken by Jim Morrell, a mining engineer, who lived in Rhodesia at the turn of the century *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

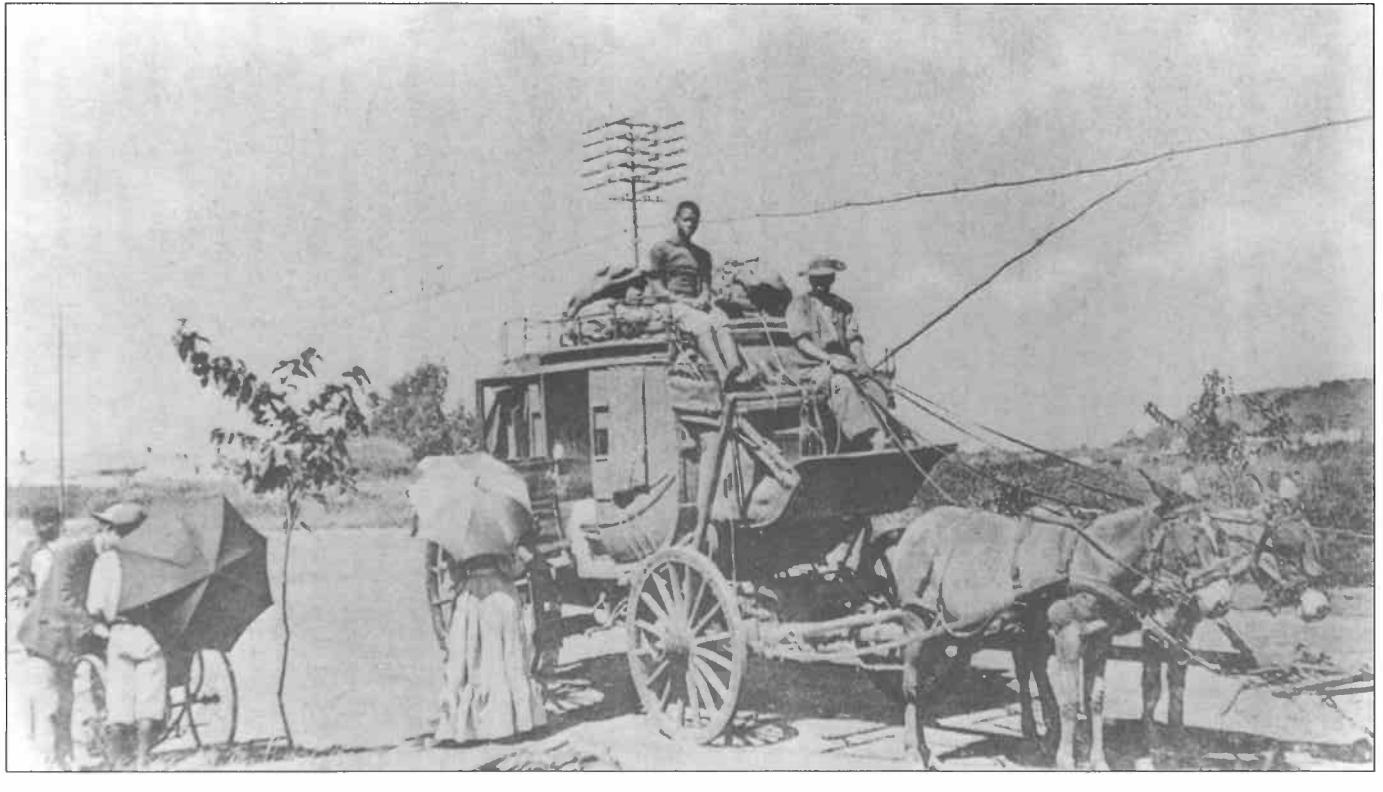
spite of the dangers during those turbulent years. Among the VIPs who visited were Ian Smith and Harry Oppenheimer. The Coach House was almost self-sufficient over this period, growing vegetables and producing its own eggs and chickens, and even beef. As times became more difficult, the Coach House survived by selling this produce.

In 1980 the Coach House Inn became the base for the Monitoring Forces: British, Australian and ZANU PF representatives all stayed over the election period, and then, tragically, when the war was over, Ben was killed by a gunman in the foyer. Lyn and her three children stayed on for the next three years. Sadly, in the latter 1990s, Lyn was murdered in her office at Farm and City Centre in Bindura.

Trojan took over the hotel as a training school in 1981, and it remained thus until 1999, when Bindura Nickel Corp. put the Coach House onto the market. It was purchased by MWENGO, a non-governmental organisation primarily dedicated to the building of NGO capacity through a creative mix of specific interventions and the continuous stimulation of the sector. Its Board of Trustees includes the wife of SA's former President Nelson Mandela, Graça Machel.

The history of the Coach House Inn reflects the dramatic development of the Mazoe Valley over the past century. It is hoped that just such progress and prosperity will be recorded in the century to come.

The Mazoe Mail Coach, outside Salisbury Post Office, 1912
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



The Mazoe Mail Coach *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

Fairbridge

by Margaret Dickinson (formerly Margaret Elliot)

Kingsley Fairbridge was born in Grahamstown in 1885. His father Rhys Fairbridge was a surveyor who in the course of his employment, moved to Mutare with his family when Kingsley was aged 11. Kingsley spent much of his early youth wandering in the bush with his dog and grew to love the country which seemed to him the ideal place for any child to grow up. He was a writer of poetry, much of it having an African theme, through which shone his love of the bush.

On a visit to England he saw orphaned and poor children in the streets, families struggling to raise their children and longed to enable them to grow up strong and healthy in a better environment. From this came his idea for his Farm Schools.

While at university Fairbridge presented his idea to the Colonial Club and it was accepted with enthusiasm but the B.S.A. Company advised him against attempting to establish the school in Rhodesia. Kingsley moved to Australia and after much struggle and frustration endeavouring to get financial support for his dream Fairbridge managed to raise funds and the first school was started in Australia at Pinjarra. Sadly he died at the age of 39 in 1924 and never saw the realisation of his dream in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia the farm school was established ten miles out of Bulawayo, near Ntabazinduna which was the site of Lobengula's kraal. The school itself was formerly a small airfield set up by the Southern Rhodesia Government to train air crew for the Royal Air Force during the Second World War. The dormitories were formerly living quarters of the air crew. The main types of children who were brought out to Fairbridge under the scheme were from orphanages, from broken homes where one parent was unable to support the children – many where the breadwinner had been killed in the war, and from parents in very poor circumstances. My family background did not fit into these criteria but my father having had contact through his scouting activities with Lord Rowallan, obtained permission for my two brothers, Charles and Graham Elliott, to be in the first party of boys in 1946.

My own introduction to the school came in 1948 when my parents decided I should follow my brothers and I left our family home in Wales and travelled to London where at Rhodesia House there were other children also. We were given health and educational tests and, having passed these and been accepted, travelled to Africa to what seemed to me to be a great adventure. In a party of eleven in 1948, with Miss Ann Raitt who was to be our housemother, we set off from Southampton docks on a seven weeks sea journey on the Langibby Castle which had been converted to a troopship during the war and then re-fitted as a passenger liner. Our trip took us through the Suez Canal and down the East coast to Beira in Mozambique. Sadly I suffered from seasickness during the voyage and was too ill to enjoy much of it but I do remember the Crossing the Line ceremony and a fancy dress party where our party went dressed as "The British Isles" with the tallest girl, Nina Charman being Boadicea and the rest of us dressed suitably, such as a rose for England, thistle for Scotland and I was a leek representing Wales. There was also a wonderful day spent at Dar es Salaam where our whole party was

entertained to lunch at a very grand hotel. We landed at the port of Beira in September of 1948 and then had a long journey by train to Harare where we changed trains and found that the train attendants had thrown our suitcases onto a luggage trolley where many of them had fallen open so that our clothes were in a great heap on the trolley. We arrived at last in Bulawayo and were taken by bus and arrived at the gates of Fairbridge where we were welcomed by an honour guard of Matabele Warriors, chanting and dancing. It was very thrilling although some of the more nervous ones thought we were about to be massacred! We were housed in dormitories which sat on brick columns and the housemothers had two dormitories of about 13 girls each under their care. The boys dormitories were separated from ours by a road. Our headmaster Mr Robinson was much loved by us all. He was a father figure to all of us and when I married he took the role of father of the bride and gave me away. He was a very tall and handsome man. He and his wife took a great interest in us all and kept in touch with us for many years through a news letter through which we kept up with news of each other.

Mr Robinson and his wife always had time for us and their doors were always open to any one of us then and after we had left the school. Even after his death Mrs Robinson kept up the news letter for some years although it was quite a task to keep track of all of us after we had spread to other countries.

Fairbridge itself was home to us and provided all we needed during our years there. At first we attended the junior school there and then were sent to various schools in Bulawayo. My brothers going to Milton and I to Evelyn Girls High for a term and then we Fairbridge girls were all transferred to Townsend School. We were always happy to get back home to Fairbridge and weekends were often spent exploring the bush around the school. About three or four kilometres behind the school was the hill from which the name Ntabazinduna was derived and which was a strong attraction to us children because the great Lobengula was said to have buried his treasure in a cave somewhere on the hill and we spent many happy days searching for it. There was also an old mine shaft but the ladder was rusted and not safe to climb down – although some of the more adventurous of the boys braved it. Close by was a smaller cone shaped hill called Pincushion Hill which was covered with thorny brush down which Lobengula was said to have thrown those of his many wives who had displeased him and also any of his warriors who had angered him.

We used to visit the workers' compound, especially on Sundays when they had a beer drink and there was dancing – we of course joined in the dancing and had a great time. There were always scrawny, starving donkeys hanging round and we would take pity on them, pay their owners sixpence (approximately 5¢) and take them away, feed them up and they would then chew through whatever halter we had used and disappear back to their owners in the compound – I have since heard that we bought the donkeys at a very reasonable price as some of the boys say they paid two shillings (approximately 20¢).

Some of the boys were very ingenious, always dreaming up ways of earning some money – like the one who borrowed a tennis court net, went to Bembezi Dam and, after a day's fishing, brought back the net full of Barbel (catfish) and installed them in one of the baths in the ablution block, intending to sell them. I don't think he made

very much as Barbel are not considered good eating. Or the party who, clad in pyjamas, met a few of the girls at the haystack after lights out. No "hanky panky" occurred – just good clean fun with the added risk of being caught. Inevitably someone yelled a warning, whether real or just for the fun of seeing the chaos that ensued. Everyone scattered and one poor soul ran into some barbed wire and had to try and explain his shredded pyjamas to his housemother.

When the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret visited the country in 1953 the Queen Mother unveiled the Fairbridge Memorial on Christmas Pass and a small party of Fairbridge students were present. I forget how the choice was made but I was lucky enough to be one of the girls. My only regret was that I lent my Coronation medal (for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II) to a friend to wear that day and it caught the Queen Mother's eye and she spoke to my friend – I wished I hadn't lent the medal but had worn it myself so that she would have spoken to me! We were also present at Umtali station when the Royal train was due to arrive. Unknown to me at the time one of the staff of the law firm where I am now employed was also at the station as a member of the Territorials – lined up in a guard of honour on the platform. When the train arrived and the guard was ordered to present arms he enthusiastically swung his rifle with fixed bayonet up into position and managed to stab the soldier next to him – fortunately only a superficial wound!

At Fairbridge itself we had many interests. There was swimming in the pool and sometimes we crept out for daring midnight swimming parties, games, dances where we learned the waltz, tango, quick step and so on. Tennis parties and picnics in the bush. We were allowed to keep a few animals – one being a sow who produced a great many piglets – much to our delight although the school was not really a farm school but tended more to an academic line. We had an enclosure where some of us kept rabbits, guinea pigs, hens etc. and my brother Charles had some baby owls and managed to successfully raise these, keeping them in one of the old hangars. These were empty hangars dating from the days when the airfield was in operation and were put to good use by those of us who had roller skates and we spent many happy hours roller skating on our own private rinks.

One of the boys kept snakes which he obtained during forays into the bush with his terrier dogs. I think he had about twenty to thirty in glass topped boxes which he kept in shelves installed in his locker in the dormitory until the day when several boys woke up to find they had unwelcome visitors in their beds and had to lie rigid with fright until the school caretaker came to remove them. After that his snakes had to be kept elsewhere. We also had a horse for a while and gave it much love and probably overfed it. We also sampled the molasses from a barrel which was kept in the horse's stable – supposedly for the horse. One year cotton was grown in the field behind the school and any pupil who misbehaved was sent to the cotton field to pick the crop. It wasn't much of a punishment as we had a lot of fun while picking.

We had two large communal dining rooms furnished with long tables and benches. The food was usually quite good except for the odd occasion when something went wrong with the system. Once I remember we were given some meat which did not smell too good and we refused to eat it. One of the boys was quite a clever cartoonist and on the notice board the day after the bad meat was rejected some very funny

cartoons appeared. But mostly it was well prepared and I remember some very memorable Christmas lunches when some of us remained at the college, which were served to us by the few staff who had not gone away for Christmas. Church played a large part in our lives with evensong during the week and Sunday services. We had a choir and entered into the annual Eisteddfod in Bulawayo and won several years running.

Fairbridge was a great place to grow up and even after we had left it behind it was still regarded by most of us as home and we knew we were always welcome there any time we wanted to drop in for a visit. If we were in trouble there was always someone there to advise and help if possible and I know there was always a bed for anyone who couldn't afford to pay for lodgings in Bulawayo. Many of the former Fairbridge pupils have been very successful in many fields of business, the professions etc. all over the world. We can boast one Senator in Australia, some lawyers, doctors, nurses, businessmen and women and in sports, there were many who excelled such as the twins Fran and Keith Pearce who were both whippet thin and great athletes, especially in running. One of them now lives in Australia and the other in New Zealand. Although I have not heard of anyone who has achieved fame in the Olympics, we featured in most areas of sport.

Fairbridge is no longer our home as it is a government school now, the practice of bringing in children having been discontinued, but the memories are still there and we look back on it with affection and pride. The old Fairbridge pupils keep in contact with each other worldwide and whenever any ex-Fairbridge pupil is visiting they can always be sure of a welcome from their "brothers and sisters" in the area and a get-together. Ours was a unique upbringing but we were fortunate to have been part of the Fairbridge "family". The first Fairbridge in Australia is still in operation but as a farm school for Australian children.

It was an unusual childhood to have experienced and one which set us apart so that we were sometimes viewed as "outsiders' by the children at the schools we attended. It was a great experience though and a great vision for the time it took place as otherwise many ex-Fairbridge pupils would not have had the advantages in life that we have had and many would quite possibly not have survived without having been a part of it.

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Bulawayo to Victoria Falls Railway

by R. D. Taylor

The Victoria Falls, Mosi oa Tunya, the Smoke that Thunders, what images of adventure and romance these names have conjured up over the past century for the many travellers who have visited this natural wonder of the world on Zimbabwe's northern border. To approach the Victoria Falls early in the morning by train and to see from a considerable distance away the spray rising over the endless African bush is a unique and never to be forgotten experience.

THE ROUTE TO THE NORTH

When the railway from the Cape reached Bulawayo and was formally opened on 4 November 1897 it was a section of Cecil John Rhodes' dream of a railway linking Cape Town to Cairo. The intention was that the next phase of construction would be from Bulawayo to Gwelo, then north to Globe and Phoenix (now Kwe Kwe) across the Mafungabusi Plateau, to exploit the coal in this area and thence to Kariba where a bridge would be built across the Zambesi River.

Construction of railways required legislation and on the 15 June 1899 the Legislative Council gave a third reading to the Railway Ordinance 1899, which became Ordinance 17 of 1899. This Ordinance provided for the construction of inter alia:

a) A railway from Bulawayo to any point in the Wankie District
b) A railway from Bulawayo via Gwelo to any point on the Zambesi River.

At that time the Victoria Falls was regarded as being in the Wankie District.

A survey of the Globe and Phoenix route had shown that this route would be difficult and expensive to construct. This fact together with the pegging of the original location of coal at Wankie by Albert Giese in 1894 led to further consideration being given to the route to be taken northwards. A proper survey of the route to the Wankie coal area started in October 1899. In September 1900 Mr. Rhodes visited Gwelo and told a local deputation that, "If Wankie coal proved as good as it was reported to be the main line would go in that direction taking in Barotseland."

In his address to the Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of Rhodesia Railways Limited held in London on 18 June 1901 the Chairman Mr. Alfred Beit reported that:

> Further exploration undertaken with a view to decide the route for the extension from Bulawayo towards Tanganyika showed that, after crossing the Zambesi via Mafungabusi very heavy expenditure would be necessary, owing to the country north of the Zambesi at that point being very difficult for railway construction and further, that the indications of coal in the Mafungabusi District although numerous have not led, up to the present, to discoveries of proved commercial value.
>
> Your Directors influenced by the above facts and having regard to the discovery of important coal deposits in the Wankie District were led to consider another route further to the West, which would traverse that district and enable the Zambesi to be crossed at the Victoria Falls.

> The preliminary reports on Wankie coal furnished by Mr. Harvey were exceedingly satisfactory, but your Directors postponed their decision to adopt the western route until the coal had been further reported upon by another expert of the highest standing, to be selected with the approval both of this Company and the BSA Company. The Mashonaland Agency Company the then owners of the Wankie Coal deposits accordingly arranged with Messrs Forster, Brown and Rees to send out their representative, Mr. Price, to make further investigations on the understanding that a favourable report from that firm would satisfy both this Company and the British South Africa Company. Mr. Price has now returned and a report has been received from Messrs Forster, Brown and Rees fully confirming the favourable reports upon the coalfield that had been previously received.
>
> Your Directors have, therefore now agreed to construct the railway from Bulawayo through the Wankie District to the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi.

In Salisbury on 8 July, 1901, Sir William Milton, The Administrator, said, when he opened the Third Session of the First Legislative Council that "The confirmation by an expert of the report as to the existence of valuable coal measures in the Wankie district is of the highest importance to the mining industry. The construction of a line of railway from Bulawayo to that district is at once to be commenced".

The issue of the route to be followed had now been settled and no time was lost in getting on with actual construction. In that same month, July, 1901, a contract (Contract number 1) was signed between Rhodesia Railways Ltd, and Pauling and Company for the complete construction of a line of railway 161 miles or thereabouts in length in the direction of Wankie's coal area commencing at Bulawayo by a junction with Rhodesia Railways with two miles of sidings placed where the Engineers shall direct. The Contract price was £800 per single mile and Rhodesia Railways would supply permanent way materials, switches, crossings and telegraph materials. Paulings wasted no time and on 1 February 1902 the Chronicle reported that Paulings had established a depot 19 miles out of Bulawayo and rails had been laid a distance of 21 miles.

The first 161 miles to Mambanje, some 9 miles north of Dett was through sandveld, well wooded with Mopani and Teak, and with the exception of the vicinity of the Umgusa river of easy grading. The two main bridges over the Umgusa and Gwaai rivers were substantial steel and masonry structures. A feature of this line is the 70 mile long Dett straight. The track itself was 60 lb/yd round top rail laid on steel sleepers. The line to Mambanje was opened in March 1903.

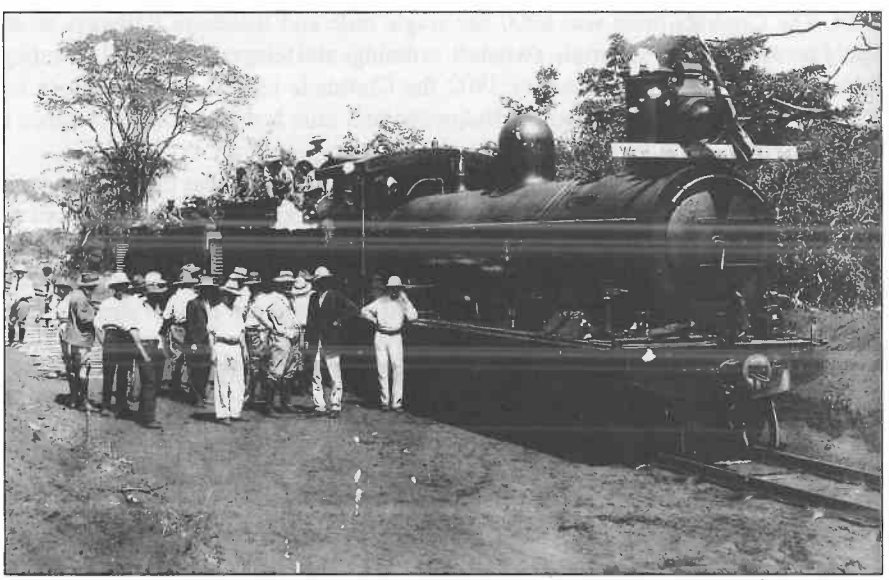
In April 1903 Rhodesia Railways Ltd. and Pauling and Company signed a further contract (Contract number 2) for the construction of a line of rail 46 miles in length commencing at the termination of contract number 1 at 159 miles from Bulawayo and terminating at or near the Wankie coal mines. The cost for this contract was £2872 per mile. The substantial rise in the contract price was no doubt due to the much more difficult terrain on this section. The section is heavily graded and was to be the subject of a major rebuilding some fifty years later. The line to Wankie was opened on 1 December 1903.

The final contract, number 3 was signed in December 1903 and provided for the

complete construction of a line of rail commencing at the termination of contract number 2 and terminating at the proposed bridge over the Zambesi near Victoria Falls. The agreed price was £2350 per single mile with an additional lump sum as a bonus (£7500) in the event of the rails being linked in and suitable for the passage of trains by 1 April 1904. This sixty eight miles from Wankie to Victoria Falls included forty seven miles of heavy work through difficult country side, two severe banks were encountered, one from Deka siding up the Katuna valley and the other from Matetsi to a point named Fuller. Two major river crossings were involved one over the Deka nine miles from Wankie and the other the Matetsi about half way to Victoria Falls. This section too was to be subjected to major rebuilding in later years.

On 24 April 1904 the first construction train pulled in at the site of Victoria Falls station. It was hauled by Rhodesia Railways 7th Class locomotive No. 22 and was driven into the station by Harold Pauling's daughter Blanche. The locomotive was flying a Union Jack and bearing a board below the headlamp reading "We've got a long way to go" This of course referred to Cecil Rhodes objective of Cairo. Celebrations were held including a feast for all the staff and sports. The line arrived 24 days late so I assume the £7500 bonus provided for in the contract was not paid.

An unintended benefit of the railway was that of a navigational aid to airmen. The first aeroplane to be seen in Rhodesian skies the Vickers Vimy Silver Queen II flown by the then Lieut. Col. Pierre van Ryneveld and Flight Lieutenant C. J. Quintin Brand used the line as a navigational aid when they flew from Livingstone to Bulawayo on 5 March 1920 en route from London to Cape Town. The stations and sidings along the line telegraphed details of the flights progress towards Bulawayo thus enabling a large crowd to gather at the racecourse to welcome the historic flight.

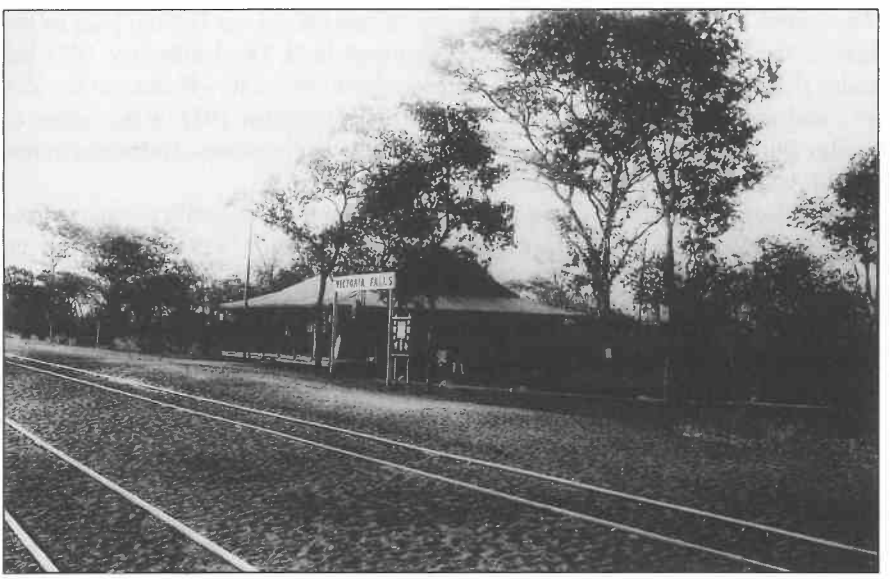


Arrival of the first construction train at Victoria Falls: 7th Class Locomotive No. 22, 24 April 1904 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

PASSENGER SERVICES

Paulings started public traffic between Wankie and Victoria Falls on 10 May 1904 by running two trains a week each way for those intrepid persons wanting to visit the Falls. This interim service ended when the line was officially taken over for traffic on 20 June 1904. Working timetable No. 6 effective from 1 July 1904 has a mixed train i.e. with passengers and goods departing from Bulawayo on a Wednesday and Saturday at 7.00 p.m. The train arrived at Dett at 6.00 a.m. next morning, Wankie at 10.00 a.m. and finally reached the Falls at 5.00 p.m. on Thursdays and Sundays. Return workings left the Falls at 8.00 a.m. on Mondays and Fridays arriving in Bulawayo at 8.00 a.m. next morning. Goods trains left Bulawayo at 7.00 p.m., Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, arriving in Wankie at 10.00 a.m. the following day. In the opposite direction a goods left Wankie at 2.55 p.m. Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday reaching Bulawayo at 8.00 a.m. the following day. The maximum permitted load of trains at that time on the route was 430 tons gross.

From 2 April 1906 the Zambesi Express appeared in the Working Timetable. The train started its journey from Kimberley were it connected with the Cape Government Railways boat train from Cape Town. It comprised of five Cape Government Railway first class saloons, a diner and a baggage van. Each saloon was fitted with a shower, bath and the staff were specially trained with the conductor wearing striped pants, a frocked coat and braided peak cap. The train arrived in Bulawayo from the south at 8.40 a.m. on a Friday and left for the Falls at 1.30 p.m. were it arrived at 7.15 a.m. Saturday morning. This gave passengers just five and a quarter hours to see the sights at the Falls as the return working left again at 12.30 p.m. reaching Bulawayo at 6.45 a.m. on Sunday. As a consequence of the introduction of this express the mixed trains ran



Victoria Falls station pre 1929

(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

from Bulawayo to the Falls on Sundays and Tuesdays leaving Bulawayo at 10.00 a.m. arriving at the Falls at 7.00 a.m. next morning. In the reverse direction the mixed left at 9.45 a.m. on Mondays and Thursdays reaching Bulawayo at 7.00 a.m. next morning.

The Victoria Falls was not the end of the line and construction was pushed on into the then Northern Rhodesia. The Falls became a station on the way to the north and regular passenger services all continued across the border. The line to Broken Hill (now Kabwe) being opened on 1 September 1906 and the Congo border was reached in 1909. Livingstone became the major railway centre in Northern Rhodesia. It was only in early 1932 that the District Superintendent and staff moved to Broken Hill so that control of the northern district was more centrally sited.

Moving forward a decade to the timetable introduced on 7 September 1914 a mail train 14 Up left Bulawayo at 12.00 hrs on Fridays and arrived at the Victoria Falls at 07.00 hrs the next morning. On Mondays the mail train 60 Up left Bulawayo at 22.00 hrs and arrived at the Victoria Falls at 14.22 hrs on Tuesday. In the return direction mail train 10 Down left the Victoria Falls at 10.38 on Tuesday's arriving in Bulawayo at 06.40 hrs Wednesday and on Friday, 61 Down left at 20.45 hrs reaching Bulawayo at 17.30 hrs on Saturday.

A glance at the 1922 timetable shows an extra train per week added and in the Up or north direction journey times had been cut by about 2 hours. In the Down or south direction mail trains were scheduled to leave the Victoria Falls at 17.20 hrs on Wednesday and Friday and arrive in Bulawayo at 09.50 hrs next morning. This was a considerable improvement in timing. A mixed train ran on Monday leaving the Victoria Falls at 12.10 hrs and reaching Bulawayo at 06.30 hrs next morning.

In May 1926 an extra passenger train in each direction was introduced to bring the service to four trains per week and this was increased again to five per week from 25 November 1929. This increased frequency of service did not last too long as the effects of the worldwide economic depression took hold. On 3 February 1931 the Tuesday Bulawayo – Livingstone and the Wednesday Livingstone – Bulawayo services were withdrawn. This withdrawal was followed on 2 December 1931 by the ending of Thursday Bulawayo – Livingstone and the Wednesday Livingstone – Bulawayo trains. From 10 April 1932 fares were increased by 10%.

As the decade of the thirties closed so an era came to an end with the start of the Second World War. The train service effective from 13 January 1939 is therefore given in some detail below:

	14Up Mixed Daily Except Sun.	4Up Northern Express Sat.	4Up Mail Mon., Wed.
Depart Bulawayo	14.00	17.45	17.45
Arrive Dett	21.22	23.59	23.59
Depart Dett	21.55	00.20	00.20
Arrive Wankie	00.55	02.55	02.55
Depart Wankie	02.00	03.25	03.25
Arrive Victoria Falls	05.51	06.31	06.31

	111 Down Mixed Mon., Wed., Thurs., Sat.	9 Down Mixed Fri.	7 Down Southern Express Tues.	7 Down Mail Sun.
Depart Victoria Falls	09.35	15.35	20.05	20.05
Arrive Wankie	13.20	18.40	22.48	22.48
Depart Wankie	15.30	18.55	23.05	23.05
Arrive Dett	19.40	22.03	01.40	01.40
Depart Dett	21.35	22.35	01.50	01.50
Arrive Bulawayo	07.30	06.30	08.15	08.15

The Northern and Southern Expresses consisted of 12 coaches and only conveyed first and second class passengers.

At the end of the War another new timetable was introduced from 6 May 1945 and this shows the Northern Express departing Bulawayo at 09.30 hrs on Wednesday reaching the Victoria Falls at 20.11 hrs the same day. The return Southern Express left at 20.05 hrs on Tuesday and arrived in Bulawayo at 08.15 hrs on Wednesday. A mail train ran overnight on Saturdays with northbound mixed trains leaving at 14.00 on other weekdays. South bound a mixed train left the Victoria Falls at 20.05 hrs on Thursdays and on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays a mixed left the Victoria Falls at 09.20 hrs and reached Bulawayo at 07.15 hrs next morning. The journey on a mixed train was a long one without a dining car, however the train spent two hours at Wankie and no doubt passengers took advantage of the stop to obtain refreshments at the railway operated Wankie hotel.

Moving forward some fifteen years to the end of 1960 and what turned out to be the high point of passenger train services in this country the timetable effective from 28 November 1960 was as follows:

	4Up Express Mon., Thurs., Sat.	14Up Mixed Daily
Depart Bulawayo	20.45	18.45
Arrive Dett	01.27	02.30
Depart Dett	01.57	04.00
Arrive Wankie	03.16	05.47
Depart Wankie	03.27	06.09
Arrive Victoria Falls	07.30	10.05

	7 Down Express Mon., Thurs., Sat.	111 Down Mixed Daily
Depart Victoria Falls	20.38	17.05
Arrive Wankie	23.47	20.56
Depart Wankie	23.57	21.06
Arrive Dett	01.31	23.09
Depart Dett	02.05	23.35
Arrive Bulawayo	07.00	06.15

At least the mixed trains except on Saturdays had buffet cars attached. On Mondays 4Up had a through saloon for Elizabethville in the Congo. This saloon returned on Thursdays 7 Down.

On 30 June 1967 the railway system was split between Zambia and Rhodesia. On 8 September 1969 through passenger trains to Zambia ceased to run. However a daily mixed train continued to operate between Bulawayo and the Victoria Falls. Departure from Bulawayo was at 19.00 hrs and arrival at the Victoria Falls at 07.45 hrs. In the opposite direction trains left the Victoria Falls at 18.30 hrs and reached Bulawayo at 08.00 hrs. These trains had dining cars attached and a shed was provided at Victoria Falls station to shelter the dining cars from the daytime heat of the Zambesi valley.

This pattern of overnight services continued to operate until the 12 December 1976 when a passenger train travelling south of Victoria Falls detonated a land-mine. The locomotive and four passenger coaches were lifted from the track but did not overturn. No serious injuries to passengers were sustained. The passenger service between the Victoria Falls and Thomson Junction was suspended as a result of this incident. The service between Thomson Junction and Bulawayo was also changed and trains with a buffet car attached ran in daylight. They left Bulawayo at 06.30 hrs and were due in at Thomson Junction at 15.45 hrs. In the return direction trains left Thomson Junction at 07.30 hrs and reached Bulawayo at 17.45 hrs.

Overnight services resumed from 6 July 1980. Trains ran as a mixed and had a dining or buffet car attached. The service established in 1980 continues basically unchanged to the present day running to the following timetable:

	14Up Mixed Daily		111Down Mixed Daily
Depart Bulawayo	19.00	Depart Victoria Falls	18.30
Arrive Dete	01.14	Arrive Thomson Junction	21.13
Depart Dete	01.30	Depart Thomson Junction	22.00
Arrive Thomson Junction	03.30	Arrive Dete	00.11
Depart Thomson Junction	04.15	Depart Dete	00.45
Arrive Victoria Falls	07.00	Arrive Bulawayo	07.05

SPECIAL TRAINS

The Victoria Falls has attracted a large number of visitors over the years and many special trains have been run to cater for VIPs and overseas tour groups. One of the earliest special trains was for the Arderne family party who hired a train for a period of 21 days. The train consisted of Cape Government Railways stock including an electric light van, luggage van, drawing room car, dining room car with cooks, stewards and three new model sleeping coaches with shower baths. The train left Cape Town on Wednesday 22 June 1904 and after sightseeing stops at Kimberley and Mafeking reached Bulawayo at noon on 25 June 1904. The party reached the Victoria Falls on 28 June 1904 where they remained until 5 July 1904. On the return a day was spent in Bulawayo and Cape Town was reached on 12 July 1904. Cost per passenger was £65 but if a gentleman and his wife required a compartment exclusively for themselves the cost went up to £170 for the two.

The opening of the Victoria Falls Bridge required a remarkable feat of railway organization. Six special passenger trains left Bulawayo at half-hour intervals starting at 9.00 a.m. on Monday 11 September 1905. They arrived at the Victoria Falls at half-hour intervals from 4.00 a.m. on Tuesday 12 September. On the return on Wednesday 13 September the first train pulled out from the Victoria Falls at 9.00 a.m. with the

others following at half hour intervals. The Cape Government Railway assisted with the provision of coaches as many of the guests came from South Africa.

At Easter 1911 the management of the Bulawayo departmental store, Haddon and Sly took the entire staff and their families for an Easter holiday to the Victoria Falls. While breakfast was being served on Good Friday the Dining Car derailed. This incident delayed the train's arrival by five hours. The train left the Victoria Falls at nine on Sunday evening and arrived back in Bulawayo at five o'clock on Monday afternoon.

In October 1924 the Empire Parliamentary Delegation visited the Victoria Falls by special train, which left Bulawayo at 12.00 hrs on Saturday 4 October and arrived next day at 05.00 hrs. Departure was at 21.00 hrs on Tuesday 7 October and Bulawayo was reached at 11.30 hrs next day.

A selection of the special trains run for notable visitors and delegations before the Second World War include:

August 1927. Rt. Hon. L. C. M. S. Amery, Secretary of State Dominion Office.
August 1929. The British Association for the Advancement of Science (4 trains).
September 1929. The British High Commissioner, Cape Town.
April 1930. The Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress (2 trains).
August 1931. The Governor General of South Africa.

Cruising by ship became popular in the 1920s and tour parties came from South African ports by special train. In 1926 260 tourists accommodated in three special trains visited the Victoria Falls. They came from the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company liner *Orca*. In February 1927 the *M.V. Asturias* provided sufficient passengers for three special trains comprising South African railway stock for a two days visit. This special was followed in April 1927 by passengers from the Cunard Company liner *Franconia* under charter to Thos. Cook & Co. Similar tours continued until the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. Tours only resumed well after the War when in February 1950 216 passengers from the liner *Caronia* arrived in three special trains provided by the South African Railways. However a portent of things to come was a report in June 1952 commenting on the increasing number of visitors arriving at the Victoria Falls Hotel since the inauguration of the Comet Jet air liner service between London and Johannesburg which at that time landed regularly at Livingstone.

To celebrate its 75th Anniversary Haddon and Sly once again took 240 members of staff to Victoria Falls in April 1969. A special train of twelve coaches and three dining cars left Bulawayo at 18.30 hrs on Saturday 12 April and arrived at the Victoria Falls at 07.00 hrs Sunday morning. The return train left on Monday evening 14 April and reached Bulawayo on Tuesday morning at 06.30 hrs. The company booked all accommodation at Victoria Falls Hotel and the overflow of passengers stayed on board the train.

On 12 December 1998 the World famous South African Blue Train commenced a return service between Pretoria and Victoria Falls. This train which consists of 18 coaches is synonymous with unsurpassed elegance and luxury and accommodates 76 passengers looked after by a staff of 27. In 2000 the Blue Train made nine return trips from Pretoria to Victoria Falls and eight trips in 2001. Six trips were scheduled for 2002, but these had to be cancelled as they were no longer financially viable.

Consequently the last Blue Train tour was on 12 November 2001. Other South African operators who have also run luxury tour trains to Victoria Falls include Rovos Rail, Union Limited and Shongololo.

WAR

The Victoria Falls line played a strategic role during the Second World War. In recognition of its importance on 4 September 1939 one hundred and twenty officers and men of the Rhodesia Regiment were moved from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls to guard the bridge over the Zambesi.

Over the period 1 June 1940 to 16 July 1942 265 special trains conveyed 20537 South African troops and 9890 vehicles on the way to the battlefields of North Africa. The most intensive period was February 1941 when 36 special mixed trains were run. In addition 234 wagons loaded with lorries from Port Elizabeth moved over the line. Some detachments of Southern Rhodesian forces also travelled north on this route.

In July 1942, 23 special trains were operated in the reverse direction to convey 3860 Northern Rhodesian troops to a South African port. In addition to the movement of troops and military stores the line carried increasing quantities of coal and most importantly copper from the north to Beira and South African ports. The tonnage of copper railed in the year ended September 1938 was 287028 tons and for the same period in 1944 was 326847 tons.

ROYAL TRAINS

In addition to the considerable number of special trains run to accommodate visiting delegations and personages members of the British Royal family have also travelled on special trains arranged to convey them to and from the Victoria Falls.

In November 1910 the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia visited the Falls and Livingstone. The South African Railways provided a train of eleven vehicles. Over the local railway 8th Class engine No. 54 hauled the train. A pilot train ran ahead and an emergency train followed at an interval of 30 minutes. A bogie truck carrying four cows to provide fresh milk formed part of these trains.

June/ July 1925 saw a visit by the Prince of Wales, future King Edward VIII. South African Railways again provided two trains one of which was specially built for the Royal visit. This train was painted white with gold lining and lettering and became known as the "White Train". On the section between Bulawayo and Victoria Falls the Royal Train was hauled by two 10th Class locomotives Nos 157 and 158. The crews consisted of Messrs H. Emery and A. J. Claasen as drivers, F. A. R. Barriss and J. R. Stewart fireman with guards Messrs Sprong and Major.

Two of the White Train special coaches were used again in March 1934 when Prince George, brother of the Prince of Wales toured the country. Rhodesia Railways provided the remaining coaching stock and 12th Class locomotives No. 258 from Bulawayo to Wankie and No. 257 Wankie to Victoria Falls.

The final Royal tour to the Victoria Falls was in April 1947 when King George VI, Queen Elizabeth and Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret travelled in a newly built luxurious fourteen coach White Train provided by the South African Railways. The train was hauled on the North line by Garratt 15th Class locomotives Nos 273 and 274

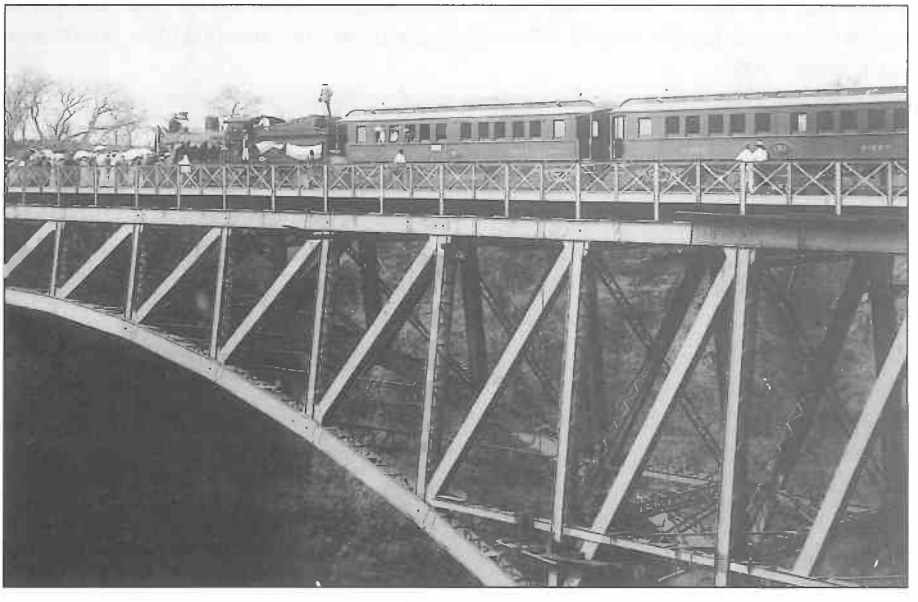
painted dark blue for this special occasion. A thirteen coach pilot train powered by two 12th Class locomotives Nos 202 and 257 painted in R.R. black livery travelled ahead of the Royal Train. It carried 123 officials and pressmen while 85 persons travelled on the Royal Train. The Royal Train with the Royal Coat of Arms on the leading locomotive left Gwelo at 18.08 hrs on Thursday 10 April and arrived at Victoria Falls at 11.35 hrs the next morning. Departure from the Victoria Falls was at 21.09 hrs on Sunday 13 April with Bulawayo being reached at 10.00 hrs on Monday 14 April. The leading locomotive of the pilot train carried the Rhodesian Coat of Arms.

VICTORIA FALLS BRIDGE

An article on the railway to the Victoria Falls would not be complete without a record of the building of this famous bridge even if it is technically beyond Victoria Falls station.

The survey of the ground for the bridge was made in 1900/01 and although he never visited the Victoria Falls Cecil Rhodes determined that passengers in trains passing over the proposed bridge should have a view of the Victoria Falls. A much easier crossing of the river some six miles farther up beyond Kandahar Island had been located but Sir Charles Metcalfe the Railways Consulting Engineer acting in accordance with Rhode's wishes fixed the bridge site as we know it.

The bridge was designed to fit the profile of the gorge with as little expenditure upon excavations as possible. Owing to the discovery of debris on the shelf of the right bank it was necessary to reduce the level of the entire bridge to the extent of 21 feet lower than had been originally proposed. The total length of the bridge is 650 feet and its height above water level in the gorge during the dry season is 406 feet. The



Opening of the Victoria Falls Railway Bridge, 12 September 1905
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

general design is known as a two hinged spandrel-braced arch. It was designed to carry two lines of rail track and consists of three spans. The span on the left bank is 62 feet 8 inches long and the one on the right bank 87 feet 6 inches. The central span is 500 feet long.

The contract for the construction of the steelwork and its erection on site was let in May 1903 to the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Co. Ltd. Darlington, England.

In order to check the accuracy and completeness of the steelwork each section was erected in the company yard before dispatch from England. This meant that when the steelwork was erected at the Victoria Falls all members met accurately together in their respective positions.

In order to get the parts across the river a cableway system was devised. It was in effect an overhead workshop travelling crane but instead of running on solid rails it ran on a wire rope. The driver sat in a travelling carriage and controlled the lifting, lowering and travelling movements. To get the heavy cable across the chasm a rocket was shot across carrying the end of a cord, which in turn was used for hauling a wire of sufficient strength to pull across a small rope, which was used for the passage of an extemporized traveler. This latter consisted of a small steel carrier to which the main cable was attached. It was then hauled across by means of a winch on the far side. By 28 July 1904 the apparatus was in working order.

During erection of the bridge a safety net was provided but no man fell. Only two fatal accidents occurred during construction and these were when a wheel broke in the crane house.

The first task was the building of concrete foundations specified at three parts broken stone, two parts sand to one of Portland cement. All the cement was sent from England packed in iron drums. This work took from May to October 1904. The erection of steelwork commenced in August 1904 and the cantilever arms met in mid air at 6.00 a.m. on 1 April 1905.

The bridge was constructed to designs and specifications prepared by Sir Douglas Fox and Sir Charles Metcalfe the Consulting Engineers to the Railways. The laborious process of carrying out the many calculations on the stresses in the various members was carried out by Mr. R. Freeman, who later became the engineer responsible for the design of the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

Once the bridge had been linked up a temporary track was laid across. The shunting engine, Mashonaland Railways No. 7 better known as Jack Tar, now preserved in the Bulawayo Railway Museum, slowly propelled two trucks over. All went well and a regular flow of loaded trucks, two at a time, were passed over to enable Paulings to continue construction north of Livingstone.

Professor G. Darwin who was leading a British Association party touring South Africa and Rhodesia formally opened the bridge on 12 September 1905. The first train headed by 7th Class engine, No 35, decorated with flags and palm leaves was waiting in the middle of the bridge and slowly drew forward. Six special passenger trains ran at half hourly intervals from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls to convey the members of the British Association and others to the opening of the Bridge.

When originally built the bridge had two railway tracks, the idea being that the main line would be switched from one to the other from time to time to ease the strain

on the bridge. However it appears this was never done due to the difficulty in making excavations on the northern approaches to the bridge. The gradual improvement in roads and the greater use made of motor vehicles led in the late 1920s to the bridge being re decked to enable it to be used by road vehicles as well. The increase in mining activity in Northern Rhodesia and the need for road communication with Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda made this necessary. Work involved the removal of one railway line, widening the deck by 13 feet to carry the road and sidewalks and raising the bridge floor by 4 feet 6 inches. The Cleveland Bridge Company undertook the contract commencing on 23 July 1929 and the last section was in place on 4 December 1929. The first motorcar to cross was driven by Mr. C. T. Thompson one of the railway engineers on 5 May 1930. Miss M. L. Belcher and Miss E. C. Budgell who were given special permission to cross before construction was fully completed followed Mr Thompson. These young ladies were travelling from Cape Town to London via Cairo in a Morris Oxford Tourer. They had left Cape Town on 2 April and said the purpose of the journey was to have an out of the ordinary holiday and to show what a British car could do. It was reported on 24 May 1930 that the bridge had been opened without any formal ceremony to all road and rail traffic.

VICTORIA FALLS HOTEL

It was not uncommon for railway companies a century ago to own and operate hotels. The opening of the railway line created a need for accommodation at the Victoria Falls and this requirement was met by the railway administration. On 30 May 1904 several truckloads of building materials were dispatched from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls. There was enough wood and iron to erect twelve single and four double bedrooms and for the construction of a cottage for honeymoon couples. The assembly was

Victoria Falls Hotel circa 1905 *(National Archives of Zimbabwe)*

completed within a month by which time 40 tourists from the Cape were on the way north. Fifty members of the Bulawayo Amateur Musical Society gave a performance of Gilbert and Sullivan's Patience at the opening. The first manager was Pierre Gavuzzi who had worked in the Carlton and Savoy Hotels in London. The wood and iron dining room had previously been the locomotive shed at Mandegos, now Chimoio in Mozambique. The inclusive tariff ranged from 12*s*. 6*d*. up to one guinea. A beer cost 4*s*. 6*d*., a packet of sandwiches 10*s*. The hotel was leased to Messrs G. Estron and W. Scott Rodger until just before the First World War in 1914. Thereafter management and staff came from the Railways Catering Department. At this time the first brick section of the hotel was constructed though the old wood and iron section was retained as an annex. Up until 1909 the railway line ran in front of the hotel but after a violent storm washed away the sand formation the track was re laid behind the hotel as it is now. In 1926 the north and south hammerheads were built and the dining room and kitchen were rebuilt and extended. At that time the number of visitors averaged 3000 per year. In 1928/29 a chapel and swimming pool were provided and the west and court wings added. The number of visitors grew to 9700 in 1945 and 16 998 in 1948. Various improvements were made and these enabled the hotel to accommodate 21 052 guests in 1950. However numbers declined to 14 000 in 1961 but grew again to 21 975 in 1966. This World famous hotel was leased to the then Rhodesian Breweries Limited from 1 February 1970 and continues to be leased and operated by Zimbabwe Sun Hotels Ltd.

DEVIATIONS

The line from Bulawayo to the Victoria Falls especially north of Dett covers some of the most difficult terrain in the country from a railway engineering perspective. With increased tonnages to be moved and improved performance of locomotives the line itself became the major constraint in moving all the traffic on offer. To eliminate these difficulties a number of major deviations have been undertaken over the years.

DEKA –VICTORIA FALLS

The line north of the Deka river contained two particularly severe sections, one being the Katuna bank from Deka siding up the Katuna valley and the other the Fuller bank from Matetsi. Eleventh class locomotives handled goods trains on this section and double heading was the order of the day as the load for a single engine was only eight wagons. The horseshoe on the Katuna bank was the scene of frequent derailments due to slipping of engines and the snatching of loads on the soft track formation. To overcome the problems Mr. A. M. Close a railways engineer planned a 74 mile deviation estimated to cost £440 000. It involved laying over seventy miles of track, ten major bridges, twenty-nine box culverts, new watering points and stations with housing. The opportunity was also taken to lay 80 lb. rail. In places the deviation was five or six miles from the old line. Though it was almost twelve miles longer than the old line the grades were easier and overall much running time could be saved. Work started in January 1931 and up to 250 Europeans and nine thousand Africans were employed. Due to the unfavourable climatic conditions a special hospital was provided during the construction period at which 122 Europeans and 1250 Africans were treated.

By the end of June 1931 66 miles of the route had been cleared and stumped and completed earthworks reached 36 and a half miles. Water supply was a major problem and large quantities had to be transported by tank motor lorries. Progress continued to be rapid as by the end of September 1931 the whole deviation had been cleared of trees and undergrowth, earthworks were complete to 61 miles and 24 miles of track laid. In the following January earthworks and all concrete work was complete, and sixty-one miles of track laid of which 31 miles had been stone ballasted. The new section was opened to traffic on 12 September 1932 and immediately a saving of two and a half hours on passenger train timings between Bulawayo and the Victoria Falls was effected with the new timetable introduced on 10 September 1932.

SAWMILLS – BULAWAYO

The steep grades and sharp curvature between Sawmills at an altitude of 3474 feet and Bulawayo 4469 feet were also restricting loads. For example a 12th Class locomotive was capable of hauling from Dett a trainload of 1425 tons. At Sawmills this load had to be split into two trains and these extra trains and engines added to costs. Mr. A. M. Close was once again involved and he surveyed eight separate deviations intended to eliminate the steep grades and sharp curves of the original line. Work started in late 1937 and the last deviation of 12 miles just outside Bulawayo was completed in 1940. For the first time two bridges were constructed to carry road traffic over the railway and the first rail over rail bridge was built to carry a fly over track leading to the explosives magazine. Over the same period 156 miles of 80 lb. rail was laid between Bulawayo and Livingstone to replace the old 60 lb. rail.

DETT–MBARIRA (NEW WANKIE) AND THOMSON JUNCTION

In order to meet the rising demand for coal in the early 1950s the Wankie Colliery Company brought No. 3 colliery into production and in December 1953 the new colliery was linked in by rail with the Thomson Junction yard some 5 miles north of Wankie station. Number 2 Colliery had been linked in earlier. The yard was named after Mr A. R. Thomson who was General Manager of Wankie Colliery Company from 1908 to 1930. With the linking in of numbers 2 and 3 Colliery to Thomson traffic yard it was decided to carry out an extensive remodelling of the yard and to provide a modern running shed and wagon repair yard to replace the cramped and obsolete facilities at Wankie. In time Thomson Junction was to be the railway hub of the Wankie coal field area.

The grade and sharp curves between Wankie, altitude 2448 feet and Dett at an altitude of 3590 feet was such that a 15th Class Garratt locomotive could only haul a load of 785 tons out of old Wankie to Dett. After Dett a load of 1300 tons could be hauled all the way to Bulawayo. To eliminate this bottleneck a deviation was planned etween Dett and Wankie. The first section of eight miles from Dett was opened on 9 June 1953. The second section of twenty-three miles to Lukosi opened on 18 July 954. The third section from Lukosi to Mbarira opened on 3 July 1955. The original Vankie station was becoming very congested so it was decided to take advantage of the work on the new deviation to build on avoiding line direct from Mbarira to Thomson Junction. The new line also ensured that any future underground mine workings would

not affect the main line. The avoiding line was two miles longer and involved the construction of the only tunnel on our railways. The tunnel, which is 278 yards long, was opened on 20 January 1957. The first train through the tunnel was a southbound goods train powered by 15A Class Garratt No 397 driven by Mr. T. T. Blignaut. Concurrent with the building of the avoiding line a new station was constructed at Mbarira, which became known as New Wankie Station from July 1955.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

The story of a railway cannot be complete with out mention of the development of the track-side infrastructure, which supports the train service.

In the early 1920s the railways adopted a policy of reducing long engine runs so that they approximated to the eight-hour shifts of train crews. This led to Dett being established as an exchange station and the building of a locomotive depot at Wankie. Crews from Bulawayo booked off at Dett and while the Bulawayo crews rested Dett or Wankie based crews took the trains on to Wankie. Water was a problem at Dett and the community relied on water brought in by rail tank cars until mid 1955 when a 17 mile long pipeline provided water for locomotive and domestic use. Wild animals were also a problem with elephant roaming the township by day and lions at night. In August 1952 it was suggested that staff going on and off duty at night should be provided with a bodyguard. In 1929 a brick house was built for the timekeeper and the following year houses were provided for the Station Foreman and two other married members of staff. Three additional houses were built in 1948 and in the following year the yard was remodelled. A new station building was built in 1951 and in 1959 the yard was remodelled again to accommodate the longer trains being hauled by the 20th Class locomotives. A major development also in 1959 was the erection of fifty-four more houses. This enabled train crews to return home at the end of a shift. Bulawayo based crews could then run as far as Sawmills change with Dett crews and return to Bulawayo. This development eliminated long and frequent periods away from home depots for train staff and was a major improvement in working conditions. A new station building to replace the original wood and iron structure was built at Victoria Falls in 1926. It comprised of a Station Masters office, telegraph office, ticket office, booking hall, parcels office and storeroom and was designed to harmonise with the hotel being the same colour and with a tiled roof. In early 1947 the platform, car park and pathways to the hotel were tarred, no doubt in preparation for the Royal Visit in April that year.

In order to handle the increased frequency of trains after the Second World War crossing loops were provided in 1949 at Ingwe, Isilwana and Impofu. Gwaai was opened as a station with station buildings and three houses. A major development was announced in April 1954 when it was said that more than half a million pounds would be spent over the next two and a half years installing centralised train control (CTC) working between Bulawayo and Wankie. It was forecast that CTC working would almost double the traffic capacity of the line. Construction started from Dett southwards and almost at the same time northwards to Mbarira (New Wankie). The first section between Dett and Kennedy came into operation on 14 March 1956. The section from Gwaai to Sawmills was commissioned in November 1957 and Mpopoma was connected up on 16 December 1958. Moving north the section from Dett to New Wankie was

completed at the end of May 1957 and the section to Livingstone opened on 6 November 1960. The whole line from Bulawayo was controlled from panels at Sawmills, Dett and Livingstone. The old electromechanical system was replaced by a solid-state electronic system during 1992/93. The line was then controlled between Mpopoma and Dete by a panel at Sawmills and from Dete to the Victoria Falls by a panel at Thomson Junction. However at the time of writing, mid-2003, it is understood this system is no longer operational and train control is by the pre-mid-1950s' method of paper orders and wooden staff.

RAIL SAFARIS

From the late 1980s a unique safari train was a regular sight on the Victoria Falls line. This period luxury train was the idea of and operated by rail enthusiast Geoff Cooke ably supported by his wife Sheelagh. Research into the tourism potential of Matabeleland on behalf of the Bulawayo Publicity Association reinforced Geoff's belief that there was an opportunity to run a tourist train between Bulawayo and Victoria Falls. After submission of a proposal and its immediate acceptance by the General Manager of the National Railways of Zimbabwe the first train left Bulawayo on the morning of 5 December 1986. It consisted of 15A Class locomotive No. 416 and coaches 7541 (Old General Managers Saloon) 1045 (First Class) and 680 (Buffet Car but running as a Dining Car). All the coaches were hired from the Railway Museum. There were seventeen passengers on the first tour. They stayed for 2 nights at Dete and 2 nights at Victoria Falls, at these stops passengers normally went to hotels. The first tour was called a Champagne Special but the name was soon changed to the more appropriate Zambezi Special. Tours at the early stage normally ran once or twice a month depending on the season and need. Dining Car 680 had 24 seats therefore restricting the number of guests to twenty-four per train.

Rail Safari trains were normally hauled by steam locomotives and operated as a mixed train i.e. with goods wagons in addition to the passenger coaches. Until late 1993 when steam locomotives ceased to be used on a regular basis they ran with rostered crews. Thereafter volunteer crews travelled in a caboose and operated the train throughout its journey. Business expanded and the Railways overhauled a first class coach number 1089, to Rail Safaris specifications. These included new beds, new ivory vinyl and a shower with hot and cold water. This became the first Ivory Class coach and was named Ndhlovu. In 1992 Rail Safaris took over on permanent hire the Zambesi dining car set comprising coach 666 lounge car and 667 dining car. The interiors were redesigned with new furniture, curtains, carpets etc. The Zambesi dining car could seat 40 guests at a sitting and this gave rise to the need for extra sleeping accommodation. Standard first class coaches numbers 1090 and 1097 were hired from N.R.Z. and became Heritage Class. The train then comprised coaches 666/667 Lounge and Dining Car, 1090 and 1097 Heritage Class, 1089 Ivory Class and 754 Emerald Class.

At about the same time Rail Safaris negotiated with N.R.Z. for them to place on tender sale seven surplus first/second class coaches suitable for rebuilding to the high standards needed for the luxury tour market. The refurbishment of the coaches was undertaken by Z.E.C.O. of Bulawayo. Two second class coaches were rebuilt as Emerald Class being air conditioned with two twin and one double suite per coach.

These coaches were named Sandawana and Mberengwa. One first class coach was rebuilt with a small lounge, three compartments, three coupes, one shower and a toilet. It ran as Ivory Class named Lalapansi. One other 1st class coach was also rebuilt as Ivory Class and was called Nzou. A baggage van was obtained and equipped with a power generator and a kitchen/store. The train then normally ran with the following coaches 666/667 (Zambesi lounge and diner) 1090,1097 (Heritage Class) 1089 (Ndhlovu) RS20 (Nzou) – Ivory Class, RS10 (Sandawana) RS11 (Mberengwa) – Emerald Class RS70 (Lalapansi) and RS90 (Van). With the introduction of this new and more luxurious equipment it was felt appropriate to rebrand and create the Train de Luxe identity. The coaches from ZECO came out in new colours of burgundy with dove grey roofs and gold lettering. Overtime the N.R.Z. coaches on hire were also repainted in this livery.

The new train ran a weekly service between Bulawayo and the Victoria Falls for most of the year with a reduction to fortnightly in the low season. A service was also offered from Harare and Johannesburg but experience showed most passengers wanted to join the train in Bulawayo so these services were only run as charters.

Rail Safaris also ran one or two Special trains per year for Steam enthusiasts which not only covered the north line to the Victoria Falls but other parts of the N.R.Z. system suitable for steam operation. They also operated many charter trains to various places sometimes as far afield as Beira and Johannesburg for a considerable variety of special interest groups. Special trains for T.V. and film production units were also run.

The last Train de Luxe operated by Rail Safaris ran in November 1999 although they did run the Millennium Tour in December 1999 by which time the sale of the train to a South African operator Shongololo had been concluded. Shongololo continue to operate the train on occasion from various points in South Africa to the Victoria Falls. The establishment and success of Rail Safaris was a good example of an individual having the drive and courage to follow a vision.

COAL

Coal was the reason for building the Bulawayo–Victoria Falls line and potential of the Wankie deposit determined the final choice of route. This vital mineral has remained the major traffic ever since. As the country developed demand for coal grew. Power stations, mines, farms and many industries need coal and any failure in supply results in serious economic consequences. Zimbabwe has learnt this to its cost in recent years. Until the withdrawal of steam traction the Railways were also major consumers.

Wankie can be said to be the heart of the national Railway system. Keeping the colliery supplied with an adequate and regular number of empty wagons and despatching them as soon as loaded to the end user in turn generates empty wagons throughout the system for reloading with other commodities. Hence the Colliery requirement has always been given a high priority in order to maintain the circulation of wagons nationwide. For example the Colliery needed 350 wagons per day in 1950s With the opening of the Copper mines in Northern Rhodesia and the Katanga province of the Congo from the late 1920s demand for coal and coke from the north also increased rapidly.

Some statistics show the rising trend of railings from the Colliery:

Year ended	Tons
1919	361 117
1929	915 000
1932	447 101
1934	564 566
1939	1 016 041
1944	1 703 844
1950	1 903 713
1958	3 795 939
1965	3 101 198

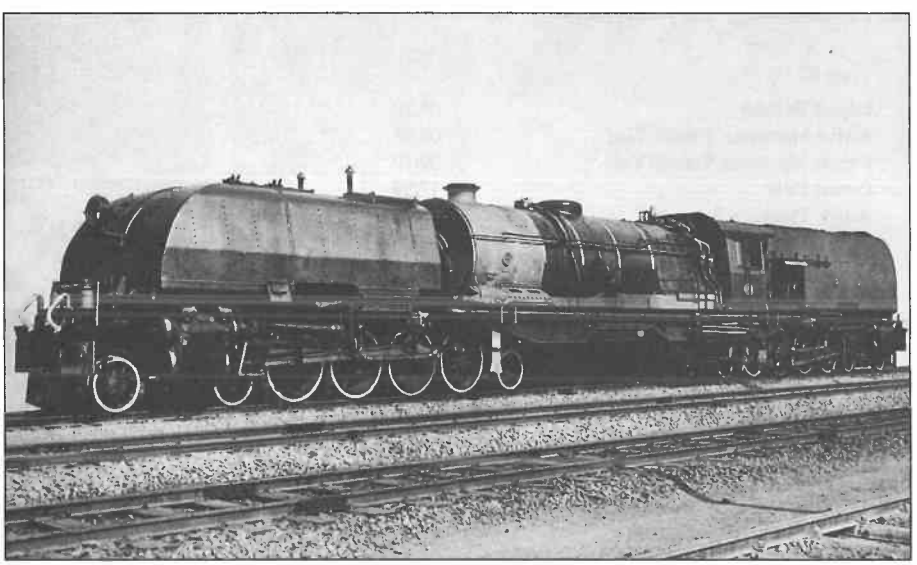
In the early 1970s the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company (R.I.S.C.O.) undertook a major expansion of its Redcliff steelworks. To sustain increased production a continuous and reliable supply of iron ore and coal was required. The solution chosen was to run liner trains of dedicated wagons and locomotives on a regular schedule between Wankie Colliery and R.I.S.C.O. The iron ore came by liner train from Mukwakwe on the Rutenga line. R.I.S.C.O. provided special air braked wagons each capable of carrying a load of 60 tonnes of coal. In 1974 a contract was entered into between the Railways and R.I.S.C.O. for the railways to operate heavy load trains at passenger train speeds non-stop between Wankie and Redcliff. Terminals for both loading and unloading were laid out as loops with trains being loaded and unloaded as the wagons passed non-stop through a hopper complex. In Bulawayo a chord line was built between the Bulawayo – Wankie and Bulawayo – Gwelo main lines so as to avoid liner trains entering the Bulawayo railway complex. Crews who are based in Gweru travel in a caboose and change over at regular intervals en route. As an example of the timing of the liners the working timetable introduced on 26 January 1992 provided for the following daily service:

Train 92 Up	
Depart Dabuka	06.10
Arrive Mpopoma Transit Yard	08.44
Depart Mpopoma Transit Yard	09.10
Depart Dete	12.59
Arrive Thomson Junction	14.20
Train 93 Down	
Depart Thomson Junction	16.00
Depart Dete	17.46
Arrive Mpopoma Transit Yard	22.08
Depart Mpopoma Transit Yard	22.50
Arrive Dabuka Transit Yard	02.24
Depart Dabuka Transit Yard	02.30
Arrive Gado (For Redcliff)	03.51
Train 94 Up	
Depart Gado (From Redcliff)	08.40
Arrive Dabuka Transit Yard	09.51

When first introduced two DE 8A Class diesel electric locomotives powered the liner trains. Subsequently hired South African diesel electric locomotives of Classes 33 or 34 were used. Once the National Railways of Zimbabwe acquired its 10th Class diesel electric locomotives in 1982 these took over the service supplemented by the newer 11th Class from 1992. All the trains were operated double headed. To stand next to the track as a double-headed liner train consisting of a caboose and forty sixty tonne wagons thunders past at 80 km/hr is an awesome experience.

LOCOMOTIVES

Most classes of steam locomotives employed by our railways have seen service over the Bulawayo Victoria Falls line. However one class of locomotive, the 20th and 20A Class were designed specifically to haul heavy coal trains north and south of Wankie and copper from Northern Rhodesia. They also turned out to be the last steam locomotives ordered for this country. Rhodesia Railways had considerable experience in operating Garratt type articulated locomotives and with the relaying of the main line with heavy rail (80 lb/yd) the way was open to introduce heavier and more powerful locomotives. Consequently fifteen of what became Class 20 engines were ordered in 1953 from Beyer Peacock of England. Each locomotive weighed 223,4 tons and could haul a train of 1800 tons from Wankie to Bulawayo. The first one, No. 701 entered service in November 1954. They were the only class of locomotive on the railways to be fitted with mechanical stokers, being too large for hand firing by virtue of the large firebox and high boiler capacity. Such was the early success of this class and with the continued rise in traffic a further six 20th and forty 20A Class were ordered in early 1956. The only difference between the two Classes was that on the 20A Class the outer bogie wheels are of the same diameter as the inner wheels. The first 20A class



20A Class Garratt Locomotive *(National Railways of Zimbabwe)*

No.721 entered service on 9 May 1957. The locomotives cost £76 010 each. These locomotives became synonymous with the Victoria Falls line moving the bulk of traffic.

Following the break up of the unitary railway system in 1967 fourteen 20th Class and thirty 20A Class were handed over to Zambian Railways. The remaining locomotives continued to give valuable service on the Rhodesia Railways and subsequently with the National Railways of Zimbabwe. Between March 1981 and February 1983 eight 20th Class were refurbished by Z.E.C.O. in Bulawayo and named after various Matabele regiments. Likewise eleven 20As were refurbished and named after rivers in Matabeleland. With the acquisition of further new diesel locomotives, Class DE 11, the Class 20 and 20A steam locomotives were withdrawn from service from August 1993 and subsequently scrapped. This action was regarded by some as premature as the engines were mostly in good condition and capable of giving many more years service. Fortunately one Class 20 No.730 Insuga and one 20 A number 740 Ingwezi have been preserved in running order at the Bulawayo railway museum. In addition number 736, a 20th Class belonging to the late A. E. (Dusty) Durrant is stored in the Museum.

CONCLUSION

The north line as it is affectionately known in railway circles has its own magic with wild animals abounding en route ending with the special atmosphere of the Victoria Falls. Its initial construction was pushed ahead by the force of a visionary however misdirected that vision may appear to some one hundred years later. However it has proved to be of tremendous economic importance to the countries it serves. In addition the line has given many thousands of tourists wonderful memories with the thrill of a unique journey. Maybe that early vision was not so misplaced as South African Railways are at the time of writing running container trains from City Deep container terminal in Johannesburg to Dar-es-Salaam. These trains powered by three Class 33 locomotives travel via Bulawayo and Victoria Falls. This service is being promoted as the most economic and fastest way of moving containers from South Africa to the countries of Central Africa as far north as Uganda.

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COLONEL H. G. SEWARD'S STORY (Part II)

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FIGTREE

Figtree Village consisted of a hotel-cum-store and the railway station – the population comprising the storekeeper and his wife and the station-master and his wife, who was also the local postmistress. The Police Camp, some six miles away, had originally been established as one of the forts on the Mangwe Road during the 1896 Rebellion; it was certainly picturesque, being built around the base of some huge boulders on a kopje. From the top, where one got a magnificent view of the Matopo Hills, there flew the B.S.A. Company's flag. With the exception of the office and stable, which were of kimberley brick and iron, the rest of the buildings were pole and dagga huts, badly in need of re-thatching. There was, nevertheless, plenty of elbow room for the Outspan on which the camp was sited, being some 3,000 acres in extent – a relic of the days when this route was used by ox-wagons travelling down the Mangwe Pass Road.

Having taken over from Corporal Currie, I found that I was not only N.C.O. i/c, but also had other responsibilities as Issuer of Process, Issuer of Cattle Permits and Prosecutor. These carried in those days what was known as Extra Duty Pay (EDP). It was rather a pernicious system as it often happened that an isolated post, where there were no other government officials and, where there was very little police work proper, the Member i/c, by reason of the EDP, was better off than others of higher rank at much busier Police Posts. This led to people being reluctant to take leave for fear of losing a quiet station which carried substantial EDP. Some years later, when I was at Police Headquarters, this whole system was abolished.

Almost my first patrol at Figtree was as a census enumerator in the 1921 census. I had a large area to cover, which took me towards Nyamandhlovu in one direction down to Syringa in the other, but it was a most useful exercise, enabling me to get to know the people and the district. One of the difficulties I encountered however, was getting away from many of the homesteads visited. There were no telephones or radios in those days – some people relied on their news of the outside world from the weekly Bulawayo Chronicle, but for most, the arrival of a policeman therefore was an event – he was regarded as the harbinger of news. Over the inevitable cup of tea, he was expected to bring farmers up to date as to what was happening in the outside world. Getting away was always a bit of a problem and if one arrived fairly late in the afternoon, there was always the pressing invitation to stay the night. Acceptance meant a squawking in the back yard of yet another chicken being sacrificed to Rhodesian hospitality.

One of the problems I had to face for the first time on this patrol, was the number of men living with African women – they varied in character and habits. A number kept their women – and offspring – in the background and maintained a good standard of living. Others had obviously degenerated and lived in apparent squalor. Bulalima-Mangwe District was perhaps exceptional in this regard. But, the early settlers in that

part of Rhodesia found themselves in a country where there were scarcely any white women and the pattern followed that of the Cape, where, in the early days of white settlement, 75 percent of the children born to slave women in the first 20 years of Dutch occupation, were half-white. There was, about this time, a great deal of agitation in Bulawayo, led by a Mrs McKeurton, wife of the local undertaker, against miscegenation, but, listening to the men concerned, I had some sympathy with their viewpoint. Most were determined to do the best for their coloured children many of whom were sent to schools in South Africa for their education. And, I must add, that I admired those who accepted their responsibilities in this regard as against those who indulged in promiscuous relations with African women, regardless of the consequences.

The situation too, had other aspects, for I remember going to a homestead of a man, who, incidentally, had been brought to the country by Rhodes as one of his bright young men. On enquiring how he was off for labour, he replied "Labour, I have no problems – I breed me own." He certainly did, all coloured.

But one sometimes wonders what all this fuss is about – after all one of the greatest governors of the Cape – Simon van der Stel, was a coloured man. Unfortunately, skin pigmentation, then, as now, is all too often the criterion applied, as against brains and the ability to use them. I do not for one moment suggest that I was able to take such a rational view in my initial contact with the problem of race as it existed then – and which has been further exacerbated over the years, but it has always seemed to me that pride in the colour of one's skin, over which we can exercise no volition, is not necessarily based on sound premises. But, enough of this digression and back to the patrol.

One night I had pitched my camp and over a sundowner, was watching Maleme my servant cooking the evening meal, when along came an African with a note, yes, in a forked stick. It was from a European about two miles distant. I had purposely avoided pitching up at his homestead in the late afternoon as I'd heard he was eccentric to a degree, and hadn't much time for the police. This note, however, indicated he wanted to see me on urgent business and so off I went. It was after dark when I arrived at the pole and dagga homestead, numerous African men and women outside the door. The light of a candle revealed a bearded figure sitting on a couple of bags of mealies at a table covered in a mess of dirty plates and dishes. "Sit down" he said. "I wanted to see you badly – you know the world's coming to an end" and with that, he pulled towards him a huge Bible and started to read from the Old Testament in support of his views of the impending holocaust. Poor "Stefan" (as he was known to the Africans), he had been living with an African woman for years, completely isolated from the European community – in any case his nearest neighbour was some 15 miles away and, quite obviously, was under some severe mental strain.

I sat with him for a couple of hours saying "yes" or "no" occasionally, but his hallucinations had got the better of him and it was quite impossible to hold any kind of rational conversation. His condition deteriorated fairly rapidly and within a few weeks of my visiting him, he was admitted to Ingutsheni where he eventually died.

My next day's trek took me to three Europeans who were all living with African women on the borders of the Nata Reserve. One begged me to stay the night, but I couldn't as I'd left my pack some 12 miles back. He later committed suicide by taking

of all things, strychnine, a most ghastly death. In retrospect, I always regretted that I had not stayed the night with him to help with his obvious loneliness, if only for a few hours. Often these people were cut off from any form of communication during the wet season – no roads, merely meandering tracks, no bridges, no telephones and seeing no other European for weeks on end. Small wonder that some of their lives ended in tragedy.

Census over, and it's interesting to recall that the figures revealed that the total European population of Rhodesia at that time was just under 30 000, over 80 percent of whom were living in either Salisbury, Bulawayo or one of the smaller towns – I was now able to settle down to ordinary police duties.

Apart from the occasional stock theft, there was little, if any, serious crime. A periodical Court was held once a month to deal with these few petty cases. It was fortunate that this was so, for the first time I ever went to Court was to prosecute. There being no other place available, the Periodical Court was held, of all places, in the dining room of the Figtree Hotel. This had its drawbacks – and advantages. The magistrate sat at a table at the end of the dining room, with a door opening into the bar on his left. There were occasions when the noise from the bar tended to interrupt the proceedings and I had to go and ask the people to please be quiet and, sad to say, refuse the drinks offered me. One farmer on one occasion suggested I should go back and tell the "beak" that the Prosecutor had been formally "Called to the Bar"!

There was another occasion when the holding of the Periodical Court more or less coincided with my birthday and that of Tpr "Teddy" MacPherson, who had joined me at Figtree a few months before. The court proceedings being over by midday, we adjourned to the bar, together with the Magistrate and one or two others who had been witnesses in the cases before the Court. The Magistrate had to wait for the evening mail train to take him back to Plumtree and while a gin or two before lunch can be fairly innocuous, too many thereafter, can be quite disastrous. To cut a long story short, the birthday celebrations got just a little out of hand and by the time the train was due to arrive, there appeared to be some doubt as to whether the "beak" would make it. Eventually, he was wheeled to the train on the station luggage trolley and handed over to the conductor for "safe keeping", complete with a label attached to his lapel which read : "Extremely Fragile – Handle with Care"!

These Periodic Courts in the rural areas often had their humorous angle. There was for instance, one "Tiddley" Woods, who, as his name indicated, had a weakness for the bottle. At one time, a fairly prosperous business man in Bulawayo, he had fallen by the wayside and was living in somewhat strained circumstances on a small farm in the Matopos. He conceived the idea of getting a little ready cash by preferring charges of petty theft against Africans – and they really were petty. This involved his appearance at the Periodical Court for the hearing and getting his witness expenses. On one occasion, in dismissing the charge, the Magistrate remarked that he thought the case a most frivolous one to have been brought before the Court. Up jumped Tiddley. "I call that a most impertinent remark from the Bench." Instead of fining him a fiver for contempt of Court, the Magistrate, knowing Tiddley's circumstances, observed he had had a lot to put up with from Mr Wood in the past and he hoped he'd heard the last of these ridiculous cases. Meeting a friend afterwards, Tiddley complained that there was no

such thing as justice in this country, saying, "How would you like to see your own property handed back to the thief?" On enquiring as to the nature of the stolen property handed back to the thief, the friend was informed, "A piece of soap and a box of matches"!

Some time later, Tiddley made another appearance in Court – this time as the Accused. He had been indicted for the High Court sitting in Bulawayo on a charge of attempted murder, it being alleged he had fired a shot gun at an African with intent to murder. The case turned on certain remarks made in the local African language and when Tiddley went into the witness box to give evidence on his own behalf, he was questioned by Mr Justice Russell as to his knowledge of this Native language. Leaning nonchalantly over the edge of the box, Tiddley replied, "My Lord, I have a language of my own on which all natives entering my employ have to learn. My vocabulary consists of a few words such as "bonele" and "aswele"." This was in the days before assessors and Tiddley had the jury tittering and eventually they brought a verdict of "not guilty". It is perhaps a good thing that trial by jury has largely disappeared in favour of experienced assessors.

Shortly after my arrival at Figtree, I was approached by an old hand, Ben Morrison, who was running cattle somewhere in the Semokwe River area, to buy some 30 odd herd of cattle. Owing to an outbreak of African Coast Fever, they had been stopped on their way into Bulawayo and were grazing on the government Outspan. They could not be moved until such time as the restrictions were lifted. It was necessary for any civil servant or policeman to obtain the permission of the Administrator before they could acquire livestock. I thought about it and eventually having obtained the required permission, I bought the lot for £7.10/– a head. It was a bad business deal, for shortly afterwards the bottom fell out of the cattle market and young steers were almost unsaleable in Bulawayo. On occasion, turkey toms fetched better prices. To some extent, the uncertainty as to the political future of the country was to blame, as in 1922, the country had to choose between continuing under the B.S.A. Company, becoming a self governing colony or joining the Union of South Africa as a fifth province. Feelings ran high – no one seemed to want to stay under the Chartered Company and protagonists of Responsible Government or incorporation into the Union, stomped the countryside for some weeks before the referendum. I remember Jock Brebner and Harry Huntley from Matopos coming into camp one day and urging us to vote for going into the Union, declaring that the B.S.A.P. would have marvellous opportunities for accelerated promotion in the South African Police. But we remained unimpressed.

General Smuts visited Rhodesia during the campaign to lend his powers of persuasion in favour of joining the Union, but to no avail. Nearly fifty years later, it is interesting to recall, in view of all that has happened since, there was a very real possibility of what was then Northern Rhodesia being included in the deal for Responsible Government, but at that time, no one wanted anything to do with what was called the Black North.

On Referendum Day, I presided at the local Polling Station when, for the first time in the history of Figtree, there were actually three cars outside the hotel. Such a thing had never been known before – things were really moving – not to the extent of having a traffic problem though! At that stage roads in the rural areas were such that it was

much safer and more reliable to stick to the old horse or mule cart. Roads meandered all over the place – as a track became unusable, a detour was made, so it was not long before some roads became over 100 yards wide and in sand veld, very heavy going.

It was about this time that it was decided to try and organise race meetings at Figtree, and Wally White who was breeding horses and mules, was the moving spirit in getting the Figtree Sporting Club going. I become Hon. Secretary, and several successful meetings were held on Wally White's farm, where he had laid out a race track. We relied on Bulawayo owners and public for support and arranged with the railways for a special train to bring people down from Bulawayo on race days. A special train was quite an innovation and as far as my memory serves me, no other race specials had ever been run before or, for that matter, since. A feature at one meeting was a match between Major Gordon, a well known Bulawayo character always known as "Boomerang" riding his horse called Monk against Cliff Little on a horse whose name I've forgotten. A tremendous amount of interest was centred on this match which was at catch weights. In the event, Cliff Little won – he was a much younger and lighter man but old Boomerang certainly gave him a run for his money and was cheered all the way to the finish. Major Gordon, D.S.O., endeared himself to everyone in Bulawayo. He was a bachelor, had a fund of dry humour, loved entertaining and will always be remembered for his exploits with snakes which he would seize by the tail and, using them as a kind of stock-whip, crack their heads off in an exploit he had learned in his early days in Australia. He was also quite an expert at throwing the boomerang, hence his nickname.

Time passed, interrupted only by monthly inspections by Inspector Tom Goddard, who was in charge of the Bulalima-Mangwe Sub-District stationed at Plumtree. We, fortunately, always know when he was coming as he had to travel by rail to Leighwoods siding, some six miles away, and a message sent through the railways that a horse would be required at the siding, gave ample warning of an impending inspection.

Occasionally we would be visited by the District Superintendent, Major Tomlinson, in an old Hupmobile car – a relic of the war in East Africa. It had a top speed of 25 miles per hour. Major Tomlinson, a Jameson Raider, was usually content to go through our outstanding dockets and accept my advice as to the manner in which they should be closed. The result was that the number closed as "False on Enquiry" far exceeded those closed as "Undetected". Consequently, the number of cases that remained undetected at the end of the year was relatively small, for which, perhaps, we collected undeserved kudos!

There was really no Defence Force as such, at this time – the Police in fact were the first line of defence. There were what were called "Rifle Companies" in most of the rural areas. The activities of these bodies were supervised by officers seconded from the Police known as District Staff Officers. Monthly shoots were held and rallying points selected to which district residents were supposed to foregather in the event of trouble. Basically, it was a scheme for distributing arms and ammunition round the countryside and ensuring people knew how to use them.

As Police therefore we were interested in defence and to test our ideas on the subject, Major Tomlinson usually used to leave us with a problem like this : "You are in Camp with two Troopers and six African Police when you receive a report that a farm house

thirty miles away has been burnt and an impi of some 150 Matabele warriors armed with assegais and knobkerries is marching from the direction of Nyamandhlouvu towards Figtee. State what action you would take." With no communication with the outside world, save through the railway telegraph, this presented quite a problem. Trooper Grosse, a bit of a wit and who was stationed with me at the time, provided an immediate solution – Catch the first train to Cape Town! – We did eventually submit our ideas of how this situation might be met in theory. Fortunately they were never put to the test, for apart from one old Gambo, one of Lobengula's ex lieutenants living in the Nata Reserve, the local tribesmen were a pretty docile lot.

Then someone in Headquarters conceived the idea of writing Monthly Examination Papers. Some twenty questions were set each month on police and military subjects. The object was not so much to find out what we knew, but to make people look up the book and keep themselves up to date. Some of the questions lent themselves to rather facetious replies and I had to blue pencil one of the trooper's efforts who, in reply to the question – "How would you deceive the enemy as to your strength?", replied "Stuff a pillow in my chest and pad out my calves", from which it will be gathered that life was not taken too seriously in those days.

As I mentioned earlier, the first time I ever went to Court was to prosecute, but close study of Gariner and Landsdown did not altogether substitute for lack of experience. I was happy therefore when the summons to attend a prosecutors' course in Bulawayo arrived. This involved daily attendance at the Magistrate's Court in Bulawayo, where, under the guidance of Sub Inspector Jimmy Skillen, then the Prosecutor, I began to learn something of the rudiments of the proper presentation of evidence. Jimmy Skillen dominated the Court, enjoyed nothing more than defended cases and took liberties which would never have been tolerated in these more staid days. If a solicitor asked what Jimmy thought was a ridiculous question, he would murmur in a loud stage whisper "Bloody fool", and get away with it. Jonah White was the interpreter and having grown up in Natal, spoke fluent Zulu, very similar to Sindebele. Very few police posts had interpreters in those days and I had been trying to master the language with the aid of Elliot's Sindebele dictionary, but found it much easier to learn listening to Jonah White. One particular phrase he used struck me as being rather crude. He would say to the delinquent in dock after sentence – "You are fined (what sounded to me like "fukeyrown") or seven days imprisonment". On enquiring the meaning of this somewhat lewd term from Jonah, he explained that all it meant was half-a-crown, a curious colloquialism, which might easily be misunderstood. All languages have pitfalls, as I learned taking statements from Africans when I first arrived at Figtree. I would ask about the name of a kraal to be met with the reply "it was the village of Nasinga". This name "Nasinga" kept cropping up and I remember asking the African Corporal why so many Africans in the district were named Nasinga. It transpired that this was the Sindebele equivalent of "what's his name". Thereafter I insisted on the proper name of the kraal head – Nasinga was out.

Whilst on this course, I was instructed by Major Tomlinson to make some enquiries in town as to the affairs of a certain Corporal, who, rumour had it, had got himself involved financially. He had the reputation of haunting bars in town amongst other things. I proceeded on what, in other circumstances, might be called a "pub crawl".

When I totted up the results of my visits to the various bars, the total of this gentleman's cards amounted to well over £100 – none of the bar owners seemed unduly worried and there was, apparently, no thought of restricting credit. Although the bar owners were not unduly worried, Major Tomlinson certainly was and, ere long, the Corporal concerned was on his way out.

With little control of credit in bars and the fact that there were few forms of entertainment in Rhodesian towns at night, men tended to drift into bars looking for company, which was always there, and credit, which more often than not, was freely available. To some extent, all this was changed in the early '30s when the then Minister of Internal Affairs introduced a new Liquor Bill providing for the abolition of all credit for liquor on licenced premises, save for bona-fide residents on the premises, the introduction of proper tot measures and prohibiting the employment of bar-maids. The Minister at that time was one William Muter Leggate, a dour, taciturn teetotaller with very little sense of humour – a bit of an anachronism in those free and easy days and many were the stories going the rounds about this particular piece of legislation. The only printable one I can recall went something like this : "Why is Leggate like a stork?", the answer: "Because he can stick his bill up his backside!" Looking back, however, the abolition of credit in bars was one of the best things that ever happened.

But away from this digression – I returned to Figtree knowing a little more about criminal procedure and law, not to mention the local language, to be faced with what seemed to be a spate of sudden deaths. Three herd boys sheltering under a tree during a severe storm were killed by lightning and within a week, three others reported dead on an adjoining farm. These latter were not the victims of lightning however, for I found on arrival at the farm, that they had all bought "muti" from an African herbalist to make them "strong". I found what I suspected to be the remains of an aphrodisiac in the pocket of one of the deceased. Later enquiries confirmed this and revealed that two of them had paid half-a-crown for their potions, while the third had bought five bob's worth. He died within an hour or two, while the other two lingered for some hours afterwards. We collected the herbalist, together with his store of so called remedies and aphrodisiacs which were later taken to Bulawayo with the stomach contents of the three deceased, for analysis. Unfortunately there were no government analysts at this time and the work had to be undertaken by a private analytical chemist whose real work was in the mining field rather than forensic chemistry. Also, there were no known reagents for testing many of these local poisonous substances. The analyst's report was somewhat inconclusive and a preliminary examination resulted in the Attorney General "declining to prosecute".

The next death in this "black week" could scarcely be described as sudden death. An African road worker arrived in Camp shortly after dark, reporting that his "boss", an Italian road overseer, had been ill in his tent for the past three days, during which time he had not eaten. I climbed on Khaki and reached the road camp only to find that the overseer had already passed away. I got in touch with Plumtree through the railway phone and asked for a doctor to be sent up for a post mortem. It was during the rains and unfortunately the doctor was not available for a couple of days. The weather was hot and humid and by the time the doctor did arrive, the corpse was in a pretty bad state. I took Tpr Grosse with me to help at the P.M. and burial, but as soon as the

doctor started his grisly work, Tpr Grosse disappeared. The P.M. disclosed that pneumonia was the cause of death. In the meantime we found some planks at the road camp, knocked up some kind of rough coffin, had a grave dug by the road gang and I read the burial service from the Field Service Pocket Book over the graveside. Another "Isolated Grave" was recorded in the General Record Book and a week or so later, we erected a small cross over the grave and fenced it in.

Life went on with the occasional visitor. One I particularly remember was Drummond-Forbes who lived in Bulawayo, but had a ranch at Sandown in partnership with a well known Bulawayo dentist, Dr Freeze. He usually arrived at night when we had all gone to bed, his car full of all sorts of liquor. The parties that followed are best forgotten. Drummond-Forbes had some very fine shorthorn cattle and, if my memory serves correctly, one of his bulls, "Lomond", won the thousand-guinea trophy at the Bulawayo Agricultural Show.

Another Figtree district resident at that time was David Schwartz who died some years ago in Salisbury. He and his wife struggled with the native language without a great deal of success. At one time he was buying chickens from African hawkers at sixpence a time, fattening them up for two or three weeks before having them killed, dressed and despatched to a Bulawayo Hotel. One morning when their servant brought in their morning tea, David told him to tell the African responsible for poultry, to kill a turkey hen. This for a specific order from one of his Bulawayo customers. A short time later, on hearing lots of squawking going on in the yard, he went out to investigate and found that 30 of his prize hens had been slaughtered. It transpired that the message to kill a turkey hen had been construed as 30 hens. The upshot of this was a shortage of eggs at the pub for some weeks afterwards!

Mrs Schwartz was always in trouble with African servants and one day I nearly collapsed when I heard her talking her inimitable chilapa-lapa to a poor, unfortunate houseboy. "Now", she was saying, "if I engage wena, wena must subenza mushi, ikona fana-ko-lo first time. Now, tata lo bicycle round the back but ikona ride it." Yet somehow they got by.

Getting back to visitors. One evening just as it was getting dark, a utility cart arrived in camp pulled by a couple of horses, one of which was obviously lame. The driver, a dear old gentleman on his way to Syringa, asked if we could put him up for the night. He seemed a pleasant old chap, full of reminiscences of the early days. There was nothing much to eat in camp, so we decided to break into our reserve of tinned stuff and give the old boy a slap-up meal with all the trimmings we could muster. When he got up from the table after what we considered was the best meal we had had for many a long day, he delivered himself of this prize gaffe. "It has" he said, "given me the greatest pleasure to share your frugal meal." Once he was out of earshot, Teddy MacPherson turned to me and said "Well I'll be buggered, he should have been here last night when we had those terrible rissoles."

A more frequent visitor was Klingenstein, the Cattle Inspector from Fort Usher and ex member of the Police. A tall, spare New Zealand bachelor whose predilections for Picardy brandy frequently landed him in trouble. He drove round the countryside in a cart drawn by a couple of mules and always with a generous supply of what he called "medical comforts". Punctilious in carrying out his job during the day, he was

apt to resort to the joys of Picardy at night and occasionally became quite obstreperous. Keen on horses, he was a great follower of the English Turf and usually had pretty hefty bets on the Classics. He turned up in camp one evening after losing heavily on a horse ridden by Gardener, Lord Derby's jockey. Now Gardener's brother was stationed with me at Figtee at the time and "Klinkie" started on him. "I read in the paper the other day that your brother is a quiet and gentlemanly young man. So quiet and gentlemanly in fact, that he didn't like to push his way to the front and lost me all my damn money." There was nearly a fight over this, but we managed to calm him down eventually and his next visit was on a much happier note. Gardener won the Derby for Lord Derby on a horse called "Papyrus" – Klinkie won a packet, sold his cart and mules and bought himself a second hand Dodge car.

Another character, son of a well known publisher in London, had a habit of pitching up in camp on foot. He scorned Picardy brandy, preferring gin and was never without a flask in his hip pocket. He tried to deceive others – and himself – that it only contained water for the road, but the aroma of London Dry never left him and he finally ended up in a road gang for destitute Europeans at five bob a day putting down some of the original strip roads. Like a number of others of his ilk, he was never without his old school tie round his waist in place of a belt.

Talking of old school ties reminds me of one, Tustin, a recruit in Depot with me in 1920. He had very little in the way of kit and was constantly borrowing clothes for his trips into town. Approaching one of the lads one evening to borrow a tie, the young lad told him that the only one he had was his old school tie. "That doesn't matter two hoots" replied Tustin, "any good school will do". Tustin didn't last very long in the Police, but many years later when I was running the C.I.D. and Immigration in Salisbury, who should be ushered into my office but Tustin, wearing, believe it or not, an Old Etonian tie. He obviously hadn't changed – any good school will do!

With the assistance of an infatuated woman, who had fallen for his glib talk about all his ranches in Rhodesia and who had paid all their expenses to get back here, it transpired later that he had just managed to leave England in time where things were getting little too hot for him. On instructions from Joe Brundell, the Chief Immigration Officer in Bulawayo, I had to tell Tustin that he'd been declared a Prohibited Immigrant and would have to leave the country within three days. "But my dear old boy, you can't do that to me" Tustin protested. But the dear old boy could and did and Tustin duly departed for pastures new in which to ply his wits. His stock in trade : a plausible tongue, a vivid imagination plus a personality that had an attraction to women. The troops have a word for his ilk – the by-product of a bull.

But to get back to Figtree days, it was about this time I came a cropper off Khaki. Cantering along a path some ten miles from Camp, we stumbled into a mass of spring hare holes and, in trying to avoid one, Khaki put his foot into another and we turned a complete somersault. I landed on my back on a rock which knocked me out for a few minutes, but eventually I was able to remount and get to a nearby farm where I was taken into Bulawayo Hospital where I remained for nearly a month.

Grey Ward in the old Memorial Hospital in Fort Street brings back memories of Doctors Eaton, Forrester, Standish-White, Strachan and Vigne, all practising in Bulawayo at that time. Our nights were often disturbed by yells and shouting from a

small annex to the ward which housed the alcoholics, many of them in the D.T.s. There was no other place in which these men could be accommodated at this time and our sympathies went out to the nurses and probationers who had to cope with these people, screeching about all kinds of animals, dominated by elephants crawling up the wall. Knowing I was in the Police, Matron came to me in high dudgeon one morning saying "An awful thing has happened – a policeman was found with a probationer in the linen room last night – a simply dreadful business". Poor Miss Pettigrew: she was, however, more upset with Dr Eaton, the Medical Superintendent, than with anyone else, because when she reported the matter to him, his rather dry observation was "Do you think they intended to steal the linen?" She was furious, but old Dr Eaton remained unperturbed – he had a sense of humour which Matron sadly lacked.

Soon after my return from hospital, Lieut. H. M. (Monty) Surgey took over the Bulalima-Mangwe Sub-District from Inspector Goddard. His inspection visits were a joy. Blessed with a refreshingly bright outlook on life in general, he was completely unconventional and had a marvellous sense of humour. He took a poor view of the conditions under which we were living and certainly the old pole and dagga buildings were in a pretty ropey state. Yet, they were typical of the times and we had become attached to them. Bending almost double to get into the "skoff kia" scarcely seemed to bother us, nor the borer dust which frequently descended from the ancient thatched roof poles into the soup. Monty wasn't happy and eventually managed to get a whole fiver (£5) out of the B.S.A. Company to rethatch the worst huts. No more borer dust in the soup!

It was not, however, until Responsible Government took over in 1923 that things began to happen and it was decided to move the Camp from the old Outspan to its present site adjacent to the village. Brick buildings, a real bathroom with running water was something completely new in our experience. It seemed the lap of luxury and as far as we were concerned, the white ants could have what was left of the old Camp, which they proceeded to do in remarkably short time. In the matter of a few short months, the whole place was completely overgrown and all that remained of some 25 years of occupation was the lone, isolated grave of Trooper Egan, who died there in 1908. Gone now were the old six mile treks to the station in the old springless scotchcart for tennis on a Saturday afternoon; gone were the evening rides to the station on Station Duty (at this time, it was usual to send a man to the station to meet every mail train – no one knew why, except perhaps to 'show the flag'); gone too were the periodical courts in the pub; and, gone also were the days when one could take a gun and a dog out in the evening in search of an elusive guinea fowl or the odd duiker. We were now confined to the five acres of the new camp site. No telephone yet, but we did get a typewriter – modernising the Corps was really on its way. Until now, all correspondence had to be hand written and copied in an old fashioned letter book, using wet rags and the letter press. I sometimes wonder what happened to all these old letter presses, some of which it was rumoured, had been used as "thumb screws" to produce "voluntary" statements.

Major John Ingham had taken over the Bulawayo District from Major Tomlinson and at one of his first inspections, he suggested that I apply to sit for the forthcoming examination for promotion to commissioned rank. Should I? I was not long in making

a decision and in April of 1924, proceeded to Salisbury to sit the exam together with Jerry Watson, who later became O.C. Military Forces; Cowgirl, who later became a Native Commissioner and who, during the Second World War years, met his death trying to cross the Umzingwane River in flood at West Nicholson; Jim Appleby, who later became Commissioner of Police; Stanley Adams, a pre-war policeman who had rejoined in the early twenties and, three others, whose names I can't recall. As far as I can remember, four of the eight who sat the examination, qualified, all of whom were subsequently promoted, although I had to wait until early 1927 until my turn came. Looking back, it was interesting to recollect that there were at that stage, only some twenty officers in the Force. Immediately after the examination, I proceeded on my first leave to England.

Reflecting on the past some fifty years later, what were my most important memories and impressions of those first four years? First and foremost was the marvellous climate. Memories of those crystal clear sunlight days on patrol with not a care in the world, will always remain with me. I remember that I sometimes found myself singing at the top of my voice on horseback, just for the joy of living.

The friendliness of the people both in towns and in the country, everyone seemed to know everyone else and were happy to meet. The simple, unsophisticated African tribesman, still living much as he did before the arrival of the European, especially in the Matopo Hills, where, amongst the men, the "mootji" was, more often than not, the only article of clothing (if a "mootji" could be called clothing) and many of the elder headmen still wore the Zulu headring.

The soft sibilant Sindebele language with its sharply contrasting "clicks".

Nights around the camp fire with the local tribesmen gossiping with the African constables. Wood smoke and the beauty of the star-studded canopy of the African night. Nothing quite like it anywhere in the world.

The early morning flush of dawn and the soft lowing of cattle in the kraal – beginning of another day.

The animals groomed, watered and fed, breakfast cooked on a campfire, saddle up and away without rush or stress. Time – does it really matter? Not at all – 'tis given to all men to enjoy. In any case, Africans did not have watches. If one wanted to know when a certain event took place, the position of the sun provided the answer – over there, overhead, over there, delightfully simple.

The women working in the lands with seldom a break in their gossip, the shrill whistle of the picannins driving the cattle and the old men squatting in the shade, moving only as the sun mounted to keep in the shade, beer pot close at hand.

All those wonderful memories of my early impressions that will be etched in my mind forever.

Other memories of getting back to civilisation – a couple of days leave occasionally in Bulawayo where one could stay at the Grand Hotel – the leading hotel at the time, for 17/6 a day, all in. Old McMurray, the manager, greeting one with a Mr. Errrr (he liked to think he remembered everyone's name, which he couldn't, and when told would say "Yes, of course"); Solomon the famous Head Porter who did know everyone – he was a kind of general factotum, handled all the baggage, booked seats on the train, supervised the African Porters and was a mine of information. He and Pat Fallon

of the Meikle's Hotel in Salisbury, were two of the best known characters in the country and both retired wealthy men.

The Grand Hotel at this time had its little coterie of permanent residents – Sir Charles Coghlan, his wife and daughter, Petal; "Kapata" Mitchel, the auctioneer and his daughter; old Blackler, the jeweller; Fingleson, the local bookmaker and his wife and last, but not least, Miss Huntley, sister of Harry Huntley. She wore the most incredible hats, festooned with what appeared to be bunches of artificial cherries and other fruit. They were enormous creations and how she ever managed to balance them on her head as she swept into the dining room every lunch time, remains a mystery. But the balancing effort must have been quite a strain for I never remember seeing her smile or relax in any way.

These weekend trips into town usually meant racing in the afternoon – Dick Kelly's Dunhaven was always good for a bet, trained by Jonah White, it always looked in the pink of condition. Among the other owners and trainers, Frankie Harris, Berners Myhill, Miles Capstick, Dan Vincent and, not forgetting "Atti" Atkinson, for many years the Secretary of the Bulawayo Club. Dan Vincent owned the "famous" Black Sambo, a hollow back black gelding who looked as if he might easily break in half when the jockey mounted. Jack Cohlan was the Judge, Major Tomlinson of the Police the Official Starter and uncle "Alf" Brewer from Westacre the Handicapper. Stakes in those days were minute compared to present-day standards: £20 for the winner of minor races and occasionally as much as £50 for the feature race of the day. With the exception of one Belstead, all the jockeys were Africans, whose riding ability and tactics made the selection of winners an interesting if not a dicey business.

Major Tomlinson was a good starter of horses but there were times when he was not so good at getting his old Hupmobile car going or started. One day, this made him late for the race and I recall seeing his old car stationary in Selbourne Avenue in charge of his batman. I stopped and enquired what had happened, but all the batman knew was that the engine had "gone to sleep" as he put it. I left the races early that day and on the way back to town noticed that the car had obviously been moved and was no longer there. The amusing thing about all this was that although the batman had eventually been able to get the thing started, he couldn't stop it and the car finished up in the Police Camp halfway into the dining room of Major Tomlinson's quarters, knocking down a wall in the process. Up to this time, no one had ever heard of an African driving a car, certainly there were no African drivers in Bulawayo – there were only a few cars anyway and the idea of Africans ever driving was looked upon as unlikely.

NYAMANDHLOVU

On my return from leave in the September of 1924, I was posted to Nyamandhlovu to replace Corporal Grantham who had died there shortly before.

Nyamandhlovu – translated literally – the meat of the elephant, gave rise to some argument as to how the place got its name. Some believed that at one time it had been the happy hunting ground of elephant hunters, others that it was so named because it was the much favoured grazing ground for the King's (Lobengula's) cattle. Some time later, I was able to talk to two of Lobengula's sons – Nyamanda and Madholi Khumalo

who were still alive and living in the district. They both confirmed that the latter explanation was the right one.

But whatever might have been the state of the veld in Lobengula's day, Nyamandhlovu was a depressing sight when the Victoria Falls train dumped me off there late one afternoon. The 1923/24 season had been a disastrous one – the rains had failed, the whole countryside was dry and arid and livestock losses had been exceptionally heavy.

Troopers Spencer and Watts met me at the station with a couple of "bandits" to carry my kit and saddlery. A hasty look round the collection of dreary looking, corrugated iron buildings that constituted Nyamandhlovu and we were on our way to the Camp, a few hundred yards away.

My quarters – a thatched kaytor hut in one corner of the square, looked reasonably comfortable. The troopers were accommodated in a wood and iron building in the centre of the square, a building which, apart from being in an advanced stage of succumbing to dry-rot, was the happy hunting ground of white ants. Progress across the floor was an adventurous business, as the white ant incursions had been repaired by bits of old petrol cases and blue mottled soap boxes. "Careful how you go" murmured Spencer, "the floor's a bit uneven" – a masterpiece of understatement.

The following day I went the rounds meeting the local officials. S.W. Greer was the Native Commissioner – a short tubby figure who hailed from Natal and a first-rate linguist from whom I was to learn a great deal about African language and customs. He had no use for anything approaching what might be called protocol, never stood on his dignity and went out of his way to help young policemen. I never saw him wear anything other than white slacks, white shirt and a white bow tie. He was never without a huge pipe, even in Court, from which he produced clouds of "Magaliesberg" tobacco smoke. His native name "M'nyeli nyeli" (a short stubby indigenous tree), suited him down to the ground. He was held in the utmost respect by the local tribesmen.

The only other member of the Native Department (as it was then known) was H. E. Bawden, the clerk. He was a former member of the Indian Police whose career in India had been cut short by some unfortunate contretemps of which he rarely spoke. He had later joined the B.S.A. Police and later still, having passed the Civil Service Law Examinations, the Language and African Customs Examinations, had transferred to the Native Department. Poor old Bawden. While he could pass any examination with ease, the practical application of the knowledge he had acquired seemed to be quite beyond him. He had an incredibly pedantic approach to everyday problems affecting administration procedures, which contrasted sharply with the quick wit and pragmatic approach of "M'nyeli nyeli", his chief, and it was for this reason they did not make a very good team.

The only other Government official was "Jock" Paxton, the Cattle Inspector. He and his wife lived in a couple of kaytor huts between the Police Camp and the railway station. What a couple! "Jock", short and squat and very Scotch, his wife tall and angular with a complexion which defies description – a result of many years spent on the West African Coast combined with an incredible thirst for Johnny Walker and kindred spirits.

They were never able to keep an African servant for more than a few days. Almost

every other week, a sad-looking African would turn up in camp complaining the "the missus has chayered me". I would duly send one of the troopers along to find out what it was all about, never, I'm afraid, with any satisfactory result. All he got was a tirade on the short-comings of every official in the country from the Governor downwards and a masterly description, in detail, of the inability of the local native Commissioner and Member i/c the Police to control the local population. This together with dire forebodings as to the future of the country if left in the hands of people like ourselves!

Poor "Jock" certainly had a cross to bear, but with the aid of Johnny Walker he managed to keep going, whilst the mountain of empty bottles behind the kaytor huts grew to enormous proportions. Great was our relief when they were transferred and replaced by Reynards. Reynards, a Jameson raider, was quite a different kettle of fish who afterwards became Warden at Victoria Falls where his repertoire and anecdotes of the early days in Rhodesia earned him quite a reputation.

Nyamandhlovu District covered a huge area bounded by the Gwaai River in the North, Bubi district to the East, Bulawayo and Bulalima-Mangwe District in the South and Bechuanaland in the West. The nearest Police Post to the North was Wankie, some 200 miles away. The intervening country (including what is now the Wankie Game Reserve) was largely uninhabited save for a few bushmen, although the newly established timber concessions in the vicinity of Umgusa Spur on the line of rail, were just starting up. Patrols in that part of the country were quite an adventure and mostly undertaken by a Mounted Native Constable, Nyamandhlovu being one of the two Stations in the country that had Mounted Native Constables on strength – the mounts by the way, being mules. The lack of any means of communication, other than by runner, created many problems, as did also, the complete absence of roads.

On one occasion a murder was reported from a remote corner of what is now the Gwaai Reserve and I asked for a doctor to be sent out from Bulawayo to conduct a post-mortem. In due course, Dr Vigne arrived in a taxi driven by one Dick Farrell, a well-known Bulawayo taxi driver. I gave them a guide and, after spending the night in camp, they set off at sun-up the next morning, only to return long after dark, reporting that it was quite impossible to get within about sixty miles of the spot where the alleged murder had taken place. There was nothing for it but to send Trooper Spencer out with instructions to try and reach the spot and, if practical, to have the body carried in.

Spencer was away a week and came back to Camp with the head of the deceased in a nose-bag, reporting that the body was in such a state of decomposition that it was impossible to bring it back. However, as the injuries which allegedly caused the death were head ones, he thought the next best thing was to bring the head back for the necessary post-mortem examination. This grisly object hung in a tree overnight and the next morning Spencer took it into Bulawayo by train for examination. A little unorthodox perhaps, but the best that could be done under the circumstances. Such were the conditions under which the Police had to work at the time.

To digress, I thought the time had now come when I should make some enquiries regarding the cattle I had left behind at Figtee when I went on leave. They had been left with a farmer who had undertaken to look after them in return for a percentage of the calf crop. In reply to my letter, I was told that, owing to the drought, I had lost the

bull, four cows and nearly all the new calves, who had died of stiff sickness. "What did I want to do now?" he asked. My brief essay into the cattle business seemed doomed to disaster, as there was nowhere to keep the beasts at Nyamandhlovu. The silent rancher business was obviously out for me. I wrote to a dealer who offered me about a third of what I had paid but, deciding to cut my losses, I accepted.

With the proceeds, I bought my first motor car, a second-hand Dodge two seater from a firm in Bulawayo. The salesman was none other than "Bunny" Cairns, the founder of a well-known firm now bearing his name in Salisbury. Running a car in those days was quite a tricky business – there were, for instance, no petrol pumps anywhere in the country. Petrol was only supplied in cases – two, four gallon tins in each case and running out of petrol could be quite a problem, so one never ventured too far without a spare case in the boot. A shovel and an axe also formed an essential part of one's motoring equipment.

It is interesting to recall that, at this time, drivers in rural areas did not require a driving licence and, save in the Municipal areas, there was no such thing as car registration or number plates. All we had to pay was a wheel tax of ten shillings a wheel per annum for which a small metal disc was issued to be attached to the car in whatever manner the owner cared to choose. Let it be said that it was just as well that car owners were not milked in respect of tax, for the roads were still pretty primitive and journeys of any length, quite adventurous. Digging out of sand in the dry weather, fixing chains and digging out of mud in the wet, only to find in the end that the only way of getting out was to be hauled out by oxen.

The big motoring adventure, however, was the arrival in Nyamandhlovu, a few days after Christmas 1924, of the Court-Treatt Cape to Cairo Expedition, the first of its kind ever to be undertaken. The car, a Crossley Tender of the type used by the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Force during the 1914-18 War, rolled into camp late one afternoon and from it descended a tall burly figure who introduced himself as Major Court-Treatt. He was accompanied by his wife Stella, a very attractive, petite brunette and a youngster of about my age who turned out to be Stella's brother.

This was the first I'd heard of such an expedition and I got quite a start when, in reply to my question as to where they were off to, Court-Treatt mentioned quite casually, Cairo. Good God, I thought, what the hell are they doing in Nyamandhlovu – the only road North from here peters out less than twenty miles away and Cairo is quite a bit further on! Still, better hold my horses for the moment until such time as we can get down to tin tacks tomorrow.

So, having turned out the "bandits" to help them pitch their camp on the edge of the square, I invited the party along for a sundowner and whatever dinner we could muster. The following morning I had a chat to Court-Treatt as to what route they intended to follow and he proceeded to produce a map showing the old Pandamatenga road to the Falls! This did, many moons ago, provide a route for the pre-pioneers and missionaries from Bechuanaland along the border, but as far as my limited knowledge went, it hadn't been used for over thirty years and had probably disappeared altogether under bush encroachment.

How incredible I thought, that such an expedition should have started off without any reliable information as to roads or even tracks – theirs was certainly going to be

a tough assignment. "Time spent on reconnaissance" says the book, "is seldom wasted", but it appeared as if there had been very little, certainly on this section of their route.

All I could tell Court-Treatt was the nearest point to the old Pandamatenga road was the Native Department sub-station on the West bank of the Gwaai river. If he cared to try that, we would send a runner to Tjolotjo and advise the people there to expect them and to assist in any way possible. Although he seemed to be perfectly happy with this, I was beginning to have second thoughts about it, with visions of possibly having to send out a patrol to rescue a stranded party.

I enquired about how they were equipped – petrol, oil, spares, food, medical supplies, water, etc., as there was literally no hope of them obtaining supplies of any kind on the route they proposed taking until they reached the Falls. The extra forty four gallon drum of petrol was not likely to take them very far, given that part of the route would be heavy going through kalahari sand. I managed to persuade them to leave some of their huge stock of spares with me and take an extra drum of fuel instead. As it was, the Crossley was carrying an enormous load of camping equipment, food, clothing, photographic material, apart from spare wheels and tyres and unless they could work out some kind of drill, the making and breaking of camp every day was going to be a laborious business for all concerned. Up until now, all had gone reasonably well as they had more or less been in touch with civilisation since leaving the Cape, but they scarcely seemed to realise that, from now on, the going was going to be, to put it mildly, tough with a capital "T".

Court-Treatt thought it would be a good idea to start off from Nyamandhlovu on new Year's day (1 January 1925), so with this in mind, the troops and I put our heads together with the idea of giving the expedition a good send-off. The chickens were duly slaughtered, we got the only two bottles of "bubbly" from Iky Meltzer's pub and managed to lay our hands on a tinned Christmas pudding.

Sundowners put us in good form for the dinner, which incidentally, put quite a strain on our cutlery and crockery resources – not to mention the shortage of glasses. None the less, in the frame of mind in which we found ourselves, the "bubbly" tasted just as good in enamel mugs! Save that the chicken was as tough as hell and Charlie, my servant and cook, had rather overdone the Worcester sauce, the dinner all passed off well to the strains of de Groot and the Piccadilly Orchestra on my old gramophone. We then took turns in dancing with Stella – this time by favour of Carol Gibbons and the Savoy Orpheans – nostalgic memories indeed. Rain was pelting down outside, but nothing mattered. Come midnight, we gave of our best over "Auld Lang Syne", toasted the expedition and so to bed.

At day-break the following morning, I sent my old horse "Khaki" along the Tjolotjo road in charge of a Native Constable, as I had promised to accompany the party in the Crossley for the first five miles. The village of Nyamandhlovu turned out to bid the party "bon voyage", and off we set. Fortunately the rain had stopped and the sun was shining, but we had to go through a small muddy spruit which seemed to be a problem for the Crossley and I couldn't help wondering how the expedition was going to fare when they got into real mud, as inevitably they were destined to do.

By now, "Khaki" was in sight and it was time to say "good bye". They left me saying that by this time next year they would be in Cairo. I couldn't help wondering

if they would make it at all! In the event it took them two years after many trials and tribulations and as far as I can remember, it took them two months to get from Nyamandhlovu to Wankie. The only contact I had after that was a belated message from Kapiri Mposhi in what was then Northern Rhodesia, asking me to forward the spares they had left with me over nine months previously. My only memento of this visitation was a copy of Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion", given to me by Stella's brother and some snaps of Stella in camp at Nyamandhlovu, looking remarkably "soignée" in her beautifully cut khaki suit. I often wondered what she must have looked like after weeks in the Ngamo Flats during the wet weather! I got the impression she had great courage – she certainly needed every ounce of it on what must have been an incredibly difficult trip. Curiously enough I happened to be in London during my leave in 1928 and there in the Stoll Theatre in Kingsway, the film of the Court-Treatt Cape to Cairo Expedition was being shown. How easy it all looked in celluloid, viewed from a comfortable seat with appropriate background music. How different in reality.

But now, back to Nyamandhlovu; the time had come for me to have a look-see at the district and so it was that I was to meet some of the residents. The Binghams, a charming old world couple – Mrs Bingham gracious and full of wit – Jack, an elegant, immaculate Edwardian figure and grandson of Lord Lucan, a controversial figure in the events leading up to The Charge of the Light Brigade during the Crimea War. Both were extremely kind to me during the time I was stationed at Nyamandhlovu, as was Jack's brother, Lionel, who maintained a separate bachelor establishment on the same farm. I spent many happy week-ends at Edwalini.

The farm, Spring Grange, where George Mitchell, later to be Prime Minister, was building up a magnificent herd of pedigree Herefords – both he and his wife were delightful hosts. They always had a house full of guests for Christmas, among whom I was fortunate to be one.

Jack Poole, late of the 60th, led a bachelor existence on Cawston Block. A great character, full of wit with a tremendous zest for life. He came out of the 1914-18 War full of decorations of which he rarely spoke. His house when he was there – which wasn't often – was, in the manner of most bachelors, rather untidy. Periodicals and magazines by the dozen strewn all over the floor provided a happy hunting ground for rats which infested the place. They seemed to have a predilection for "Country Life", which, Jack observed, showed how intelligent they were! On a more serious note, rats were a real problem on Cawston Block, for Jack had planted quite an acreage of cotton which was completely ruined by a plague of them in 1925.

Jack left Rhodesia in 1926/27 after what he called a period of mucking about in Matabeleland and in 1929 joined the Sudan Political Service. Being on the Reserve of Officers, he was recalled to his regiment in 1939 and had the bad luck, after having been a P.O.W. in the 1914/18 War, to go into the bag again at Calais in 1940. His escape from Germany after tremendous difficulties at the third attempt in 1916, was spectacular enough for King George V to summon him to a private audience. In a tribute to him in the "Times" after he died, the Hon. Terence Prittie wrote : "His active and astute brain was behind some of the most exciting and successful escapes of the war. Those of us who served with him will remember, too, his warm heart, ready wit and patient courage. He was an inspiration to all who knew him, not just behind the

barbed wire, but throughout a life full of friendship and shared laughter." What a loss to Rhodesia when he left.

The Prince of Wales toured Rhodesia in 1925 and arrangements had been made for the Royal Train to stop at Morgan's Spur on the way back from the Falls for a duck shoot on the pans there and I accompanied Mr Greer to meet the party. A number of people had come out from Bulawayo for the shoot, including Col. Birney, General Manager of the Railways and Ellman-Brown. On the arrival of the train, we were all introduced to His Royal Highness, after which Col. Birney took H.R.H. off in his Sunbeam car to the pans. All went well until the Sunbeam got stuck in the mud near the pans and in spite of all efforts, proved impossible to extricate.

I was travelling with Greer in his Willys Overland immediately behind the Sunbeam and it fell to us to collect H.R.H., who was a little sarcastic about the shortcomings of British cars as against American ones in this particular kind of country.

Admiral Halsey and Captain Dudley North, who were also part of the entourage, shot extremely well, but H.R.H. was not particularly keen. When Ellman-Brown came along saying "Come along here, Sir, I think this is the best place" he was treated to a short but pithy dissertation on the merits of the "best place" and we all promptly adjourned for a cold beer underneath a shady tree. A pleasant interlude, although I got the impression that the Prince was rather bored and really not interested in the shoot.

Later that year, Greer suggested that I should have a go at taking the Native Language examination in Sindebele and, in order to get some practice, I should try and prosecute in the language – he would put me right where I slipped up. This served me in good stead and enabled me to qualify when the time came. Court in Nyamandhlovu was held in the Native Commissioner's office – a kaytor hut – certainly not very impressive surroundings. The accused squatted on the floor, almost at the feet of the "beak", who, before the proceedings commenced, would light up the inevitable pipe, blowing out huge clouds of blue smoke, settle himself in his chair and, after a suitable interval to ensure the unfortunate miscreant was duly impressed by the majesty of the law, would remark, "Well, Seward, let's get started."

In long cases involving a preliminary examination, Greer would say, "Lead the evidence if you like, but I always find it best to let them tell their own story and if there are any points you want to bring out, you can ask questions afterwards." And that's how it usually worked out in the end. Greer had a far bigger vocabulary in Sindebele than most Africans who appeared before him and seemed to know instinctively whether or not he was being told the truth. Above all, he had tremendous patience and would spend an enormous amount of time quietly listening and then suddenly spring a question which would completely shatter the composure of the accused or witness. "Ah," Greer would murmur, "now we're getting closer to the truth". At the same time, I was learning that, in dealing with African affairs, patience was the key.

As I mentioned earlier, we had two of Lobengula's sons living in the district and they occasionally came into Nyamandhlovu to pay their respects to the native Commissioner. Madhloli Khumalo especially, was a most commanding figure – well over six feet tall, tremendously well built and with quite a presence. The usual crowd of litigants outside the office would greet his arrival with cries of "Baba, Inkoos Inkulu" and so on. A chair would be produced in the Native Commissioner's office – it was

inconceivable that the Khumalo should sit on the floor, and Greer would discuss with him the affairs of the district. Almost without fail, Madhloli would come over to see me in the Police Camp afterwards. Always I would compliment him on the condition of his horse and always, he would talk of everything under the sun except what he had really come for – a tin of saddle soap. I made a point of seeing that he never went away empty-handed.

New settlers began arriving in the district – a Col. and Mrs King together with their son and the Hon. Peter Tufton, who opened up Rochester Farm with the idea of growing tobacco and cotton. They soon became known as the "tough kings", but somehow or other, never seemed to be able to establish reasonable relations with their African labour or house servants. Mrs King in particular, seemed to have some kind of phobia about Africans and I remember spending a great deal of time investigating her complaint that an attempt had been made to poison them, which eventually appeared to be completely without foundation. After this episode the whole family spoke in French whenever Africans were around. Needless to say I came to the conclusion they would not last long in Africa, which indeed proved to be the case, for not long after I left Nyamandhlovu, they all left to return to England.

Two things did stick in my mind about Rochester – the first, a huge wild fig tree on a small rock outcrop in a land that they were preparing for tobacco. Whilst on a visit there, the son, Cecil, asked my advice on how they could get rid of this outcrop and large tree in the middle of the land. I remembered we had a case of gelignite back in camp, left behind by a roads overseer and I suggested that we could use some of this to good effect. Packing forty sticks into jam tins, well tamped down, we blew the whole thing to smithereens, to the consternation and utter amazement of the farm workers. The other was the fact that the Kings had installed water-borne sanitation in the house – this in a land of long-drop, piccanin kias was quite an innovation and the envy of everyone in the district.

Then there were the Barrys – Gerald Barry and his wife, Lady Margaret, arrived by train one afternoon to stay with the Binghams. To their consternation, the only transport the Binghams had provided to take them to the farm some ten miles away, was a small ox wagon. Gerald Barry explained that his wife had not been too well and the thought of a three hour journey in a springless ox wagon was rather daunting. I explained that the ox wagon was the only transport the Binghams had, but I would be quite happy to run them out in my old dodge, an offer that was gratefully accepted. Gerald Barry, who served with the Coldstream Guards in France during World War I, joined the Rhodesian Forces at the outbreak of war in 1939 and later commanded a battalion of the Black Watch in Somaliland and Crete, where he earned a reputation as a fearless leader. Unfortunately for Rhodesia, the Barrys decided to return to England in the 1950s.

It was about this time that police Headquarters decided to have what was called a Police Conference each year. Each district would elect one N.C.O. and one Trooper to attend the conference in Salisbury, to discuss domestic problems affecting what might be called the Corp's internal economy. I was elected to represent Bulawayo District and I well remember Col. Capell, the then Commissioner, holding up his hands in horror at one of the resolutions passed – this to the effect that hot water should be

provided in bathroom blocks in Depot and the various district Headquarters. "I bath and shave in cold water every day" said Capell, "and so can you." There were, of course, the inevitable sceptic mutterings in the background to the effect that they doubted whether the old so-and-so ever had a bath!

There was, at this time, a whiskey war going on in Salisbury and Bill Over confided in me that he could let me have a case of Johnny Walker Black Label or Dimple Haig for ten bob (shillings) a bottle. No sooner said than done and if any good came out of this particular conference, it was the two cases I took back to Nyamandhlovu with me – if hot baths were out of the question, we could certainly warm the inner man!

INYATI

During the early part of 1926, I received instructions to proceed to Inyati to take over from Sgt. Major Salt who was off on leave. I enjoyed Inyati. The old London Missionary Station is the oldest in the country and there I learned much about the early history of Rhodesia and improved my knowledge of Sindebele. Salt had left behind his Australian cockatoo – a damnable bird that insisted on flying into the "skoff kia" at meal times and leaving what one wit described as its "visiting cards" all over the place. I didn't mind this so much, but when it started on my car, the "cards" were having a curious effect on the paintwork and I decided it was time to put Master Cockatoo under lock and key for public indecency.

One day I found Leslie Seymour-Smith, who had been with me at Nyamandhlovu, sheltering under a mopani tree, complete with donkey, tent and prospecting pan. He had the mining bug and was intent on discovering a fortune hidden somewhere away in that arid bush country. Inyati was a district full of prospectors and miners full of enthusiasm, always looking for that elusive "tail" in the pan. Miners, in contrast to the farmers of Nyamandhlovu, who were always pessimistic, were invariably optimistic – another few shots or another few yards of digging and there was a fortune awaiting them. As for mining generally, I came to the conclusion that it was far easier to put money into the ground than to try and take it out. But Leslie did quite well eventually out of, what I believe, was the Patsy Mine near Essexvale. At any rate, he now owns the Leopard Rock Hotel on the Vumba and a very genial host he is to boot.

"Cerebos" Salt having returned from leave, I now found myself under order for transfer to Depot in Salisbury. In Bulawayo, "Snitch" Hutchings and Rodney Stone decided we must have a farewell party on the night before I was to leave for Salisbury. What a night! We went over to the Drill Hall in my car – I certainly remember going there, but nothing at all of the return journey. What I do know is that on waking up next morning, I found the car half way up the barrack room steps with two flat front tyres. Along came "Snitch". "Blimey" he said, "that's the last ruddy time I'm ever going to go in a car with you, it was worse than any flipping rodeo ride". Rodney Stone joined us inspecting the damage, casually observing in passing, that the sooner I left for Salisbury, the better it would be for all concerned. But, it was a good send-off!

SALISBURY DEPOT

Depot, when I eventually arrived, had undergone many changes since my first arrival there. Gone were the old wood and iron barrack rooms and troops were now

accommodated in comparatively modern blocks with two men to a room and where, wonder of wonders, hot water had at last made its appearance in the bathrooms. Reporting to Capt. Rochester, the then Commandant, I was told I was to take over instruction in Law and Police Duties for both European and African recruits. Ideas were changing however and instead of "instruction" being confined to reading out passages of the Police Code Book, compiled by Capt. Phillips way back in 1913, it was proposed that a complete new syllabus be drawn up. Would I kindly get on with it right away.

Salisbury in 1927 was still very much a "one-horse" town with a European population of about 8 000 and with sprawling suburbs and very dusty roads. Tarmac had not yet made its appearance. The speed limit was 15 miles per hour, which resulted in my first appearance in Court as an accused when I was fined £2 for speeding along Second Street at 20 m.p.h. Most people cycled to their offices in the morning, whilst rickshaws remained the troops' favourite method of getting into town at night.

About this time there was some excitement in Camp when a recruit was found dead in his bed one morning. Apparently he had been involved in some kind of fracas in one of the bars in town the previous evening and had been hit over the head, but it was never discovered who was responsible. A month or two later, a young recruit was murdered by his room mate who stabbed him through the body with a bayonet – a grisly business which I had to investigate at two o'clock in the morning. The recruit responsible was found to be mentally deranged and later removed to a mental institution in England. The only comment from R.S.M. "Jock" Douglas was – "It's terrible, getting more like the Foreign Legion every day."

Early in 1927, having been promoted to Commissioned Rank at the magnificent salary of £30 a month, one of my first duties was to accompany the then Governor, Sir John Chancellor, on a tour of the Umvukwes as a kind of extra A.D.C. I reported to Government House where I received instructions to do a preliminary reconnaissance of the route and the places where H. E. was to stop overnight. This was just at the time of the first tobacco boom, when farmers in the Umvukwes were getting three shillings and six pence a pound for their crop and everyone was on top of the world. "Beauty" Andrews was the "tobacco king" and the leading light in the tobacco world. Everyone was looking forward to H. E.'s visit and full of bright prospects for the future. Alas, with the world recession in a few short years, many of the farms were left derelict, their owners working on strip roads and the Lobangwe diversion on the Victoria Falls railway line. What is now known as the Centenary area was completely unoccupied – the last farm in the Umvukwes area being Donji, occupied by Quinton. Beyond that and considered completely in "the blue", was Tremlett, whose farm could only be reached by careful negotiation of somewhat hazardous corduroy bridges which swayed uneasily under the weight of a car. Now of course, Tremlett's farm is in the middle of a prosperous tobacco area.

In 1927, "Show Week" in Salisbury was the affair of the year. Dances and dinner parties were the order of the day, culminating in the "Show Ball" at the Prince's hall, where the music was provided by Dave Sheppard's band. The earliest I got to bed that week was two-thirty in the morning, after Umvukwes had played Marandellas at rugger in the Meikle's lounge, the "ball" being an oval tray. The game was abandoned when

the "ball" disappeared through window and "Robbie" Robinson, the manager, politely suggested that enough was enough!

Carefree, halcyon days – the show itself intimate where everyone knew everyone else. The ground itself was quite small and cars drew up all the way around the ring often with room to spare.

Earlier in the year, it had been decided to send a Police column through the Goromonzi, Marandellas, Mrewa and Mtoko Districts. This was intended as a kind of training exercise in addition to "showing the flag" in the rural areas.

On this occasion, the column was commanded by Capt. Rochester, with Lieut. Parr as second in command, Lieut. Stanley-Adams in command of No. 1 Troop and myself in command of No. 2 Troop, supported by a machine gun Troop and the Askari platoon. Transport, consisting of mule wagons, was the responsibility of an old sweat, "Conductor" Schlacter, who was assisted by none other than Sgt. Hughes-Halls. My Troop was made up of newly joined recruits who had only been out from the U.K. for a matter of a few weeks and their efforts at cooking in the bush had to be seen to be believed. One of our biggest problems was getting the supply wagons through the rough tracks and quite frequently, we had to make our own tracks through the bush.

At Mtoko, the column split up and I had to take my Troop through the Mtoko Reserve to the Mazoe river, after establishing a base camp not far from an abandoned small working curiously named "New Fullback", near the foot of a hill called Bombodza. Thereafter we were referred to as the Bombodza Bombardiers! A night spent on the banks of the Mazoe River was memorable by the fact that lions grunting and occasionally roaring upset our horses, so much so, that most of the night was spent trying to pacify them. Nevertheless, a couple got away and got badly injured on the rocks in the river bank and bed.

The following morning an African messenger arrived with a message from the O.C. to the effect that my Troop and I were to return to Mtoko with all possible speed. No reason was given, but I got the Troop saddled up and made our way back to the base camp at Bombodza, arriving there about midday, only to find the place deserted and a factitious note pinned to a tree which read – "Gone without paying the rent", signed "Bombodza Bombardiers". Shortly afterwards, Stanley-Adams arrived with his Troop, but we were completely out of rations, either for ourselves or horses. We decided that, as no reason had been given for the re-call, we would spend the night at Bombodza, giving the horses a well earned rest, and push on to Mtoko before sun-up nest morning.

The next day's trek was dull and weary, broken only by our midday halt when Stanley-Adams and myself sat by the side of a small spruit indulging in flights of fancy as to what would constitute a good meal when we got back to civilisation. His tastes centred around all kinds of exotic dishes, mine were more mundane – a good tender rump steak would suffice. Arriving eventually at Mtoko in the late evening, we were greeted by the news of a strike at the Shamva Mine. Some half a dozen three ton lorries were parked at the Police Camp ready to take the troops through to the mine, while I was to be left with a dozen men to take the horses to Shamva. It was all damned silly really. If the information regarding the strike had been sent to us while we were

camped on the Mazoe river, we could have trekked up-river and been at Shamva in the time it had taken us to get to Mtoko.

The strike at the Shamva Mine fizzled out within a matter of days without serious incident, but it rather shook the Government of that time and we were ordered to remain camped by the Mazoe river in case any further trouble occurred. After a couple of weeks spent camped in the shade of M'sasa and M'futi trees in the Mazoe valley and enjoying the hospitality of one Dr Plowright, whose skills at mixing "zonke bottle cocktails" still remains in my memory, we returned to Depot.

The following January (1928), I proceeded on leave to U.K., and it was then, travelling on the "Dunlace Castle" I met my future wife, Joan Fall, daughter of Col. C. S. Fall, who later became Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police. Joan was, and for that matter still is, one of the world's worst sailors and did not put in an appearance on deck until the Cape rollers had been left well behind, but our "Union Castle romance" has survived forty six years of varied adventure and vicissitudes and is still going strong.

I had traded in my old bull-nosed Morris car with Messrs Over & Co. before leaving Salisbury and had arranged to take delivery of what was called a Morris, All-Steel-Dominion-Model on arrival in London, constructed it was claimed, especially for tropical conditions. While it went well in the U.K., its performance under Rhodesian conditions, as you will hear later, fell far short of meeting "dominion conditions".

One of my first trips in the new Morris was to visit Joan, who was staying with her aunt in East Coker, Somerset. Purely by chance, I discovered that Harry Morton, who had been with me in the Police at Figtree, was living at Blackford outside Sherborne, not too far away from East Coker and little time was lost in getting in touch with him. An enthusiastic horseman, Harry was a subaltern in the North Somerset yeomanry (which he later commanded in the last war) and I spent many happy days with him visiting various point-to-point meetings in the Blackmore and Taunton Vale country when he usually had a good horse or two racing.

In April 1928, I received advice from the High Commissioners office in London, that arrangements had been made for my attachment to the 1st Battalion, the Argyll and Sutherland highlanders (presently stationed at Shorncliffe), to receive instruction on machine guns. I duly reported to the Adjutant there, only to learn that the Machine Gun Company, was at that time doing firing practice at Lydd, which was not any great distance from my home in Tenerton. Apart from the time spent on the range at Lydd, I found peace time soldiering a little dull. Back in barracks at Shorncliffe, one had to be in uniform until lunch, after which, members of the mess went their various ways. It was an expensive regiment – every officer had to provide livery for his servant and contribute towards full dress uniform for both pipe and regimental bands. I recall with some amusement being introduced to the Brigadier, who, on hearing the words "British South Africa Police" said "Quite remarkable, I thought you were all Dutchmen!" The Brigade major, who lived in the Argyll's mess, was Archibald Nye, who became Vice-Chief of the I.G.S. during World War II and afterwards held high office in both India and Canada. He was very interested in Africa and we often talked about the future of Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular. Alas, how many of our pigeons have come home to roost.

Returning to Rhodesia, I found the Mess in Depot undergoing a face lift, with everyone living in tents in the grounds. Not before time and now, for the first time in history, the Mess was being provided with bathrooms and, believe it or not, hot and cold running water. Gone, or in the process of going, were the old hip baths in one's rooms that had more than served their purpose up to now.

Posted back to Salisbury as Assistant District Superintendent Police (A.D.S.P.), under Capt. "Auntie" Phillips, my first inspection tour gave me the opportunity of testing out my new Morris, All-Steel-Dominion model in Rhodesian conditions. It certainly didn't take long, for on the road to Goromonzi I went over a couple of bumps and the brakes went on and stopped the car. The rear springs had flexible shackles fore and aft, and when hitting a bump the whole spring "flattened" and automatically put the brakes on. There was nothing for it but to cut a couple of small logs and jam them between the spring and the chassis. So much for the "Dominion" model made specially for colonial conditions! Needless to say, the rest of the journey between Goromonzi, Marandellas, Wedza, Mrewa and Mtoko was bone-shakingly uncomfortable.

Corporal "Fatty" Harmer and Howman, the Native Commissioner at Goromonzi, were a good team, while at Marandellas, Posselt, a first class linguist was the Native Commissioner and Sgt. Major Breeden the N.C.O. i/c Police. Marandellas at this time boasted a Village Management Board of which Breeden was the part-time secretary at £7.10/- a month. The Marandellas Hotel, run by Plint, was pretty primitive, even by the standards of those days. It always amused me to find that most of the cutlery and crockery had belonged either to the Rhodesia Railways, the South African Railways, Meikle's Hotel, the Union Castle Line and even the Savoy Hotel in Beira. Spending the night at the old Macheke Hotel, then run by Messrs Webster and Kilpin, I met up with Major Lewis Hastings, who had tobacco interests in the district. A very voluble character, with decided views on almost every subject under the sun and a gifted pen. He is probably best remembered for his colourful contributions to debate in the Rhodesia Legislative Assembly and his book of poems – "The Painted Snipe". During World War II, he made something of a reputation as a military commentator for the B.B.C., when his pithy analysis made interesting listening. But at Macheke that night, the talk was more mundane – mostly on the shortcomings of African labour.

At Mrewa, "Werei" Edwards was the Native Commissioner and monarch of all he surveyed and from what I remember, he had spent practically all his service in that district. Thus, he knew everything that went on there and the history of most of the inhabitants. This, in striking contrast to the present state of affairs when young District Commissioners and District Officers are constantly being transferred before they really have time to get to know their districts, quite apart from the inordinate amount of paper work which keeps them "chairbound". Many a young Policeman learned a lot about the Shona language and customs from "Werei".

At Mtoko, Latham, the Native Commissioner, was away and Corporal Howard was i/c Police and had with him, Trooper Pendered, a young recruit who was making great progress in Shona and African customs generally. I remember Penered only too well for, when I was lecturing in Depot, he asked more questions than any other recruit I recall. He advanced rapidly on joining the Native Department after leaving the Police.

Later in the year, I was transferred to Bulawayo to relieve the A.D.S.P., "Bute"

Edwards. Major Pitt-Schenkel was the D.S.P., and was the one Police Officer I know who sported a monocle. Not one of the world's workers – he had a habit of passing any paper from Headquarters which required any thought on to his Assistant, for, as he put it, "your views". These being duly forthcoming, he would send it back to Headquarters as representing his own views in the matter – without adding or changing a word. There was an amusing story about "Pitt" and his monocle. When he was O.C. Hartley District, he had one Trooper Dauncy brought before him for being absent without leave. Screwing his monocle into his eye, he gazed sternly at Dauncy saying "You know Dauncy, if this was on active service, I could have you shot". Dauncy, who was a bit of a wit, murmured, "I hope you won't be as hard as all that on me Sir"!

Pitt loved parades and one Saturday morning whilst I was with him, he mustered all dozen men in Camp in Bulawayo and proceeded to put them through what he called "their paces", finally calling on them to "double" and then turning to me saying "Fine body of men, Seward." Snitch Hutchings the farrier, now getting on in years, thought the proceedings had gone too far and dropped his rifle. In a stage whisper, which Pitt must have heard but made no comment, Snitch remarked "Now the old bugger will want to charge me for casting away me arms." It was all rather ridiculous and I couldn't help thinking the sooner the old so-and-so was pensioned off, the better.

Returning to Salisbury, I found myself taking over Salisbury town, with the intriguing prospect of earning some £8 a month extra duty pay. There were at this time, special allowances for Town Branch and a further allowance for supervising Railway Police who at that time, formed part of the Force. In addition I became censor of films with a free seat at all cinemas I cared to attend. This job was a complete sinecure, as all one had to do was go through the list of films sent to us by the South African Police, who acted as censors in the Union. At that time, there was no Board of Censors, either here or in South Africa.

Soon after taking over, the first and only strike of European railway men occurred and the Rhodesia Railways came to a complete standstill. To deal with the situation, a large number of European Special Constables were enrolled and Col. Frank Johnson of Pioneer Column fame was appointed as O.C. Special Constabulary. I well remember sitting with him in my office at night, whilst he recounted some of the adventures of the Pioneer Column. A first class raconteur, his stories lost nothing in the telling.

It was about this time that a most amusing incident occurred. Frank Johnson had a certain gentleman staying with him, rejoicing in the name of Col. Bertie Drew-Fisher. The Johnsons had met him whilst staying at the Victoria Falls and invited him to join them at bridge on a couple of occasions, during which time they extended an invitation for him to stay with them at Orange Grove (part of Highlands) when they returned to Salisbury. One day, Drew-Fisher explained to Johnsons that he was temporarily hard-up, owing to the non arrival of funds from Kenya, whereupon Col. Johnson took him along to the bank and stood as guarantor for an overdraft of some £100. A couple of days later, Johnson took Fisher to the Salisbury Club for lunch and introduced him to Col. Hugo Watson. Here, disaster was about to overtake the plausible Drew-Fisher, for Col. Watson was a well known officer of the 60th Rifles who had just arrived from England on secondment to take over the training of the newly formed Rhodesian Territorial Force. On being introduced, Watson immediately said to him, "You're not

the Bertie Drew-Fisher of the 60th Rifles. I know him well." Nonplussed, the so-called Bertie replied, "No, I'm his elder brother." The gaffe was soon blown however, as suspicions led to an exchange of cables between Watson and the real Drew-Fisher in England who revealed he had no brother. On being confronted and realising the game was up, the "pseudo" Colonel promptly decamped in a car which he had obtained on credit from a firm, who had parted with it on the assumption that anyone staying with Col. Frank Johnson was credit worthy and had handed over the car without even a down payment.

Enquiries showed that the so-called Bertie Drew-Fisher had indulged in several other shady transactions and the Police all over the country were alerted and he was eventually arrested outside Bulawayo. I've forgotten what actual charges were brought against him, but his defence in Court was that he had been badly wounded in World War I and had a silver plate in his head, often resulting in amnesia and he was, therefore, promptly X-rayed, where no silver plate was discovered. Sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the old Salisbury goal, he found himself in the company of another of the same ilk, who was serving a sentence for forgery. It subsequently transpired that the two, with the connivance and co-operation of an African warder, had been obtaining liquor, cigarettes and other luxuries on forged orders from local stores. It was also said, though never proved, that the two had occasionally been let out on some evenings to enjoy the favours of certain "ladies of the night", in Pioneer Street – presumably using their gifts of the gab to obtain their favours on credit. Those were the days!

A little later in the year, I accompanied the Governor, Sir Cecil Hunter Rodwell, as an extra A.D.C. on a trip to be made around the Eastern Districts. The party consisted of the Governor, his wife and daughter, together with his uncle Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brice and Major Blackburn, the A.D.C. We travelled down to Umtali by rail in the Governor's private coach; this was my first visit to the Eastern Districts and I remember being very impressed with Umtali, nestling in the tree-clad hills.

Umtali itself seemed to consist of one, long, untarred street, seemingly with bars and hotels at every corner. Staying overnight at the old Cecil Hotel, we set off next morning for Chipinga, on what was then known as the Sabi road. The road, or rather a dusty corrugated track, was appalling and it took us most of the day to get there via the somewhat fearsome Three Span Berg – so called because in those days it took three spans of oxen to get the wagons up the steep gradient. In open cars, tempers began to get a little frayed until we came on a sign which read "Cheer up, only another five miles to the Chipinga Pub".

A tented camp had been prepared for us a couple of miles outside the village and after dinner that night, the Governor's uncle asked his man-servant to bring on the Napoleon brandy. Nothing happened. After some delay I went to find out what was holding up the proceedings and in some trepidation, I went back to the mess tent to report the failure of my mission. The mystery of the missing brandy, especially brought out from England, was never satisfactorily solved, but strong suspicion centred around the coloured drivers who had probably helped themselves to what they must have thought was first class "dop". They probably had a better night's sleep than the rest of us!

John Nielson, a splendid linguist, was the Native commissioner at Chipinga and,

following the "indaba" with the local chiefs the next morning, he had organised a group of Shangaan dancers to put on a wonderful display of their talents. During our stay at Chipinga, visits were paid to the Middle Sabi Estates, at that time presided over by Tawse-Jollie, husband of Mrs Tawse-Jollie, the only woman member of the Legislative Council. The Estate then was mostly planted with sisal, not a very profitable crop at that time and was later stumped out in favour of cotton.

The Tanganda Tea Estate at New Year's Gift had just been started and we had lunch there with Grafton Phillips and his wife. Grafton explained to us that here, at new Year's Gift, tea was being grown for the first time in the world under irrigation. Before they came to Rhodesia from India, the rainfall figures for this area had been carefully studied, but the figures probably pertained to the whole district and the rainfall at Tanganda itself was nothing like sufficient to grow tea, hence the need to resort to irrigation from the Tanganda river. Since that time, experience has shown that tea can be grown very successfully under irrigation and the industry has really expanded in the Chipinga area.

Before we set off for Melsetter, we had been advised that a mounted "posse" of local farmers would meet us some five miles from the village with spare horses for the Governor and party. Would we be suitably dressed? The Governor donned a new pair of white breeches for the occasion and, having arrived at the Nyahodi river where the mounted posse was assembled, mounted his rather shaggy looking horse and off we went. All went well until we reached the old Melsetter Hotel, where the Magistrate and local dignitaries (all three of them) were waiting to greet us. As the Governor dismounted, there was a rather ominous sound of tearing material and the next thing we saw was his Excellency grasping a large tear in his new breeches and the gubernatorial posterior exposed to public view!

Protocol makes little provision for such contingencies, but on this occasion it was met by a hasty retreat into one of the hotel bedrooms, were running repairs were carried out by means of safety pins – "safety" being the operative word! The public reception was adjourned and we retired to the camp prepared for us. Not unnaturally, conversation was a little strained at lunch, as it took some time to restore H. E.'s dignity.

Melsetter – who can forget the first view of the Chimanimani mountains, bathed in the light and shade of the late afternoon and setting sun. My first and immediate thought was that when I ever decide to settle in Rhodesia permanently, it will be here. The village, a very, very sleepy hollow, for some reason best known to the powers that be, boasted a Civil Commissioner and magistrate, together with a Native Commissioner. How they ever kept themselves occupied was quite beyond me. Visiting Melsetter on an inspection trip, a Police officer once wrote in his inspection report that he had looked at the Police cells which had not been occupied for months. Nevertheless, with a touch of wit, added that he had instructed the Member i/c to keep the building aired and dusted in case they should ever have occasion to use it.

Among others we entertained was John Martin, the member of the Legislative Council for the district. As a member of the Moodie Trek in the 1890s, he was one of the oldest residents. On his farm, Rocklands, now Martin Forest Reserve, he grew an amazing variety of crops – tea, coffee, sugar, maize and many varieties of fruit. Indeed, most people living in the area had, perforce, to be as self supporting as possible, for

the nearest shopping centre, Umtali, was a good day's journey away – weather permitting. Only recently, Zeederberg's mule drawn coach had been replaced by the Railway's Road Motor Service, before which the coach took two days to reach Melsetter from Umtali with a night stop being made at Cashel, then known as Melsetter North.

After three nights at Melsetter, we started off on the long, winding road between Melsetter Village and Melsetter North, a distance of some forty miles with more than five hundred bends over some spectacular mountain scenery. When one considers this road was constructed by hand, where picks, shovels and wheelbarrows were the only items of equipment to move vast quantities of rock and soil, one realises just what an achievement it represents. It took, from what I can remember, almost four hours to reach Tabanchu Farm in Melsetter North. This farm was owned by Major Rowan Cashel, a retired Police officer and some years later, was purchased by Hallam Elton, on which he built the Black Mountain Inn. A camp had been prepared for us and in the afternoon, along came the usual deputation of local residents to pay their respects to His Excellency. While the residents were still paying their respects, a Police motor-cyclist arrived with an urgent telegram for the Governor. It was in Government Code and I was instructed to get out the Government Code Book and decipher the message. It turned out to be world shattering news from Whitehall, to the effect that Sidney Webb, His Majesty's Minister of State at the Colonial Office, was in future to be known as Lord Passfield, but his wife would continue to be known as Mrs Sidney Webb!

Major Blackburn, the A.D.C., came along and told me that a couple of local residents had been invited to dinner and bridge with His Excellency. They duly arrived at the appointed hour – in a rolls Royce car. "Well, well" I thought, "this is quite something" – the first Rolls Royce I'd seen in the country, albeit a rather ancient model, but nevertheless a Rolls. Talk turned to bridge in London Clubs and the Governor came out with quite an amusing story. This concerned a certain woman playing at Almacs, who somehow got involved in a heated argument over a particular hand and ended up with one of the other women calling her a whore. Off went the woman in high dudgeon to complain to the Secretary of the Club about how she'd been insulted. The Secretary, evidently a man of many parts, contained the situation by telling her "Well you know Mrs So-and-so, I left the Army twenty years ago, but I'm still called Colonel." As an interesting aftermath, I heard some time later that the owner of the Rolls Royce had left the country in rather a hurry. Apparently everything he bought was on credit which eventually caught up with him and the Rolls was seized by a departmental store in Umtali against a hefty unpaid account.

I mentioned earlier that the area around Tabanchu was at that time known as Melsetter North and some years later when I was sitting at Police Headquarters in Salisbury, the question arose as to what we were to call the new Police Camp which was being built there. The Post Office didn't like Melsetter North, as they thought most of the mail would end up in Melsetter; Tabanchu was turned down on the grounds that letters would find their way to a place of the same name in Lesoto; if named Umvumvumvu, after the name of the river running through the area, post would undoubtedly end up in Umvuma. Thinking about a suitable name, I thought of old Rowan Cashel and suggested to the then Commissioner, Col. G. Stops, that we should call the place Cashel, after him. He thought it was a good idea, "Write to Mrs Cashel

at once and ask her if she has any objection" he said. Mrs Cashel not only had no objection, but was delighted with the idea and so Cashel came into being.

Continuing on our way the following morning, our next stop was back in Umtali, where H. E. was to open the Umtali Agricultural Show. The Show ground in those days was on the site now occupied by the Umtali Sports Club. It was there for the first time that I met two members of the Pioneer Column, Johnnie Crawford and Jim Palmer, two wonderful characters who I got to know well much later, both with a wealth of anecdotes of the early days. There was the Show Ball in the evening, followed the next day with a visit to St Augustine's Mission and Rezende Mine, where we had lunch with the Manager, Rome. And so back to Salisbury.

Trooper 619 Raymond Lawder Cadiz, BSAP

by D. J. Sloman

The BSAP and the North West Mounted Police of Canada had similar backgrounds as regards their respective formations: both were raised to bring law and order to what until then had been wild territories.

The BSA Company Police was raised outside the country to which it was to serve and several Forces were raised before amalgamation and the title British South Africa Police finally settled on.

The NWMP were raised in 1873 when a formation of 300 men came into being. The territory now known as Canada had been occupied in one form or another by traders and adventurers since the 17th Century but nothing was done to encourage settlement until 1870. The Force was in the forefront of that settlement era and moved across the territory in "Marches", establishing and maintaining good relations with the indigenous Indians. In 1904 the Force was granted the title "Royal" by King Edward VII and became the Royal North-West Mounted Police. In 1920 they became the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

There were marked similarities as to how these early police forces operated in their widely separated geographic areas – probably horses being the most obvious similarity.

Trooper 619 Raymond Lawder Cadiz attested in the BSAP on 19 May 1904, having previously served with the Cape Mounted Riflemen in the Anglo-Boer War, and resigned in May 1907. Clearly he had been impressed with the NWM policemen that he had come into contact with for he later attested in the Royal North West Mounted Police and followed a distinguished police career in Canada.

Raymond and his brother Frank were in fact identical twins. They had been brought up by aunts in Ireland; their mother died a few weeks after their birth and their father, who was in the Indian Civil Service, died when they were 8 years old. On two occasions they ran away from home and attempted to join the British Army – twice they were returned home. On the third occasion they were given family blessing and arrived in South Africa in 1901 at the age of 17 years to enlist in the Cape Mounted Riflemen.

Frank seems to have remained in South Africa after the War but by May 1904 Raymond had found his way to Rhodesia; how or why is not clear but I think we can assume that the War had brought him into contact with the BSAP – and also with the Canadians serving there, many of whom had served in the NWMP before raising mounted regiments of the Canadian Army.

Raymond's BSAP record of service at the Archives is short and contains nothing of importance. It is known, however, that he was a District policeman, serving in the Sinoia District, and represented the Police at hockey in 1907, other members of the team being Gibberd, Chalmers, Fowler, Cole, Russel, Ludgater, Joordan, Hanning, Peyton, Bruce.

Raymond Lawler Cadiz

In 1906 he appears to have got himself seconded to a Natal Unit then fighting in the Bambata Rebellion. How this came about is unclear but among his medals recovered by the family after his death is this particular award.

On 26 June 1908 Raymond made application to join the Royal North West Mounted Police. His application form remains within the Canadian Archives to this day and is short and to the point: he was asked about previous military service and whether he "...understood the care and management of horses, and can you ride well?" Clearly a pre-requisite for the Force and which he was able to answer in the affirmative. His height was then given at just over 5' 9" and his weight as 160 lbs.

On 27 June he attested at Regina, Saskatchewan as Constable 4726 in the RNWMP. Constable Cadiz was promoted to Corporal on 1 May 1911 and was part of the RNWMP Coronation Contingent for King George V in London, where he renewed old friendships with the BSAP Contingent. He was promoted to Sergeant on 1 September 1914 and a month later, on 1 October, he was advanced to the commissioned rank of Inspector.

By that stage the Great War had broken out in Europe and the Canadian Government stated that serving officers of the Police would not be released for war service. Clearly this was not to Cadiz's liking for on 31 August 1915 he resigned his commission and paid his own way overseas where he was commissioned into the Rifle Brigade and later served in the Machine Gun Corps. He saw continuous service in France of 25 months, serving in the Somme offensive and later at Passchendale where he was slightly wounded. In January 1918 he was severely wounded and was sent to the Auxiliary Hospital for Officers at Monkstown in his native Ireland. He was then a Captain.

Whilst recuperating in the hospital at Monkstown he was visited by brother Frank. Frank, incidentally, had stayed in South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War and was with the SA Army when he was transferred to the Enniskillen Fusiliers then serving in France. A member of the nursing staff saw Frank walking through the building and because of his strong resemblance to Raymond quickly chided him for being out of bed! This meeting is believed to have been the first time the brothers had met since South Africa and, according to the family, was the last time the brothers ever met.

After the First World War Frank moved to Rhodesia and took up farming in the Gatooma area, where his family have remained until quite recently.

R. L. Cadiz mended well after his war wounds and on 30 January 1919 was re-instated as Inspector in the RNWMP with his seniority intact. After various postings around the country he was promoted to Superintendent in 1932, to Assistant Commissioner in 1936 (where he commanded 'E' Division, Vancouver and later 'D' Division, Winnipeg). In 1937 he commanded the RCMP Contingent at the Coronation of King George VI. Eventually on 1 May 1941 he was promoted to Deputy Commissioner RCMP.

He retired to pension on 31 January 1944 and settled in Vancouver, British Columbia. By then he was the holder of: the Queen's South Africa medal (with bars for the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Cape Colony), the King Edward VII South Africa medal (for 1901 and 1902), the 1906 Natal medal, the 1911 Coronation medal, the Victory and General Service medals for the Great War, the RCMP Long Service medal, and the King George VI Coronation medal.

A remarkable career for a remarkable man who became known in the RCMP as "The Fighting Irishman".

He died in Vancouver on 2 March 1971 at the age of 87 years. Regrettably he and his wife left no issue, but his memories live on with the Zimbabwe family.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Marshall Hole's Group of Four Medals

by Peter B. Munday

On 3 December 1991 the 'A.A. Upfill-Brown – Collection of Orders, Decorations and Campaign Medals' was auctioned by Messrs. Buckland, Dix and Wood (BD&W) at the Westbury Hotel in London. In the category "Groups and Single Decorations Awarded for Gallantry or Distinguished Service" – Lot number 207 immediately caught my eye as it was a very important part of the early history of the country of my birth, upbringing and working life. So it is no small wonder that I boldly made a bid for them and thankfully was rewarded with success. Since then my research efforts have been not only satisfying but also very enjoyable.

The compiler of the BD&W Catalogue relied heavily upon that text used by the earlier auction of these medals which was conducted by Messrs Glendining's in March 1990 under Lot number 324. Of interest was the fact that BD&W did not include the reprint edition of the book authored by Hugh Marshall Hole – *The Jameson Raid,* or Dr S. Kaplan's booklet on the 'Money cards' published in 1974, which were included in the Glendining's Auction Lot. However, the photograph of the recipient (taken from a newspaper clip) and most importantly a '1 shilling Money Card' from the earlier auction were included.

I make no apology for the re-compiling of detail already published on Hugh Marshall Hole in these Auction catalogues and add such information which I was able to accumulate through my own research. I also found some excellent photographic material whilst researching at the National Archives in Harare. In essence the volume of research since acquiring the medals has been very substantially increased and filed. I have added to the collection, copies of all five books authored by Hugh Marshall Hole some of which are First edition originals, thus doubling the basic insurable value of this important, highly desirable and collectable Lot.

WHO WAS HUGH MARSHALL HOLE?

He was born on 16 May 1865 at Tiverton in County Devon in England. His Father, Charles Marshall Hole sent his son to Blundell's School in Tiverton for his early education. Later as a young man Hugh attended Balliol College at Oxford where he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree, with Law as his major subject.

In 1889 having failed to enter the Chinese Consular Service, Hugh sailed from the British port of Dartmouth in the *Drummond Castle* for South Africa. In Kimberley he joined a solicitor Mr. A. Caldecott who on occasions acted for Mr. C. J. Rhodes and a Dr. L. Jameson who were planning the formation of the Chartered Company. Hugh met these influential men, who liked and trusted him to the point where they offered him a position in their Kimberley Office.

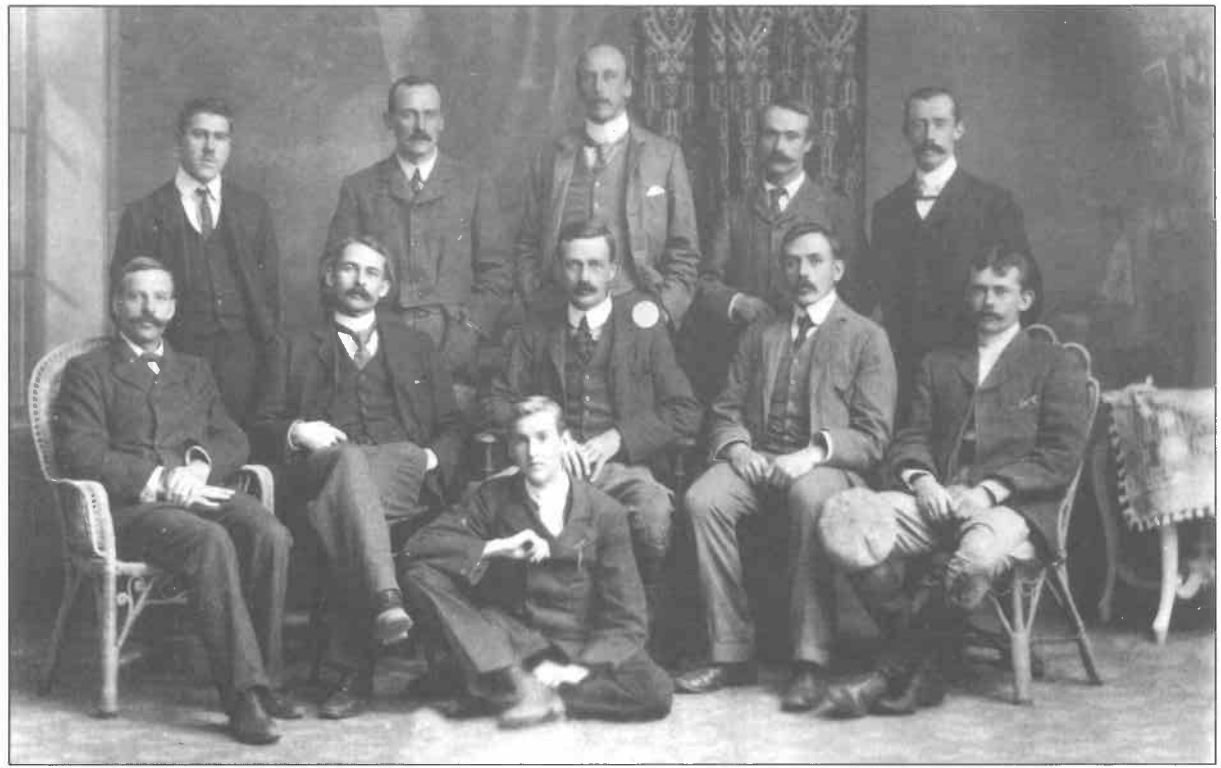
In 1890 Hugh married Ethel, the daughter of the late T. Rickman of Poole in Dorset. He married a second time later in life – according to one reference.

In April 1890 Hugh was the first member of clerical staff to be appointed by Mr Cecil John Rhodes, in the newly formed British South Africa Company.

He was seconded to the Cape office of the B.S.A. Company – no doubt under the watchful eye of the Chairman.

In 1891 Hugh was transferred to the Mashonaland office in Salisbury. Soon after his arrival he was appointed as Private Secretary to the Administrator Dr. Leander Star Jameson P.C.

Hugh Marshall Hole C.M.G.
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)



(*National Archives of Zimbabwe*)

Civil Commissioner's Office Staff: Bulawayo

Back Row (L–R): D. C. Thwaits, A. Nell, G. Temple Harris, B. H. Byers, R. B. Harper.

Seated (L–R): J. Milton, W. H. L. Honey (Asst. C.C.), H. Marshall Hole (C.C.), N. H. Chataway, E. S. Aston, on ground F. Menzie Smith.

In 1893 he was appointed by the High Commissioner Mr. George Seymor-Fort, to be a Civil Commissioner, Justice of the Peace and Marriage Officer in Salisbury District – the first appointment of its kind to be made. The appointment was effective from 12 May 1893. He held the post and that of Registrar of Deeds until May 1897. Since Hugh was so much in demand in Salisbury on essential administrative duties, he was not drawn into the forces called-up to quell the Matabele uprising (16 October to 24 December 1893)

A young and energetic man with such talent in administration would naturally be co-opted onto civil committees. Therefore it is not surprising to find that Hugh served with skill and enthusiasm on numerous committees some of which will be mentioned later. One committee was the Rhodesia Agricultural Show Society where he held the post of Founder-Chairman for the period 1895 to 1898.

Hugh was extremely well informed on developments up to, and subsequent to, the ill conceived and executed 'Jameson Raid' on the Transvaal Republic which took place between 29 December 1895 and 2 January 1896. The raid failed when the survivors of the incursion force surrendered near Doornkop, were incarcerated in Pretoria and subsequently sent to England for trial.

In 1896 the territories, which were subject to the administration of the British South Africa Company were named 'Rhodesia' after Cecil Rhodes. The country was divided into Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. Mashonaland and Matabeleland became Provinces within Southern Rhodesia – whilst in Northern Rhodesia the divisions were North Western and North Eastern.

The repercussions of a disgruntled indigenous population and the depletion of active manpower in Southern Rhodesia resulted, in part to another wide spread uprising by the natives on 24 March 1896. This action named the 'Rhodesia Rebellion' was finally quelled on 31 December the same year. During this uprising, Hugh attested into and saw action with the Salisbury Field Force (S.F.F.) as a Lieutenant and the unit Adjutant. One piece of research indicated that he served in the "Rhodesia Horse and rode on many patrols". This has not been verified. Hugh Marshall Hole's '1896 medal' marking, and the various Medal rolls consulted, shows that he served in the Salisbury Field Force.

At this time, in the young sub-tropical country, 'black water fever and enteric' were pandemic and it is well known that Hugh had to withdraw from active service due to illness and was invalided back to the United Kingdom. After his recuperation he returned to the London Office and wrote up a report on the 1896/97 Rebellions, which was subsequently published by the B.S.A. Company under the title "THE '96 REBELLIONS". This report, part authored by Earl Grey, must stand out as the most comprehensive and detailed report ever published on any uprising in the Victorian Colonial era. The report also covers the Mashonaland 1897 rebellion.

From a Medal perspective, Hugh had thus qualified for, and later received his first campaign medal – the "**British South Africa Company Medal 1890 – 1897**" with the reverse "**Rhodesia 1896**". There were 649 such medals and 85 clasps awarded to the Salisbury Field Force making a total of 734.

Hugh returned to Rhodesia and took up residence in Bulawayo in November 1898, so he missed the 'Mashonaland uprising' which took place between 24 March and

(*National Archives of Zimbabwe*)

Salisbury Field Force: Officers 1896

Back row (L–R): T. Fitt, W. Strachan, G. Graham, Capt. Drummond, Eustace, Turner, Hoffman, A. Nesbitt, F. Nesbitt, (?), Capt. G. H. St. Hill, O. H. Ogilvie, W. F. G. Moberley, McLaurin, (?), S. Arnott, R. Nesbitt (V.C.), Capt. Robinson.

Middle row (L–R): Stamford Brown, Maj. N. Mac Glashan, 2I/C, Judge J. Vincent C. G., Com. W. Smith, Capt. T. Harrison.

Front row (L–R): G. S. Fitt, Lt. H. Marshall Hole Adj & D. A., Capt A. M. Flemming, Surg., Capt. T. Judson, Mark Lingard, R. G. Snodgrass.

31 October 1897. His appointment was as Secretary to the Administrator of Matabeleland, a position he held until 1901.

With the onset of the Anglo-South African War in 1899, Hugh joined the 'Southern Rhodesia Volunteers' as a Lieutenant and served under Colonel Plumer on lines of communication. In 1900 he was recalled to Bulawayo, where he was solely responsible for the purchase of transport for General Carrington's Field Force.

At about the same time he was instrumental in solving the problem of the dire shortage of coinage with which to pay labour on the mines and other workers. There was an abundance of BSA Company postage stamps so Hugh Marshall Hole issued the now famous 'Money Cards' in the name of the Civil Commissioner and bearing his signature and the 'Administrator's Office' stamp. The value of the card was

Money Card 1900

determined by the value of the stamp affixed to the reverse side. The validity on the card was 1 August to 1 October 1900.

During 1901, when he was Civil Commissioner in Bulawayo and the Government Representative in Matabeleland, Hugh was sent by Cecil Rhodes to Arabia to seek the trial importation of labour to work in the Rhodesian mines. The mission was deemed to be a success but the labourers were deemed a dismal failure.

Hugh Marshall Hole was awarded his second campaign medal, the **"Queen's South Africa Medal 1899–1902"**, with a single clasp "RHODESIA". This single bar medal is a scarce and much sought after one, particularly in a prestigious administrator's group.

After the death of Queen Victoria and a delay due to ill health of her successor – Edward VII's Coronation finally took place on 9 August 1902. It is interesting to note that the Rhodesian Contingent listing of 27 persons, included Major M. Straker, one Lieutenant and 25 men (Non Commissioned Officers and Other Ranks). The Roll extracted from the archives is typed and at the bottom of the list appears in ink a hand written name – that of "H Marshall Hole" with a ditto in the Rank column indicating "Trooper" (thus making the total number of names 28).

On the same roll are further written details which shows that 25 personnel paraded for the medal and 3 men were absent! The breakdown finally was that "2 Silver medals and 23 Bronze" medals were apparently awarded on parade and whether the 3 absentees ever received their medals is not shown.

The inference is that Hugh Marshall Hole, being a senior civil servant, was accorded the medal – possibly as a mark of respect? Why he was listed as a Trooper when in fact he was a Lieutenant in the SRV is a bit of a mystery. Whatever the qualification, Hugh Marshall Hole, proudly wore his commemorative **"Coronation Medal 1902"** – issued in Silver and not Bronze – when photographed with the Officers in the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers circa 1913!

In 1903/ 1904 Hugh was appointed Acting Administrator of North Western Rhodesia, a responsibility he was accorded again in 1907 after Coryndon's resignation and Codrington's arrival in Northern Rhodesia.

Hugh was one of the founder members of the "Pioneers and Early Settlers Society" which was formed on 12 September 1904 (formerly a public holiday in Rhodesia – Occupation Day – and commemorating the 1890 raising of the Union Jack in what was Cecil Square in Salisbury – now Africa Unity Square, in Harare).

Hugh was also President of the Devonian Society of Rhodesia, and no doubt was instrumental in the founding of the society.

In 1906 through to 1908 Hugh was the President of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, a society of Scientists who over the decades have contributed so much in their fields of expertise. Their contribution as a society over the years, warrants a study to focus on and quantify the benefits accrued to the country and mankind.

In 1908 Hugh took up a new post of Secretary in the Department of the Administrator. He was also made responsible for the control and administration of the Native Department. In addition to this Hugh was appointed Chairman of the newly set up Committee of Inquiry into the Educational System and to determine future policy. It recommended that the Government should assume direct responsibility for and control

Col. H. M. Hole, signed portrait in UK circa 1914–18
(National Archives of Zimbabwe)

of European primary education. The findings make interesting reading – particularly for those of us who received a local education and have realized the benefits derived from basic recommendations which were implemented several generations ago.

In 1912 Hugh was the Chairman of the Salisbury Club and his portrait still hangs in succession with the other Chairmen up the main stairway in the present club building in the centre of Harare (formerly Salisbury).

Hugh Marshall Hole was an active Free Mason, holding high rank having passed through nine chairs including those at the Bulawayo Lodge and Chapter – and founding the Rose Croix Chapter in Salisbury, the first in Central Africa. For many years he was a member of the Council of the 'British Service League'. It seems that this man spared no effort and time, using his many talents to the full, when it came to a cause connected with the Rhodesias.

He retired to the United Kingdom in 1913 due to ill health but returned to the colony again in 1914 and for a short time took up a position as Secretary of the Native Reserve Commission.

Hugh Marshall Hole's service in the Great War 1914–1918 was commendable. He served for a while with the Norfolk Regiment and was then appointed Brigade Major for the 208 Infantry Brigade in 1915. Later in 1917 he was promoted as Lieutenant Colonel in charge of the Quartering Area, Northern Command.

(P. B. Munday)

Hugh Marshall Hole's Medal Group
L – R: The Order of St. Michael and St. George (C.M.G.)
The British South Africa Company medal 1890–1897
The Queen's South Africa 1899–1902 medal, bar "Rhodesia"
The 1902 Coronation Medal

With the ending of hostilities, Hugh rejoined the British South Africa Company at the head office in London where in 1924, he became the Managing Secretary with a seat on the Executive Council.

It was in the New Year's honours list, as announced in the Supplement to the London Gazette dated 1 January 1924, that Hugh Marshall Hole was appointed "to be an Ordinary Member of the third class or Companion of **The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George**", otherwise known as the " **C.M.G.** "

In 1928 he finally retired and resided in England where wrote and had published a succession of historical books which are acclaimed and renowned for the first hand knowledge and detail covering the early development of a country which became famous for its expertise, innovation, productivity and contribution to the continent. Hugh Marshall Hole by his fine example set the tone and the pace. He was described as a first class historian and a cultured man of varied interests achieving wide recognition as an author. Among his better known books, by title and year of publication:– *The Making of Rhodesia* – 1926; *Old Rhodesian Days* – 1928 ; *Lobengula* – 1929; *Jameson Raid* – 1930; *Passing of the Black Kings* – 1932.

Hugh Marshall Hole died in a London Nursing home in 1941 – leaving behind him a legacy of Victorian efficiency and dedication to the cause for a young, developing and dynamic country, which served the 'mother country' with distinction even as Hugh was on his last journey. Hugh's example must be one of the finest on record in any colonial or commonwealth country.

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History of Czechoslovak Consular Presence in Southern Rhodesia Between the Wars

by Jaroslav Olsa, Jr.

Czechoslovakia, one of a few new European countries established as a direct result of the World War I, was declared independent on October 28, 1918. Its leaders wanted the historical Czech lands – Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia – to be united in a new country, but the great powers felt such a tiny entity could not be self-supporting, and thus Slovakia, and (later on, in 1919) Transcarpathian Ruthenia were added to the territory of the new Czechoslovak Republic.

Such an artificial creation consisting of industrially advanced Bohemia on one side, and backward agricultural Slovakia and even less developed Ruthenia on the other side, and with former enemies Austria, Hungary and Germany, unstable Russia, and Poland with its territorial claims to Silesia, as its neighbours, had to fight hard for its place in the international arena. This, and a need for Czechoslovak entrepreneurs and industrialists to create new foreign markets after a collapse of a big Austro-Hungarian internal market, had necessitated Czechoslovak authorities becoming active in their foreign policy

Thus Czechoslovakia started establishing its legations and consulates all over the world with extraordinary speed, and soon became present truly worldwide, which – until the beginning of the 20th century – was typical only for the great powers. In a mere two years after independence, Czechoslovak diplomatic and consular presence had reached all continents, and by the mid-1920s Czechoslovak legations and consulates were found everywhere imaginable, from Japan and China, to Australia, India, Brazil, or Argentina and Mexico. However in Africa as of 1925, there were only a legation in Cairo and consulates in Algiers and Tunis. It was therefore decided to open at least one effective mission headed by a foreign ministry official in Africa South of the Sahara. This task had been fulfilled in January 1926 with the establishment of a consulate in Cape Town. Its main aim was to establish contacts with the small Czechoslovak community in Southern Africa, and – above all – to support rising Czechoslovak economic interests in Africa.

By a positive coincidence, just a few weeks after the establishment of the consulate in Cape Town, the Czechoslovak legation in London received a letter from a Thomas William Stuart Shaw from Bulawayo. In his letter dated February 23, 1926 and addressed to "Counsellor of Legation, Kingdom [sic!] of Czechoslovakia", he offered and proposed himself as Honorary Consul in Southern Rhodesia. His arguments were as follows: "We have quite a number of Czechoslovakia citizens in Rhodesia, and we also import a considerable quantity of the manufactures of your Country into this Colony. I have not any doubt that Trade Reports from Rhodesia would be very useful to your Government."

Stuart Shaw's proposal came at the right time. A new decree of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of May 19, 1923, stated that the network of Czechoslovak effective legations and consulates led by professional diplomats had been almost completed (as of 1925, Czechoslovakia had already around 80 effective missions) and the ministry was willing to establish various honorary consular offices to complement it. The honorary consular offices were supposed to be established in "every place where their functioning could have even the slightest influence upon the increasing of the economic relations of Czechoslovakia with abroad".

In addition to this, Southern Rhodesia was seen as a new prospective market for Czechoslovak companies, as exports from Czechoslovakia there rose roughly twelve times (!) between 1921 and 1925. Also the number of honorary consular offices was increasing in Southern Rhodesia and, in 1926, there were at least four consulates in Bulawayo and six in Salisbury representing eight European countries. (As the information in the Official Year Books of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia published since 1924 are not fully comprehensive, there might have been more of them).

As creating the broad consular network to support active Czechoslovak exporters abroad was of high importance for the Ministry, the legation in London reacted swiftly and passed the proposal of T. W. Stuart Shaw to the Prague headquarters. Also, the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town supported the idea and began making inquiries about the candidate. Within a short period of time the Consulate received a confidential report from the Bulawayo branch of the Standard Bank, which said that Mr. Stuart Shaw "is a respectable man who recently started business on his own account and appears to be doing a fair business." It also added that he "keeps a satisfactory account and meets his engagements." The Czechoslovak Consul in Cape Town, Tomas Duffek, also found that his Japanese counterpart, Tanadao Imai, already knew the candidate and had already proposed him as a Japanese Honorary Consul, but the Ministry in Tokyo refused his proposal for "a small number of Japanese living in Rhodesia", as Duffek wrote in his report of June 7, 1926.

As the information was in favour of the candidate, it was therefore not a surprise that the proposal was accepted (the Council of Ministers accepted the appointment on November 11, 1926). The Czechoslovak legation in London applied to the British Foreign Office to accept T. W. Stuart Shaw as Honorary Vice-Consul of Czechoslovakia for Southern and Northern Rhodesia and issue exequatur empowering him to act in that capacity. T. W. Stuart Shaw presented himself as a friend of some Rhodesian ministers, so the Rhodesian authorities reacted in April 1927 and released in an official gazette their statement that the governor accepted his nomination; the official exequatur of the British Foreign Office, however, came only on July 6, 1927.

While everything looked well and the Czechoslovak Ministry was busy preparing all the necessary documents to be sent to Bulawayo, the Czechoslovak officials could not know that T. W. Stuart Shaw had sent similar proposals to at least three (but presumably more) other legations in London . . . and the Romanian, Latvian and Finnish Foreign Ministries were busy, too, as they had each accepted his proposal to become Honorary Consul as well. We can only wonder why the British authorities did not inform – even unofficially – any of the concerned legations in London that they received four official notes at almost same time from different countries asking for exequatur.

On February 5, 1927, while seeking approval for him to become Czechoslovak vice-consul, they informed the governor of Southern Rhodesia that ". . . Mr. Shaw already holds an Exequatur as Honorary Consul of Romania at Bulawayo."

We know that T. W. Stuart Shaw had already contacted the Romanians in 1925, as the Romanian legation in London sought some information about him from the British Foreign Office in December 1925. The Secretary of the Dept. of the Colonial Secretary on February 5, 1926 found the candidate "quite suitable", but noted that "if, however, the Romanian Chargé d'Affaires wished to appoint a gentleman of Romanian origin, there are four persons in this Colony of equal social standing (. . .) who (. . .) would be equally suited for this post." The Governor's Office in a letter dated February 11, 1926 even named those four personalities, mentioning among them Samuel Rabinovitz "a manufacturer's agent carrying on business in Salisbury and Bulawayo", who was to become important for Czechoslovakia in the 1930s. But it seemed the British authorities in London never conveyed this information to the Romanian legation, as the legation requested the exequatur for T. W. Stuart Shaw as Honorary Consul on December 8, 1926 (and it was issued on January 3, 1927).

Although T. W. Stuart Shaw supposedly contacted Romania first, Latvia acted most swiftly. The Latvian Foreign Ministry appointed T. W. Stuart Shaw as Vice-Consul on October 30, 1926, his warrant was issued on November 11, 1926 and he signed his oath on April 25, 1927 (almost four months before he signed the similar document with the Czechoslovak authorities).

The Finnish Foreign Ministry started considering the appointment of T. W. Stuart Shaw later – in 1926 – but it was only on June 21, 1927 when the Ministry accepted the proposal, and applied at the British Foreign Office for his exequatur as Vice-Consul shortly afterwards.

On September 2, 1926, the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town sent to T. W. Stuart Shaw the preliminary rules regulating Czechoslovak honorary consular offices (rules No. 66.614/V/1923 of May 19, 1923). He replied in writing on September 6, 1926 that he is "quite willing to accept the position of Honorary Vice Consul for Czechoslovakia in Southern and Northern Rhodesia on the terms and conditions as set forth" and that "there is nothing in the preliminary rules (. . .) to which I cannot fully agree to". He should have been aware that by accepting the position of consular representative of another country, he broke the terms and conditions set forth by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. To become representative of another country concurrently, he would require the permission of the Foreign Ministry in advance. He might have thought that this was not a matter of great importance as lawyer W. E. Gill in Salisbury also represented two countries (Italy and Belgium). But more probably, he simply did not care.

T. W. Stuart Shaw signed his oath on August 15, 1927 and informed the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town that the Vice Consulate of Czechoslovakia in Bulawayo was officially opened on the very same day.

As of 1928, four different flags should have waved – Latvian, Czechoslovak, Finnish and Romanian – in the tiny two-storey Laurence and Cope's Buildings (now Kingston's bookshop) in Abercorn Street (Jason Moyo St.) Bulawayo, where there was a shop of the same name selling pianos and musical instruments. As no photograph of that

building from the late 1920s or the 1930s has been found, further in-depth search is impossible.

CONSULAR CORPS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA IN THE 1920s

The first Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia published in 1924 mentions consular representatives of eight countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal). Although the capital of Southern Rhodesia was Salisbury, Bulawayo remained the cultural and economic hub of the country, so, not surprisingly, there were Dutch and Danish Consuls only in Bulawayo.

When in 1926 T. W. Stuart Shaw approached the Czechoslovak authorities, the situation did not change significantly; the Danish consulate in Bulawayo was closed down when its holder decided to change his position in favour of Sweden. France increased its presence in Southern Rhodesia by appointing a consular agent in Salisbury as well.

Resident Foreign Consular Representatives in S. Rhodesia (as of 1926)

in Bulawayo:		
Belgium	Vice Consul (Hon.)	Robert Gordon
France	Consular Agent (Hon.)	Allan Ross Welsh
the Netherlands	Consul (Hon.)	W. F. Miolee
Sweden	Consul (?) (Hon.?)	Gustav (?) Hard
in Salisbury:		
Belgium	Consul (Hon.)	William Erskine Gill
France	Consular Agent (Hon.)	Charles Patrick John Coghlan
Greece	Consul (Hon.)	Raleigh Grey
Italy	Vice Consul (Hon.)	William Erskine Gill
Norway	Vice Consul (Hon.)	William Streak Honey
Portugal	Consul	M. J. Placido

(revised list from the *Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia of 1926*)

The most "influential" representation was enjoyed by France, although both their representatives had the lowest possible rank of mere consular agents. The French consular agent in Salisbury was nobody less than the then Premier of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Charles Patrick John Coghlan (1863–1927). The French consular agent in Matabeleland was Coghlan's partner in the law firm, Allan Ross Welsh (b. 1875) who came to Rhodesia from South Africa in 1899. In 1927, Welsh was elected member of the Legislative Assembly to replace Coghlan and after being re-elected several times he represented Bulawayo North constituency and served as MLA. In 1935, he was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (until 1952) and knighted.

An Oxford-educated veteran of many wars, an Englishman and great-grandson of the 1st Earl Grey, Lt.-Col. Sir Raleigh Grey (1860–1936) served as the Greek Consul in Bulawayo. He had taken part in the Zulu wars and was in command of the Bechuanaland Border Police, a column during the Matabele War in 1893, and a brigade of Australian and New Zealand regiments in the Boer War. He also served as a member

of the Rhodesian Legislative Council from its creation in 1898 until 1920. After his retirement from the army in 1904, he assumed managerial posts in various companies, including United Rhodesia Goldfields Co. Although he returned for good to Britain in 1926, he was listed in year books as a Consul until his death in 1936 (he was probably permanently represented by the acting Consul and his successor C. P. Bathurst).

Australian-born major of the Commonwealth Military Forces, Robert Gordon (1866–1944), who represented Belgium as its Vice-Consul in Bulawayo, settled in Southern Rhodesia in 1918. He had been travelling to and from Rhodesia on numerous occasions as he served in the Boer War, raised and commanded the Northern Rhodesia Rifles at the beginning of the World War I, commanded the Northern Rhodesia Scouts in South West Africa and Angola, and later on in Tanganyika. On one of his numerous visits, he joined the exclusive Bulawayo Club in 1905. Another Belgian representative was the Consul in Salisbury, Manx-born lawyer William Erskine Gill, who came to South Africa in 1896 and practised law in Kimberley and Port Elizabeth; then he became an attorney and partner in the law firm of Gill, Godlonton & Gerrans. From the 1920s until the early 1930s, Gill served also as Italian Consul with distinction as he was awarded the Italian Order of the Crown and Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Belgium.

The Norwegian Honorary Vice-Consul William Streak Honey (b. 1867) was among the most famous Rhodesian lawyers of that time. After having been solicitor of the Supreme Court in Cape Town and High Court in Kimberley, he settled in Salisbury and established the law firm Honey & Blanckenberg. (After Honey's death, his partner took over not only the firm, but also the post of Norwegian Honorary Vice-consul). Honey was well-known in Rhodesia, as he was an active member of various societies, and he was many times elected President of the Law Society of Southern Rhodesia. But W. S. Honey was not only a lawyer, as he took part in the Mazoe Patrol in rescue of civilians from Alice Mine during the Shona uprising in 1896.

Last, but not least, the Dutch consul, W. F. Miolee, was an expert on and an importer of ammunition and firearms, sometimes said to be the best ballistician who ever set foot on African soil. He was Dutch honorary consul not only for both Rhodesias, but also for the Belgian Congo from 1910. He was an active member of the Rhodesia Scientific Assocation and a member of the Committee of the Rhodesian Museum.

T. W. STUART SHAW AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK VICE-CONSULATE IN BULAWAYO (1927–1930)

Looking at the history of other Honorary Consuls in Bulawayo and Salisbury, the Czechoslovak-Romanian-Finnish cum Latvian consul, Thomas William Stuart Smith, did not fit into this informal society of the top Rhodesians. He was neither well-known, nor rich and influential. He described himself in his introductory letter as "forty six years of age, educated at a Public School in England, an accountant by profession, and a Justice of the Peace for Rhodesia".

Born in Long-Sutton in Lincolnshire on January 25, 1880, he settled in South Africa, where he then spent 23 years. After having arrived in Rhodesia in September 1910, he worked as a clerk and later as an accountant and bookkeeper for the Mashonaland Agency Ltd. and then for furniture manufacturers and importers, Ellenbogen and Co.

owned by Polish Jewish brothers, Jack and Joseph Ellenbogen. It appears that by 1925 he had set up his own accountancy business, and in 1925 or 1926 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Bulawayo District. He was really at the very beginning of his career, and although "his prospects as an accountant are spoken of as fair" (quoted from the discreet report of R. G. Dun and Co.), he undoubtedly needed more time to establish himself. It was therefore surprising that the Department of the Colonial Secretary found him "of good standing . . . and . . . quite suitable for [this] appointment". If all four countries had been aware of his real position in Bulawayo society, they could not have thought that he would be able to fulfil the Honorary Consular officer's requirements. The Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town commissioned R. G. Dun and Co. to make a discreet report on him, as it was very careful. They stated that he was regarded as "[not] being possessed of very much capital". They, however, added that "he is the reputed owner of stand with buildings at Hillside estimated to be worth about Lstg. 1000" but "it is bound in operation".

What should have worried Czechoslovak authorities more were assessments of his personal and working reputation. R. G. Dun and Co. noted that T. W. Stuart Shaw is indeed "popular in local business circles", but also that he "is quoted of average ability". The Czechoslovak Consul in Cape Town, Tomas Duffek, did not approve the report as he found it "not exact enough" and asked for one more from Stuart Shaw's previous employer. We do not know whether he ever received one, but what we know now is that shortly afterwards Duffek found the report of R. G. Dun and Co. very true as it also mentioned, that "in the past (T. W. Stuart Shaw) has met his personal obligations with average promptitude."

VICE-CONSULATE ASLEEP

The archives of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry do not possess too many documents concerning its Bulawayo Vice-consulate, but a few of them which have survived show that T. W. Stuart Shaw was undoubtedly not an active consular officer. In 1927 he only sent a letter of condolence after the death of Rhodesia's Premier Coghlan and nominated (as required) his deputy representative – an engineer and managing director and chairman of the Hogarth's Metal Works, Theodore Albert Edward Holdengarde (builder of the famous Bulawayo Castle, now Nesbitt Castle Hotel). After that, he sent only two or three economic reports (which we can't assess, as they are not in the archives), but he never fulfilled his obligations by sending regular reports about consular and economic development in Southern and Northern Rhodesia as promised and required.

As of early 1929, the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town was well aware that T. W. Stuart Shaw also represented Finland. The information was probably confirmed by the local Finnish Honorary Consul, but in the existing documents there is no information that the Czechoslovak authorities were aware of the fact that he also represented Romania and Latvia, although they had Honorary Consulates in the Union of South Africa. Letters asking for business and consular reports remained unanswered and the Czechoslovak Consul in Cape Town, Tomas Duffek, wrote the first information to alert the Prague Ministry to the situation. It was clear that the Consul should be stripped of his title and the Vice-consulate should be closed.

Although the Bulawayo Vice-Consulate was probably the first Czechoslovak honorary mission in the world to be closed under such circumstances, it might have not happened if a Czech globetrotter, Viktor Mussik, had not visited Bulawayo in early 1929. Mussik's visit to Bulawayo and Cape Town caused a storm, when in August of the same year he published an article about the Bulawayo Consulate in the Czech-language magazine *Venkov*. Although based only on incomplete information, it created an uproar at the Foreign Ministry in Prague.

The tone of Mussik's article was not surprising, as he was already well-known as author of dozens of short pieces in various Czech magazines and he was extremely critical of everything (he published negative articles about the chancery of the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town, behaviour and quality of advertisements of Czechoslovak companies in South Africa, all of them carefully assessed by the Consulate as well as the Foreign Ministry and often found untrue). Controversy between Czechoslovak officials and Mussik even reached the top while he was marked as a psychologically vague serial liar by a Czech citizen living in South Africa who was harassed and probably also robbed by Mussik.

On October 1929, T. W. Stuart Shaw was requested by the Consulate in Cape Town to resign, and he did so by a letter dated October 30, 1929 saying: "I regret to state that I find the work of Vice-Consul at Bulawayo requires more time than I can spare and should therefore, be glad if you will accept my resignation of the office." Although the Czechoslovak authorities wanted him to close down the Consulate from January 1, 1930, he refused to do so and asked for clear reasons for the closing date on March 15, 1930. Although he had been informed his request would not be endorsed unless he finally settled all outstanding matters, he did – as usual – nothing.

The Czechoslovak authorities then sent a diplomatic note to the British Foreign Office on March 25, 1930 (Note. No. 1230/30), to inform them that its Vice-Consulate had ceased to operate as from March 14, 1930 and also that "Mr. T. W. Stuart Shaw has he then failed to comply with the request . . . to discontinue his duties and refused to return the official inventory, although several reminders have been communicated to him". Probably it was by intervention of the British authorities that on October 1930 ,T. W. Stuart Shaw finally handed over all symbols of his Vice-Consulate including Seals of the Office, Coat of Arms, State Flag etc. Unfortunately, he never sent his official archives (as there were probably none).

The very last mention of T. W. Stuart Shaw in Czech sources comes in 1931, when a Czech traveller, J. V. Foit, who visited Bulawayo, wrote about his meeting with him in his travelogue *Autem napric Afrikou* (Through Africa by Car) as follows: "There was a cold reception for us, as he is not a Czechoslovak honorary consul any more and he remembers those times with bad memories. Two Czechoslovak globetrotters borrowed from him a big sum of money (5 Lstg.) and disappeared."

T. W. STUART SHAW'S WORK FOR OTHER COUNTRIES

The other three countries that T. W. Stuart Shaw represented were probably similarly neglected, as the existence of their consular offices was not even mentioned in Southern Rhodesia's official yearbooks until 1932 (although he was appointed in 1927). What we do know is that he did not fulfil the requirements for Finland, as there is no

information in Helsinki archives about any single report from Bulawayo. The Finnish Consulate General in Cape Town in March 1939 informed the Helsinki Ministry that T. W. Stuart Shaw had not communicated with them for a couple of years. After consultations with the former Finnish Consul General in Cape Town (transferred to a new posting in Hamburg) the verdict was as follows: T. W. Stuart Shaw should resign and he will be asked to do so. Because of World War II this probably never happened, or his resignation letter never arrived in Helsinki.

There is no information about T. W. Stuart Shaw promoting Romanian interests in Southern Rhodesia, but – again for unknown reasons – he was awarded the Insignia of Chevalier of the Order of the Star of Romania in 1931. As this act required approval from the Southern Rhodesian authorities, the Department of the Colonial Secretary had no objections but in its despatch to the Premier, it mentioned "the circumstances attendant upon the discontinuance of the Czechoslovakian vice-consulate at Bulawayo".

We do not know much about T. W. Stuart Shaw's work for Latvia, but the Latvian authorities awarded him the Order of the Three Stars of the Third class in 1937 and he remained their Vice-Consul until August 20, 1940, when all the Baltic states, already occupied by the Soviet Union and its authorities, liquidated the Latvian consular and diplomatic service. Documentation from Stuart Shaw's file with the Rhodesian Criminal Investigation Department now in the National Archives in Harare mentions at least two complaints of his negligence by Latvian citizens.

In 1933 a Latvian resident in Beira, Mozambique, complained that he had sent his passport to him for renewal together with cash to cover the fee, but that there had been absolutely no reaction. The Criminal Investigation Department interviewed him and

T. W. Stuart Shaw
(National Archives of the Republic of Latvia)

Stuart Shaw later fulfilled his obligations. The second recorded complaint arrived from Kenya from another Latvian citizen, who sent him his passport and money for extension, but "received no reply from Bulawayo in spite of several inquiries". Even Stuart Shaw's friend – M. I. Cohen of Bulawayo – who tried to help him with his obligations in 1933 stated in his letter to the CID, that he did not think "the gentleman is suited for that position".

T. W. Stuart Shaw was a person with no personal discipline and this influenced his business ventures, too. It seems obvious that he was not successful as a chartered accountant, for in 1934 he applied for a general dealer's licence and opened Madeleine's Cafe and Grand Fruit Store with his wife, Ada S. Shaw; later that year he claimed to be managing director at the Commercial Agencies Ltd., but as early as April 1935, a client company in South Africa found that Shaw had not actually registered the company, having no proper funds. In 1935 and through the following four years Stuart Shaw was fined for failing to submit an income tax return, for employing a shop assistant for more working hours than stated in the Shop Hours Ordinance, and for employing a native without registering him.

Stuart Shaw's position was probably very difficult, so on September 28, 1937, he left for Northern Rhodesia to assume the position of secretary to the Mine Workers' Union. A CID memorandum dated October 1, 1937 said "his financial position is believed to have been precarious for some years".

He informed neither the Southern Rhodesian, nor Latvian, Finnish or Romanian authorities about his relocation to Ndola, so the Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs of Southern Rhodesia asked him on December 8, 1939 to explain his situation as a consular official. Shaw's reply was once more again unsatisfactory as he just stated that he had "taken up the question . . . with the authorities concerned", and that he would "still deal with Consular matters for which purpose has always retained . . . Bulawayo Post Box address since coming to Northern Rhodesia".

As there is no further information about his consular work, we may assume that he had done nothing since he settled in Ndola. After having become a member of the Ndola Municipal Council and a deputy mayor of the town, T. W. Stuart Shaw passed away there on September 17, 1949. He was survived by his wife Ada from whom he had supposedly been separated as she never left Bulawayo, and his son B. Stuart Shaw.

Studying T. W. Stuart Shaw's files available in the Harare's National Archives, creates a strong feeling that from at least 1923 onwards, Shaw was in the habit of receiving goods or funds from people yet failing to carry out the requisite duties until he was forced to do so by the threat of legal action or criminal prosecution.

SECOND CHANCE – NEVER OPENED CONSULATES IN SALISBURY AND BULAWAYO

During the 1930s the importance of both Rhodesias for Czechoslovak trade was steadily increasing as more and more companies entered this market mainly through their representatives stationed in South Africa. In 1936, the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town got instructions from the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry to find a candidate for honorary consulship in the newly established capital of Northern Rhodesia, Lusaka. After an exchange of reports, the ministry in Prague accepted that Lusaka was still

less important in the Rhodesias, and the Consulate should be preferably established either in Bulawayo or Salisbury (in this order of preference) or in both places.

Resident Foreign Consular Representatives in S. Rhodesia (as of 1938)

in Bulawayo:

Belgium	Vice (?) Consul (Hon.)	J. C. Coghlan
Denmark	Consul (Hon.)	G. H. Gott
France	Consular Agent (Hon.)	Allan Ross Welsh
Finland	Vice Consul (Hon.)	Thomas William Stuart Shaw
the Netherlands	Consul (Hon.)	Henry Gordon Issels
Latvia	Vice Consul (Hon.)	Thomas William Stuart Shaw
Romania	Consul (Hon.)	Thomas William Stuart Shaw

in Salisbury:

Belgium	Consul (Hon.)	William Erskine Gill
Denmark	Consul (Hon.?)	A. R. Home or H. B. Hone ?
Greece	Consul (Hon.)	C. P. Bathurst
Italy	Vice Consul (Hon.?)	S. Martinelli
Norway	Vice Consul (Hon.)	William Streak Honey
Portugal	Consul	J. P. P. de Carvalho
Sweden	Consul (Hon.)	James Wood Elsworth

(revised list from the *Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia* of 1938)

The best candidate for Bulawayo was undoubtedly a businessman and entrepreneur, Samuel Rabinovitz (b. 1894), whose company, The Union Agencies, was one of the biggest agents and brokers in Rhodesia of the 1930s. It represented dozens of big and "fashionable" companies such as champagne producer Heidsieck, cognac producer Martell etc. Samuel Rabinovitz was born in Romania, but as a child he left with his family for Rhodesia via Britain and finally settled in Bulawayo where he became a successful businessman.

In 1935, S. Rabinovitz – as a board member of the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce – was sent by the Southern Rhodesian government on a mission to India to find a market for Rhodesian tobacco; he succeeded in this task but he also broadened his contacts with one of the most important Czechoslovak companies of that time – the Bata Shoe Company – which had one of its numerous factories worldwide also in the Indian town of Batanagar. Samuel Rabinovitz – as Mr. Bata's representative in Bulawayo – shortly found that Rhodesia was a prospective market for their shoes, which he imported from various Bata factories from 1934. While the volume of trade increased, he even employed a Czech, Jan Kasperlik, to deal with Czechoslovak companies, and in 1937 travelled to Czechoslovakia to arrange closer cooperation with local manufacturers. Probably during this visit S. Rabinovitz persuaded the Bata Company's president, Tomas Bata, to establish his own shoe production facility in Southern Rhodesia (to be realized in 1939). While in Prague, S. Rabinovitz also paid a brief visit to the Foreign Ministry where his possible appointment as Honorary Consul in Bulawayo was discussed. He was found to be a good candidate (according to an unsigned hand-written report dated August 14, 1937). Also the letter from the Bata

Shoe Co. dated November 10, 1937 was in favour of S. Rabinovitz as they were "fully pleased" with the cooperation and pointed out that he "could significantly help /to increase/ Czechoslovak exports".

At the end of 1937, the new Czechoslovak Consul in Cape Town Arnost Lavante assumed his duties and at the same time, the favourable position of Samuel Rabinovitz changed. We can only guess this was a coincidence or a deliberate act by Consul Lavante, for in late 1937 the Consulate in Cape Town began favouring the establishment of a Consulate in Salisbury instead of Bulawayo. The Standard Bank even proposed two different candidates – William Smith, former Mayor of Salisbury, and Col. Ernest Lucas Guest, a member of the Rhodesian Legislative Assembly from 1928. As the Czechoslovak Ministry was by 1936 prepared to open up Honorary Consulates in both cities, it was a bit surprising that Lavante clearly torpedoed the previous proposal to open the Consulate in Bulawayo and pushed forward a candidate from Salisbury, William Smith.

E. L. Guest (1882–1972) was then undoubtedly an emerging Rhodesian personality – a lawyer and Boer War hero, deputy mayor of Salisbury, and soon to become the member of the cabinet (1938–1948) and the Leader of the House (1944–1948). On the contrary, William Smith (b. 1877), former mayor of Salisbury and a shareholder in various companies, including W. C. MacDonald & Co., trade representative of dozen of foreign companies (e.g. Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Imperial Airways (Africa), Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways, National Mutual Life Association of Australasia, etc. was at the end of his career. Smith's candidature was really surprising if we take into account that he was no longer active in business. He was not even a member of

S. Rabinovitz
(Mrs. Anita Abrahamson)

the Chamber of Commerce and according to the Ministry's information, he seldom travelled out of Salisbury.

Not surprisingly the Central Union of Czechoslovak Industrialists as well as the Central Office of the Czechoslovak Chambers of Trade and Commerce were clearly disappointed by the new candidate. The former pointed out that W. C. MacDonald & Co. represented at least two companies which were direct business adversaries to Czechoslovak manufacturers and exporters; the firm represented Belgian Ramlot (producer of native blankets) and Cuban sugar manufacturers. Above all, W. Smith was the main shareholder in the Rhodesian Leather Industries Ltd., the creation of which could vitally endanger Mr. Bata's interests in Rhodesia. The latter also noted that S. Rabinovitz was a far better candidate than W. Smith as he was still active as a businessman and already represented some Czechoslovak companies. Both Unions also stressed their wish to have the Consulate preferably in Bulawayo, which was the business hub of Southern Rhodesia, but they accepted that there would be missions in both cities.

The year 1938 was one of the most unfortunate in the Czechoslovak history. While the Nazi attack on western Europe started by the seizure of France in 1940, for Czechoslovakia the tragedy began almost two years earlier. Czechoslovakia of the late 1930s was under constant attacks by its neighbours which had significant minorities there (not only Nazi Germany, but also Poland and Hungary). Internal processes of the Republic's disintegration also took place. The so-called Munich agreement of Hitler with France, Italy and Britain gave Nazi Germany legal grounds to occupy the borderlands of Czechoslovakia (so-called Sudetenland) and drag it into the German Reich. There was also acknowledged the autonomous status of Slovakia and Transcarpathian Ruthenia. Following the resignation of the Czechoslovakia's president Edvard Benes, who was the symbol of Czechoslovak democracy, the new right-wing government introduced totalitarian principles into Czechoslovak politics and society. Pro Nazi-movements and feelings were on the rise and this influenced society in many aspects, including its approach to the Jewish community, which had lived in Czechoslovakia peacefully for hundreds of years.

In this atmosphere there was launched the final "attack" against the appointment of Samuel Rabinovitz. His Jewish origin and his active part in the Bulawayo Jewish community was questioned as being in contradiction with his work for Czechoslovakia. Although on July 9, 1938, the Southern Rhodesian authorities informed the Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town that "this Government would have no objection to these two appointments," and various other sources asked about him did not find anything contradictory with Rabinovitz's activities as founder and president of the Rhodesian Zionist Council, the final vetoing of his appointment was issued by the Foreign Ministry in Prague in November 1938 (No. 149112/38 and 163208/38) because of "changed situation /in the world/ and personality of proposed consul". The other candidate – William Smith in Salisbury – was accepted and the Czechoslovak government appointed him the Consul on November 19, 1938. The Consulate in Cape Town , however, was given instructions to find whether he was of "non-Aryan origin", and later on – on 21 December, 1938 – it was ordered not to inform the candidate about his appointment and to await further instructions.

Yet, these instructions were probably never sent and owing to the eruption of war, the Consulate was never opened. When Slovakia declared independence in mid-March 1939, Nazi Germany invaded the remnants of former Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939, and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (German occupation took the form of a colonial administration) was established. The Czechoslovak Consulate in Cape Town was on the very day of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia handed over to Germany (the same fate met many Czechoslovak diplomatic missions, especially those located in the countries which were favourable towards Nazi Germany). The Honorary Consulates in Johannesburg, Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth were closed, so the Czechs and Slovaks in the Southern Africa remained without any relevant consular assistance. The only consular mission south of the Sahara which remained operational was the Honorary Consulate in Mombasa (moved later on to Nairobi), which was very helpful during the World War II as the British government recognized the London-based Czechoslovak government-in-exile headed by the former president Edvard Benes shortly after its establishment.

As the number of Czechoslovak citizens in Rhodesia significantly increased with the arrival of employees of the Bata Shoe Company in 1939, the non-existence of any consular office in nearby parts of Africa caused problems. It was not until December 1941 when the South African authorities (definitely under pressure from Britain) allowed the Czechoslovak government-in-exile to reopen the Consulate in Cape Town (although the title of his head was merely an "agent of provisional government in rank of Consul General"). Until then, all necessary consular matters could be handled only by the Honorary Consulate in Nairobi and all Czechoslovak citizens living in that region who had any problems had to travel there.

For unknown reasons the appointment of the Honorary Consul in Rhodesia was not realized even by the London-based Czechoslovak government-in-exile (which during the War in fact formed and established a significant number of other effective consulates and missions in many friendly countries around the world especially there, where Czech and Slovak communities needed their support). While Consulates of other countries occupied by Germany (e.g. Belgium, the Netherlands) were still operational and a few new ones were established during the World War II (an example being the effective Consulate General of the Polish government-in-exile, established in Salisbury, presumably in 1942, although in yearbooks it is mentioned only in 1944) Czechoslovakia did not return to the idea of establishing a consular mission in Rhodesia although it would have been very useful for stranded Czechs and Slovaks there.

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Early History of Beer Brewing in Rhodesia

by Peter Sternberg

Delta Corporation's current Headquarters, situated at Northridge Park in Borrowdale, Harare, have been occupied by the Corporation ever since 1985, the year the buildings were completed. The name 'Delta Corporation' came into being in April 1978, it having been decided around that time that a change of name was opportune. And so the company known as Rhodesian Breweries became known as the Delta Corporation – a company that, by one name or another, has also celebrated its 100th anniversary and has expanded greatly since its humble beginnings in the year 1898. And, despite diversifying greatly over the years to include a major stake in the hotel and tourist industry, retailing and manufacturing enterprises, the manpower resources field and many other outlets, the core beginning and major contributor to the wealth, progress and development of the Delta Corporation lay in its beer brewing division.

And, as this talk is going to be on the early days of the beer brewing side of the business in this country, let us go back to the latter part of the 19th Century . . .

Africa has always had a long history of beer brewing. Traditional beer, made from sorghum and other indigenous grains, has been brewed in villages and kraals for centuries. And no doubt in the fledgling town of Salisbury, Rhodesia, in the late 19th Century, the brewing of beer, in one form or another, was being undertaken. The quality of the beers being produced at that time, the standard of hygiene in use, and their availability to the general public is an unknown quantity, but probably left much to be desired in those early days.

So let me bring into the picture one LOUIS SUSMAN, who arrived in Salisbury in 1891 and later that year began constructing the first brick hotel in the town of Salisbury in Pioneer Street. He named it the Masonic Hotel, for he was a keen Mason and regular lodge meetings were held there. There was also entertainment laid on, and a piano was shipped up from Johannesburg. But the most popular section of his new hotel was the bar where drinkers could stand against a counter with their friends instead of sitting at home and drinking in their shacks – because that is what housing mainly consisted of in those days.

Susman was a very popular person who had led an exciting life, starting with his escape from Poland as a young man in order to avoid conscription into the German army. He landed up in South Africa and eventually arrived in Salisbury where the gold fields proved the attraction. He pegged some claims on the Mazoe Road and began developing the Salisbury Reef Mine. He was also appointed a Director of the Salisbury Board of Executors and was considered to be one of the towns most prominent businessmen.

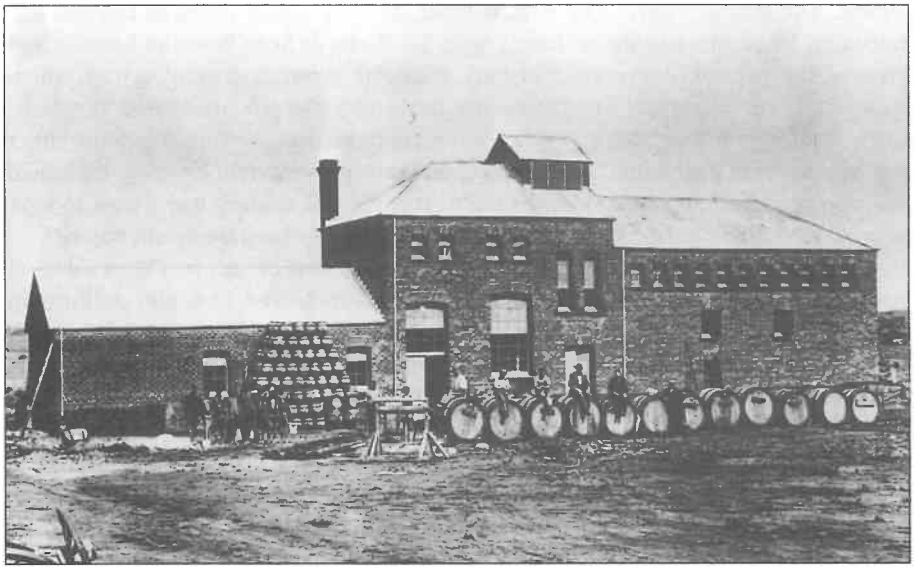
Another leading hotelier in Salisbury at that time was ADOLPH ROSENTHAL, proprietor of the Commercial Hotel, which later became the Grand Hotel, situated in First Street.

These gentlemen got together and no doubt discussed the hotel trade in general and the supply and availability of beer in particular. It appears that supplies from the various smaller breweries were erratic and talk no doubt progressed to the possible construction of a larger local brewery which would guarantee a regular supply of good quality beer for the hotel industry. And, being men of vision, in 1898 they established the Salisbury Lager Beer Brewery & Ice Factory – which turned out to be the country's first real secondary industry of note.

They purchased 12 freehold stands in Cameron Street, at a cost of £3 000 and plans were soon drawn up for a building to house the brewery. The plans were not only to be passed by the relevant authorities in Salisbury, but also had to be submitted to the Berlin College of Brewers in Germany to confirm with the rules and regulations of the International Brewing Industry. The Berlin College of Brewers in due course approved the plans as did the Municipality of Salisbury and building operations commenced. This was to become a building of national importance – or at least its products were certainly classified as such – and in August 1898 the then Mayor of Salisbury, Mr W E Fairbridge, who incidentally was also the editor of the Rhodesia Herald at the time, laid the foundation stone.

The initial building, with its 34 foot high central reservoir tower, cost the then staggering sum of £6 000 and this section of building became one of the show pieces of the country, never mind just Salisbury! By October that year, the so-called 'suicide month' the thirst factor must have increased no end, and expectations ran high amongst the public to see that this project be completed and that the end product roll off the assembly lines as soon as possible!

In the meantime, plant and equipment had been ordered from Germany and this was shipped to Beira and from there was transported by ox wagon to Salisbury – a



Original Brewery c. 1897/1898

long and laborious journey. But by January 1899 all the machinery had finally arrived and was put into place. Wells had been dug in the ground at Market Square and the water was found to be of good quality. The brewery manager, a master brewer imported from Germany, Herr Stanislaus Schwartz, proceeded to adapt the manufacturing process to suit local conditions.

The factory's aim was to supply a good sound beer, adapted to the climate, and this goal was achieved from the outset. Brewing commenced in late April 1899 and as from 1 May 1899 lager beer was placed on sale in local stores. Prices ranged from five shillings a gallon in seven-gallon barrels, nine shilling a dozen for small bottles and thirteen shillings a dozen for large bottles. However, bottles were very scarce so the brewery charged a deposit of two shillings a dozen for small bottles and three shillings a dozen for the larger bottles.

From early financial records available, accounts for the six months ended 30 June 1900 reflected a turnover of £10 162 which resulted in a net profit of £4 084.

By 1900 the two partners decided to float the company in order to form a limited liability company. The nominal share capital amounted to one hundred thousand shares valued at £1 each and the Salisbury (Rhodesia) Lager Beer Brewery Limited was successfully launched in November of that year. 65 000 shares of £1 each were sold on the following terms, namely: two shillings and sixpence on application, ten shillings on allotment and the balance of seven shillings and sixpence on each share to be paid within one month after the date of the resolution still to be passed, calling up the balance of the capital.

The Directors were Henry Brack of New London Street, in London, England, and J. J. Rogers of Hill & Paddon, Suffolk House, London. Hill & Paddon incidentally had business interests in Rhodesia during those early years.

The local Board's Directors were: Louis Susman, Adolph Rosenthal and Thomas Meikle. The Bankers were: The African Banking Corporation based in London and Salisbury, Rhodesia, and the solicitors were M. Webb & Sons based in London and Messrs Grimmer and Du Preez of Salisbury, Rhodesia. Apart from brewing beer, which of course was the Company's main function, the factory also produced ice for hospitals, hotels, boarding houses and private homes and in those days, with refrigerators either non-existent or at a premium, this product must have proved a real blessing. Ice cream was also produced and so children at the turn of the last century had a treat to look forward to as there must have been precious little else to keep them entertained!

The figures for January 1900 showed that 4 000 gallons of beer had been sold that month and by June 1900 the monthly output had increased to 6 600 gallons. In September a branch was opened in Gwelo selling beer in casks and in bottles with beer being supplied four times a week. The whole of the Matabeleland region felt it was somewhat being left out of the picture with regard to receiving lager beer and the brewery let it be known that as soon as the railway line between Salisbury and Bulawayo had been finally connected, full advantage would be taken of railing this product to Bulawayo.

The great day finally arrived on 6 October, 1902, when the rail line was linked and two months later, in December 1902, a depot was opened in Bulawayo. The Managing Director of the Salisbury Brewery stated that beer would be sold on draught at one

shilling per glass and small bottles would sell for one shilling and sixpence and quart size bottles for two shillings and sixpence.

In the meanwhile our intrepid master brewer from Germany, Herr Stanislaus Schwartz, who was on a three year contract, was accused of accepting bribes from a firm by the name of Wilhelm Astheimer based in Hamburg, Germany. This firm supplied all the hops, malt and other ingredients used in the manufacture of beer by the Salisbury brewery and Schwartz, who had recommended this firm, had made it quite clear that whilst he was in charge, only Astheimer's products could and would be used and that he (Schwartz) was not going to take any responsibility for turning out bad beer if malt or hops were supplied by any suppliers other than Astheimers. The directors ceded to his demands.

The Brewery sued Schwartz for the 'secret commission' they alleged he received from Astheimers which they claimed amounted to some 12.5% in value of all orders placed and which they stated would have automatically been added to prices quoted on their accounts. This amount, they worked out, would have amounted to approximately £1 000 over the period in question, and they wanted Schwartz to refund them this commission. The case went to the High Court before Mr Justice Watermeyer and Schwartz lost his job with the Brewery. Thereafter the Brewery obtained malt and hops from other sources and these turned out to be not only of better quality but less expensive as well!

Pilsner and Munich beer was introduced and beer was now being exported to Mafeking, Vryburg and Kimberley in South Africa.

In December 1904 Lager and Stout were being sold at eight shillings for a dozen pints. That month, the Rhodesia Herald wrote: 'A splendid and well matured quality brew in casks is now ready for Xmas consumers"

Although everyone appeared to be happy with the quality of the beer, including the Herald reporters, the business somehow ran into financial problems and in November 1905 the High Court ordered the company (and this is not a pun!) to be liquidated. In due course, tenders were put out to purchase the business as a going concern.

And so, the Salisbury (Rhodesia) Lager Beer Brewery & Ice Factory was sold in April 1906 to Breweries Ltd., a company registered with a nominal share capital of £15 000. The share subscription list of 13 500 £1 shares was filled within five days.

More efficient management appears to have been introduced and by August 1907 prices had dropped to seven shillings a dozen pints, brewery grains were advertised at one shilling a bucket as an alternative animal feed and ice was sold at one penny per pound with special quotations given for large orders. Business improved and turnover in due course increased by five per cent.

Mr P. V. Samuels became head brewer and was to serve the company for a period of forty years commencing in 1908. Mr Samuels used to ride his horse, an Arab mare by the name of Molly, to work, but occasionally he used to cycle instead, leaving his horse at home. This did not suit Molly who used to set off for the brewery on her own, swimming across the Mkabusi river that separated her master's home and the brewery, and turn up at his place of work giving a shrill neigh in the process!

There were at that time some thirty-six members of staff employed who produced an average of twenty barrels of beer a day. Two locomotive type boilers which used

wood fuel generated the electricity, and an eight tonne refrigerator in the cellars cooled the wooden fermenting and storage vessels. Because the refrigerators were not quite cold enough, the bottled beer was carbonated.

In 1910 three directors of the Company, Mr M. E. Cleveland, Dr Appleyard and Alderman Phillips, negotiated the sale of Breweries Limited to South African Breweries who in turn also took over the other minor brewing companies in Rhodesia. South African Breweries transferred an entire brewing plant 1 000 miles from Kroonstad in the Orange Free State to Salisbury. When it was built, using 100 tons of steel for the six storey building, the new brewery was as good a plant as any found in the United Kingdom or Germany. This plant in Cameron Street involved the largest contract for structural steelwork in Rhodesia up to this time.

Now named The Castle Brewery the new brewhouse was officially opening in 1911 in the UTC Building in Moffat Street, by the Marquis of Winchester who stated that he hoped that the brewery would be self-supporting, not only in its barley requirements from Rhodesian farmers, but that it would be self-sustained by locally made crates and bottles.

Castle beers were displayed at a specially built stand in the form of a miniature castle at the 1912 Salisbury Agricultural Show which was held at the Cotton Ginnery site, situated on the corner of Manica Road and Fourth Street, and this novel display drew large crowds. This was the year that Castle Ale was introduced to the public and it proved to be a definite best seller.

World War One broke out in 1914 and during the war beer consumption increased – no doubt helped by advertisements which appeared in the Rhodesian Herald claiming that beer was 'safe, pure and pre-eminently the temperance war drink'.

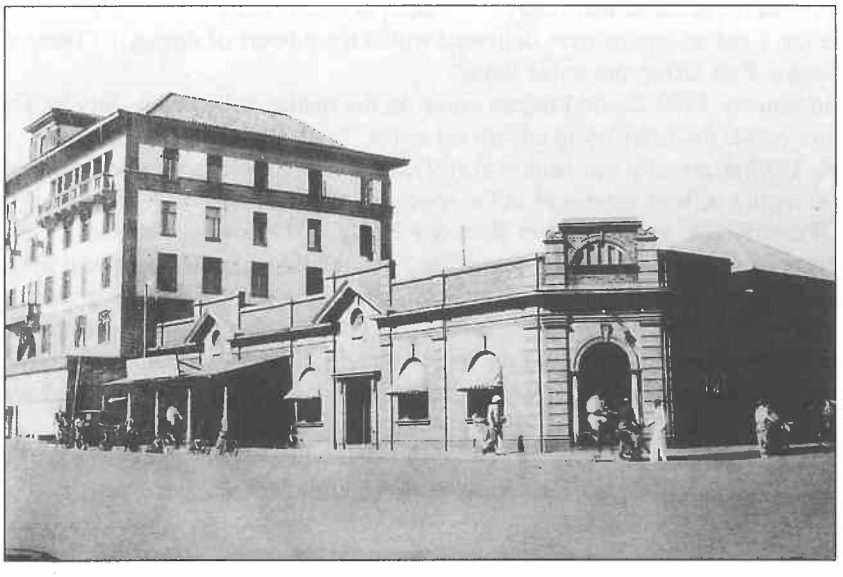
Castle Brewery exhibition 1912 Salisbury Agricultural Show, held near the cotton ginnery site, SE corner of Manica Road and 4th St

At the 1916 South African Breweries annual general meeting held in London, nett earnings were reported as being £187 500 – and increase of nearly £20 000 over the previous year. A reserve fund of £700 000 had also been put aside for post-war expansion.

Beer supplies were distributed to hotels, bars and bottle stores by mule drawn wagons, and this form of transport continued on a reduced scale as the years went on, right up to 1947 when the last mule drawn wagons were withdrawn. However, being a forward looking company, motor vehicles were put into service once the condition of the early roads improved and there is a photograph taken in 1916 of an American FWD truck hauling beer. The truck belonged to the firm of George Elcombe Ltd, a pioneer in this country's transport sector.

Following World War One expansion took place as planned and in 1920 Castle Breweries purchased a vacant stand on the corner of First Street and the then Gordon Avenue in the centre of Salisbury. The innovative Salisbury Beer Hall was built and those involved in its construction were to become well known in the building trade in later years, namely architects D'Arcy Cathcart and Cowper, builder M E Cleveland, lighting was supplied by Johnson & Fletcher and Mitchell & Liddle were awarded the plumbing contract.

The beer hall enhanced the towns night life and amenities included a long bar of highly polished local mukwa, a lounge and skittle alley with imported American equipment and a cool creeper covered palm court. This financial outlay indicated 'a 'distinct mark of the confidence of the directors in the future of Salisbury'. Skittles



**Salisbury Beer Hall (c. 1932) owned by S. A. Breweries.
It comprised bar, billiard room, skittle alley, etc. Licence: Beer Hall.
Rental was £25. Tenant: Mr F. Beacham.**

could be played at night and competitions became a feature of the town's nightlife. Unfortunately I have no reports of the bar maids employed but the chances are that some of them possibly also featured in some of the nightlife activities!!

Another very popular gathering place was the Posada Bar, corner Angwa Street/ Manica Road, where cheerful barmaids dispensed drinks. One was MAY JACKSON, who, because of her large and generous mouth and her popularity, was to give her name to a muzzle loading gun used on the Northern Rhodesian border in the German East African campaign of 1916!

These barmaids had a reputation for honesty and regular drinkers would hand over their cash to them for continuity of service. When the coins were dropped down the front of the dress of their favourite barmaid, the customer would rest assured of receiving full value in drinks until the funds ran out ...

By 1921 beer bottles were being ordered from two different companies in the UK – Glass company and the UG Bottle Company. These were shipped via Beira at a time when pints of bottled beer were selling for tenpence each. Likewise only the best quality crown corks were used and Mr Samuels, the head brewer, was most insistent that top quality was of major importance.

For years Castle Brewery encouraged Rhodesian farmers to grow barley by offering a two year guaranteed price of thirteen and sixpence per 150 lb bag. Despite this, the farmers were only able to produce some 24% of the breweries total requirements of barley. By May 1928 farmers were receiving a record £20 per 150 lb bag of barley.

Beer production continued to increase at a steady pace and in 1928 extensions were undertaken to the boiler-house, cellars and bottling department. Close contact was kept with South African Breweries in Johannesburg and the firm of J. A. Topf & Sons, machine manufacturers and boilermakers in Berlin. Letters were answered within three days and telegrams were delivered within three hours of dispatch. (These were obviously Post Office pre-strike days!)

In January 1929 Castle Pilsener came on the market followed in July by Castle Winter Stout, the latter being advertised as the 'Froth Blowers Favourite" ...

In 1938 an air rally was held in Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) and record sales of 8 000 bottles of beer were sold in the space of two days.

The outbreak of World War II in September 1939 however caused a massive shortage of crown corks. Beer was rationed and retailers suppliers were cut by 15%. The 750 ml bottle commonly known as the quart bottle was introduced to ease initial shortages, and beer was also delivered in casks to hotels. However, supplies were soon back to normal and by 1943 the sales volume had actually tripled, aided no doubt by the establishment of RAF training camps throughout the country, together with a general shortage of spirits and liquors on sale to the public.

When World War II ended in 1945 the next decade saw a huge expansion in both Southern Rhodesia and in Castle Breweries, as immigrants streamed into the country and hotels were fully occupied.

But that is another story altogether and not for today. Thank you for listening to me and I hope you have learnt a little about the 'early days' of beer brewing in this country.

OBITUARY

H. R. G. Howman, 1909–2003

by Gloria Passmore

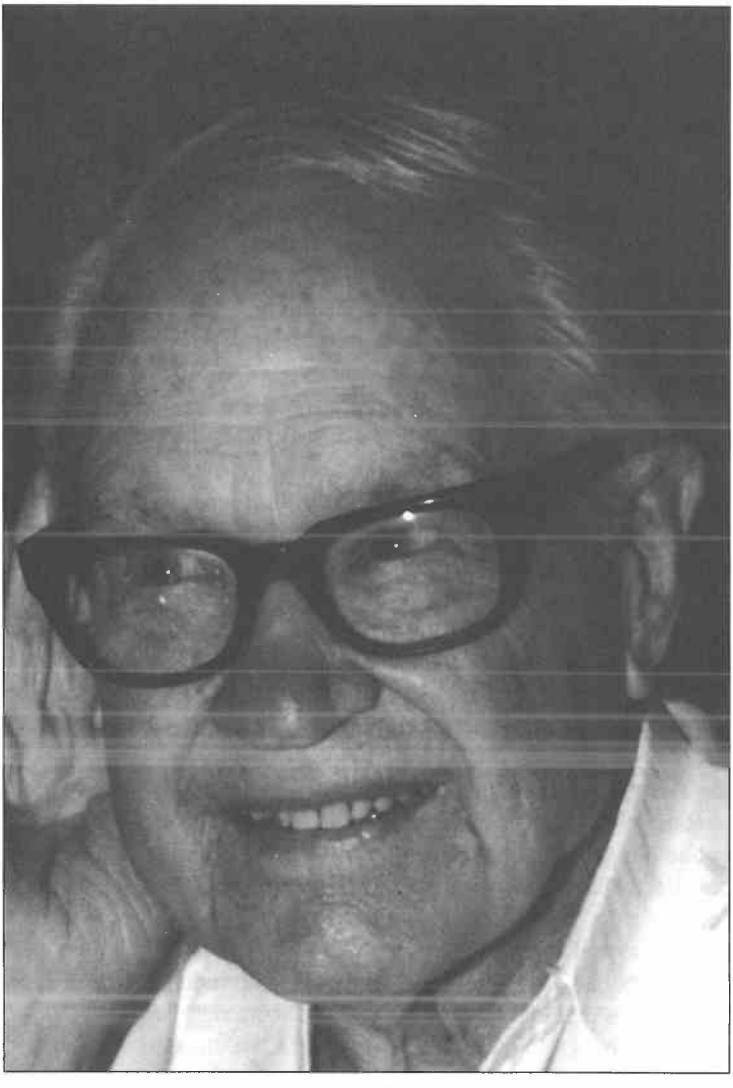
One of the most outstanding civil servants the country had known, H. R. G. (Roger) Howman gave a lifetime in pursuit of race harmony, justice and fair play in Zimbabwe. He died aged nearly 94, having served 56 years in government (1927 to 1983), 42 years in so-called African administration, into which he had followed his father. Roger Howman rose to be Deputy Secretary for Internal Affairs, and was unique in bringing social scientific knowledge to bear in his work, having studied at the London School of Economics. Howman's contribution was given topmost priority only in 1962, when it was touch and go which way the country would turn, towards final confrontation or reconciliation between the races.

A major change in administration affecting all ministries of government, the national policy of local government with community development, once described as democracy's social technology, held out new hope for the future. A native-cum-agriculture policy (Lord Blake's phrase) had predominated since the twenties, with increasingly stringent rules for land resettlement and conservation. These had culminated in the drastic African Land Husbandry Act of 1951 to which historians attribute, more than any other cause, the ultimate conflagration between the races.

The Mangwende Commission, in 1960, revealed 'an explosive situation' in Rhodesia. Two further inquiries were appointed rapidly, the Robinson and Paterson Commissions, to re-examine respectively, the Ministry of Native Affairs, and the entire Public Service. Fresh attention was now paid to the promotion of elective local councils, which had evolved out of an experiment by Roger Howman, in the district of Wedza in 1948. This system emphasized participation in development as opposed to compulsion.

Howman first had warned in 1944 that work with individuals overlooked the close relationships in a traditional society. Local communities must be motivated as a whole, for change to be effective. In *NADA*, he stressed need to foster the corporate life of the people. He was seconded from 1951 to 1952, now a senior district commissioner, to tour Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, Kenya and Zanzibar, studying chiefs and councils. He found local authorities based mainly on tribal control, colonial policy that he rejected as non-conducive to development.

The Howman Report of 1953, was later published by the University of South Africa as *African Local Government in British East and Central Africa.* The first outcome was the African Councils Act of 1957, designed by Roger Howman to weld tribal authority with Westminster-type local government. (He had first put it forward as part of a non-racial Act.) All chiefs or headmen were made ex officio vice presidents, in a purely honorary capacity, of democratic councils in their



H. R. G. Howman

districts. Howman, the country's acknowledged expert on African custom, was awarded the M.B.E. for his services.

Councils might be established only on local request, and the system had to be comprehensible to a largely illiterate, rural population. This called for community development, an internationally recognised branch of social administration, utilising village level workers trained in non-directive motivation, to help communities

organise for local needs. It also involved re-orientation to non-authoritarian methods for upper cadres of district administrative and technical personnel. Howman sought advice from the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, and aid was given to the Rhodesian government by the United States Agency for International Development.

During 1962, the Ministry of African Affairs was reorganised as the non-racial Ministry of Internal Affairs, charged with local government and community development, now officially the top priority of government. S. E. Morris, Secretary to the new ministry, delegated responsibility for the policy to Roger Howman, appointed his Deputy. The goal was to place responsibility for decision-making in local affairs on the freely chosen representatives of responsible people at the community and local government levels.

Essentially administrative in character, the policy was sanctioned in June 1962, by Edgar Whitehead as Prime Minister, and later unaltered, by Winston Field and Ian Smith. It had been obstructed but not checked by the shock return of the right wing Rhodesian Front, at the General Election of December 1962. Due to the perseverance of Roger Howman and his colleagues, in implementing the policy as enunciated, it became transmogrified only after his superannuation in 1969, despite the largely disguised intentions of the ruling Party, to segregate blacks from whites in tribal-controlled provinces on South African lines.

The policy demanded coordination of all Ministries and the devolution of functions and finances from central to local government. The necessary Prime Minister's Directive on Local Government and Community Development, could not be published until July 1965. There had been a two-year dispute over whether the word 'community' should be defined by race, in which Roger Howman had been deputed to discuss the matter with Lord Graham for the Cabinet. He had succeeded in preventing this step, though ambiguity persisted.

A second PM's Directive, in 1966, detailed the division of functions between central and local government, and fixed subsidy formulae for primary schools, clinics, and other services voluntarily administered by councils. There were delays from departments jealous of their preserves, as well as obstructions to training, mainly from right-wingers in the service. Opposition came too from church missions, and nationalists and liberals alike, who tended to confuse it with South African ideology. Nevertheless, some 170 elected councils, with combined revenue of Z$8.5 million and growing infrastructure, eventuated, evidence of civic responsibility evolving in embryo over much of the country.

A trilogy of legislation, as Howman called it, had been necessary in order to formalize the surviving traditional functions of the chiefs, in the allocation of land and dispensing of tribal law, thus preserving distinct the functions of modern local government. The task took him twelve years, from the passing of the Councils Act in 1957, to the Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967, and finally the Tribal Law and Courts Act of 1969. He accompanied a chiefs' tour organised by the government in 1965, covering Greece, Italy, Portugal and South Africa.

Roger Howman recognized the importance of women as a force for change,

and women's advisors were trained for village work. Tribute finally was paid to his efforts for women, in the form of the Roger Howman Memorial Hall, established at a training centre near Fort Victoria, now Masvingo.

Throughout the commissions, working parties and other proceedings, Howman had played the leading role. Finally in 1967, the Whaley Commission had sought his advice in a personal capacity, on constitutional reform. He had adamantly opposed proposals to elevate chiefs to the Senate asking, 'Why have chiefs, only, to speak for Africans?' His vision was of a non-racial, bicameral system, on Swiss cantonal lines, with a legislature elected by universal vote, and a second chamber to which representatives of local government communities might be elected. A final answer to the problem of race? Roger Howman had sought a solution from the outset of his career.

Ministries were devolving functions and finances, and councils beginning to gather pace when in 1969, Roger Howman was forced to retire at age sixty, confident, nevertheless, that the policy was on course. Within two weeks, first steps were taken to dismantle the local elective system. Hostes Nicolle, ardent member of the Rhodesian Front, had been promoted Secretary for Internal Affairs, at the time of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. Unbeknown even to his Deputy Howman, he had begun at once to submit secret memoranda to the Prime Minister, setting out plans for reorganization, now activated.

In 1970, Roger Howman was invited to join the Central Intelligence Organization as desk officer for much of Africa, monitoring also internal policy. This agency sent security-threat assessments to the Cabinet, drafted by his hand, warning against amendments in 1971, 1973 and 1976, to the law affecting local government. Councils were nevertheless converted from elected bodies to appointed 'chiefs' councils', and steps were taken departmentally towards provincialization, euphemism for bantustanization. (Howman had led a Cabinet-appointed working party in 1968, which found provincialization unworkable and the matter had been dropped at that stage.)

By 1976, administration had become subordinated to guerrilla warfare. Howman remained in the CIO after Independence in 1980, retiring a second time three years later, at the age of 74 years.

Henry Roger George Howman was born in Fort Victoria on 9 July, 1909, the son of E. G. Howman, a provincial native commissioner. He attended the Plumtree School, and entered the Audit Department in 1927, seeking general experience, before being seconded to work in the Native Education (later Native Development) Department. Here he was influenced by the Director, Harold Jowitt to study social science, and he took a correspondence degree with the University of South Africa.

Shortly after joining Native Affairs in 1935, Howman won a Beit Fellowship for two years' training at the London School of Economics. After a year, Karl Mannheim, his mentor, persuaded him to register for a Ph.D. on race contact in Southern Africa. Whilst in London he attended the Third International Conference on Social Work, and travelled in his breaks, to Europe and Russia, researching

race questions. Before returning home he spent six months in America visiting universities and interracial agencies.

On his return, Roger Howman was enlisted by his father, as its chairman, to prepare the report of the Urban African Affairs Commission of Inquiry, 1938. The War prevented fieldwork for his doctorate and debarred from volunteering, he went on to serve in districts all over the country, before rising to be Local Government and Research Officer in 1958, and ultimately Deputy Secretary for Internal Affairs.

Roger Howman served on many important bodies, notably as a Trustee to the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, and The Tribal Areas Rhodesia Research Foundation. He was listed a member of the History Society of Zimbabwe from 1956, and served on its Executive for many years. He wrote articles not only for *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, but also for *NADA*, and the *Journal of African Administration* as well as others. He was a many-gifted man and his observations of masked weaver birds, were published in the premier ornithological journal in Africa, *The Ostrich*. His love of nature also led to a rare species of plant that he found high in the Chimanimani Mountains, being named after him, the *Aloe Howmanii*, described in the publication *Kirkia*.

Roger Howman's marriage to Stella, who died a few days after him, provided the sustaining influence behind his life's crusade. They are survived by four daughters, nine grandchildren and two great grandsons (the last born shortly after they died).

Rolf Chenaux-Repond was a close friend of Roger for twenty years and he provided the following comments on Roger as a man:

> Roger Howman was in many ways, an extraordinary man, possessed – above all – by great integrity, by vision and by an unshakeable sense of fairness. He was born a gentleman as well as a scholar of note. He thus stood little chance in getting his ideas accepted by the racist and extremist followers of the RF Government of the sixties. Being the man he was, I never got the impression that this fact caused any bitterness in him, nor did his departure from the Nature Department in 1969. He simply did what he felt he had to do.

J. F. Holleman in *Chief, Council and Commissioner* (Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 100), pays final tribute to Roger Howman in the words, "History will certainly recognise his great efforts in a remarkable battle of endurance and faith against almost insuperable odds."

OBITUARY

Ian Arthur Galletly

by the Honourable L. G. Smith

Ian was born on 9 February, 1924 at Tipton in Staffordshire. Perhaps that was why he inherited the Staffordshire terrier characteristics that he had. Once he got his teeth into anything he never let go until he got the bone.

Ian went to St Judes School in Wolverhampton and then to Wolverhampton Grammar School. He finished school in 1940, when he was only 16, and started work as a clerk with the Wolverhampton Borough Council. World War II was still being waged so Ian joined the Royal Air Force when he turned 18 in 1943. Soon after joining the RAF, he came out to Southern Rhodesia, where the RAF had pilot training centres at Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo and Thornhill. He got his pilot's wings in 1945 and became an accountant officer in 1946. He was Acting Flight Lieutenant when he was demobilised in 1947. At the end of his tour of duty Ian returned to England. However, before that time he had met Pauline and they were attracted to each other. She was the magnet that drew him back to this country after he was demobilised.

Ian returned to Southern Rhodesia as a civilian in 1947. He joined the Treasury Department of the then Salisbury Municipal Council and steadily worked his way up the ladder, being Finance Officer, Treasurer's Assistant, Chief Accountant, Deputy City Treasurer and finally reaching the top in 1974, when he was appointed City Treasurer. He held that position for 15 years until his retirement in 1989 when he turned 65. During his service in the City Treasurer's Department, Ian was involved in many different projects, in addition to his normal duties:

(a) In 1978 he was deeply involved in the "one city concept", which was the amalgamation of the Salisbury City Council and the neighbouring town management boards of Highlands, Greendale, Borrowdale, Mabelreign, Waterfalls, Marlborough, etc. It was a very complex issue and necessitated a lot of very careful planning.

(b) He played a key part in the establishment of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority – ZESA. That too was a very complex case as it involved separating the Electricity Departments of the Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru and Mutare Municipalities and merging them with the Electricity Supply Commission. That involved many conflicting interests which had to be resolved. Ian was on the committee which reported on the feasibility of the amalgamation of the different units. Then, when the report was accepted, he was chairman of the committee which worked out the financial issues and was a member of the working party that made all the preparations for the establishment of ZESA and the drawing up of the Electricity Act. He

Ian Arthur Galletly

was also a member of the working party that facilitated the transfer of assets of the Harare Electricity Department to ZESA.

(c) He was chairman of the working party that was tasked to draw up the Local Authorities Principal Pension Scheme. I was asked to prepare a scheme to incorporate all the existing local authority pension funds and draft the requisite legislation under Ian's eagle eye.

(d) In addition, he was involved with virtually every working party appointed by the City Council for the last 20 years of his service with the Council because, whatever was to be done, would have financial implications.

Being a self-taught man, Ian had great interest in developing the skills and training of the accounting staff of local authorities and upgrading their professional status. He was instrumental in preparing, drawing up and up-dating in-service training schemes for municipal accountants and accounting technicians. That led to his involvement in a number of professional associations.

He was a foundation member and inaugural president of the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Finance and Accounting, which was inaugurated in July 1984. Its establishment was due to the efforts of Ian and John Hilligan, who was Comptroller and Auditor-General at the time of Independence. Ian was a member of the Council of the ZIPFA from 1984 to 2002 and was elected Honorary Life President in 1994.

He was a member, from 1974, of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants, now known as the Institute of Municipal Finance Officers. He was president of that Institute in 1977/78.

He was a founder member of the Public Auditors and Accountants Board and was Chairman thereof in the period 2000–2002. Also, he was a founder member of the Zimbabwe Association of Accounting Technicians, which was formed in 1984, and was on the Council of that Association from 1984 to 1999.

In addition to his membership of the professional associations, Ian held many other posts. He was Chairman of the Local Authorities Pension Fund for 9 years and was on the Management Committee from 1974 to 1989. During that time he was a tower of strength and the guiding light. It is thanks to Ian that that fund was built on very strong foundations. In 1978 most of the funds were invested in stocks and shares and he moved them to fixed property. Ian was Chairman of the Treasurer's Forum of the Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe and a member of the Finance Committee of the Urban Councils Association from 1984 to 1988. He was also a Director of the Urban Development Corporation from 1987 to 1990.

Ian was also on the boards of a number of companies. They were Cochranes Holdings, Cochranes Building Systems, Parabloc Zimbabwe, Discount Company of Zimbabwe, IGI (Zimbabwe), Southampton Assurance Company, Fine Woodworking and Rufaro Marketing.

The Minister of Local Government appointed Ian as a member of two Investigating Committees – one into the Construction of the Mayoral Residence and the other into the State of Government and General Administration of the City of Harare. For a short while Ian was also a Commissioner on the Commission that replaced the suspended City Council.

When South Rhodesia was given the right to grant citizenship, Ian took out his citizenship paper and became a citizen of this country. He devoted his life to one of public service. That meant that he did not become a very rich man, unlike what happens nowadays. In 1979 Ian was appointed an Officer of the Legion of Merit for services in the sphere of local government finance and the Local Authorities Pension Fund.

Ian had little time to devote to his own personal pleasures. His main interest outside his work and professional life was golf. He really enjoyed the game. He was a staunch member of the Senior Golfers Society, being a member of the committee for many years. Ian's other great interest was the History Society. He was a member for many years. He was elected an honorary member and was Past National Treasurer.

Ian was a member of Probus for many years. He was on the Management

Committee and held the position of Chairman for some years. Ian was also a very keen member of the Sons of England Society for very many years. He was on the Executive Committee and became President of the Duke of Kent Lodge. He was also Grant President of the Grand Lodge. That was how I met him in 1957. We remained good friends since we first met. When one first met Ian, it was difficult not to be intimidated because he was so competent and self-confident. However, he was a man with compassion, and when one got to know him, he was a true and loyal friend. We used to joke with him that his parents had a premonition when they named him. His full name was Ian Arthur Bruce Galletly. We said the initials IABG stood for "I Am Bloody Good". Those four words summed him up very well. He was good in many different ways – competent, able, honest, kind and compassionate.

In every society or association he joined, Ian soon gravitated to the board or council or committee that ran the show. He invariably attained the highest office. Once of his attributes was loyalty. After becoming Chairman or President he did not desert the society or association. He always remained a staunch and loyal member and did all he could to further the interests of the organisation concerned. Two words that best describe Ian are "Perfection" and "Integrity". Everything that Ian did or was involved in had to be done properly and to perfection. No short cuts were accepted. If there was a Constitution, everyone had abide by the strict letter of the Constitution. One thing Ian was a little short of was tact. He did not suffer fools gladly. He always expected the highest standards to be observed. If at any Annual General Meeting the accounts were not up to scratch, Ian was the first on his feet, pointing out anomalies, contradictions or omissions. He would demand an explanation. Although some people felt that Ian went overboard in some cases, that was his standard. Everything had to be done properly. He was a man of high integrity and scrupulously honest.

Ian married Pauline soon after his return to this country in 1947. They were a happily married couple. She provided a lovely home where Ian could return after a long working day, keeping late hours, or one of his many meetings. There he could unwind and recharge his batteries. When Pauline died Ian felt it very deeply. He was like a ship that had lost its harbour.

This country was very fortunate that Ian adopted it as his second home. The Harare City Council could not have found a better person to give it a firm financial and accounting basis. The Local Authorities Pension Fund owes it present strong position to the foundations he laid.

Every organisation to which Ian belonged was enriched by what he did for it. Each one of them will sorely miss him, as will all his friends; those who are gathered here today and those who could not attend. I am sure that many of those who are absent are with us in Spirit.

Book Reviews

by Michael J. Kimberley

1. WINTER CRICKET – THE SPIRIT OF WEDZA
by Sheila MacDonald, Published by the author, 2003

This is purely and simply a collection of biographies, articles, memories and recollections of the farming district of Wedza.

The operative word is "collection" because the book basically comprises extracts from numerous publications about the district and its people in note form from former and present residents of the district.

The author was well qualified for the task of putting the book together because she was born in the district, lived on Corby Farm in Wedza, went to college from there and was married there. Her parents, Rory and Helen Macdonald, were well known residents of Wedza for many years.

The articles and recollections are arranged in a semblance of order and there are basically 17 chapters beginning with prehistory and early colonial days and then canvassing various themes including geography, geology and climate, the farmers, war and politics, farming and sport and recreation.

The book is comprehensively illustrated by black and white photographs which the compiler has collected from every imaginable source.

Wedza has always been a farming community and the book is essentially a social history of that farming community. Sadly, the Epilogue on page 563 records what was and what is, and the same applies to many similar farming districts throughout the country.

There have been short histories of a number of farming districts in this country and I have several in my library. Umvukwes, Somabula, Bromley and so on but all are really small booklets of fairly insignificant length. The Wedza story, however, is a massive tome of 614 pages and the compiler is to be congratulated for producing it. I read every single page and without hesitation I recommend it to every reader of our journal and to all those interested in the history of our country. Buy your copy from a local bookshop but if no copies are available there, contact the author on telephone 499600 (Harare).

2. THE TRADITIONAL AFRICAN ART OF ZIMBABWE
by Henrik Ellert, Published by CBC Publishing, 2002

This book of 80 pages is printed on art paper and is copiously illustrated with top quality colour photographs. It explores the traditional African art of Zimbabwe and reveals the powerful links between the people and their ancestral spirits through traditional art forms. These links inspired the people to produce artifacts that fulfilled the needs of daily life as well as artistic and religious pursuits.

The raw materials, whether clay, iron ore, wood or reeds, were taken from the sacred hills inhabited by ancestral spirits.

Each of the pieces described and illustrated is intended to be representative of

particular artifacts from various regions of the country and all are made from natural materials, sometimes embellished or decorated with imported goods such as brass and copper wire.

The selected items will be appreciated and admired not merely for their intrinsic artistic merit but also because they provide clues about the culture and origins of the people who made them.

Items dealt with in the book include headrests or pillows (*mutsago*), divining tablets (*hakata*), axes for daily use and for ceremonial use (*gano*), swords and scabbards (*bakatwa* and *hara*), stools (*zvigaro*), walking sticks and staffs (*tsvimbo*), dishes and bowls (*ndiro*), snuff containers (*nhekwe*), pottery for holding grain or water (*hari*), the *mbira* or thumb piano and its accompanying dende or resonator, the drum (*ngoma*), spears (*mapfumo*), hoes (*mapadza*), copper crosses (*mhangura*), various types of basket and, finally, *pito* or *pombe* (funeral whistles).

No one who lives in Zimbabwe, whether permanently or as an expatriate, should be without this beautifully produced and extremely interesting book. If you cannot find it in local bookshops contact CBC Publishers, P O Box 4611, Harare (Telephone 336425).

3. HISTORIC TREES OF ZIMBABWE

by L. J. Mullin, Published by CBC Publishing, 2003

This worthwhile book had its genesis 30 years ago when forester Dick Barrett had the idea of producing a booklet about historic trees which were endangered because of development. The civil war in this country precluded access to many of the trees during the 1970s. Another forester, Lisle Orpen, began collecting material for the book in 1982 but his sudden death the following year brought the project to a halt. Fortunately yet another well known professional forester, Lyn Mullin, dedicated himself to completing the necessary research and information gathering and to completing the book which appeared shortly before Lyn's death at the end of 2003.

The purpose of the book is generally to make the people of Zimbabwe conscious of their diverse heritage of trees and more particularly to memorialize those of Zimbabwe's trees, whether indigenous or exotic, whether single specimens, groves or stands, that are notable for one reason or another. The author emphasises that this single volume which deals with 75 notable trees "should not be seen as the end of the story. It could not possibly include all of Zimbabwe's significant trees – it does not include all those that have been brought to attention nor does it necessarily include those considered the most important. It does, however, represent the start of a project that could run to several volumes. Now that the first step has been taken, its success should follow more easily."

Sadly, Lyn is no longer with us. However, the Tree Society of Zimbabwe has had a great track record for over 50 years and there must be someone in those ranks with the enthusiasm, drive and knowledge to continue Lyn's great work with the help of any foresters, botanists and natural historians who have an interest in or knowledge of other notable trees in Zimbabwe.

All the selected trees are illustrated in colour and a map of Zimbabwe in colour

shows where those trees can be found by those able to visit the particular habitats.

Most of the selected trees are indigenous and about one third are exotic. The book begins with Salisbury's first Jacaranda which was planted in about 1899 and ends with the 53 year old Baobab at 14 Arcturus Road, Highlands, Harare.

One page of text is devoted to each of the selected trees and the author has provided a most interesting text for each tree in which he combines history and legend with botany and dendrology.

Everyone interested in history and natural history cannot afford to be without this delightful book which is five star in all respects and a credit to author and publisher alike. I expect all copies of the book to be sold out soon so rush to local bookshops or the publishers to secure your copy or in need phone Harare 336425 to locate a copy.

History Society of Zimbabwe Instructions to Contributors of Articles for Inclusion in *Heritage of Zimbabwe*

1. *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is an annual journal which is published every December.
2. Suitable articles for inclusion in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* are always welcome.
3. The Honorary Editor of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* maintains a reservoir of articles which is examined on I July in every year with a view to publishing in December a journal of about 80 000 words in 160 pages.
4. The Honorary Editor's policy is for half of the text to consist of original researched articles and the other half to consist of the text of talks given to members of the Society at Branch and National outings and functions. This 50/50 balance is not always achievable and much depends on what is on hand in July each year.
5. The submission of an article does not constitute a guarantee that it will be published in the year in which it is submitted or at all. The selection of articles for inclusion is at the discretion of the Honorary Editor.
6. Every submission should consist of –
   (a) a typed version of the article (double spacing); and
   (b) a diskette containing the text; and
   (c) maps and line drawings in indian ink; and
   (d) suitable postcard size black and white photographs; and
   (e) a short biographical note (500 words) about the author.

   It is emphasised that both the typed version and the diskette must be submitted as the editing is done from the former and the diskette is amended accordingly for stage I of the printing process (formatting).
7. The diskette and the photographs will be returned to authors after publication and between I and 3 (depending on length of article) copies of the whole joumal will be given to each author.
8. There is no real restriction on the length of articles or on the number of illustrations except that each printed page costs the Society about Z$150 000.00 to produce and each copy of the journal costs the Society about Z$40 000.00.
9. Because of the variable standard of printing in Zimbabwe nowadays authors resident in Zimbabwe will normally be asked to check the page proofs of their article and will be given about three days to do so.
10. Authors are not at present paid for contributing articles, nor does the Society impose a charge for publishing articles as is the case with botanical and other papers in a number of South African journals.

M. J. Kimberley
Honorary Editor

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.