

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
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HERITAGE OF ZIMBABWE is the journal of The History Society of Zimbabwe since 1980. It replaces *RHODESIANA* which from 1953 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

FRASER EDKINS

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Every single edition of *Rhodesiana* and *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and an updated index of *Heritage* will be available online when the Society website goes into operation.

A reprint of the very popular *Heritage Index* is under consideration.



Editor's Foreword

This is the 39th (2020) edition of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and the 79th volume produced by your Society since publications commenced in 1956 (following the formation of the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1953).

It opens with a well-researched article of high calibre by first time contributor, young American historian Brooks Marmon, on aspects of the life and times, and “political reinvention”, of parliamentarian Dr Ahn Palley (a controversial character to some and often a thorn in the side of the Rhodesia Front government). Ambivalent is possibly the best word to describe the attitude to him of those of the white population who followed his contributions to parliamentary debates and political life, but he was nevertheless sufficiently respected by that electorate to be elected and later, as an independent, returned to Parliament by his Greendale constituency, notwithstanding Edgar Whitehead’s comment in 1961 that “the views Palley expressed upon entering the territorial parliament in 1958 were precisely the opposite of the views that he is expressing today”. We hope for more from this accomplished author.

Well-known guide, historian, “Matabelophile” and regular contributor Paul Hubbard’s labour of love on the Lancaster House Conference 40 years on appears next and is equally well-researched and a thorough, balanced and easy-reading review and analysis of a momentous event in the history of our country. After the settlement was signed many in Zimbabwe hoped for a secure peace, albeit a more accurate prediction was that “there is not going to be a great big, glorious finale. We will just muddle through and I want to be around for the muddle”.

Another new contributor, Ken Rice, (now living in the United Kingdom), outlines a very interesting history of the first 20 years of St Joseph’s House for Boys where he spent much of his youth as the son of a long-time Warden and Matron. As to the other occupants, “separation, divorce, abandonment, bastardy, poverty, war, alcoholism, abuse, educational deprivation, illness or death featured somewhere in the unhappy lives of the 52 boys”. The article has been a few years in the finishing, with Ken being very particular about matters of confidentiality. The end result is, in your editor’s opinion, a fascinating account and a substantial contribution to the heritage of our land.

Following on is the fourth in a series of trivia extracted by your editor from old BSA Co. Gazettes, in this case of 1897, which will hopefully prove of mild interest and amusement.

John Brettell in a short piece, adds useful information on the two pioneer Mack namesakes (following to his detailed story in *Heritage* 34 of the life of the remarkable John Mack).

The fifth in Jono Waters’ series on the graves of remarkable personalities in the history of Zimbabwe deals with four men who “did not make it off the continent before going to their final resting places” viz. Thomas Baines, Ellerton Fry, Pennefather and Johan Colenbrander. Long may this valuable series continue, (from one of the keenest supporters of your Society).

The prolific Peter Fey is without doubt the world’s leading authority on the Geological Survey of this country (and a book is expected from him on that and related topics). In this edition we carry the stories of the fifth and seventh Directors Frank Leslie Amm and John Walter Wiles respectively. Peter’s research is impeccable and, a geologist himself, he is a perfectionist in his field of study and in his writings and is a highly valued contributor to this journal. His further works will appear in next year’s edition.

Jono Waters weighs in again with an account of the lesser-known siege and relief of Abercorn (Shamva) Store, of which Jono does well to remind us because, as he rightly puts it, “the rescue demonstrated true bravery” and “a selfless act in which the odds of coming back alive were finely balanced”.

Benny Leon and Rob Burrett collaborate in the next article on aspects of the early days of Kadoma, a dusty settlement which developed principally from gold mining and the cotton and textile industry into a busy town bustling with amenities. Benny and Rob challenge readers to produce their own accounts of the early days of other smaller towns around Zimbabwe. These



need not be erudite nor widely researched (and personal experiences are always of greatest interest). Will anyone take up the challenge?

George Hulme has kindly permitted us to print extracts from his published works on the indigenous cattle of Zimbabwe. George is the leading authority in this field, and we think our readership will enjoy what space permits us to reproduce in this edition.

The story of the finalisation of the exact border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique is a fascinating tale, concerning which both Mike Tucker and Paul Hubbard have spoken and written at length, and we are pleased to reproduce Mike's excellent account in this edition. Mike Tucker is a prolific and knowledgeable historian and readers are referred to his vast array of articles on his website www.zimfieldguide.com.

Jono Waters returns with an account of the first aeroplane ("*Rhodesia*") to land in Harare one hundred years ago, and the first passenger flights around Zimbabwe that resulted therefrom, (The first plane to land in Zimbabwe, at Bulawayo, was of course the *Silver Queen II*). Piloted by Earle Rutherford and C. R. Thompson, great excitement attended its arrival and many were the bumps and scrapes during its sojourn in Zimbabwe thereafter, all of which makes highly entertaining reading.

The record of Sharrad Gilbert's stay of less than 15 months in Zimbabwe in 1900-1 provides interesting and not widely-known details of the aftermath of the First Chimurenga, (during his unit's stopover in Zimbabwe via Beira, before joining the British forces in South Africa during the Anglo Boer War), the ongoing pacification of the countryside and discouragement of any further rebellion whilst the settlers were also partly pre-occupied with that war on their southern border being crucial. Chief Mapondera, for example, was still regarded as something of an "outlaw". Another excellent article by Mike Tucker.

Robin Taylor follows up the account by John McCarthy in *Heritage* 18 of the conception in 1913 and eventual theft in 1998 of the Thousand Guinea Trophy, awarded annually at the Bulawayo Agricultural Show for the Champion Bull on show. Robin deals with a 9-inch replica ordered 100 years ago which re-surfaced in 2019 and is now in the Bulawayo Club.

Chris Halse provides a history of the Salisbury Vespa Club, active for over a decade, in its account of sometimes thousand plus miles expeditions by devotees of this classic scooter (the "wasp") which took the world by storm for a time and produced great friendships, camaraderie and sometimes marriage. The handsome young author appears on page 195.

Kris Pirozynski arrived in Zimbabwe in 1944 as a young pre-teen Polish refugee. His rural Rhodesian experience in camps near Marondera, Rusape, Lusaka and Kadoma make very interesting reading. Kris lives now in Canada, but regular contributor Rob Burrett managed to get his story and it is most illuminating. Can anyone suggest who the married couple mentioned at page 212 might have been? Such a union was most unusual for the times.

A series of book reviews by Ray Roberts and by Duncan Clarke (a major benefactor of your Society), wind-up this edition, (those relating to the redoubtable Mike Holman and the doughty George Nolan making particularly entertaining reading).

Volume 39 ends with the usual annual reports from your National Committee and the Mashonaland Branch and it is earnestly hoped you will enjoy the fine efforts of our authors.

I extend my thanks to Anna and John McCarthy for additional proofreading, my secretary Felicity Naidoo (one of Zimbabwe's leading legal secretaries) for her sterling efforts in working on the several edits of the articles in this volume, and to the inimitable Rhona Chapman for her expert advice in the layout and type-setting of *Heritage* each year.

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From Dreams of Dominion to Aspirations for a New Africa: Ahrn Palley's Political Reinvention in Southern Rhodesia, 1959–1961: Journal of Southern African Studies by Brooks Marmon



Just one year after entering the Southern Rhodesian parliament in 1958, Ahrn Palley resigned from the right-wing Dominion Party and embraced an increasingly independent political position, culminating in 1961 with a founding role in the New Africa Party, a progressive white political structure aligned with the colony's African nationalist movement.

The genesis of this transformation arose from Palley's heightened sensitivity to international opinion, engendered by the disastrous fall-out emanating from the declaration of a state of emergency in Nyasaland, then federated with Southern Rhodesia. While Palley's political reversal was sui generis among elected Rhodesian officials, the fitful progression of his ideological realignment and the harsh reactions to it from his parliamentary colleagues illuminate the difficulty that Southern Rhodesian settler politicians faced in coming to grips with the emerging programme of African decolonisation. Palley's political re-invention points to the prominent role of African liberation in shaping Southern Rhodesia's domestic politics, illustrates the force of pan-African unity and highlights the extent to which even sympathetic white politicians of the era struggled to adjust to a period of rapid change and reconcile themselves with mainstream black political opinion.

Introduction

For three years, Ahrn Palley, a qualified lawyer and doctor, endeavoured unsuccessfully to emigrate to Southern Rhodesia from his native South Africa. He eventually gained admission and settled in Salisbury, the capital, in 1955 amid a restrictive quota system imposed during a post-war immigration boom.¹ By 1960, owing to his political activities in sympathy with African nationalism, many of his white Rhodesian contemporaries probably wished that the immigration authorities had continued to exclude Palley, despite his impressive professional credentials.

Like many white English-speaking South Africans of the era, it is probable that Ahrn Palley and his much younger wife, Claire,² were attracted to Salisbury by a booming economy coupled with the vague but hopeful rhetoric of 'partnership' enshrined in the constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of which Southern Rhodesia was a founding member in 1953.³ Under the leadership of the territorial prime minister, Garfield Todd, many whites believed that this policy was being implemented in a manner that would safeguard their interests while meeting black aspirations. Palley's close friend

¹ 'Profile: Dr Ahrn Palley, A Rebel – Not Without Cause', *Central African Examiner*, Salisbury, 9 May 1959, p. 13.

² When they arrived in Salisbury, she was in her mid 20s, he in his early 40s.

³ Other members of the Federation were Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. 'Partnership' was a paternalistic policy by which the Federation proposed to bring Africans slowly into government under white tutelage.

Peter Charles, also a lawyer from Cape Town, probably echoed Palley's motivations when he wrote: 'I came to Rhodesia from the Cape six years ago [1955] for political reasons; because I bitterly opposed, and felt there was no prospect of ousting the South African Nationalist Government. I was inspired by the ideal of partnership on the basis of which the Federation had recently been founded'.⁴

However, there is no evidence that Palley sought to play a role in driving partnership forward by actively engaging with multiracial, albeit paternalistic, organisations such as the Interracial Association of Southern Rhodesia, or the Capricorn Africa Society, both of which had deep ties to the colony's political establishment. His political and social contacts in the 1950s offered no foreshadowing of the progressive actions he would take in the following decade, on which his legacy rests. By the time Palley fully embraced African nationalism in 1961, these groups were moribund, casualties of the white backlash against the emergence of independent African nations and the rising frustration of the black elite with the failure to institute policies that demonstrated genuine partnership.⁵ Palley's re-invention resulted from a series of calculations made in response to Africa's changing dynamics and illustrates how African decolonisation exerted great influence on the decision-making of white political leaders of the era.

Palley is best remembered as the lone white opposition parliamentarian at the time of Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965, a manoeuvre he vigorously opposed. His legacy was posthumously buttressed in Heidi Holland's *Dinner with Mugabe*, a psychoanalytical biography of Zimbabwe's second head of state, in which Palley is described as an 'activist' who facilitated the initial steps of Robert Mugabe's escape into exile in Mozambique following the latter's release from jail in 1974.⁶ Like many Rhodesians of the era, Palley undertook an arduous journey, albeit one of an ideological rather than expeditionary nature. Terence Ranger described this leftward drift as a 'journey from "partnership" to nationalism'.⁷ This article examines the importance of African liberation movements in driving Palley's journey in its peak years, including the reactions that his perspectives on African decolonisation prompted from his parliamentary colleagues. This journey occurred during his first term in the Southern Rhodesian parliament (1958–62), which he entered amid a surge of support for his right-wing Dominion Party (DP).⁸

White Rhodesian Politicians in the Literature: The (Lack of) African Context

Historians of African liberation struggles have in recent years directed significant attention to pan-African connections in the region's decolonisation. These analyses usually focus on the contributions of continental luminaries such as Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere or the liberation movements that flocked to regional hubs of resistance such as Accra and Dar es Salaam.⁹ Some white allies of the struggle, such as Ruth First,

⁴ RHO I/File 15, Borthwick Institute, University of York, undated letter (probably 1961) by Peter Charles to unknown.

⁵ For one of the most recent perspectives on the failure of Federation and an overview of the politics of the era, see A. Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London, IB Tauris, 2017).

⁶ H. Holland, *Dinner with Mugabe: The Untold Story of a Freedom Fighter Who Became a Tyrant* (London, Penguin Global, 2008), pp. ix–xii.

⁷ T. Ranger, 'Foreword', in P. Mackay, *We Have Tomorrow: Stirrings in Africa, 1959–67* (Norwich, Michael Russell Ltd., 2008), p. xv.

⁸ Palley served in the Rhodesian parliament from 1958 to 1970.

⁹ On the role of Accra in southern African liberation, see J. Ahlman, 'Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa', *Kronos*, 37, 1 (2011), pp. 23–40; for Dar es Salaam, see G. Roberts, 'The Assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the Politics of Exile in Dar es Salaam', *Cold War History*, 17, 1 (2017), pp. 1–19.



have received similar consideration, but transnational African influences on both white liberals and more conservative settler officials remain largely unexplored.¹⁰ In contrast, a relatively rich scholarship has positioned western-dominated narratives of the Cold War and anticommunism as key international drivers of Rhodesian settler political ideology and rhetoric.¹¹ By examining Palley's political transformation and the responses to it from his parliamentary colleagues, this article illuminates the importance of anti-colonial struggles across Africa on settler politics in Southern Rhodesia. It draws on the records of Southern Rhodesian legislative debates, supplemented by contemporary accounts in periodicals and the papers of various political entities.¹²

Palley's political career has not been subject to extensive analysis, but white Rhodesian liberals have received a modest degree of attention. Kate Law and Ian Hancock have tracked the leftward political transformations among Southern Rhodesian whites.¹³ However, broader considerations of African influence on this group are generally absent from these studies. Reviewers of works by Luise White and Carl Watts, which purport to cover Rhodesian decolonisation in international perspective, have lamented that these titles do little to consider the more tangible interplay of domestic Rhodesian politics with regional and continental dynamics of the era.¹⁴ The recent interest in pan-African diplomatic activity emanating from white-ruled South Africa, which Jamie Miller terms the 'Africanisation' of apartheid, has yet to receive similar consideration in 'partnership'-era Southern Rhodesia.¹⁵

However, transnational African anti-colonial activity was thoroughly debated by the colony's whites against the backdrop of corroding imperial resolve.¹⁶ The failure of more Southern Rhodesian politicians to journey from partnership to African nationalism at this time put Southern Rhodesia on the course of isolationism and UDI. Ahern Palley's fitful political shift from 1959 to 1961 and the condemnation it received from his parliamentary colleagues illuminate the immediate influence of continental affairs on Southern Rhodesian politics and why settler officials failed to reach a *modus vivendi* with these changes in the crucial years prior to UDI.

Over a period of nearly three years, Palley's position evolved from that of a harsh critic to an ardent supporter of African nationalism. The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Edgar Whitehead, declared in 1961 that the views Palley expressed upon

¹⁰ J. Coelho, 'Memories of Ruth First in Mozambique', *Review of African Political Economy*, 35, 117 (2008), pp. 500–507.

¹¹ For the role of the Cold War in shaping Rhodesian politics, see N. Mitchell, 'Tropes of the Cold War: Jimmy Carter and Rhodesia', *Cold War History*, 7, 2 (2007), pp. 263–83. The prominence of anticommunism in settler politics has been examined in E. Msindo, "'Winning Hearts and Minds": Crisis and Propaganda in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35, 3 (2009), pp. 663–81; and D. Lowry, 'The Impact of Anti-Communism on White Rhodesian Political Culture, c.1920s–1980', *Cold War History*, 7, 2 (2007), pp. 169–94.

¹² Palley's political papers do not appear to have survived.

¹³ I. Hancock, *White Liberals, Moderates and Radical in Rhodesia, 1953–1980* (London, Croom Helm, 1984); K. Law, *Gendering the Settler State: White Women, Race, Liberalism and Empire in Rhodesia, 1950–1980* (New York, Routledge, 2016).

¹⁴ K. Law, 'Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence: An International History', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41, 3 (2013), pp. 530–33; C. Saunders, 'Reviews', *Itinerario*, 40, 3 (2016), pp. 555–56.

¹⁵ J. Miller, 'Africanising Apartheid: Identity, Ideology, and State-Building in Post-Independence Africa', *Journal of African History*, 56, 3 (2015), pp. 449–70; see also A. Bamba, 'An Unconventional Challenge to Apartheid: The Ivorian Dialogue Diplomacy with South Africa, 1960–1978', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 47, 1 (2014), pp. 77–99.

¹⁶ M. Hirsch, a contemporary of Palley's, was one of the parliamentarians most obsessed with pan-Africanism; see M.I. Hirsch, *FOCUS on Southern Rhodesia (the Constitution and Independence: An Analysis)* (Que Que, Midrho Press, 1964).

entering the territorial parliament in 1958 ‘were precisely the opposite of the views that he is expressing to-day’.¹⁷ Less than a year after he entered parliament on the ticket of the right-wing Dominion Party (DP) as a representative for Greendale, a Salisbury suburb, Palley left the DP caucus and embarked on an increasingly independent course that was aligned with emerging global views but increasingly out of step with mainstream white political opinion in Southern Rhodesia.

The initial impetus for this rupture was Palley’s awakening to the extent of British displeasure with white settler policies as decolonisation gathered steam. This emanated from the widespread negative reaction to the declaration of a state of emergency in Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia’s ‘partner’ in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in early March 1959. It was nurtured thereafter by a strengthening conviction that repression was unsustainable in the face of massive African resistance. Palley formed this belief from his interpretation of escalating political violence in Southern Rhodesia, ongoing African nationalist activity in Nyasaland, pan-African solidarity and the rapidity of decolonisation and ensuing transformation of the Commonwealth. While Palley’s reactions to these events were *sui generis* among his parliamentary contemporaries, most white Southern Rhodesian politicians grappled with the questions engendered by the sweeping success of African nationalism across the continent. Palley’s difficult transformation helps to show why Southern Rhodesia’s government failed to negotiate a place in the ‘emerging Africa’.

Early Political Life and Dominion Party Era

Palley has generally been considered a liberal maverick who was never genuinely committed to the conservative Dominion Party, his first political home in Southern Rhodesia.¹⁸ This assertion is flawed.

A Cape Town-born Jewish paediatrician, Palley was well into his thirties when he decided to pursue a legal degree at the University of Cape Town. There he met his wife, Claire, whose progressive views were much more consistent. Palley does not appear to have maintained substantive links to South African political circles following his emigration, but he was active in the South African Labour Party and subsequently the United Party after he helped to facilitate a merger between the two.¹⁹ He made it explicit to the Southern Rhodesian electorate that his career in South African politics did not belie any leftist tendencies. He pointed to prominent conservative politicians in the Federation associated with pro-labour views, such as the Federal Prime Minister, Roy Welensky, and his Minister of Finance, Donald Macintyre, to support this defence.²⁰

Palley’s political career with the South African opposition in Cape Town, his religion and his liberal spouse were certainly factors that would have made him more amenable to interpreting Africa’s political changes in an enlightened way. They should not, however, be overemphasised, as the relatively incremental pace of Palley’s political re-invention shows that it was a pragmatic evaluation of the wider political trajectory of the era, coupled with an eye to sustaining his political career, that led him to support African nationalism.

¹⁷ *Southern Rhodesia, Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 48, No. 12, 29 August 1961, column 569.

¹⁸ A. Megahey, Humphrey Gibbs, *Beleaguered Governor, Southern Rhodesia, 1929–69* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 98.

¹⁹ ‘Profile: Dr Ahm Palley, A Rebel – Not Without Cause’, *Central African Examiner*, 9 May 1959, p. 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*



Aspects of Palley's social background that would seem to situate him in a liberal milieu deserve closer reflection. Alongside Palley, four other Jews were elected to the Southern Rhodesian parliament in 1958, with only Abe Abrahamson enjoying a progressive reputation.²¹ Notably, a number of prominent leaders of a conservative predecessor to the DP, the Confederate Party, were Jewish.²² In addition to the left-wing circles that Claire would have connected him to, Palley maintained close relationships with reactionary stalwarts who would have been anathema to his wife, such as prominent DP leader William Harper.²³ He also remained *persona grata* with Southern Rhodesia's conservative political tabloid, *The Citizen*, well after leaving the DP.²⁴

Palley was elected in the first general election the DP contested.²⁵ He defeated an incumbent, Geoffrey Ellman-Brown, a conservative businessman whom many in the right wing of the ruling United Federal Party (UFP) would have preferred as leader of the country to Whitehead, a more centrist figure in the mould of his predecessor, Garfield Todd.²⁶ Founding DP member Stewart Aitken-Cade later recalled that Palley's electoral campaign was one of the most right-wing undertaken by any DP candidate.²⁷ On the campaign trail, Palley publicly backed the prospect of the DP issuing a unilateral declaration of independence (which he later opposed when it was actually undertaken in 1965).²⁸ The DP's campaign manifesto declared the permanent establishment of the European in the Federation 'a fundamental principle of its policy' and urged 'large-scale immigration, which shall be confined to Europeans'.²⁹ Earlier party materials revealed an obsession with African political advancement across the continent and referred to blacks as the 'uncivilised and irresponsible majority', arguing that they should not have equal political representation to whites until the passage of at 'least three or four more generations'.³⁰ The DP sought to assure the white electorate that the changes taking place elsewhere in Africa would not come to Southern Rhodesia. It was the largest of the parties that would subsequently amalgamate to form the Rhodesia Front (RF) in 1962, the party that dominated the political scene throughout the UDI era.

While Palley was a newcomer to Southern Rhodesia, he did not exhibit deference to more established Rhodesians. At the party's congress in April 1958, he was elected vice-chair,³¹ and political analyses of the era observed that, along with its leader in the Federal sphere, Winston Field (who became the first RF prime minister in 1962), Palley was one of the DP's most prominent strategists.³² When the DP's territorial leader, Ray Stockil, resigned shortly after the election, Palley unsuccessfully sought to replace him, losing out to Stewart Aitken-Cade, who could at the time claim to be more of a moderate than Palley.³³

²¹ B. Kosmin, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1980), pp. 111–12.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ray Roberts, interviewed by Brooks Marmon, Mount Pleasant, Harare, 20 November 2017; Susan Wemyss, interviewed by Brooks Marmon, Avenues, Harare, 25 May 2018.

²⁴ For praise of Palley, see (among others) 'Names in the News', *The Citizen*, Salisbury, 28 April 1961.

²⁵ The DP was formed in 1956 and had previously contested by-elections.

²⁶ National Archives of Zimbabwe (hereafter NAZ), ORAL/CA 5, John Caldicott, interviewed by J. D. McCarthy, 18 March 1976, p. 34.

²⁷ NAZ, ORAL/CA 2, Stewart Aitken-Cade, interviewed by D. Hartridge, 6 October 1970, p. 27.

²⁸ 'Dominion Party Challenge to Courts', *Federal Outlook*, Salisbury, November 1958, p. 1.

²⁹ *The Dominion Party – Principles and Policies*, revised edition, April 1958.

³⁰ NAZ, *Dominion Party Newsletter*, No. 10, February 1957, p. 1.

³¹ 'European Policy', *The Rhodesian*, Salisbury, 2 May 1958, p. 1.

³² 'The Elusive Bogeyman', *Central African Examiner*, 25 October 1958, p. 9.

³³ 'How the Accolade Fell on Aitken-Cade', *Central African Examiner*, 14 February 1959, p. 8.

Palley's brief parliamentary tenure before breaking from the DP in March 1959 offered no indication that he would become a champion of civil liberties in Southern Rhodesia. In a parliamentary debate on 10 February 1959, Palley assumed a highly paternalist stance in opposing a motion of the UFP to amend the segregationist Land Apportionment Act [1930]. The motion sought to facilitate the integration of hotels —driven by the UFP's recognition that the Federation's capital needed to open elite accommodation options to visiting African dignitaries. In a confrontational speech, he accused the Prime Minister, Edgar Whitehead, of ignoring white views and claimed that the Prime Minister was pushing the bill merely to placate overseas opinion.³⁴ He castigated Whitehead for considering the lobbying efforts of organisations that represented Africans, and stated that one of them, the African Welfare Society, was 'inconsequential' and should 'confine its attention to stirring sadza [the staple food of the territory's black inhabitants] for indigent African children'.³⁵ Even in the fraught racial environment of Southern Rhodesia, these remarks were seen as incendiary and were condemned by Maureen Watson, the lone female member of parliament.³⁶

Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Emergencies

Tensions were exacerbated at the end of February when the Southern Rhodesian government declared a state of emergency and banned the main nationalist parties of the Federation from operating in the colony.³⁷ On 25 February 1959, Palley's speech in parliament tacitly supported the prosecution of a visiting British Labour MP, John Stonehouse, for allegedly inflammatory remarks delivered to the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC), the main platform of African nationalist opinion in the territory.³⁸ The following day, the territorial government declared a state of emergency, banned the SRANC and detained hundreds of its members. Following Aitken-Cade, Palley was the second member of the opposition to speak on the emergency in parliament. He offered his 'wholehearted support' for the declaration and attacked the SRANC as a party of 'immature people'. Palley's remarks placed the crisis firmly in an international perspective. He referenced other examples in the British Empire, such as Cyprus, that highlighted the ability of prohibited movements to survive underground, and pointed to the overseas visits of SRANC officials to obtain the political and financial support necessary for the SRANC's longevity.³⁹

As scholars have noted, disturbances in Nyasaland were then much more serious than those in Southern Rhodesia.⁴⁰ Palley alluded to this in his remarks, stating that 'ineptitude on the part of another administration could well and fast bring disaster to this Colony' and urged the Prime Minister to make representation to the other territories of the Federation to take similarly bold steps.⁴¹ However, the tenets of Palley's legal training remained with him at this tense moment. Foreshadowing later stands in parliament, he reminded his colleagues that the emergency regulations were 'severe and drastic' and,

³⁴ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 26, 10 February 1959, columns 1,392–3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, column 1,425

³⁷ Both the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland African Congresses had branches in Southern Rhodesia's urban centres.

³⁸ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 35, 25 February 1959, column 1,958.

³⁹ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 36, 26 February 1959, columns 2,027–8.

⁴⁰ Z. Groves, 'Urban Migrants and Religious Networks: Malawians in Colonial Salisbury, 1920 to 1970', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38, 3 (2012), pp. 491–511.

⁴¹ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 36, 26 February 1959, columns 2,029–30.



while necessary, impinged on a number of fundamental liberties.⁴² The Governor of Nyasaland, under heavy pressure from both the Federal and Southern Rhodesia territorial governments, duly declared a state of emergency on 2 March.⁴³

The move backfired spectacularly. White troops from Southern Rhodesia entered Nyasaland and fired on blacks, drawing condemnation in the British parliament.⁴⁴ Stonehouse, still touring the Federation at the time, was forcibly prevented from visiting Nyasaland, drawing further criticism. As part of the security sweep in Southern Rhodesia, a white SRANC member, Guy Clutton-Brock, was detained, another move that caused considerable controversy in Britain.⁴⁵ A leading Nyasa nationalist, Kanyama Chiume, escaped the round-up of nationalist leaders and made his way to Britain to campaign against the emergency alongside Labour MPs.⁴⁶ Labour was highly sceptical about the primary reason cited for the emergency—a ‘bush’ meeting of the Nyasaland African Congress at which a plot to murder leading whites was allegedly hatched and, to the alarm of the Southern Rhodesian government, at least one leading member of SRANC, George Nyandoro, was present.⁴⁷ British church officials and students were at the forefront of criticism of the emergency, and the UK announced a commission of inquiry.

The resulting Devlin Commission concluded that Nyasaland had been a police state.⁴⁸ In post-war Britain, the assertion, with its implication of autocratic totalitarianism, caused considerable angst, a feeling likely to have made a significant impact on Palley, the son of a Russian-born Jew. The emergency reverberated across the Commonwealth and was resoundingly condemned by its newer members. India’s ruling Congress Party called the emergency declaration ‘deplorable’, while Kwame Nkrumah’s Convention People’s Party in Ghana brought thousands of protesters to the streets of Accra in solidarity with the Nyasaland African Congress.⁴⁹ As a result of these events, and perhaps shaped by his recent departure from South Africa, where British influence was on the wane, Palley may have initially overestimated the resolve of Britain to intervene in Southern Rhodesian politics. Conversely, many of his parliamentary colleagues retained their faith in British backing until a series of events in 1960 decisively strained relations. This calculation set Palley on a lonely and unexpected course, which culminated in an embrace of African nationalism.

A Transformation Engendered by Overseas Opinion

Southern Rhodesia’s all-white parliament was keenly aware that the emergency prompted international disapproval. However, Palley, only weeks removed from criticising Whitehead for pandering to overseas views, was the only member of the assembly to reverse course following the controversy that it generated.⁵⁰ As one of parliament’s most

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Welensky Papers (hereafter WP), Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Box 240, folder 3, Telegram, Richard Armitage to Roy Welensky, 26 February 1959.

⁴⁴ ‘Africans “Intimidated by Gangs”’, *Manchester Guardian*, 25 March 1959, p. 2.

⁴⁵ ‘Mr. Clutton-Brock Released’, *East Africa and Rhodesia*, London, 2 April 1959, p. 919.

⁴⁶ ‘University Meeting’, *Manchester Guardian*, 12 March 1959, p. 15.

⁴⁷ WP, Box 242, folder 5, ‘An Assessment of the External Influences Affecting the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland’, 8 May 1959.

⁴⁸ C. Baker, ‘Nyasaland, 1959: A Police State?’, *Society of Malawi Journal*, 50, 2 (1997), pp. 17–25.

⁴⁹ ‘Demonstration in Accra’, *Manchester Guardian*, 13 March 1959, p. 1; ‘Deplorable Events in Nyasaland’, *Manchester Guardian*, 17 March 1959, p. 7.

⁵⁰ A UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office biographical sketch of Palley prepared in the late 1960s indicated that he left the DP due to his failure to defeat Aitken-Cade for the leadership of the party. However, a more contemporary assessment from the US consulate, that he was forced out of the DP for failing to follow an acceptable party line, is probably more on the

educated members, Palley would have been particularly perceptive about the impact of the fallout from the two emergencies and the role of British press coverage in driving both public and government (particularly Colonial Office) opinion in the UK against the Federation and toward the aspirations of African nationalists.⁵¹

On 17 March, Palley made his first stand, speaking in parliament against the discriminatory nature of the proposed Unlawful Organisations Bill, which would grant the government sweeping new powers to prohibit political expression. He was apparently aware that the comments would radically change his political career, stating that he was not speaking as a member of the DP and that ‘there come times in all men’s lives when all honourable men have to examine their consciences very deeply’.⁵² While not specifically referencing the Nyasaland Emergency, Palley situated his opposition in imperial terms, stating that a key reason for his disapproval was that the Bill was ‘probably without precedent in the Parliaments of the Commonwealth’ and was out of step with the British heritage of democratic debate, ‘perhaps the noblest contribution which Great Britain has made to western civilisation’.⁵³ Proponents of the Bill also drew on international considerations; when the former Prime Minister, Garfield Todd, a future Palley ally, campaigned against it, audiences jeered at him to go back to Ghana.⁵⁴

Although he did not formally resign from the DP until June 1959, Palley stated in parliament on 24 March that he was no longer a part of the DP caucus.⁵⁵ In the same speech, he warned, ‘it will be wrong of Government to brush aside casually and light-heartedly the opinion of overseas and of the United Kingdom’.⁵⁶ At this incipient stage of Palley’s political evolution, his shift to the left was driven by a sensitivity to international considerations, principally British public opinion, rather than a principled stand for racial justice or recognition of independent Africa’s rising standing in global circles. On 20 March, Palley spoke in favour of extending the state of emergency in Southern Rhodesia, with the caveat that it should expire as soon as the government was able to adopt the legislation necessary for it to deal with the rise of nationalist movements.⁵⁷ Palley’s quibble was with the draconian aspects of the legislation that would not withstand British scrutiny rather than a principled rejection of its aims.

For well over a year as an independent member of parliament, Palley remained distant from the activist and African nationalist sympathiser positions with which he thereafter came to be associated. His initial political re-alignment was shaped more by British policies and Commonwealth support of African political opinion than a concern for the welfare of blacks in Southern Rhodesia. This was also a time when it was not clear, as it would be after the adoption of a new constitution and major changes to the Commonwealth in 1961, that Palley’s continued political career would hinge on his ability to reach a black electorate.

In April 1959, Palley unsuccessfully tabled a motion in parliament that illustrates

mark. See National Archives (UK), Kew, ‘Dr. Ahm Palley – Biographical Note’, DO 207/314, 24 October 1966, Foreign and Commonwealth Office Papers, FCO 36/ 375; US National Archives, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 59 (hereafter RG 59), Department of State, Central Files, Box 3235, 745c.00/3-1659, ‘The Future of the Federation: Views of Dr. Ahm Palley, Southern Rhodesia MP’, 20 May 1959.

⁵¹ On the role of the press in shaping UK policy on the Federation at this time, see R. Coffey, ‘“Does the Daily Paper rule Britannia”: British Press Coverage of a Malawi Youth League Demonstration in Blantyre, Nyasaland, in January 1960’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41, 6 (2015), pp. 1,255–77.

⁵² *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 45, 17 March 1959, column 2,460.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, column 2,462.

⁵⁴ T. M. Franck, *Race and Nationalism: The Struggle for Power in Rhodesia–Nyasaland* (New York, Fordham University Press, 1963), p. 214. Todd had attended Ghana’s independence celebration in 1957.

⁵⁵ Winston Field papers, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Box 1, Palley to Aitken-Cade, 9 June 1959.

⁵⁶ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 49, 24 March 1959, column 2,727.

⁵⁷ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 48, 20 March 1959, column 2,683.



the measured nature of his ideological shift. Seconded by Harry Roberts of the DP, it proclaimed that the legislature 'reaffirms its loyalty to Her Sovereign Majesty the Queen, and further declares that under no circumstances will the Colony remain within the Federation should the Government of the Federation declare for a republic'.⁵⁸ Criticising Welensky, Palley cited comments by African politicians in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to illustrate that Republic status might accelerate black self-government in the constituent territories of the Federation with a weaker European presence, a development that he termed 'repugnant'.⁵⁹ At this time, Palley was pursuing a policy that he thought would appeal to the British government but also defend white interests in Southern Rhodesia.

Throughout the early stages of his career as an independent politician, Palley charted a course that rendered him suspect in the eyes of nationalist politicians. In an April 1959 debate on the Unlawful Organisations Bill, Palley tabled a motion that would not only ban the All-African People's Congress, which had been launched in Accra, Ghana, the previous year at a conference attended by two representatives of the SRANC,⁶⁰ but also prohibit 'any political party or organization carrying on any activity in or from Ghana'.⁶¹ As Palley was opposed to the Bill and wryly observed in debate that Ghana had similar legislation, the motion may have been in jest.⁶² However, the suggestion merited serious debate from his parliamentary colleagues, exposing fissures in opinion among the ruling UFP MPs, and it certainly exhibited a form of humour not shared by the territory's African nationalists, with whom Palley was not yet collaborating.

Backlash Against Palley's Re-invention

Palley's ideological shift drew the ire of his parliamentary colleagues, particularly the UFP. The assessment that Palley's reaction to international developments was misguided was a leading component of these criticisms. Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead suggested that Palley's reactions to the changes taking place across Africa were completely at odds with the response necessary for Southern Rhodesia's whites to defend their position. Citing the ongoing war in Algeria and unrest in the Congos, the Prime Minister stated that Palley's opposition to the Preventative Detention Bill was 'to shut one's eyes completely to the present position in the African continent'.⁶³ Weeks later, UFP MP Harry Pichanick levelled a similar charge against Palley, proclaiming 'that his consistency is in his inconsistency', admonishing Palley and other members of parliament to remember 'the formation of the African National Congress on the orders of Ghana' when they spoke against the need for enhanced security legislation.⁶⁴

By July 1959, the Southern Rhodesian parliament was openly discussing the possibility that the leader of Nyasaland's nationalists, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who was arrested at the imposition of the emergency and imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia, might become Nyasaland's first prime minister.⁶⁵ Palley observed that the political situation had changed drastically over the past year and that Dominion status, which

⁵⁸ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 55, 15 April 1959, column 3,035.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, column 3,041.

⁶⁰ These were Joshua Nkomo and Paul Mushonga.

⁶¹ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 57, 21 April 1959, column 3,239.

⁶² *Ibid.*, column 3,243.

⁶³ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 49, 24 March 1959, column 2,742.

⁶⁴ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 42, No. 56, 16 April 1959, column 3,155.

⁶⁵ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 43, No. 14, 28 July 1959, column 703.

had seemed possible for the Federation in July 1958, was no longer a viable option.⁶⁶ While his positions were becoming more liberal, they continued to be more influenced by considerations of British policy than the force of nationalist activity. In what was becoming a familiar refrain, he admonished parliament in August 1959, saying ‘it is absolutely essential that government and all people in this Colony take heed of overseas opinion, because without support ... from overseas, this Colony cannot prosper’.⁶⁷ For Palley, ‘overseas’ was synonymous with Britain, and his political aims at this time were to halt rising white sentiment against Britain and the Commonwealth rather than support African nationalism.

While newly sensitive to the demands of British opinion and policy, Palley remained unsure as to how to act on them. Nearly half a year after leaving the DP he remained convinced that African nationalism was a ‘menace’ that would overflow from the north of the Federation (Nyasaland) ‘and have very severe consequences in this territory’.⁶⁸ As late as the middle of 1960, Palley flirted with the right-wing Southern Rhodesia Association (SRA).⁶⁹ The SRA was one of the constituent parties that amalgamated to form the Rhodesia Front, and Palley would have found common ground with the SRA’s insistence that ties with the north were eroding the foundations of middle-class white privilege in Southern Rhodesia. Palley’s alignment with white working-class interests remained paramount, but the seeds of his decision to transfer allegiance to their black counterparts had emerged.

1960: Palley and the Year of Africa

Palley’s second big jolt came in the middle of 1960, as African liberation kicked into high gear across the continent. In Southern Rhodesia, the successor movement to the banned SRANC, the National Democratic Party (NDP), was established on the first day of the new year. Significantly more radical than its predecessor, two of its five core founding principles concerned the promotion of pan-Africanism.⁷⁰ On 30 June, the Congo gained independence from Belgium, becoming the first country bordering the Federation under majority rule. A month later, amid unprecedented violent unrest in Southern Rhodesia’s urban centres, the UK negotiated a new constitution for Nyasaland that resulted in self-government under nationalist control following an August 1961 election. Amid these developments, Palley became increasingly attuned to the impact of continental affairs on domestic public opinion. In early July, he ascribed ‘the cause of the anxiety in Southern Rhodesia [to] the affairs in Africa generally, [and] more especially what is taking place to the north of us’.⁷¹

By the middle of 1960, Palley’s focus on British opinion was firmly complemented by a corresponding interest in African nationalist political activity. He called the state of emergency in 1959 ‘the main factor’ turning blacks against ‘partnership’ with Southern Rhodesia’s white-dominated political forces.⁷² Seeking to reshape his political brand, and perhaps with an eye to his future political relevance, Palley announced in parliament that he had never supported the emergency (a blatant mischaracterisation), which, he believed

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, columns 709–10.

⁶⁷ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 43, No. 24, 14 August 1959, column 1,557.

⁶⁸ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 43, No. 25, 18 August 1959, column 1,578.

⁶⁹ ‘Southern Rhodesia Association: Onward Racial Soldiers’, *Central African Examiner*, 30 July 1960, p. 7; ‘On Principles and Policies’, *Federal Outlook*, August 1961, p. 3.

⁷⁰ N. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia* (London, Andre Deutsch, 1965), p. 60.

⁷¹ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 1 July 1960, columns 184–5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, column 180.



‘consolidated and brought African political opinion into a co-ordinated venture’.⁷³

The chaos and violence following the independence of the Congo have been posited by scholars and contemporaries alike as driving European opinion in Southern Rhodesia further to the right.⁷⁴ Rhodesians heard these accounts first-hand, as about 5000 Europeans fled the Congo and briefly found refuge in the main urban centres of Southern Rhodesia. Palley saw this development as further spurring African nationalism, stating that ‘the unfortunate events in the Congo’ had a direct bearing on a massive protest march in Salisbury towards the end of July, following the arrest of several NDP leaders.⁷⁵ Discussing a motion of no confidence in Whitehead’s government, Palley accepted the premise that there would be African political parties with ‘no truck at all with any European party’.⁷⁶ He saw the Salisbury protest, which was immediately preceded by the arrest of three senior NDP leaders as a milestone ‘driv[ing] the last nail into the coffin of partnership’.⁷⁷ Speaking in parliament the following year, Palley acknowledged his profound ideological shift and attributed it to a realisation that the threat of force could not underwrite policy.⁷⁸ If British reaction to the Nyasaland emergency was the immediate factor that caused that belief to waiver, the frustration vented during the July 1960 unrest in Southern Rhodesia’s two leading urban centres marked the demise of Palley’s support for white unilateralism.

In spite of Palley’s frequent protests about the importance of international opinion, it took him nearly a year and a half as an independent politician to accept that there was a role for African nationalists in Southern Rhodesian politics. Only following strong British condemnation of Southern Rhodesian political practices, the outbreak of lethal violence in Nyasaland and the Congo, a massive protest in the Southern Rhodesian capital and the advent of a new constitutional dispensation that would lead to black rule in Nyasaland did Palley embrace this reality. It took him a further year to determine a policy position that reflected this change.

Opposition to Repressive Legislation and African Outreach

Spurred by developments to the north, domestic unrest and the rising strength of the NDP, which, by mid 1960, was attracting an increasing number of black and white intellectuals, the Southern Rhodesia government doubled down, adopting a number of repressive legislative acts in the second half of 1960. The centrepiece of these efforts was the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960. The Chief Justice of the Federation, Robert Tredgold, resigned in protest, and Palley used his position in parliament—vigorously but ineffectively—to oppose the legislation. It was at this time that human rights issues, central to the remaining decade of Palley’s parliamentary career, began fully to coalesce.

In early 1960, the government deposed the paramount chief of the Mangwende Reserve for behaviour ‘increasingly obstructive and detrimental to the good order and

⁷³ *Ibid.*, column 181. Pittman, a maverick UFP MP who had attended the inaugural meeting of the NDP (successor to the SRANC), subsequently accused Palley of obscuring his original position on the emergency, suggesting that he was probably ‘conscious of certain winds of change affecting him’ (*Debates*, 22 July 1960, column 560).

⁷⁴ Examples are numerous. In academic discourse, see A. Mlambo, ‘From the Second World War to UDI, 1940–1965’, in A. Mlambo and B. Raftopoulos (eds), *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2009), pp. 109–10. From a contemporary observer, see A. Skeen, *Prelude to Independence: Skeen’s 115 Days* (Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966), p. 4.

⁷⁵ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 45, No. 12, 22 July 1960, column 564.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, column 565.

⁷⁸ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 48, No. 12, 29 August 1961, column 574.

progress of his people'.⁷⁹ The Reserve did not lie in Palley's suburban white constituency and he had not visited it, but he nevertheless raised the issue in parliament that September, and a commission of inquiry was formed to look into disturbances that followed the Chief's removal.⁸⁰

The motion was seconded by Aitken-Cade, who by that time had also left the DP, similarly troubled by its rightward drift, and who also sat in parliament as an independent.⁸¹ With the departure of Aitken-Cade and Palley, both formerly of its executive, the DP no longer had any elected members representing districts in Salisbury, the most cosmopolitan and internationally connected city in the territory. A third DP MP, Peter Gray, also defected and joined the ruling party. Other key centrist Salisbury-based members of the DP, such as Frank Clements and Cliff Pocket, left the party in 1960 as well.⁸² This exodus enabled the DP, and subsequently the RF, to coalesce as a right-wing force dedicated to halting African nationalism at the Zambesi.

The legislative debate on the Mangwende Reserve attracted a large black audience to the assembly chambers. W. J. Cary (who became a founding deputy president of the Rhodesia Front two years later) accused Palley of arranging for their presence as an act of intimidation. Cary withdrew the statement, but it highlighted the precariousness of Palley's position and the crux of his future struggles to rebuild his political image.⁸³ Palley had not yet developed a strong network among a new constituency, but he had thoroughly alienated his former allies. His appeals to the Commonwealth reflected a belief that Britain was an essential ally, but with the Rhodesian right wing not yet in power, he received no substantive British backing. He was not collaborating with the nationalists, whom he had recently spoken of in a disparaging manner, nor was he serving as a brake on the reactionary tendencies of the parliament. Claire Palley later reminisced that the family was isolated and severely ostracised by white society at this time.⁸⁴ On both the political and social front, it was clear that Palley needed to make a decisive step. In the light of the trend across the continent, and probably reinforced by his wife's prodding,⁸⁵ the white liberals and black nationalists whom he had recently condemned increasingly looked like logical allies.

By early 1961, Palley recognised that his strategy of pointing to the Commonwealth and British opinion to justify reform had little impact. He continued to interpret the needs of Southern Rhodesia via the dramatic transformations taking place across the continent, however, and, befitting his pragmatism, incorporated an economic argument. In a parliamentary debate that March on the impending Central African Trade Fair, Palley criticised the narrow list of exhibitors, which was biased towards representatives from South Africa and Mozambique. He lamented that 'we appear to have made no impact whatsoever on the more recent evolved parts of Africa, the countries of the French community and newly emancipated countries of the Commonwealth'.⁸⁶

This reasoning met with some approval, particularly from the UFP. Benny Goldstein, a UFP member representing Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia's second city and the site

⁷⁹ 'Rhodesian Chief Deposed', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1960, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 45, No. 31, 28 September 1960, column 1,784.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² 'Chairman of DP Resigns', *African Daily News*, Salisbury, 30 September 1960, p. 1.

⁸³ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 45, No. 32, 29 September 1960, column 1,894.

⁸⁴ F. Cownie, 'The United Kingdom's First Woman Law Professor: An Archerian Analysis', *Journal of Law and Society*, 42, 1 (2015), pp. 139.

⁸⁵ NAZ, ORAL/CA 4, William Cary, interviewed by D. Hartridge, 9 September 1971. P. 35; Eric Caldecourt, interviewed by Brooks Marmon, Harare, 15 November 2017. Caldecourt held various positions in the Southern Rhodesian civil service when Palley was an MP, including General Duties Clerk in parliament.

⁸⁶ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 45, No. 68, 9 March 1961, column 4,170.



of the trade fair, said that the government was 'fully alive' to the need to build relations with the north.⁸⁷ Towards the end of 1961, propaganda efforts such as the Build-a-Nation campaign constituted the first major effort of the UFP to reconcile white supremacy with African opinion, and efforts to repeal the much reviled Land Apportionment Act gathered speed.⁸⁸ The party belatedly realised the value of international opinion, and Whitehead went to New York to address the UN at the end of October 1962. The UFP was voted out of office that December, having reached an understanding of African decolonisation similar to Palley's in the period following the emergency three years previously.

The New Africa Party: Alignment with Garfield Todd and African Nationalism

A year after commenting on the need for the colony's white political elite to find ways to work productively with black political structures, Palley settled into a role that allowed him to do this. His political transformation was capped by a short-lived alliance with Garfield Todd in the form of the New Africa Party (NAP).⁸⁹ NAP (its name probably inspired by the liberal New Kenya Party in the soon-to-be-independent east African colony) was established on 31 July 1961 with the 'sole purpose to act as spokesman for, adviser to, and instrument of, the African nationalist movement'.⁹⁰ In a letter to his constituents explaining his path to the NAP, Palley stated that 'events in Africa' had convinced him that whites could no longer regulate the path of black political advancement.⁹¹

For much of 1960, Palley remained to the right of the Federation's main liberal political body, the interracial Central Africa Party (CAP), whose Southern Rhodesian Standing Committee had significant black membership and which had a handful of black members elected to various legislative bodies in Northern Rhodesia.⁹² Until August 1960, the CAP was led by Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister, who had been abandoned by the ruling party in early 1958. In the 1958 territorial election, his incipient movement, then known as the United Rhodesia Party, was crushed. Its supporters included acute legal minds and former parliamentarians like Hardwicke Holderness, who reacted to the Nyasaland Emergency in ways broadly similar to Palley. None of its 23 candidates prevailed in the election. Those most likely to have joined Palley on his journey from partnership to nationalism were purged from elected office.

In the weeks after the independence of the Congo, as Palley experienced an epiphany about the need to accept and work with black-dominated political structures, Todd was also deeply moved. In London, he joined NDP leaders to demand the suspension of the Southern Rhodesian constitution and the imposition of martial law. This declaration was too drastic for his own party, and the CAP, like his previous political home, threw him out.⁹³ Many of its black members then joined the NDP. Some observers were surprised when Todd failed to follow suit, and an editorial in the *Bantu Mirror*, a paper catering

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, column 4,175.

⁸⁸ A. King, 'We Are All Rhodesians: The Build a Nation Campaign, 1961–62', in N. Bhebe and T. Ranger (eds), *The Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human Rights in Zimbabwe, Volume One: Pre-Colonial and Colonial Legacies* (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2001), pp. 143–57.

⁸⁹ The file on the NAP in the Garfield Todd papers at NAZ was missing when I requested it in April 2018.

⁹⁰ RG 59, Department of State, Central Files, Box 1692, 745c.00/9-161, 'Garfield Todd's Views on Current Southern Rhodesia Political Scene', 14 September 1961.

⁹¹ 'Change is Explained by Palley', *The Chronicle*, Bulawayo, 17 December 1961.

⁹² 'Who Makes the CAP Tick', *Central African Examiner*, 15 August 1959, p. 11.

⁹³ 'Todd Quits as CAP Leader in Storm Over London Letter', *Rhodesia Herald*, Salisbury, 29 July 1960.

to a black audience, also expressed disappointment that Palley formed the NAP rather than joining the NDP.⁹⁴

The NAP was announced just after a new Southern Rhodesian constitution was accepted by referendum. It created a dual electoral roll – an ‘A’ list primarily for whites, and a ‘B’ list for a predominantly black electorate, which was intended to bring a small number of black representatives into government. The NDP equivocated, but it was widely expected they would boycott elections under the new constitution. Palley was concerned that the UFP would pack the ‘B’ list with black stooges and saw an all-white NAP, organised to contest the ‘B’ roll, as a means to prevent this.⁹⁵ Conveniently, the ‘B’ roll also provided him with an opportunity to remain in Parliament, as the CAP’s political failures indicated that he had no future with a white electorate.

Indicative of the importance of the emergency in shaping Palley’s thinking, one of his first activities after launching the NAP was to visit members of the SRANC leadership who had been restricted since its proscription.⁹⁶ The formation of the NAP was received with predictable condemnation by the white community. Morris Hirsch, a ruling party MP who frequently sparred with Palley, was particularly critical of the venture. In the course of a debate ostensibly on the economic situation of the Colony, Hirsch called on the government to ban all pan-African organisations from operating in Southern Rhodesia and accused the NAP of being a subversive party that was working with the NDP to bring the ‘country to its knees’.⁹⁷

An alarmist member of the DP opined that the NAP may come to form the government within six years, but it did not last until the next election.⁹⁸ Despite their leadership roles in their previous parties, both Todd and Palley were widely discredited in the white community by this time. The NAP was essentially a party of two and, in not contesting the 1962 election, failed to fulfil its founding purpose. Todd and Palley also suffered from internal divisions. Palley noted that the two had infrequent opportunities to meet and indicated frustration that Todd evinced no interest in contesting the 1962 election.⁹⁹ Todd publicly announced that the party had no plans to participate in the election, illuminating key strategic differences and Palley’s more avid appetite for office.¹⁰⁰ Palley campaigned in 1962 on the ‘B’ roll as an independent, declaring his candidacy just prior to the deadline, competing against Ralph Palmer, a white liberal representing the CAP. Amid a nationalist boycott, and with the support of his election agent, the then relatively unknown nationalist supporter Cephas Msipa, he secured a narrow victory over the UFP candidate with just a few dozen votes.¹⁰¹

Todd informed the US consulate that the NAP ‘was intended to assist the NDP in any way it wished’.¹⁰² There is however, no evidence that the NDP adopted a concerted strategy to take advantage of this offer, although the Zimbabwe National Party, an

⁹⁴ R. Weiss with J.L. Parpart, *Sir Garfield Todd and the Making of Zimbabwe* (London, British Academic Press, 1999), p. 146; ‘The Spate of Political Parties’, *Bantu Mirror*, Bulawayo, 5 August 1961, p. 8.

⁹⁵ Chetham’s Library, Manchester, John Reed, personal diary, 27 July 1961, Vol. 91, 26 May–14 September 1961.

⁹⁶ ‘Dr Palley Will Demand Release of Restrictes’, *Bantu Mirror*, 9 September 1961.

⁹⁷ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, No. 4, Vol. 48, 15 August 1961, column 143.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 48, No. 12, 29 August 1961, column 163.

⁹⁹ RG 59, Department of State, Central Files, Box 1694, 745c.00/5-162, ‘Tour d’ Horizon with Dr Ahm Palley, MP’, 11 May 1962; Susan Paul, interviewed by Brooks Marmon, Edinburgh, 15 February 2019.

¹⁰⁰ ‘The Spate of Political Parties’, *Bantu Mirror*, 5 August 1961, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ N. Bhebe and G. Mazarire, ‘Zimbabwe’s War of Liberation’, in J. Tembe and A. Temu (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960–1994, Volume 5* (Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 2014), p. 191 (Palley is mistakenly identified as ‘Dr Ian Polly’); NAZ, ORAL/PA 4, Ralph Palmer, interviewed by D. Hartridge, 13 November 1972, p. 46.

¹⁰² RG 59, Department of State, Central Files, Box 1692, 745c.00/9-161, ‘Garfield Todd’s Views on Current Southern Rhodesia Political Scene’, 14 September 1961.



NDP splinter group, attempted to make currency of claims to the contrary.¹⁰³ John Reed, a white NDP member who lectured at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and co-edited the progressive broadsheet *Dissent*, informed Palley on the eve of the NAP's launch that he would not join, an attitude that seems to have been representative of the NDP's white supporters.¹⁰⁴ Robert Mugabe allegedly wrote a letter endorsing Palley's candidacy, requesting that the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) boycott not be followed in the district that Palley was contesting, but the low turnout seemed to indicate that this call had minimal impact.¹⁰⁵ More tellingly, just months before the election, leading ZAPU members George Silundika, Leopold Takawira, and Samuel Parenyatwa emphatically told the US consulate that liberal elements in Southern Rhodesia's political scene had little influence and were overrated (in 1963, Palley expressed to the consulate a corresponding lack of confidence in the nationalists).¹⁰⁶ *Confidential News Report* (CNR), a subscription-only newsletter covering political developments throughout the Federation, after initially reporting that the NAP had attracted significant interest among blacks, subsequently revised this assessment, reporting that 'no African leader interviewed by CNR in the past four days has shown any interest—other than academic—in Garfield Todd's New Africa Party'.¹⁰⁷

Apart from the issue of the NDP's own interracial membership and widespread mainstream white opposition, the new party was plagued by Palley's previous affiliation with the DP and his prevaricating positions on the new constitution. Whitehead wryly remarked that, on the eve of the constitutional referendum, Palley was recorded as being in favour of it in the morning's papers, but opposed to it by the time of the evening editions.¹⁰⁸ Eileen Haddon, a liberal, white journalist and friend of both Palley and Todd, confided in Reed that Todd was worried about linking with Palley owing to the unsavoury aspects of his recent past.¹⁰⁹ CNR likewise quoted an unnamed 'NDP executive member' who urged Palley to join the NDP, noting that his former DP allegiance would prevent him from gaining a following among blacks.¹¹⁰ The varying trajectories of Todd's and Palley's political careers illustrate that the former was able to marshal a more profound connection to nationalist activity by drawing on a deeper affiliation with blacks and demonstrating a more decisive shift in his political sympathies.

Todd was a rural-based missionary who had been resident in Southern Rhodesia for over a quarter century by the time the NAP was founded. He testified on Southern Rhodesia before the UN, spent much of the UDI era under restriction and was subsequently appointed to the senate by Mugabe in independent Zimbabwe. Conversely, Palley had lived in a white suburb of Salisbury for barely half a decade by 1961. He also sought to re-enter the political arena after independence, although the state media reported in 1981 that Prime Minister Mugabe was unhappy with this; Palley never

¹⁰³ 'NDP Accused of Flirting with NAP', *African Daily News*, 23 November 1961.

¹⁰⁴ Chetham's Library, Manchester, John Reed, personal diary, 27 July 1961, Vol. 91, 26 May–14 September 1961.

¹⁰⁵ RG 59, Department of State, Central Files, Box 1695, 745c.00/12/362, 'ZAPU Supports Palley', 10 December 1962.

ZAPU replaced the NDP after it was banned

¹⁰⁶ RG 59, Department of State, Central Files, Box 1694, 745c.00/8-262, 'ZAPU Leaders Reaffirm Non- Participation in Forthcoming Southern Rhodesia Elections', 14 August 1962; Box 4023, RHOD and NYAS, 'Memorandum of Conversation', 23 August 1963.

¹⁰⁷ *Confidential News Report*, 9 August 1961, pp. 5–6.

¹⁰⁸ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, Vol. 48, No. 12, 29 August 1961, Column 561.

¹⁰⁹ Chetham's Library, Manchester, John Reed, personal diary, 27 July 1961, Vol. 91, 26 May–14 September 1961.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

contested a Zimbabwean election.¹¹¹ His connections with blacks, those in the NDP or otherwise, appear to have been quite limited in the early 1960s, despite the avowed aims of the NAP.

In November 1961, Palley approached Reed about holding a political meeting in Highfield, a black township. Reed was perplexed that Palley sought his assistance rather than that of one of the many black NDP members who lived there.¹¹² Palley did manage to hold his meeting in Highfield's Cyril Jennings Hall on 19 November 1961. Several members of the NDP executive, including its president, Joshua Nkomo, showed up halfway through Palley's two-hour speech, in which the NAP co-founder condemned the 'silly and stupid government' of Southern Rhodesia before an audience of several thousand.¹¹³ This rally marked Palley's first political address to a primarily black audience and the culmination of his journey toward African nationalism and the political stand for which he has been remembered.

Highfield was the constituency that returned Palley in the 1962 (and 1965) election.¹¹⁴ He struggled to establish a good working relationship with the 14 black UFP MPs elected beside him on the B roll; they saw him as unpredictable and a poor communicator.¹¹⁵ While Palley came to be considered an able representative of his constituents' interests amid an RF-dominated parliament, his labours illustrate that, even though he eventually overtly embraced African nationalism, the structural constraints of Rhodesian society and its mercurial relationship with post-independence Africa ensured that his journey was a lonely one.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

In June 1958, Ahrn Palley was elected to Southern Rhodesia's parliament on a wave of right-wing sentiment and was acknowledged as one of that movement's intellectual leaders. Palley supported the Southern Rhodesian government in its imposition of an emergency at the end of the following February, but, just weeks later, following a similar declaration in Nyasaland that was condemned internationally, he broke with his party. As international opinion turned against the white settlers of southern Africa and unrest broke out in newly independent states on the Federation's borders and then in the urban centres of Southern Rhodesia itself, Palley became convinced that the well-being of whites was linked to their ability to engage constructively with these forces and meet the demands of the Conservative government in the UK. This decision positioned Palley for a unique political re-invention. In 1961, he teamed up with the former prime minister Garfield Todd and launched the New Africa Party, the culmination of a voyage driven by a decision to accept the legitimacy of black political aspirations.

Palley's multi-step journey from the DP to the NAP was not one of a natural liberal predisposed to defend and advocate the political rights of those suffering discrimination. He arrived at the New Africa Party via a pragmatic assessment of international developments, reinforced by rising domestic pressures and an opportunistic desire to remain politically relevant. As a new immigrant to the colony, a member of a religious minority with advanced degrees in law and medicine, and a much younger, highly

¹¹¹ 'Probert is RF Chief for Borrowdale', *The Herald*, 4 June 1981, p. 3.

¹¹² Chetham's Library, Manchester, John Reed, personal diary, 7 November 1961.

¹¹³ "'Stupid Laws Must Go, Majority Must Rule'", *African Daily News*, 20 November 1961, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ E. Wason, *Banned: The Story of the African Daily News: Southern Rhodesia, 1964* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1976), p. 98.

¹¹⁵ 'African MPs Fail to Click!' *Parade*, Salisbury, February 1964, p. 68.

¹¹⁶ Hancock, *White Liberals*, p. 123.



educated wife, Palley was perhaps uniquely positioned to make the journey that he did.

However, many Southern Rhodesians struggled to define their political ideologies in this period of rapid change. Palley linked with Garfield Todd to promote African nationalism just three years after both had been senior members of conservative, white political bodies. Several centrist members of the DP also turned away from the party and became politically irrelevant. Palley's stand against repressive legislation was joined by the Federation's Chief Justice, Robert Tredgold, who resigned in protest, and, by the time it was voted out of office in December 1962, the UFP, also prodded by international changes, had embraced policies that resembled the initial stages of Palley's leftward turn. Much of Palley's re-invention resembled other journeys of the era. However, his path ultimately went further than that of most of his contemporaries; he temporarily salvaged his political career as he was able to take full advantage of the lifeline provided by the British via the 1961 constitution. He did not, however, go as far as Todd and showed no compunction about remaining in parliament after UDI. Consequently, the political career of his former partner in the NAP was resuscitated after independence, while Palley's remained dormant.

As evinced by the defeat of the UFP in the 1962 general election, these re-inventions were subsumed by the intransigence and intolerance of the new political leadership that the electorate increasingly backed and which took the opposite lesson from the changes taking place across Africa. UFP MP Morris Hirsch echoed the views of most of the parliament and electorate when he credited Palley as having 'the agility of a political grasshopper'.¹¹⁷ Southern Rhodesia would have needed many more grasshoppers in order to avoid the depths of crisis in which it became embroiled following UDI.

The path that Palley trod was not an easy one; he reversed core policy positions, was ridiculed for doing so and drew on both his conscience and legal training to justify his emerging reaction to domestic and regional events. Although Palley drastically changed his views, his re-invention still lagged behind the rapid pace of change on the continent. British policy makers should have seen from this that significant government concessions were unlikely and, without a more dramatic intervention, Southern Rhodesia was set for the violent racial clash that would constitute one of the more complicated cases of African decolonisation. Additional research that considers how more mainstream white politicians in Southern Rhodesia reacted to African decolonisation would provide further insights on the trajectory of the UDI era.

Rhodesian opponents of African liberation did not deny that a new international dynamic was upon them, but they condemned it, as Palley once sought to do in relation to Ghana and Britain's Labour Party. More than communism or broader Cold War competition, the rapid pace of events across Africa helped to define new political developments. Palley's post-DP struggle to convince Todd of his bona fides, his preference to turn to a white university lecturer for logistical support for outreach to blacks and the NAP's awkward relationship with the NDP illustrate why so few of the white political elite in Southern Rhodesia chose to make a similar journey and respond positively to anti-colonial pressures. More optimistically, Palley's ideological voyage shows that, while reactions to African decolonisation catalysed different responses, the strength of international pressure against discriminatory Rhodesian policies would slowly

¹¹⁷ *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, No. 4, Vol. 48, 15 August 1961, column 143.

but inexorably help to make domestic democratic change inevitable.

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The Lancaster House Conference, 1979: A review and analysis, 40 years on

by Paul Hubbard



The year 2019, marked 40 years since the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement. In retrospect the Conference appears to have been an easier victory for good sense than in reality it was—for, as Clarence K. Streit once said, “The most dangerous way to cross a chasm is one step at a time.” Here, I aim to challenge the current amnesiac revisionism of today, laying out the facts as they were then. Just who was there and what happened—and why? How were the negotiators able to bring the recalcitrant sides to an agreement, no matter how flawed? What was said about land reform and promises made regarding compensation? I also examine the furore surrounding the establishment and maintenance of the ceasefire and the role of the British in creating conducive conditions for Zimbabwe’s first-ever free and fair elections.

Introduction

The fractious meeting held at Lancaster House, London, in the last months of 1979, which successfully manufactured a constitutional settlement of the “Rhodesian problem,” represented the political culmination of nearly 15 years of bitter and protracted military conflict which had stagnated one of Africa’s strongest economies, directly cost the lives of at least 20 000 people, and impacted at least a million more in many negative ways.

On 11 November 1965 the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, and his ministers signed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), a declaration that they would not accept Britain’s plan to establish black majority rule in Rhodesia. This set the stage for an increasingly intransigent, minority white-ruled regime to enter into an armed conflict with the nationalist movement, represented by the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to achieve majority rule. These two political movements, and their armies, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), fighting for ZAPU and ZANU respectively, were forced into a coalition as the Patriotic Front (PF) from 1978, in order to provide a unified front for their political and military campaigns—at least publicly.

The Conservative administration, led by Margaret Thatcher, which came to power in May 1979, took a strong stand on “terrorism” (i.e. the liberation movements). Her pre-election statements suggested that she would be prepared both to lift sanctions and, in her own words, to meet “wide expectations that we would recognise the new Muzorewa Government” which had come to power in April 1979, following a sham election as a result of the infamous Internal Settlement. Some African nations, notably Nigeria, threatened to expel Great Britain from the Commonwealth if moves were made to recognise the government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The Frontline States, the

Commonwealth and several members of the UK government were determined that Thatcher's hardline stance should be converted into supporting the peace process in Southern Rhodesia. In Thatcher's own words:

...unpleasant realities had to be faced. Peter Carrington's view was that it was essential to secure the widest possible recognition for a Rhodesian regime since that country held the key to the whole Southern African region. He turned out to be right.

Carrington and his Foreign Office team worked to ensure that their plan would be adopted by other governments and put forward as a Commonwealth initiative. The British, finally taking full responsibility for their role in decolonising Rhodesia, were now determined to make it all come together—and to their own, best advantage.

CHOGM in Lusaka and NAM meetings in Havana

The Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) meeting, to be held in Lusaka from 1–7 August, came at the end of a four-nation tour of Africa by Queen Elizabeth II, who was tasked to officially open proceedings. Although Rhodesia dominated the discussions, it did so under a broader theme of racism and human rights. The Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice tackled the issues of racism and egalitarianism within and between Commonwealth member states. The first article of the declaration demanded legal equality “without any distinction or exclusion based on race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin.” It stated that no degree of respect for separate cultures could justify racial discrimination, that the infamous policy of Apartheid was an “affront to humanity” and that it was the duty of the Commonwealth to effect its “total eradication.” To compensate for the effects of past colonialism and racism, it was agreed that special provisions could be made to achieve social and economic redress. In addition to demanding respect and equality for indigenous peoples, the Lusaka Declaration demanded equal respect for immigrant communities. More so than laying the foundation for an independent Zimbabwe, this is arguably the most important result of the meeting, unequivocally stating the official position of Commonwealth countries regarding basic human rights.

The other Lusaka Agreement, that on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, fully accepted not only Britain's constitutional responsibility to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe, but also that “free and fair elections” should be “properly supervised under British authority.” There was also the rather bland statement that “it must be a major objective to bring about a cessation of hostilities.” “Many of the African and Asian government leaders came to Lusaka in August 1979 prepared for a battle with Mrs Thatcher” wrote Brian Lapping (1985). “Her initiative surprised and impressed them.” The *Rhodesia Herald*, amazed at her volte-face, indignantly asked: “Is Mrs Thatcher really a Labour Prime Minister in drag?”

Invitations to the Conference were issued on 14 August, barely a week after the conclusion of CHOGM, and all sides accepted. For Abel Muzorewa, the Internal Settlement had brought a majority of black representatives into both Houses of Parliament but did not devolve real political power, which remained vested in minority hands. The White minority still had veto rights on legislation and remained in full commercial control. A compromise constitution that would satisfy all stakeholders and bring the war to an end was desperately needed. There was a desire on Muzorewa's part to secure international recognition for any peace agreement, necessary for the lifting of sanctions



and the return of international investment. As Neuhaus (2015) wrote, it was the CHOGM meeting that set the stage:

Without the Commonwealth Conference, it is probable that Britain would have called a constitutional conference which the Patriotic Front would have boycotted. The independence of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia would have been recognised, the guerrilla war would have continued, and Britain's relations with Africa would have been in tatters. Following the Conference, relations with Africa on the other hand were at a new high and the future for a negotiated settlement looked more promising.

"From a British government perspective, convincing Mugabe and Nkomo directly [to attend the conference] was not an easy task due to lacking a history of diplomatic contact between them and the government" (Brailsford 2016, parentheses added). The Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, tried to have the Lusaka Declaration condemned at the Non-Aligned Movement's Summit in Havana between 7–9 September, although they had officially accepted the invitation on 20 August. As Yorke (1996) relates, directly quoting Robert Mugabe, "the Front Line states said we had to negotiate, had to go to this conference."

Mugabe was the most reluctant of all to attend the conference, instead wanting to prolong the war and attempt to win it outright, no matter the cost in human lives. Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda's, words summarised the atmosphere at this NAM summit, mentioning that, "*We had a job to convince both Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo to go to London. They were saying... they were going to continue to fight. In fact... we turned on the freedom fighters in Cuba... we said 'give the British Government a chance to prove that they are sincere in what they are saying to us.'*" The other leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement declined to condemn the Lusaka Agreement, and the stage was set for a stormy showdown in London.

Political and Military Background to the Conference

External factors were a deciding factor in cementing the commitment of all parties participating in the peace process. For Muzorewa's government the increasingly parlous state of the economy was a major driving force. The war they were fighting to preserve economic interests and social privileges was rapidly eroding these selfsame stakes, being further drained by global recession, sanctions and emigration of skilled personnel. Additionally, South Africa indicated it was tiring of supporting Rhodesia. The war was not going well for the Rhodesians. As Henrik Ellert (1989) wrote:

Units of both Zipra and Zanla, in their respective operational sectors, were by now openly parading and showing military authority in rural areas which had long since fallen under their effective control. By... 1979 the security forces were confined in mine-protected vehicles moving by day in heavily armed convoys. Rural base camps were often subjected to attacks by night with mortar, rocket and small arms fire.

At the same time, the number of civilian and military casualties was increasing exponentially, an indication that the war was only going to get more bloody, with no true end in sight (Yorke 1996):

In 1977 a total of 1759 guerrillas and 197 members of the security forces died inside Rhodesia as well as 1055 civilians, of whom 56 were white. By the summer, casualties were running at the rate of 100 a week compared with the average of three a week in the first five years of hostilities. In the year preceding the Lancaster House meeting the fighting had been most intense. This year alone [1979] accounted for over one-third of the total casualties sustained since the guerrilla war proper had begun in December 1972. (parentheses added)

The PF, on the other hand, was being pressured by Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique to enter into negotiations. Melancholic about the war and its dramatic negative impact on their economies, the Frontline leaders saw the Conference as a plausible and honourable way out for themselves and the PF. Mozambican leader, Samora Machel, was, in particular, tiring of the war, not least of all because he was beginning one of his own as the Rhodesian CIO-created force, Renamo, started to wreak havoc on the internal politics of the country. Added to this was the Rhodesians' military strategy of violently taking the war beyond their own borders. The threats of the Frontline States to withdraw logistical, financial and moral support for the PF would play a major role in the months to come. Added to this was the real possibility that the new UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, would recognise Muzorewa's Government, granting it full legal status and international recognition, thus by-passing the liberation movements, the existence of which she regarded with distaste. This became known as the "second-class solution", and it remained an option until the day the ceasefire was accepted.

For all parties, little outweighed the credits of Independence, international recognition and peace. Britain saw a honourable way out of the Rhodesian imbroglio with minimal commitment on their part while the PF recognised they could gain political control of the country through internationally-supervised elections. Muzorewa's government gained a clear shot at the lifting of sanctions and international legitimacy as well as an end to the war.

The Rhodesians flexed their military muscle before the conference began, starting the first of many large-scale cross-border raids into the neighbouring countries of Zambia and Mozambique. This was the beginning of a new strategy where, instead of just attacking PF bases (alleged or actual), the Rhodesians targeted the civilian infrastructure of these countries, arguing that its destruction would hamper the efforts of the freedom fighters. This had the added advantage of heaping pressure on these States to force the PF to negotiate quickly and decisively in London. It became the pattern throughout the conference that when the PF balked, a devastating raid would happen, making this an effective negotiating manoeuvre.

Both sides profoundly distrusted each other as well as the British. Neither believed the peace conference would succeed but neither, as Davidow (1984) said, was willing to "abdicate the field of negotiation to the other." The military commanders for both sides, Peter Walls for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Josiah Tongogara and Lookout Masuku for the PF, recognised that the war had reached stalemate and both recommended a political solution as infinitely preferable to continued bloodshed. The delegations all believed they enjoyed majority support among the black electorate and were willing to allow elections to settle the matter. Additionally, both delegations were seriously divided



coalitions: Muzorewa's included often antagonistic white and black members, while the PF was best described as a strategic negotiating vehicle for two politico-military movements long divided by personal and ideological hostility. They all wanted a quick end and total victory.

The First Day

Many former "dependent territories" (i.e. colonies) of the UK, including Kenya, Nigeria, Malaysia and Uganda, successfully made the transition to independent statehood on the basis of constitutions agreed at Lancaster House. The organisers probably hoped that the formal atmosphere and magnificent surroundings would have a calming effect on the notoriously wilful and stubborn parties involved in the negotiations for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

The conference began on 10 September 1979, and on the first day it was a matter of getting bodies into seats, followed by the opening statements by the leaders of the delegations. Lord Carrington's speech was upbeat:

When inviting you here we appealed to you, in the interests of the people of Rhodesia, to approach these negotiations in a positive spirit and to seek to build up areas of agreement. We hope thereby to lay the foundations for a free, independent and democratic society in which all the people of Rhodesia, irrespective of their race or political beliefs, would be able to live in security and at peace with each other and with their neighbours. The act of coming together is important. It is now up to us to build on that... I would like to hope that there is a difference between this meeting and those which have preceded it. This is a constitutional conference, the purpose of which is to decide the proper basis for the granting of legal independence to the people of Rhodesia.

He stated that Britain would set the tone at the Conference but would be prepared to entertain alternative formulations if agreed to by all sides. Bishop Muzorewa repeated his assertions that Zimbabwe-Rhodesia should be granted international recognition as it was now a democracy with majority rule, thereby meeting former UK Prime Minister, Harold Wilson's, six principles. Joshua Nkomo, speaking on behalf of the PF, was cautiously optimistic:

The Patriotic Front, deeply conscious of the need to bring an end to racism and colonialism which continue to plague the people of Zimbabwe, welcomes the British Government's stated aim to assist in this task of decolonisation... For our presence here is by itself an act of immense sacrifice. The scarce material resources we have had to divert and the manpower we must of necessity tie down in London for the duration of this Conference should be enough evidence of our seriousness and good faith. We have always said that we will leave no stone unturned in our struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism in Zimbabwe.

Nkomo emphasised their physical control over a large swathe of the country, but stated firmly that the PF would not compromise on essential issues. They adjourned for the day, attending a small but social party in the evening before ostensibly getting down to work the next day. Previously, the PF had provided Carrington a golden opportunity

to immediately stamp his authority on the Conference by haggling over the seating arrangements. The PF demanded that Muzorewa's delegation, placed opposite them, should be seated with the British, claiming the PF was there to negotiate with Britain as the decolonising power, and not with the "illegal regime." Carrington demurred and forcefully stated such procedural haggling would be taboo. His blend of authoritarian control and willingness to compromise would be an essential factor in the tedious days ahead.

The Negotiating Strategy

The British team had decided many elements of the conference in advance:

1. An emphasis of British centrality in the negotiating process which mandated other governments to the periphery;
2. A strong, almost dictatorial, style of conference management;
3. A step-by-step approach to build momentum.

Their decision to employ a solo approach was dictated by the failure of other peace negotiations as a result of competing national and international interests. The Frontline States, the USA and South Africa had always proved unhelpful in the past. In addition to the numerous failed attempts since 1966, the crucial lesson of not repeating the chaotic and unfocused aims of the 1976 Geneva Conference was not forgotten. The British did, however, acknowledge that outside help would be critical on certain issues and were prepared to include international partners at that individual stage.

As Thatcher later observed, Carrington also deliberately "*arranged the agenda to take the most difficult questions last, so that the first item to be agreed was the new constitution; only then would come the question of the transitional arrangements; and finally the calling of a cease fire.*" Thus the least controversial issues would be dealt with first and the objectives of the conference were clear to all.

The fact that the British decided on a "Constitutional" and not a "Peace" Conference was explained in an interview given by Robin Renwich, a member of Carrington's negotiating team:

The attainment of majority rule was what the war was supposed to be about. If it was possible to achieve an independence constitution which indisputably, provided for that, the conflict would be reduced to the dimensions of a struggle for power; and the pressure would be greater in the parties for that competition to be settled by other means.

Due to the enormous gulf between the parties on almost all the issues, the British decided that traditional negotiation measures of establishing an opening position and then trading concessions would not work. Carrington took the initiative, always offering an outline plan and allowing discussion to amend it before presenting a final detailed proposal.

The Initial Constitutional Proposal

Carrington distributed a 13-page summary on 12 September, aimed at modifying the offensive elements of the 1979 Constitution. The first version of this draft had been prepared just days after the Lusaka meeting and contained elements from several other independence constitutions granted by the UK during the decolonisation process of the



1960s. Among other proposals it contained clauses for a constitutional head of state, with a Prime Minister as head of government and a bicameral Parliament, as well as sections dealing with the security forces, judicature and finance.

Whites in the country reacted vocally to these proposals, fearing a complete erosion of their interests. They ignored entrenched clauses of the constitution made in their favour, such as reserving a percentage of seats for whites for a set period of time and the inclusion of a Bill of Rights enshrining Western freedoms. The PF immediately argued that special provisions for whites would enshrine existing racism but the main British concern was to ensure a smooth handover of power which meant keeping the largely white civil service intact; anything less would prompt a massive exodus and, potentially, a collapse of the economy.

Two days later Muzorewa's delegation tabled the existing constitution for the country, arguing it fulfilled all British requirements as laid down by Harold Wilson and British successive governments. On 17 September after his team had evaluated the constitution, Carrington explained that it was unacceptable due to the powerful white veto and the character of the public service and other commissions it had created. The PF had tabled their own proposals for the new constitution on 14 September. It included an Executive President and Cabinet, an Upper House with strictly limited delaying powers, universal adult suffrage and restricted provisions for adult citizenship.

Carrington played the grand strategy of divide and rule. Initially ignoring the PF delegation's proposals, he concentrated on winning over Muzorewa's delegation which was badly divided. Former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, was determined to hold firm and reject any proposals in light of apparent renewed support for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia from the Tory right wing and members of the US Congress who were promising the removal of sanctions. Playing to Muzorewa's desires and the PF's fears, Carrington stressed that no settlement, second-class or otherwise, would be possible without their acceptance of the drawing up of a new Constitution. Thus, on 21 September, Muzorewa cleverly called a vote on the matter among his delegation. The result: 11–1 in favour of the new constitution, with Ian Smith the lone nay.

Sensing they were perhaps losing the initiative, the PF reiterated their original demands that the conference should begin with a discussion of the transition to independence followed by constitutional talks. When this was politely declined by Carrington, the PF withdrew into obdurate silence, punctuated by press conferences restating their original demands or making threats. In the *Herald* of 22 September, Eddison Zvobgo, the official PF spokesman said: *"This conference is about a transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe. Anything short of that will mean an escalation of the war - which we are winning."* Carrington persisted and finally, on 24 September, the PF reluctantly accepted the principle of a whites-only 20% block of seats in Parliament. This was a major concession on Robert Mugabe's part because he recognised the whites could cast themselves in the role of "kingmaker" in any independent government. Nkomo was comparatively untroubled seeing potential allies in a coalition after elections. Following this gesture, the PF refused to budge any further and plenary sessions only resumed on 2 October.

Will They, Won't They? The Patriotic Front in October, 1979

Carrington used the downtime to allow his team to refine the draft Constitution and to have private talks with the principals on either side. On 3 October, he presented the final draft of the Constitution and gave both sides five days to make a decision. The draft revealed that while the PF had been debating grand policy with the British, the Salisbury delegation had pressed for further advantage. For example, and most importantly, it was enshrined in the Bill of Rights that any compensation received for property would be freely remittable out of the country. Property was defined to include pensions, thereby converting them from a reward for services rendered to a 'right'. In addition to this the Bill of Rights prohibited the future government from preventing anyone establishing a private school or from sending their children to a school of their choice. In addition, the Constitution entrenched white seats for seven years and the Bill of Rights for 10. These advantages may explain why, on 5 October, Muzorewa's delegation announced their acceptance. They may have been gambling on the PF's withdrawal, leaving the way open for the "second-class solution."

The PF continued with delaying tactics. On 8 October they offered a "maybe," at the same time criticising the provisions on land rights and compensation. Carrington replied that he respected their tactical move to "agree-to-disagree-and-move-on," but that he had to consider it as a threat to his procedure and thus had to demand a formal answer by 11 October. The deadline arrived and in the face of PF reserve, Carrington immediately adjourned the Conference pending a positive answer. Both adopted a tough public posture, hoping to convince the other that alternatives were available. As the *Guardian* of 10 October, reported, Mugabe said on behalf of the PF:

"If this London Conference reaches no decisions, we will despatch our military men back to Africa. This means intensification of the struggle. We can win without Lancaster House. That is a certainty. Of course we would welcome a settlement. But we can achieve peace and justice for our people through the barrel of a gun."

Carrington announced that he would enter into bilateral talks with Muzorewa's delegation on the transition period. This was a clever move, heaping pressure on the PF to accept the Constitution or face exclusion from future decision-making.

The PF raised objections to the provisions made on the army, police, public service, judicature and—most importantly, land development and settlement. They were worried about the fact that civil servants were being overly-protected which would make it difficult to replace them in an independent government, as well as saddling them with a huge fiscal burden in the form of generous pensions. They were also concerned about the loyalties of the civil service and armed forces, police and army to any new government, and wanted everyone to retake an oath of allegiance after Independence. The main sticking point proved to be land reform. In Section 16, the draft constitution contained a standard clause on property which was a guarantee against the deprivation of property without the payment of prompt and adequate compensation. It was within the tenets of international governance and used in United Nations conventions, but what it signalled to Mugabe and Nkomo was the belief that the British were working at maintaining the unequal status quo on land.

Land Rights and Reforms Concerns

The British government appreciated the importance of land to African nationalism since



the dissolution of the Federation in the early 1960s. One of the original five demands put to Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front government by Harold Wilson before UDI was that there should be the repeal, or at least the liberalisation, of the Land Apportionment Act. Earlier peace talks, notably those held by David Owen in 1977, had also discussed the issue of land, acknowledging the need for its redistribution, but within a structured framework that guaranteed property rights. This was at odds with the aspirations of the nationalist movement which had made promises of land to motivate its troops and supporters. In his autobiography, Joshua Nkomo wrote that:

the new constitution of Zimbabwe should permit the government to expropriate farmland if it was not being properly used. The British said fine, so long as we paid the full market price. But we knew that vast acreages were lying idle, unused and therefore without a market price, in the areas formerly reserved for white ownership. To buy areas adequate for resettling the many land-hungry African farmers who had been confined within the former tribal trust areas would be beyond the financial capacity of the new state.

In the 11 October plenary session Carrington acknowledged PF concerns and proposed that the British government would “pay for settlement schemes and development projects.” In private discussions, Joshua Nkomo had suggested a figure of £55 million for dealing with the land question; Nyerere ‘considered this was very reasonable (and)... wanted to suggest (the British government) should take Nkomo up on his figure’ (Brailsford 2016). He also proposed that the British Government obtain international assistance for land purchase projects through an Agricultural Development Bank. Carrington's statement read in part:

We recognise that the future government of Zimbabwe, whatever its political complexion, will wish to extend land ownership... Any resettlement scheme would clearly have to be carefully prepared and implemented to avoid adverse effects on production. The Zimbabwean government might well wish to draw in outside donors such as the World Bank. The British government recognise the importance of this issue to a future Zimbabwe Government and will be prepared, within the limits imposed by our financial resources to help... The costs would be very substantial indeed. Well beyond the capacity, in our judgement, of any individual donor country, and the British Government cannot commit itself at this stage to a specific share in them.

A Whitehall official later said the land fund was “*an olive branch the PF chose not to accept.*”

The next day, three Frontline Presidents, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, expressed solidarity with the PF over their delay in acceptance of the constitution because of the land issue and the British approach to the solution. Two days after this, Nkomo reiterated that the main stumbling block was the land issue and compensation for the whites. To this Carrington replied that the UK would be happy to donate to a fund to buy “under-utilised land” from whites. Additionally, Carrington sent a letter to Nyerere promising that “*we would help... with technical assistance for land settlement schemes and capital aid... we shall also be ready*

to help the new government obtain international assistance for these.” He undercut this offer with the announcement that the talks would now continue on a bilateral basis until the PF accepted the final British draft, which of course made no mention of who was to pay for land reform projects and the amounts involved.

As Sue Onslow (2017) recounts, Carrington’s insistence on ‘willing-buyer-willing-seller’ schemes for land redistribution in Rhodesia was founded on a need to reconcile the admitted developmental needs of a future Zimbabwean state with the priority to keep white farming expertise and public administration skills in place for a smooth, if lengthy, transition (in 1980 there were 62 000 civil servants in the country). The UK government and Parliament would never agree a compulsory land purchase programme that failed to recognise property rights and which went against past precedents of constitution making. Therefore, in Onslow’s (2017) words:

the British decision to aim at a voluntary land transfer scheme was influenced by a combination of political, ideological, financial and practical motives. It was not simply a question of not wanting to pay. Carrington was determined neither to pay compensation nor to make any open-ended commitment.

At an emergency meeting of the Frontline States on 16 October Tanzanian Premier, Julius Nyerere, said: *“The only real problem is the issue of who provides the money for compensation to the settler farmers when their land is redistributed by a future Zimbabwe government. This is not a constitutional question but a simple policy question.”* As the Frontline leaders saw it, the British insisted the future Zimbabwe government would pay compensation while the PF insisted the UK be responsible. However they could not offer any practical solutions, nor contribute money of their own, given the parlous state of their economies at the time. Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, secretly contacted the US ambassador in London, Kingman Brewster, and asked him to convince US President, Jimmy Carter, to promise money to pay white farmers for their land. The following day, the US said it would be willing to contribute to an international fund aimed at agricultural and economic development in an independent Zimbabwe. As was the norm, no actual figures would ever be stipulated by the main powers during the conference. Later that week, the US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, agreed to privately contact the Frontline States in order to agree on a US-backed multi-donor effort to assist agricultural compensation and development in Zimbabwe, contingent on the success of the constitutional conference.

In the week of 22 October *Time Magazine* carried a report stating that US President Carter was considering developing an aid programme of between US\$1–2 billion for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and neighbouring countries. The State Department insisted, however, that the money was a broad-based agriculture and development fund and not a ‘buy-out-the-whites’ scheme. Other details of the intended beneficiaries were sketchy but considering the article contained a quote from Nkomo on land reform in Zimbabwe, it is probable that the bulk of this money would have gone towards purchasing land.

On 18 October the *Herald* carried a story on the discussions of the previous day and reported: “Informed sources said the fund would have a target of £1 000 million, funded by Britain, the USA, EEC and Commonwealth countries. America is expected to contribute 60 per cent of the cash.” By the tone of this article it is clear that this was an anticipated amount. Indeed, the next day, Under-Secretary in the British Foreign Office, Robin Byatt, claimed the reports were incorrect and that Britain would only contribute



an initial, unspecified amount to an agricultural development scheme. Years later, when asked in an interview whether this lack of detail was not a cause for concern, Sonny Ramphal, then Secretary-General of the Commonwealth replied:

No, I don't think so. You are dealing with the government of the United States, the government of Britain. Solid assurances were recorded in the documents of the conference and notified to all Commonwealth countries. It wasn't a little thing. It didn't specify a sum, but specifying a sum would have been very difficult in the context of Zimbabwe. What farms? How many of them? What cost?

He also confirmed that there was never any mention of the Zimbabwean government being expected to contribute money towards any necessary compensation. The alleged billion-pound target was probably overly-generous at the time given a similar fund for Kenya which, according to Roger Lewis (1980), had needed £33 million initially and, as research by Sue Onslow has shown, had only cost £50 million in total when the scheme ended in 1979.

A “fog of half-promises”

As Davidow (1984) said, the PF “were compelled to accept undoubtedly sincere but still vague” promises regarding funding. Nevertheless, the PF drew up a statement on the basis of which they would go back into the conference. They intended to publicly record the personal assurances on funding for land reform that they had received. They met with the Foreign Office and showed them the statement that Nkomo read out the next morning when the conference resumed.

They also distributed the statement to the members of the Southern Africa Committee; they didn't want there to be any doubt in anybody's mind that this was the basis on which they were going back to the table. This they did on 18 October and, according to the *Financial Times* of 19 October, stated that they had been assured of “a multinational financial donor effort to assist in land, agricultural and economic development programmes.” The following day the PF's acceptance of the Independence Constitution was announced. Yet continuing suspicion about the alleged forthcoming money was expressed by Eddison Zvobgo when he said that PF would seize land without paying compensation from State coffers if they won the elections. Robert Mugabe was even more forthright, as the minutes of a meeting on the topic relate, where it was reported (Doran 2017) that he said:

The distribution of land in Rhodesia was thoroughly inequitable. Africans had been deprived of property by arbitrary Government actions without compensation over a period of many years—why should the new ‘owners’ receive compensation if the Government wanted to restore it? The British proposal sought to entrench a historic situation of grave injustice. If the PF were to accept the idea of guaranteed compensation, which was repugnant in principle, how did the British side propose that they should raise the money?

Interestingly, Onslow (2017) argues that it was President Mugabe's decision to postpone rapid land reform in the 1990s which was key to exacerbating the later crises over land:

At Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emeka Anyaoku's urging, Mugabe deferred an accelerated land transfer scheme in Zimbabwe because of the perceived potentially damaging effect on South Africa's transition negotiations, which were at a critical stage.

Could the violence and anarchy that characterised the land grabs of the early 2000s have been avoided in Zimbabwe if land reform had been allowed to proceed in the 1990s, when the Zimbabwean government still retained a modicum of professionalism and respect?

The Next Stage: The Transition

Having previously bilaterally agreed on the constitution, Carrington and Muzorewa's delegation had continued to meet during the PF's elaborate manoeuvring on the land issue. The Chairman ran some unpalatable ideas past Muzorewa, including the fact that his government could not be allowed to run the country in the lead-up to elections for fear of prejudicing the result. Not happy with this, it was Muzorewa's turn to stall, hoping the PF would leave the conference and make the second class solution the only option. It was probably with feelings of disappointment and regret that Muzorewa rejoined the plenary sessions on October 18, still maintaining his government's sole right and ability to run any forthcoming elections.

The PF were adamant in their demands for the creation of an eight-man council (4 PF, 4 UK/Z-R) to run the country along with a UN peacekeeping force to oversee elections. Their plan was to neutralise Rhodesian authority and increase their own power and control over the country. As Nkomo put it, this was the only solution otherwise his men in ZIPRA were being asked to "jump into the fire to put it out." The UK on the other hand knew that they would have to exercise direct control to avoid the unwelcome 'challenges' of power-sharing arrangements. Carrington therefore presented his transition plan on 22 October. It envisaged a Governor, assisted by an election council and the military commanders from either side; the whole process would be monitored by Commonwealth observers. The police, not any army, would be responsible for maintaining law and order. Much to the PF's chagrin there was an explicit recognition that there would be no changes to the administrative structures in the country.

The PF responded on 24 October with a plan of their own that sought to neutralise their greatest fear, the Rhodesian security forces. The fact that Carrington's plan left the Rhodesian Army intact was, in Eddison Zvobgo's words, "a recipe for a coup." The PF proposed a governing council be created that would oversee the integration of the armies over a six-month period before elections would be held. Carrington flatly rejected both ideas, insisting on full British authority for a minimum time. Additionally, the PF repeated their demand for UN supervision of elections while the UK maintained a Commonwealth force would be acceptable, both to keep the peace and monitor elections.

Muzorewa accepted the broad outlines on 27 October after extensive consultations and negotiations with his team and his conscience. As Davidow said, "obtaining from Muzorewa his agreement to step aside and transfer power to a British Governor proved to be the single most difficult task confronting Carrington." If Muzorewa refused, the war would continue and if he resigned, his political power base would likely erode beyond repair. It was not an easy decision. It took the combined persuasive powers of General Peter Walls, CIO head Ken Flower and Pretoria-based Rhodesian diplomat H. Hawkins to convince Muzorewa that this was the best course of action. As Ken



Flower (1987) recounts in his book *Serving Secretly*, discussing the aftermath of a drawn-out discussion with the Bishop on the eve of his acceptance, “I was not surprised to learn later that he had spent the rest of the night in prayer.”

When he stepped down in favour of the Governor in mid-December, Muzorewa became the first ever nationalist African statesman to voluntarily surrender his power, and to a colonial, white Governor at that! Josiah Zion Gumede, the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian President, did the same. As Flower points out, Muzorewa had been elected to power, even if the election had been disregarded by the outside world, and as such had a right to remain in power until the conclusion of fresh elections. The ever-irrepressible PK van der Byl had to have the last word on this matter. He pointed out that the Governor was fulfilling the same role as General Douglas MacArthur in defeated Japan after WWII, the only difference was that the Rhodesians were doing it voluntarily. Muzorewa’s move was described in a newspaper headline as “Pawn to Bishop.”

Muzorewa’s resignation was, however, in the future and negotiations limped along. The Commonwealth and Frontline States supported the PF’s position and managed to induce some flexibility in the British position, forcing the UK to extend its commitment to include time for the ceasefire to take hold. On November 2, Carrington presented a 41-point transition plan that contained several bows in the PF’s direction. He agreed to have British police officers supervise their Rhodesian equivalents; all political prisoners were to have the cases reviewed immediately; refugees were to be repatriated; all political parties unbanned; and Commonwealth observers to be granted full access. The Zimbabwe-Rhodesia delegation signalled their acceptance on 5 November, tempered only by a desire to give the UK and the rest of the world a reason not to renew sanctions.

The British refused to extend their period of commitment to peace-keeping. They were worried about creating another “Northern Ireland” where the British accepted responsibility for an area and its population without having the necessary backup to deal with any problems, especially armed conflict. They did allow the PF ample time to discuss the proposals although they kept up the pressure and momentum in other arenas. On 12 November the *Southern Rhodesia Bill* was passed by the Commons 296 to 229 votes and a day later it was passed by the House of Lords. Carrington also made ambiguous statements about the future of the talks, saying on 13 November: “*There will be no resolution of the problem if we accept that any party which refuses to put its electoral support to the test in elections held under our authority can decide unilaterally that Rhodesia should remain in a state of illegality.*” He was again hinting at the chance Britain would recognise any government returned after an election supervised by the British, even if the PF did not participate.

The British kept up the pressure on the PF by continuing with their arrangements to assume direct control in Rhodesia. On 14 November the *Southern Rhodesia Bill* received Royal Assent while 16 November saw the British allow certain aspects of their Rhodesian sanctions, like the travel ban on Ian Smith, to expire. The previous day an important breakthrough was made when Carrington agreed that PF forces would be granted equal status with the Rhodesians, thus paving the way for a conditional acceptance by all sides on the transition arrangements. Cleverly, Carrington had a private meeting with the PF leaders and told them he had a Cabinet meeting to attend immediately afterwards and needed an answer for his Prime Minister, otherwise he would be pressured to

move ahead with Muzorewa only. The PF acquiesced after the addition of a single sentence stating that their forces would also be required to comply with the directions, thus giving them equal status with the Rhodesians. Muzorewa left for Salisbury on November 16, confidently saying a peaceful solution was in sight and his continued presence was unnecessary. The PF complained about being forced to “stampede” into undesirable positions to which Ian Gilmour, chief Government spokesman in the House of Commons for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs retorted, “*This must be the slowest stampede in history.*”

The Last Hurdle: The Ceasefire

As was customary for him, Carrington had a ceasefire plan already prepared for discussion which he duly tabled on 16 November. Among other things, it demanded the ceasefire be implemented as soon as possible because both sides were known to have good communication abilities with their troops. Movement of all troops was to cease while military operations were to be limited to self-defence only. The commanders of the armies would be directly responsible to the Governor, who in turn would be advised by a Ceasefire Commission and assisted by a Commonwealth ceasefire monitoring force. The PF, as usual, had their own demands not least the request for a thousand-strong Commonwealth peace-keeping force and the right to keep control of the areas they had already liberated. The PF also demanded that all white civilians be disarmed, claiming that some 155 000 weapons, mostly automatics, were in private hands. If accurate, this made white Rhodesians the most heavily armed civilians anywhere in the world! Specialist military units, namely the feared Selous Scouts, were also to be disbanded before elections and foreign troops, i.e. South Africans, were to be immediately withdrawn. Unsurprisingly, Carrington rejected these demands saying only the British proposals would be discussed and amended if necessary.

The Chairman tabled amplified ceasefire proposals on 22 November and asked for a reply by 26 November. The British envisaged the creation of a ceasefire commission to comprise an equal number of military representatives to be chaired by the governor’s military advisor. The ceasefire monitoring force would be dominated by British soldiers, augmented by forces from Australia, New Zealand Kenya and Fiji. This was a canny tactical move as it undercut PF demands for a UN force while at the same time involving the Commonwealth in a manner likely to increase its commitment to a peaceful transition and force the PF to a moderate position. The British proposals saw the Rhodesian security forces confined to their bases before elections, while PF forces would be required to congregate at 15 designated Assembly Points located well away from the Rhodesians. Muzorewa’s delegation announced their acceptance of the ceasefire proposals at a plenary session not attended by the PF. Mugabe signalled his team’s attitude at a press conference before leaving for a meeting of the Frontline States in Dar es Salaam. In an interview published in the *Financial Times*, he accused Carrington of an “arrogance tainted with racism” and declared that the foreign secretary “can go to hell.”

The PF were concerned about the security of their forces once they entered into the Assembly Points. Many of the details they raised clearly showed that they did not accept British assurances about the level of control over the Rhodesian forces after the ceasefire. Among other demands, they requested that the air force be grounded, a new and independent police force be created under the supervision of the Commonwealth, and there be a strict demarcation of areas controlled by both sides. The British rejected



all the PF demands, although a day later on 28 November Carrington released a flexible and detailed plan for the implementation of the ceasefire in an attempt to convince the PF delegation that it could work. Carrington also met privately with Nkomo and Mugabe to give them his assurances, but no progress was made. Again requesting that the Commonwealth monitoring force be expanded, a PF spokesman said, to “make unnecessary the dangerous implication contained in the British proposals that the Governor will use one of the (combatant) forces against the other to enforce the ceasefire.” This would indeed happen in early January, 1980. Carrington was now at a low ebb, saying in a rare appearance at a Press Conference, “I do not despair of reaching agreement but I am as close to despairing as I have been in the whole three months.”

Such was the aura of mutual distrust and disrespect among the principals that no decision would be reached until after a lot of wrangling. The country heaved a sigh of relief on 5 December, when it was announced that an agreement on the ceasefire had been reached “in principle.” Zimbabwe-Rhodesia’s Deputy Prime Minister, Silas Mundawarara, called the PF “our brothers” and said, “this ceasefire agreement is perhaps the most important part of the agreement.” Such optimism did not, however, signal that an agreement had been concluded. The next day saw a crucial meeting to decide the ceasefire arrangements including the date it would start, the deployment of the monitoring force, and preparations for the assembly of PF forces. Proceedings ground to a halt when the Chairman asked for details of force levels operating in the country. The PF rightly refused to release such sensitive information, although Rhodesian Intelligence estimated ZANLA had no more than 15 000 soldiers and ZIPRA a little over 6 000. The PF continued to demand full equality for their forces with the Rhodesians, perhaps little realising it was a non-issue.

As Davidow (1984) points out, the PF were perhaps right to insist on equality because if law and order broke down, and with only Rhodesian troops to call on, the freedom fighters would be at a disadvantage in terms of operational freedom. Alternatively, and perhaps believing their own propaganda, the Salisbury government was worried that the recognition of equal status could be used as an excuse for depredations on the local communities. Additionally, it signalled their acceptance for an entity not proven in their eyes to have electoral support.

On 3 December Carrington had obtained an Order in Council from the British Cabinet allowing Thatcher to choose a Governor for the country. At the same time he introduced another giving the UK Government the authority to promulgate the new constitution for Zimbabwe. On 6 December the *Zimbabwe Bill* was introduced into the British Parliament which would enable Rhodesia to be brought to independence on a date to be decided, and to make the necessary consequential provisions in the law of the UK. Such developments were important for maintaining the momentum of the Conference and providing evidence of continued progress to all the participants.

On 7 December Lord Soames was appointed Governor for the interim period. Though a seasoned diplomat, he had no African experience which assured that he was not identified with any of the factions in the Rhodesian conflict. He did appreciate that (Soames 1980):

from the beginning, Britain’s commitment in Rhodesia was hesitant and reluctant—the reverse of full-hearted... [but that] the drama of colonial

history was played in reverse — metropolitan power having been very limited at the beginning, but with total responsibility being assumed at the end.

The disadvantage was that he did not understand the complicated nature of the country's politics. Unfortunately neither he nor his team were given any time to get to grips with the situation as Carrington sent them to Salisbury on 11 December, before any conclusive agreement had been reached. Before leaving Soames had received a reassuring pat on the shoulder from Carrington and the words, "Good on you." This was a gamble because, until the agreement was signed, Soames had no real authority in the country as the soldiers and police could simply ignore any orders he might have been foolish enough to issue. He was to later write (Soames 1980):

In taking this course, the government was undoubtedly taking a risk. The war in Rhodesia was still continuing. As Governor I found myself in the position of being Commander-in-Chief of the forces of one side while it was still at war with the guerrilla forces which it was also envisaged should come under my authority. No one could guarantee that either Bishop Muzorewa's delegation or the Patriotic Front delegation would finally sign the proposed cease-fire agreement.

The danger was that Soames, and thus Britain, was nominally responsible for everything that happened after he arrived. As the London *Observer* noted: "A bomb disposal expert would be the best British Governor to send to Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The country lies ticking, a black and white booby trap with many detonators."

Despite the dangers, Carrington was hoping to give Muzorewa's delegation a morale boost because, with Soames' arrival on 12 December, Rhodesia reassumed full international legality and British sanctions were automatically lifted. The US and UN followed suit a few days later. Muzorewa's Government and Parliament had already stoically voted the night before to dissolve their existence so the handover was a mere formality. Soames, commenting on his actual power and authority upon his arrival, noted that:

The only means available to me for influencing the development of the situation were political and psychological — matching the progress I made with the progress which others were prepared to make towards fulfilling their obligations. As the referee, I wanted to see the game played to a finish.

Carrington also aimed to show the seriousness of British commitment to the peace deal and convince the recalcitrant PF that a settlement, if necessary without their participation, was imminent and inevitable. The PF were unconcerned about any potential failure to reach an agreement as expressed by Zvobgo in the *Financial Times* who said it would simply mean "an all-out war with a British Governor in charge of Rhodesia." Yet it had the anticipated effect on Muzorewa who signalled his full acceptance of the ceasefire proposals on 13 December. Two days later Carrington and Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's Deputy PM, Mundawarara, initialled the conference proceedings, an act that in their view signalled that the meeting was concluded and an agreement reached.

The PF still refused to sign because they were concerned about the number and location of their Assembly Points (APs). They were initially granted 15, mostly located near the border. By contrast the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia army had 90 visible bases throughout the country. This had the effect of skewing public perception of the dominant



military control and authority within the country. Significantly Josiah Tongogara publicly said he was unconcerned about the location of the APs since their nearness to the border would be an advantage if a retreat was in order. The PF political leadership however insisted on getting more, and Carrington finally offered a 16th AP while at the same time providing a mechanism for the Governor to create more if the situation so warranted. The bickering, however, continued.

Famously, it took an uncharacteristically blunt message from Mozambican President, Samora Machel, to overcome the last hurdle. On 16 December he wired Mugabe saying if he did not sign he would be welcomed back to Mozambique where he would be given a beach-side villa and he could write his memoirs. In other words, as far as Mozambique was concerned, the war was over and failing an agreement they would withdraw all support for ZANLA forces. Mugabe never forgave Machel for his “betrayal” and indeed is even said to have privately celebrated when Samora Machel was killed in a plane crash in October 1986 (Doran 2017).

17 December saw Mugabe, Nkomo and the Lord Privy Seal, Ian Gilmour, initial the conference report and ceasefire agreement. The next day, the Zimbabwe Bill received Royal Assent. Finally, after three months of wrangling, the conference report and ceasefire agreement were signed by Carrington, Gilmour, Muzorewa, Mundawarara, Nkomo and Mugabe in a ceremony conducted at Lancaster House and attended by a beaming Margaret Thatcher. The agreement was bound in aquamarine-coloured leather folders with the Royal Crest on the front. The signatories were given custom-made, fibre-tipped pens to keep as a souvenir. In one of those historical coincidences littering Zimbabwe’s history, 21 December is also the day that many consider the Liberation War to have started in earnest when Altena Farm in Centenary was attacked in 1972.

What was agreed

As Mlambo (2014), summarises (himself apparently directly quoting an article from Wikipedia on the topic), upon signing the Lancaster House Agreement, among other terms and conditions, the participants committed themselves to:

- accept the authority of the British governor who was to supervise the transition
- abide by the Independence Constitution
- comply with the pre-Independence arrangements
- follow the ceasefire agreement
- campaign without violence and intimidation
- renounce the use of force for political ends
- accept the outcome of the elections and make sure any forces under their control did the same

The Implementation of the Ceasefire

The ceasefire had seven days from the signing to take effect, while all cross-border traffic was immediately prohibited and UN sanctions lifted. The British began a week-long airlift to move staff and equipment to critical areas around the country. Fifty aircraft were used, ferrying over 5 300 tons of equipment and supplies including mine-proofed Land Rovers and 11 military helicopters. An aircraft landed at Salisbury airport every 40 minutes. At the time it was the largest airlift in the history of Africa. Enough tents

and rations for 500 people (all donated by the US) were initially dropped at each AP followed by the same again the next day. Recreational equipment, mainly sports gear, was also included to combat boredom in light of the anticipated three-month enforced immobility before elections. Over 1 000 hours of flying time were logged by pilots and crews in that week. 4 January 1980 was the deadline for all freedom fighters to enter the APs. Mutual suspicion and disbelief of the ceasefire led Soames to declare that there was no question of surrender by either side but rather a “reciprocal disengagement to ensure equitable implementation of the ceasefire.”

That the ceasefire could work was unbelievable to many because of a bloody precedent. On 11 December 1974 Rhodesia had released both Nkomo and Mugabe from prison as part of South Africa’s détente efforts which resulted, in part, in the formation of the PF. A ceasefire was declared which did not last until Christmas. It was broken by ZIPRA soldiers who misled and then murdered a five-man South African police patrol on 23 December, after stating they wanted to surrender. The difference in 1979, was that the ceasefire had been agreed to by all parties and was guaranteed by an international force, but the security forces and general public had long memories.

The Commonwealth Monitoring Force (CMF) took over the administration of the APs; a brave thing to do under the circumstances given the unsettled situation and aura of disbelief that this time “it was for real.” Their terms of reference were contained in the ceasefire agreement which stated their role was to “assess and monitor impartially all stages of the inception and maintenance of the ceasefire by the forces and assist the Ceasefire Commission in its tasks.” They would also escort PF forces to the APs and conduct investigations into any breaches. The CMF was under the control of the Governor’s military advisor, Major-General John Acland, who had experience in peacekeeping operations around the world.

The CMF was not a “peacekeeping force.” Throughout the negotiations the British were insistent that such a force was unnecessary and impractical. This was done in order to reduce their potential military commitment and ensure they could withdraw from Rhodesia if the war resumed without becoming entangled in the fighting. In other words, they wanted to avoid a Northern Ireland situation. As the Deputy Commander of the CMF said on his arrival in Salisbury, “it is unlike normal UN operations because we are not here in a peacekeeping role and we cannot concentrate our forces into an effective fire force should the need arise.” Thus they defined their role in a generic sense to mean a non-enforcement military presence to monitor the ceasefire between belligerents.

The CMF numbered 1 250 Britons, 150 Australians, 74 New Zealanders, 50 Kenyans and 24 Fijians, most of whom were there in an administrative function rather than fighting soldiers. As the numbers show it was a Commonwealth force rather than a genuine multinational organisation. The recruits were carefully chosen for their experience in similar situations in order to minimise potential conflict. They were spread thinly on the ground: each AP had at least a Lieutenant-Colonel in charge with either a major or a captain and nine NCOs and soldiers beneath him to keep the peace. A total of 470 CMF personnel were directly posted to the APs. The PF also deployed at least two representatives to each AP to liaise between the freedom fighters and Commonwealth soldiers. By contrast, each Rhodesian base had a mere 2-man CMF team supervising their activities. The Rhodesian police were tasked with keeping the peace in the country in the run up to elections.

Wiseman and Taylor (1981) rightly claimed “it was a venture into uncertainty” for



all sides. The PF were leaving their secure bases for the dubious safety of an exposed position, guaranteed by the forces of a government they had little reason to trust. For their part the CMF faced a real threat of being killed by nervous freedom fighters or caught in the cross-fire if the war started again. Upon arrival at their AP, the CMF troops generally hoisted their distinctive flag and stood nearby with their white armbands prominently displayed waiting for arrivals. At night they had generators and floodlights making the AP easier to find. The APs were huge. They were spread over several square kilometres hacked from the bush, dotted with tents, latrines and mess halls waiting their inhabitants.

Six APs were dedicated to ZIPRA while 10 were for ZANLA. The normal procedure was for the freedom fighters to send in *mujibas* (civilian collaborators) to reconnoitre before committing themselves. Once they arrived, the soldiers were inevitably heavily armed and would not relinquish their weapons. Some even arrived with anti-aircraft guns and heavy artillery and would conduct their own scouting patrols. It took time but gradually an aura of trust, confidence and hope began to pervade each AP. In the first five days after the ceasefire, only 4 100 people entered into the camps, but by 7 January this had more than quadrupled to 18 500, although 5 000 of these were surrogates; old women and young children who took the place of soldiers. By 9 January when the last rendezvous point was closed, over 17 000 people were recorded in a census of the APs. It must be remembered however, that there were 50 000 war veterans officially recorded in 1997 when matters of compensation were raised, indicating the bulk of PF forces in the APs was much less than half of this now-official figure. As is now clear, many freedom fighters were deployed into the rural areas by ZANU to begin the process of indoctrination and intimidation of the masses in the lead up to elections, scheduled for February 1980.

The Reasons for Success

The varying perspectives of the participants and observers means we have multiple interpretations of the question of why LHC was a success. Carrington certainly deserves his share of the credit; proving himself a good negotiator by maintaining control of the proceedings and never losing sight of the goals that he and his team had set themselves. Carrington also enjoyed the full confidence of his Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Zvobgo was heard to remark that “*the voice was his voice, the thought was hers.*” Additionally, he was seen to favour one side (correctly or not) which meant he was always in a strong position to win concessions from both sides as one would be trying to win favours and the other trying to keep on his good side. Much of what was said in public was very obviously a continuation of what had been said in private between Carrington’s team and the opposing sides. Additionally, Carrington was not averse to using the extra information gained by the British via wiretapping, bugging the rooms of participants and leaking information to the press to provoke a reaction from the warring sides.

Carrington’s step-by-step approach was also a significant factor, described by Davidow (1984) as the “*gag and swallow method: take this piece, choke if you must, but accept it so we can move ahead.*” This also helped to maintain momentum and contributed to the overall sense of progress. His approach created watersheds in the negotiations which made it harder for each side to withdraw without losing major

concessions so painfully won.

Carrington also managed to bring in the supporting players, the US, African States, and the UN at crucial times, using their influence over the participants to break deadlocks or seal deals. This helped create the illusion of UK impartiality in the proceedings. Finally, he always had an ace in the hole; a BANTA—Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement. By being able to threaten to come to an agreement with only one side (Muzorewa's), Carrington coerced the PF into agreeing on several issues that might have threatened the success of the whole conference.

Neuhaus (2015) has convincingly argued that Sonny Ramaphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, and with his leadership, the various Commonwealth ambassadors, acted behind the scenes as a neutral broker between the fractious parties and thus, deserve much more credit for their role in securing a peace. The Commonwealth played a central mediating role at crucial stages, not least in the discussions over land and the ceasefire and monitoring arrangements. The organisation kept the British honest and credible throughout the entire process.

The military stalemate, the Rhodesians' growing economic collapse, the desire of the Frontline States and South Africa to see an end to the war, the advent of an activist British government, and the sincere belief by both Muzorewa and the PF that they could win free and fair elections were all conducive to promoting a settlement. The absence of direct involvement by the main super-powers at the Conference meant there were few hidden negotiations for advantage. It also cast the problem as "African" rather than global. As Lewis writes in his article in *Round Table* in 1980, Carrington "*used concessions made by one side to force concessions from the other, competing for approval by world or other opinion and for African support in Zimbabwe.*" Rather than being cast as a fight for or against communism, this process became about ending an unjust war and ushering in a democratic and peaceful government. An unwelcome consequence of the conference, however, was that Zimbabwe was born as a successor to the Rhodesia colonial state rather than as a new alternative to it, which has resulted in many problems in the 21st Century, not least in matters relating to impartial justice in the maintenance of law and order. Perhaps Joshua Nkomo saw it most clearly at the time, saying, "*Of course the new constitution was not satisfactory. It was the result of muddle and compromise, reached in haste to stop the bloodshed.*"

Lord Soames deserves credit for keeping the situation in the country under wraps, although he came in for his fair share of criticism, not least owing to his reliance on Rhodesian security forces to enforce the ceasefire. He later explained (Soames 1980):

When the time allotted for the assembly phase of the cease-fire had elapsed, I took the view that, good as the response of much of the Patriotic Front forces had been to the obligations placed on them by the cease-fire agreement, those remaining in breach of the agreement posed a serious threat to law and order, and that this situation was beyond the capacity of the police to contain. I therefore authorised, as the Lancaster House Agreement permitted me to do, the deployment of the Rhodesian armed forces in support of the police in their task of maintaining law and order. I regretted having to take this decision. But I saw no alternative. I believe it was right.

He managed an extremely difficult, emotional and complex situation quite masterfully.



Into an Uncertain, Hopeful Future

Many in Southern Rhodesia in January 1980 hoped for economic and social reforms that would bring peace and prosperity to the newest member of the world community. This was by no means secure. The conflict was soon apparently resuming and Soames released the Rhodesian security forces to try and keep the peace in the eastern districts. ZANU announced it would contest the elections alone and separate from ZAPU. Violence and intimidation were rife in the rural areas. There was, however, always hope. A white citizen commented, *“There’s not going to be a great, big glorious finale. We’ll just muddle through. And I want to be around for the muddle.”* Tellingly, Josiah Tongogara revealed his dream for Zimbabwe in an interview given just before he died in 1979:

What some of us are fighting for is to see that this oppressive system is crushed. I do not even care whether I will part of the top echelon, I am not worried. But I am dying to see a change in the system that is all. I would like to see the young people enjoying together. Black and white enjoying together in a new Zimbabwe.

The Official Delegations

UK	PF	Z-R
Lord Peter Carrington (Chairman)	Joshua Nkomo	Bishop Abel Muzorewa
Sir Farhan Miah	Robert Mugabe	S. C. Mundawarara
Ian Gilmour	Josiah Mushore Chinamano	E. L. Bulle
Sir Michael Havers*	Edgar Tekere	F. Zindoga
Lord Harlech*	General Josiah Tongogara	D. C. Mukome*
Richard Luce	Ernest R. Kadungure	G. B. Nyandoro*
Sir Michael Palliser	Dr H. Ushewokunze	Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole
Sir Antony Duff*	Dzingai Mutumbuka	L. Nyemba*
D. M. Day	Josiah Tungamirai	Chief K. Ndiweni
R. A. C. Byatt*	Edson Zvobgo	Z. M. Bafanah*
Robin Renwick	Dr S. Mubako*	Ian Smith
P. R. N. Fifoot	W. Kamba	D. C. Smith
Sir Nicholas Fenn	Joseph Msika	R. Cronje
George Walden	T. George Silundika*	C. Andersen
C. D. Powell	A. M. Chambati	Dr J. Kamusikiri
P. J. Barlow	John Nkomo*	G. Pincus*
R. D. Wilkinson	L. Baron*	L. G. Smith
A. M. Layden	S. K. Sibanda*	Air Vice Marshal H. Hawkins
R. M. J. Lyne	E. Mlambo*	Dr E. M. F. Chitate
MJ Richardson*	C. Ndlovu*	D. Zamchiya
C. R. L. de Chassiron*	E. Siziba	S. V. Mutambanengwe
A. J. Phillips*		M. A. Adam
M. C. Wood		P. Claypole
*Replaced by Sir J. Graham,	*Replaced by W. Musarurwa,	*Replaced by A. R. McMillan,
S. J. Gomersall, Gen. M.	D. Dabengwa, A. Ndlovu, R.	D. V. M. Bradley,
Farndale, R. Jackling, Col A.	Austin, R. Mpoko,	Gen. P. Walls, K. Flower and
Gurdon, Col C. Dunphie and	R. Manyika and L. Mafela for	P. K. Allum for some sessions
B. Watkins for some sessions	some sessions	

Lancaster House Conference: a timeline

Sep 10	Lancaster House Conference (LHC) officially opened
Sep 12	Conference agenda agreed
Sep 14	Muzorewa's delegation and the Patriotic Front (PF) presented their proposals for discussion
Sep 17	British Government declare 1979 Rhodesian Constitution unacceptable
Sep 18	PF maintain their demand for talks on transition first then constitution
Sep 19–Oct 1	No plenary sessions held; bilateral talks between the parties continue
Sep 21	Muzorewa's delegation accept the Constitutional proposals
Sep 24	PF agreed to proposal that 20% of parliamentary seats be reserved for whites
Oct 2	Plenary sessions resumed with PF restating many of their previous concerns in the constitution
Oct 3	Chairman tabled a detailed version of the Constitution
Oct 5	Muzorewa's delegation accepted Constitution
Oct 8	PF tabled detailed response to British proposals, demanding clarification of certain aspects
Oct 11	LHC adjourned as PF unable to give unqualified acceptance to Constitution
Oct 15	Chairman announced that he would start discussion of transitional arrangements without PF's acceptance
Oct 16	Britain and Muzorewa's delegation start discussion on pre-independence arrangements
Oct 18	PF announced that assurances from British Govt about multinational fund for land reform had met their requirements
Oct 19	Agreement reached on Independence Constitution
Oct 22	Chairman tabled British proposals for transition arrangements
Oct 25	Muzorewa's delegation asked for clarification on aspects of British proposals, while also asking for sanctions to be lifted
Oct 26	PF tabled two papers analysing the pre-independence arrangements and proposing alternative ones
Oct 27	Muzorewa's delegation accepted broad transition proposals
Oct 29	LHC began discussion on election arrangements
Oct 31	PF continued to raise objections to transition arrangements, stressing concerns over safety of its forces
Nov 2	Amplified British proposals for transition tabled detailing responsibilities of all parties in Rhodesia
Nov 5	Muzorewa's delegation accepted the transition arrangements
Nov 7	Southern Rhodesia Bill introduced in UK Parliament allowing British Govt to assume direct rule in their colony
Nov 12	British House of Commons passes Southern Rhodesia Bill



Nov 13	Southern Rhodesia Bill completed all its stages in House of Lords
Nov 14	Southern Rhodesia Bill received Royal Assent
Nov 15	Agreement reached on transitional arrangements
Nov 16	Chairman tabled ceasefire proposals
Nov 19	PF tabled alternative proposals for ceasefire
Nov 22	Britain tabled amplified ceasefire arrangements and asked for reply by November 26; Britain asked for immediate cessation of cross-border military traffic by both sides
Nov 26	Muzorewa's delegation announced acceptance of ceasefire proposals
Nov 27–Dec 4	Negotiations between PF and British Govt over ceasefire proposals, aimed at establishing de-facto equality between opposing forces
Dec 3	Order in Council made, providing for creation of Governor for Rhodesia
Dec 4	Salisbury Parliament accepted new proposed constitution
Dec 5	PF accepted British proposals on principles of ceasefire; Chairman tabled ceasefire agreement
Dec 7	Lord Soames appointed Governor of Southern Rhodesia
Dec 11	Chairman tabled detailed proposals for implementation of ceasefire; Soames departs for Salisbury
Dec 12	Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Constitution act promulgated in Salisbury; Soames arrives in Salisbury, legality restored, sanctions lifted
Dec 13	Muzorewa's delegation accepts ceasefire implementation arrangements
Dec 15	Conference report initialled by Chairman and Dr. Mundawarara (DPM of Z-R)
Dec 17	PF accepts British proposals for implementation of ceasefire; Mugabe, Nkomo and Lord Privy Seal initial Conference report
Dec 18	Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Bill received Royal Assent
Dec 21	Conference report and ceasefire arrangement signed by LHC Chairman, Lord Privy Seal, Muzorewa, Mugabe and Nkomo

Acronyms

ANC	- African National Congress
AP	- Assembly Point
BANTA	- Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement
CHOGM	- Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CMF	- Commonwealth Monitoring Force
LHC	- Lancaster House Conference
NAM	- Non-Aligned Movement
NDP	- National Democratic Party
OAU	- Organisation of African Unity
PF	- Patriotic Front
RF	- Rhodesian Front
UANC	- United African National Council

UDI - Unilateral Declaration of Independence
USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZANLA - Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU - Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU - Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPRA - Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

A note on sources:

The bulk of the British and Zimbabwean archives covering the Lusaka Conference and subsequent Lancaster House Conference stored in the British National Archives remain access-restricted, or “embargoed” to use the archival term, until at least 2029. From 2009, parts of the relevant archives stored in South Africa and elsewhere in the UK have been declassified and made available to the public. Importantly, these include Margaret Thatcher's papers and those of Peter Carrington for the late 1970s. As researchers delve into these documents, I fully expect that the story of the conference is likely to be changed and expanded beyond the traditional, triumphalist mythos which has been created to explain the negotiation for Zimbabwe's Independence.

Despite my repeated enquiries, it remains unclear if any of the primary documents relating to the Lancaster House Conference are currently stored in the National Archives of Zimbabwe. Perhaps some are within the Ian Smith Cabinet Papers, returned there from Rhodes University, South Africa in 2018, although still unavailable to researchers for obtuse reasons. *The Herald* (Harare), the *Observer* (UK), and *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo) for the months September to December provide the bulk of the chronological information presented in this paper. All direct quotes from the protagonists are drawn from *The Herald*, unless otherwise attributed.

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Saint Joseph's House for Boys, Harare: The First Twenty Years, 1936 to 1956

by Kenneth Rice



Introduction

For some years now I have been asked to write a piece for the History Society of Zimbabwe, about St Joseph's Diocesan House for Boys which was founded in Salisbury in 1936. Little if anything has been published about the country's pre-Independence social welfare institutions. Indeed, not much has been recorded or survives about St Joseph's, for instance. Major gaps in archival evidence hinders any account of the narrative happenings at St Joseph's, from 1946 to 1956, where my account has to end. Adult eye witnesses have receded into the mists of time, most will have died. Younger people, the boys who resided at the House, too have melted away.

Therein lies an additional problem. Once boys left St Joseph's they usually wanted to distance themselves from it. On a perchance visit in March, 2018 to the House in Belvedere, Harare, I met the then Superintendent, Mr William Muchono, and during a lengthy conversation he agreed that what was characteristic of the boys fifty years ago was shared by his Old Boys today. Namely being a member of a social welfare institution like St Joseph's, for disadvantaged boys regardless of colour, is and was a social stigma that could become an albatross that they wanted to get shot of as soon as they left. Thus personal, eye-witnesses are at a premium for anyone wishing to construct a down-to-earth history of a community like St Joseph's House some 60 or more years ago.

So where did this eye-witness come in, who remembers something of what happened in the 1950s, but who was first a child and then a young adolescent whose memory was built on recollections that may have lacked perspective, let alone accuracy. Identifying myself, I am the only child of Major Arthur and Edith Rice, born in 1941, our home being St Joseph's House first at 115 Baker Avenue and then from January 1953, at 31 Denbigh Avenue, Belvedere. My parents were social workers, a husband-and-wife team, warden and matron, in charge of St Joseph's, an Anglican child welfare institution for European male orphans and boys from broken or impoverished homes. My mother retired in 1956, my father in 1966 six years after my mother's death.

Historical context

The historical context of my account requires comment. Southern Rhodesia, before 1956, let alone till 1980, was essentially a segregated society. So was St Joseph's. No boys of mixed race were admitted. The care staff, viz. the Warden, his assistant, the matron, and the cook/housekeeper were Europeans. Further appointments were made after World War II—one or two assistant matrons, a part-time assistant warden. None of the staff, white or African, were specifically qualified, unless through experience, for the institutional care of adolescent boys. African staff were headed by the cook/

housekeeper's assistant (recalled, simply as 'Dick' who served about 20 years) and numbered kitchen staff and gardeners.

It was an unwritten rule that African staff did not work in the boys' dormitories. All cleaning, tidying and chores such as shoe cleaning and bedmaking were done by the boys. Clothes washing and ironing were done by African domestic staff. The matron supervised the linen room. Clothes were mended by the matron and her assistant—if there was one—and by a weekly rota of dedicated European lady volunteers from the St Joseph's House Committee.

Foundation of Saint Joseph's

St Joseph's House for Boys was originally to be called the St Joseph's Diocesan Home for Boys. Early in 1936, following an initiative from a committee consisting of the Right Reverend Edward Paget, the Anglican Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Herbert Stanley, GCMG, Governor of Southern Rhodesia, the Reverend O. W. L. Skey, the Dean of Salisbury, and certain prominent lay members of the local Anglican community, met at Government House, Salisbury, to draw up a constitution of 'St Joseph's House', also described in the constitution as an 'English Church Hostel' and locally in *The Rhodesia Herald* as an 'orphanage' or a 'Home'. The House was formally held by the newly-created 'Guild of Saint Joseph' of which Sir Herbert Stanley was Patron. A subsequent Diocesan Synod held in Bulawayo, proposed that an orphanage be set up in Salisbury at The Deanery.

The Constitution provided for the management and administration of the House to be by three committees, namely Applications, House and General, the last named being responsible for policy, finance and general matters and holding the main 'executive authority'. Specified persons were nominated to be members of the General Committee, mostly from the Church, civic institutions and Rhodesian service organisations.

What was even more important in 1936 was the formal certification by the Southern Rhodesian Government of the 'Home' (*sic*) whose 'managers' would be legally responsible for boys committed into their care in accordance with section 49 (1) of the Children's Protection and Adoption Act of 1929. Despite the wording of the proposed constitution, the name 'St Joseph's House' was not adopted until a further certification of the institution by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Sir Percy Fynn, in July 1939.

Provision for the care of approximately seven destitute, homeless 'white' boys who might be 'lightly out of control', between the ages of 12 and about 18, while finishing education at school or learning trade or other work, would be in the hands of the Warden, to be Dean Skey, and his assistant. The boys would be lodged (apparently in a large tin-roofed bungalow) at The Deanery, 111 Union Avenue. Dean Skey was duly appointed as the first Warden on 3 September 1936 and the House was formally opened by Sir Herbert Stanley. October 1936 saw operations start in earnest.

Early issues that became apparent

Although the 'Home' enjoyed substantial moral support from the Governor who agreed to be Patron of the House, the Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins as Vice President and Bishop Paget as Visitor, several issues were immediately apparent. Firstly, was the policy on acceptance of boys. Skey and his committee were adamant that none of the boys were



already classified as delinquents and that the policy of acceptance required that boys were not delinquent but destitute. Skey had been head of a similar Home, St George's in Johannesburg, where only destitute, not delinquent, boys were accepted, a policy he said that was very successful. In Southern Rhodesia, it was argued by the creators of St Joseph's, there was already an institute for delinquent boys, St Pancras, just outside Bulawayo. Provision for other children in the Colony included the Rhodesia Children's Home, Salisbury, for younger girls and boys; St Gabriel's in Bulawayo for girls and boys, but whose few early adolescent boys were 'driving the Sisters to distraction'; the Roman Catholic home, Emerald Hill; and the Dutch Reformed Afrikaans-speaking school at Daisyfield.

Secondly, space at The Deanery was severely limited. Such was the demand that it was proposed that a porch should be added to The Deanery that would cost £101—12 boys could then be accommodated—or a 'very suitable' house in Hillside, Salisbury might be purchased for longer term considerations.

Thirdly, however, funds for the upkeep of the boys as well as for all other aspects of the institution were in short supply at this juncture. Thus, the Hillside purchase was not an option. Strenuous efforts were being made to meet the running costs. The Rhodesia Herald published an Appeal from the St Joseph's Committee in September 1936 for donations which subsequently covered the bills of the Home for October 1936, when the Home opened its doors. Amongst other donors, Skey, although not in receipt of a salary for his work as Head, nevertheless made a substantial contribution from his own pocket towards his board and lodging to assist the Home. The Trustees of The Beit Trust, meanwhile, were to be approached for assistance in the longer term.

The Deanery, 111 Union Avenue, Salisbury

By November the Deanery had its full complement of 10 boys. By September 1937 the upkeep of five boys committed by the magistrates was being funded at the rate of £4 per month; one who was apprenticed locally contributed £1-2-6d per month towards his upkeep; and the remainder were maintained by small subscriptions monthly through parents or guardians. The Sleeping Porch proposal was abandoned as too expensive as a stop-gap. Another proposal—the old Isolation Hospital—had been vetoed by the General Medical Officer of Health as politically unacceptable, thus the House Committee and the Head decided that a new House should be built. However, by mid-1937 it was clear that the Head also needed a full-time assistant. A letter from Walter Richardson, the Head of St John's Hostel in Cape Town, an institution similar to St Joseph's, outlined a staffing crisis there, and offered his services to St Joseph's. Skey took him on board but not as a future head, or Warden as Skey's successor was to be titled.

Early on, with the increasing demand for admissions, it was apparent that the accommodation provided by The Deanery was inadequate. As mentioned, a decision had been made to build a new House. After approaches to the Municipality of Salisbury they had offered, in January 1938, a piece of land between Gordon and Baker Avenues, to the east of Seventh Street. A Special Meeting of St Joseph's House was held on February 16th to discuss the offer. Present were the Governor of the Colony, the Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, the Dean (now Reverend Risdon), and 24 committee members. The

meeting agreed to accept the offer, and building costs for a new Home to accommodate 25 boys, of 'about £2 600' were indicated. Building of the new House at 115 Baker Avenue was soon under way.

Staffing

In 1938, with the construction of a new St Joseph's in Baker Avenue, well under way, and Skey wanting to leave Rhodesia for health reasons, a replacement as the new Warden had to be found. Coincidentally St Pancras, Bulawayo was also looking for a new Head. Two men were approached, one the Reverend Edward Patterson from a parish on the Witwatersrand; and the other Major¹ Arthur Rice, a 43 year old deputy head of St George's, Johannesburg. Both Rice, and Patterson accepted a post, Rice in April 1939, as Warden of St Joseph's and Patterson as Head of St Pancras. What may have swung the decision in the case of Rice's appointment, was that he was about to marry a 24 year old shop assistant, Edith Le Gassick from Johannesburg, who would become matron of St Joseph's. Subsequently, Walter Richardson² was appointed as an Assistant Warden. A year after his appointment, Major Rice entered into a five-year contract as Warden (with his wife being appointed Matron for the same period), terminating on 30 April 1945. As will be seen the appointment was subsequently renewed several times.

St Joseph's House: 115 Baker Avenue, Salisbury

The new House opened in 1939. It was built on four acres at the south and east end of Baker Avenue, close to the branch railway line from Salisbury to Sinoia and Shamva. A substantial double-storeyed art deco styled building, it was fronted by a drive. Its downstairs accommodation consisted of a warden's two bedroom flat, the warden's office and lounge. These rooms were small, a far cry from the more spacious accommodation that boarding house masters had at Government senior schools. Also, on the ground floor was a bedroom for a cook/housekeeper. A frosted glass door separated the staff area from a hall, off which led a staff bathroom and toilet shared by all the white staff, and a passage to a locker and ablutions room and a door to the outside. Privacy for the staff was thus at a premium. The boys' dining and recreation room took up the east side of the house. A large bookshelf, stocked with an ancient *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and numerous 'suitable' books for boys ranging from 'Biggles' and Blyton to Westermans and G. A. Henty³, ranged most of the room's north wall. A large kitchen and scullery occupied the rest of the ground floor of the house. The first floor consisted of the boys' dormitories and ablution facilities, and a front facing bed-sitting room for the assistant warden.

A laundry outbuilding to the south-west of the house as well as a low brick building that contained African quarters and storerooms and a workshop, made up the remainder of St Joseph's House buildings. The rest of the property had a garden, and two large 'play areas' against the eastern fence, part of which contained a cricket net. Cricket was

¹ His rank in the Witwatersrand Rifles, a part time regiment in the Union Defence Force (of South Africa). As soon as war broke out he wrote to the Union Defence Force, as an officer therein, asking them for a command. They offered him a battalion but the Southern Rhodesian Government vetoed this move on the grounds that he was engaged in essential war work as Warden of St Joseph's. He was not best pleased!

² He had two stints at St Joseph's but the writer is unclear as to their dates.

³ 'Biggles', a fictional air adventurer was created by W. E. Johns. The other names refer to children's authors, Enid Blyton, the writer of numerous best sellers, Percy Westerman who wrote mainly with military and naval themes, and the much earlier G. A. Henty a writer of historical adventure stories.



an abiding passion of the new warden—having played to a high standard in the Transvaal in the 1920s—who formed a young St Joseph's team from 1945 onwards.

Life of the boys at St Joseph's House

The boys' weekly routine was run on quasi-military lines. Each of the three dormitories consisted of, initially, eight beds but this was increased to ten. It should be remembered that the European population was beginning to increase about this time due to immigration. By 1950 a fourth had been added, because of an increasing demand for places for indigent boys.

With eight beds, the fourth dormitory, called 'Rhino' consisted of a room which had been constructed adjacent to the main building on the site of the cricket net and part of the garden on the eastern side of the property. Materials used were in part asbestos sheeting for the walls, it was a perishingly cold room in winter. I cannot remember if there were toilet and washing facilities in it or whether those in the main building had to be used.

Shoe cleaning by the boys was a daily routine. The senior boy, the 'prefect', in each 'dorm' had his cleaned by a junior boy. In typical army fashion shoe cleaning was no ordinary routine. 'Spit and polish' prevailed each day between 5 and 5.30 pm. In time the shoes shone like glass, a heated teaspoon was used to ingrain and smooth the polish into the leather. There was an inspection at the end each afternoon and boys weren't up to it if they couldn't see

their own reflection. It was said at the senior schools of their pupils, that a St Joseph's boy could always be spotted by the immaculate state of his shoes, and the clothes he wore on a Saturday and Sunday. The St Joseph's boys generally wore whites whereas the day scholars and boarders at Prince Edward and Allan Wilson were in grey, short or long trousers, and straw boaters on formal occasions.



East side of St Joseph's House, 115 Baker Avenue. Taken during WWII



Front of St Joseph's House, 115 Baker Avenue. Taken during WWII



Shoe cleaning by St Joseph's boys -115 Baker Avenue, late 1940s.

The domestic employees never set foot in the boys' dormitories. On Saturday mornings a two-hour dormitory cleaning session occurred. Each 'dorm' was dusted and swept, the floors were polished, the lockers tidied to the n'th degree. Each morning, beds were made, 'hospital corners' and all. All meals were taken in the boys' dining room. These were dished out at the dormitory's table; breakfast usually consisted of mealie meal porridge, a mug of tea with milk, and some form of egg, with occasionally bacon or fried bread; lunch was meat and two veg followed by a dessert, bread and butter pudding or similar; for supper there was soup and a snack of some sort.

During term time, school was in the morning, starting at 7.50 am and ending at about 12.45. After lunch, all boys had to be on their beds to rest in the heat of the day. The rest of the afternoon was 'playtime', followed by shoe cleaning, then boys went for showers. In the evening school homework was done in the dining room for about an hour or more. Then some more playtime indoors. Prayers in the dining room concluded the day and everyone, except the seniors, went upstairs to bed. Lights out at about 8.30. Seniors, including 'corporals' and 'prefects' had more homework to do or were privileged to stay up a little longer. The head prefect, after the 1953 move to Belvedere, had his own bedroom, off the top corridor next to the entrance to the working boys wing (of which more later).

The boys' activities

How did the younger boys play at St Joseph's? As the writer, being the Warden's son and of a similar age to the House boys, spent a good deal of his recreational time with them, his experience reflects a good deal of this aspect of life. The games 'we' played were varied. Physical games included 'kick the tin', 'tag', 'kennejie'⁴, 'British bulldog'⁵ and more notoriously 'bok-bok'⁶. The latter could be a brutal experience, boys twice the weight of a younger lad could come down with a heavy thump on the back of a lighter member of the opposing team. The team that landed the most bodies on the other line of boys won. Also played was tip-and-run on the dirt service road on the north side of the House, using a dustbin as a wicket. After dark, games like 'Jack Jack shine your light' and 'Sardines'⁷ were favourites: there was always a frisson of fear to being 'discovered' in one's hiding place, accompanied by a friendly or not so friendly thump.

I have mentioned the railway line. A spur ran off the line 100 yards to the south of St Joseph's boundary into the Government Printing Works. Wagons were often shunted there and at the weekends 'we' played on them. Yet we were always frightened by 'Mr Man' appearing, an allegedly ferocious caretaker. Another early memory was the sound of a railway steam engine's whistle as an engine approached the Salisbury signal for daily goods or passenger trains. Railway lines were not fenced off then. For the House boys (and myself later on) the line was an alternative route home from the primary school attended, about a mile to the north. We would practise our balance, walking on one of

⁴ Kennejie. (Afrikaans). A boys' game where a short stick is flipped into the air by a boy holding a larger stick, and hopefully caught by a 'fielder'.

⁵ British bulldog is a tag-based game. A 'bulldog' (or two) stands in the centre of the play area, and other players have to run through the play area to the other end without being caught.

⁶ Bok-bok at St Joseph's was two sides taking it in turns to create a line of team members scrumming in a line, bent double up against one of the Msasa trees. Individual members of the other team would take a running, flying leap over the line to get as near as possible to the tree and the boy anchored against the tree.

⁷ 'Jack Jack' had one boy briefly shining a torch, moving on until caught. In 'sardines' a boy hid and all the others searched for him, each joining him when found. Eventually all were crammed together like sardines.



the highly polished steel rails for as long as we could. When we heard the sound of an approaching train we would kneel on the smelly dirt-oil stone ballast, put our ears to the rail and listen to the click-click as it neared. The driver would blast his whistle—there were occasional complaints to schools from Rhodesia Railways—warning us to clear off and we would scamper into the shallow ditch beside the track.



Children's party in Boys' Dining Room during WW11. Ladies are Mrs Cook (left) and Mrs Rice (right)

St Joseph's boys of primary age attended David Livingstone school, as did I. It was thus rarely possible for me to be away from the 'Joint' connection. Why 'The Joint'? It was the most unfortunate nickname that St Joseph's had for many years. I clearly remember the school Headmaster, G. M. Lloyd, calling out as he watched a St Joseph's boxing fixture: 'Come on The Joint'. A 'joint', in the parlance of those times, was a rather low dive or bar or prison, not a cannabis cigarette. The name lives on amongst Old Boys as they approach their dotage.

Life at St Joseph's was a physical experience for all boys. Backing it up was punishment for most who at some time or other 'erred and strayed from their ways like a little lost sheep'. Prefects and corporals were forbidden to beat other boys, instead they could administer a fiendish infliction of 'six inches'. This meant a transgressor had to bare one of his biceps and it was hit from that distance by a senior boy. A 16 year-old boy, toughened by the arts of a trained boxer, could deliver a very painful thump. Personally, the writer—unsurprisingly—never experienced this punishment: hitting the Warden's son was a no-no. However, this little devil could be got at in other ways—name calling, threats, invented slanders about his parents—but as an only child he sought the boys' company and because he could give as good as he got verbally and was reasonably athletic, life could at a stretch be bearable. At times we lived together, played together, occasionally fought together, and suffered together at the hands of the Warden, my father, who did not spare the rod on any of his charges.

Boxing was an acceptable sport for boys in schools in Southern Rhodesia at that time. Introduced by my father when he became Warden, in effect a St Joseph's boxing club, was formed from the War onwards which competed in local tournaments and from which participants were chosen for Mashonaland and Southern Rhodesian teams. Boxing was the one sport which enabled boys to represent their local high schools most easily, either Prince Edward or Allan Wilson, because of the high standard of training at the



Boxing Team, probably mid-1940s, with cups for individual winners.

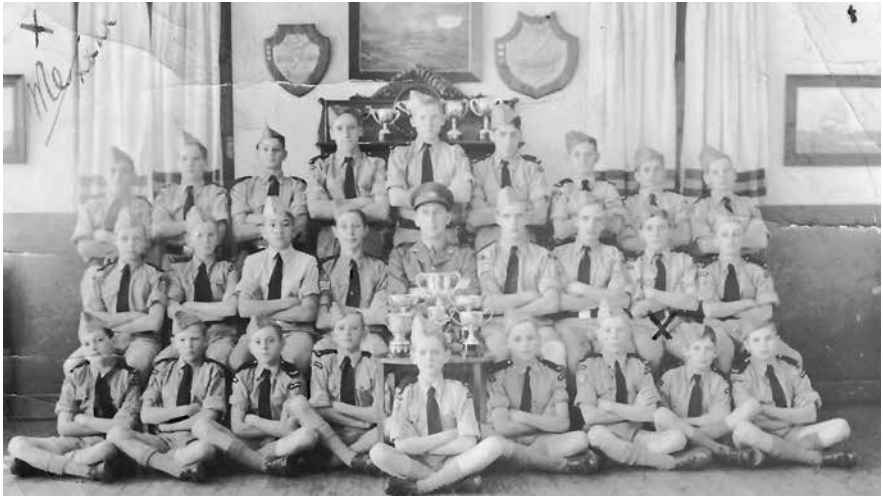


Award-winning Boxing Team, 1947.



club. Even one or two of the large mining communities ran junior teams, notably the Cam and Motor mine near Gatooma, indeed the venue of the first and last appearance of this writer for St Joseph's in the ring at the age of ten! At least two boys reached the finals of the South African boxing championships at their respective weights in the 1950s. It should also be said that once the new House at Belvedere (q.v. later) was in operation, more opportunities in cricket and football became available due to the making of a fine football and cricket field and cricket nets. At least three boys represented Southern Rhodesia at Nuffield Schools level in both sports.

Much favourable publicity for the House was made by the boys in their membership of the St John Ambulance Brigade, or their performance as a boxing club in the local amateur boxing tournaments, or later in the St Mary's Cathedral Choir, for which a part time choir school was formed, meeting each Saturday morning, later on, at the Denbigh Avenue House. Local adult members of St John's gave willingly of their time to visit the House of an evening to tutor boys in first aid. Groups of suitably qualified boys would attend various public events like motor-racing and—on one unforgettable occasion—the Kentucky Air Show out at the airport in the early 1950s. A two day event, which did not necessitate the presence of myself, an 11 year-old cadet, witnessed the mid-air collision of two Royal Air Force Harvard aircraft. St Joseph's cadets, friends of mine, rushed to the horrible scene that included a shoe in which was still lodged the foot of one of the air-crew.



St Joseph's House contingent of St John Ambulance Brigade.

As St Joseph's was an Anglican Christian foundation a significant proportion of the House attended services at the Anglican St Mary's Cathedral each Sunday, before the House moved across town in 1953. Boys of other religious denominations attended their respective churches, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Dutch Reformed and so on. Some of the youngest Church of England boys with unbroken voices joined the Cathedral Choir in the 'fifties and as a result of the keenness of one of the Cathedral organists a part-time choir school was formed, meeting at the House on Saturday mornings. One has to say

that it was especially popular amongst eligible residents as rehearsals got them out of the onerous cleaning and inspections of their dormitories.

Boys could be members of local Cub packs and Boy Scout groups; their uniforms being provided by the Rotary Club.

Entertainment and holidays

Beyond schooling and the more formal activities at the House, there was also fun to be had. VJ Day⁸ was celebrated by providing the boys with ‘treats’ including a dance and party, and the next day several Old Boys came to tea with the staff. After the War years the Warden arranged various trips and entertainment for the boys.



Rhodes & Founders’ Weekend 1947 , outing. The venue may be Shavanhohwe river.

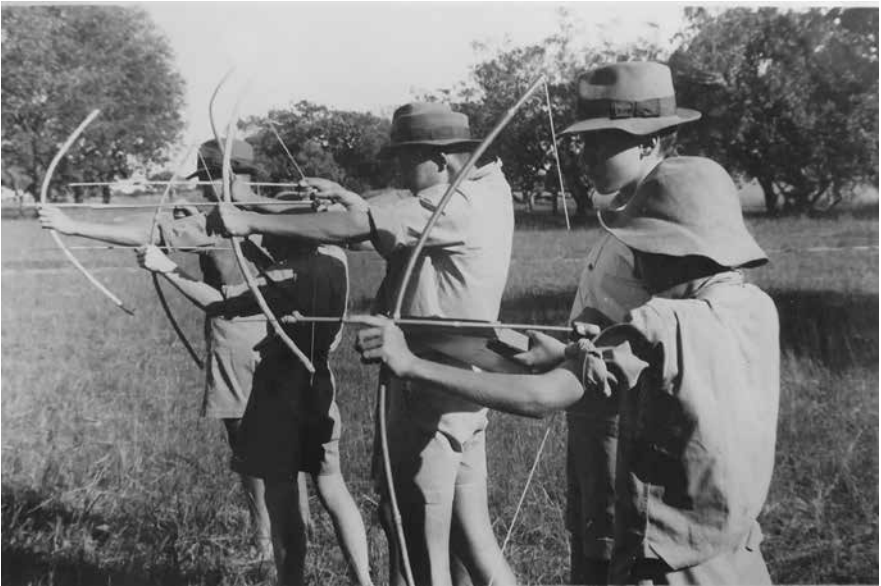


Boys with Arthur Rice, Warden, (far right) on camp.

⁸ VJ Day or Victory over Japan Day, the 15th August 1945, was the day Japan surrendered, thus bringing to an end the Second World War.



Walter Richardson, Assistant Warden, with boys on camp, mid-1940s



Target practice, aiming for a tree at camp, mid-1940s

Christmas and New Year of 1947 into 1948 were spent in South Africa camping at Umkomaas, a small seaside village at the mouth of one of Natal's large rivers, about 30 miles south of Durban. This was St Joseph's first holiday camp by the sea and most of the boys had never seen it. The schools broke up early in December and there followed a 6-week southern summer holiday. The 30-strong St Joseph's party departed at 8 pm on the overnight mail from Salisbury to Bulawayo, the first leg of the journey, travelling in Second Class. It was a 300-mile, 11-hour journey to Bulawayo. From Bulawayo it

was another two nights and 2½ days, with two changes in Johannesburg and Durban. By the third day the prospect of the seaside far outweighed the attraction of the electric locomotives and tunnels of the mountainous Natal section.

Two years later St Joseph's boys experienced the same, but this time at Anerley, 20 miles further south near Port Shepstone.

The '50s got off to lively start. There was the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, for example, in 1952. This extraordinary fandango was given added poignancy by the imminence of the foundation of the Central African Federation the following year. Held in Bulawayo, the Exhibition gave all those whose horizons had stretched no further than Southern Africa—especially the white children who were bussed, or railed to it as St Joseph's boys were—an unusual insight into other African colonial empires, British colonies and post-war Western Europe, not least the United Kingdom itself. Even the Royal Ballet, the Old Vic and the Hallé Orchestra conducted by Sir John Barbirolli were there. The St Joseph's House party—we all went—were put up on the floor of the Bulawayo Technical College gymnasium for the two nights' stay. It was mid-winter and the buildings were unheated—Western Matabeleland winter nights could be infamously cold... I remember the shivering experience.

Minutes of this post War period record all the boys witnessing the fireworks for the 1947 Royal visit, watching Australian cricketers, the holding of dances, various bioscopes, taking part in miniature rifle practice and archery, visits to the skating rink and to Boswells Circus. At 'long weekends' various camps or picnic excursions were held.

Industrial action—late 1940s

The politics of Africa suddenly intruded at St Joseph's in 1947 and again in 1948. The Colony was deeply affected by severe drought and a post-war recession which bit heavily into the lives of black people. There were strikes, demonstrations and some rioting. During the disturbances we—my fellow St Joseph's pupils and I (again)—were escorted on our one thousand yard walk to school by the oldest boys of the House who then went on to their schools across town, either Prince Edward or Allan Wilson. One afternoon there was a kerfuffle down in the domestic workers' quarters at the end of the House's property. My father sent down a number of prefects to 'eject' a visiting African who was reported to be trying to get the domestic workers out on strike. Such experiences only reinforced a 'them and us' perception in the eyes of a young white boy, that was based on racial and cultural inequality. A prejudice that, no doubt, was not to be shaken for some time.

The second move

Many more applications for admission were being refused because of the lack of accommodation. In fact, for every successful applicant, one was turned away, this being largely because of the shortage of accommodation. The need for a larger House had been anticipated in the late 1940s by the purchase of a site, seven acres in extent at the end of Rhodes Avenue West, Salisbury, adjoining what was then the Government Transport Camp. On this site it was now planned to build a new House accommodating 52 boys, this being the Warden's opinion as to the maximum number that could be handled to the greatest advantage by the present staff level, with possibly occasional assistance. Of the 52, ten would be lads who had started work. Keeping them for a year or so after leaving school was an important function of St Joseph's and was considered to have a



definite bearing on a boy's future.

Estimated costs for the new building would be up to £40 000. To meet this cost St Joseph's had available an estimated £24 500 which included promises of £7 500 and £2 000 from the Southern Rhodesian Government and The Beit Trust, respectively, and the anticipated proceeds from the sale of 115 Baker Avenue. Some £15 000 more was needed and a public appeal was launched.

The moral support of the Colony's Governor and Government referred to earlier still existed, and on 1 June 1950 the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, broadcast an appeal on behalf of the Guild of St Joseph ending with quoting an Old Boy of St Joseph's who had endorsed the appeal, saying *'The House provides an atmosphere of tolerance, fosters the team spirit and encourages the individual. It is open to all denominations. To extend the work at present carried out under very restricted conditions, will certainly prove of immense value to Southern Rhodesia'*. A model of the proposed new building was made and taken on a tour of the country to aid in fund raising.

Funds were raised and building commenced at the Denbigh Avenue, Belvedere site. The foundation stone from the 115 Baker Avenue House was transferred and built into the new House.⁹ The stone was laid by the Governor, Major-General Sir John Kennedy in the presence of Reverend Skey¹⁰, the original founder who had travelled from the Cape for the occasion, and who took part in the ceremony held on 29 July 1951. Costs apparently were now revised from the £40 000 for the building, by an additional £8 000 for the preparation of the grounds and purchase of equipment.

In seeking funds, a difference of opinion had arisen as far back as 1942 in regard to approaching the State Lotteries for funds. The Anglican Bishop of Southern Rhodesia



The Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir John Kennedy, inspecting the St Joseph's 'guard of honour' on the occasion of his laying the foundation stone of the new House, in July 1951. Mr J. W. Miller, Chairman of the General Committee (far left) and Major A. I. Rice, Warden, are accompanying the Governor.
[Photo: *The Rhodesia Herald*]



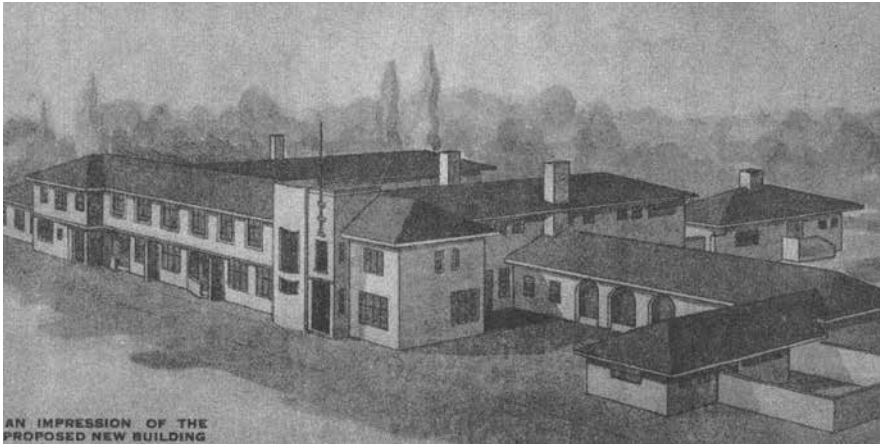
Reverend O. W. L. Skey (founding Warden) taking part in the Denbigh Avenue foundation stone laying ceremony 29 July 1951.

⁹ The original stone had been laid at 115 Baker Avenue in 1938 by Dame Alice Goodman, a very good friend of St Joseph's.

¹⁰ Reverend O. W. L. Skey was Rector and Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary and All Saints, Salisbury from 1932 to 1939. He was Archdeacon of Johannesburg for eight years and, apart from being the first Warden at St Joseph's, he was Head of St George's Home, Johannesburg and Warden of St John's Hostel, Cape Town for 6 and 4 years respectively.

believed it inappropriate to use lottery money for ‘works of mercy’ such as St Joseph’s. The Bishop’s view caused the Rotary Club nominee on the Guild’s General Committee to resign as he was ‘unwilling to serve on a Committee subservient to the dictatorship of the Bishop’. His was not the only such resignation, and the Chairman was accused of stifling public discussion on the subject. A vote was taken by the Committee and a majority decision was made not to use this source of funding.

The move from 115 Baker Avenue to Denbigh Avenue, Belvedere took place on 22 January 1953. It is recorded that by that time virtually all the monies needed had been raised.



An impression of the new building to be erected in Denbigh Avenue, Belvedere. This was on the cover of a Funds’ Appeal brochure issued by the Committee of the Guild of St Joseph c.1950.

31 Denbigh Avenue, Belvedere, Salisbury

The main building was essentially designed in the style of the ‘Elizabethan’ shape. There had been some discussion as to whether an additional £1 248 should be spent on having a tiled roof rather than one of asbestos cement, and this had been agreed as a tiled roof would be more durable and conform to the houses in the neighbourhood. It was, however, to be another 6 months before the 5-acre grounds, with its fine sports field and extensive vegetable garden, were fully developed¹¹. These were watered by a 2000 gallons an hour borehole which never ran dry even in the most severe drought.

Unlike the situation at 115 Baker Avenue, the design of the Warden’s spacious flat in the new building clearly anticipated the possibility of a Warden and his family having their private life to themselves. The flat took up the whole of the ground floor of the wing on the eastern, Snowdon Road, side of the House. It had its own drive and garden. The Warden’s bedroom and the small but comfortable lounge looked out onto a separate garden area, which was strictly off-limits to the House boys (as indeed was the flat). A second bedroom and, up a short passage and leading off a small entrance hall, a spacious dining-room and compact kitchen, looked out into the enclosed courtyard. Access to the flat via the kitchen door into the attractive courtyard, or by a connecting door to our front stoep, was ‘Rice family only’. It was a very far cry from 115 Baker

¹¹ The Chief Superintendent of the Salisbury Prison had made a gang of convicts available, gratis, to expose and remove stone when levelling the playing field.



Avenue, so the living situation unquestionably afforded my parents the geographical possibility of a fresh family life.

Staffing of St Joseph's in the 1950s

My parents' employment situation presented problems of a different dimension. First, they had been a provenly successful husband-and-wife /Warden-and-Matron team. Second, the demand for places at St Joseph's, as at the Rhodesia Children's Home and St Catherine's Home for Girls, had shot up as the influx of white 'get rich quicks' and adventurers to the country¹² expanded from a trickle into a torrent. Children were often the first family casualties of a frontier mentality in a hot climate. My father had had to suffer a prefab dormitory annexe in the garden of 115 Baker Avenue for more than two years prior to the move. Third, the new premises, which could house 42 boys and a 10 'working boys' section, ideally required an extra full-time assistant matron as well as an additional, part-time assistant warden. Since Walter ('Richie') Richardson's retirement in 1950 my father had had to make do with temporary or part-time assistants: finding suitable staff in sufficient numbers was a major head-ache. Fourth, even if they had been amenable to the idea, the governing Committee would not at that time have been able to afford an extra full-time member of staff to replace my mother. Despite Government subsidy the House finances were stretched to the limit by the new venture.

It would not be out of place to say something about the men and women who lived and worked alongside the Warden and Matron in the earlier years. Going back a bit, the beloved 'Ticky Ta' (actually a Mrs Cook who started as the cook and then became cook/housekeeper) retired a few years after the War. An abrasive Finnish lady didn't last long, neither did a rather difficult German refugee.

Then, in 1951, to my parents' intense relief and delight a tiny, charming and very capable South African widowed lady by the name of Mrs Ashdown arrived as housekeeper. She had a grown-up family living in Salisbury and Bulawayo, and we all became very attached to each other, and not even the very trying times that lay ahead affected our genuine friendship.

Finding suitable male staff was no less difficult. 'Richie' had been Head of a similar social welfare institution in Cape Town. He was a slight, rather untidy figure with eyes that drooped increasingly, due to a congenital ocular muscle condition. He was pleasant enough, if somewhat gruff. The boys didn't mess him about too much. After his retirement in 1950 male assistants came and went, my father often having to cope single-handed. Two remain in my memory: George Kent and Mr Parker. George helped my father part-time for a couple of years. George, all 6' 5" of him, had recently returned from Loughborough Engineering College, England where he trained as an electrical engineer. Mr Parker succeeded George Kent full-time. A clever, pleasant, rather vague man, he came—I think—from an English school-mastering background. Certainly, well meaning, Mr Parker was, nevertheless, disorganised and he drove my father to privately ranting distraction—"PARKER!!" Suddenly, he came into money, resigned his post just after the 'move' in 1953, and started a prep school out at Waterfalls to the south of the town. Wrong side of the tracks really for that sort of venture, and it didn't last long. And so, 1953 was where David Precious came in (again). David, in effect, worked as

¹² 1953 saw the birth of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland after a long gestation period. This was a time of euphoria and led to renewed immigration to Southern Rhodesia, who hosted the Federal capital, Salisbury.

a part-timer at the House because of his teaching commitment at the College of Music and duties at the Anglican Cathedral. He was my father's only male assistant at that time! However, he was about to marry and by the end of the year had moved out. His full-time replacement towards the end of 1953, was an ex-British South Africa Police and Cathedral choir tenor who should be called Mr X, a fateful appointment, as will be seen. My Warden father had a part-time assistant as well for the first time, a large, bluff, rather awkward middle-aged Yorkshireman by the name of Norman Fletcher. His full-time job was as a printer at *The Rhodesia Herald* in Stanley Avenue.

Boys at St Joseph's

But what of the boys at St Joseph's? Victims of life, they had all been dealt a bad hand. Not one enjoyed a stable family background. Separation, divorce, abandonment, bastardy, poverty, war, alcoholism, abuse, educational deprivation, illness or death featured somewhere in the unhappy lives of the 52 boys. Some bore the mental or physical scars of their experiences: nervous tics, bed-wetting, anti-social habits and nightmares. A few were almost off the rails before they arrived at the House, on the edge of brushes with the law. A number were educationally sub-normal. All had been placed at St Joseph's, either on court orders or by desperate, or cynical, relatives. Thrown together the mixture seems almost horrendously unpromising, if one adds the inevitable tincture of personality conflict and a strong dose of adolescence.

Yet I can identify other things as well. Resilience, kindness, good-naturedness, sensitivity, tolerance, a sense of humour, mental and physical strength - and ability, plenty of it. There were at least two first class minds there, as well as artists, technologists, musicians and athletes. Six of the boys had already, or were to, represent Southern Rhodesia at either cricket, football or boxing in the South African junior inter-provincial tournaments. Sadly, only one was to go on to university.

Yet, by being placed at St Joseph's, these boys had survived the frying pan. A few, though, could have done without more fire. The 'fire' consisted—to put it bluntly—of the predatory paedophilic activities of Mr X.

One day, I think shortly after our return from holiday in January 1956, the balloon went up. Mr X was present in the morning before we went off to school. By lunchtime he had gone—in fact I briefly caught sight of him later that afternoon removing the last of his luggage from the House. The tongues wagged: he had resigned. Within a day or two Mr X was charged in a Salisbury magistrates court with sexually abusing unnamed boys at St Joseph's House. Some weeks later his case came before the High Court. He was found guilty on two counts and was sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

With the move from Baker Avenue to Denbigh Avenue came a change in the closeness of schools that the boys attended. David Livingstone as the junior school with its 1000 yards walk for the younger boys, was replaced by Routledge—only just over the road—as the junior school boys were to go to. So far as those of senior school age go their schools continued to be Prince Edward (PE) or Allan Wilson, but now these were in a much shorter walking distance (the boys had previously had to walk many city blocks to get to school from the Baker Avenue House). The first 500 yards of the journey to school took 'us' through a rather curious area of Government property that lay between the Central Mechanised Engineering Depot bordering Rhodes Avenue to the south and Routledge School to the north. A higgledy-piggledy arrangement of single and double storey housing called 'The Flats' had been built after the War to provide



temporary accommodation for newly arrived white settler government employees. It was strange to walk along the dusty service road between the barbed-wire of the Central Mechanical Equipment Department (CMED) and the back doors of several dozen down-at-heel flats emitting the early morning sounds and smells of human reveille: crying babies, wafting odours of fatty fried breakfast, and sounds of arguments and sloshing water. Snobbishly, these newcomers, mostly from the UK, were called 'chooms' or 'rooineks'. Once out of 'The Flats' and onto Princess Avenue for about 100 yards the western boundary of PE appeared on our right. An unofficial entry across a trodden-down fence led through the fir grove that surrounded the school swimming pool. The path then opened out onto the gravel road which separated PE and Allan Wilson School. Distance from St Joseph's: 1200 yards.

Recreation at the new House

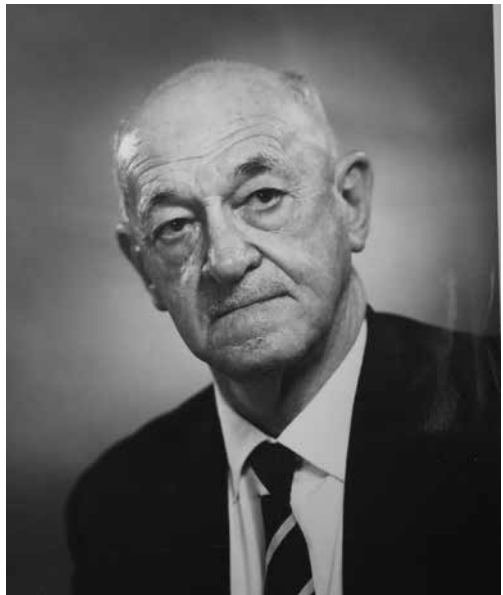
Activities largely continued as had taken place at Baker Avenue but there was now more sporting emphasis as the grounds were developed at Denbigh Avenue. Football and cricket were the preferred winter and summer sports, and matches were arranged between the House and various schools. Boxing training continued to be of importance and a red-letter day occurred in July 1954 when St Joseph's beat St George's College by 8 bouts to 5.

Again, minutes record the holding of various recreational activities: a farewell, and other dances, seeing the dress rehearsal of the Police Display, watching various foreign football teams play, picnics and excursions, regular bioscopes (often provided by Toc H), going to the Reps Theatre and also, in 1955, to see the Vienna Boys' Choir performance and the Lions Rugby game.

In 1954 the boys again went to Anerley Holiday Camp on the Natal South Coast for the Christmas holidays. Also, in that year a boy was chosen to join the Rhodesia Schools Exploration Society trip to Chipinda Pools.

1956

At the end of November 1956 my mother retired from her post as Matron of St Joseph's. My father's own career at St Joseph's was given a fresh dimension about then because he and the Chairman, Sidney Sandford, had embarked on a visionary project that within five years was to result in the opening of two new St Joseph's Houses in the Federation, one in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, and the other



Arthur Rice, Warden of St Joseph's House 1939–1965. Taken around the time of his retirement.

in Bulawayo. It was for this work, as well as for his efforts in Belvedere that my father was awarded the OBE in 1961. He would retire in 1965 after 26 years' service.

Postscript

My story is to end here. I was fifteen by the end of 1956, soon to study for final school examinations and thereafter head for university. The bitter-sweet closeness I had had to St Joseph's House led to a gradual distancing and then separation. In addition, an apparent lack of archival evidence has made it difficult to continue further. Thus, my historical account of the first twenty years of St Joseph's has been interspersed with the use of limited archival sources, my own anecdotes and personal history. I make no apology for this.

My sincere thanks to the Editor of *Heritage*, Fraser Edkins, and my Prince Edward school-friend, Christopher Halse, for enabling this article to reach fruition. My gratitude to Chris and his family for their friendship and support during my difficult secondary school years is lifelong.

Life Through the 1897 Government Gazettes

by Fraser Edkins



This is the fourth in a series, consisting mostly of trivia, drawn from the early *British South Africa Company Gazettes* which came out as weekly supplements to the then *Rhodesia Herald* (the latter publication being a much greater source of the events of 1897 for readers, who can currently access them from the National Archives microfilms).

January 1897

The first edition of the *Gazette* in this year was that of 6 January 1897.

1896 had been the bloody year of the First Chimurenga/Umvukela.

Once again, the Administrator Earl Grey warned all inhabitants that the Government would not be responsible for debts incurred by members of the BSA Company Police and that those traders who extended credit did so “at their own risk and peril”.

The Municipal Police were recruiting “several smart young men of good character and able to read and write,” the entry wage for a 3rd Class Constable being 8 shillings *per diem* plus uniform and lodging.

There were a number of Edict meetings called in respect of those (some from as far afield as Scotland, Australia, Germany and the Cape Colony) who died in the 1896 uprising (for the appointment of Executors), and the usual impound notices (in this edition in respect of stray unlicensed dogs) and warnings against illegal hunting and woodcutting on nearby farms. Also appearing was a tender for a 12-month contract for the removal of night soil pails from sanitary lanes, (a story in itself waiting to be written by one of our members?).

Notwithstanding rising stock theft, life was getting back to a semblance of normality after the fighting of 1896, but a special notice was issued on 11 January 1897 warning

settlers not to upset the ostensible peace being restored by firing “on several recent occasions, without provocation, upon natives passing in their vicinity”. Such attacks could “only retard the submission of the natives by causing them to believe that the Government does not desire them to submit and live peaceably and to view with suspicion the promises of the Government to protect them from attack if they show themselves friendly and obedient to the law”.

The edition of 20 January 1897 advertised unclaimed property in the custody of the Police, including:—

- (a) two leather saddles;
- (b) Government issue rifles and saddles found at an auction (obviously via members of the militia seeking to make a few pounds by illegally selling their Government issue equipment);
- (c) a £5 banknote handed in by storekeeper Rueben Shapiro, to whom it had been tendered by an apparently indigent local who, upon being asked how he came by it, had “absconded”;
- (d) a revolver found on the person of “an Indian prisoner”;
- (e) miscellaneous items found by the obviously super-efficient Native Constable Koodoo (ranging from plates, beads, and rolls of brass wire to bits, spurs, nail extractors, percussion caps and cartridges).

February 1897

Chief Staff Officer Major Carnac required all claims for payment to be submitted within the month by those in “any corps or force that has served in Mashonaland during the operations against the natives”.

Henry Taberer (Controller of Cattle) offered free overnight cattle kraaling at the Rhodesia Horse Barracks “in consequence of the frequent theft of cattle in the township”.

Earl Grey, the Administrator, declared the Victoria (Masvingo) area infected with Rinderpest, prohibiting the removal therefrom of sheep, goats and “horned cattle”.

The Liquor Licensing Court was busy with 43 applications:—

- (a) from John and James Meikle, Joseph van Praagh, Miss Ella Collins of Pioneer Street and many others;
- (b) from Bernard Myers “for the sale of liquor exclusively to Indians” from Stand 65, Salisbury, (and clearly there was a niche market here).

These applications emanated mostly from Salisbury but (a sign of things returning to normal after the First Chimurenga) also from bush stores in Mazoe, the Hartley Hills, Enkeldoorn, Dunne’s Drift, Charter, the Umvukwe mountains, Macheke, Abercorn and elsewhere.

Scores of notices appeared for the replacement of lost or destroyed Title Deeds and share certificates and the appointment of Executors, most arising from the deaths of many settlers killed in outlying mines and farms in 1896.

W. Moodie (of Moodie Trek fame) gave notice of registration of his formula Antiformica, a solution for “destroying or otherwise dispersing” the ubiquitous White Ant. A permanent solution to this Zimbabwean pest has yet to be found. As recently as the 1970’s a wag at Salisbury Sports Club was heard to shout from Castle Corner (to Brian Close, who was batting very slowly) to “get a move on or the white ants will eat your bat”.

Sir Hercules Robinson, High Commissioner at the Cape, appointed by Proclamation



the Bechuanaland Railway Company to continue construction of the line from Vryburg to Mafeking to Palapye in the Bechuana Protectorate. (It would later extend into Rhodesia).

A Mr Palmer's cattle in Salisbury were quarantined due to Rinderpest and the quarantine regulations were amended to delete the previous deeming provision that cattle which had travelled safely through Rhodesia in the previous 6 months could be "considered salted".

March 1897

George Eyre replaced George Pauling as Postmaster General.

Sidney Redrup was made a Justice of the Peace. The single girls' boarding hostel in Bulawayo was duly named Fenella Redrup hostel (presumably after his wife or daughter).

There were a number of appointments as Native Commissioners (today's District Administrators).

Auction Tax would henceforth be enforced and there were a number of cattle brand registrations including one by Sekgoma Mphoeng of Tati in respect of the Bulawayo District.

Dr Andrew Fleming was made a Justice of the Peace for the Salisbury District.

The Roll of those entitled to the Medal for operations in Matabeleland in the 1893 War was open for inspection.

Tenders were invited for the supply of food to the Salisbury Gaol (E. E. Homan won the tender).

A notice appeared for general information that "large quantities of partially ripe mealies and other crops belonging to the rebel Mashona are now being gathered in the Mazoe Valley (with) the public being allowed to appropriate as much of these crops as they may be able to carry away".

The mail coach service from Salisbury to Bulawayo was advertised.

The journey (from Tuesday 6:00am to Sunday 6:00pm) had stops at Charter, Enkeldoorn, Iron Mine Hill and Gwelo.

Abandoned wagons still obstructing public thoroughfares (used to form laagers during the uprising) were to be removed to the Salisbury Transport Yard.

April 1897

White's Consolidated (local agent Pearl Ingram) sued Harry M. Brown (a transport rider) for £1 000 damages. Brown had been contracted for a fee of £85 to deliver 70 horses from Mafeking to Bulawayo. It was alleged he inspanned some to wagons, resulting in the death of 28 from "over-work" before delivery and more dying after delivery. Presiding judge in Bulawayo would be Philip Watermeyer.

Andrew Fleming was appointed Government Medical Director and Inspector.

Rhodesia's first Trade Mark Registration Regulations were approved by the British High Commissioner.

The first applicant was L. C. Richardson of London in respect of his mark for wines and spirits, his local attorney being Thomas Scanlen (later of Scanlen & Holderness, a law partnership still in operation today).

Deceased Estates included those of Trooper Hunt and Corporal Bellenden who died at Salisbury Hospital from wounds received in action in 1896.

The highly detailed Sothern Rhodesia Boundary Regulations were approved, declaring *inter alia* that “the provinces south of the Zambesi river now or hereafter placed under the control of the (BSA) Company shall be known as Southern Rhodesia”. (Since 1895 the territory had been called Rhodesia and, prior to that, Zambesia, then later Rhodesia once again).

May 1897

“Medical Men” desirous of practising in BSA Company territory were invited to produce their diplomas. Those licensed already in the Cape Colony were exempt. The local licence would cost £5. Doctors Rand & Wylie ended their medical practice. (Rand was well-known for his “kicker”, a supposed malaria cure).

Trade Mark registrations began appearing, including:—

- (a) Hovis in respect of milled goods;
- (b) Old Chum whisky and Brown’s Four Crown whisky;
- (c) Rover bicycles;
- (d) Horniman’s Tea.

The future Premier Charles Coghlan was practising law in Bulawayo under the style of Coghlan and Dyason.

Tenders for the supply of food and drink to Salisbury Hospital (under the signature of Andrew Fleming) wanted, amongst many other things, Maizena, tapioca and semolina, Esbensen’s butter, Rio roasted coffee, Worcester sauce, Guinness beer, Martell and Hennessy brandies and Sunlight soap.

Three donkeys in the pound (two mares and a gelding) were coming up to auction.

June 1897

The Government Stores invited tenders for large quantities of goods, including:—
40 000 lbs of corned beef and 800 gallons of “Dop”.

The British Secretary of State officially approved the name “Rhodesia” to denote the BSA Company territory.

The successful tenders for supplies to the Salisbury Hospital were announced. These included Mazoe Patrol hero Dan Judson’s partnership.

Bernard Mizeka’s (*sic*) estate called for claims. This was Bernard Mizeki, a well-known casualty of the 1896 rebellion (later described as a Christian martyr). He had been born in Mozambique.

The battle at Mashonganyika’s Kraal on 6 June 1897 was described in a supplement to the *Gazette*.

Also, in this supplement was the *Herald* review highly critical of Baden-Powell’s book *The Matabele Campaign* which review is re-printed in a separate short article.

Applications for the post of District and Police Surgeon were invited (for the Melsetter district). A “fair knowledge of the Dutch language” was “essential”. The basic salary, along with “a horse and forage” was £200 per annum.



July 1897

The remaining “Disturbed Districts” (following the winding-down of the rebellion) included Lomagundi, Mazoe and Umfuli.

The warning of 10 January 1897 about firing at “friendly natives” was repeated, with special reference to transport riders and travellers on the Salisbury—Umtali road, with contraventions to be “severely dealt with”.

Harold Zimmerman applied for a liquor license. (He changed his surname to Rawson on the outbreak of World War One due to anti-German feeling).

Money Orders between Rhodesia and Natal were introduced, and one could use the police telephone lines to send uncoded telegrams, in English only, to various forts in Matabeleland.

Restrictions on the movement of unsalted cattle were slightly eased.

Dr R. Pringle was appointed District Surgeon for Umtali.

Glanders (a bacterial infection primarily affecting horses) had broken out at the Government Nursery in Salisbury—it was declared “an infected area”.

The mail coach from Salisbury to Cape Town now left at 6:00am on Saturdays to arrive on the following Friday. Additional stops included Victoria and Selukwe.

Following high level discussions and arbitration abroad, all who claimed rights issued by the BSA Company “with respect to ground hitherto held to be part of the Umtali and Melsetter District but which has by the late International Award fallen within the territories of the Crown of Portugal, are hereby advised to at once register their claims at the offices of the Portuguese authorities nearest to the properties claimed by them”. The map of the area of the Award was available for inspection in Salisbury.

In their respective absences on leave, Earl Grey, Milton and Scanlen each acted as Administrators of the country.

August 1897

Appointments as Justices of the Peace included the splendidly named Valdemer Gielgud.

Well-known trader Julius Weil’s store in Mafeking was a handy drop-off spot for excess luggage of those travelling north to Rhodesia. His notice in the *Gazette* threatened the sale of these goods if uncollected within two months (and a long list of settler names followed).

Farm survey and Edict notices continued to appear in great numbers each month.

A regulation appeared describing the correct state of good repair in which night soil pails were to be kept.

What came to be known as Scotrho and Scotfin were founded on the ashes of the Scottish African Corporation Ltd, under the guidance of George Turnbull, C.A.

Pioneer Brand registered their trade mark (for cigars, cigarettes, and pipe tobacco).

Lost property found abandoned by the Municipal Police (and up for auction if unclaimed) included a mouth organ, a celluloid collar, a pair of white merino gent’s drawers, a travelling ink pot, a tin of sulphur, and a pair of Scotch plaid knickers.

September 1897

Very detailed regulations providing for the Constitutions of municipalities and their voters’ rolls were published (a further sign of burgeoning development and normality

resuming following the 1896 hostilities). Salisbury and Bulawayo were officially declared Municipalities on 7 September 1897.

Nuisances (in Part VI of the Regulations) included beating any mat or carpet in a public street (already dusty) except before 8:00am and the failure to whitewash the interior of all dwellings. In perhaps the first sign of protecting local industry the sale was prohibited at municipal markets of articles “not the produce of South Africa or of Colonial manufacture”.

Shangani Patrol member Allan Wilson’s edict meeting was set for October 1897.

A resolution was passed on 31 August 1897 for the demolition and reconstruction of the Bulawayo Club. The splendid new structure remains open for business today.

Messrs Bass & Company registered their trade marks in respect of their Pale Ale and Stout.

October 1897

The Annual Challenge Shield rifle competition was instituted by the BSA Company, to be held every Occupation Day (12 September) henceforth, (limited to teams drawn from the BSA Police, the Rifle Volunteer Corps and other properly constituted Rifle Clubs in Rhodesia) with the first competition to be held in Bulawayo on 12 September 1898.

“Wayside Hotels” (pole and *dhaka* affairs) were springing up to service travellers along the wagon roads between settlements.

Sergeant Major Childs (apparently the victim of pranksters) offered a reward for information leading to the conviction of “any person found maliciously puncturing the tyres” of his Club Swift bicycle.

George Eyre, the Postmaster General, was the recipient of several additional Government appointments through 1897 and was, obviously, a highly regarded and competent civil servant.

Jim Zambesi sought to replace his lost 100-acre Land Grant (awarded by the BSA Company for services rendered in the annexation of the territory).

Tenders were invited for the construction in Bulawayo of “a Lazaretto” and, in Salisbury, for 354 breeches and 177 tunics for “Post Runners”, but no mention of cleft sticks. (Why twice as many breeches as tunics—perhaps the heat)?

Leon Levin registered his trade mark for CAMP cigarettes. 4 November 1897 was declared a public holiday to “signalise the occasion of the opening of the Railway to Bulawayo”.

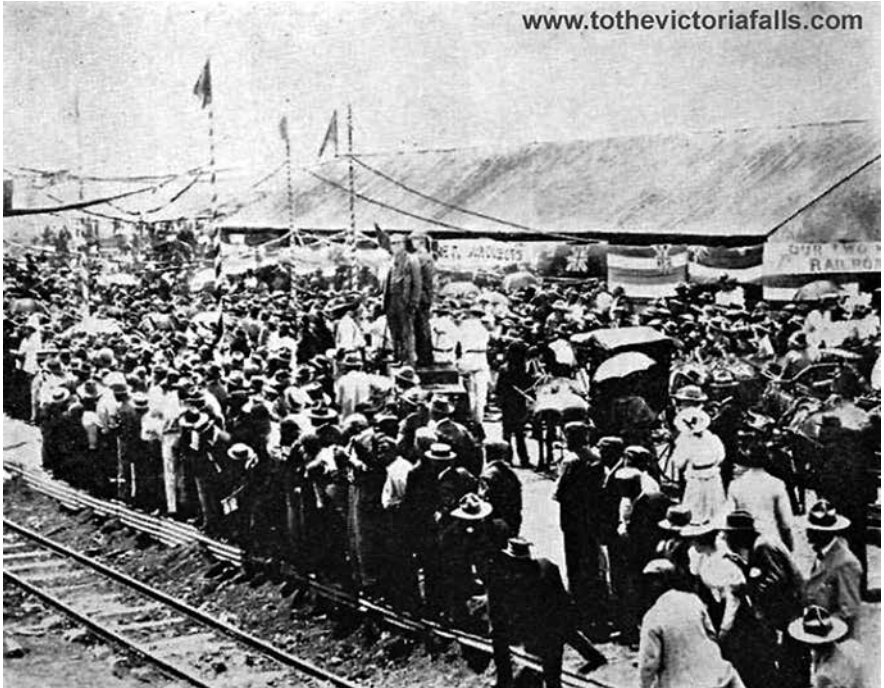
A reward of £200 was offered for any information (other than from an accomplice) leading to the arrest and conviction of “certain Portuguese boys named Steamen and Charlie” for the murder of prospector Edward Nicodemi.

Dr Andrew Fleming registered his cattle brand and Bob Kerr and Ludwig Napoleon Papenfus dissolved their partnership as transport riders.

November 1897

Lever Brothers of Port Sunlight registered their Sun, Sunlight and Lifebuoy trade marks.

A detailed report appeared of the Opening Festivities of the Bulawayo Railway on 3 November 1897: “the town is filling with visitors” (including Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner for South Africa). Much needed heavy rains fell that night. It was



Opening of the Bulawayo Railway

Victoria's Diamond Jubilee year. 4 000 European residents had gathered, (also Indunas and tribesmen). There was a 17-gun salute by the Mountain Battery of the Matabeleland Police. Milner was received "with pronounced enthusiasm". Some of the "British guests" missed the opening due to a derailment of their train near Figtree. The speeches anticipated the "awakening of a new era of great prosperity" for Rhodesia and the hope that "all racial feelings which have unfortunately existed in the past may entirely disappear".

Milner spoke (including a message from Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies). Trooper Henderson of the Bulawayo Field Force was decorated with the Victoria Cross before the dignitaries adjourned for lunch at the Palace Hotel. Luncheon speeches were postponed to that evening's banquet (to give the derailed guests time to arrive).

Trade Marks were registered apace, including that of the makers of Royal Baking Powder. BSA Company Tenders



Trooper Herbert Stephen Henderson VC

were placed for 6 000 tins of assorted jams and for “Medical Comforts”, (to include brandy, port and champagne).

Richmond Cloete of Enkeldoorn printed a Public Apology for his (not detailed) “libellous and slanderous” statements concerning Dr James Gray, Mr A. J. Liebenberg (after whom the primary school at Enkeldoorn was later named) and Mrs De Aardt. The exact nature of the libel was left to the imagination.

The Rinderpest was still a problem in certain areas of the country.

Nominees for the first positions as Councillors for the Salisbury Municipality were published.

December 1897

As the year wound down, Vinolia (soap), Martell (brandy) and Dunlop (cycles) were Trade Mark registrants but little else exciting was announced, save for the many formal notices and proclamations of varying kinds, (indicative of a growing economy and a stable civil administration).

After the war with Lobengula in 1893 and the Jameson Raid of 1895 and the First Chimurenga in 1896, all of this would be put to the test again in 1899 with the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.

The Two Macks: John and Frank

by John Brettell



Editor's Note: These two short articles may usefully be read in conjunction with the author's detailed story of the life of John Mack in *Heritage* 34.

In Hickman's book about the BSA Company Police, there is the following extract : "359. Trooper Mack, John was attested on 27th February 1890 but was discharged by personal request on 23rd March 1890. He came to Salisbury in 1891 and in the Matabele War of 1893 served as a Trooper in C. Troop of the Salisbury Horse, being described in the nominal roll as an hotel keeper. On the outbreak of the Mashona Rebellion in June 1896 he was appointed a member of the Defence Committee of Salisbury. In later years he was the owner of Golden Valley mine, Gatooma and died in Cape Town on 2/1/??.

Note: I am not absolutely assured that the Mack who joined the Company's Police is the same person who fought in the Matabele War. If so, he was very young to have been an hotel keeper at the age of 21."¹

It turns out that Hickman's doubts about John Mack were justified because by 1893 there were two people in Mashonaland called Mack—John and Frank. They were unrelated and Frank may have been old enough to have been an hotel keeper. In any case, John Mack was prospecting for gold in the vicinity of the Umsweswe river when the Matabele War started.² From the Medal Roll of the Salisbury Horse we know that both John and Frank took part in the Matabele War³ and at its conclusion were each awarded a medal.

The Pioneer Society has it on record that in 1896 Frank Mack was the manager of the *Rhodesia Times* newspaper and a director of the Salisbury Stock Exchange and so it must have been Frank, not John, Mack who was appointed a member of the Salisbury Defence Committee in June 1896. Furthermore, John Mack, by his own account, was prospecting in Portuguese East Africa at the start of the Mashona Rebellion (or First Chimurenga).⁴

In later years John Mack was indeed the owner of the Golden Valley mine and he died while on holiday in Cape Town on 3 January 1955, at the age of 84.⁵

¹ Hickman, A. S. (1960). *Men who made Rhodesia: a Register of those who served in the British South Africa's Police*. BSA Company; 462 pages.

² Brettell, J. H. (2015). John Mack: Mining Pioneer and Benefactor. *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, No. 34, pages 155 – 170.

³ Roll of Officers, Warrant Officers, Non-Commission Officers and Men entitled to the Medal or Clasp or Clasps for operations in Matabeleland, Rhodesia during 1893.

⁴ Brettell, John Mack: Mining Pioneer and Benefactor.

⁵ Ibid.

The John Mack Cup

John Mack, the part-owner of the Golden Valley gold mine, not far from Gatooma [Kadoma], was described after his death as “being a generous donor throughout his life to charities and sporting associations”.⁶ It is therefore no surprise to learn that in the 1920s, and possibly earlier and later, several cricket teams in what is now Mashonaland West Province competed annually for the Mack Cup. Two such matches are described in the following newspaper reports, although the second extract is much abbreviated.⁷

Gatooma Wins Mack Cup.

Gatooma beat Eiffel Flats in the final of the Mack Cup on Sunday last [8/4/23]. Batting first, the visitors were dismissed for 66 runs, Black carrying his bat for 17. Tunmell [Gatooma’s Town Clerk at the time] took 6 wickets for 29 and Morkel 4 for 25. Gatooma responded with 80, Albertson (27), Morkel (21) and McCallum (14) being the main contributors. Chief bowling honours fell to Dell who took 7 wickets for 44. In the second innings Rosser knocked up 34 and Stainier 14. Rome (10) and McGregor (6) were at the wicket when the Flats declared with their score at 68 for 3 wickets. The holders were thus left with 54 runs to get and this they did for the loss of two wickets (Albertson 17 and Morkel 11). The two not-outs were Thorpe (13) and McCallum (8).

Mack Cup Final: Hartley Outclasses Gatooma.

The final of the Mack Cup was played on the Hartley [Chegutu] ground last Saturday, [18/4/25] the contestants being Hartley and Gatooma Cricket Teams. Hartley batted first and scored 202 for 9 wickets declared and Gatooma responded with 34 all out.

⁶ Wigley, F. L. (1979). Address given at the opening of the John Mack Hall in Gatooma; 3rd November, 6 pages of typescript.

⁷ Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette, 13 April 1923 and 24 April 1925.

Final Resting Places of Significant Personalities in our History Part V

by Jonathan Waters



Having visited four personalities in the often-hairy graveyards of South Africa — given the chance of being pounced on by villains — it is time for a series on those that did not make it off the continent. As with my previous writings in this morbid series (*Heritage* 30, 31, 33 and 38), I aim to provide a general historical outline of the lives of the four personalities, using new information when I've come across it, and refer those interested to widely available books and previous articles for further reading.

Thomas Baines

Without a doubt the nation's favourite artist given his most notable "colonial picturesque" depictions of Victoria Falls as well as large swathes of southern Africa, John Thomas Baines lies in the Smith Street Cemetery in a less than desirable part of 21st Century Durban. I have long gazed at Baines' paintings in the Beit Gallery in the National Archives in Harare and been delighted to stumble across his work — once in the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory and the output from the expedition to the horn of Africa in the William Cullen Library at Wits University.

It is worthwhile noting the National Archives held an exhibition in 1975 to mark the centenary of his birth and the Ministry of Information produced a short film. A *Rhodesia Herald* clip from 4 May 1975, said one aspect of his art that has been overlooked was his interest in aloes. "He was very conscious of the sculptural form and dramatic shape of aloes and euphoria," said Robert Turner, assistant director of the Archives. The report noted that the tallest aloe in the subcontinent, *Aloe bainesii* (now *Aloe barberae*), was named after him.

Turner said Baines was a short man — only 162cm (5ft 4in), but the contribution he made "was in inverse proportion to his size. He was a man of fantastic industry and always seemed full of enthusiasm. Whatever he saw he



A lesser known photograph of the artist from the museum at Kings Lynn

was intrigued by and wrote down his thoughts. He was a meticulous recorder and an outstanding diarist. Everyone seemed to like him. He was always obliging and continually doing paintings for people. I think he was a well-loved man.”

The report noted that Baines had many “firsts” to his credit. “He was the first person to paint the Victoria Falls; the first person to get a mining concession from Lobengula, and the first person in Central Africa to use carbon paper. He used to keep three copies of his diary — the pencilled top copy and two carbon copies. He kept one copy, sent one to the company he was working for — at that time the South African Gold Fields Exploration Company — and sent a third copy to his mother. He was devoted to her,” said Turner. The report also said he was the first person to name a geographical feature after a European — Hartley Hill.

I always think that his talent for drawing would enamour him with chiefs, and was one of the reasons that Lobengula granted him a concession to dig for gold in Mashonaland. Three years after his death, this opportunity was left wanting. The *Natal Witness* of 16 February 1878 said: “It is understood there are now experienced gold miners in Matabililand (sic) who will only be too glad to dig for prospect as soon as the King gives them permission, but Lobengule (sic) is very jealous for allowing the mineral resources of this territory to be proved or developed, and has always — except in the case of the late Thomas Baines, for whom he entertained a strong friendship — refused to give Europeans permission to dig or prospect there ... the Northern Goldfields have been comparatively neglected, and no one has come forward to take Mr Baines’ place. Is there no one who can do so?”



In an exchange of letters between E. A. Maund and Hugh Marshall-Hole, the former declared there to be only two real likenesses of Lobengula, one being this Baines representation in the Royal Geographic Society

Much has been written on Baines, but to summarise, he was born in Kings Lynn in 1820 and was a self-taught artist. He arrived in Table Bay on 23 November 1842. Much of his very early work is held by the Albany Museum, Grahamstown and the Africana Museum (now the Museum of Africa) in Johannesburg. He eventually made his way east and then into the largely unexplored hinterland. He travelled to Australia in 1855 and then in 1858 went on the famous expedition with David Livingstone, who wrongly accused him of theft.

But it was the 1862 expedition to Victoria Falls with James Chapman, after which



The museum in Baines' birth town of Kings Lynn also contains a number of rarely seen images, such as this picture by Baines of Bloemfontein in 1852

he painted what are to Zimbabweans his most admired pictures, that led to his being ranked so highly as a pre-colonisation personality. It is worth noting he saw the falls at what would have been peak flow in July, whereas Livingstone had seen them eight years earlier in November, which as we know is when they are at their least impressive.

His description of the falls read thus: "Now stand, and look through the dim and misty perspective, till it loses itself in the cloud of spray to the east. How shall words convey ideas which the pencil of even Turner must fail to represent! Stiff and formal columns of smoke there are none — the eastern breeze has blended all in one. I think nothing of the drizzling mist; but tell me if the heart of man ever conceived anything more gorgeous than these two lovely rainbows, so brilliant that the eye shrinks from looking at them — segments of which, rising from the deep, as the solar rays penetrate the abyss, overarch spray, rock and forest, till, rising to the highest point, they fail to find refracting moisture to complete the arch."

In 1867, he was again north of the Limpopo in which his journals were reproduced in three volumes in the Oppenheimer series as *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines*. He famously won a concession from Lobengula on 9 April 1870, 18 years before the Rudd Concession. In 1872, it was proposed that Baines should lead an expedition to find out if "poor Livingstone" was still alive — it is not known what Baines thought. He was dead in three years from a bout of dysentery — the toll of tropical disease over the years no doubt having weakened his body.

The *Natal Witness* of 14 May 1875 reported: "The mortal remains of the late Mr Baines were consigned to their last resting place in the Episcopalian Cemetery on Saturday morning in the presence of a large number of the inhabitants (including the Mayor Richard Vause), many of who were personal friends of the deceased gentlemen. Shortly after four o'clock the mournful cortege left the house of Mr James Watson on the Berea, where the deceased had been staying for some days past, the hope the bracing air of the locality would restore that health which had been so seriously affected by a severe attack of dysentery.

“The coffin was of yellow wood and covered with black cloth and bore the following inscription: — ‘Thomas Baines, died 8th May, aged 50.’ I hear that Mr Baines at the time of his being attacked with dysentery, was painting a picture of the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley (the new governor), which remains unfinished. It is stated that he was 54 or 56 years of age, although he was described on the coffin as being only 50.”

That he was liked and respected by the community is not in doubt. The *Mercury* reported that the Mayor had taken the initiative of “raising a memorial to Mr Baines, and issued an advertisement which appeared in yesterday’s local papers asking for subscriptions. Of course, I need not say that the inhabitants of the town, and those residing in the neighbourhood are only too glad of the opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to one so much beloved.”

His grave in the Smith Street (Anton Lembede Street today) cemetery is not original as it says as much on the grave: “The original stone having crumbled through age this replica was erected by the Durban Corporation at the instigation of the SA National Society 1966”. The pedestal, already well worn over the past half century, says:

To mark
The resting place of
Thomas Baines FRGS
Artist and Traveller
who was
Born at Lynn Norfolk 1820
Died at Durban 1875



The Smith Street ceremony and his grave. Part of the epitaph on his grave reads: “This stone is erected by a few of his loving friends and comrades, who among hardships and perils, undergone in the interior of this continent learnt to appreciate the nobility of his character”

His legacy as a naturalist, artist and explorer are not in doubt even today. Of his work, Baines said: “For my want of artistic education, my sketches must possess many defects of which at present I am perhaps unconscious. The only merit I claim for them is that of being as faithful to the character of the country as my ability will permit.” While much of his work is clearly defined now as “colonial picturesque”, there is a reason there are probably more prints of his “pretty” scenes on walls around the country than actual pictures of Victoria Falls.



Ellerton Fry

In *Heritage* 34, I used the relevant part of William Ellerton Fry's unpublished autobiographical novel "Incidents in the Life of a Rolling Stone 1872–1924" when it came to the occupation of Mashonaland and his trip in 1893 to Victoria Falls, which he stated on his map was in "Bechuanaland". Having now been to the grave just outside Cape Town, I thought more detail on the Pioneer Column's cartographer and geographer would be appropriate, considering his autobiography is unlikely to see the light of day.

One of eleven children, Fry was born on October 15 in England's West Country of "Quaker Yeoman stock in the Year 1846" and educated at Weston-super-Mare and Edinburgh. He says that after his school days ended, came the question of a career. "My parents induced me to enter the church, but, restless spirit that I was, fascinated by the lives of Hawkins, Drake and other adventurers, such a career had no attraction to me."

"About this time came murmurs of the wonderful diamond fields in South Africa and in February 1872, accompanied by a younger brother, I left England for the Cape on the *Northam*. We stayed at Madeira some two or three days and this lovely island with its subtropical vegetation, so vastly different from anything I had seen at home, greatly fascinated me." Clearly his interest in the new world was already piqued.



Ellerton Fry as seen in this picture of the officers of the Pioneer Corps

Fry becomes a digger at Du Toits' Pan in Kimberly and he says: "The first diamond I found I swept off the table, but in falling I caught a glimpse of it. It was a 3½ carat white stone. I sent it home to be cut as a present for my fiancée, who afterwards became my wife. She wore it to the day of her death." Fry had limited success in the diamond fields, and so leaves his brother and heads off to Pilgrim's Rest where he gets involved in coal and horse trading.

Pressure from his fiancée sees him return to England and, unable to secure "a Madagascar cat" as per her wish, he took her "two crested crane instead". After landing at Plymouth, he goes into business with a Dane, who loses everything (he does not expand on this) and in "a fit of mad disappointment and desperation" he returns to SA in 1878. Arriving back at the Cape, he goes hunting up to the Limpopo, and returns to get a job at the Royal Observatory in Cape Town, which he holds for nearly 12 years, sending money back to England for his wife and child. Why she did not join him is unclear.

In 1890, Fredrick Courtney Selous turned up and asked him to join the Pioneer Column. "The call of the wild was too much for me, I accepted the offer," he said. "During the years 1878–1890 I had been secretary and computer to the Meteorological

Commission with an Office at the Royal Observatory in Cape Town. My work with the pioneers' expedition was to fix positions for a map of the country to determine the latitude and longitude of the route, etc. I also had charge of the search light carried and in addition, took all the photographs along the route."

The Pioneer Column period was covered in *Heritage* 34. On his return to the Cape to develop his photos, he meets Randolph Churchill on his way up to Mashonaland, Alfred Beit he encounters in passing, and on his passage back to England, he meets E. A. Maund, who he did not like. But, as noted in *Heritage* 34, he saves the most vitriol for Rutherford Harris, and quoting from a *Cape Times* article (of 5 November 1891) the anti-Chartered Company speech by the Cambridge educated lawyer Arthur Bird at the 1891 Pioneer Anniversary dinner. Henry Wyatt answered the toast, equally pouring scorn on the BSA Co.

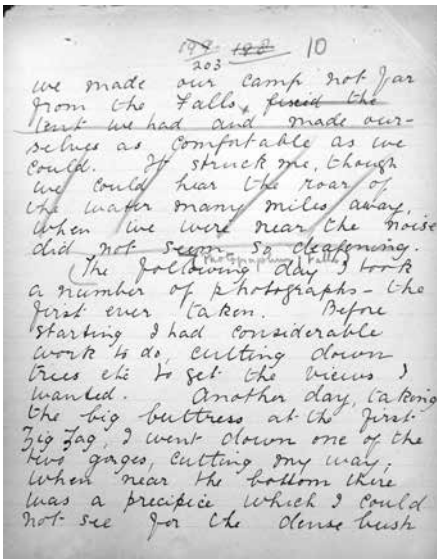
Of Harris Fry says: "He made himself most unpopular with his arbitrary, autocratic ways" whereas as Rhodes "smoothed matters over somewhat". He also provides an indication of what happened to those that came up against the Chartered Company — and there were many, mostly written out of Rhodesian historiography. Fry says Bird went to South America (actually he went to the USA and was killed in 1911 by a falling tree). "Wyatt also went. People said they — Wyatt and Bird — were too dangerous to the company. There was at the time great discontent with the company." Fry indicates they were hounded out of the country.

The period 1893 to 1895 Fry seemed to be involved in a mixture of trading and commissions to take people up to Victoria Falls. Of the approach on his first trip, he says: "The path ran through beautiful country and we could see the mist of cloud rising from the Falls. When the wind was favourable the roar of the falling water could be heard. About the third day we made our camp not far from the Falls ... it struck me though we

could hear the roar of the water many miles away, when we were nearer the noise did not seem so deafening"

"The following day I took a number of photographs — the first ever taken [JW note: Not strictly true as James Chapman had taken pictures in 1862 although they do not survive]. Before starting I had considerable work to do, cutting down trees, etc to get the views I wanted. Another day, taking the big buttresses at the first zig zag, I went down one of the two gorges, cutting my way, when near the bottom there was a precipice which I could not see for the dense bush and I very nearly went over this, camera and all.

"The views near the outlet are divinely grand. There is say a mile of water falling into a narrow chasm about



Fry stating in his autobiography that these were the first pictures of the Falls



70 yards wide. At the only outlet from this vast volume of water near where the bridge now spans it, it is 100 yards wide. All this mile of water is concentrated into this narrow space and surges out to the first zig zag. The gorges on either side of the outlet are clothed with trees and luxuriant vegetation. The spray borne aloft by the upward current caused by the falling water is wafted by the various winds in all directions. That falling upon the trees in what is called the Rain Forest is condensed on the trees and runs off in tiny streamlets back to the gorge. It never reaches the bottom however, for Tantalus and Sisyphus like, in falling it is borne aloft again by the upward current and again becomes spray, emblematical of failure. The portions of rainbow too perpetually forming, dissolving and re-forming as the spray shifts ...

“When I was at the Falls in 1893, Reginald Frost, an American who had come to the Cape on a hunting expedition and had joined the pioneer expedition for the sake of adventure, happened to be there also. We visited the various islands in the river, all having dense tropical vegetation, lovely palms and various other trees. One day I was out with my camera alone on the Bechunaland side of the outlet and walked right on top of three buffalos quietly browsing under the trees. The chasm was on three sides of me and I had no rifle. I looked at them, they looked at me and although I should have liked to photograph them I thought it better to retire as there seemed no room for me.

“Photography in those days had not reached the stage of perfection it has now days. I had no instantaneous plates or shutter, all was time exposure. The high lights above, the dense shadows below, and possibly a cloud of mist from the falling waters crossing the plate, made it difficult for me, with the little superficial knowledge I possessed. I had six dark double slides and exposed about a dozen plates daily. Unfortunately most turned out failures.

On my return to Cape Town I had the plates developed. Some thought they had more right to them than I had and published them. Others again had the courtesy to ask my permission.”

He indicates some involvement in arranging some of the logistics for the Jameson Raid, but does not seem to be involved in any action. “During the year 1895 I was here on the Transvaal side engaging wagons to take loads to Pitsanie for the Jameson Raid.” Fry did not seem to get into trouble and goes prospecting again, after which he heads back to Palapye, where his brother is based, and gets permission from Khama to build a house opposite the Bechuanaland Trading Association store. He gets involved in selling mealie meal, but when rinderpest breaks out, he goes into the donkey trade.

Fry is then engaged to work for the Free State Railway in Kopjes (which is on the Renoster river) and finds himself in Bloemfontein when the Boer War breaks out. As was the case with Selous (and many other nonconformists of the time), he finds himself in a difficult predicament. “I had many friends amongst the Dutch and in many ways, I could not but admire them.” It would appear that he preferred a non-active role, but on the side of the British — his next reference is organising coal for the Imperial Military Railways in Vereeniging.

What he does over the next decade is not really apparent, but in 1912 he joins his son on a farm in Eldoret, Kenya. He spends two years there and then decides to go to England, catching a ship from Mombasa on 13 July 1914. He hears about the war in Aden, but manages to get to the UK where he finds: “My wife and daughter were

there on a visit. It was a joyful reunion.” He gets in contact with Selous about joining Driscolls Legion, but they return to Cape Town, and then onto the farm in Kenya again where he planted mealies and coffee. His son joins the East African Mounted Rifles, but gets malaria badly and is discharged and they return to Cape Town where Fry largely remains until his death.

In one passage in his book he says: “Travelling with a good span of oxen, a comfortable wagon with a good driver, plenty of books, a gun, and a kindred spirit is to me an ideal life. Every time one outspans, there is something fresh and different from the last place.” We would think the amount of time he and his wife spent apart to be quite odd. Clearly his autobiographical title for his book is apt, and rather like Selous, it was hard to settle down after all the excitement that travel and adventure brought. Fry died in Mowbray, Cape Town on 25 June 1930.



Keith Martin directed me to Fry's grave at St Paul's Church at Faure, just off the R102 in the Stellenbosch winelands (geographically it is between Vergenoegd Low and Meerlust wineries). It is not a big graveyard, although the usual amount of debris made it hard to identify it at first as it has a simple granite border curb. There are no dates on the grave: It simply states "Ellerton Fry" in lead letters.



Lt Col Edward Pennefather

We have Lt Col Edward Graham Pennefather to thank for the siting of Harare. Chief guide Courtney Selous had left the Pioneer Column at Fort Charter to accompany Leander Starr Jameson and Archibald Colquhoun to enter into a treaty with Mutasa and so it was left to Pennefather, and to a lesser extent Frank Johnson to make a decision where to site the future city. As we also know, the insufferable upstart Johnson was so intent on pegging his gold claims in the Hartley district that he did not even stick around to see the flag go up on 13 September 1890.

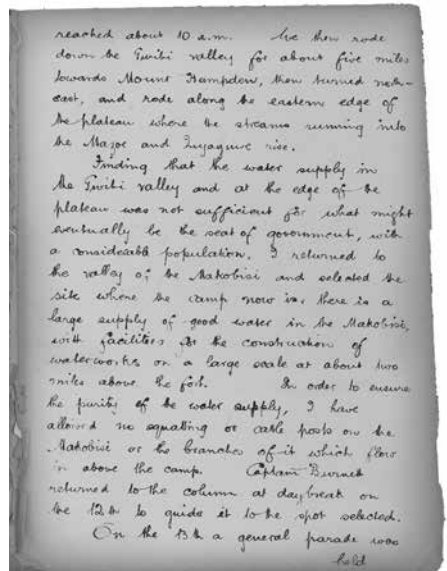
Pennefather wrote in his diary: "We then rode down the Gwibi Valley for about five miles towards Mount Hampden, then turned north-east, and rode along the eastern edge of the plateau where the streams running into the Mazoe and Inyangwe rise. Finding that the water supply in the Gwibi valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makobisi and selected the site where the camp now is ... Captain Ted Burnett returned to the column at daybreak on the 12th to guide it to the spot selected."

Mike Tucker wrote about Pennefather in *Heritage* 38, which mostly dealt with the period around the occupation of Mashonaland but erroneously reports him as having died and being buried in Dorset, England. Pennefather died in the Underberg and is buried in Pietermaritzburg. While on business I had made a few trips to the Commercial Road cemetery before I was able to locate the grave with the help of John Deare of the Natal Inland Family History Society.

I do not want to repeat any of Mike Tucker's biographical notes, but I just so happened to bump into Pennefather's grandson while on a trip to Johannesburg, who



Lt Col Edward Pennefather on the Pioneer Column march



sent me a brief outline of his grandfather's life, which mainly deals with his time in the military, and I carry them here mostly unedited. Pennefather was born in Kiltannel, County Wexford, on 12 February 1850. He was educated at Harrow and entered the army through the militia, "Sandhurst being temporarily closed for insubordination, and commissioned to the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons".

"In order to see active service, he succeeded in getting attached to the Kings Dragoon Guards who were on their way to South Africa as reinforcements following the defeat of the British army at the battle of Isandlwana on 22 January 1879. They took with them a shipload of remounts, the first to be sent from England to South Africa. Previously the troops used 'whalers' from Australia but due to the weight of the Dragoons these could not be used.

"Edward participated in the second invasion of Zululand which commenced on 31 May 1879 under the command of Lord Chelmsford. He accompanied the squadron sent to recover the body of the Prince Imperial of France who was killed in a skirmish with the Zulus on 1 June 1879. He remained with Chelmsford and took part in the battle of Ulundi on 4 July 1879 where Cetshwayo and the Zulu nation were finally defeated.

"After taking leave in 1880 he returned to South Africa in 1881 and rejoined his regiment, the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, then stationed at Pinetown. In 1884/5 he accompanied Sir Charles Warren's expedition to settle the border dispute with the Boers over the Stellaland and Goshen portions of Bechuanaland. In 1885/7 he took part in the Zulu disturbances receiving promotion to Brevet Major as a result of his gallantry at the Ceza Bush action against Dinizulu's uSuthu (royalist) faction of the Zulu.

"In Pinetown he met and married Mary Crompton, second daughter of Canon John Lake Crompton and Harriet (Phelps) on 19 November 1885. Later his regiment was stationed in Pietermaritzburg where his first two sons, William and John Broderick (his mother's maiden name), were born. In April 1890 he was appointed with the rank of lieutenant colonel by the governor of the Cape, Sir Henry Loch, to command the newly established British South Africa Police, who were to provide military protection for the Pioneer Column."

"In 1892, Pennefather returned to England to rejoin his regiment in Brighton. In 1896 he resigned his commission to take up an appointment as Inspector General of Police for the Straits Settlements in Singapore. His younger children, Mary and Edward Matthew, both born in Bristol accompanied them. After the conclusion of the Settlement he retired to Tonbridge Wells in England in 1910.

"In the 1914–18 war he was sent on a remount commission to the USA to buy horses for the British Army in France. He accompanied the horses thereto and at the age of 68 years he took control of a YMCA canteen to serve the troops in France. In 1925 he returned to South Africa with his wife and died on 29 April 1928 while visiting his son on a fishing trip at Draycott in the Underberg.

Pennefather is buried in the Commercial Road Cemetery in Pietermaritzburg (grave No 732) and his epitaph reads:

Lt Col
Edward Graham
Pennefather
VIth Inniskilling Dragoons
C.O. Rhodesian Pioneer Column
1890



Born 12th Feb 1850
Died 29th April 1928
RIP



Pennefather's grave at the Commercial Road Cemetery was by no means easy to locate as it is on the boundary and a tree is gradually taking over the grave and has dislodged the cross

His obituary in the *Natal Witness* is of interest as it says: "Colonel Pennefather disagreed with Rhodes on the question of native administration which resulted in his resignation and his return to his regiment in England. It said that international diplomacy hindered Colonel Pennefather from seizing a strategic base that would have been invaluable to Rhodesia, but the Salisbury Government washed its hands of the business."

Neither of these statements really make any sense. He was relatively removed from the whole Portuguese border incident of 1891, and as Mike Tucker showed in his article, had indicated to his mother in letters that the border was to be in the region of the 33° parallel, effectively where it is today. Certainly Pennefather did not get on with Rhodes, but that is probably because his force was costing Rhodes £250 000 a year, an expense the great imperialist was keen to get rid of.

Col Johann Colenbrander

Immortalised in TV Bulpin's *The White Whirlwind*, Johann William Colenbrander had many honours to his name — as a trusted friend of Lobengula he accompanied his envoys to London in 1889, he was made the first chief native commissioner in Rhodesia in 1894, he accompanied Rhodes as translator on the First Indaba in 1896 and he was awarded the Commander of the Bath for his part in raising and leading Kitchener's Fighting Scouts in the Boer War.



A lesser seen picture of Colenbrander on his horse in the 1890s (courtesy Barnett Collection)

As with most of the whites in pre-July 1890 Gubulawayo, Colenbrander was conflicted as he had split loyalties between Lobengula and his white brethren. What won Lobengula's friendship and trust was no doubt his ability to speak in couched terms and not directly to the point as most whites would have. Joy Maclean in *The Guardians*, a book on native commissioners, says Colenbrander's name was Umhala n'yati — tickbird, "indicating his ability to remove petty irritations and probably his ability to interpret



The First Indaba seen on the bas relief on the Bulawayo Town Hall: Rhodes, third from the right addresses Somabulana. Colenbrander is on Rhodes' right and is seated next to Hans Sauer. John Grootboom stands between Rhodes and the journalist Vere Stent



accurately at indabas". He is also referred to as "Johwane" (in *Nada* 13)

A memory on Colenbrander after his death that appeared in *The Star* newspaper sums up his linguistic skills: "He spoke as a native spoke in the flowery phraseology, exemplifying his theme with many a well turned quip or native idiom which on occasion saved what might have been a dangerous situation". Another account in *The Star* (which also appears in *The Guardians*) by native commissioner CG Fynn talks of his translation skills at the second indaba: "I must admit that I never heard Johan to better advantage than on that occasion. The Induna simply sat there dumfounded by his eloquence and wonderful knowledge of their language he showed. This practically ended the Matabele war."

I am not going to dwell on a CV of his life events given the swathe of accounts in a variety of previously published sources, not least the White Whirlwind. Rather I seek to highlight his remarkable linguistic skills from the various newspaper articles that most do not have access to today, and from unpublished works.

Colenbrander was born in Pinetown, Natal to a Dutch family who had settled there in 1849. While prominently featuring at landmark events in this country's history, he appeared unable to turn this to his own advantage in the business world. He was married three times, first in 1883 to the formidable and dashing Mollie Mullens, who died of a weak heart, secondly, in 1902, to Yvonne Nunn (she died of ptomaine poisoning), with whom he had a daughter, and lastly in 1911, to Catherine Gloster, with whom he had a son.

I took this paragraph out of Fry's autobiography about the advance of the Pioneer Column and include it here as it is more relevant: "That night Colenbrander turned up with four indunas from Lobengula. The order from Loben was 'To go back' otherwise we should all be slaughtered, the Matabele would rise like sand in a desert. Four pioneers were to be taken alive: Selous, Johnson and two others whose names I have forgotten. Colenbrander brought me a letter from my brother, who had been left at Palapye. Colenbrander told me all he knew. He said Loben did not want a fight, but had difficulty in restraining his warriors who did. He left me thinking we were doomed."

Colenbrander's death by drowning in 1918 was reported with shock,



There are few graves that rival the splendour of Mollie Colenbrander's in Athlone Cemetery in Bulawayo. She was a woman before her time — a dashing horsewoman, able to handle a gun, fluent in Zulu, she died in October 1900 aged 36. Five days after her death, Colenbrander signed up as an intelligence officer in the Boer War. The house in Bulawayo they had built together, 'The Honeycomb', was largely destroyed by lightning in 1908



Mollie Colenbrander from a picture in the National Archives in Harare. She had attended the Second Indaba as a correspondent for the Cape Times.

Herbert Vaughan-Williams in his account of his trip to Lobengula in 1889 says that Mollie had asked Lobengula why he allowed his girls to sleep with white men. "His reply was: 'If I stop these native girls sleeping with the white men, and you are the only white woman up here, do you think you could cope with all the white men?' There was no answer to this!"

garrison at Rorke's Drift. Lord Chelmsford swam his horse across the drift, followed by his officers and troopers, and Col Colenbrander was very keen, despite his 61 years, to keep the picture true to life.

"Recently, however, he suffered from internal troubles and he was medically advised that, quite apart from the obvious necessity of an operation, his heart was weak. Before the reproduction of the relief of Rorke's Drift, he was strongly advised not to swim his horse across the supposed drift. The producers were prepared to sacrifice an essential detail for the sake of the old gentleman's health, and they asked him to pass over the river on the rafts, which were provided for those who represented the main body of the troops. He was consistent to the end, keen as he was to give the world the true story of a great adventure.

"It is impossible to state at the moment exactly what happened, but it would appear that Col Colenbrander's horse suddenly lost confidence and began to flounder. The panic spread and the whole troop of horses tried to turn back to the bank from which they had started. Many of the riders of the swimming horses were unseated and among them was Col Colenbrander. Not unaccustomed to such incidents of military life, the Colonel slipped clear and struck out with easy confidence.

"Boats which were held in readiness for any possible incident at once shot out to the

however, he was not the only casualty. Trooper Joseph Levy and Trooper William Brown also drowned in the incident, both their bodies being recovered before Colenbrander's. *The Rand Daily Mail* summed it up under their headline *Sad End to Distinguished Career*". The report said: "The bare announcement that Lieut Col John William Colenbrander CB was drowned yesterday in the Klip River, Henley-on-Klip, scarcely conveys the full meaning of one of the most pathetic incidents in South African history.

"Col Colenbrander, too old for active service, was assisting the cinematograph production of scenes in the Zulu War of forty years ago, in which he personally took part, when his horse got out of control in deep water. At the time of the fatal incident, Col Colenbrander was helping to reproduce the last scene in the Zulu War film, 'The Symbol of Sacrifice'. The scene was supposed to be the Tugela River, and for the purposes of local colour, the deep stream below the dam at Henley-on-Klip was chosen. Col Colenbrander was representing Lord Chelmsford, who led the 17th Lancers and Natal Carbiners across the river to the rescue of the hard-pressed



rescue of those that might not be so competent as the old campaigner. The observers of the incident, including the cameraman, felt that Col Colenbrander was quite capable of looking after himself. Several were picked up, and one of the boats was just overhauling the Colonel when he disappeared under the water. Whether or not his heart failed as a result of the vigorous swimming remains to be proved when the body is recovered.”

His prowess as a swimmer appeared in this memoir in *The Star* upon his death. “That Colenbrander was a strong swimmer is confirmed by a story that when his first wife was once returning from England, he dived off the pier at the docks at Table Bay and swam out half a mile to meet the steamers. It was just one of those phases of eccentricity in a very loveable nature that he was always exhibiting; not from any sense of ‘swank’, but just because it was an instinct with him to attempt and frequently accomplish the unusual.”

After a ceremony at St Mary’s Church, Colenbrander was taken by gun carriage for burial in the Brixton Cemetery. At the graveside service, which was held in a torrent of rain, the Archdeacon Cameron said that those who looked beyond his “adventurous life” would realise how much he had done to build up the country. The Rand Daily Mail reported: “Future generations would realise, probably more than we did, what Col Colenbrander had accomplished towards making this a white man’s country without doing injustice to the native. It was well known that Col Colenbrander was regarded as the natives’ friend. In conclusion the speaker paid tribute to the great service Col Colenbrander had rendered during the South Africa war.”

The headstone says:

In Loving Memory of

Colonel Johan (sic) William Colenbrander CB

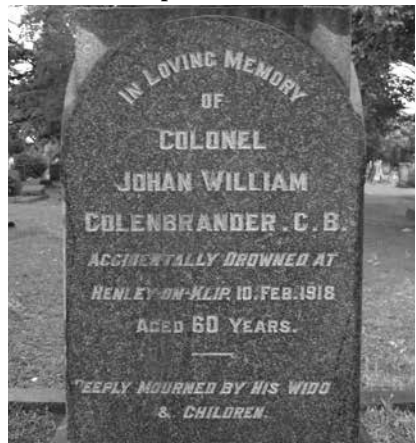
Accidentally drowned at Henley-on-Klip 10 Feb 1918

Aged 60 years

Deeply mourned by his widow & children



The BSAC provided the monolith for Colenbrander’s grave, stating on the stone: “To the memory of a brave man & fearless pioneer of Rhodesia”



My thanks to Keith Martin, Theresa Webster, John Deere and Lucille Davie

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Frank Leslie Amm M.Sc, D.Sc. The Geological Survey's Fifth Director 1960–1962

by Peter Fey



Introduction

This text is one of an ongoing series on the Directors of the Geological Survey. As before, historical place names have been used.

Frank Leslie Amm was born on 3 March 1912 in Salem, Eastern Cape, a region of South Africa to which his great-great-grandfather, a Captain Amm, had brought parties of 1820 Settlers from England in his ship “Canada”. Amm’s parental farm “Lindale” lay just outside Salem, a small village where he attended a farm school before moving up to Graeme College in nearby Grahamstown. He played first team rugby in 1927-1928, matriculated first class in 1928 and won a Grahamstown Municipality scholarship to Rhodes University, where he studied geology from 1929 to 1931. His B.Sc. degree was awarded with a double first in geology and chemistry. Moreover, Amm gained two honours in geology, namely the Schwartz Memorial Prize and the Captain Scott Memorial Medal, as well as a scholarship (not taken up) to the University of South Africa.

In 1932 the university awarded him the degree of M.Sc. (First Class) for his thesis entitled “The pre-Cape rocks of the Uitenhage Division”, in addition to which he won the Geological Society of South Africa’s Annual Prize for Geology. During the following year he was the recipient of a scholarship, which he declined, to Cambridge University. While at Rhodes University Amm played rugby for the 1st team from 1930 until 1933; in the latter year he lectured in geology and also became Warden of Graham House.

On 28 September 1933 he took up a position as geologist, initially for 2 years at £400 *per annum*, with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey where he became the first South African recruit.

Owing to bureaucratic delays relating to his birth certificate he was appointed to the Fixed Establishment only on 1 February 1936, but was permitted to contribute to the Pension Fund from 28 September 1935.



Captain Frank Leslie Amm

Field geologist 1933–1946

Although it was late in the season Amm was immediately posted to Bulawayo, there to continue mapping begun the previous year by B. Lightfoot (Fey, 2015), who initiated him into the art of plane table mapping. By the end of the 1933 field season he had covered 90 out of a total map area of 1 200 square miles, using farm beacons as control points for his map, which showed both topography and geology. Fieldwork was hard and entailed living under canvas. In 1935, a year in which Amm first contracted malaria, he was temporarily diverted to the vicinity of the Queen's Mine, north of Bulawayo, where he assisted colleagues A. M. Macgregor and J. C. Ferguson by revising topographical data over an area of 745 square miles. The work of these three men resulted in a joint publication (Macgregor *et. al.*, 1937). On returning to Bulawayo Amm continued mapping there and covered 148 square miles by the end of the field season. In addition he accompanied another departmental geologist, A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013), on a reconnaissance trip across the Umkondo Group rocks of the Melsetter District. Over the following three years Amm was able to devote himself to virtually uninterrupted fieldwork around Bulawayo.

During 1932 the Aircraft Operation Company of Africa (Pty) Ltd. (Mc Adam, 1974) had undertaken an experimental survey over 80 square miles of country lying immediately east of Bulawayo (Maufe 1933, p. 15). In the latter part of 1937, in a departure from plane tabling, Amm utilised the resultant aerial photographs made available by the management of Bushtick Mines Limited to map an area of 14 square miles around the eponymous mine, largest gold producer in the region and now the site of Falcon College. In November of that year he prepared a detailed map covering six square miles around the location proposed for a new dam on the Ncema River. Thereafter, having contracted dysentery during the field season he was granted sick leave of six weeks on 4 December and spent this time with his parents in the Eastern Cape.

On resuming duty at the end of January 1938 Amm completed mapping at Bushtick mine, then examined its underground workings together with those of the Eveline mine. He subsequently made several visits to the Ncema River dam site, inspected drill cores and prepared three reports. In appreciation of this work he was presented with a silver casket by the Bulawayo Municipality. Towards the end of April he began work on the outstanding 60 square miles of his project area before in July accompanying A. C. Gauld, of the Surveyor General's Department, on a reconnaissance survey by boat up the Zambezi River as far as Kariba Gorge. There followed minor revision of the geological mapping undertaken by Lightfoot south of Bulawayo, and the remainder of the year, as well as the first half of 1939, was taken up with bulletin preparation.

In the course of 1939 Amm married Eleanor (Nora), *née* Macdonald, who was of Rhodesian stock. After spending three months on leave in the Eastern Cape he resumed duty on 4 September was transferred to Gwelo, where he was fully occupied with mining work until May 1940, visiting a total of 154 properties. His efforts at Selukwe during this period led to recognition of the reef on the 6th and 7th levels of the Bonsor mine, while his comprehensive examination of the Tebekwe mine resulted in proposals for new development.

Returning to fieldwork Amm mapped an area of 400 square miles and examined 38 mines in the Lower Gwelo district between mid-May and the end of July before moving to Salisbury, where on 5 August 1940 he was called up into the Army. He rose to the rank of Captain and became Commanding Officer of the Southern Rhodesia



Survey Unit (Reserve Section) which was under the overall control of L. M. McBain, the Surveyor-General. During his period of military service Amm operated from an office in Milton Building, Salisbury, where he was engaged in the preparation of maps for both Army and Air Force.

The results of Amm's fieldwork around Bulawayo, published as Bulletin 35 (Amm, 1940), included not only a contoured geological map but also detailed descriptions of more than 500 mines, mostly gold producers. Together with Bulletin 30 (Macgregor *et al.*, 1937) it was submitted to the University of Pretoria as a doctoral thesis, accompanied by a very supportive report from B. Lightfoot, who was one of Amm's examiners and at the time Acting Director of the Geological Survey. The D.Sc. degree was awarded in 1940, but military service precluded Amm from attending the graduation in Pretoria.

Bulletin 35 proved popular and was soon out of print, but was reissued in 1965 with only minor changes in pagination. Much later the country surrounding Bulawayo was remapped (Garson, 1995) under a technical co-operation agreement between the governments of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom.

In Salisbury Amm initially bought a residence situated on 3 acres in Princess Drive, Highlands, but soon sold this and early in 1941 purchased one of several vacant stands in Lawson Avenue, Milton Park. He drew up house plans for this site over one night, subsequently modifying these in order to effect savings amounting to £87 so that building costs would fall within the limits of his loan. While the house was being built he and his wife lived in the Terreskane Hotel on Fife Avenue, moving into the new dwelling at No 16 Lawson Avenue in August 1941 (Mrs E. Amm, *pers. comm.*).

Children followed, comprising Derek Evans (10 October 1942), Errol Thomas (8 August 1945) and Alastair George (15 July 1947). The eldest was in the same class at Prince Edward School as the author and is remembered as a somewhat reserved boy who excelled at mathematics, physics and chemistry. Awarded an Honorary Beit Scholarship as well as a National War Fund Scholarship of £300 he went on to study electrical engineering at the University of Cape Town, then emigrated to Canada in 1964.

In 1943, during Dr Amm's military service, the Army granted him a week's extension of his leave so that he could examine, at the request of Homestake Gold Mining Company Limited, the large amount of development work completed as a result of his earlier report on their Tebekwe mine. On demobilisation Amm resumed duty with the Geological Survey on 18 December 1944. In the following year, after a long delay due to the lack of motor transport, he completed the mapping begun in 1940 at Lower Gwelo, then reconnoitred some 750 square miles of the Shangani River gold belt. Thereafter he returned to the office to write the Lower Gwelo bulletin (Amm, 1946) before commencing fieldwork in the Hartley district. In addition he visited 82 mines, of which 62 were in the Lower Gwelo region.

During 1946 Amm spent a further 4 months surveying the country around Hartley before proceeding on long leave. Mapping of the area was then suspended until 1949 when it was resumed and later completed by J. W. Wiles (1957).

Mine geologist 1947-1960

In 1947 Amm assumed responsibility for geological work in the region between Hartley

and Que Que where his time was taken up chiefly with mining geology. Although concentrating on the area allocated to him he also, when required, examined mining properties in other parts of the country. Many of the properties examined were worked by former servicemen under the Mining Settlement Scheme. In order to contain the workload most visits were made at the request of the mine owner or operator. Such mine visits amounted to several dozen per year and most were documented in detailed reports, often with plans. Amm continued in this role throughout the following decade, and sat on the Government's Mining Affairs Board from 1950 until 1962.

Early in the year he spent six weeks mapping every level of the Gaika mine near Que Que, a further month being taken up with preparation of a report and plans. Later he also examined levels 23 to 33 of the Golden Valley mine west of Gatooma and followed up with recommendations for additional development. In addition to visiting mines he advised the Salisbury Municipality on borehole sites, the Que Que iron and steel works on the augmentation of its supply of underground water, and examined drill core at the proposed Hunyani Poort dam site.

In February 1948, while inspecting mines belonging to local prospector and mining character, W. (Bill) West in Lower Gwelo, Amm contracted malaria and on his return to Salisbury consulted the family physician, a Dr Hobday. After initially responding to treatment he relapsed with recurring fever leading to extensive paralysis, and on 5 March was placed under the care of Drs W. G. Brander and W. Gelfand. Both expressed little doubt that he was suffering from acute malaria, the latter physician believing that in addition the patient had relapsing tick fever, both ailments probably contracted in the course of his duties. Between March and mid-June Amm was largely confined to bed at home, had to be hospitalised twice and thereafter spent until September recuperating at Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape. Although medical expenses related to his illness were met by the Government the paper trail relating to the matter extended to June 1949.

With effect from 29 July 1948 Amm was promoted to Geologist in the Senior Professional Officers' Grade III at a salary of £1 100 *per annum*. Despite being incapacitated for six months of the year he visited 44 mines and wrote reports on 25 of these.

Amm's expertise in underground geology proved of immeasurable benefit to the mining industry. Through his initiative a new, rich ore shoot was discovered on the Masterpiece mine in 1948, as were faulted sections of the reef on the nearby Golden Valley Mine, and in 1949 also on the Kanyemba mine at Umsweswe. While visiting the Dalny mine at Chakari in the following year Amm determined that unpayable sections of the reef occurred where the host rock comprised altered dolerite dykes rather than the patently more fertile basaltic country rock. In 1956 he succeeded in locating new orebodies at both the Gaika and Kimberley Reef (Bindura) gold mines.

During 1952 he undertook detailed mapping on the Golden Valley as well as Cam and Motor mines near Gatooma, in addition to supervising diamond drilling on the Giant mine at Gadzema. Three days of September were spent in the field, reinterpreting the geology of the Copper King and Copper Queen base metal prospects at Sanyati, where his findings were undoubtedly influential in the subsequent exploration and purchase of these properties by the Messina (Transvaal) Development Co. Ltd.

Amm was also involved in dam site studies. Between 1949 and 1956 he consulted



on the Kariba Hydroelectric Project, and participated in the planning of the Bangala, Hunyani Poort and Darwendale dams.

Early in the 1950s Amm purchased Rhodesdale, a farm situated only a short distance from Waddilove Mission on the road linking Marandellas with Wedza. Unable because of his job to devote much time to agricultural pursuits he employed a university friend as manager who grew tobacco and maize, but the venture was not a success. In 1960 Amm sold the property to the founder of the Mushandira Pamwe Bus Service, George Tawengwa, who became the first black African in Southern Rhodesia to purchase a commercial farm. After 1980 the property was renamed Zimdale (*Wikipedia*).

In 1951 he resumed periodical fieldwork, balancing geological mapping with mine visits. Because of time constraints much of the mapping was of a reconnaissance nature, but it served to fill gaps in the geological coverage of the country and, it was hoped, would expedite introduction of a proposed 1:250 000 scale map series. Regrettably, the series never eventuated. Amm's interest in this type of work was undoubtedly stimulated by his visit during 1950 to the old Inyati copper mine near Headlands, where he noted the occurrence of hitherto unrecorded, extensive dolerite intrusions in the granite terrain. Over the period 1953–1956 he reconnoitred a large region south and east of Salisbury, where photogeological interpretation not only facilitated but also greatly expedited the mapping of these Mashonaland Dolerites, of Proterozoic age, which were henceforth depicted on the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country. Other mapping projects undertaken by Amm covered 50 square miles in the Mazoe district (1950), 150 square miles in the Chindamora Reserve immediately north of the capital (1952), 360 square miles near Shamva (1956) and 900 square miles around Beatrice (1957), a region which, although it includes three gold mines, has to this day not been surveyed in detail.

Amm represented the Geological Survey at the International Geological Congress, held in Algiers during August 1952, and in 1957 accompanied Chief Government Mining Engineer W. Ralston to the Sixth Commonwealth Mining and Metallurgical Congress. This opened in Vancouver, Canada on 8 September, ended in Halifax on 9 October and was attended by some 400 delegates from 37 countries. The itinerary consisted of a trip across the country by rail and air, with visits to all of the major mining regions as well as important meetings of Congress at eight centres. Afterwards Amm spent a week in Washington visiting the United States Geological Survey and Bureau of Mines, followed by a final week in New York at the headquarters of eight mining groups which either had or were keen to acquire mining interests in the Federation.

During 1958 he continued mapping at Beatrice and Shamva, devoted a fortnight to the examination of a uranium occurrence in the Wankie district, and also visited 42 mines and claims, including gold properties around Gatooma as well as the asbestos mines at Mashaba and Shabani.

Late in 1959 the Geological Survey launched its Exploration Section, Amm's brain child. This was overseen from the department's Bulawayo office by Dr I. Goldberg and was intended to assist the mining industry by exploring regions of poor exposure. The prime target was gold, for which tractor-mounted power augers were used to in an attempt to locate hidden reefs as well as auriferous rubble at shallow depths. Tested principally in the vicinity of Chakari, as well as around the Queen's and Lonely mines north of



Dr Amm in later life

Bulawayo, the method proved to be of limited success and was terminated in 1964. However, undertaken concurrently with augering there was also geochemical prospecting for gold, for platinum on the Great Dyke and for nickel both on the Noel claims at Lower Gwanda as well as at what was in 1969 to become Madziwa Mine north of Shamva.

In almost every year from 1950 onwards the Amm family embarked on a lengthy holiday, generally over the period December-January. Favourite destination was the Eastern Cape, where they based themselves either at Kenton-on-Sea or on “Lindale”, the property of Amm’s parents near Salem. In 1958, by way of a change, they stayed at

the Gardens Hotel in Cape Town, and at the end of 1961 they visited Plettenberg Bay. Preferred mode of travel was in a vanette and their luggage included linen as well as crockery for use during the vacation (Mrs E. Amm, *pers. comm.*). By means of these trips Amm was able to maintain his great friendship with Edgar D. Mountain, the second professor of geology at Rhodes University

Directorships 1960–1964

On 1 April 1960 Amm succeeded J. C. Ferguson to become the fifth Director of the Geological Survey, at a fixed salary of £2900 *per annum*. Accompanied by colleague J. G. Stagman he almost immediately proceeded to Zomba, Nyasaland in order to attend the seventh Inter-Territorial Geological Conference, at which matters pertaining to the geology of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were discussed.

During his directorship he represented the Geological Survey at meetings of the Mining Affairs Board, the Mineral Resources Committee of the National Resources Board, the Hydrological Co-ordinating Committee and the Trustees of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia. The fifth edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country was published in February 1962.

Amm remained in the post for only two years since, with effect from 11 April 1962, he was promoted to Senior Provincial Officer, Special Grade 2 at an annual salary of £3 205 and succeeded former Chief Government Mining Engineer W. Ralston, who in 1960 had become the first Director of Mines. According to the late Professor J. F. Wilson (*pers. comm.*), this position was created to promote a better relationship between the



mining community and Government. Amm's successor as Director of the Geological Survey was A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013).

In his new position Amm became Chairman of the Mining Affairs Board, sat on the Chrome Rail Allocation Committee, and between 1960 and 1966 was a Trustee of the Queen Victoria Museum. In addition he sat on the Sabi Valley Co-ordinating Committee and was an Honorary Member of the Chamber of Mines.

At the end of 1962 the author, having completed the second year of his geology degree course at Rhodes University, called at the Geological Survey offices in Salisbury to enquire about vacation work. He was interviewed and indeed offered a job by Amm.



Amm's bell tower at the chapel, Wedza Country Club

However, the position was with the Exploration Division and entailed soil sampling north of Bulawayo during the rainy season. As such it held rather less appeal than a new girlfriend (later wife) in the capital, and the writer instead elected to spend the university vacation in the capital marking African examination papers for the Ministry of Education. However, 9 years later he did take up a position with the Geological Survey (Fey, 2016).

As Director of Mines Amm found working conditions in the upper échelons of the Ministry extremely trying. He was a very determined individual and inevitably clashed with the Secretary for Mines, K. K. Parker, who was not a mining man. Under the circumstances Amm applied for, and was granted, abolition of office in August 1964.

Among his last official acts was to give one of the opening addresses at the 7th Annual Congress of the Geological Society of South Africa, held over the period 13 to 17 July 1964 at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury. This congress was the first to be convened by the Geological Society outside the Republic of South Africa. Fittingly, its theme was "The Later Precambrian Formations of Rhodesia".

Farming and consulting 1964-1982

On retiring from Government service Amm was determined to take up farming again and to this end researched properties in various districts before purchasing Bolton Estate from a Mrs Williams, recently widowed. The property, some 3 500 acres in extent, lay 19 kilometres northwest of Wedza and was watered by the Sengezi, a left-bank tributary of the Sabi River. It had earlier belonged to a Major Chomley, was unoccupied at the time and the farmhouse dilapidated. Amm and his family moved in over Easter 1965 and initially lived in a thatched two bedroomed cottage near the barns while he redesigned and largely rebuilt the house, retaining only the corrugated iron roof and pressed steel ceilings. With the provision of water an early priority the wall of the farm dam was raised, two boreholes were sunk and a reservoir built so that water could be pumped to the dwellings. Amm's youngest son, Alastair, assisted in the refurbishment which also saw the original thatch of existing farm buildings being replaced with corrugated asbestos sheeting. Second-hand implements were purchased and maize, sorghum and sunflowers were planted. The wall of the small dam was raised and the property was restocked with Sussex cattle (Mrs E. Amm, in Macdonald 2003, pp. 69–70).

In order to assist with expenses associated with this new venture Amm took on consulting roles, including underground work, on the Gaika as well as Globe and Phoenix mines at Que Que, in addition providing *pro bono* assistance to smallworkers such as Ken Flower, and Bill West at Lower Gwelo. He maintained a punishing schedule, usually spending a week on Bolton Estate followed by a weekend at home in Salisbury, where his mother-in-law was at the time living with the family. He would then proceed to Que Que for a week's consulting, generally staying at the house of former Globe and Phoenix general manager Redvers Reeves (Mrs E. Amm., *pers. comm.*).

Epilogue

Alastair moved to Bolton Estate in 1969 to manage the property, thereby taking a large burden from his father's shoulders. He began to grow tobacco, undertook the necessary repairs to the barns and added new sheds. The farm was connected to the electricity grid and a large new dam was built, allowing the crops to be irrigated. In 1971 he married Beverley Geer and the couple had children Linda, Ian and Grant.

During 1982 Dr Amm was asked to design a tower for the ship's bell which had hung in the former district church, since collapsed. A new chapel had been built adjacent to the Wedza Club and his proposed tower was to be free-standing and built from rock quarried on Leeds Farm which adjoined Bolton Estate. Amm worked hard on this project and supervised the construction. On 11 October 1982 he returned to the farm late from the building site, where he had just hung the bell in the new tower. Satisfied with his achievement but very weary he retired early, dying from a heart attack early on the following morning, aged 70½ years. As a smoker for much of his life he had suffered three earlier such attacks, and it is conceivable that his heart had been affected by his protracted illness in 1948. After his death Mrs Amm and her other two other sons relinquished their rights to Bolton Estate in favour of Alastair, who oversaw the final work on the bell tower, then continued running what had become a very viable farm.

Frank Leslie Amm is remembered by his grandson Ian as "a big and gentle man". During his time as Director of the Geological Survey he monitored not only mapping progress but also the wellbeing of his geologists by visiting them in the field, as attested by the following anecdote. On graduating from the Royal School of Mines the author's



late colleague Neil Harrison joined the Geological Survey in September 1959 and was immediately sent into the field on a three-year mapping project northeast of Bulawayo. His widow recalls that Amm visited their camp at least twice, on each occasion bringing with him a few provisions as well as a newspaper. When Harrison and his wife returned to Salisbury at the end of the 1960 field season, then with recently born twins and no spare cash, Amm ensured that they had transport in the form of a Morris Minor for which he lent them the money (Mrs F. Harrison, *pers. comm.*).

Dr Amm's eldest son, Derek Evans, a senior electrical engineer with Ontario Hydro in Canada, succumbed to cancer in 1991. After suffering several embolisms his youngest brother Alastair George died at a Cape Town clinic in 1996. His widow remained on Bolton Estate and went into partnership with Michael Moran, a very capable farmer who had begun working for Alastair just before the latter's death. Three years later Moran leased the farm's cropping section and grew tobacco, paprika and maize while Beverley Amm looked after the citrus plantation and cattle. She remarried in 1999, then moved to Marondera two years later when Bolton Estate was forcibly taken over by "war veterans".

Mrs Eleanor (Nora) Amm continued to live in the family home in Harare until at least 1995 when the writer met her, then moved to the Dandaro complex in Borrowdale. In 2002 she relocated to a retirement village in Cape Town, where she died in 2005."

Addendum

The former Rhodesian motor cycle champion, William Raymond ("Ray") Amm, was one of Dr F. L. Amm's distant cousins (E. Amm, *pers. comm.*).

Acknowledgements

The author is greatly indebted to Dr Amm's widow Eleanor (Nora), who on 9 March 1995 over tea at 16 Lawson Avenue, the family home in Harare, very kindly provided personal details of her late husband. In mid-2020 Errol and Ian Amm jointly provided much additional information about the Amm family's association with Bolton Estate. Other data was sourced from Annual Reports of the Director, Geological Survey as well as from historical material in the author's possession. Photographs are from the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

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A Forgotten Story of Valour The Abercorn Store rescue revisited

by Jonathan Waters



The wipe out of Wilson's Victoria Column on the Shangani river in 1893 and the valiant Mazoe Patrol in 1896 rank historically as the two most heroic events in Rhodesian historiography, but almost certainly the rescue of the seven souls at the Abercorn Store demonstrated true bravery — that is, a selfless act in which the odds of coming back alive are finely balanced.

We should ask ourselves why this event at what is Shamva today has been so downplayed and never ranked anywhere in the pantheons of Rhodesian heroics. In presentations to the Medals Society and Pioneer Society, I pointed out it was civilians and not the military high command that pushed for the relief of the Abercorn Store. In the BSA Company reports into the disturbances of 1896, this certainly does not come across.

My interest in the story came about from an account I came across in *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News*, which was launched by “private individuals” six weeks after the First Chimurenga got underway (the first edition was 31 July, 1896). This was clearly a reaction to what must have been seen as the slavish reporting of BSACo activities by the *Rhodesia Herald*.

The story of the rescue of the men at the Abercorn Store — who fortified their position on 20 June and remained in laager for 23 days until rescued — appeared in *Rhodesiana No 9*, (as well as *Assegai* of September 1966) being an account of the rescue by Col Selwyn Hickman that he had presented to the Prehistory Society. Mention is also made of the events in the *History of Shamva* by GAB Blick, and *Nada* 13 to 15 with recollections by various parties.

The protagonist of the rescue was Andrew Henry Farrell Duncan, a retired naval officer who was in the employ of the BSACo as the Surveyor General. As the most senior company official in Bulawayo, he had organised the defence of the town when the uprising broke out three months earlier. As we will see from the accounts that follow, he almost single-handedly pushed for the rescue of the men at Shamva, something they would never forget.

As Edward Broadbent's account was used by Hickman, the official BSA Co report, the *Rhodesia Herald* and *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News*, I have omitted it from this account.

The Rhodesian Times AND FINANCIAL NEWS.

The masthead of *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News*

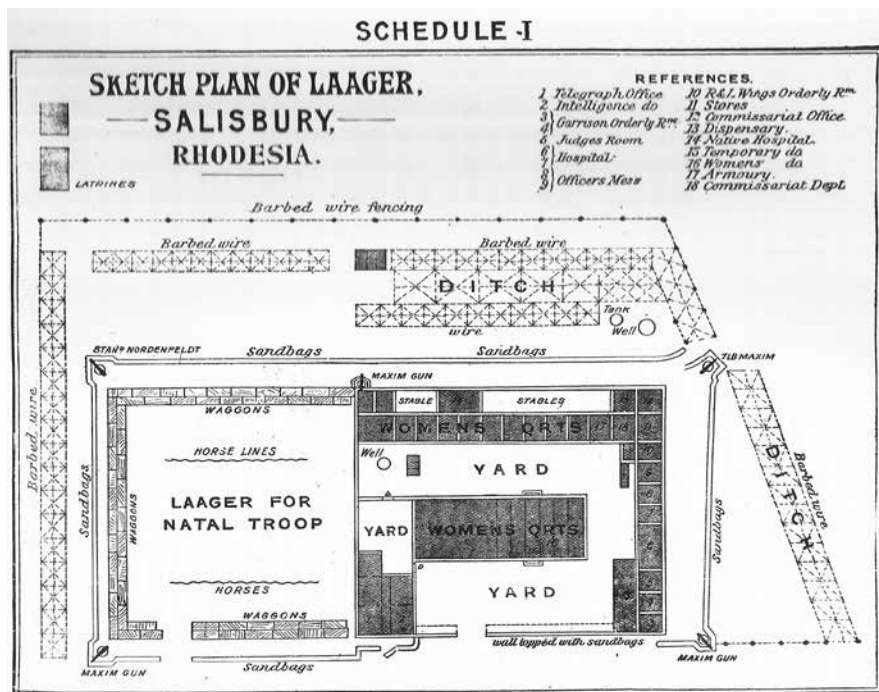


Views of the laager and plans of the site (National Archives)



The Abercorn Patrol

From the time of Captain St Hill's patrol to 10 July, matters in camp were extremely uninteresting. Now and again a small party was sent out to bring in forage and mealies, otherwise life consisted very much of trivia. On 10 July, Mr A. H. F. Duncan arrived from Charter. He had left Charter on the previous afternoon, rode the whole way without seeing a native and being fired upon, although native fires were visible in the near distance. The experience of Captain Judson and Lieutenant Graham, who shortly after the departure of the first Hartley patrol rode down as far as the Hunyani, proved that this ride was most dangerous. The same day as Mr Duncan arrived, a Zambezi boy named January, came in reporting that Mr Hermann had been killed on his way into Salisbury from the Abercorn Store. He came for the purpose of seeking



assistance. The Zambezi boy with two others had been sent from the store to bring water, the nearest water being about 1 000 yards away. The two boys who were with him had been killed by Mashonas, who were in force round the store, and he with great foresight, seeing that it was hopeless to return to the store, had made his way to Salisbury. This incident roused once more all the anger that had been felt in camp over the neglect of the authorities to send out patrols to the rescue of the men in the outlying districts. Fortunately Mr A. H. F. Duncan exerted his influence and persuaded the Commandant-General to overrule the section of the military authorities and of the Defence Committee (which was not altogether unanimous on the point.) After considerable discussion, it was decided that a large patrol should be sent to the Abercorn district.

Mismanagement

It was known the patrol would be dangerous, that severe opposition might be expected from the natives. It will scarcely be believed that the original intention was to send this patrol with no ambulance wagon and without a Maxim gun. Some of the officers, however protested so strongly that the wagon and the Maxim were supplied.

The Story of the Patrol

The patrol consisted of 65 men under Mr Duncan, with Captain Taylor, Captain St Hill, and Lieut Nesbit. Lieut Campbell acted as guide. They left at 8 o'clock on 11 July. On the 13th they returned having rescued seven men, one of whom unfortunately died of

exhaustion on the way back. On Sunday the 12th they had a brief engagement with the natives, whom they repulsed. It was fortunate, however that they had not returned by the same route, for quite close, as far as we can gather to the scene of this first engagement, the natives had set a trap into which they might easily have fallen. A wall and stockade were built right across the road, and the hillsides in the neighbourhood were rapidly fortified with schantzes. When the patrol reached the Abercorn Store they found the men in a terrible plight. It was wisely determined to return by the Mazoe Valley. On the way some of Chipadzi's kraals were burnt. When the patrol reached Cass's farm it was fired on by natives, who still appeared to be in great force in that district. There was some heavy firing and it was not possible to estimate the number of the rebels who were killed (owing, as usual, to the long grass). On the Gwebi River they outspanned. On reaching Mount Hampden they discovered a large number of natives, who seemed inclined to advance and attack. The maxim was brought into play at 1 200 yards, and they soon changed their minds. From Mount Hampden to Salisbury the patrol encountered no opposition, and brought in 40 cows, which were very welcome, as Salisbury had been living for some days on "bully" beef and pork.

The report then carried Edward Broadbent's account of the rescue, which as noted earlier, has been widely referenced. A few months later, *The Rhodesian Times and Financial News* reported the events of a ceremony held on 3 October, 1896:

Presentation Of Address To Mr Duncan

"An interesting ceremony took place on Saturday afternoon last, when a deputation of gentlemen, including representatives of the Abercorn survivors, met and presented Mr A. H. F. Duncan, the Surveyor-General with an Illuminated Address¹, in recognition of the distinguished part he took in effecting the rescue of the besieged men in the district. The Rev. Mr White made the presentation, and said undoubtedly there had been many brave deeds performed during the war, but Mr Duncan's stood out conspicuous amongst them. The expedition had been organised solely by him, and he had practically saved the lives of seven men. (Applause). Mr Muirhead emphasised Mr Duncan's action as a combination of courage and duty, and contrasted it with the trivial behaviour of certain other officers in the laager. He detailed Mr Duncan's ride from Charter and the organisation of the patrol, and pointed out that when volunteers were called for, three times the sixty wanted came forward, which showed that the neglect of rescue duty lay upon the officers and not the men. (Applause).

Mr Nicholson referred to the spontaneity of the subscriptions for the Address. Not one had been asked for a contribution: all had given voluntarily. (Applause). Mr Schaumann said, in addition to this brave deed, Mr Duncan deserved their gratitude for the way he had stuck to them and the country. (Applause). Mr Broadbent, on behalf of himself and his rescued comrades, thanked Mr Duncan deeply for what he had done. There was a consensus of opinion that if it had not been for him they would never have been relieved. They could not held out more than another two or three days at the most. They needed no memorial to remember him. They would never

¹ The illuminated scroll designed by Lyons, who used to run *The Nugget and Rhodesian Critic* newspaper is in the National Army Museum at Chelsea (it was accessioned in January 1978). The testimonial reads: "When this unfortunate rebellion is at an end and we can calmly review its history, your brave exploit will stand out as a conspicuous event, destined to remain one of the most cherished memories of the people of Rhodesia."



forget him. (Applause). Mr Duncan, in reply, thanked the deputation for the Address, which he felt was no ordinary one, but dictated from the heart. One thing that gratified him was, that when he called for volunteers three times the number required came forward because they considered it their duty to relieve men being done slowly to death outside. (Applause). He was glad to have been the instrument of saving life. In regard to the Address, he would cherish it as long as he lived, especially as coming from the people amongst whom his lot was cast, and with whom his work might be in the future. (Applause). The Address, which was from the design and drawing of Mr Alfred Lyons was a very handsome one and contained artistic marginal representations of scenes in the rebellion by the same artist. In the centre was a capital portrait of Mr Duncan, and at the foot a photograph of the seven rescued men. The lettering of the Address was the work of Mr Biller. Mr Duncan left Salisbury for England on Sunday by private convoy.”



The designer of the “Illuminated Address”, Alfred Lyons, outside his offices. *The Nugget and Rhodesian Critic* started publishing in August 1895

This next account by “J.T.-J.” appeared in the *Rhodesia Herald* on 19 March 1926 and was written in response to a claim by Shamva farmer Arthur Morkel in an article the previous week that the survivors at the Shamva store were drunk when rescued.

Reminiscences

The remarks made by A. R. Morkel on the relief of Abercorn in the 1896 Rebellion in a recent article in your columns seem to show that there is some misapprehension as to the condition in which the men there were found, and it may be well now to recall the facts

regarding this patrol, which left Salisbury at the end of June or early July, 1896, upon what was thought by many — some of whom were in high authority — to be a forlorn hope. The first Hartley Patrol — of which the writer proposes to write in a future article had returned, driven back from Mashangombi's kraal by superior numbers and with some casualties. The Mazoe Patrol had also returned and most of the settlers and miners at Lo Mangondis had found their way into the laager by the first week of July, and it was realised that there was little hope of any survivors being left in the country district except at Hartley and Abercorn. A somewhat acrimonious atmosphere prevailed in the laager as to the probabilities of their being still alive, as to the possibilities of a rescue. At this juncture — and it is useless to conceal the fact that depression was very deep in Salisbury — the arrival of Mr A. H. F. Duncan, the Surveyor-General, from Bulawayo, when he had come accompanied only by Evered, his servant, on horseback, had a wonderful effect on the spirits of the beleaguered garrison, and I think I am right in saying that it was his influence which decided the Powers that were, to attempt the Abercorn Patrol. Even then there was a good deal of delay and argument as to whether a Maxim could be spared or not, but eventually the patrol was formed, consisting of experienced men with a Maxim and a light hospital wagon and mules. Mr Duncan accompanied the patrol, which was under the command of Capt George St Hill, with Lieuts, Snodgrass and Maclaren and Alec Nesbit and A. D. Campbell as guides the former for his knowledge of Mazoe and the latter for his knowledge of the road.

Hearty Send Off

The writer cannot verify the date at the moment, but it must have been about 7 July or 8 that the patrol, sixty-five strong, left Salisbury laager about 8 o'clock in the evening, and was given a hearty send off by all the inhabitants of the laager. It was very difficult to get away as so many "goodbyes" were left to the last moment. However we got away at last and the last three men who left, St Hill, Snodgrass and myself were presented with bottles of whisky by Mrs Marshall Hole and Mrs Vintcent not without tears. There was a good moon and it was bitterly cold. I rode the whole night with A. D. Campbell, who was the guide through this part of the country and nothing occurred until the next morning at about 7 o'clock, just when we had off saddled about thirty miles out. A number of Mashonas, evidently not realising that we were such a large body, came running at us out of the bush from a spruit on the road, but were speedily scattered by Maclaren's Maxim and we did not see another native except gesticulating on distant hills during the whole march to Abercorn Store, which we reached without any trouble the following morning about 8 or 9 o'clock.

The Survivors

When we judged we were within about a mile or two of the store, then owned by H. J. Deary, we fired a shot or two in order to give some kind of notice of our coming, and Snodgrass and myself rode on slowly, well flanked on either side and in a few minutes came sight of the laager, and we could see the attitudes of the men, resting on the sides with their rifles at the "present". On seeing us they shouted, and in fewer minutes than it takes to write Snoddy and myself were shaking hands with survivors.



Not a native had been seen that day. The laager merits description. It was only a few feet from the huts of which the store consisted, and evidently they had no time or opportunity to choose the better spot, but had hastily got as far into the open as possible and there constructed their defences from the bags of grain, salt, and cases store goods, to a height of about five feet. It was oval-shaped and about ten to twelve feet long and not more than half as wide. They were about a thousand yards from their water supply, and although one trip had been made to the water in the earlier days of their siege, I believe I am right in saying that they had been 22 days without fresh water.

Lime Juice And Gin

At this time I cannot recollect more than a few of the names of the rescued men; Pickering, in charge of the store: Jack Rowland, an old prospector an ex CM and old George Holman, a Cornish prospector. There were, if I remember rightly, nine persons rescued — all of whom were wounded more or less severely. There were also in the laager two native woman, whom they detained, as they dare not let them go to tell their relations the plight of the garrison. And their sole drink, from compulsion was lime juice and gin. There were cases of whisky and other spirits, but they found that this mixture was the one which caused least thirst. Fortunately it was winter and bitterly cold. Had it been summer they could not have survived. They were in a terrible condition, but not as Mr Morkel suggests, from intoxication. Poor old Jack Rowland died the next day from wounds and exhaustion — he must have been over 60 years of age as he had served in the old Frontier Armed Mounted Police, which was converted into the CM Rifles. We buried him and also Fletcher, who had gone out in the early days of the laager to hold parley with the natives, but had been shot about 30 or 40 yards from the laager and there we found his blackened corpse. Imagine the feeling of those in that frail laager at having to view that corpse every day — not daring to bury it and not able to raise a head above the loopholes for 22 days or more.

A Roaring Business

It was a very happy day for us all in fact it had begun to get rather too happy as the storekeeper had resumed business as if there had been only a slight interruption. And he was doing a roaring bar business, too. However Mr Duncan saw that something would have to be done, so he gave me orders (I was the senior NCO) to set apart one bottle of whisky per every man for the return journey, to close the store, and then destroy all the stock after taking what we wanted as supplies. An inventory was taken, the store was cleared, the bar closed, amidst much grumbling, which the promise of one bottle per man somewhat allayed. Fortunately there were lots of tinned luxuries in the store and so everyone fed well even if they also did partake of the liquids, and they were on the whole a very good humoured lot. I should say, even at this distance of time, that the feeling uppermost in the all our minds was one of elation at having pulled off the rescue, and the more so as most people in Salisbury thought it a forlorn hope.

A Tragedy Indeed

However, there was also tragedy in the air, for I had orders to destroy all the liquor in the store, for which I had to get a fatigue party, and there were probably

20 or 30 cases of whisky and other liquor which had to be destroyed. There were, in those days, teetotallers or prohibitionists available, so I had to take the best available materials. But I believe that I am truthful in saying that something very like tears were shed as the axes came down and smashed the bottles containing the precious fluid. It was a tragedy indeed — and all Salisbury aching for whisky, which was then worth about £6 a case, which was very dear for those days. The wounded having been attended to and placed in the hospital wagon, we were early awake the next morning and off guided thus time by Alec Nesbit and we headed west to get over to the Mazoe, as we had every reason to suppose that we should had a warm reception had we returned by the road we come. It was a lovely ride over a very interesting bit of a country, and we passed through kraals with only woman in them. I think we only outspanned once until we got into the Mazoe Valley, and then only for a short time. We all knew — at least those of us who knew the country — that it was odds against us getting up the Mazoe Valley without trouble, and we had to trust to luck.

March in the Valley

We off saddled again just about sundown and had a good feed — no fires though and no lights allowed. Then about nine o'clock we began our march along the valley the same route which had been followed by the famous Mazoe Patrol only a fortnight sooner. It was all right until the Alice Kopje was reached. Up to that point we felt we could move, but as everyone knows, once past that there was little room to move — Kopjes on the right and a swamp, hardly believable now, on the left. To have been attacked at any point between there and the Tatagura meant a very bad time indeed and some of us, at all events, well knew it. But all went well until we rounded the Kopje at the Etna and Vesuvius. Then the worst of all things happened the wagon broke down. I cannot now say how long it was before we got it mended, as silently as possible. I know that it seemed hours. What a sigh of relief we heaved when we moved on again and all was well for another half hour or more. We had to go very slowly and keep well in touch. Then we struck a snag for at the very narrowest part of the whole road, about two or three miles from the Tatagura, we found that 20 feet or so of the road had been trenched and dug out ten feet deep and stakes erected underneath, the whole being covered with grass and earth, a regular Mashona trap. Here was delay, as it was all but impossible to get the hospital wagon round the top, which was precipitous, and the lower side fell rapidly into swamp. Eventually we got it past on the lower side by sheer carrying it on one side. Here the country improves to the Tatagura, and we got over the stream safely. A horrid drift it was, too, in those days. We could hardly believe our luck and now knew that nothing could stop us as the country was beginning to open out on to the Mount Hampden flats. About a mile or so from the Tatagura one single shot was fired, and no more than a signal, doubtless. Then daylight came, some of the men rounded up a mob of Mashona cattle, and we got to Mount Hampden about 7 or 8 o'clock, crossed the Gwebi, and it was here that we saw, I believe, more Mashonas than were ever seen during the whole rebellion. There must have been several hundred of them, with eight or ten mounted men, on the skyline to the west of Mount Hampden. Maclaren shoved his Maxim on the top



of an antheap and let them have some at about 2 000 yards. They came no nearer.

News of the Rescue

After breakfast, for which we all had a very good appetite, Snodgrass and myself were sent off with dispatches to Salisbury, to take in the glad news of the rescue. At the “Bubbies” someone had two or three potshots at us, but Snoddy and I were not taking any and were very soon at the outlying pickets on the Count’s farm now Avondale. We made straight for Judge Vincent’s house and there he was in the middle of the road, obviously, from his expression, fearing the worst, staring at us two grimy ruffians coming down the road at a gallop. We yelled “Hooray,” and that relieved him. A minute or two afterwards we were joined by Frank Mack, of the French South Africa Development Co, and five minutes after that Snoddy and I were quaffing the very best Pommery, very pleased with ourselves. But they did not keep us long. There were no telephones in those days and we were hustled off to tell the joyful news to the laager, which we reached just as everyone was being allowed out, somewhere about 10 o’clock.

‘The Commodore’

The two ladies who took me home that day and gave me a really hot bath, are still alive, and if they read this they will know that I never enjoyed a bath so much in my life. It is not too much to say that this most successful patrol did much to reassure people and entirely altered the situation. It was now realised that one or two armed men might with impunity ride through Mashonaland, that the Mashona would not attack even a small body of troops, and that it would not be long before communications were established. There is no doubt that the man to whom this was due (though I have not seen it anywhere referred to) was Capt. A. H. F. Duncan, better known to old hands and intimates as the ‘Commodore,’ who put heart into us at a critical time by his example in riding from Matabeleland to Salisbury through a hostile country, accompanied only by one man.”

If I am to conclude anything from the accounts, it would be that the military differed greatly with the civilians when it came to sending out rescue parties; that within living memory of the incident, people felt Duncan was a real hero; that a single medal for the whole campaign devalued acts of individual heroism; and, that the mass sighting of Mashona warriors, which no doubt included some Matabele insurgents and other renegades, may indicate they were planning their own assault on the capital. It remains unfortunate we know of no military plans or strategy for finishing off the settlers. Given 10% of the white population was killed, the chances were good in the early days of the uprising. Broadbent says in his account they had been told by their attackers that Salisbury had been overrun and all the whites killed.

And what of Duncan? An Australian by birth, according to biographical notes, he was in the Royal Navy from age 13, between 1868 and 1883, serving as Lieutenant on *HMS Boadicea*. In 1884, he qualified from the University of the Cape of Good Hope as a land surveyor, and was Surveyor General in Bechuanaland from 1886 to 1891. It is not apparent when he started in the employ of the BSACo, but he appears first in the *Rhodesia Herald* as Postmaster-General in June 1893, then the acting

Chief Magistrate, and by July 1894 he has been appointed Surveyor-General. Between 7 October 1893 and 10 September 1894, he was acting Administrator.

Duncan goes into business with one of the Abercorn survivors, H. J. Deary, in a venture called “Scottish Africa”, but just how this works out is not known as he must have left the employ of the BSACo. He serves with the Royal Engineers and the Intelligence Department in the Boer War and then appears to be in the employ of the Union government mapping out the Orange River Colony and later the border with Swaziland. He received a Crown grant of a farm at Hartebeestfontein and died on 22 September 1931 at Pretoria, aged 76. His 1896 campaign medal went up for auction in 2015 and sold for £2 200.

My thanks to Collen Gondo for his assistance.

“Golden Gatooma”: Kadoma in its early days

by Benjamin Leon and Rob Burrett



The origin and meaning of the name Gatooma/Kadoma is contested. Some suggest that it is *chiShona* for “small hill”, the low ridge on which the current settlement is built. This, however, is a later interpretation offered long after the event. Most references and early maps associate it with a low, otherwise uninteresting hill known as “Kaduma” which lies a short distance southwest of Golden Valley Mine, the site of the first Gatooma.

There is also considerable disagreement as to the meaning. The most popular interpretation is that it is isiNdebele meaning “does not thunder or make a noise”. This silencing is said to relate to the Ndebele destruction of a Shona village that was once situated on the hill. Others suggest it is chiZezuru suggesting that it is something that must not be spoken about on account of the place being inhabited by spirits. This and the isiNdebele meaning are not necessarily mutually exclusive, possibly two sides of a common historical incident. Yet others say that the name is that of the original chief of the Ngezi or Budera Dynasty who actually occupied the village on the hill. Originally Tonga-speakers, the community has over several centuries taken on the dominant Shona identity. As such the name Kaduma is the chief’s birth name and is not a reference to a later event.

The town, now city, was renamed Kadoma on 4 October 1982 to what was said to be a more correct *chiShona* pronunciation of its Anglicised Rhodesian-era version.

The first Gatooma

The earliest reference we have found to the name appears on a Stanford’s Rhodesia map dated 1 March 1900; the “Cootooma” District included much of what is known today as the Golden Valley-Chakari area. Named after a hill near the main gold workings of that time, it replaced an earlier name for this same area, the “Lower Umfuli” Gold District which appears on Stanford’s 1899 map. The amendment may have come about because of possible confusion with the “Upper Umfuli” district (the Beatrice area) which was also an important gold mining centre at that time.

The original settlement, Cootoma or Gootomba¹, was founded as a service centre in late 1902 at the largest mine in the district.² At the time the Golden Valley Mine was being developed by the company Golden Valley (Mashonaland) Mines Ltd, a subsidiary of the Mashonaland Consolidated Development Company Ltd. Its mine manager, John Mack, was an early prospector in the district and former holder of some of the mine’s richest claims which he sold to Mashonaland Consolidated in 1901, Fig 1.

This pioneering settlement seemed to have a rosy future. By 1902 a store had been established by Messrs Siggins & Rockbang (purchased in 1903 by Meikles Brothers),

¹ the latter name appears in a newspaper article, *Rhodesia Times* 21/6/1902

² Brettell, J. 2015. *John Mack*. Heritage 34: 155-170.



**Fig 1. John Mack in later years.
1870-1955.**

(courtesy Benjamin Leon)

while in 1903 the Golden Valley Sports Club elected John Mack as Chairman. Contemporary Salisbury newspapers also report on a thriving social and musical tradition centred on Siggins' store. About this time the spelling was settled upon and the first Gatooma Post & Telegraph Agency opened sometime between 1 April and 12 October 1905 (possibly in Meikles' store?).

The settlement proved relatively short-lived, as the mine soon faced serious geological challenges that curtailed operations by late 1906, the company going into liquidation. Despite the apparent insurmountable obstacles Mack refused to give in. Taking it on tribute, he continued exploring the deeper levels in search of the "lost reef", as well as developing several nearby mines which he ran on his own account. Meanwhile many miners, traders and others moved elsewhere.

A new Gatooma

The origin of the current City of Kadoma dates to 1906 when a homestead and small store ("bush canteen") were established adjacent to the line of rail by a hunter-cum-farmer, Charles Godwin, Fig 2. Being on the Salisbury–Bulawayo railway and more central in the then much acclaimed "Klondike Fields of Rhodesia" (between Golden Valley and Eiffel Flats), Godwin's store was better located to supply basic commodities to surrounding miners, as well as providing an ideal place for news, gossip and socialising. The original set of simple thatched pole-&-*dhaka* buildings, known later as "The Mansion", lay just west of the protected "Railway Reserve", we think behind what was developed as the Gatooma Hotel, later rebuilt as the "Grand Hotel" on Rhodes (now Herbert Chitepo) Street.

A backwoods store, Godwin's enterprise would never have progressed much further were it not for the efforts of John Mack. For many years he had struggled



Fig 2. "The Mansion" - the original settlement built in 1906 just located outside of the Railway Reserve west side of Rhodes/Herbert Chitepo Street (1912 publication "Golden Gatooma", courtesy Benjamin Leon).



to transport supplies to Golden Valley by ox-wagon over virtually non-existent roads from the railway; offloading at either the Umsweswe or Hartley sidings. He also faced considerable problems with tsetse fly, and at one time tried to use a steam-driven traction engine, although inadequate water en route saw its demise. Mack was quick to see an opportunity to develop Godwin's store into a more accessible forwarding agency for his wants. Not only was the site closer, but the route was free of tsetse fly.

Persistent in his demands, John Mack pressurised the otherwise apathetic administration to open a new railway siding near Godwin's store. It may have been Mack's unorthodox habit of burning huge fires alongside the track so forcing the trains to stop that eventually encouraged the railway authorities to accede to his request. In 1906 the "Gatooma Siding" was established — a siding created to supply the Gatooma (Golden Valley) district. With this in place Godwin became Mack's forwarding agent and so the second, the modern settlement has its genesis.

Very shortly after, the word "siding" appears to have dropped from the name and the current settlement acquired its name despite its origin elsewhere. As regional mining and farming opportunities expanded, so Godwin's site quickly attracted many other traders and service industries to cater for the developing hinterland. Some were traders in their own right, but others were branches of established firms in Bulawayo and Johannesburg - African Banking Corporation; Chimowitz Brothers; Duly's; Haddon & Sly; and Wightman's.

The new settlement grew rapidly and the first elections took place in late 1906 for representation on the "Sanitary Board", Fig. 3. This negotiated with the BSACo for full local authority status, culminating in the election of a "Village Management Board" in late 1907. The board enthusiastically took responsibility for managing the general affairs of the nascent village, including the laying out of wide roads, planting of flowering trees and shrubs (for beauty as well as to cut down dust), refuse and sanitation services, and obtaining potable water which was for many years brought in by rail from the Umsweswe River.

In 1908 Gatooma township was surveyed, its roads cut out of the virgin bush in what was described at the time as being one of the fastest growing settlements in the country. Initially a sizeable portion of the village was allocated to the railways or other BSACo



Fig 3. Elections to the Gatooma Sanitary Board, 1906
(1912 publication "Golden Gatooma", courtesy Benjamin Leon).



Fig 4. Rhodes Street, Gatooma, circa 1912
(from undated cuttings scrapbook, Bulawayo Public Library)

bodies. Private businesses focused on the plots just west of the Railway Reserve and Rhodes (now Herbert Chitepo) street became Gatooma's principal thoroughfare. By 1910 the prestigious space on the corner of Baker and Rhodes streets was dominated by a prominent set of early brick buildings, Fig 4. Collectively known as Union Buildings, these structures remained a feature of the town until the 1970s when the demolisher's hand started to take its toll.

The central building shown in the photograph was originally the Assay Office, a particularly important place for the district's many small gold workers. The double-storied building to the right (north) was Fitt's Building. Erected by an early trader George Septimus Fitt, its original façade was preserved by Peter Sternberg and Bob Rogers who had it re-erected in the museum section of the Kadoma Public Library when the building was demolished in 1995. This was to make way for a more modern shopping complex, the Sam Levy Pedestrian Mall.

North of the Union Buildings was the Gatooma Hotel built in 1914. This was



Fig 5. The original Gatooma gaol, circa 1910 (from undated cuttings scrapbook, Bulawayo Public Library)

replaced in 1925 by the Grand Hotel, built by the Goldberg Brothers. On the corner with Rhodes and Edward (now Mukwati) streets was the town's post office. Just south of this was Gatooma's first prison (gaol), Fig 5, a cavern carved out at the heart of a large termite mound. How prisoners were confined within it is not recalled. Perhaps they were shackled and guarded? Not surprisingly it didn't lasted for long.

Initially the Railway Reserve west of the station was used as an informal general market and for periodic cattle sales, Fig. 6. Serving the town as the unofficial "railway hotel" was Speck's. Opened in 1908 by W. Speck, the hotel initially consisted of three pole and *dhaka* huts and a corrugated iron bar. In 1910 the Railway Reserve was subdivided into commercial plots for which there was a strong demand. This was serviced by a new roadway, Union Street, which led down to the original station at an angle to the original town plan. Speck's original *dhaka* structures were replaced by a building of wood and iron, giving way in turn to a brick structure in the closing years of World War One. When Mr and Mrs P. Levi took over the establishment in 1923 they introduced many improvements, including the provision of hot and cold running water, electric lights and call bells. For decades on the veranda



**Fig 6. Market Day, Gatooma Railway Reserve
(from undated cuttings scrapbook, Bulawayo Public Library)**

of Speck's was a plaque which proudly proclaimed "All rooms face the sea" - factually correct, but with considerable tongue in cheek.

By 1912 Gatooma was a fairly sizeable town, the third largest in the country after Bulawayo and Salisbury. A tremendous sense of civic pride had already been fostered, and in an effort to attract further investment, the Village Board established a Publicity Committee which printed a photographic booklet showing highlights of the town and surrounding mines. Called "Golden Gatooma", it is now a rare collectors' item, Fig. 7.

The community was served by several well-built churches, two hospitals (one European and another for African patients) and a primary school. The first school of sorts was founded in 1907 by Mrs Amelia Fitt who provided basic classes to the town's children in her house. By 1910 it had moved to a proper school building, Fig. 8.

Being a town of significance it was only right that there was a local newspaper. The *Gatooma Mail and Mining Gazette* was a weekly publication started on 30 March 1912. The heading *Mining Gazette* was later dropped.

When the town's name was changed to Kadoma in 1982 the newspaper was renamed *The North Midlands Gazette*, but falling readership saw it close in 2006.

Gatooma was granted municipal status on 27 July 1917 following a petition to the Government. Before conceding further authority, the BSACo insisted on written assurances *'that Municipal rates on public buildings would be the same as those that applied in Salisbury, and that hospitals, schools, school hostels and drill halls would not be liable'*. The Board agreed and elections followed. Six councillors were elected and leading businessman, Councillor George Septimus Fitt, became the first Mayor (his son, Eric Fitt was later also Mayor of the town), Fig. 9.

Originally Gatooma belonged to the magisterial district of Salisbury, but in October 1908 a new district was formed. The Hartley District was initially administered from



**Fig 7. The front cover of the original
1912 publication of "Golden
Gatooma" (courtesy Benjamin Leon)**



Fig 8. Gatooma School (1912 publication “Golden Gatooma”, courtesy Benjamin Leon).

the village of Hartley (Chegutu), but as the centre of regional commerce and mining shifted so Gatooma effectively undercut its smaller, northern neighbour. In March 1919 the magistrate at Hartley transferred his headquarters to the larger settlement. He was followed not long after by the Mines Office, Civil Commissioner and Cattle Inspector. For those who may remember the old Southern Rhodesian vehicle number plates, this will explain Gatooma being registered as RH, i.e. Hartley District.

In 1922 the town’s first electricity supply was made available by Johnson & Fletcher, a firm of engineers and timber merchants whose headquarters were in Bulawayo. They installed two steam boilers to run the generators. Charges were high and only the wealthy could afford it, although even they had to ration their usage as supplies were limited. Thereafter, like most the rest of the town, they

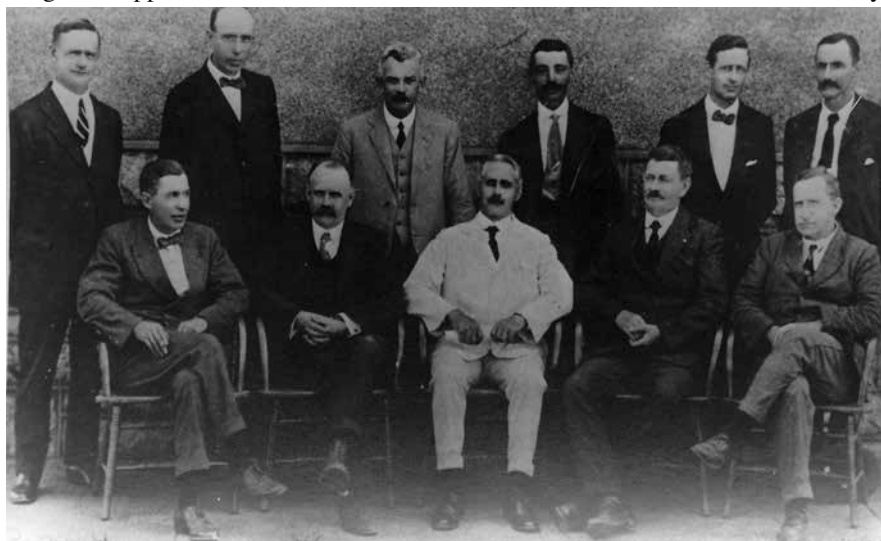


Fig 9. The first Gatooma Town Board 1917, Mayor George Septimus Fitt front centre in white suit (1912 publication “Golden Gatooma”, courtesy Benjamin Leon).



needed to bring out their candles and paraffin lamps.

With the continuing growth of the town, a new administrative centre was established at the northern end of Edward Street (now Mukwati) on a section of land initially set aside in 1912 for the European hospital (this was actually built elsewhere). Here a variety of local and central government offices have been built, the first municipal offices were opened in 1925. Now overlooked by the magistrates court with its distinctive tower, the modern post office (opened 1972), and several government offices, this civic sector was named Fitt Square in 1967 during Gatooma's 50th anniversary celebrations of its municipal status. We should add that Kadoma was awarded the status of a city on 17 March 2000.

A regional Economic Hub

The district has for centuries been one of the premier gold producing centres in the country. As early as 800 AD, local people took advantage of the shallow, but rich mineralised veins. Complementing the annual agricultural cycle, with simple, manual techniques visible gold was extracted, crushed and traded with Indian Ocean and Zambezi-based traders, initially Swahili and later Portuguese middlemen. Many of the precolonial workings had ceased to be worked by the 1870s, but not all. The traveller, artist and concessionaire, Thomas Baines, describes several active "Ancient Workings" in this district. With colonisation, these open pits were sought out by European prospectors and all of the region's mines were once pegged on such "Ancient Workings", Fig 10.

The 1910s and 1920s were probably the most productive as far as gold mining, with many small-scale miners operating individual mines scattered across the district. The April 1913 issue of *The Mining Magazine* described it thus: "The most lively mining centre in Rhodesia is Gatooma, which is the distributing point for Cam and Motor, Eileen Alannah, Masterpiece, Turkoise, Cheshire Cat, Shari and Arlandzer mines." By the 1950s most of the smaller, less profitable mines had closed, although the output of the principal ones remained significant. Cam & Motor Mine on the nearby Eiffel Flats was for many years the country's largest producer. In 1929 it claimed to be the largest gold mine in the Southern Hemisphere apart from the Witwatersrand of South Africa. Comprising of a scatter of individual claims, these were purchased and consolidated by the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company (LONRHO) in 1910.

As small-scale gold production declined, so commercial agriculture took over as the major economic activity in the district. Initially it was cattle rearing and Gatooma was renowned for its pedigree stock, both imported and locally bred. Many champion bulls were regular winners in the Salisbury



Fig 10. Typical "Ancient Working", the basis of most gold mines pegged early Rhodesia (from undated cuttings scrapbook, Bulawayo Public Library)

and Bulawayo Shows throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

By the 1920s cotton production boomed, a revolution subsidised by the Southern Rhodesian government, the British Empire Cotton Association and the Empire Cotton Growers Association. Huge areas were turned over to the crop and a Cotton Research & Training Institute was established in 1925 on commonage land located just outside of the town on the Golden Valley Road. The growth and success of this industry was actively promoted by Major G. S. Cameron, Fig. 11.



Fig 11. Staff of the Gatooma Cotton Research Station, 1930s.
Major G. S. Cameron front centre
(courtesy Benjamin Leon)

In 1925 Gatooma was chosen as the site of the country's first ginnery, so establishing it as the traditional heart of the nation's cotton industry. First known as the Hartley District Ginnery, in 1943 it was expanded as the Gatooma Spinning Mills in anticipation of the post World War Two economic boom. At the opening Max Danziger, then Minister of Finance, declared that *'The Textile Industry, I believe, will be one of the most important in the Colony and there is no reason why we should not make - in addition to cotton cloths and clothing for Europeans - all the cotton blankets and, as long- range vision, all the woollen blankets too, as well*

as cotton clothing required in the Colony, in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the African populations'. The mill was later taken over by LONRHO which ran it as Rhodesian Spinners, before it was sold to David Whitehead which expanded the business considerably. Sadly as we write this pivotal Kadoma and Chegutu industry is on its knees, a victim of globalisation and Zimbabwean de-industrialisation.

Another important crop was tobacco which, by 1929, had become the major commercial crop grown in the district. International investor, Sir Abe Bailey, acquired huge swathes of land to grow the "golden leaf", establishing a massive tobacco grading warehouse at Martin Spur.

Postscript

This note derives from a short, historical booklet which we drafted in 2017 for the celebrations marking the centenary of the granting of formal municipal status to Gatooma on 27 July 1917. Named "Golden Gatooma", drawing on the same title as the 1912 publication, unfortunately the project was never completed. Rather than allowing the information to be lost, we present here a condensed version. We don't claim this to be a thorough history of Kadoma, but in putting it down on paper we hope to preserve to some extent the history of the town. Sadly we have too little recorded on the local histories of most of the smaller towns across Zimbabwe. Salisbury/Harare and Bulawayo are well documented, but we stand to lose that of our other towns. Hopefully our efforts will be repeated by others for the likes of Mutare, Chinhoyi, Masvingo... We look forward to seeing the challenge being taken up.

Extracts from Nkone Cattle of Zimbabwe

by George Hulme

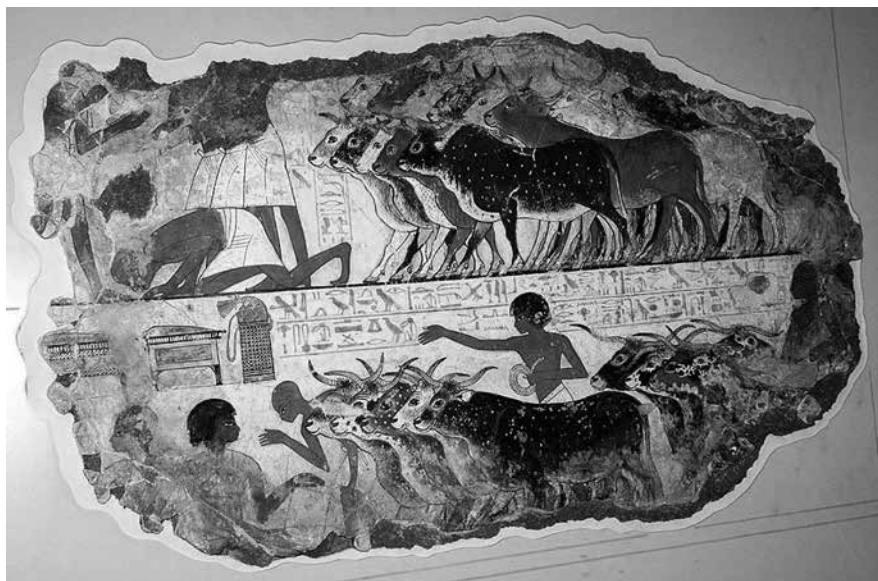


The Indigenous Cattle Breeds of Zimbabwe

The three genetic groups that make up the indigenous cattle breeds in Zimbabwe arrived in Africa as follows: European *Bos Taurus* from Europe in two waves, about 6000BC and 2500BC, *Bos Indicus* from the Indus Valley in Asia also in two waves about 2000BC and 700AD (with the Arab/Somali invasions down the east coast of Africa) and the African *Bos Taurus* which were domesticated in North Africa around 7 000 to 10 000 years ago.

There are three African breeds indigenous to Zimbabwe; the Mashona, Nkone (Nguni) and Tuli, which are all neck-humped Sanga cattle. The Sanga breeds are originally a mixture of *Bos Taurus*, African *Bos Taurus* and the African Zebu. It is worth noting that the three main ancestral genetic groups of the modern Zimbabwean indigenous breeds have all been in Africa for thousands of years, continuously adapting and surviving in the harsh African environment. The three Zimbabwean Sanga breeds occur naturally in the following environments: Mashona in the sour veld Highveld region, the Tuli in the sweet veld of the Lowveld and the Nguni in Lowveld and Middleveld regions.

The migration of people down the African continent brought with them cattle from the Ethiopian region where all African breeds originated. Sanga cattle came here in this way, firstly with the Kohekohe people 2 000 years ago and later with the Bantu migrations in about 700AD. The African Zebus originated in the Indus Valley and were





brought to Africa by Arabs and Somalis in two waves, firstly to the Ethiopian area 1 500 years ago and then later, in about 700AD, down the East Coast of Africa.

The Mashona, a Sanga breed, is indigenous to the higher rainfall regions of Zimbabwe and originated from the Bantu migrations to Southern Africa around 300AD to 700AD. In 1941 F. B. Willoughby and E. A. B. McLeod saw the potential of the Mashona and began to select and purchase cattle from communal areas, Willoughby in the Buhera and Chirumanzi areas and McLeod in the Mhondoro area. They soon built up their herds and breeding herds were established

by other commercial farmers and Government Research Stations. The modern Mashona is predominately solid black in colour although there are solid reds as well. A high percentage of Mashona are natural polls. The Mashona are the smallest of the three improved breeds in Zimbabwe. The Mashona Cattle Society was created in the 1950s.

Tuli cattle come from the low rainfall south west of Zimbabwe. The Tuli is also a Sanga breed and could have arrived in Zimbabwe with the Kohekohe even before the Mashona ecotype Sanga. In 1946, Len Harvey, a Land Development Officer in the Tuli area obtained permission for Government to start a breeding herd from selected yellow cattle he found there. The Tuli cattle went from strength to strength and became popular with both communal and commercial farmers. Herds were also established at Government Research Stations in addition to the parent herd at Tuli. Tuli are solid in colour and range from ivory through yellow to dark red. The majority are naturally polled. Tuli are larger than the Nkone (Nguni) and Mashona. The Tuli Cattle Society was formed in 1961.

The Nkone (Sanga Nguni) cattle in Zimbabwe come from the area around Bulawayo and Nyamandhlovu in Matabeleland. The original Nkone (Nguni) cattle migrated down Africa to Zululand in South Africa around 300AD to 700AD before coming to Matabeleland in 1840 when the Matabele tribe of King Msilikatse migrated northwards from Zululand, bringing their Nguni cattle with them. As happened with the modern Tuli, a herd was started by a Government employee, John Brownlee, at Tjolotjo in 1946. Another herd was started at Msengenzi Experimental Farm in 1953. A few commercial farmers became interested in the breed but never to the extent that they did in the Mashona and Tuli breeds. Similar Nguni type cattle are found in the lower Savé Valley in Zimbabwe, where they came with the Tsonga people in the 1700's and later with the Machangane tribe of King Soshangane from Zululand in 1836. The Nkone and Gaza-Nguni cattle are multi coloured, horned and between the Mashona and Tuli in size. Their multi coloured hides were favoured and selectively bred for by the warlike Nguni tribes (Matabele and Machangane), and each fighting regiment had its unique cowhide shield colour from selected herds.

Many of our Zimbabwean improved indigenous herds were severely affected by Land Reform from 2000, reducing numbers dramatically. It is pleasing to see that numbers



of both pedigree Tuli and Mashona are slowly increasing again and new breeders are becoming established. Unfortunately this is not the case with the Nkone, which is pretty much an endangered breed due to very low numbers. Mashona and Tuli cattle are much sought after in many countries in the world, including South Africa, Zambia, Australia, South America and the United States. They have had a tremendous impact when used in crossbreeding programmes. These Zimbabwean breeds have brought their many positive attributes to those countries, where in many instances there is a developing trend to keep functionally efficient, 'easy care', hardy, optimum sized cattle which do not require a large amount of artificial feeding.

Gaza-Nguni Cattle and the Tsonga/Hlengwe and Machangana

The Tsonga Hlengwe people from the Lower Limpopo Valley migrated northward in the mid 1700's but took very few cattle with them. They were not really pastoralists and they subsisted more on fishing, hunting and basket and mat weaving and did not keep large cattle herds. The Tsonga Hlengwe led by Chiefs Tsovani, Mahenye and Chisa, migrated up the Savé River into modern day South East Zimbabwe where they displaced the Shona Karanga people living there on the lower Savé River and its tributaries. One of the dominant Tsonga Hlengwe chiefs, Chief Mahenye, settled near the Savé/Runde Junction where the Mahenye people still live today. The Tsonga Hlengwe began to adopt a cattle culture and added local cattle to their herds either by conquest or barter. These cattle were predominantly of a Sanga Nguni type.

The next significant migrations into this country with their Gaza-Nguni cattle were in 1830 when factions of Nguni (Zulu) people fled the unrest and inter-tribal warfare taking place in King Chaka's Zululand and surrounding areas during the bloody wars of the "Mfecane" of the time. They consisted of factions and tribes of the warlike Nguni, some of whom eventually arrived and settled in Zimbabwe. One group (the Gaza Nguni of Soshangana, who later became known as Machangana) moved northwards up the Eastern seaboard and inland up the Savé River to the Chipinge highlands near Mount Selinda in Zimbabwe. Others went beyond, some to modern Malawi and Northern Zambia, while another group (the Ndebele of Mzilikazi) went west and then north; finally ending up in what is now Matabeleland in Zimbabwe in 1840. The Nguni people were great pastoralists and accomplished cattlemen and their vast herds of Nguni cattle covered Zululand. The migrating Nguni people brought many cattle with them from Zululand and these warlike people also captured additional cattle from tribes they attacked and overwhelmed on their journeys.

The tribe of migratory Nguni people, the Gaza Nguni under their King Soshangana, which eventually settled in the Eastern Highlands of present day Zimbabwe, subjugated the people over a large part of the surrounding area including Chief Mahenye's area and the Savé Valley below their capital in the mountains. The Gaza Nguni grazed their large herds of Gaza-Nguni cattle throughout the Savé Valley where they mixed with local cattle and with cattle captured and bartered from the conquered tribes in the area. The greatly sought after Nguni type cattle of the Gaza Nguni from Zululand had a large influence on cattle phenotypes in the area of their influence. The cattle culture of the Mahenye Tsonga Hlengwe was reinforced during this period due to their assimilation by the Gaza

Nguni (Machangana). The Gaza Nguni interaction with the Tsonga Hlengwe cemented their relationship and mixed the languages, effectively creating an amalgamation of people now all known as Machangana.

The arrival of the European colonists into Zimbabwe at the end of the 19th Century resulted in the introduction of exotic European cattle which bred with local indigenous cattle in the immediate areas settled by the Europeans. At a later stage it became Government policy to “improve” indigenous cattle by introducing exotic bulls into Tribal Areas. This was a disaster resulting in the dilution of the indigenous Sanga cattle in many areas, breaking down their natural resistance to diseases and their adaptation to harsh conditions, developed over hundreds of years.

Fortunately the cattle in more remote areas such as Mahenye did not suffer from the infusion of exotic blood and the local indigenous cattle remained very much as they always had been. Only recently have exotic genetics started to creep in to the Mahenye area. Although Mozambique was colonised by the Portuguese hundreds of years before Zimbabwe, the Portuguese were not really pastoralists or farmers and the indigenous Landim (Nguni) cattle were not affected by the introduction of exotic cattle to the same extent that indigenous cattle were in Zimbabwe. This has greatly benefited the integrity of the indigenous Gaza-Nguni cattle of Mahenye as it has been easier for the cattle owners of Mahenye to bring in Landim (Nguni) cattle from Mozambique than from other parts of Zimbabwe, due to Mahenye’s unique geographical situation. The people of Mahenye, now called Machangana because of their prolonged interaction with the Gaza Nguni of Soshangana and his heirs, have relatives, inter-marry, trade and regularly cross the border into Mozambique, resulting in many Landim (Gaza-Nguni) cattle crossing the border in both directions for sale, barter and bride payment.

The relatively small numbers of indigenous Gaza-Nguni cattle of Mahenye have maintained the integrity of their original ancestral bloodlines which came down Africa over a thousand years ago with very little addition of exotic blood and that only very recently and affecting only a small percentage of the Mahenye herd. The Mahenye cattle originate from a combination of Sanga/Nguni genetics from four main sources: firstly, the original cattle brought down Africa by the Iron Age People in about 500-700AD; then the Nguni (Landim) cattle brought up from the Lower Limpopo River area by the Tsonga Hlengwe in 1750–1770; thirdly the Gaza-Nguni cattle brought by the Gaza Nguni people from Zululand in the 1830’s; Fourthly and still happening today, the Nguni (Landim) type cattle brought across the border from Mozambique.

The Mahenye Gaza-Nguni cattle are very similar to their Nkone cousins of Matabeleland. They share the same body conformation horn shape and hide colours. The Mahenye Gaza-Nguni is however generally of smaller stature being, on average at maturity, about 75-100 Kg liveweight lighter than the Ndebele Nkone and they have less variety of colours and hide patterns. The smaller cattle of the Mahenye Gaza Nguni have evolved over many years of communal management practices and a lower nutritional status due to decades of very erratic, low rainfall patterns, poor availability and quality of grass and over-population when compared to the Ndebele Nkone. The Nkone and Gaza-Nguni cattle’s multi coloured hides were much favoured by the warlike Nguni tribes (Ndebele and Machangane), and each fighting regiment had its unique cowhide shield colour from selected herds, each herd bred for a specific pattern and colours



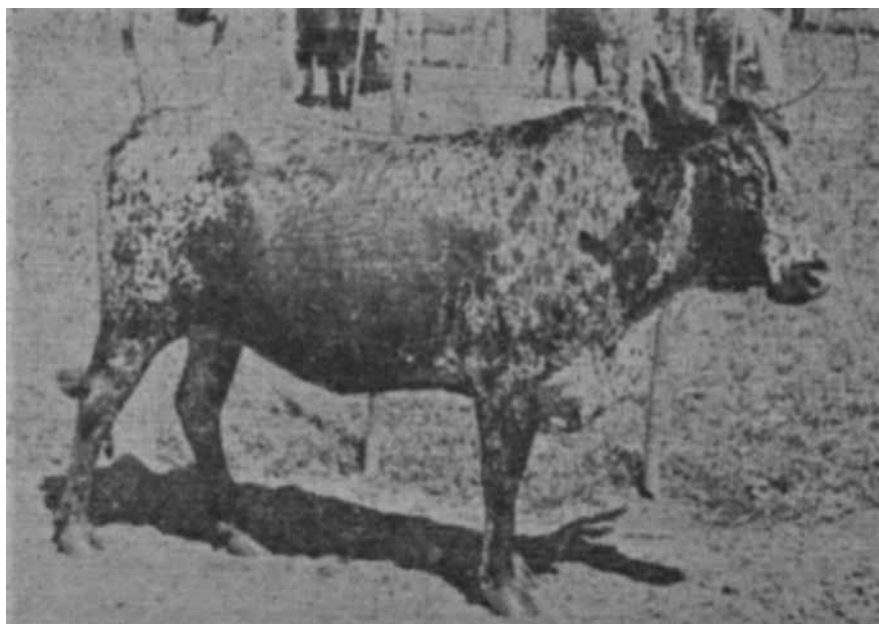
which have persisted to this day.

The Ndebele never crossed the Savé River into Gaza territory on their far-reaching countrywide raids from their capital, Bulawayo and, vice versa, nor did the Gaza Nguni. The two Nguni tribes of the Ndebele and Gaza did not interfere with each other, although there is a chance that cattle might have been traded. One of Mzila's daughters (Indlovukazi Xwalile, sister of Ngunghunyana) was married to Lobengula and undoubtedly many cattle changed hands going from the Ndebele to the Gaza Nguni during the marriage transaction.

The last of the Gaza Nguni Kings, Ngunghunyana ("The Lion of Gaza"), grandson of Soshangana and son of Mzila, left this country forever with his Machangana people in 1889, including many local Ndaue people from the Chipinge area, whom they had assimilated into their tribe. In 1895 and after a major battle in Portuguese East Africa, Ngunghunyana was captured and sent into exile by his arch enemies, the Portuguese led by General Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque. He left as his legacy, the Gaza-Nguni cattle in the remote Mahenye area on the Savé and Runde River Junction, now owned and cherished by the Tsonga Hlengwe/Machangana community of Mahenye.

Nkone Cattle and the Ndebele

The same disturbances in Zululand and environs, the "Mfecane", that affected King Soshangana and his Machangana, drove another sector of the Nguni Zulu, in this case the Ndebele tribe under their King Mzilikazi Khumalo, out of the region. King Mzilikazi had an altercation with Chaka over the ownership of captured cattle. Chaka, King of the Zulus, defeated him in battle, forcing him to move to the west and into the Orange Free State with his people in 1823. King Mzilikazi and his warriors took as many of their Nkone cattle with them as they could on this journey. After some years he then moved north into the Transvaal defeating and conquering the various tribes he encountered.



Wherever they journeyed or settled, the Ndebele never ceased to raid cattle from other tribes, adding to their own cattle. This was a long established and traditional way of life for the Nguni tribes. In 1831 King Mzilikazi won a decisive battle against the Griqua nation and settled in Griqualand.

By about 1836 Afrikaner Voortrekkers began to arrive in Ndebele territory and in confrontations between the Afrikaners and Ndebele, the latter suffered heavy losses from the better armed and mounted Afrikaners, including the loss of thousands of their cattle. It was different at the battle of Vegkop in 1836; the attacking Ndebele were defeated by the Voortrekkers but the Ndebele got away with over 5000 head of the Afrikaners' cattle and 50 000 sheep and goats. By early 1938 King Mzilikazi and his people and remaining cattle (including recaptured cattle) were forced to go northwards across the Limpopo River. Further attacks by the Afrikaner Voortrekkers forced him to keep moving, north-westwards into modern Botswana and then northwards towards modern Zambia.

At one stage in their wanderings, Mzilikazi and part of his army had become separated for some time from the main Ndebele army in the Zambezi River area and, thinking him dead, his son Nkulumane and tribal elders had taken steps for Nkulumane to take over as King of the Ndebele. When, after much hardship, Mzilikazi was re-united with the tribe and found out the plot to take over leadership, he had Nkulumane and his supporters killed by throwing them off a cliff face on Ntabazinduna Mountain. Another version is that Nkulumane went into exile South Africa.

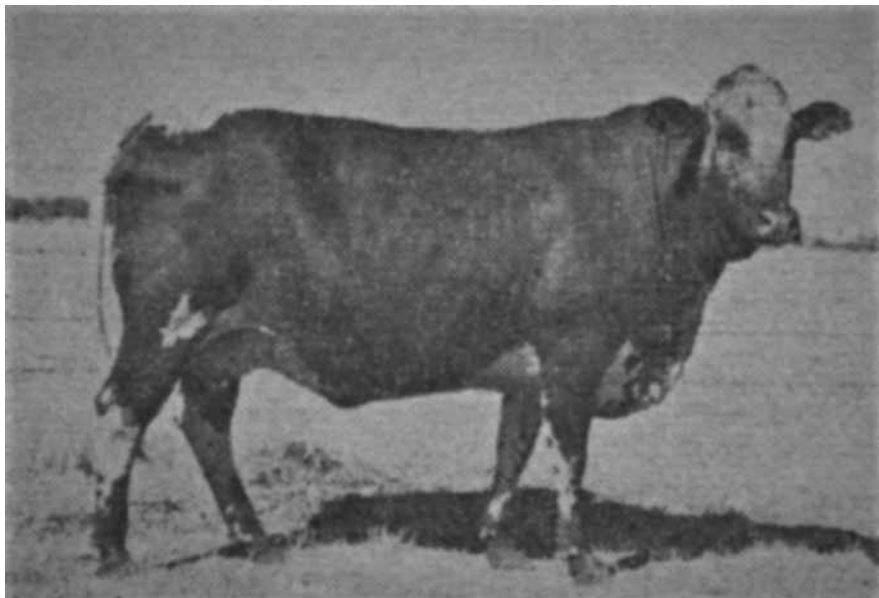
Mzilikazi ended up in the Tsetse Fly Belt south of the Zambezi River and the loss of cattle to the tsetse fly drove him back south eastwards to his new capital, Bulawayo in Matabeleland, where he arrived and settled in 1840, forming the Mthwakazi Kingdom which incorporated the resident Lozi (Bakalanga) people in Matabeleland.

There were further attacks across the Limpopo River by the Afrikaner Voortrekkers between 1847 and 1851 but King Mzilikazi and his warriors repelled these attacks forcing the Afrikaners to sign a treaty with the Ndebele in 1852. Both the Ndebele and the Afrikaners were exceedingly accomplished fighters and cattle raiders.

The Ndebele nation under King Mzilikazi and later his son, King Lobengula, consolidated and created a militarist system of regimental kraals throughout the conquered area. Central to the regimental kraal system were the Ndebele cattle holdings under the protection and management of Queens (some of the King's wives and sisters) and regimental commanders responsible to the King. Living huts were placed in a large defensive circle surrounding the cattle kraal protected by a strong thorn tree fence. Each regimental kraal cared for a number of what were known as the King's Cattle.

The Ndebele continued to carry out raids in a large area surrounding the Mthwakazi Kingdom, raiding extensively in areas inhabited by the Mashona and Karanga people, one of the main purposes being to capture cattle. They even raided as far as across the Zambezi River where the Tonga and Lozi people suffered greatly from repeated Ndebele cattle raiding expeditions as did the Mashona and Karanga.

It is of some interest that the Nkone cattle of the Ndebele largely maintained their integrity as Nkone phenotypes up to the present day despite the continuous cattle raiding by the Ndebele over a very large area, both on their migration northwards and from a large area surrounding Mthwakazi once they had settled there. Strict and continuous selection for the Nkone and other color patterns, particularly the multi-coloured and



patterned hides, by the Ndebele over many years must be one of the reasons for this. Other than the original Nguni brought by the Ndebele to Mthwakazi, cattle captured by the Ndebele from surrounding areas included the following phenotypes: Mashona from Mashonaland, Tswana from Botswana and Barotse and Tonga from north of the Zambezi. The Tonga cattle were known as Govuvu, a small docile breed.

King Chaka of the Zulu Nation claimed all white cattle with black noses and ears as “The King’s Cattle” and no other person could own cattle of this colour. King Mzilikazi emulated him, but in his case “The King’s Cattle” were of the Nkone (Inkone) colour and pattern having a broken white topline, with white speckled head, tail and switch; broken white on belly and legs and dark, unbroken side panels of red or black. These cattle made up the Royal Herd and commoners were banned from owning them. Ndebele Regiments bred and kept large herds of different coloured and patterned cattle which were unique to the regiment, belonged to the King or the “Nation” and were their Regimental Colours. Regimental shields and other adornments were made from these specific coloured hides.

The Royal Herds were mainly kept in the Tsholotsho, Gwaai River and Nyamandhlovu areas of Northern Matabeleland and to this day the Nkone colour pattern is very prevalent in those areas. The Nkone colour pattern was also favoured by researchers and commercial farmers in later years when the Nkone cattle of the Ndebele were recognised as a distinct breed and the breed became known as Nkone cattle.

Apart from the Inkone colour pattern of King Mzilikazi’s Royal cattle, the following colours were favoured by some of the Ndebele Regiments;

- Iwaba — Insukamini Regiment
- Ilunga — Umcijo Regiment
- Inco — Imbizo Regiment
- Intusi — Ihlati Regiment
- Hwanqa — Amazibalonkwe Regiment

Inhlekwané — Isiziba Regiment

Mzilikazi died in 1868 and after some confusion and fighting over his rightful heir, his son Lobengula became King after winning a significant battle. King Lobengula kept on very much as had his father and the Ndebele Nation prospered with cattle raiding still playing a major part in the activities of the Ndebele warriors.

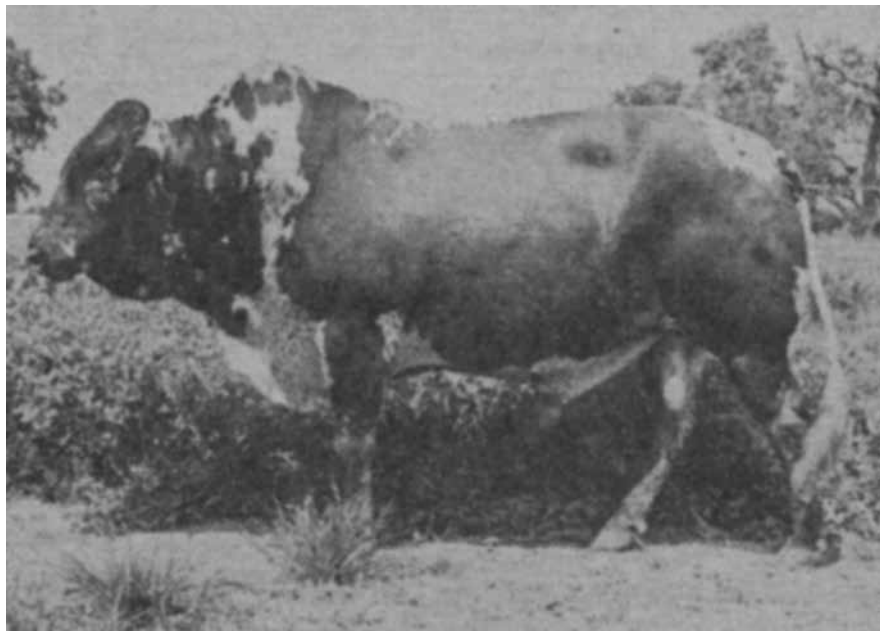
At the annual “Festival of the Fruits” Lobengula chose wives from the young girls presented at court by their parents. Having chosen a handful of new wives they were presented with gifts including a large number of heifers, as many as 1 000 head each. The young Queens were then instructed to set up new towns on the outlying borders of Ndebele country under their direct control and protected by a regiment of young warriors selected from their home areas. The new Queens were also allowed to choose the colour pattern for the cattle hide shields of the newly formed regiment. The cattle became the nucleus of a town herd, ostensibly belonging to the Queen but in reality part of the Royal herd of Lobengula. Slaughter cattle from these outlying towns provided meat for the town regiments and were also sent to the King for feasting at the Annual Festival.

European missionaries, explorers, hunters, traders and prospectors filtered into the country and were, by and large, tolerated by King Lobengula as they were by King Mzilikazi before him.

In 1890 after many negotiations leading to petitions, treaties and concessions between King Lobengula and Cecil John Rhodes and his agents, a pioneer column of European colonists marched across the Limpopo and into what became Rhodesia and later, Zimbabwe. They carefully skirted the Ndebele Kingdom, not wanting a confrontation with the belligerent Ndebele and made their way along the central watershed until they reached what became their capital, then named Salisbury and which is now Harare.

The first Europeans settled in and more followed, initially concentrating on prospecting and mining and, in time, farming too. The status quo between the Ndebele in Mthwakazi and the Europeans in the rest of Rhodesia did not change for a few years but, inevitably something had to happen and it did. The Ndebele continued to raid into the areas which they had traditionally subjugated, including Mashonaland and on one occasion they went on a punitive raid in close proximity to the new town of Fort Victoria, where they had been sent by Lobengula to recover Ndebele cattle stolen from an outpost by the Shona. In the ensuing fracas Shona people employed by the Europeans were killed, sparking a row between the Settlers and the Ndebele. It is likely that the Europeans desired a confrontation anyway, wanting to get rid of the Ndebele military might, seeing it as a long term threat if not dealt with. There was also the attraction of gold, good farming land and cattle, particularly what were known as the “Kings Cattle” in the Ndebele Kingdom.

The disturbances escalated into war in 1893 and the British South Africa Company forces invaded what was then known by them as Matabeleland. The invasion was opposed and battles took place between the two forces while the better armed and equipped Europeans, although outnumbered, relentlessly pushed on to Bulawayo, the Ndebele capital. King Lobengula and some of his followers left Bulawayo, burning the town, before the Europeans reached there and he made his way to the North across the Shangani River. After a battle just across the Shangani, where part of the European force led by Major Alan Wilson was wiped out by the Ndebele, King Lobengula continued northwards and disappeared, dying there from smallpox (some reports state that he committed suicide) and was buried there by a few loyal followers at a secret place in



that remote wilderness area.

The British South Africa Company took over the administration of Matabeleland and distributed land and cattle to the Colonials. The Europeans of the BSA Company were not impartial to the beautiful Ndebele Nkone cattle and soon showed that they too, were on a par with the Ndebele, Shona and the Afrikaners when it came to helping themselves to cattle belonging to others. The cattle were confiscated as “spoils of war” and “compensation”. Many of the cattle were identified as “cattle of the King” and branded with the BSA Co. brand, in an attempt to legitimise the takeover, although many cattle belonging to individuals were also taken. This caused great bitterness and there was nothing worse for an Ndebele than the loss of his prized cattle. It is recorded that 300 000 to 500 000 head of Ndebele cattle were confiscated.

Peace was made and some form of normality returned to the Ndebele nation but now with the Europeans in control. In 1896 war broke out in Mashonaland when the Mashona people rose up against the colonial European settlers. This escalated and later that year the Ndebele too, rose up against the European colonisers. Rinderpest broke out in 1896, killing hundreds of thousands of cattle and the Europeans were accused of bringing in the disease which helped to add to the unrest, particularly in Matabeleland.

By 1898 the country was at peace again and it is interesting to quote from a census of Natives in 1901, taken both in Mashonaland and Matabeleland early that year. In Mashonaland there were 327 900 people, 5 589 villages and 30 853 cattle or 5.52 cattle per village. In Matabeleland there were 159 312 people, 6 811 villages and a total of 13 073 cattle, 1.91 cattle per village. These figures illustrate the huge impact and losses inflicted on the Ndebele and Mashona herds by the Rinderpest of 1896, compounded by the 300 000 to 500 000 cattle that had been confiscated from the Ndebele by the Europeans in 1894 (many of these too would then die during the Rinderpest outbreak).

1894 brought to an end the Ndebele Kingdom as it had been, under the Ndebele

Kings Mzilikazi and Lobengula, although the Ndebele people continue to live (mostly in Matabeleland) in Zimbabwe today. The much prized Ndebele Nkone cattle continue to populate Matabeleland, particularly in the areas North of Bulawayo round Lalapanzi, Tsholotsho and Gwaai River.

Nkone Cattle and the Europeans

Many of the cattle confiscated and otherwise acquired by the British South Africa Company after they invaded Matabeleland in 1893 and after Lobengula's death in 1894 must have been the Nkone "Matabele" cattle so cherished by the Ndebele while other Nkone type cattle still remained in possession of the Ndebele tribesmen, particularly in the more remote areas.

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896 virtually wiped out all cattle and many wildlife species in many parts south of the Zambezi River. There would have been only very few Nkone cattle left in Matabeleland and it is a wonder and great credit to the breed and the Ndebele that enough survived as a breeding nucleus to repopulate a large area of Matabeleland with their unique phenotype.

Unfortunately very few European farmers of those times appreciated the tremendous value of the indigenous Nkone, or for that matter, any of the indigenous Sanga breeds which had become adapted to harsh conditions and built up disease resistance over hundreds of years. For many years the majority of farmers strove to "improve" the indigenous cattle by introducing European breeds to "grade them up". This was a complete disaster, neither the introductions nor their progeny could handle the hard conditions or disease challenges and the majority died out, leaving a negative legacy of now diluted but originally very valuable pure indigenous genetics.

A few enlightened farmers selected and bred up their pure indigenous cattle breeds, one of these being the Nkone. The pure Nkone also thrived in more remote areas of Matabeleland where the Ndebele cattlemen selected for pure Nkone types. Rhodesia became an agricultural based country and cattle production played a large part. The Nkone, Mashona and Tuli indigenous breeds became more important as time went on and their excellent qualities and high productivity in the natural environment eventually became well known and appreciated.

By 1933 it became apparent to Government Animal Husbandry Officers that none of the imported cattle breeds introduced to "improve" local indigenous cattle had become adapted to the environment to which they were totally unsuited. Some progressive thinking resulted in cattle breeding experiments being initiated at Matopos Research Station in 1938 to find the most suitable type of cattle and breeding systems for local conditions. In the 1940's Government sponsored the establishment of Mashona, Tuli and Nkone herds and by 1950 eight breeding units were operating with a total of 1 732 indigenous Sanga cattle.

The Tuli were based at Tuli Breeding Station near Gwanda and the Nkone at Tsholotsho Breeding Station. In the meantime private individuals, F. B. Willoughby and E. A. B. McLeod, purchased Mashona cattle to form two foundation Mashona herds. Len Harvey was put in charge of the Tuli and John Brownlee of the Nkone.

Similar interest in indigenous Nguni cattle which were related to this country's Nkone occurred in South Africa at this time and Government herds of a total of 500 Nguni cattle were established in Tribal Areas of South Africa to maintain the purity and ensure the survival of the breed.



In 1946 a small herd of Nkone was established at Tsholotsho Breeding Station, north-west of Bulawayo, under the direction and management of John Brownlee. This herd was disbanded in 1949 due to an outbreak of contagious abortion. A few non-reactors were retained and these formed the nucleus of a dual purpose project with initial emphasis on milk production. The breed was found to have an erratic dairy temperament, especially when calves were removed at milking and hand suckled.

Similar objectives pertained to the establishment of a second Nkone herd at Msengezi Experiment Farm in Mashonaland in 1953. Here research was carried out mainly on milk production and resulted in comprehensive and valuable information collected on the Nkone's milking ability. The selection for milk production then has had a positive impact on the milking ability of the Nkone female until today. Msengezi was closed and the herd moved to Tsholotsho in 1963.

Subsequent work on beef production in the Nkone breed was carried out at an expanded Tsholotsho Experiment Station. The original 800 hectare station was increased by another 5 200 hectares in 1963, eventually running a herd of 800 Nkone cattle. Initial efforts at acquiring phenotypical Nkone for stocking the new area were thwarted by local Ndebele breeders refusing to part with their better, highly prized Nkone breeding stock of which they were very proud. This resulted in a very mixed bunch of breeding females being acquired initially.

The Tsholotsho Nkone herd became a closed herd from 1963. Very strict selection and management practices under the continued direction of John Brownlee were implemented and comprehensive records kept with the emphasis always on beef production and desirable traits such as fertility, milk production, and ease of calving, growth, mature size and adaptation to local conditions given priority. A herd of Tonga (Govuvu) cattle was also once kept at Tsholotsho Breeding Station.

Commercial agriculture and the cattle industry flourished in this country during the 1960's to the 1990's and the Nkone breed played its part in the exceptional agricultural growth and productivity of this period. The Tsholotsho Nkone herd was moved to Matopos Research Station in 1977 due to the Civil War where descendents of John

Brownlee's foundation herd still exist and were until recently (2019), one of only two registered herds left in Zimbabwe. There were a considerable number of ranchers in Matabeleland and the Midlands who bred crossbred Nkone cattle during the period from the early sixties until 2001 when Land Reform destroyed commercial agriculture as it was then.

It has been estimated by Maule and Willoughby that there were 15 000 to 20 000 Nkone cattle in Zimbabwe during the 1970's.

Mlezu Agricultural College in the Midlands, founded in 1958 had an excellent Nkone herd there for many years. The first Principal of Mlezu, the late Fritz Meyer, was a great supporter of the breed and went on to establish his own Moyo Ranch in 1974 where he kept a very good Nkone herd. After Fritz died, his daughter Annette took over Moyo Ranch where she worked closely with surrounding communities providing heifers and swapped her bulls for their aged bulls. Annette also exported a parcel of in-calf Nkone heifers and an Nkone bull to Graca Machel, wife of the late Samora Machel, President of Mozambique, in the 1990's. (Graca Machel later married Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa).

The 74 year-old Matopos Research Station Stud and the Pattullo's 55 year-old Anglesea Stud which also originated with breeding stock from John Brownlee's Tsholotsho herd in 1965 are the oldest in the country, and until very recently, the only two left in Zimbabwe. Ian Patullo has the distinction of using some of the first South African Nguni semen imported into Zimbabwe from bull NG 3189 in 2000. Ian himself then imported more semen in 2006 from three herds in South Africa but results were not good. Mention should also be made of the long established commercial Nkone herd on Debshan Ranch, which is still operating with well over 1 000 head of crossbred Nkone cattle.

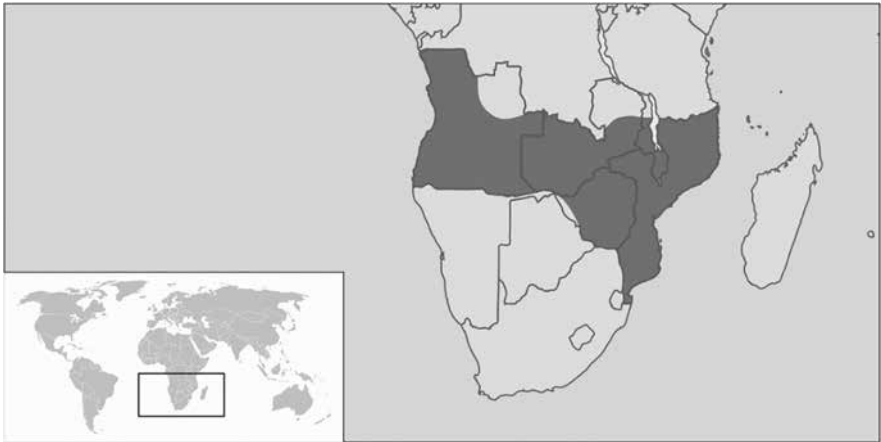


The Pink Map; how credible were Portuguese claims to Mashonaland and Manicaland before 1890?

by Mike Tucker



Reality is described as the state of things as they actually exist, as opposed to an idealistic or notional idea of them and this article examines the extent to which The Pink Map (Portuguese: *Mapa cor-de-rosa*) or Rose-Coloured Map of 1885 represented Portugal's claim of sovereignty over the land corridor connecting their colonies of Angola and Mozambique during the period commonly known as the 'Scramble for Africa.' i.e. their territorial claims to present-day Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi.



Courtesy of [wikipedia.org/wiki/Pink Map](https://wikipedia.org/wiki/Pink_Map)

Portuguese claims to territories in 1800

In Angola Portuguese effective influence extended to the coastal areas around Benguela, Luanda and Ambriz. In Mozambique the Portuguese had concluded a commercial treaty with the Ruler of Sofala in 1502 and subsequently forts were built at Mozambique Island, Ibo and Sofala and trading stations at Quelimane, Inhambane and Delagoa Bay on the coast and Sena and Tete on the Zambezi River.

Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese commercial activities had been conducted by Somali traders with indigenous peoples and the principal export was gold through Sofala from the hinterland...subsequently slaves were exported to the sugar plantations of Mauritius and Réunion and later to Brazil; when the slave trade declined after 1830 the ivory trade grew in its place.

Portuguese rule suffered during the 1830's *Mfecane* with Lourenço Marques and Sofala destroyed in 1833 and 1835, Zumbo on the Zambezi River bordering Zambia

was abandoned in 1836 and Sena was forced to pay tribute to the Gaza Empire under Shosangane.

Portugal introduced the *Praço* system of large leased estates under nominal Portuguese rule; in reality local warlords established fortified strongholds and used private armies to raid for slaves in the interior. The most powerful of these warlords was Manuel António de Sousa, also known as Gouveia, a settler from Goa, who by the middle of the 19th century controlled most of the southern Zambezi Valley and a huge swathe of land to its south. To the north of the Zambezi River, Islamic slave traders rose to power from their base in Angoche and to the south along the Shire River Yao Chiefs were the dominant power.

In the interior of Mozambique for long periods there was not even a pretence of Portuguese control from the period when Shosangane created his Gaza Empire in the 1830's until his death in 1856. Only a succession struggle between his sons Mawewe and Mzila gave the Portuguese the excuse to intervene and back Mzila in 1861.

In addition to trading with the interior, the Portuguese hoped to establish a route connecting their territories of Angola in the west and Mozambique in the east and sent the following expeditions to Kazembe, near Lake Mweru in present-day Zambia;

- 1796 Manuel Caetano Pereira, a merchant.
- 1798 Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, a Portuguese officer arrived via Tete and died within a few weeks of arriving at Kazembe's whilst waiting for trade negotiations to start. His journal was carried back to Tete by his chaplain, Father Pinto, and later translated into English by the explorer Sir Richard Burton.
- 1802 Pedro João Baptista and Amaro José, *pombeiros* (slave traders).
- 1831 Major José Monteiro and António Gamito, with 20 soldiers and 120 slaves as porters, were sent by the Portuguese Governor of Sena district. Gamito wrote in his journal: "*We certainly never expected to find so much ceremonial, pomp, and ostentation in the potentate of a region so remote from the sea coast.*"

As trade missions, though, they were failures as their efforts to set up an alliance which would control the Atlantic-Indian Ocean trade route from beginning to end were all rejected by local Chiefs.

Portuguese African possessions in the late 1860's

In reality the Portuguese had no effective presence within the area between Angola and Mozambique and only a limited presence within those territories at the time.

Portuguese presence in present-day Zimbabwe

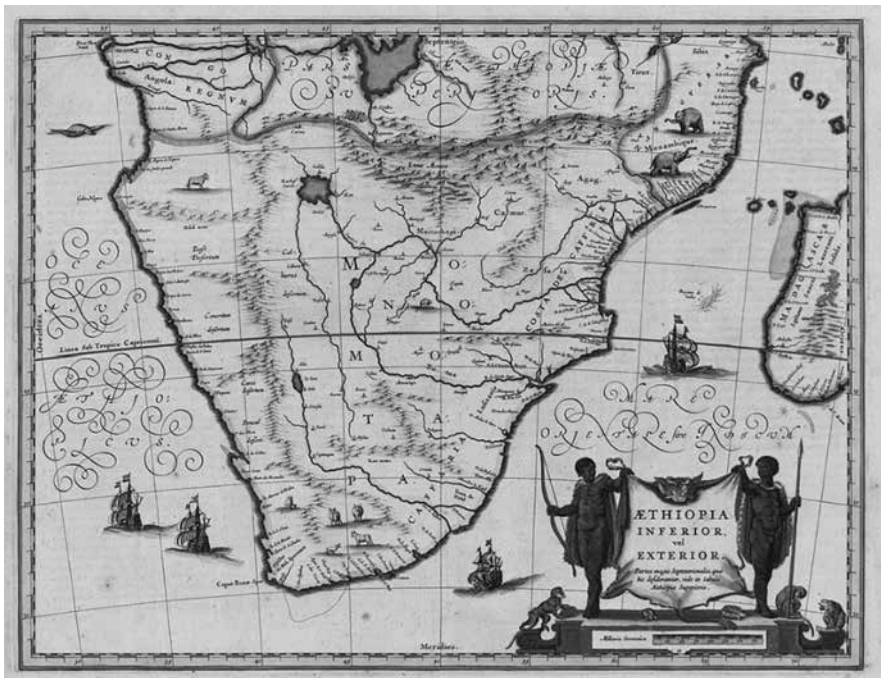
The Portuguese explorer Pêro da Covilhã is the first European known to have visited Sofala in 1489. His report highlighted the gold trade which had enriched its Somali traders and propelled Sofala from a small trading post into one of the leading towns on the east African coast in the twelfth century. His reports on the gold trade with the interior, now in a state of decline, finally led in 1502 to Vasco da Gama bringing the first Portuguese ships into Sofala harbour.

The Busi river route connected Sofala to the town of Manica and to the adjoining goldfields in present-day Zimbabwe. The Portuguese established at Sofala a factory (*feitorias*) which served as a market and warehouse and was governed by a *feitor* ("factor") who was responsible for managing the trade, buying and trading products and collecting taxes on behalf of the King. In 1505 constructed Fort São Caetano, the

second Portuguese fort in East Africa after Kilwa.

Very gradually the Portuguese explored the interior as this summary timeline indicates:

1530's	Portuguese displace Angoche-based Muslim traders at Quelimane, Sena and Tete and gain control of the Angoche and Sofala trade routes
1560's	Portuguese monopoly of imported trade goods at Sena and Tete, with Muslim and African middlemen trading with the interior with credit being given to local villagers working the goldfields
1580's	Masapa and Luanze trading settlements (feiras) established.
1599	Dominican Churches built in Luanze and Massapa after the Portuguese assist Monomotapa Chief Rusere to defeat the Zimba chief Chikanda.
1607	Monomotapa cedes all gold mines to the Portuguese after they drive out insurgents led by Matuzianya from Monomotapa territory.
1629	Monomotapa formally surrenders to the Portuguese after Monomotapa forces attack but fail to overcome Masapa and Luanze. Portuguese joined with an army of Batonga to defeat Monomotapa force and then installed their own chosen Monomatapa chief Manuza.
1693	Portuguese leave Zimbabwe after Dambarare feira is destroyed by Changamire.



Willem Blaeu map of southern Africa, including Munhumutapa published in 1635

The Portuguese gained a wide-spread presence on the goldfields of Mashonaland at Angwa, Dambarare (at Mazowe) Piringani, Luanze, Maramuca (near Chegutu) Massapa. [Luanze and Maramuca are described on the website www.zimfieldguide.com] There are other feira sites including Bocuto and Matafuna which have not yet been traced.

Stan Mudenge argues that agriculture and cattle formed the economic base of the Mutapa Empire, but that gold and ivory played an important subsidiary role. Gold mining was both alluvial and through reef mining—the only limits to depth being haulage, ventilation and the water table and this influenced when mining took place: during the dry season months of August—October before the rains commenced in November. From then until April the miners became farmers and were involved in planting, weeding and harvesting their crops.

Until the Portuguese traders established their *feiras* [market-places] they were forced to send *Vashambadzi*—sometimes their children of mixed marriage to local women—to buy up the gold from the villagers as the quantities mined were quite small and did not justify the journey to Tete.

Challenges to Portuguese African possessions

Increasingly European and local powers began to take an interest in Portugal's African possessions. The Boers in the Transvaal Republic claimed an outlet to the Indian Ocean at Delagoa Bay in 1868 which was settled in the following year in favour of Portugal. Britain then made a claim which was rejected after arbitration by President MacMahon of France in 1875.

In present-day Malawi which had been explored by David Livingstone in the 1850's a Church of Scotland mission was founded at Blantyre in 1876 and two years later the African Lakes Company was established.

Portuguese efforts to counter European territorial expansion

The Portuguese were suspicious of European explorers who often held consular positions and might claim the territory they explored for their own nations. To counter this threat The Lisbon Geographical Society and the Portuguese Government created a joint commission in 1875 to organise scientific expeditions between Angola and Mozambique.

Alexandre Alberto da Rocha de Serpa Pinto (1846–1900)

Alexandre de Serpa Pinto led three expeditions through which Portugal hoped to assert its African territorial claims. The first in 1869 was from the Island of Mozambique to the Zambezi Valley; the second in 1876 from Benguela in Angola to the river basins of the Congo and upper Zambezi and the last in 1877–79 crossing Africa from Angola, with the intention of claiming the area between it and Mozambique.

The last expedition with Lieutenant Commander Capelo and Lieutenant Ivens, both of the Portuguese navy, was from Benguela in November 1877. They parted company at Bié; Capelo and Ivens turning north where they emerged at Dondo, on the Cuanza River in northern Angola. Serpa Pinto continued eastward, gradually changing course to the south. He crossed the Cuando river in June 1878 and in August reached Lealui, the Barotse capital on the Zambezi where assistance from the missionary François Coillard enabled him to continue his journey along the Zambezi to the Victoria Falls. He then



turned south and arrived at Pretoria in the Transvaal Republic on February 12, 1879. Serpa Pinto was the fourth explorer to cross Africa from west to east.

Portuguese discussions with Britain

Whilst these expeditions took place the Portuguese attempted treaty discussions with Britain with the aim of obtaining a treaty of navigation on the Congo and Zambezi rivers and in 1879 claimed the area south and east of the Ruo River on the present south-eastern border of Malawi. By 1884 there was a draft treaty in place but it was never ratified as negotiations ended with the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 5.

Berlin Conference of 1884–5

The articles of the Berlin Conference required that a nation must effectively occupy any areas claimed rather than simply relying on historical claims based on early discovery, or on simple exploration expeditions. Article 35 of the Act required the power claiming rights to have sufficient authority to protect existing rights and the freedom of trade i.e. an operating administration with policing powers.

This clause, the so-called clause of ‘*effective occupation*’, was important because it threw out historical claims based on priority of discovery and travel, the principle hitherto used by the Portuguese to account for their rights in Africa. *This effectively ruled out Portugal’s claims to the area between Angola and Mozambique.*

This contemporary view was endorsed in 1884 by Henry O’Neill, the British Consul on Mozambique Island: *“Portugal has been a colonising power only in name. To speak of Portuguese colonies in East Africa is to speak of a mere fiction—a fiction colourably sustained by a few scattered seaboard settlements, beyond whose narrow littoral and local limits colonisation and government have no existence. Had Portuguese rule in East Africa shown any sort of vitality or reality no one cherishing any regard for international amity could have any fair plea to desire its displacement. By the ordinary rules of conquest and occupation Portugal has a title to possession sanctioned by three centuries of existence. But the very fact that for 300 years the flag of Portugal has waved along the East Coast involves the condemnation of Portuguese rule. For what is there to show for it? What use has Portugal made of her acquisitions or opportunities? What effect has she produced upon the destinies of the Continent? What part has she played? What contribution has she made to the sum of the world’s progress, to the cause of civilisation to the well-being of mankind? The answer to these questions is writ in characters of miserable failure.”*

The Portuguese response

Plans were made to form The Company of Mozambique (Companhia de Moçambique SARL) with the aim of administering and developing its territories on the east coast and later to neutralize the influence of the British South Africa Company (BSACo) and in 1884 Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrada was given four tasks:

- To establish Beira and the Portuguese occupation of much of Sofala Province.
- To acquire a concession and establish a trading post at Zumbo, which could be occupied by Afro-Portuguese families.
- To acquire a concession over Manica including the present-day areas of

Manicaland—he concluded a treaty in 1889 with Chief Mutasa covering present-day Manicaland and established a basic administration with its base at Macequece (Massi-Kessi) but he was arrested in November 1890 by British South Africa Company troops and expelled.

- Also in 1889, Andrada crossed into northern Mashonaland to obtain additional treaties with local chiefs but the Portuguese government was not informed and they were not formally notified to other powers, as required by the Berlin Treaty.

The concession covered the central part of Mozambique i.e. Manica and Sofala from 1891 until 1941 (extended to include south of the Save River in 1893) when its 50 years (prolonged from 25 years in 1897) Charter expired. The Company had special trading privileges and the authority to collect revenue and taxes and issue stamps; in return infrastructure was to be constructed including railways, public services provided and a fee paid to Portugal.



Companhia de Mocambique postage stamps with issue dates

In 1884 Serpa Pinto was appointed Portugal's consul in Zanzibar in 1884, with the mission to explore the region east from Lake Nyasa and from the Rovuma River, the present-day border between Tanzania and Mozambique and the Zambezi River. However his attempts at treaty-making with local chiefs resulted in failure.

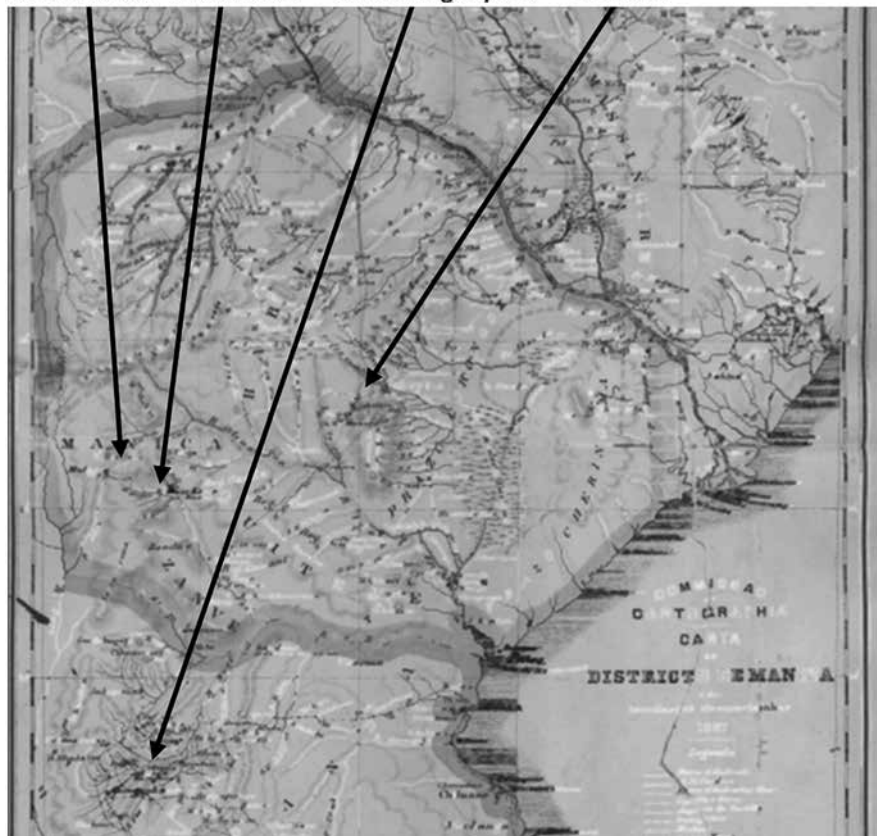
To further bolster their territorial claims the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Barros Gomes, issued in 1885 the Pink Map or Rose-coloured Map. In response to French recognition of the Pink Map Portugal gave up any claims to the area around the Casamance River in Guinea; for German recognition Portugal agreed to accept a southern boundary for Angola and a northern boundary for Mozambique. The acts of “noting” the Portuguese claims and attaching the Rose-Coloured Map to each treaty did not mean that France or Germany accepted Portugal's territorial claims, only that Portugal had made them.



German-Portuguese Convention of 1886

The loss of the Portuguese claims to the Congo at the Berlin Conference was blamed on a loss of British support, but a year later Germany recognised Portugal's claims on The Pink Map, although Britain was kept in the dark on this subject for several months. However after the Anglo-German boundary agreement on Africa in June 1890 Portugal lost any hope of further German support.

Chief Mutasa Massi Kessi Chief Gungunyana Gouveia



Courtesy of National Archives—Portuguese map of 1887

The above map produced in 1887 marks Manica District (in red) stretching as far inland as the Mazowe river; the Tete district is marked west of the Mazowe river showing that the Portuguese as late as 1887 regarded Manicaland and Mashonaland as part of their territorial possessions.

Negotiations with Britain

Lord Salisbury who was Foreign Secretary 1878–1890, stated Britain would not accept any Portuguese territorial claims unless sufficient Portuguese forces were present to maintain order. He formally protested against the Pink Map but made no claim against

Britain protested for two main reasons. Firstly, Portuguese claims in Nyasaland were an obstacle to the activities of the Scottish missionaries who had followed David Livingstone and settled in the area in 1875. Secondly, it threatened Cecil Rhodes' policy of expansion through the BSACo and the establishment of a British sphere of influence stretching from Cape to Cairo.

Portugal makes a counter-offer, then mounts two expeditions

Portugal tried to reinforce their claim by sending two expeditions to the area. The first under Antonio Cardoso, a former governor of Quelimane left in November 1888 for Lake Nyasa. The second expedition under Serpa Pinto travelled to the Shire valley and both men signed treaties with local chiefs. Harry Johnston, the British Commissioner and Consul-general for the Mozambique and the Nyasa districts advised Pinto in August 1889 not to cross the Ruo River into the Shire Highlands.



(Some spellings changed by the author)

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Anglo-Portuguese Crisis of December 1889

Johnston's advice was ignored and on 8 November after Pinto's forces were engaged in a minor skirmish with the Makololo tribe near the Shire River the Portuguese crossed the Ruo River into present-day Malawi.

In response Johnston's vice-consul, John Buchanan, accused Pinto of ignoring British interests and contrary to his instructions declared a British Protectorate over the Shire Highlands. In December 1889 and also contrary to instructions, Johnston declared a further protectorate over the area to the west of Lake Nyasa; both Protectorates were later recognised by the British Foreign Office.

The 1890 British Ultimatum followed by talks

Lord Salisbury sent an ultimatum to Portugal on 11 January 1890 demanding the withdrawal of the Portuguese troops from Mashona and Matabeleland and the Shire-Nyasa region (Malawi) where Portuguese and British interests in Africa overlapped. The text ran as follows: *"What Her Majesty's Government require and insist upon is the following: that telegraphic instructions shall be sent to the governor of Mozambique at once to the effect that all and any Portuguese military forces which are actually on the Shire, or in the Makololo, or in the Mashona territory are to be withdrawn. Her Majesty's Government considers that without this the assurances given by the Portuguese Government are illusory."*

Mr Petre [the English Minister in Lisbon] is compelled by his instruction to leave Lisbon at once with all the members of his legation unless a satisfactory answer to this foregoing intimation is received by him in, the course of this evening, and Her Majesty's ship Enchantress is now at Vigo waiting for his orders."

The *Fortnightly Review* in an article entitled *"Portugal's Aggression and England's Duty"* urged the British government to seize Delagoa Bay and the African Lakes Company directors supported a no compromise position. These areas had been nominally claimed by Portugal since the sixteenth century. Talks started in Lisbon in April 1890, and in May the Portuguese delegation proposed an Anglo-Portuguese joint administration of the disputed area between Angola and Mozambique. The British government refused to agree and drafted a treaty that imposed boundaries that were generally disadvantageous to Portugal.

The views of Rhodes and the British South Africa Company

The BSACo had been formed in October 1888 and only received the Royal Charter permitting the company to trade with local chiefs, own and sell land and control its own police force a year later. From the outset Rhodes and the BSACo were opposed to Portuguese claims to Mashonaland and made no secret of their desire for direct land access to the Indian Ocean. However Rhodes was not in favour of the treaty either and in a letter to the Foreign Office dated 23 September 1890 wrote: *"I took the liberty of sending you a direct cable as to the Portuguese treaty in the hope that it was not too late to remedy the mischief that has been done. Now that the Portuguese Ministry has resigned I hope you will drop this wretched treaty, under which we get nothing and give away a great deal."* And he went on: *"You have given away half the Barotse which has just been formally ceded to us... You have given away the whole of Gazaland. I have*

an agent now with the King and expect to hear daily of his accepting our flag... You have given away Manica. My people are now occupying and out of it. They will not go, and further they will not be ruled by a half-caste Portugee and I hope you will draw Lord Salisbury's attention to this fact." He also complained of *"the brutal conduct of the Portuguese to their native subjects."* He concluded: *"I can only add in conclusion that if you have any regard for the work I am doing you will show it by now dropping the Anglo-Portuguese agreement. I see nothing but trouble in the future if it is carried through, and I do not think I am claiming too much from your department in asking you to give some consideration to my views."*

In May 1890 the BSACo gave Rhodes "absolute discretion" as its managing director; in July he became prime minister of the Cape Colony—as Galbraith states, both offices gave him enormous power and he would not be prevented by his board of directors or by the Foreign Office. Additionally Britain would not make decisions on central Africa before consulting with its self-governing Cape Colony and this relationship provided an opportunity which Rhodes would exploit in every way.

European powers views of Portugal's possessions in Africa

Countries such as Italy, Austria and Germany all understood Portugal's plight, but none were prepared to offer more than words of sympathy. Their greatest concerns were not Portugal's African possessions, but that the fall of Portugal itself might also topple the Spanish monarchy.

British South Africa Company policy towards Mozambique was forthright

The BSACo considered that Portuguese claims to Manicaland and Mashonaland rested upon the flimsiest pretences; ancient treaties with the Mutapa Empire (Munhumutapa) and scattered trading settlements (*feiras*) which had been abandoned since their defeat in 1693. Furthermore that Portugal was on the verge of bankruptcy and could not support its colonial possessions. A BSACo Director, Albert Grey stated that their territory south of the Zambezi was: *"bound by the eternal laws of gravitation to tumble into our lap"* and Rhodes and the Directors were keen to assist the process. Rhodes' view was even more forthright: *"They are a bad race and have had 300 year on the coast and all that they have done is to be a curse to any place they have occupied."*

Rhodes believed in a free play of forces rather than diplomacy

After the June 1890 Anglo-German boundary agreement Rhodes believed that as long as the Foreign Office did not interfere the BSACo could occupy all the territory south of the Zambesi to the coast and if the Portuguese decided to fight they would lose all their possessions from Delagoa Bay to present-day Tanzania. Rhodes was not in favour of any international agreements which confirmed Portugal's right to territory which he believed the Portuguese administration did not have the power to hold or the resources to develop.

However the BSACo directors were more cautious than Rhodes as they knew wars were costly and the company's resources limited; it was felt important that Portugal be seen as the aggressors in any potential engagement.

Lord Salisbury's views on Portugal's colonial possessions

One of the quotes concerning Lord Salisbury, then combining the roles of Prime Minister



and Foreign Secretary, was: “*English policy is to float lazily downstream, occasionally putting out a diplomatic boathook to avoid collisions.*” Salisbury expected the chartered companies to fall in with British policies, but Rhodes’ avowed intention to oust the Portuguese from Mozambique threatened international relationships. On 28 September the Duke of Abercorn wrote to George Cawston—both were BSACo Directors—that Salisbury; “*apparently has had enough of Rhodes.*” But the problem for the Foreign Office was that if Rhodes was irritated enough he might carry out the threat suggested in his speeches and lead South Africa out of the British Empire.

Salisbury had no wish to humiliate the Portuguese, but he was also not prepared to make concessions that might be interpreted as a climbdown. Thus Nyasa and the Shire Highlands and the recognition of the Zambesi and Pungwe rivers as international waterways were non-negotiable, but the Portuguese right to Delagoa Bay and the coastline as far as present-day Tanzania was not disputed.

The situation in Manicaland and Gazaland

In the 1630’s the town of Chipangura, later Massi-Kessi or Macequece and now Manica, was the main gold market in Manicaland with Portuguese traders visiting and even settling in the town until it was sacked by the Rozvi army from present-day Zimbabwe in 1695. Thereafter the gold trade continued, but under the ascendancy of the Manica Kings.

By 1890 on the western side of the Manica mountains Chief Mutasa, who lived at the hill called Binga Guru, ruled over the Manica tribes. The BSACo hoped that if they could make an ally of Mutasa and demonstrate he was an independent chief, they could claim his territory through a treaty. The route along the Pungwe River to Beira would be much shorter and cheaper into Mashonaland than the route from the south so if Mutasa’s territories could be overstated as far as the coast, so much the better. In times past, Mutasa had declared his submission to either the Portuguese or Gungunyana, the chief of Gazaland, depending on who he believed held the greatest power. Now there was the competing challenge from the BSACo.

We have already seen that on Shoshangane’s death in 1856 his sons struggled for control of the Gaza Empire with the Portuguese intervening with arms and African levies and backing Mzila in 1861. Under Mzila’s successor Chief Gungunyana their power waned; Manuel António de Sousa (Gouveia) had forced the Gazas from the region between the Zambezi and Busi-Revue rivers and from the coast. Gungunyana had initially accepted Portuguese control, but by 1887 was contesting Portuguese claims over his territory.

As with Chief Mutasa, the independence of Chief Gungunyana was important for the BSACo as the Limpopo river which flowed through Gazaland might offer an alternative route into Mashonaland and his territory also contained goldfields.

George Cawston’s argument that Mutasa (Umtassa) and Gungunyana were independent chiefs

Cawston’s argument to the Foreign Office was to quote Selous stating that both chiefs had large standing armies and as independent chiefs desired friendship treaties with Britain. Their recognition as independent chiefs was a cynical ploy described by the BSACo director Albert Grey: “*Let Gungunyana and Umtassa be the declared sovereigns.*”

We can pull the wires from behind the curtain. They pose before the civilised world as independent chiefs and nobody can complain if they choose to use their independence in a way that is pleasing to us.”

The role of Archibald Colquhoun, Administrator of Mashonaland

In an article in *Rhodesiana* Publication No 9 on A. R. Colquhoun, J. A. Edwards quotes the memorandum of instructions given by Rhodes to Colquhoun on 13 May 1890 in which para 4 states: *“As soon as practicable after entering Mashonaland, you will, accompanied by Mr Colenbrander (as Interpreter) and a small escort of Police, should you think it advisable to take them, visit the Chief of the Manica country, and obtain from him on behalf of the Company, a treaty and concessions for the mineral and other rights in his territory...You will endeavour to achieve the right of communication with the sea-board, reporting on the best line of railway connection with the littoral from Mashonaland...On returning from Mashonaland, for the purpose of taking over charge of the Administration, you will, if advisable, leave a representative with the Manica Chief.”*

Acting on his instructions, on 26 August 1890 Colquhoun left the Pioneer Column with C. F. Harrison, his private secretary, Selous and Dr Jameson and an escort of fifteen police under Lieut Adair Campbell but returned within a few days and set off again on 3 September with a reduced escort of seven police and without Jameson who was injured in a fall from his horse. The party re-joined the Column having made a treaty with Chief Mutasa on 14 September who declared that he looked upon the BSACo to liberate him from Portuguese threats and intimidation. For £100 per year the BSACo was given exclusive mineral rights and other monopolies to the area under his authority.

As soon as 21 September Colquhoun wrote to Rutherford Harris, the BSACo



Courtesy of National Archives—Dr Jameson, C. F. Harrison (Colquhoun's private secretary) F. C. Selous, A. R. Colquhoun



secretary: “Upon my return to Mount Hampden I propose warning Major Johnson and Dr Jameson against adopting the Manica and Massi Kessi route on their return to Cape Town, deeming that route, at the present time, both unsafe for them personally, as well as inexpedient in the interests of the Company.”

This view was ignored by Johnson and Jameson and so Colquhoun wrote again to Harris on 4 October: “I thought it very inexpedient in the interests of the Company, that Johnson should go out via Manika until matters were quite settled there and I know from you that you held the same view. This view was strengthened after my visit to Manika and after the execution of the treaty [with Chief Mutasa] especially as the earlier situation was complicated by the Portuguese being in a state of intense irritation, not likely to become less after the Anglo-Portuguese agreement.”

But Colquhoun to his intense surprise soon learned from Harris that: “Rhodes would like Johnson to go through to Pungwe unless there are very strong objections to it...” Rhodes was once more prepared to change his views when the situation required it.

The situation on the ground in Manicaland in September 1890

The BSACo’s hopes that Chief Mutasa would lay claim to vast stretches of Mocambique were not realised; the territory he claimed extended to 34° East and 20° South and even this area contained the base of The Company of Mozambique at Macequece occupied by its officials. In addition prospectors and miners were at work under licence from The Company de Mozambique at Penhalonga. In 1888 Baron de Rezende, Director of



Map by the Royal Geographical Society 1918 in which I have shown Mutasa’s claim to territory up to 34° East and 20° South—that area shaded in green was conceded as Mocambique territory by the 1892 Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Delimitation Commission

Operations for The Company of Mozambique had engaged James Jeffreys, a British mining engineer, to prospect in the area of “the divide” and Jeffrey had pegged claims on the future Rezende, Bartissol and Penhalonga goldmines. [see the article on Penhalonga under Manicaland on the website www.zimfieldguide.com]

In addition, Chief Mutasa then secretly informed the Portuguese at Macequece that he had only signed the treaty under duress. This however is the subject of another article on the website www.zimfieldguide.com entitled ‘How Mutare and Manicaland were seized from the Portuguese.’

Anger in Portugal and Portuguese public reaction

After centuries of lethargy Africa suddenly became a focus of attention for Portugal. The Berlin Conference of 1884—5 had stripped away Portugal’s claims to the Congo, but the German-Portuguese convention of 1886 recognised their claim to the territories on The Pink Map and violent anti-British demonstrations broke out in Portugal when the draft treaty was published by Britain following the April 1890 Lisbon talks. Its terms aroused violent anti-British sentiments all over Portugal, demonstrations were held, the British consulate stoned and economic sanctions against Britain were demanded. The Portuguese press and literature echoed and stimulated the reaction against Britain. Journalists, poets, novelists, students and the public in general protested violently against what they saw as an outrage against Portugal’s claims in Africa.

The Guardian newspaper wrote on 19 February 1890: “No Englishman, however farsighted, probably foresaw the storm which this Lake Nyassa dispute has aroused in Portugal. It may perhaps be traced to three causes—to the excitable character of a Southern people; to self-reproach felt by the Portuguese for their prolonged neglect of splendid colonial opportunities; and lastly... to Republican intrigues.”

The Modus Vivendi of 14 November 1890

Since the treaty of August was rejected, an agreement was reached according to which there would be a standstill in Anglo-Portuguese negotiations, the so-called Modus Vivendi which was negotiated by the Marquis of Soveral, the Portuguese Minister in London, and signed on 14 November 1890. This recognised the Scottish missions’ rights in the Shire Highlands, and Portugal’s territorial claims to Gazaland and most of Manicaland east of 33°. Portugal agreed not to accede any land south of the Zambesi river; the Zambesi, Shire and Pungwe rivers were declared international waterways and several acres of land at Chinde, at the mouth of the Zambesi, were leased to Britain; and Portugal committed to building a railway from Fontesvilla on the Pungwe to the BSACo’s border.

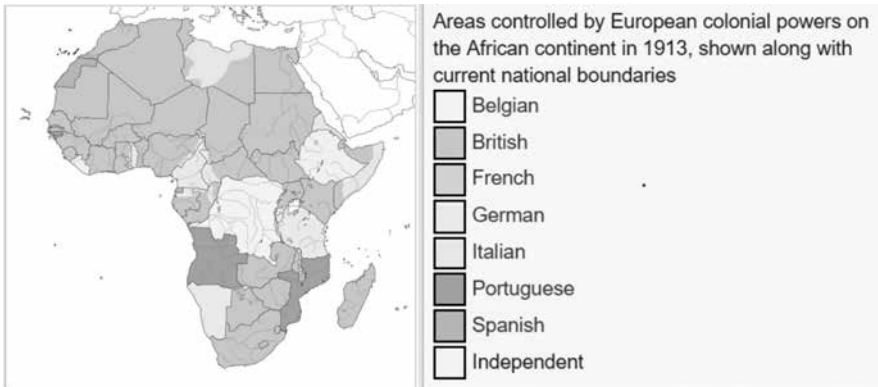
BSACo intransigence continues

When Lord Salisbury heard that the BSACo was planning to move into territory designated Portuguese he told Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner for Southern Africa, that Britain would not recognise any such acquisitions. Rhodes however continued with his strategy of recognising the independence of Chiefs Mutasa and Gungunyana and declared the BSACo would send its forces to defend them against Portuguese attack. Rutherford Harris, the mouthpiece for Rhodes, said that Britain should not thwart: “the rightful development of the English race in south Zambesia, out of respect to such a slave-raiding, gin-drinking set of scoundrels as the Portuguese.”



Treaty of Lisbon on 11 June 1891

New treaty negotiations began after the battle of Macequece and Chua Hills between the BSACo and the Portuguese which agreed a compromise. The borders of Angola were fixed, freedom of navigation was confirmed on the Shire, Zambesi and Pungwe rivers and Portugal was given more territory in the Zambesi Valley in exchange for giving up land in Manicaland. This treaty established the borders which exist today of present-day Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Portugal gained no rights to the north bank of the Zambesi, thus ending any claim to the region between Angola and Mozambique as outlined on the Pink Map.



Courtesy of [Wikipedia.org/Wiki/Colonisation of Africa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonisation_of_Africa)

Rhodes could never be satisfied with anything less than the occupation of Beira, but the other BSACo directors were satisfied providing the Portuguese could be held to their promise to build a railway and negotiation would henceforth be decided not by action, but by negotiation.

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Salisbury's First Flight The Story of Rhodesia

by Jonathan Waters



The arrival of the Silver Queen II in Bulawayo overshadows any other event in the history of flight in this country, but 2020 also marks the centenary of the first flight to the capital and the first “passenger flights” around the country. I thought it would be worthwhile to provide a few notes as I had done at the AGM in March 2020 on the Avro 504K, which, with two passengers, conducted the first flight to Salisbury on Friday 11 June 1920.

The brand-new plane was owned by the SA Aerial Transport Company and after leaving Baragwanath, it had travelled along the rail line to Palapye, and then Francistown (where 10 residents had “been taken up”). The agents in Rhodesia were Airoad Motors and two pilots accompanied the venture — Earle Rutherford and C. R. Thompson, who had travelled by rail to Bulawayo so to inspect the airfields, along with a mechanic Mr English.

On arrival in Bulawayo on 23 May, both tyres were punctured by thorns on the landing ground. Accommodation was fully booked because the reburial of Sir Starr Jameson had taken place the day before and there were many dignitaries in town. The plan was to take advantage of Show Week. Wealthy residents could take a “joy ride” around their town for the princely sum of three guineas for 10 minutes or five guineas for 20 minutes.



The ‘Rhodesia’ with Rutherford, on left, and Thompson (courtesy Mitch Stirling)

**Flying
in Rhodesia.**

AIROAD MOTORS, LTD., have pleasure in announcing that they are booking flights per "The Rhodesian Queen" during Show week.

Particulars on application to
AVIATION MANAGER,
Airoad Motors, Ltd.,
Main St.-5th Avenue,
Bulawayo.

P.O. Box 491. Phone 91.
Telegrams: "Airoad."

Flying advert in the *Chronicle*

The first two female passengers took their flight on May 28 — Mrs Edwards and Mrs Pittman, who went up twice, taking her five year-old son Pat on the second flight. Asked by a lady if he had seen "angels" while up there, he said: "Yes, but I did not see Peter at the gate."

After spending nearly a fortnight flying around Bulawayo (the *Chronicle* noted in one report that a trip had also been made to the Matopos), the plane left on 5 June for Gwelo, having hauled in £950 from 208 passengers, which was nearly 3% of the white population of Bulawayo. The *Chronicle* noted in its report:

7, JUNE 18, 1920

THE " RHODESIA "

FIRST AEROPLANE IN SALISBURY

Mayor's Official Welcome

Salisbury has at last been visited by an aeroplane, and the occasion has undoubtedly been the cause of much excitement. News had been received that a 'plane had arrived in Bulawayo and had been christened with the name of "Rhodesia," and the information was at the same time forthcoming that the machine, after a short stay in Bulawayo would proceed, via Gwelo and Gatooma, to Salisbury.

The fact that the machine was due to arrive at 11 o'clock last Friday morning, and that a special landing place was being prepared in the morning had

Rhodesia Herald headline as it appeared

The Bulawayo *Chronicle* cooed about what entertainment would be forthcoming during Show Week adding: "But most interesting of all to very many Rhodesians is the news that for the first time they will be given an opportunity of tasting the delights of flying. An Avro aeroplane is coming up, and will take passengers for 'joy rides'. The new aerodrome is at the north end of the town, just behind the King's Athletic Club."

On 24 May the deputy mayor Clement Dixon was supposed to have christened the plane the 'Rhodesian Queen', but the *Chronicle* report reads: "A bottle of champagne was suspended from the propeller base of the machine, and at the conclusion of his speech, the deputy mayor took a hammer and smashed the bottle, the machine being christened 'The Rhodesia' amidst a foaming, sparkling shower of wine"

The deputy mayor went up on the inaugural flight with Mr Martin, a director of Airoad Motors.

"It was a few minutes after ten on Saturday morning when the aeroplane rose from the municipal aerodrome for the trip to Gwelo. Pilot Rutherford was accompanied by mechanic English. The Rhodesia carried a letter to the Mayor of Gwelo from the editor of the Bulawayo *Chronicle* and also a copy of that morning's paper. The machine circled over the town for some little time, giving a farewell exhibition to the townspeople before it darted off to Gwelo."

From Gwelo, the *Chronicle's* correspondent said the town had been looking forward to the event for some time: "To say there was excitement is putting it mildly." The 'Rhodesia' was to arrive at 10.30am, but only made its appearance at 11.45am, "soaring over the kopje overlooking the town on the south side and then descending and making a perfect landing amidst great enthusiasm." The journey had taken one hour 10 minutes.

Airfields had also been prepared at Que Que and



Umvuma, but the 'Rhodesia' headed to Gatooma, arriving on the morning of Tuesday 8 June. Thompson travelled by train to Salisbury to ensure that the landing ground set out on the racecourse, which is the site of the Rainbow Towers/Zanu PF headquarters today, was suitable.

Salisbury has at last been visited by an aeroplane and that has undoubtedly been the cause of much excitement. News had been received that a plane had arrived in Bulawayo and had been christened with the name of 'Rhodesia' and the information was at the same time forthcoming that the machine after a short stay in Bulawayo would proceed via Gwelo and Gatooma to Salisbury.

The fact that the machine was due to arrive at 11 o'clock last Friday morning, and that a special landing place was being prepared on the racecourse had the result that a large crowd assembled inside the racecourse as the hour of 11 approached. Although there were many adults they were considerably outnumbered by the children. The latter scanned the sky with anxious eye, and seemed a trifle disappointed when 11 o'clock had come and gone and minute after minute passed. Suddenly the hooter at the brewery commenced to send its voice abroad in short spasms and the conclusion was immediately jumped to that the aeroplane had been sighted. This was correct, as within a minute the machine could be seen some miles away high in the heavens. Then the whirr of the propeller could be heard and almost in less time that it takes to tell the 'Rhodesia' was overhead and the buzz of the propeller had increased in volume.

Everything was ready for the landing but the pilot wanted to have a look at the town first and gaily flew over the spectators. "HD96" stood out prominently in huge type beneath the machine, which after circling the town in one big swoop as a hawk looking after its prey, it returned to the racecourse



The brewery, above, and the grandstand at the racecourse



George Elcombe

and landed after a most graceful and elegant dive. The machine carried the pilot Mr Rutherford, and also two passengers, Mr S. Thornton and Mr R. H. Ulyett; both of Gatooma, the two latter expressing themselves as cold but delighted with the trip. Cheers were raised by the assembled spectators on the machine coming to a halt opposite the grand stand, and as the occupants alighted, the Mayor Mr George Elcombe welcomed the pilot on behalf of the town.

Pilot Congratulated

The Mayor congratulated Mr Rutherford on being the first airman to pilot a flying machine to Salisbury and on behalf of the townspeople extended to him a hearty welcome. The Mayor, with his usual quaint touch of humour, mentioned that when he had first arrived in Rhodesia 23 years ago, it was by means of donkey wagon, and he added that perhaps his experience on the road had been equally, or perhaps more exciting than Mr Rutherford's had been.

The Mayor added that as a man interested in transport he welcomed this, the latest means of transport and hoped that the day was not far distant when the aeroplane would be in daily use in Rhodesia. He again congratulated Mr Rutherford on his safe arrival in the capital of Rhodesia, and expressed the hope that his company would meet with every success in their efforts to introduce the aeroplane into the commercial life of Rhodesia.

The machine by this time was surrounded by a large, enthusiastic and inquisitive crowd. The natives had not been permitted to enter the grounds, but hundreds had assembled outside, and the looks of amazement on their faces was a sight to watch. Wonderment was mixed with a tinge of fear in many faces and doubtless the opinions of a good many of them as to this huge unnatural bird would be most interesting.

The name of the machine, 'Rhodesia' is very distinct when it is at rest on the ground. During the trip from Gatooma, the aeroplane rose to a height of about 4 000 feet, and completed the journey—a distance of 80 miles—in 1 hour 12 minutes. It is fitted with Le Rhone engines, of French design, made in England.

The First Passengers

After the curiosity of the crowd had to a certain extent been satisfied, the police had been kept busy telling people to 'hands off' and everyone had tried to get a word with the pilot, it was announced that another short flight would be made. The ground was cleared and Salisbury's popular Mayor and his daughter, Miss Margaret Elcombe, then had the honour of being the first passengers to fly in Salisbury. The propeller was started and the aeroplane raced along the ground at a terrific speed for about 200 yards before taking to the air, and then quickly attained a height of about 2 000 feet and circled the town.

At the conclusion of the trip, the Mayor publicly expressed his thanks to the pilot, Mr Thompson, who had taken over from Mr Rutherford, for giving him the opportunity of being the first passenger to fly in Salisbury. The Mayor said that the experience was a most enjoyable one, and that there was no unpleasant feelings of sickness he did not even have a pain under the 'pinny'. (Laughter). He considered it was every ratepayer's duty to take a trip in the plane, if only to see what a beautiful town they lived in. He had no idea until now that the people had such beautiful gardens. He had been able to see at a single glance the result of the past 20 years work of the Town Council, and it



made him feel prouder than ever today of being associated with the Council and more anxious than ever to help carry on the good work done by his predecessors. He could assure everyone there was nothing to fear in taking a trip in the plane, and would urge everyone who could afford it to do so.

The Mayor, after again thanking the pilot and wishing him a pleasant stay in the town, wished his firm every success in their enterprise. He then called for three hearty cheers for the pilots which were most heartily given.

A few footnotes on the Salisbury episode. The first is the passengers — I cannot find out anything about Thornton, but the R. H. Ulliyett was almost certainly, Reginald Huber Ulliyett, a mining engineer of Australian birth, who lived at Mayflower farm outside Gatooma. He died less than three years later on 10 March 1923, but he had 11 children, the second last of who he named Cecil Rhodes Ulliyett.

The second is a report in the *Rhodesia Herald* that said: "The aeroplane 'Rhodesia' has been engaged in many flights since her arrival on Friday. Several voyages were



The oldest surviving aerial picture of Salisbury states "1930" on it, but it is certain that this picture was taken before 1923 and possibly while the 'Rhodesia' was visiting. Many years passed before another plane visited and of note in this picture is the jacarandas are in their infancy and that construction of the Venturas house is yet to take place at the site on the corner of Josiah Chinamano and Second Street. Work started on the James Cope Christie designed house at the end of 1923



made on Saturday afternoon and yesterday the sound of the machine's propeller was heard in the air at frequent intervals. Mr William 'Mazoe' Smith must have established a record for Rhodesia, if not also for South Africa. Although now in his 74th year, he was one of the first to book a trip in the 'Rhodesia' and his keenly cherished wish was gratified immediately after lunch on Friday. In his flight he had as his fellow passenger Mrs Elcombe, the Mayoress. Mr Smith's verdict on flying is summed up in the remark that he has had no more enjoyable experience since his yachting days on the Clyde," which is where this well-loved character died on June 29, 1924.

Lastly, it should be noted that we also get the first aerial pictures of our towns and city from the 'Rhodesia' venture. Dixon said after the christening of the plane that an aerial picture would be taken and copyright would be given to the Loyal Woman's Guild so that Bulawayo's principal charities "could benefit from the sale of postcards and photographs printed off the negative."

From Salisbury, the plane went east to take advantage of the agricultural shows in Umtali and then Rusape, before it headed back to Bulawayo, via Que Que, disappointing residents in Umvuma and Gwelo, which had been expecting its arrival. However, it had been announced the plane would return in early August for Show Week in Salisbury and take in the other towns on this trip.

I include this *Rhodesia Herald* report from 9 July as a footnote for the first flight to Umtali: "On the day before the Show the aeroplane 'Rhodesia' arrived. To celebrate the event all the offices and stores closed up early in the morning so that there was a very large crowd on the racecourse when the aeroplane arrived. It reached here at about 12.30 o'clock, and made a perfect landing. The first to go up were the Mayor and the Town Clerk, and on returning to earth again the Mayor welcomed the aviators in the first aeroplane which had ever come to Umtali and advised everybody to have a flight, advice which was liberally followed. The aeroplane left on Monday afternoon (28 June) for Rusape, where it also coincided with the show."

From Bulawayo, the plane was flown to Livingstone, where it arrived on Tuesday, 20 July at 2.10pm, after about an hour's rest at Ngamo (a siding on the railway line just north of Gwaai). "A parcel of papers" was dropped over Wankies. On 21 July, the Administrator Lawrence Wallace was the beneficiary of the first flight, before the first "joy riders" in Northern Rhodesia, these being Miss Ely and Mr Brooker.

I retain this paragraph from the Bulawayo *Chronicle* as these were the first fare paying tourists of the Flight of the Angels: "The most thrilling experience was to witness the water pouring over the Falls into the gorge. During these flights over the Falls, the pilot maintained a slow flying speed and banked in order to give passengers a clear view of the river."

On 27 July, the plane left for Lusaka, carrying Mr and Mrs Werner, with Thompson having gone ahead to inspect the landing sites in Kalomo and Mazabuka. Engine trouble saw it return 15 minutes after taking off, a two hour delay at Kalomo with no one to "swing the prop" further whittled down daylight hours and further tragedy then struck when it punctured a tyre after hitting a stump on landing at Mazabuka.

The puncture was fixed but it was too late to continue to Lusaka, and the following day another incident took place. The *Chronicle* takes up the story: "It was while at Mazabuka that Mr Thompson was approached by two ladies to arrange a joy flip. The

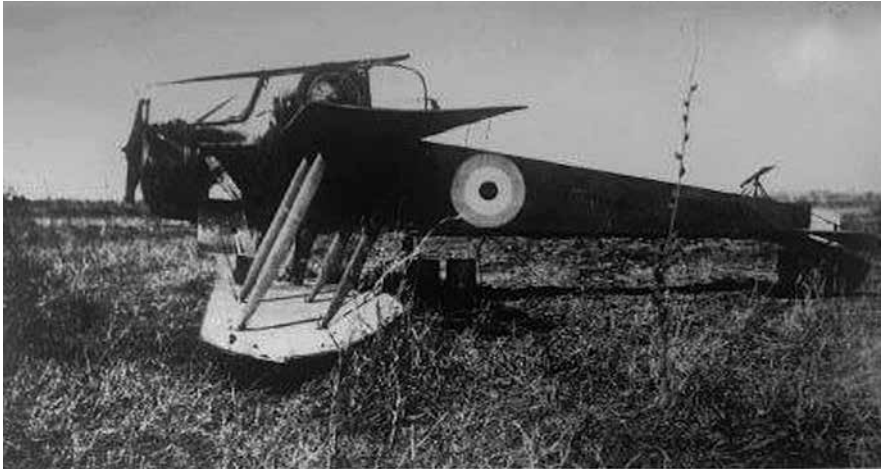


pilot was naturally very reluctant to undertake any flying while engaged in taking Mr and Mrs Werner to their home, and it was only after formal permission had been obtained that the flight was given.

"The cause of the unfortunate capsizing were firstly: a woman and a child on the ground, and the fact that the wind had dropped. The result was that the plane landed further up the ground than had been intended, ran across a road over the field which was being used as a landing ground and in the slight bumps following, the undercarriage caught a stump and the plane very slowly turned over.

"The two ladies and the pilot crawled out unhurt. The damage to the machine is really very slight and had the spares been available repairs could have been effected within a brief space of time. It is understood that Mr and Mrs Werner intend returning to Mazabuka in order to complete the flight. The unfortunate result of the delay caused by the accident is that the aeroplane Rhodesia cannot be at Salisbury during the show, as was intended.

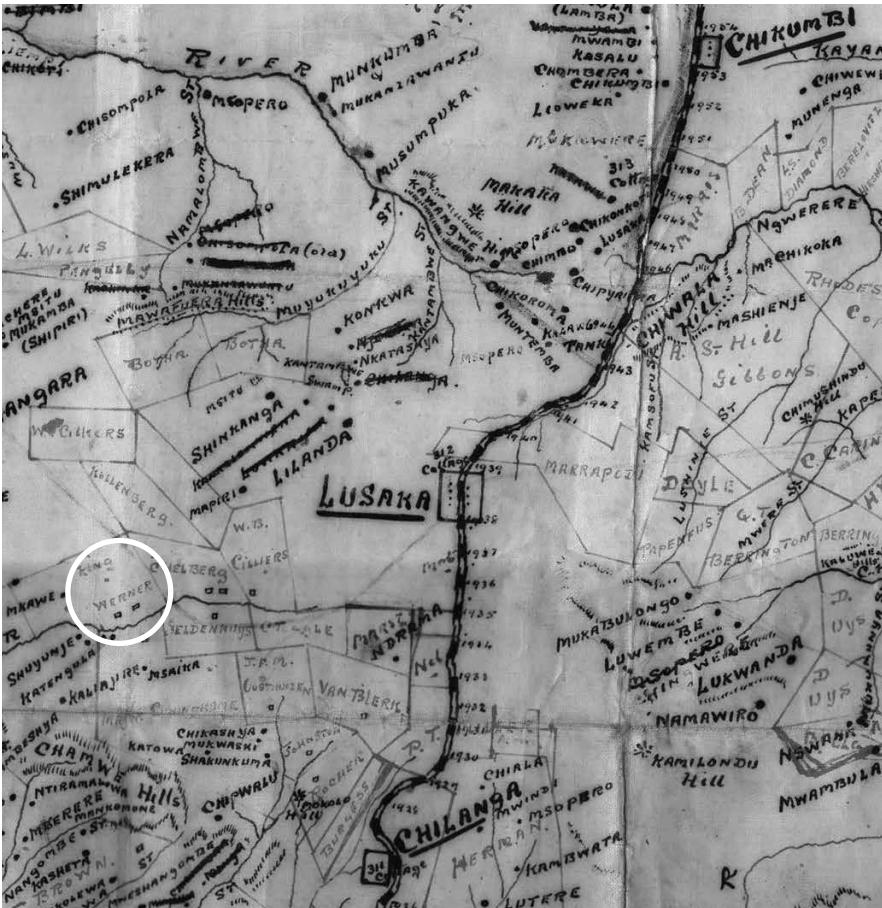
Mrs Werner took this shot of the crash at Mazabuka



(courtesy Mitch Stirling via the National Archives of Zambia)

The *Chronicle* of 4 September tells us the plane had been refitted at Mazabuka and made a flight to Broken Hill in one hour fifty minutes, and in the edition the following week with a dateline of 6 September, the report says it paid Livingstone a brief visit and left for Wankie on Sunday afternoon (5th). The paper says the flight to Livingstone had been completed the day after the Werners had finally completed their journey to Lusaka.

In an article in *Cabbages and Kings* in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 11 November 1956, Mrs Werner recalled: "The plane was delayed at Mazabuka for a month. When all the repairs were done, Mr Thompson and Mr English flew it up to Hereford (the Werner's farm) and landed on an old mealie field. The next day after lunch, we left for Broken Hill, landed there safely, and after two or three days we left for Lusaka and landed on the old football field near the present PWD workshops."



1916 map of the Chilanga district showing the Werner farm in its proximity to Lusaka

The report also says that Rutherford had taken a representative of the African Films Trust with him, who would record a series of films on the Falls and the journey south. The *Chronicle* of 25 September says the ‘Rhodesia’ arrived back in Bulawayo after a week of filming at the “Falls, including one occasion where the plane flew at a height of 50 feet above the main cataract”. Finally, on 8 October, the ‘Rhodesia’ left Bulawayo at 10.30am to return south via Francistown.

The *Chronicle* concluded: “During their tour through Southern and Northern Rhodesia the airmen have made many friends, all of whom will unite in offering their hearty congratulations to Mr Rutherford, the pilot, on his engagement to Miss Tracy Rigby, the only daughter of Mr and Mrs Rigby, of the Victoria Falls. Mr Rigby is the district engineer for the northern section of the Beira and Mashonaland Railways.”

Two final footnotes: On returning to Bulawayo in September from Northern Rhodesia, the aeroplane headed up to Umvuma to fulfil its promise. In her account, Mrs Werner said: “From Lusaka Mr Thompson and Mr English left on their return flight to Johannesburg, where they crashed,” something which I have been unable to discover more details about.

Sharrad Gilbert in Rhodesia (1900–1901) by Michael J. Tucker



The Second Boer War (11 October 1899–31 May 1902) between the British Empire and the two Boer Republics of The South African Republic and the Orange Free State began with the British Army suffering three humiliating defeats during ‘Black Week’ of 10–17 December 1899 at the battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso where they lost 2 776 men killed, wounded and captured.

The British government realized they were going to need more troops than the regular army could provide and issued a Royal Warrant on 24 December 1899 which allowed volunteer forces to serve; this officially created the Imperial Yeomanry (IY). The Royal Warrant asked standing Yeomanry Regiments to provide service companies of approximately 115 rank and file, 1 Officer and 4 subalterns below the rank of Captain. Many British citizens, usually mid-upper class, volunteered to join the new regiments, although many left for South Africa with little skill in handling and riding horses and poor shooting skills.

Officers and men were required to bring their own horses, clothing and saddlery with the Government providing arms, ammunition, camp equipment and transport. Several of the Companies were raised by private individuals, including the 47th Company (Duke of Cambridge’s Own) the Earl of Dunraven’s ‘Sharpshooters’ the 19th Battalion ‘Paget’s Horse’ and Lord Latham’s 20th Battalion ‘Rough Riders.’

The first contingent of recruits to travel to South Africa was made up of 550 officers and 10 371 other ranks within 20 battalions of four companies each, except the 8th and 16th Battalions which had three companies each. The Battalions began to arrive in Cape Town between February and April 1900, except for the 17th and 19th Battalions which were integrated into the Rhodesia Field Force and were sent to Beira in Portuguese East Africa, now Mozambique. Sharrad Gilbert was a member of the 17th Battalion.

65th Company, 17th Battalion (2nd Leicester) Imperial Yeomanry

The Rhodesia Field Forces’ (RFF) initial task was to create a second front to the north of the Boer forces, but once in Marandellas the force would split, some heading south to Mafeking, now Mahikeng, which was relieved from its 217 day Boer siege on 17 May 1900, while others, including Gilbert in 65th Company, maintained a presence in northern Mashonaland to deter Mashonaland natives who were again becoming restive while Britain had her hands full with the Boers.

At the time the 65th entrained at Beira the railway was 2ft narrow gauge as far as Bamboo Creek and then standard 3ft 6-inch gauge to Marandellas. This entailed a change of trains and a prolonged wait at Bamboo Creek during which time many members of the RFF contracted malaria, dysentery and enteric, a type of typhoid. Consequently some



65th Company, 17th Battalion (2nd Leicester) Imperial Yeomanry

Courtesy of <http://www.paoyeomanry.co.uk>

members of 17th and 18th Battalions were invalided directly home due to sickness before ever facing the enemy, and an unlucky number died of disease. In 65th Company these included 12071 Trooper J. Brooker who died on 9 June 1900 in the Umtali hospital of dysentery, and 12037 Quartermaster Sergeant W. T. Cockain who was evacuated back to England but died on 17 December 1900 of hepatitis.



Officers of the 65th (2nd Leicestershire Yeomanry) Company.

(L–R back row) Lt F. A. Belville, SSM. G. Hobden, Lt C. Challinor

(L–R Front row) Lt Sir F. F. Fowke, Capt. W. A. Peake, Lt R. B. Muir

Courtesy of <http://www.paoyeomanry.co.uk>

One of the members of the first group of 65th Company was 11991 Trooper Sharrad H. Gilbert. Gilbert recorded his impressions of the war and published them in 1901 in his book *Rhodesia & After, Being the Story of the 17th and 18th Battalions of IY*. This book is available for free electronically at Google books, and as a paperback reprint



from the Naval & Military Press.

Gilbert wrote a collection of reports to the editor of *The Hinckley Times* and *Bosworth Herald* providing a personal commentary when the British public were awash with national pride and eager for news on the progress of the war.

Arrival at Beira

On 4 May 1900 when Gilbert and his fellow soldiers arrived in the Galeka off Beira; the harbour had never held such an assemblage of ships... the *Maori*, the *Waimate*, the *Monowai* and the *Cymric*; all packed with khaki figures. Queenslanders, Victorians, New Zealand Rough Riders shouted their war cries as the ships passed and the 17th and 18th Battalions of the Imperial Yeomanry replied with hearty British cheers. However day after day went by as stores and horses were unloaded and only after waiting seven days did the paddle steamer *Trevor* come alongside and 65th Company of the 17th Battalion of IY set foot on African soil for the first time.



Sharrad Gilbert

Courtesy of

www.hinckleypastpresent.org

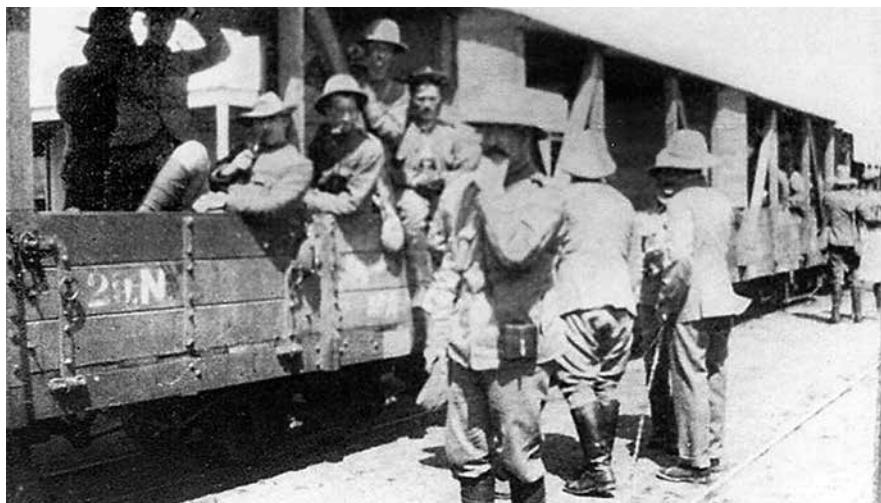


A horse destined for the Boer War being unloaded at Port Elizabeth after the sea voyage

Courtesy of Wikipedia

Gilbert writes that over to the West... 'in the eye of the sunset, lies Rhodesia, with all the charms of a little known and undeveloped world.' The myth of these charms was soon to be exploded as they boarded a troop train on the narrow gauge Beira–Salisbury railway. Each carriage was 16ft by 5ft and overhung the 2ft gauge railway line; 'a toy

railway;’ overhead was a flat corrugated iron roof and timber boards at the ends, but the sides are open; they are pulled by two comical little locomotives made at the Falcon Works, Loughborough. Each carriage was filled with sixteen men in marching gear, thirty-two kit bags and three days’ rations for each man but compressing sixteen pairs of legs into this space is quite impossible, so soon there are dozens of pairs of legs clad in putties, boots and spurs dangling over the sides. The overwhelming sensation though is of a breathless, quivering heat.



The 65th Company arrive at Beira; they entrain and travel up country on the Beira Railway Company narrow gauge line. Note the brims of the hats are turned down and they are wearing handkerchiefs around the neck against the heat.

Courtesy of www.hinckleypastpresent.org

Thirty-two Mile Creek

The engines all burn wood fuel so every few miles there is a plentiful heap of logs heaped up by the side of the line near a group of native huts. At 23-mile peg, christened Twenty-three Mile Creek, there is just a long siding, a water-tank for the locomotives and an iron bridge over the creek. The men unloaded their baggage and stores and scrambled up the bank to follow their officers for half-a-mile until they come across lines of small bell tents put up by the squadrons who preceded them. They pitched their tents and had a meal of corned beef and ship biscuit with hot coffee. Before sleep, each man has a quinine tablet. One of the few remaining buildings, for this was once a native *kraal*, serves as a guard house with one prisoner who woke up in the night to find: “three large light grey rats, one on his face, the other two sitting on his chest and contentedly trying to make a late supper off the buttons of his greatcoat.”

Because Portuguese East Africa was notorious for fever the men are given quinine daily and compelled to wear a *sombrero* during the day and a tam o’shanter after sundown. Handkerchiefs are worn around the neck ‘to protect the spine’ and they were forbidden to sit on grass after the sun went down. But these precautions are in vain as severe diarrhoea affects the men.

At every hour of the day and night long trains, drawn or pushed by two or three engines and laden with men, horses and stores passed their camp on their way northwards.



Often stores arrived in the middle of the night and they were ordered to shoulder the heavy boxes and stumble with them over the uneven ground in the darkness back to camp. Breakfast, dinner and tea was always bully beef and hard ship biscuit.

Sharrad Gilbert is clearly an amateur naturalist as he provides delightful descriptions of the jungle that surrounds them, the strange plants and insects and all the butterflies which are so unfamiliar to him. He befriends a large grey frog which finds its way under his stretcher...it has such a 'without-a-friend-in-the-world' kind of look that the soldiers let the frog stay a week before it left of its own accord without a farewell.

On 19 May the Colonel informed them of the Relief of Mafeking a few days before and all cheer and throw their hats in the air for Baden-Powell and his gallant men who had resisted Boer efforts for seven months. A few days later they were visited by Cecil Rhodes... Gilbert thought his face seemed lined with care.

On 20 May, a company of New Zealanders and 100 horses stopped at their rail siding for a few minutes. They had food, but no water, so Gilbert and his companions filled their water bottles at the creek. The train had an engine at each end, but the driver of the rear engine was drunk and in an evil humour. A few miles down the line he unhitched his engine and the train was unable to move on for some hours.

On 22 May the sick were brought in stretchers from the camp and waited over three hours in the sun for a train. The train then collided with some wagons parked on a siding and some of the carriages derailed. The whole camp was marched to the siding in the darkness, the sick lifted out and the carriages pulled back onto the rails before the train left with its sick passengers.

On 23 May Gilbert and the Imperial Yeomanry were due to leave at 11:30am after their stay of twelve days. It was another hot day and there was no shade as all their tents



The narrow gauge engine has come off the line—a fairly frequent occurrence.

Courtesy of National Archives

were packed. The train only arrived in the evening and they left in a grain wagon—a box with an iron roof and large door which had to be kept open all the time to prevent them suffocating. They sat on their kitbags, no light, no food and no room to stretch legs. Someone started a singsong, but it died a natural death. At last at 12:30 the train stopped and they were told they had arrived at Bamboo Creek.

Bamboo Creek

They arrived in a heavy thunderstorm and only next morning saw their new camp. A large stretch of black-looking soil covered with rows of dirty-looking tents, bare hard trodden earth in the higher parts, soft and sticky earth in the hollows. The railway line in front was reached by crossing dikes and pits of smelling stagnant water with planks; at the back was coarse yellow shoulder-high grass except where it was burnt off. The one side was a vast horse paddock, the other a waste ground and the men had barely been in camp a day before they began to fall sick.

Each day those on parade grew smaller and the words ‘malarial fever’ which had just been a name, now became a reality. The two or three small hospital tents soon grew full and a fatigue party was kept busy constantly throwing water on their canvas sides to keep the interiors cool. The doctors were the hardest worked men in the camp as their duties continued day and night.

Soon the hospital tents were full and the sick men were forced to stay in their own tents... the fit stepping over their blanketed bodies. The fever removed any desire for food and their friends patiently helped them to eat small quantities. Fever often revealed itself when the men were on parade under the hot sun when the sick fainted. In one Yeomanry squadron only two out of the section of twenty-eight men remained fit for duty; each day in turn one served as tent orderly and the other fell in on parade—their sole section representative. The camp was becoming a vast hospital and as day followed day no orders came to move.

Fever was followed by acute diarrhoea and then dysentery. At the end of the camp was the Bamboo Creek cemetery. When the Imperial Yeomanry arrived it held four graves marked by white wooden crosses with black paint inscriptions—by the time they left three more graves had been added. Prior to their arrival large numbers of horses had died of blue tongue; the carcasses were not buried, just dragged by oxen into the surrounding grass away from the camp where they were fed on by the vultures. Army food was monotonous and unimaginative consisting of bully beef and hard ships’ biscuit every day of the week accompanied by tea or coffee; the men supplemented their diet with tins of condensed milk and jam when they could be purchased.

Bamboo Creek at the time was the terminus for the narrow gauge; to the west the 3ft 6-inch standard gauge continued toward Umtali. [For an in-depth account read the article *The Beira and Mashonaland Railway—the Contractor’s Stories* under *Manicaland* on the website www.zimfieldguide.com] The station and telegraph offices consisted of iron buildings with veranda’s dominated by groves of banana trees. Everywhere hundreds of natives were busy unloading stores from the narrow gauge and onto the carriages of the standard gauge. The Bamboo Creek Hotel was within their bounds, but a sentry prevented the troops visiting the Portuguese settlement.

The Hotel’s large matchwood boarded bar-room had a long counter, backed by the usual bar-room shelves and a glittering array of coloured bottles and flasks. The clink of glasses mixed with the hum of scores of conversations, a shifting population consisted



of slouch-hatted, shirt-sleeved, booted and spurred and picturesquely dressed men with brown faces and sun-scorched arms. At the far end the click of billiard balls; everything seen through the smoke of bad shilling cigars and black cake tobacco. Behind the bar the sallow faces and broken English of the attendants and every few seconds the crash of a broken bottle as it was flung through the open window out the back of the bar to join the dozens that have gone before. Many soldiers enjoyed their first square meal since they left home of antelope meat or boar's head in the dining room.

The orders to move came suddenly and by Sunday midday their kit-bags and bedding were packed and they waited in blue deck uniforms to save the khaki from the sparks of the locomotive. The hours rolled by, the men unpacked their blankets and lay down to sleep. The train arrived the following midday. Eight horse boxes—seven of them filled with horses for the Rhodesian Artillery and one open wagon. The sick were put in the empty horse box, the rest packed into the open wagon, but there was room only for “A” squadron and the remaining three squadrons had to wait. So on 28 May 1900 Gilbert along with forty-two other soldiers, many sick with fever and dysentery, left the fever pit of Bamboo Creek on a journey to Umtali which would take two days and a night.

Many weeks after he says he came across the following written shakily in pencil upon the walls of a Rhodesian Hospital: “Bamboo Creek, the white man's grave.” He continues: “It was only the work of an idle moment, scrawled by some unfortunate when the fever had left him strength and the power to think. But for the truth of it let the little row of graves in the cemetery at Bamboo Creek bear witness; for the bitter proof of it go to the Umtali graveyard to the last resting place of the score of British and Colonial soldiers who lie there. To its fever-laden flats we owe the teeming hospitals of Umtali and Marandellas. Of Umtali where ninety men were crowded into a building intended to hold fifty; of Marandellas where in addition to the iron hospital of nearly forty beds, fifty large huts of mud and thatch had to be built to cope with the incoming sick. Many a man who saw his name among the pitiful list of those invalided home owes to Bamboo Creek his shattered health and the wreck of bright hopes with which he left his country and his home.”

[An article on the Anglo Boer War graves at Paradise Plot, Marondera can be found under Mashonaland East on the website www.zimfieldguide.com]



The small Anglo Boer War Cemetery at Paradise Plot, Marondera

The train journey to Umtali

They travelled mile upon mile of jungle through the Amatongas Forest with occasional small forest clearings, then a bushfire whose flames licked at the side of the railway line, their eyes and noses filled with its pungent smoke until their engine pulled them with a rush into the pure air of the forest. At Amatongas station where logs are thrown onto the engine-tender there was time to make tea with boiling water from the engine and arrowroot for the sick as they were watched over by the yellow face of a fever-stricken Portuguese station master.

Then off they went into the night wrapped in their cloaks against the chill of the African night; the gradients are severe and as the engine climbs great fiery sparks fly past or in amongst them. So the long weary night passes with many halts to replenish the wood and water and a long wait in a siding for a down train to pass.

At last breakfast at Chimoio... the men hang their legs over the sides of the carriages below their sunburnt faces, unwashed since the previous day. In one hand, an enamel mug of muddy-looking coffee and in the other a square of ships' biscuit covered in Crosse and Blackwell's strawberry jam. They are now through the tsetse-fly belt at 1 280 metres (4 200 feet) and pass large paddocks filled with horses being watched over by their Australian comrades.

From Chimoio the railway line descends into the Revue River Valley where they halted for water before commencing the climb up the Munene River Valley into Macequece, now Manica. Here they read a copy of the *Manica Mining Journal* and learned it has been a bad season for malaria and lions. Four lions had killed five oxen a few days before belonging to a Mr Ribeiro, a lion hunt had been organised in which most of the town's menfolk were involved, but without result, and to add insult to injury a further ox had been killed by the lions the next day.

After Macequece the gradients become steeper, the railway line making great snake-like curves as it curves between the hills and the speed slackens to a walking pace and even halts at times until greater steam pressure is built up; conversely, on the downgrades the train makes up for lost time. For the men with their legs stretched over the sides of the carriages the views become more magnificent as they climb higher and cross numerous streams over rickety-looking bridges. Along the line of the rail they can see great lengths of the old narrow gauge line which has been torn up and flung into the long grass alongside. At last they reach Umtali, now Mutare.

Goldfields Hospital, Umtali

On 11 August 1897, the last meeting of the Sanitary Board in Old Umtali was held and by the end of the year Bishop Hartzell conducted the first Methodist service. The majority of residents had moved to the present site of Umtali, now Mutare in time for the arrival of the first train on 4 February 1898. The name of Goldfields refers to the hotel which was established very briefly on the site before being taken by the military. Dr Morris states the first written reference to the site is by Lt-Col E. A. H. Alderson who was in a party in 1896 which: "inspected the site of the proposed new hospital." Gilbert was clearly a patient as he says Ward 3 still had a large semi-circular mahogany bar and that only teetotal patients slept here as they wouldn't be likely to rise from their beds and rap the counter in an absent-minded fit! Its name Kopje House reminds us that most of the earliest patients were suffering from malaria and blackwater fever and the small prominence upon which it is sited provided a cooling breeze.



Umтали Hospital in 1900—Kopje House now the National Gallery Mutare—front view

Kopje House between 10th and 11th Avenue on Third Street served as Umтали's only hospital from 1897 to 1930 and according to Dr R. M. Morris the layout in 1928 was substantially the same as today except for slight modifications in its later functions as school hostel, Aged Person's Home, Government Office, annexe of the Mutare Museum and now Mutare National Gallery. [See the article on Mutare National Gallery under Manicaland on the website www.zimfieldguide.com]

Gilbert recalled the heavy feet of the hospital orderly as he walked up the four rickety wooden steps of the 'annex' and said after he opened the door: "Six o'clock. Time to get up." The sleepers growled and pulled the blankets closer around them. "Shut that door for Gawd's sake. Can you get me a drink? I'm as thirsty as a fish." The orderly would reply as he went back down the stairs: "See what I can do."

This was followed by the soft voice of the sister giving instructions to an orderly from the courtyard. Then the door would be hesitantly pushed open and 'Bokus' would come in to sweep the centre of the room and under each bed; a process to be repeated four times a day. The orderly brings around breakfast: "Hmm" consulting his cards: "two full's and one low." The full comprises a huge plate of porridge covered in sugar and swimming in milk, large slices of bread and jam and tea. The menu of the unfortunate "lows" whose fever needs starving get: 5am—arrowroot; 8am—cocoa; 11am—soup; 1pm—sago; 3:30pm—milk or arrowroot; 5:30pm—cocoa; 8pm—milk or soup; 12pm—cocoa or hot milk.

The staff included three doctors and four sisters—Australian ladies who have volunteered for the RFF, a few R.A.M.C. men and orderlies were lent by the different squadrons passing through.

Patients from the wards came in to talk. Everything is done in leisurely fashion as there is nothing to do but eat and grow well and regain strength. The one newspaper is shared, a single pink sheet 17.5 inches by 11 inches, printed on one side only. The title takes up 3 inches, the remainder divided into four columns with three columns of advertisements and the fourth carries a report of the hospital bazaar and a polo match. Nothing about the war. Price 3 pence.

On the 12 June 1900 as Gilbert noticed a screen around a bed and the orderly stated: "Yes, Trooper McCann has just gone." Tomorrow he will be drawn in a creaking wagon with black oxen to the cemetery and laid to rest to the sound of a rifle volley and the bugle playing "Last Post." That day three other soldiers passed away (Blackden H. C. W; Bloomfield J. B and Stone J.)

So many arrive sick from Bamboo Creek with Gilbert on the 1 June that the doctors are at their wits' end and the less-ill patients are moved into tents to make beds available in the wards. He says the prescription for those with malaria is quinine three times a day and no food... not very conducive to jollity.

At the end of this chapter Gilbert adds thanks for the single-hearted and unselfish kindness of the people in Umtali:

The Civil Commissioner who entertained them at the Residency,
Mrs Myburgh and the ladies of Umtali who provided eggs, fowls, milk and fruit,
The people of Umtali who donated their whole milk supply to the hospital,
To the Clubs which gave literature,
To the volunteer Australian nurses who provided cheerful cheer and skilful nursing.

The Base Camp at Marandellas

Before it became the Base Camp of the Rhodesian Field Force Marandellas was a small station on the Beira—Salisbury line with the usual water-tank and hotel-store. By 1900 it was full of military activity; the detraining of horses and guns, ammunition and men with mountains of forage and stores stretching several miles to the west with Headquarters at one end and the Hospital at the other.

On the eastern edge were the Police barracks—the white troopers in small tin houses and the native police in pole and dhaka huts with their families. Their uniforms consisted of a dark blue tunic and black leather belt, brown corduroy trousers with black stripe, scarlet field service cap and bare legs and feet. Nearby was the Post Office, a square mud plastered hut with the military press censor, a lieutenant, in an adjoining hut, who signed off Gilbert's letter without a glance at it. Then came the Maitland Camp for staff offices, after which were the grass-green tents of the Colonials, consisting of the Victorian Bushmen, the New Zealand Rough Riders and the Tasmanians. Then the rows and rows of white bell tents of the Imperial Yeomanry with horse lines in-between. At the western end were whole streets of iron sheds and warehouses and then the hospital with rows of huts for the overflow of patients. Most westerly of all the small cemetery at Paradise Plot—those buried here are listed in the table of casualties below.

The water supply came from the creek from where it was pumped by a steam vertical engine administered by an Australian trooper with pipes leading to the horse troughs in which a thousand horses could be watered and also into rows of corrugated zinc cisterns in the centre of the camp for the soldiers' use.

The fine ankle-deep dust was remembered well by Gilbert who for some weeks served as the cyclist orderly to the Headquarters Staff and whose BSAP bicycle was built high to spare the pedals from rocks and stumps; it weighed as much as he could carry and was hard work to pedal.

At Marandellas the Imperial Yeomanry were issued horses—principally from Texas and Hungary and although they proved tough and hardy there was significant horse sickness in the camp; 15–20 horses were being shot each day and their carcasses dumped in the veld a mile or more to the north of the camp.

To the south of the camp were the characteristic stony kopjes of Mashonaland where Gilbert explored the caves and terraces and rough fortifications of “Gatzi's kraal” which had been determinedly held during the Mashona Rebellion or First Chimurenga. At the site of present-day Ruzawi School was the small cemetery with its three marble memorials and roughly carved wooden crosses [See the article Mashona Rebellion / First Chimurenga 1896-7 graves at Old Marandellas (Ruzawi Cemetery) under Mashonaland East on the website www.zimfieldguide.com]



Graves at Ruzawi Cemetery described by Gilbert—the wood crosses replaced with iron

Daily trains steamed in from the Beira with military stores and guns, men and horses. The sound of the forge and shoeing of horses was heard from morning until night.

Every few days a squadron of horsemen, fully equipped, with their stores loaded upon mules and ox-wagons would parade for a final inspection and then head off towards Charter—some bound for Tuli via Victoria, others for Bulawayo to the envy of those remaining who looked forward to the day they would be ‘ordered south.’

1901 Maopondera Rebellion

Chief Maopondera was considered an outlaw by local Europeans and in seeking to apprehend him at his kraal a BSAP patrol under Capt. Munroe came under fire suffering a loss of one of his NCO’s, Sgt John. Munroe returned to Sinoia, now Chinhoyi and telegraphed Lieut-Col Flint, then commander of the Mashonaland Division of the BSAP who was informed that other kraals were helping Maopondera with men and grain.

A mixed expedition was hastily put together comprised of European and African BSAP and one squadron of the 65th Imperial Yeomanry, now part of the Rhodesia Field Force and on 28 June 1901 their train loaded with horses and stores left Marandellas for Salisbury. After two weeks rough trekking with wagons they made camp at Sipolilo, now Guruve 140 km north of Salisbury. Gilbert complained the nights were cold and with the ox-wagons trailing behind they had no blankets; the rations went bad and needed to be supplemented with game meat.

A great *indaba* was held at Sipolilo which many of the surrounding Chiefs and Headmen of *kraals* attended; Lieut-Col Flint’s words were translated into the local Shona dialect...he replaced Chief Maopondera with Chief Sipolilo as Paramount Chief on the promise that he would promote peace rather than insurrection.

Soon they were trekking on foot... a single line along bush paths that stretched for three miles towards Maopondera *kraal*, although one troop has been detached to cut off any retreat northward. At 2am they halted for two hours before moving on again. Four hours later it is too late for a surprise attack; the guides had miscalculated the distance. They advanced for another hour and suddenly heard the sound of firing echoing in the hills.

The detachment troop after leaving Sipolilo at dawn had made heavy going through

rough country with few paths to follow and little water. Next day they descended the Zambesi Escarpment to the Dande River and here on one of the bends lay Mapondera's stronghold. They lay waiting for the main column to initiate the assault but were discovered by a child of one of Mapondera's wives who ran away screaming. The mother and child raised the alarm and the soldiers were only just in time to fire a volley as Mapondera's followers scrambled up the hillside returning fire with their flintlock smoothbore guns.

Two hours later the detachment troop and main body were united, but the birds had flown leaving just a few goats at the kraal which were eaten for lunch. Mapondera's men then crept back taking advantage of poor sentries and fired on the soldiers again before taking to the hills once more. The bodies of five tribesmen were found and many of the women and children captured along with livestock and grain.

Gilbert states it was easy to see where Mapondera's men were hiding as their muskets emitted great clouds of gunpowder smoke. The caves were searched for grain bins, camp was made near the scene of the engagement and patrols sent out; another small engagement as Mapondera retreated east resulted in two more tribesmen being killed and further dependants being captured. This was no significant victory, but the threat posed by Mapondera in provoking a new uprising was significantly reduced.

Back at Sipolilo, Gilbert witnessed a great 'Victory' feast attended by many local tribesmen at which the singing and dancing made a great impression on him.

Return to Marandellas

The soldiers returned from Salisbury to their camp at Marandellas which has diminished considerably in their absence with only three squadrons of Bushmen and themselves left. After two weeks of rumours and counter-rumours their orders arrive and they leave at 4am next day. However, the speed of the force of five officers and over a hundred men with two Maxim guns and limbers is dictated by the slow pace of the five mule wagons and three ox-wagons.

Their marching routine is to rise at dawn and ride until 9–10am and halt at a stream or shady spot where the horses, mules and oxen are turned out to graze before a further short trek in the afternoon. They marvel at the changing colours of the Msasa woodland from every shade of tender green to vivid Indian red, the plains of undulating grasses and those blackened patches where the tender green shoots of new grasses are showing through.

Their wagons only carry forage and stores for part of their journey so after passing through Charter they reach 'The Range' a large Government depot on 1 September where they can replenish stores [I believe this is 'Old Wiltshire Headquarters'] and arrive at Enkeldoorn, now Chivhu the same night. At the time the town had a single street lined with young trees, a few brick stores, a hospital and red-brick Dutch Church, the Post Office built of sun-dried bricks in which the clerks lived with the bleached skull of a hippo at the door. The police camp is where it is located today, just to the south of the town.

Two days later they crossed the Sebakwe River [probably at Orton's Drift—[see the article under Midlands on the website www.zimfieldguide.com]] and passed from Mashonaland into Manicaland. Gilbert mentions that as well as the drift there was a ferryboat here drawn across by a wheel hung from a cable.

This being the main Salisbury–Bulawayo road they were passed every other day by



the Zeederberg coaches piled with passengers and baggage and drawn at a fast trot by eight small grey mules. They looked far too clumsy to negotiate the small spruits but completed the 450 km (280 miles) in three-and-a-half days. The mules were changed every 19 km or so (12 miles) at coaching stations which were just rough wooden sheds with a corral and some huts, the mules grazed on the veldt until a coach was nearly due when they were corralled.



Orton's drift across the Sebakwe River as it is now

Just before Gwelo they came across a river with banks 9 metres high (30 feet) and Gilbert watched as the wagons negotiated the steep sloping track down to the stream and then up again on the other side. The mule wagons crossed one at a time; a sharp crack from the driver's whip and the ten mules bounded forward. Down they went at a run and splashed into the shallow stream, the wheels bumping against the rocks and then up the steep bank wet and slippery from the feet of the teams that went before. A rear wheel catches behind a rock; the driver urges the mules forward... surely the wagon must move or the harness break. Slowly the wheel grinds slowly over the obstacle and moves up the hill foot by foot, the whips crack and the driver urges the mules on until they reach level ground.

Gwelo, now Gweru

The town was made up of tin buildings and brick shops scattered rather haphazardly on the stands with wide streets bordered by ditches and pepper trees. There were general stores and bottle stores, a Post Office and Stock Exchange and some fancy hotels. African Police in white trousers and helmets with khaki tunics patrolled the streets carrying large knobkerries. Tall thin sun-burnt European men lounged at the front of the hotels talking business and smoking large cigars. Young boys on bicycles took short-cuts across the unbuilt-on stands. The news shop displays newspapers a month old and near the two chemists is the office of *The Gwelo Times*.

Their camp is in a grove of trees half-a-mile from town and infested with white-ants. Saddles and webbing have to be kept off the ground or be eaten; scorpions are a problem too. They encounter swarms of locusts which cover every branch and leave each long grass stalk with its swinging burden. The shrill noise of the cicadas which

goes on for hours drives everyone away unless they can be found; not easy as they are well camouflaged, and then squashed.

Gilbert adopts a chameleon and describes its antics for over three pages, even training it to ride on his shoulder until one day after a gallop he finds it has fallen off.

He describes the advantages and disadvantages of mules versus oxen. The mule requires 10 lbs of oats each day, so for a ten-day journey with ten mules 1 000 lbs of oats must be carried; whereas oxen simply graze off the veld. So oxen can carry a heavier load but are slower.

Several times between Gwelo and Bulawayo they crossed the track bed of the future railway, but no rails had yet been laid.

Near Thabas Induna, now Ntabazinduna they camped on the banks on the Umguza River whilst the horses were inoculated against Glanders. The following day there is an inspection of the Rhodesia Field Force by their Commander General Sir Frederick Carrington and on 26 September they marched into Bulawayo.

Bulawayo

Gilbert was feeling jovial when he wrote his article on Bulawayo. “Bulawayo may become a Chicago, though it is doubtful; yet it is evidently laid out with that end in view. There are miles of streets and sidewalks to be kept in repair... it would be a great relief to the groaning ratepayers if the town was squeezed into a third of its present size.” Later in describing the Park... “Through the whole length of the Park winds the Matsheumhlope River, or perhaps I should say river-bed, for there was no water in it at the time that I saw it. The Matsheumhlope is not a large river—one can easily jump it without having the limbs of an athlete, but the mouth of a music-hall comic is absolutely necessary, I should say, in order to pronounce it.”

And practically every Bulawayan was a cyclist... every man, woman and child owned a bicycle. Oliver Ransford in *Rulers of Rhodesia* says that even General Carrington learned to ride a bicycle in Bulawayo!

For the Imperial Yeomanry Bulawayo meant a release from the bully beef and biscuit they had lived on for the past month. They rode past the cafes and stores and hotels and over the railway line and then three miles through thin thorn scrub to the long low white huts of the Hillside Barracks which would be their home for the next six weeks. The barracks were a double row of long huts around three sides of an immense square; built of wooden boards with tin roofs and earth floors, they were infested by rats.

There was no drill; their duties mostly comprised guard duties at their Barracks, the Agricultural Hall, the Magazine and the Railway Station. Morale took rather a hit as they believed they might not see any active soldiering; they had come to be soldiers not stable-lads and so they sang the song of the 65th Company:

“Grooming, Grooming, Grooming,
Always blooming well grooming,
From Reveille to Lights Out,
We’re grooming all the day.”

Horses were taken out with the soldiers riding one and leading two for a trot around the Bulawayo racecourse. Beer could be purchased at the canteen for 6d a glass; there was also a dry canteen and an Australian Café which sold steak and eggs. Near the guard-room were long stretches of hospital tents for those with illnesses that included



enteric, typhoid, malaria and dysentery.

During their stay the seasons changed... first blinding dust storms followed by thunderstorms which peeled off the rough plaster of the huts and turned the parade ground and surrounding *veldt* into shallow lakes. At the same time they received orders to move and the squadron left by rail for South Africa (and Gilbert's exploits in South Africa and later in WW1 are another story).

During the fifteen months in Rhodesia and South Africa he saw much action and was in fact captured by the Boers at Aberdeen in the Eastern Cape. However, he managed to escape.

On his return home Sharrad with another Hinckley man, Dudley Beaumont Atkins, were met by a large patriotic crowd at Hinckley railway station and ferried to the Union Hotel in an open carriage where the town band played "Hail the Conquering Hero Comes." The Hinckley volunteers were each presented with a gold watch and a scroll and a Boer War memorial tablet with all their names was placed in the entrance to the Council offices, then in Station Road, but now on display at Hinckley and District Museum.

Sharrad was awarded the Queen's South African medal with clasps for South Africa, Orange Free State, Rhodesia and Cape Colony and had the honour of receiving this from Edward, Prince of Wales, in a Whitehall parade.

Courtesy of Spink. The medals are now owned by the Leicestershire Regimental Museum



His seven medals comprise:

- Queen's South Africa Medal with 4 clasps
- British War Medal (Great War of 1914–1918)
- Victory Medal (Great War of 1914–1918)
- Territorial Force War Medal (Great War of 1914–1918)
- King Edward VII Coronation 1902 Medal
- Meritorious Service Medal (for non-commissioned officers)
- Volunteer Long Service & Good Conduct Medal

Sharrad gathered together the notes he had made during his time on the veldt and his articles from *The Hinckley Times* and *Bosworth Herald* and had them published in a book; *Rhodesia and After; being the story of the 17th and 18th Battalions of Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa* upon which this article is based.

Volunteers were disbanded and then he served with the 4th Battalion of the New

Territorial Army.

At the Coronation of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra on 9 August 1902 Gilbert was the senior NCO representing the Leicestershire Regiment unit and at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 he was a Colour Sergeant with the 2/5th Leicestershire Regiment helping to drill new recruits who went on to serve in Ireland during the Sinn Féin Easter rebellion of Easter 1916 before being promoted to Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant.

Although there is a letter from Sharrad in the Leicestershire Record Office requesting a character reference for an Officer's commission, he never became an officer, although he was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal in addition to his campaign medals.

He served with the army of occupation of the Rhine in Cologne and received his discharge in 1921 and was awarded the Territorial War medal and the Volunteer Long Service and Good Conduct medal in recognition of his long army career of 35 years going back to 1886.

In July 1937 he paraded before King George VI and the Queen in Hyde Park with a detachment of the Leicestershire and Rutland War Veterans Association.

In civilian life he worked as an accounts clerk in local Hinckley hosiery factories; fellow employees remembered him as a quiet and modest man, small in stature, with glasses and a white moustache.

Although he married later in life, his wife died in 1940 and he was a widower for the rest of his life.

In his last years, 93 years old, deaf and blind, he was cared for by neighbours, until he accidentally fell into his fire and died of severe burns at his home De Montfort House, in Britannia Road.

The Hinckley Times for 11 March 1961 recorded the death of Burbage's oldest resident at that time, but because he had no family, and perhaps no will, he was buried in an unmarked grave in St Catherine's churchyard, Burbage.

A Memorial for Sharrad Gilbert's unmarked grave 56 years after his death

It seems entirely appropriate that due to the efforts of Greg Drozd, Joseph Barsby, Director of G. Seller & Co. Funeral Directors, The Burbage Heritage Group and the local community, a memorial headstone was placed on his grave to mark and commemorate this humble and modest man.

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The Thousand Guinea Trophy 1914-1997 and Replica

by R. D. Taylor



John McCarthy in *Heritage* No. 18 1999 recorded the history of the Bulawayo Agricultural Society's One Thousand Guinea Trophy from its conception in 1913 until its theft and undoubted destruction in 1998.

This magnificent trophy was awarded annually at the Bulawayo Agricultural Show from 1914 to 1997 for the Champion Bull on show. It was indeed a worthy award. A subcommittee of the Agricultural Society was set up in 1913 to raise funds and to deal with all aspects of the cup. The Chairman of the subcommittee was Mr (later Sir) Philip Bouchier Sherand Wrey (June 1858–May 1936). Mr Wrey was an engineer by profession and a prominent citizen of Bulawayo from 1891 until 1921. Fund raising was very successful and the trophy was designed by Bulawayo jeweller W. H. Blackler and made by Haseler and Restall of Birmingham in the UK. A replica 9 inches high was also ordered.

The new trophy was first competed for at the 1914 Bulawayo Show. It contained over 5 442 grams of 18 carat gold produced by local mines.

The Thousand Guinea Trophy was stolen from its display case in the Bulawayo National Museum during the night of Wednesday 18 February 1998.

In January 2019 Mrs Janet Stokes of Harare contacted the writer to say that she had in her possession a small trophy which she believed had an association with the



THE "MILNE" CATTLE TROPHY. VALUE, 500 GUINEAS.
SALISBURY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

THE THOUSAND GUINEA GOLD TROPHY.
BULAWAYO AGRICULTURAL SHOW.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Bulawayo Show. Having seen the original Thousand Guinea trophy on several occasions I recognized it as a replica of the Thousand Guinea Trophy. Mrs. Stokes had looked after Mr. Richard Neville Strachan (25 February 1930–January 2017) in his last years. The replica was always in Mr Strachan's cottage and was among the items he gave to Mrs Stokes before he passed away. Mr Strachan was the grandson of Sir Bouchier Wrey and the son of Sir Andrew Henry Strachan and his wife Barbara who was the daughter of Sir Bouchier Wrey.

It is not known how the replica came into the possession of the Wrey family.

Mrs Stokes kindly passed the replica on to the writer who in turn contacted Mr C. P. D. Goodwin of Bulawayo. Mr. Goodwin had been President of the Bulawayo Agricultural Society from 1995 to 2006. In addition Mr Goodwin, a cattleman, won the original trophy in 1980 and was runner up five times. Mr Goodwin agreed with the writer that the replica should be returned to Bulawayo and, as the National Museum has a similar replica on display replacing the original that was stolen, it could be exhibited in the Bulawayo Club where Sir Bouchier Wrey was Chairman from 1895 to 1921 when he returned to live in England. The replica was duly returned to Bulawayo and is now in the Bulawayo Club. I have not been able to establish definitely how many replicas were finally produced but one other is known to be in storage in the Mutare Museum.

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The Decade of the Salisbury Vespa Club: 1957 to 1967

A Social History

by Christopher Halse



In this article, as appropriate to the time of the events, original place and country names have been used. Metrication only occurred after the Club's closure and accordingly Imperial measurements were those recorded by Club members for their events. These have been quoted by the author. The following conversion rate for miles may, however, be useful for readers: 1 mile = 1,61 kilometres (and thus 1 mile per hour [mph] = 1,61 kilometres per hour [kph]).¹

Before the beginning: the evolution of the machine

How did it all start? Post World War II the motor scooter was born, and its rise in popularity was pretty much the story of the Italian made Vespa, and the Vespa is largely the story of one man—Enrico Piaggio, of Genoa. Before the War Enrico and his brother Armando headed one of Italy's largest companies, which made various forms of transport: railway coaches, aeroplanes and trolley buses as well as aero engines. By the end of the War their plants had been flattened and over 10 000 people were jobless.

The Piaggios could have simply given up but, no, instead, in October, 1945 they called together some remaining staff to plan the future. Enrico said "We ought to be providing jobs for thousands of people, let's have some suggestions". "What the country needs is a quick and easy means of transportation" replied his brother. Soon Enrico was into the light engineering business and with the co-operation of an aeronautical engineer, Corradino D'Ascanio, they soon had a prototype scooter. The Vespa was born and jobs created. The prototype was modified and in April 1946 Piaggio & C. S.p.A filed the necessary patent at the relevant Patent Office in Florence. Mass production started of 2 000 units and the new vehicle soon made its public debut at the Rome Golf Club. In 1947 just over 10 000 Vespas were manufactured.

When looking at the modified prototype with its wide central part where the rider sat and the narrow 'waist' Enrico exclaimed 'It looks like a wasp!' The name was born, 'Vespa' being Italian for 'wasp'.

The design of all models from the start has incorporated a two stroke, single cylinder off-set engine; a painted streamlined pressed steel frame; small wheels; an easy kick start; a pillion seat; and a gear lever on the streamlined handlebar which also enclosed all the cables. Importantly D'Ascanio designed a supporting arm rather than a fork, so that wheel changing was easier than with motor cycles. All Vespas carried a spare wheel.

Before the beginning: the evolving wider social and Club scene

Within a few years Vespa owners with like minds started forming clubs. This happened

¹ A list of changed names, showing both old and new, can be found in the 'Index to Heritage of Zimbabwe', published in 2017.

when a group of young people who had in common, pride of ownership of a Vespa scooter, got together to form a social and sporting club which provided them with the interest, entertainment and constructive outlet for their energies. The clubs do more than that—they bring together a group of young people and develop them into useful members of their local communities, and careful and courteous road users.

The Vespa Club of Europe was formed and was directly financed by the Piaggio company. This became a body to which national Vespa clubs in various countries were affiliated, and rallies were held under its auspices. The scooter club movement in Great Britain started with Vespas and the Vespa Club of Great Britain was formed with financial backing from the UK franchise holder. Throughout Europe and indeed the world, Vespa clubs were soon formed in various towns, these generally being affiliated to their national Club.

The Vespa Club of Europe has a badge reminiscent of the Olympic emblem, but instead of 5 rings it has 5 cog wheels in different colours. The white centre wheel has, appropriately, a wasp, wings extended, flying over it. The cog wheel was adopted by the world-wide Vespa movement as the basis of a badge, whether national or club, and the vast majority of clubs still conform to this basic badge design.

Nearer home:

In the Union of South Africa, the Vespa Club of South Africa (VCSA) was finally established in 1959. It had taken three or four years for this to happen, there already being Vespa Clubs in the various provinces and two national rallies having already been held.

So far as the writer is aware, at the time of the formation of VCSA the following Vespa Clubs existed in the Union: Bellville, Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Diamond Fields (Kimberley), East London, Goldfields (St. Helena, O.F.S.), Johannesburg, King William's Town, Natal (Durban), Port Elizabeth, Tygerberg (Parow) and Worcester. It is not known which was the first to be formed but Johannesburg is a likely contender, having started in August, 1955. Shortly after the formation of VCSA, Windhoek Club was formed in South-West Africa. As can be seen the movement was widespread and popular.

Interestingly the Constitution of the Vespa Club of South Africa had as its first two main objects:

- *To act as a parent body and registering office for all Vespa Clubs throughout South Africa and Southern Rhodesia².*
- *To act as a central registering office for all Club colours, Club badges and Club uniforms, to prevent duplication of Club colours.*

VCSA published a quarterly magazine 'Vespa News'³ which was financed by BP Southern Africa (Pty.) Limited⁴ and the Vespa distributing companies in the provinces of the Union. This was a most welcome magazine to members of the various clubs. It frequently contained news from Rhodesia.

Formation of Salisbury Vespa Club

The Vespa movement did not take long to reach what was then Southern Rhodesia. A Mr McLaverty, through his company, Mechanical Equipment (Private) Limited had secured the Vespa franchise for the country. One evening in mid-1957 a meeting, instigated by

² As will be seen the Salisbury club was already in existence when the VCSA constitution was adopted.

³ Volume 1, number 1 was published in June 1959.

⁴ The Atlantic Refining Company of Africa (Pty.) Ltd., shown as a co-sponsor of the first 'Vespa News', soon became BP Southern Africa (Pty.) Ltd. BP became the biggest sponsor of the Vespa movement in South Africa and Rhodesia.



Mechanical Equipment, was held in the showroom at the company's premises in Manica Road (possibly on the corner of Sinoia Street⁵) to consider the formation of a club. The meeting was attended by about eight or so young Vespa owners including Mike Gill, Alan Pratt, Tony Rose, Patricia Scales, Rodney Scales (Pat's brother) and Mabel Kemp. Also attending was Graham Kirk who was a Vespa mechanic with Mechanical Equipment.

Jock Munro and Jack Millward were probably those most instrumental in getting the ball rolling, and by June 1957 the Salisbury Vespa Club had been established. It soon had a growing membership and within a month boasted about 25 members. Membership cards were issued on 4 September. Apart from the afore-mentioned persons, other early members included Fred Botha, Bob Cahill, Charles Bersin, Allister McIntosh, Peter Morton, Maureen Rowles, Elizabeth Shepherd-Smith and Brian van der Westhuizen. The first committee was Jack Millward (Chairman), Alan Pratt (Treasurer) and Elizabeth Shepherd-Smith (Secretary).

The Club attracted riders because of the social side it offered. Members came from all walks of life, and a lot were trainees. Vespas were cheap to run —

Full Name Patricia Scales
 Address 10, Victoria Road, Salisbury
 Scooter Registration SC 4891 Membership Number 10
 Members Signature P. Scales
 Date of Joining 4.9.57
 This card is only valid if the Secretary has certified that the current subscription has been paid.
 Subscriptions
 Paid to:

Date	Year	Sec's Sign
21.7.58	1958/59	P. Scales

An initial membership card.



Founding members: Jock Munro, Pat Scales and Jack Millward

⁵ Now, respectively, Robert Mugabe Road and Chinhoyi Street

half a penny a mile—and afforded the young people of Salisbury, who could not afford to own a car, both a means to get to and from work and also to go on weekend outings with the Club. As the Club came to life, outings were arranged to places of interest (and there were many) in the environs of Salisbury. The first outing was to Mazoe on 29 June 1957, Mabel Kemp having accosted Pat Scales and Mike Gill to come along for this occasion.

Members paid an entry fee of 5/- (five shillings) and an annual subscription of £1. 10s. 0d. (one pound, ten shillings). Fairly soon after the Club started, membership was opened to friends of members, who did not own a scooter. This, of course, included pillion riders, boy-friends and girl-friends. One early member who joined owned a three-wheeled Vespa commercial which he needed as he suffered from cerebral palsy.



Club badges: Left: The initial design, right: its successor.



The Club flag. This was first flown at the 1963 East London National Rally.

He occasionally tipped this over on Club events and members willingly righted him, to be on his way.

A Constitution was drawn up and a Club badge designed. The latter was black on a green background and comprised a cog wheel, an inner circle with the Club's name, and a stylised elephant sitting on a Vespa in the centre. Later the design was changed to simply having a cog wheel with the elephant now being a lifelike head, and no longer riding a scooter. The new badge's colour was black, silver and green. Later a full-sized flag in the Club's colour of green was hand made by a friend of a member.

The flag was flown from the back of a scooter. It was fringed, and had a carved elephant finial at the top of the pole.

Clubhouse

Members initially met outside the premises of Mechanical Equipment in

Manica Road to go on their outings. Then for a short time, meetings were held in the garage of the Scales family who lived in Central Avenue and after that at a temporary clubhouse in Jameson Avenue East. There was a need for a permanent clubhouse and one was soon identified. The new airport, initially called Kentucky, for the Federation's⁶ capital had been opened on 1 July, 1956. This meant that, as firms transferred everything from the old airport, Belvedere⁷, to the new one, many premises at Belvedere became vacant. Mechanical Equipment had identified a building there to use as a new workshop but after a short while they moved those activities to behind the then Municipal market in Eastlea.

The building, at The Circle, Belvedere Airport then became the clubhouse of the

⁶ The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, that existed 1953 to 1963.

⁷ Now the suburb of Ridgeview, where various roads are named after aircraft.



Salisbury Vespa Club for the rest of the Club's life. It was leased at £5 per month from the Vespa agents. The clubhouse was furnished with a refrigerated counter at the far end, and after a short time benches (made by a member), lounge furniture, a dart board, a table tennis table and curtains were either bought or scrounged. Various flags from other clubs, and various signs and other motoring related flags adorned the walls.

The clubhouse was the scene of many parties, notably each year one on New Year's Eve. A tradition developed at all major parties whereby a reel was always done to the tune of 'Pickin' A Chicken' (Eve Boswell), the record being around 21 repeats of the tune!



The *Sunday Mail* of 11 August 1957 reported on the 'three weeks old' Club as being 'flourishing' and carried this picture: Vespa Club members about to go on a 'run'. The picture was taken outside the premises of Kingstons Limited (booksellers and stationers) and *The Rhodesia Herald* in Stanley Avenue⁸, Salisbury.

The riders from furthest camera to nearest are: Unknown [S4382C], Unknown [S5118C], Unknown [no number-plate], Jack Millward [S4315C], Pat Scales with Rodney Scales, pillion [S4908C], Allister McIntosh [S4714C], Unknown [number-plate not identified], Tony Rose [S4890C], Unknown rider and pillion passenger [S4939C], Alan Pratt with Ian Storey on pillion [S4891C], Unknown. [no number-plate]

Club activities

The Club's routine activities were a Sunday run, either all-day or afternoon for tea somewhere. Popular tea places were Highlands Park Hotel and the Rose Bowl⁹. Places visited included Balancing Rocks, Bindura, Domboshawa, Ewanrigg Aloe Gardens, Jamaica Inn¹⁰, Lake McIlwaine (boating), Makori Range Hotel¹¹, Mazoe (miniature golf and a pool, and tea with cream scones and strawberry jam), Mermaids' Pool (rock/water and

⁸ Now Jason Moyo Avenue

⁹ The Highlands Park Hotel was on the Enterprise Road and the Rose Bowl was in Hatfield.

¹⁰ Jamaica Inn was near Ruwa.

¹¹ Makori Range Hotel, Glendale area, was a farm house converted into a private hotel by Sir Rupert and Lady Bromley. The farm was sold in the 1960s.



Crossing the Mazoe River, Vespa style.

Whilst on a Club Sunday outing to Makori Range Hotel the Mazoe river came down in flood and the low-level bridge became unpassable for the return trip to Salisbury. Car owners were marooned for a night. Vespa owners, however, found a new way of crossing the river and proved the versatility of their bikes!



Club outing to Balancing Rocks, Epworth, c. 1958.

Members from left to right are: Unknown, Unknown, Unknown, Allister McIntosh, Rodney Scales, Jack Millward, Mrs Millward (face just appearing), Tony Rose, Mabel Kemp

Spills also happened when practising stunt riding. One member's scooter was written off in an accident with a car but he was not too badly hurt. Sadly, though, there was a fatality in Kariba in 1963 when a visiting pillion passenger borrowed the owner's Vespa to go and buy some cigarettes, and came off coming going down Hospital Hill. He

foefie slides), Shavanhohwe¹², Sinoia Caves, Skyline Hotel (when water was flowing over the low level bridge), Snake Park, Warmingham Guest Farm, Zuvanyika¹³ (swimming) and a host of others. Cleveland Dam was visited and the rocky, wooded area above the shore was used as a trials course. As the Club developed some Sunday outings included economy runs and road rally events. Points were awarded for places in such events, which counted towards the Road Rally Cup, awarded annually to the member with the highest total points.

During its life the Club paid great attention to safety issues both with regard to convoy travelling and clothing. Members were encouraged to wear crash helmets¹⁴ (and generally did), gauntlets (or at least gloves for the girls), and protective jackets. On long journeys goggles were also encouraged and overalls were often worn. Safety films were shown by appropriate bodies from time to time.

Members did have their spills particularly on strips¹⁵ or dirt roads, but it was largely pride that suffered, with resultant dents and scratches to the Vespas.

¹² Shavanhohwe is a river that the road to Mtoko crosses about 40 miles from Salisbury.

¹³ Zuvanyika was a couple of miles off the Beatrix Road near the Seven Miles Hotel. A popular spot for families.

¹⁴ Crash helmets were not needed by law during the lifetime of the Club. Their compulsory wearing was mandated by the Roads and Road Traffic (Construction Equipment and Use) Amendment Regulations, 1975 (No. 4) [Statutory Instrument 223 of 1975].

¹⁵ 'Strips' was the colloquial name for strip roads which were built in the 1930s – two bituminised stone strips, each of about 24 inches width, placed so that a car's near and off-side wheels travelled on each strip. In between there was earth or sand. These, and narrow tar roads, were a bane to scooter riders due to both oncoming traffic and the rough and high edges between the tar and the 'dirt'.



Members lined up at an unidentified event in 1959. Left to right: Heather-Jean Anderson, Mike Gill, Liz Shepherd-Smith, Peter Morton, Pat Scales and Bobby Cahill.



‘Buster’ Amess on a typical strip road in the early ‘60s.



Bill Sutherland considering what lies ahead, Makuti to Kariba road, 1963.¹⁶

was not wearing a helmet and as a result suffered skull damage. It was an awakening moment to the general body of members.

An instance of towing is mentioned later in this article. In the middle of nowhere this was sometimes necessary, but it had its dangers. It was normally done ‘bike to bike’¹⁷ with a rope being tied to the back of the lead scooter with the rider of the one being towed holding the other end around the handlebars. It could thus be released in an emergency.

Club members also met every Thursday evening. This was either at a cinema or the Reps theatre to see a film or show; or at the clubhouse for games’ evenings or simply to get together. Promotional films were sometimes shown at Shell House, and in the early

¹⁶ Member, Claude Leroy travelling on this road, alone on another occasion, did spend a night up a tree when his bike broke down with elephant in the vicinity.

¹⁷ The word ‘bike’ has been used several times in this article as Vespas were often referred to as ‘bikes’.

days a 16mm projector and films were hired to show films in the clubhouse. Another activity, introduced soon after the formation, was evening ballroom dancing lessons. Scavenger hunts and ‘travelling dinners’ (meal courses at different homes) were popular. Nicks¹⁸ Steak House in Avondale Shopping Centre was a popular choice when members gathered for evening meals.

Sometimes tours were organised to factories and organisations working night shifts. Some very interesting evening tours were recorded such as to the Centralised Control of Rhodesia Railways at Salisbury Station, the Department of Civil Aviation’s Control Tower at the new international airport, Air Rhodesia to see aircraft being prepared for the next morning’s early flights, to *The Rhodesia Herald* to see the next day’s paper being printed, and to the Wightman & Co’s flour mills to watch the milling process.

From the outset members were adventurous and numerous trips were made by them, often two or three together and sometimes as ‘long weekend’ Club outings, to Beira, Hot Springs, Kariba, Melsetter, Umtali (Christmas Pass) and Zimbabwe Ruins, or touring trips around Rhodesia. Mike Walters made a solo trip around parts of South Africa on his Vespa GS in 1960. Solo travel within the country also took place when members were working in Bulawayo, or were doing their national service in either Bulawayo or Gwelo. Claude Leroy, who joined in 1962, did frequent trips from different places as work and ‘varsity took him to various parts of the country and to Durban, respectively’¹⁹. One trip of his (authenticated by the BSAP²⁰ at either end) was to Kariba in 4hr 29mins (and that included 61 km on dirt). The Kariba road from the bottom of the bends just after the Makuti turn-off to Kariba aerodrome was reported by another member to be 38 miles of ‘*Hell going down the Valley, like riding on marbles*’.

Tony Rose recounts a trip to Beira, Mozambique: ‘*Bernard Illman, John Larter and I left Salisbury at 7.00 am, with camping kit, and headed off to Beira. By 16.30 hrs we were swimming in the Indian Ocean. When the tide was out we did a ride up the coast on the firm sand on the water’s edge—must have travelled several miles up the coast where there was no humanity. Terrific ride.*’



Club members Noel Capener and Maria Mendes chose to go off on honeymoon by Vespa when they were married in May, 1964.
Photo: *Sunday Mail*

Renowned entertainers Cliff Richard and Pat Boone were both given Vespa escorts when they arrived at the Salisbury airport, to give shows in the capital. In 1965 Salisbury celebrated its ‘75th Birthday’ and one of the events was a float parade. The Club participated in this in conjunction with the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation.

Many bonds of lifetime friendships developed during the Club’s life. Romances flourished and many member-member weddings took place in the decade.

¹⁸ Later on, this became High Chaparral. Nicks must have had good business from the Club as they presented a silver trophy for a scooter event.

¹⁹ He did approximately 33 000 miles in three years as a member. Several other members did 50 000 or 60 000 miles during their lengthier Vespa years. One member, Jeff ‘Buster’ Amess, after leaving the Club, shipped his second Vespa to England and subsequently toured Europe on it. On the two Vespas he owned, he travelled about 90 000 miles.

²⁰ British South Africa Police



The Club became well known by giving rides to children at fêtes and fairs in Mashonaland, and the Club was sought after by the organisers of those events. Fares were charged and the proceeds went directly to, or were shared with, the school or charity concerned. In the late 1950s and early 1960s fêtes were numerous in the dry season, as all organisations sought ways of raising funds.

Other motoring clubs

The Club's rivals were the Lambretta²¹ Club which had been formed at much the same time as the Vespa Club. The two clubs had a friendly rivalry, members of one club joining the other on occasions for a rally or some event. The annual Gymkhana which was held for three years was the main example of this. The Lambretta Club had fewer members and did not survive as long as the Vespa Club.

Vespas and Lambrettas both participated in the first scooter race²² held at the new Marlborough Circuit in February, 1960. This was a three-lap handicap event and was part of the Evening Standard Trophy Race Meeting organised by The Rhodesian Automobile Racing Club. Members of the Vespa Club took the first four places, the event being won by Graham Kirk who completed the race at an average speed of 43, 24 mph²³.

In 1960 the Bulawayo Vespa Club was formed by two Salisbury Vespa Club members, Peter Morton and Bernard Illman, who had both been transferred to Bulawayo, and Theo Bingham from Mechanical Equipment. Other members included Luke Lukoski (a Polish parachute instructor), Glenda Simoncelli, John Alexander, Bob Flaxman, and David Owen (a member of the BSAP). If the Club (which largely comprised young men) was going on a Sunday run to the Matopos or one of the many dams around Bulawayo, they would first call past Fenella Redrup Girls Hostel to see if anyone would like a day out. Apparently there were always several takers! The Club was fairly short-lived, and may have closed down soon after the two founding members from Salisbury returned to that city. It is believed



Pat Boone flanked by Jill Morton, Maureen Rowles and Eunice de Beer. July, 1961. Photo: *The Rhodesia Herald*

Vespa PERFORMANCE OUTSTANDINGLY CONFIRMED

IN THE SCOOTER RACE
at MARLBOROUGH CIRCUIT on SUNDAY, 21st Feb., 1960

FIRST	GRAHAM KIRK VESPA 150cc. GS 3508 Model
SECOND	BOB CAYHILL VESPA 125cc. 1957 Model
THIRD	HARRY SMITH VESPA 125cc. 1959 Model
FOURTH	"Spuds" Morton VESPA 125cc. 1956 Model

Without any doubt—
YOU'RE BETTER OFF ON A Vespa

Cyclemobile from:
MECHANICAL EQUIPMENT (Pvt) LTD, Second Street
M & S MOTOR CYCLES (Pvt) LTD, Fortuna Avenue
T.T. MOTOR CYCLES (Pvt) LTD, Pioneer Street
SALISBURY

and MECHANICAL EQUIPMENT (Pvt) LTD, Plot 5/108 Ave. BULAWAYO

Race results contained in an advertisement for Vespas.

²¹ Lambretta was the other main make of Italian built scooters.

²² There may have been a scooter race at the Belvedere Circuit late in the 1950s, but the author has been unable to find out anything in this regard.

²³ Graham Kirk entered a 145cc engine Vespa to which he had fitted a bigger rear wheel, and had also worked on the cylinder and piston. The end result was that the bike 'went like the wind'. Ironically, the race was for the Haddons' Motors Trophy, Haddons Motors being the Lambretta agents.

that this was the only other Vespa Club in the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland.

Certain Salisbury Vespa Club members developed an expertise in organising road rallies and time trials. This was recognised by other motoring clubs, and at times marshals for checkpoints were drawn from ‘four wheels’ clubs. Likewise, some Vespa Club members were known to act as marshals for some of the well-known car rallies.

Two navigational road rallies where Vespas and other makes entered took place:

a) ‘Wynn’s Friction Proofing’ Whitsun Scooter Rally (June, 1963): This was a day/night road rally and is believed to be the first (and probably only) such navigational rally for scooters in the country. 7 Vespa and 5 Lambretta teams (i.e. rider with pillion navigator) competed over a course of about 165 miles. A dinner stop at the Blue Jay Inn, Banket was held before the night section commenced. It was a winter’s night and cold, and some teams got quite lost, but nobody appears to have run out of fuel. Vespa Club took the first four places, with the Roy Sawyer/Ian Storey team taking first place.

b) Salisbury Motor Cycle and Light Car Club Rally (September, 1963): This was the first rally organised by the SMC & LCC. It was criticised by Vespa participants as being too simple, but it achieved its aim in stimulating interest amongst the larger two-wheeled brigade. A team of three scooters was entered by the Vespa Club (Halse/Beatty, Sawyer/Sutherland and Cook/Forrest) in the Class A category (up to 200cc) and ultimately they turned out winners for the Team Event. The Halse/Beatty combination came second in the individuals’ category.

BP All Makes Scooter Gymkhanas

The local highlight in the scootering world was the BP All Makes Scooter Gymkhanas.²⁴ Three were held during the decade, all in either the Kingsway or King’s Crescent Car Parks, Salisbury. These were, as the name implies, open to scooters of all makes and this writer found that of competitors, approximately one-third were Lambretta owners and two-thirds were Vespa owners. Events were Scooter Queen, Concours d’Elégance, Slow scooter race, Novelty obstacle race and a Driving event. Team and individual stunt riding displays took place to entertain the large crowds of spectators. The Gymkhanas were opened by the Mayor or Deputy Mayor of Salisbury²⁵ and judges for the Concours d’Elégance were all members of the Vintage Car Club of Zimbabwe. The 1961 and 1962 events featured on Rhodesia Television (RTV)²⁶.

The following lists the Gymkhanas:

Number	Event name	Year	Date	Number of competitors
1st	BP All Makes Scooter Rally	1960	11 September	47
2nd	BP All Makes Scooter Gymkhana	1961	10 September	55
3rd	BP International Scooter Gymkhana	1962	10/11 June	63

The overall winners were Peter Morton (1960), then of the Bulawayo Vespa Club, John Larter (1961) and Tony Rose (1962), the latter two being from the Salisbury Vespa Club. Each year the overall winner was presented with the winner’s trophy by Mrs Edmunds, wife of BP’s Federation Manager, at a dance the same evening.

²⁴ The Chairmen of the organising committees were Brian van der Westhuizen (1960) and Mike Gill (1961). The 1962 Chairman is not recorded.

²⁵ 1960 Clr. H J Posselt (Deputy Mayor); 1961 Clr. I Pitch (Mayor) and 1962 Clr. F Chisholm (Deputy Mayor).

²⁶ Television commenced in Rhodesia in November, 1960 i.e. after the 1960 Gymkhana. The 1961 Gymkhana was filmed by RTV and in 1962 a Cape Town contestant (Robbie Dallas-Orr) was interviewed by RTV – this was a first for a South African Vespa owner as TV had not yet been introduced in South Africa.



Winners of individual events were:

	1960	1961	1962
Scooter queen	Mary Guthrie	Heather-Jean Anderson	Heather-Jean Anderson
Concours d'élégance	Alan Pratt	Alan Pratt	Chris Halse
Slow scooter race	Peter Morton	John Larter	Tony Rose
Novelty obstacle race	Tony Nairn	Tony Rose	Unknown
Driving event	Peter Morton	John Larter	Unknown

All winners were Vespa riders other than Mary Guthrie, a Lambretta owner.

The 1962 Gymkhana was particularly important as it was seen to replace the South African National Rally which was not held that year. The Rhodesian event thus attracted competitors from various Vespa clubs in South Africa, the furthest coming from the Cape Town Vespa Club.



1960 Gymkhana finale: An eight member 'pile up' on the Vespa of Mike Gill (with glasses).

Others visible are Eunice de Beer (at the top), Peter (Stompie) Moore (standing, left), Maureen Rowles (sitting on the floor-boards) and an unidentified member (standing, right). (Two members are at the back and thus not visible)



1962 Gymkhana. Bernard Illman streaks over three Vespals.

As can be seen the plank broke, which stopped Bernard trying to achieve going over 8 members, Rob Harrison having gone over 7 the year before. In retrospect, perhaps the plank breaking was a good omen, as clearly the activity had a dangerous side to it. Photo: Ilo the Pirate



1962 Gymkhana: Scooter badge

South African National Vespa Rallies

National Vespa Rallies were held annually in South Africa and Vespa Clubs from throughout the Union, as well as the Salisbury Club, participated. The 'National' was, unlike the BP Scooter Gymkhanas in Salisbury, a one-make affair, but events were similar. Attendance at a National Rally became the highlight of a rider's club 'career'. Journeys were long and took several days, and a bond developed between those making the trips.

From Salisbury, the scooters used were Vespa 125cc models in 1958, Vespa 125cc

and 150cc models in 1959, and in 1963–65 Vespa GS (160cc) models.²⁷ For the ‘Nationals’ it became a habit to take a letter of Greetings from the Salisbury Mayor to his counterpart at the destination. This was often reciprocated.



Above: Brian van der Westhuizen handing over a letter from the Mayor of Salisbury, Clr. Leslie Pocket, to the Deputy Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs J Newton Thompson, March 1959.



Right: East London Mayoral letter of 1963 in which he gives assurance that the Salisbury young people conducted themselves magnificently whilst at the Rally.

The following lists the various National Rallies held in South Africa during the decade of the Salisbury Vespa Club, and shows the Club members who rode to the events:

	Year	Location	Attendees	Notes
1st	1957	East London	Nil	1
2nd	1958	East London	Mike Gill, Patricia Scales	2
3rd	1959	Cape Town	Charles Bersin, Bob Cahill, Mike Gill, Alan Pratt, Tony Rose, Brian van der Westhuizen	3
4th	1960	Port Elizabeth	Nil	4
5th	1961	Durban	Nil	5
No event	1962	N/A	N/A	6
6th	1963	East London	Claude Leroy, Roy Sawyer, Bill Sutherland, Alan Uzzell	
7th	1964	Cape Town	Jeff ‘Buster’ Amess, Chris Halse, Claude Leroy	7
8th	1965	Durban	Jeff ‘Buster’ Amess, Chris Halse, Claude Leroy	
9th	1966	East London	Nil	8

- Notes:
1. No attendees as this was prior to the formation of the Salisbury club.
 2. Mike and Pat railed their scooters to Johannesburg and rode from there, and then the full distance home.
 3. There were to be 12 attendees but due to the Nyasaland Emergency many members found themselves to be on army ‘call-up’. This rally attracted 220 participants.
 4. The reason for the lack of a contingent is unknown but is probably due to the very unsettled times in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Curfews existed, independence for Southern Rhodesia was being called for, and Hastings Banda was due to be released from prison in Nyasaland a fortnight before the Rally.
 5. Due to financial constraints a national rally was not planned to be held. At short notice a Natal rally became a national one. SVC members had not planned on going to a South African provincial rally.
 6. Lack of sponsorship resulted in no National Rally being held. The Salisbury Vespa Club, with sponsors, organised an International Scooter Gymkhana in their home city and this filled the void that had been created.
 7. Alan Uzzell, having travelled by car to Cape Town, entered events on Jeff Amess’ scooter as well.
 8. Members who might otherwise have gone to East London had other commitments.

²⁷ Fuel for the return trips to the rallies from Salisbury was sponsored by fuel companies, Caltex Oil (1959) and BP Rhodesia / Southern Rhodesia (1963 to 1965). Other sponsors who provided their products in 1963-65 were Wynn’s Friction Proofing and Champion Spark Plugs.



The following results were obtained by the Rhodesian contingents:

1959—Tony Rose was second in the Driving Event: In and out of the barrels.

1963—Roy Sawyer won the Stunt Riding—Individuals; Salisbury Vespa Club won the Longest Distance Club²⁸; Alan Uzzell was second in the Driving Ability Test.

1965—Salisbury Vespa Club was second for the Longest Distance Club.

Some facts about the journeys to the National Rallies:

1958: Pat Gill (née Scales) recounts the journey that she and Mike Gill made :

'Distance was not the prime reason for railing the bikes to Johannesburg. We were advised that the strip road south of Fort Victoria would not be good for the Vespas with small wheels, and time was not on our side to ride the extra distance via Bulawayo. Don't forget we were the pioneers of this ride and were the first to do such a long trip. I can remember that riding down through the Eastern Cape mountains was some of the coldest I have ever been and we were ill prepared for that weather. Had to stock up on "vintage" thermals in East London!'

Returning from the Rally we rode up on our own (the Durban Club had already left as we stayed on a couple of days in East London) to Durban via the Transkei, and then stayed in Durban with friends for a few days before the long ride home. This time we did ride the whole way, but via Bulawayo. We had the original 125cc Vespas with the headlights on the mudguard.'

Pat, apparently, was the first woman wearing a crash helmet to ever pass through the Beit Bridge border post. She surprised immigration staff when she took her helmet off and they then realised they were dealing with a young woman.

1959: Of the six attendees, two travelled together and went direct to Cape Town. Three members went via Port Elizabeth and their trip made that city's evening newspaper.

Rhodesians' 2,000-mile scooter trip



Three wind-swept, dusty Rhodesians rode into Port Elizabeth yesterday afternoon after a five-day "flat-out" trip from Salisbury—almost 2,000 miles — on scooters.

From left to right they are: MR. BOB CAHILL, MR. BRIAN VAN DER WESTHUIZEN and MR. MIKE GILL.

The trio are half the Salisbury Vespa Club team that will compete in an all-South Africa scooter rally at Mulzenberg on Thursday.

Only ten days ago Mr. Van der Westhuizen was in the army, guarding the giant Kariba dam against possible rioting. His unit was demobbed a week ago.

The Rhodesians will leave with 40 Port Elizabeth scooter riders for Mulzenberg tomorrow.

Port Elizabeth Evening Post article and photograph – 24 March, 1959.

²⁸ Longest Distance Club award. The result of this was largely dependent upon the venue. The winning club was calculated by multiplying the number of bikes from each club by the distance from their home town to the venue, the highest resultant total miles then being that of the winning club. In 1965 SVC inadvertently were short of about a total of 100 miles having taken a route through the then Eastern Transvaal and not the main road.

Later in the journey Bob Cahill and Mike Gill had to be towed into Cape Town due to trouble with their bikes. This was from quite a long way out. Mike had a hair-raising ride being towed by a Ford Fairlane at 70 mph, and when the driver stopped he apologised to Mike, saying he had forgotten he was towing a scooter. History does not record how the sixth member, Charles Bersin, always a loner and a bit older than the others, got to Cape Town, but it is known that he had an accident on the return journey and was admitted to the Port Elizabeth Hospital.

Tony Rose and Alan Pratt recount their journey to Cape Town in 1959:

'Salisbury to Bulawayo—first night stop. We think the reason for going through Bulawayo was probably due to better road conditions and more Caltex service stations, as the Vespas only had a range of a little over 100 miles and were also dependent on the supply of two stroke oil. Bulawayo to Louis Trichardt—second night stop was at Mountain Inn. From there to Vereeniging, where we spent 3 or 4 days with relatives (Alan's). Whilst there, the gear selector of Alan's bike was replaced by Tony. Then we were off to Bloemfontein—another night stop, probably at the Fontein Hotel. The next day we pressed on through the Karoo hoping to catch the bigger, faster bikes of Brian, Mike and Bobby (they had 150cc Vespas against our 125cc) and others that had joined in from Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and maybe Kimberley. We went on through that night and at two o'clock in the morning, Tony having run out of petrol, Alan gave him a tow into Three Sisters where we managed to get fuel! The old petrol attendant was so amazed when he asked where we had come from. He couldn't believe us, and he asked if we were going on to the '[Cape] Town'.'

'At about 06.00 the next morning we were dog tired and finally stopped in Matjiesfontein where we had breakfast at the Lord Milner Hotel, hired a room and slept to 12.00. Total cost was ten shillings each. We left just after 12 and proceeded to Muizenberg, arriving too late for the official welcome.'

'Our return trip was to Port Elizabeth where we stayed for 1 or 2 days. We then went, via East London and Aliwal North, to Bloemfontein and then home by the same route we came down on.'

'The other three mentioned, who were travelling together, were subsequently found to have gone via Port Elizabeth where they had then travelled with that City's Vespa Club along the coastal route. That explains why we never caught up with them.'

1963: The total distance ridden was 2 868 miles for the return journey to East London, being covered at an average of 320 miles per travelling day. The road from Enkeldoorn to Beit Bridge still had sections of narrow tar and of strips²⁹, the latter starting about 90 miles from the border. These caused one rider to come off his bike on the way to the Rally. Whilst the rider was only slightly injured the trio viewed the



A South Beach, Durban, spoof headline about the arrival of the Salisbury Vespa Club in that city

²⁹ See footnote 15.



dented and scratched bike with dismay as it was going to be the Rhodesian entry in the concours d'élégance event. Later on in the journey south the same rider had a problem with his bike on the last day before reaching East London, as some of the back wheel studs had sheared off. Perhaps he was lucky to get to East London, and in time to have repairs done before the start of the Rally. On the homeward journey the riders had a short holiday in Durban.

1964: The three riders went direct to Cape Town, but returned via the Garden Route. The overall journey distance was 4 438 miles, and the direct trip to Cape Town took 4½ days. The road to the border from Fort Victoria was still like that encountered by riders in 1963. The maker's rated top speed for the bikes was 62 mph but this was exceeded in long descents (such as the Hex River Pass) and on the long flat stretches in the Karoo.



The author on the Rand by-pass, on his way to Cape Town, 1964.

Note the tin trunk with suitcase on top at the rear, and bed roll in front, fairly standard for members undertaking long trips. The luggage weighed about 90lbs (40kg).

1965: 2 525 miles were covered, with fuel consumptions averaging 66 miles per gallon (4,28l/100km) being recorded. On the return journey two riders, riding alone on different days, each did 500 miles in a day from their last over-night stop in South Africa to Fort Victoria, arriving there at 10 p.m. Subsequently, they both said that the night ride through the hills was extremely lonely and the only 'lights' seen after dark were the eyes of animals.

In all the trips made to and from National Rallies, members noted the kindness of South Africans en route. Towing was done when found necessary, repairs were often done at unusual hours and free of charge, the Vespa agents went out of their way to help, accommodation was provided when two members were frozen and the only two hotels were full, and so it went on.

Magazine

In February 1962 Brian van der Westhuizen was the initial editor of a new members' magazine, Ridgeback Report, sponsored by BP, Firestone and Mechanical Equipment. This was supposedly to be monthly but like happens to so many in-house magazines the target was not met after the first couple of issues. The magazine ceased at the end of 1965

Changes to membership

Within about four years of the Club's formation various founder members had sold their scooters and progressed to 4 wheeled transportation. Several of those, however, remained as members. In addition, it was found that the friends of members who were themselves not scooter owners were also joining.

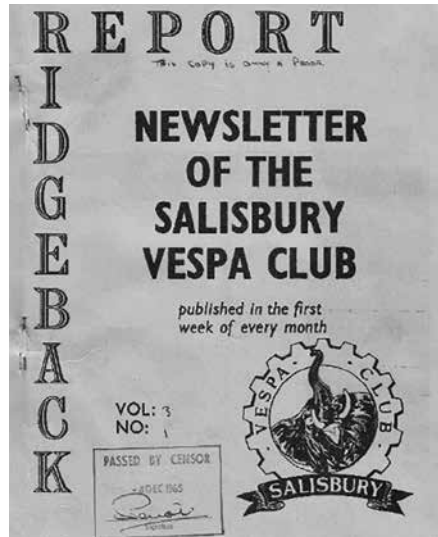
1963 was probably when the Club reached its zenith with the number of scooter events organised and attended, but things were changing. Scooter sales probably dropped as the young became more affluent and wanted cars which gave them more status and a drier travelling environment in the rainy season. It became more difficult for the Committee to attract new Vespa owning members.

The January 1964 edition of Ridgeback Report touched (as had 1963 editions) on the difficulty in attracting new members, and most importantly highlighted that the new Committee for the first time consisted of three members all of whom had never owned a scooter. The Committee was elected every 6 months, and the position was soon rectified in July of that year when an entirely Vespa owning Committee was elected. This position largely remained for the rest of the Club's life.

The demise of the Club

Graham Black, a Vespa owning member who was a subsequent Chairman, has recently said that when he joined in 1964 *'the Club was already slowly starting to decline. Honda were coming in and were aggressively underselling Vespas - which were never cheap. Then UDI³⁰ came along and imports reduced drastically and things just carried on deteriorating. From the SVC point of view anyway. Many members had moved up to four wheels and it had become more of a social club than a scooter club. With no new riders coming in the end was inevitable.'*

The Club continued its activities throughout 1965, interest being bolstered by the Club entering a team in the National Rally held in Durban. Activities continued in 1966,



The last edition of the magazine: Christmas 1965.

Rhodesia had just declared UDI and censorship had been introduced. The cover of this proof is stamped 'Passed by Censor', this being in terms of the Emergency Powers (Censorship of Publications) Order, 1965, as was noted inside. One cannot believe that the censor would have been interested in the contents.

³⁰ Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, 11th November, 1965.



although overall numbers were slowly reducing, particularly those of Vespa owners. Petrol rationing was introduced in the country on 28 December, 1965, and that resulted in a curtailment of long runs, as members were conscious of the need to conserve fuel for essential trips.

One unusual event occurred in March 1966 when the Club entered a team in a fund-raising event for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals—a relay walking event starting at the Highlands Park Hotel. This was not, however, the first non-motor sport event the Club took part in, as in July 1963 the Kariba Courier reported that the local (i.e. Kariba) softball team had lost to the Vespa scooter club of Salisbury by one home run on the last frame. The game was played at the Kariba Heights Primary School.

1966 ended with the Club holding its traditional New Year's Eve party which was well attended. 1967 opened with outings on some Sundays but it was clear that interest had waned, particularly as a few members, bastions of the scootering side of the Club, left to pursue other interests. On 20 July 1967 the Club closed.

There was no finale, but the ten years of the Salisbury Vespa Club had provided a lot of young people with an outlet for their enthusiasm and energy. They had made friends, enjoyed holidays together, travelled far and wide and, in some cases, even found spouses. Several went on to become members of car clubs, and without doubt all had a sense of pride in their community. Lasting friendships were formed. Several members are now octogenarians and have contributed to research for this article. All would agree that 'Vespas bring back memories'.

O.P. & S. 21189—200,000—7 55.

PETROL RATIONING
IDENTIFICATION CARD No 124204

Name of Vehicle Owner *Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Hulse*
 Vehicle Registration No. *RSF 4141*

RATION PARTICULARS

Class of Vehicle *Scooter*
 Basic Ration *4* Units per 7 Days
 Supplementary Ration *14* Units per 7 Days

THIS CERTIFICATE IS NOT TRANSFERABLE

If found please forward to:
 The Controller of Petrol Rationing,
 P.O. Box 8437, Causeway,
 or the nearest District Commissioner or Police Station

JANUARY, 1966			FEBRUARY	
Period	Amount Supplied (gals.)	Date of Supply	Period	Amount Supplied (gals.)
1-7			1-7	<i>1.5</i>
11-17	<i>2.0</i>	<i>12/1/66</i>	8-14	<i>1.5</i>
18-24	<i>1.2</i>	<i>24/1/66</i>	15-21	<i>2.0</i>
25-31	<i>1.2</i>	<i>24/1/66</i>	22-28	<i>1.2</i>

NAME AND NUMBER OF ISSUING RETAILER:
MEYRICK PARK SERVICE STATION (PTY.) LTD.

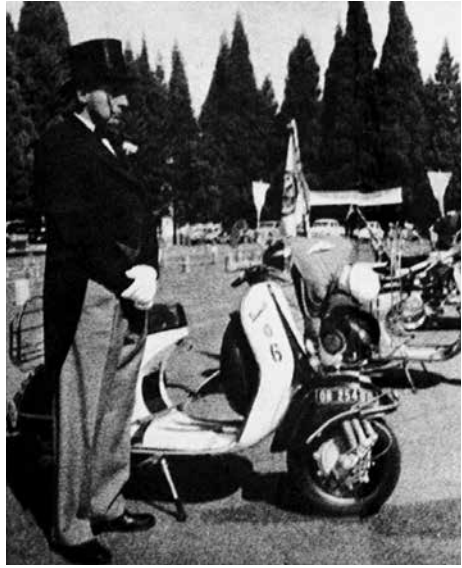
Petrol rationing card showing weekly ration, and January 1966 fuel issues for scooter RSF 4141. This card ran to April, 1966. Petrol coupons subsequently replaced the cards.



March 1966, the Salisbury Vespa Club Walking Team. 'Buster' Amess, Jacquie Edwards, Alan Morton, Jill Morton, Eddie de Beer, Sue Ineson, Roy Sawyer.

Tailpiece

This article started with the Italian Piaggio company and will end with it. Their in-house bilingual magazine (Italian and English) for September–October, 1962 featured that year’s International Scooter Gymkhana held in Salisbury. It included the photograph on the right with the rather amusing narration which, verbatim, read: *“This photo is a testimonial to the degree of popularity reached by Vespa in South Africa. Several of the Vespisti have covered over 2000 miles to enter the great summer gymkhana. But also in South Africa, as in all countries where the ‘English way of life’ predominates, tradition lives, happily married to progress: thus it is possible to see a most distinguished gentleman, such as the one in the photo, happily scooting, tophat in head, through the African brush (sic)”*.



Joe Stas, of the Bloemfontein Vespa Club, who came second in the Concours d’élégance event in the 1962 Salisbury Gymkhana.

Photo: Ilo the Pirate

Thanks

Several former members of the Club have helped me with my research for this article, by supplying anecdotes, information and numerous photographs. It has been impossible to include everything, but I do thank all those who responded to my appeal. In particular I thank two one-time members who now live in Kwa Zulu Natal, Tony Rose who unknowingly gave me the impetus to write the Club’s history when he told me about an octogenarians gathering of former members held in Durban, and who also willingly provided me with answers to many questions; and Claude Leroy who helped by upgrading many old photographs that I had received.

In traditional Vespa salutation I conclude with ‘*Alles van die Vespa*’.³¹

Photographs

Photographs are from the collection of the author and other former members of the Club, unless otherwise credited.

³¹ This salutation came into common use between Vespa clubs and their members in Southern Africa. Perhaps, literally, a translation from the Afrikaans would be ‘Everything from the Vespa’.

Rhodesian Childhood Memories of a Polish Refugee

by Kris Pirozynski
as recounted to Rob Burrett



My arrival in Marandellas (now Marondera) in May 1944 follows the turmoil of events in Europe leading up to and through World War 2. In the preceding years I had lived through a lifetime of experiences. Unlike most of the present day refugees to the shores of Europe who are largely fit, young men seeking better opportunities in life, we, the Polish refugees to Southern Rhodesia were predominantly women and children under 15, victims of the Soviet Union's invasion and annexation of the eastern part of the Second Polish Republic in September 1939. What followed were several waves of deportation of Polish citizens, nearly two million people, from eastern Poland to enforced labour camps, *gulags*, in Siberia and other remote parts of the Soviet Union. It was an effort to break all traces of an independent Polish spirit and to enforce integration into the Soviet society.

We were some of the lucky ones who were able to get out from the Soviet Union. After Adolf Hitler attacked Russia, Joseph Stalin was persuaded to release many of the Polish men who had survived Siberian *gulags*, including my father, so they could join the allied war effort. Dad found me, my mother and younger sister then living in a remote corner of Kazakhstan, and managed to get us to Teheran, Iran. Here the British authorities took over.

Men, all able-bodied and even not so able-bodied (my Dad for instance had a polio disability) as well as adolescent boys were put into uniform and willingly, under the title "Anders' Army", were sent off to where the action was. The remaining women and children were scattered to refugee centres throughout the British Empire. In Africa, many ended in British East Africa or in Northern Rhodesia. We were fortunate in being sent to relatively well-established camps in Southern Rhodesia: there were two at the time in Marandellas and Rusape¹. Opened in 1943 a year before we arrived, each camp housed about 400-450 persons. After Kazakhstan this was a paradise.

Once the men were mobilised, the women and children were moved from Teheran to Ahvaz on the Persian Gulf. Here we were herded into old army barracks to await transportation to God knows where. We were not given any say or choice as to where we would end up. When the transport eventually arrived it was an old 9 000 ton British ship, the HMT Nevasa, built in 1912 to carry 128 passengers and then serving as a troop ship for 1 000 men, Fig. 1. Although Rusape and Marandellas could house up to 900 occupants, I do not think that the ship was ever that full as we could still move around and many opted to sleep on the open deck to avoid the stifling heat below. The Nevasa docked in Aden to take on coal, and then sailed to Durban around the east side of Madagascar to avoid the German U-boats which were lurking in the Moçambique Channel. Durban was a wonderful sight with its blue sea and green hills dotted with

¹ These were later transformed into African suburbs in the two towns, Nyameni in Marondera and Vhengere in Rusape.

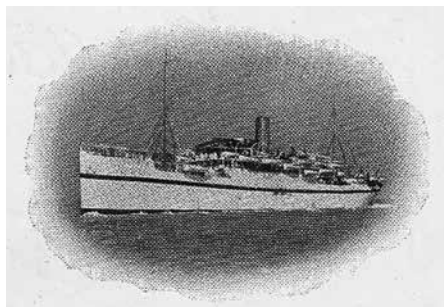


Figure 1. Nevasa. Memento from the ship signed “Durban 22/4/44”.

was a sad time as we had to part with friends who were continuing on to the other camp at Rusape.

We were not the first arrivals at Marandellas as the camp was established a year earlier, 1943. It was a short distance down what is now the Ruzawi Road, intentionally set apart from the Rhodesian village that lay to the northwest. I have little recollection of the village of Marandellas as it was a distant and alien place and I had no business there. My memory is that along the railway line there was an unpaved street, the main Salisbury to Umtali Road. To the west of the modest railway station there were some residential houses, while to the east of it was the business centre, a street lined with small shops, mostly owned by Indians and a few Greek traders.

A dirt road ran from the station directly to our settlement which was within good walking distance. Apart from a couple of rusty bikes, rented out by an enterprising resident, there was no other transport available. The camp was laid out in a large rectangle. In the centre, in a north-south line, were the public buildings made of bricks and having large glass windows². At the south end of the camp there was a lovely rock outcrop where we boys spent most of our free time. Then moving northward there were the hospital, primary school, communal bath/laundry house, the church, a communal dining facility, the recreation room/library, and finally, at the far northern end was the camp administrative building, complete with a flag, surrounded by a ring of small, whitewashed stones. I rarely ventured to that far end because there were no rocks or nice trees to climb. The refugees' residences occupied the four corners of the square. These consisted of round, “native-style” huts with a dirt floor, mud walls and a conical grass roof. There were no windows, nor electricity or water. I remember that the door consisted of two halves like in a horse stall, and that the upper part was invariably kept open for light and air. Communal latrines were built just outside the boundary of the camp, two at the eastern and two at the western boundary. Each hut was shared by two families.

Our household consisted of my mother and younger sister, and another lady with her two daughters, one my age and the other a little older. Fig. 2 shows our little family in exile. We are all dressed up for a rare event - our photograph! Sadly I do not remember who took it and why. I now wonder how on earth the women were able to make these very basic premises into real homes. I remember that we had two bunk beds for the children and two beds for the mothers. There was a table and two chairs. That was all. What you see in the photograph are cardboard and wooden boxes that our mothers, and most other Polish women, managed to scavenge, covering them with a variety of fabrics.

neat white houses. We had plenty of time to relish the scene from afar as our ship was quarantined.

It was late April 1944 when we were taken to a train waiting at the port's rail terminal. I remember this vividly because moored next to the train was an American freighter. When its crew, many of them Polish Americans, found out who we were they sent across to us from their ship buckets of real ice cream. After three days on the train we arrived in Marandellas. It

² Many of these were built by the Refugees themselves. The recreational hall is still used by the residents.



Figure 2. My family in our half of the house.

The other thing that surprises me about this photograph is our clothes. We brought with us no luggage, only one small suitcase. Where and how we got these clothes I cannot recall. Some were donated by various charities. Mother had a coat that came with the address of a Polish-American family in Cleveland, Ohio with whom she kept in touch for years. The women of the camp also spent a considerable effort to beautify the outside of the huts. Apart from concrete floors just outside the communal buildings there was no paving, only flat rock and shallow sand, but soon each hut sprouted a lush and colourful garden.

Sadly I now remember little about actual life in the camp which, frankly, did not interest me. On the contrary it was my escapes into the surrounding countryside that I recall vividly, this rural Rhodesian experience affected deeply the rest of my life.

The Polish population of the Marandellas camp represented a true cross-section of our society. The majority were peasants with little or no education, some were illiterate. There were also small town artisans, dress makers, shoemakers, etc. The few men who were there were usually severely handicapped, some with limbs missing. I recall one man who had a wooden leg which he would detach and swing at us wildly when annoyed. We tended to avoid him. Our neighbour was a tall, cruel man who had a black ribbon around his neck with a metal opening to his trachea. The only thing that impressed us about him is that through this he could easily outspit the best of us. Then there was a school master with no visible handicap, but who wielded frequently and with authority, a thin hippopotamus skin cane³. There was also a somewhat sadistic Catholic priest who knocked me out with a left hook on the morning of my first day at school. Luckily for us he eloped with some woman and was defrocked. He was replaced by another who

³ sjambok

was the complete opposite. The new priest liked boys, possibly a little too much. Our local representatives of Polish manhood did little to impress us growing children, failing to provide that essential masculine element to our shattered lives. I think I was simply afraid of them and tried not to cross their paths.

With this absence of normal fathers, the women had an extremely hard time trying to maintain discipline. We children, the boys in particular, were a wild bunch, often disappearing into the bush for hours, sometimes for days, shredding our clothes on rocks and trees, bringing in snakes and tasting anything that looked remotely edible. We refused to wear the cork helmets that were provided by the Southern Rhodesian authorities, and our noses were constantly raw with incessantly peeling skin. We ran barefoot everywhere and swam in a puddle of muddy water infested with parasites and leeches. But we suffered no ill effects. Neither I nor, to my knowledge other companions, ever needed psychiatric counselling and probably never will. At school, when we were induced to attend by the threat of the cane, we had retired Polish professional teachers who gave us a solid basic education. I recall lots of homework that was done by candlelight or hurricane paraffin lamps.

The other institution that dominated camp life was the Catholic Church, that was very important for the bulk of the camp's residents. It provided solace and was a statement of Polish identity, strengthened by exile. A lot of effort was spent staging elaborate processions with a monstrance held high and little girls spreading petals under our feet. Yes, I was there on the petals, one of 12 altar boys, six in red and six in black, waving the incense burner or ringing bells. On such festive occasions I felt like somebody in the community, but Church was not all glamour. Most late afternoons were spent on my aching knees listening to elderly ladies reciting endless rosaries in monotonous wailing voices. Fig. 3 shows us in our full regalia posing with the resident padre (right) plus



Figure 3. The camp's "elite" at the altar end of the church.



two visiting priests. The three older boys in the back row were earmarked for higher things, having been recruited by a seminary in America. I am in the first row, second from left. The guy standing between the two priests (top right) is the hippopotamus cane-wielding headmaster. The guy on the left who looks like a politician is, of course, the camp administrator.

As to other essentials. Communal baths were not *à volonté*, being a requirement by the camp authorities, although there were always more people wanting to wash than there was water available. This suited a young boy fine. As to food I have no idea. All I remember now is that I detested boiled onions! Going to the toilet at night was a little more challenging as everything was pitch black. Once you found your destination you often came across them being emptied by the night-soil cart. There was a tank on huge wooden wheels that was drawn by a team of six oxen. Under the watchful eyes of armed guards a team of shackled black prisoners emptied the buckets placed under the latrines. This was taken to an open pit some way south of the camp, which we once came across by chance while exploring. As we approached there was an intriguing buzz in the air that increased in intensity with every step. Then in front of us a sight from hell: a dark cloud of insects, mostly flies of all kinds of shapes, sizes and colours started to swarm around us. We could not run fast enough and avoided the place after that.

During the day the latrines were especially exciting to me as buckets of “toilet paper” were made available by the authorities. These were mostly old legal documents, many of them with stamps. As I had started collecting stamps in Kazakhstan, this presented me with a veritable treasure trove. As it is, most of the stamps turned out to be worthless, half-penny and one-penny King George V “admirals” or “double heads” with fiscal cancels. The better values had disappeared at source, but what fun these buckets were to a young boy! I must have spent a lot of time at the toilets as my mother jumped to the wrong conclusion and started giving me huge doses of cod liver oil.

Mom was in charge of the camp library that was housed in the camp’s recreation hall. This open room also served as a theatre and was the venue for social events such as folk dances, concerts and celebrations on religious and Polish national holidays. The theatre group, my mother was in it at one point, was even invited to perform to our fellow refugees in Rusape. They travelled down in style on the railway, Fig. 4. Gardening became a passion in the camp and was a way for “keeping up with the Joneses”. Mother’s circle of friends was relatively small: a couple of elderly single ladies; a school teacher and her two daughters; and the family of a former architect. He was the only more sophisticated gentleman that I can recall. He was involved in the Boy Scout movement and in consequence I became an avid scout and enjoyed competing for the various badges, particularly if these involved sleeping out in the bush.

There was practically no social



Figure 4. Theatre troupe on the way to Rusape.

interaction with the outside world, even with most of the established residents of nearby Marandellas. On a few occasions Greek, and more rarely Indian, traders from Marandellas would visit our camp either looking for dates with adolescent girls or as invitees to attend various functions. Other white, English-speaking Rhodesians were simply not seen. Although I remember that soon after our arrival a group of us boys were invited to a nearby white school to a game of cricket⁴. Having played a Polish version of baseball we were overconfident that we would give them a good game, if not a sound beating. I was bowled out with the first delivery, and others in our team did not do any better. We did not understand the rules (I still do not), while we spoke not a word of English between us. So that was the end of our association.

Then there were three other occasions I remember seeing a white Rhodesian face in those initial years. A Catholic Archbishop came from Salisbury⁵. It was a big festive occasion and a camp delegation met His Grace and his entourage at the gate. We boys had to wear long pants. My sister, all in white, offered a bouquet of flowers and was to say a few words of welcome in broken English. She handed over the flowers, but forgot the lines. Not long after, a local farmer came in his pick-up truck carrying a huge python. Apparently he ran over the snake as it crossed the road ahead of him, but it was still very much alive. This impressed me much more than the visit of some Archbishop! The third time was when an African military band came to give us an open-air concert. There was a white official fussing around, but I hardly noticed him as I was focused on the black musicians. Their uniforms, most especially their hats, were just like those of the King's African Rifles as shown on the 1d Nyasaland stamp. I do not remember what they played except that there was a song composed by one of the musicians. It sounded something like this '*Jumbo aichira e eenafeena rapuchichi bom*'. There were rumours of some hanky-panky between some of the older Polish girls and young Rhodesian men in the area, but such things were beyond my comprehension at that stage.

Arriving when only nine years old, it was only much later in life I became aware of the political and social ramifications of the Polish refugees in Southern Rhodesia. On the one hand, the government considered us racially inferior and really did not know what to do with us. Given the social background of many of the refugees, we did not fit the rigorously maintained racial divisions of the state and we seemed to pose a threat to the established order, an English-speaking middle class. On the other hand there were those who supported us. The government was criticised, even by some white Rhodesian organisations, for crowding us Europeans into "African villages". Both views are not entirely without justification. As mentioned earlier many, if not most of our community, came from villages in the poorest and most backward parts of pre-war Poland. We were from the backwater of Europe, but we were also Europeans, a community displaced by violence and proud of our long history as members, and often defenders, of Western European faith, values and traditions.

In most of the academic literature that I have seen in English, Polish and particularly forcefully in that coming from post-independence Africa, Southern Rhodesia is regularly accused of being inhospitable to aliens and stressing the fact that the Polish refugees were reluctantly accepted only after pressure from London and a promise of funds to offset expenses. Most authors belabour the point that the Polish refugees were only provided

⁴ Probably Ruzawi School

⁵ Aston Chichester SJ. Then Vicar Apostolic of Salisbury and later Archbishop.



with the cheapest, most basic amenities and that they were left to themselves in the hope that they will go away. This seems to be the dominant narrative, but I never heard it from my mother, neither there in Southern Rhodesia nor later during her long life in England. Believe me, if there was anyone who legitimately could have felt slighted it would have been my mother. I think all of us knew we were lucky to be alive. We were grateful to be fed, clad, safe and, above all, free from both Nazi and Soviet repression. Let's face it, primitive as our quarters and circumstances were, many of the Polish refugees had an easier life in Southern Rhodesia than they did at home in pre-war Poland.

What about us, pre-teen boys? Luckily we were not aware of any political undercurrents. In fact, when I read now of some proposed alternatives that were considered for us, I recoil in horror. I could have been stuck in some third-rate European-style hotel in a run down European town with little opportunity to discover, and come to love, what was a beautiful, unspoiled, sultry, and mysterious Africa.

Our camp at Marandellas had no fences, only a cleared strip of land along the outer perimeter to control seasonal bush fires. Apparently the perimeter was patrolled by guards, but I cannot recall seeing them. Yet there was an invisible wall that the likes of Donald Trump could only dream about. No black African ever crossed it. Instead they waited just beyond it. They came from nearby villages with combs of fragrant honey from wild bees, live chickens and fresh eggs. As hard cash was in short supply, it was left to us children to negotiate and trade with whatever was at hand, usually unwanted blankets and articles of clothing. I once sold my mom's best dress for 6 shillings, without her knowledge and with dire consequences. Once purchased, raw egg yolks were whipped with sugar into a delicious creamy paste. The live chickens were left to me. As the only man of the house it was my job to kill and pluck the bird. Plucking was relatively pleasant but dispatching the bird was most unpleasant. Mercifully I had to do it only when one of us got sick, at which time Mother would make chicken broth on a paraffin primus stove.

There were three African villages within walking distance of the camp. The nearest, east of the camp and close to Marandellas, we visited on several occasions. It had round huts with thatched roofs much like ours, but the walls were made from the clay of crushed termite nests. They looked and felt like concrete. Some nights we, the young boys, joined them in a song and dance around the fire. Our relationship with these Africans was always friendly and I do not recall a single incident or confrontation. However there was no physical contact. I think that both sides knew their places.

Most of the time however, we boys wandered in the neighbourhood, alone or in small groups. We never met or even saw a white man out there in the bush. Apart from our initial school cricketing fiasco I never met nor saw a white Rhodesian boy, certainly not anywhere in or around the camp. Out there in the bush, there were at the time no fences or any other signs of human habitation, although on reflection there must have been inhabited farms or ranches. Maybe we instinctively avoided areas that we heard or suspected had farms for fear of being guilty of trespassing. I remember a large Eucalyptus plantation that one could walk through unhindered⁶. Then there was an open cleared area that was obviously designed for something that never happened. We used it for scout games and parades. There was also a mysterious earthen wall which ceased to be a mystery when we discovered it was full of distorted rifle bullets and we realised it

⁶ Kingsdown Estate east of Marondera.



Figure 5. Early “explorers”. I am on the left.

had been a shooting range⁷. Prospecting for bullets became very competitive; we would melt down the lead to make hand guns. Molten lead was poured over a piece of pipe set in a clay mould shaped like a gun. The pipe was the barrel and scraped off match heads served as our powder with ball bearings or steel nuts as bullets. By some miracle nobody got killed thanks to these antics.

What drew us out of the camp was not to meet people, but it was the lure of glorious empty wilderness and a landscape punctuated by magnificent rock formations. Fig. 5 shows four of us early explorers of the Dark Continent. I am on the left. Just outside the camp, was the rocky outcrop mentioned earlier with several huge, rounded and totally unclimbable boulders. Beyond that was low-lying marshy ground with a small stream, an area cultivated by many of the Polish families. To the southeast within easy walking distance was the rifle range and beyond that a smaller flat rocky outcrop where a huge *Euphorbia* grew. To the east was a huge eucalyptus plantation and some distance beyond this was a large granite outcrop where we found signs of past human habitation. Amongst its huge boulders we found a human skeleton on a hidden ledge, and hollowed-out

⁷ The range was used by the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers during their annual camps before the First World War, while it may be used even before that by the Rhodesian Field Force during the Anglo-South African War.



stones used in food production⁸. Towards the distant southwestern horizon was a granite ridge we named “spiky” on account of its rugged outline. I went there twice and was overwhelmed both by the number and size of the boulders and the prolific ochre-red paintings on their sides.

As far as we were concerned there were two kinds of plants: those you could eat and those you could climb. The area south of the camp was a vast empty space, consisting mainly of open grassland with pockets of miombo woodland and scattered acacia and fig trees. The grass was prone to seasonal burning, sending plumes of dense smoke high into the sky. Sometimes the fires would come close to the camp and we would be mobilised to stifle the advancing flames with leafy branches. Trees were divided into two kinds: those having top branches capable of bending towards the ground as you moved along with your hands, feet dangling in the air; and those with high branches you leapt on from an adjacent tree, grabbing the ends and hoping that it would bring you gently to the ground. Sometimes it did! What stays in my mind, unchallenged to this day, was the remarkable flexibility of the miombo woodland trees. There were also wild flowers such as red-hot pokers and flame-lilies that I had never seen before. But flowers were good for nothing to small boys. Not so the wild fruits of the bush. Wild figs were numerous, but the fruits were small and always full of worms. Then there were the sweet fruits of the “machanji” to which we were introduced by the local Africans⁹. The most popular were the shiny green, hard balls with wet brownish gelatinous contents that hung from dwarfish thorny trees. The fruit rarely matured close to the camp as it was eagerly picked as soon as it started turning yellow. Nobody told us that the plant was *Strychnos*, the source of strychnine, and that the unripe fruit was toxic.

A word about Marandellas’ north side. I went there only once with another boy. We crossed the road and the railway track and found it a quite different environment from the south. It was largely barren with exposed sheets of granite. Not arable, its streams had crystal-clear water full of small catfish¹⁰. Unlike the grass-dominated plains of the southern wetlands, here there we encountered expansive bushy plains with many small trees. I remember it vividly because some of these trees were overhung with hundreds of weaver bird nests, something we never saw in the south.

Oddly enough in all our escapades we never encountered an animal large enough to pose a threat. We were aware of snakes, especially the mambas. We treated the black mamba with respect, not least because of its black funereal colour. Green mambas, or what we assumed were green mambas, were ignored and sometimes abused¹¹. An individual drowsily digesting its newly consumed frog would be unceremoniously seized by the tail and spun around until its lunch flew away. There was once a story making rounds in the camp about a blind lady who lost one of her stockings in the laundry. The sinks were in the form of concrete troughs with drain holes to an open drainage trough below. Another woman came along and saw the blind lady kneeling in front of the drain. She was holding and fingering a small green snake, repeating to herself ‘no, this is not my stocking’. The newcomer screamed ‘mamba’ and the blind woman quickly dropped

⁸ Lower grindstones or guyo. Burials in small, walled in gaps in the hills are a particular characteristic of the Shona Communities that have lived in the Marondera District.

⁹ Uapaca kirkiana known in Shona as muzhanje while the fruits are called mahobohobo.

¹⁰ barbel

¹¹ Green mamba do not occur in the Marondera area so these would have been some other large green snake, possibly the Green Water-snake which are often located in the wetlands such as we explored.

the snake which merrily slithered away. In all those years in Marandellas I never heard of a single case of snake bite. Perhaps the snakes, like the rest of Rhodesia, were not quite sure how to treat us.

Insects were everywhere and they were wonderful in their infinite variety of shape, size and colour. There were no airborne biters, no mosquitoes and no tsetse flies. Walking through the undergrowth we soon collected ticks behind our ears, but you hardly knew they were there. More painful biters were on the ground, waiting for our bare feet or exposed toes. My admiration for beetles was somewhat tarnished when a nice big specimen I was after lifted its behind and sprayed my face with hot acid¹². These were a few of my less pleasant experiences, but we adapted to a life of co-existence. I learned early in life that in nature everything is interconnected, sometimes appearing to us as aggressive and cruel but always interdependent. I became especially fascinated with social insects, the ever present ants and termites. I watched for hours termite mounds under siege by invading ants. We would sometimes spend days digging out giant concrete-hard termite nests with their wondrous subterranean mushroom garden, networks of tunnels, the royal chamber hidden deep inside, and the colony's complex social structure. On some evenings each year we were treated to a spectacular phenomenon as thousand upon thousands of winged termites gushed forth from their nests like a fountain, swirling in the air, a cloud of mating frenzy. Next morning discarded wings covered the ground like a sprinkling of snow.

The end of my honeymoon with Marandellas came in late 1946. I had completed Grade 5 and was to be sent to a secondary school for Polish boys in Lusaka. However my stay in Marandellas had already reprogrammed my future. No longer was I going to be steam-engine driver as I had always wanted. No, I was going to be a biologist with an interest in tropical biota, especially that of Africa. My first years in Southern Rhodesia unexpectedly influenced my life in another way. At the end of 1963 in the early days of the Gombe Stream Chimpanzee Reserve in Tanganyika, its founder, Jane Goodall was required to spend some time at Cambridge University to complete her PhD. A replacement was urgently needed to spend five months in a tent, alone in the middle of wild Africa. The renowned palaeontologist, Dr. Louis Leakey, scoured the world for a suitable candidate and settled on me. Over lunch in his London flat I asked him 'why me?' The answer came quickly and without hesitation, 'because you were brought up in Rhodesia'.

To return to earlier days and my move to Lusaka. At the end of 1946 a small group of boys from Marandellas were put on the train for the three-day journey to Lusaka. We were in a first class carriage and for some mysterious reason we were sent without any adult supervision. Without the threat of the schoolmaster's hippopotamus skin cane we quickly deteriorated into a wild and rowdy bunch. Seat cushions flew, some out through the windows. I do not recall many details of that trip, such as where we went and what we ate, but I remember an irate gentleman finally storming into our compartment and telling us to 'cool it'. This was the first time we had ever been addressed personally by a white Rhodesian in English. I felt ashamed. Three months later in Gatooma my mother told me that Rhodesian passengers had complained bitterly about our behaviour. It feels uncomfortable even today.

During the first night of that journey we stopped at some station that did not even have a raised platform. I went out into the soft fragrant night air and was approached by an African selling wood carvings. One item stood out and I instantly wanted it. My

¹² Bombardier beetle



mother had given me ten shillings for incidentals during the first three-month term in Lusaka. I quickly paid over six shillings, more than half of my worldly possessions! Still in my possession, the carving has lost its long slender ears a long, long time ago, but I still love it, Fig. 6.

I remember the bustling Bulawayo Station at night when we changed trains and then came to Victoria Falls. The train stopped, or at least slowed down, on the bridge sufficiently for us to safely step out to be awed by this wondrous spectacle of the thundering force of nature.

The platforms at the Livingstone Station offered a huge selection of wooden carvings, but I already had mine. Later that morning the train crossed the Kafue River and we were impressed by the amount of water around us. As for Lusaka town, whatever impression it made was soon erased from my memory. Not so the Polish camp. It was located a few miles outside the town and was a sprawling expanse of mostly thatched buildings populated by “strangers”. I felt extremely lonely and homesick. Our class was a motley group of other lost and equally lonely souls plucked from all of the camps across the two Rhodesias. The largest contingent came from Bwana Kubwa, a camp on Northern Rhodesia’s Copperbelt. Fig. 7 shows us in Grade 1 of the high school. I am last on the left.

It was a divisive mix of pre-teen and late teen boys already well supplied with testosterone. Seven years of war had played havoc with many children’s primary education and it was necessary that the latter catch up. We were housed in large one-room buildings on the outskirts of the camp. Supervision was minimal. So was the discipline. Classes were conducted by a few old, dithering men who could neither inspire nor control us. From the educational point of view my three months in Lusaka were an utter disaster. I was 80 hours ‘absent without permission’ in addition to several times when I was sick. By the end of the term there were some professors whom I had never met having failed



Figure 6. My lovely gazelle still gracing my living room.



Figure 7. My Lusaka class of 1947.

to attend their classes. Needless to say, my school report was all Ds, plus one E. The last was in geography, a subject which I really liked. Most of the people in the Lusaka camp had nice gardens which made the setting somewhat less dismal. In his garden the geography professor had planted a huge crop of sunflowers which he attended to with passion. When they were nearly ready for harvest, they all vanished during the night. Next morning, scattered throughout the camp, were boxes with sunflower heads bearing a note 'Compliments of Prof. X'. When he arrived at class that morning he was brief and to the point. All he said was 'I will cut you down as you cut my sunflowers'. As a result every boy in the school got the lowest possible grade in geography.

I truly hated both the school and the messy dorm in which we had to live, and would often sneak out with boys of my own age into the open countryside. But Lusaka was no Marandellas. There were no magnificent rocks to climb and kopjes to explore. Here the trees were, at least to my mind, pale-yellow green, dry and dusty. They were all so very different to the lush greens or rich springtime purples of the miombo woodlands of Marandellas. Rather than open wilderness, here the landscape was fully developed as cultivated fields, mostly with maize which we trampled through, and guava bushes which we picked without seeking permission. Nobody paid any attention to us and I do not recall bumping into anyone, neither white nor black. The whole ecosystem was disturbed and unbalanced. The many insects and other animals that were so much part of nature (and my life) in Marandellas, I hardly noticed. It was depressing exploration, but we all needed to get out of those morbid confines of school. I desperately wanted to go back to my family and to Marandellas, but that was not to be.

The Polish camps at Marandellas and Rusape were liquidated in early 1947, shortly after we boys were sent to Lusaka. So on returning home after my first and only three months at Lusaka School I arrived at a new camp at Gatooma. The return journey from Lusaka was uneventful. Only one event sticks in my memory. In my youth I was known to wander around in my sleep, and somewhere on our journey in the middle of night I woke up feeling bitterly cold. I had been asleep on the upper bunk and it took me a while to discover that I was now sitting astride the open window with one leg in the train and the other dangling outside. I recollect wondering where to place both legs. I think I made the right choice.

I do not remember how we got from Gatooma Station to the camp. My first impression was the oppressive heat. The Gatooma camp predated the Polish arrivals, having been established on a 3 000 acre farm 8 km southwest of the town. It was built during the early years of the war as an internment camp for "enemy aliens", mainly Italians. Later it housed Italian Prisoners of War from Abyssinia and Somalia, and after that us Polish refugees¹³.

By the time we arrived the fences surrounding the camp had gone. The camp consisted of thirteen rows of back-to-back buildings, three in each row. Each building comprised a row of one-roomed cells with a front door. At the back there was a window made of opaque, greenish glass with wire mesh inside. Walls were constructed of concrete blocks, the floor was a concrete slab and the roof was corrugated iron. I have blotted out all memories of what was inside. We must have had some basic furniture. There was no running water and I can not recall if we had electric light. As with Marandellas, the communal latrines were located outside on the camp's periphery. There was a large communal kitchen with huge cooking pots steaming away. I do not remember what we

¹³ It was later transformed into an African suburb, Ngesi, to serve the town of Gatooma.



ate nor where we ate, but I remember the flies. There were myriads of them swarming around the kitchen. Once with one swipe of my hand I caught 26!

Gatooma was hot. During the day I could no longer walk barefoot as I was accustomed. The story went that one could fry eggs by placing the skillet on the sand outside. My mother suffered considerably. She, as most other women in the camp would, during mid-day hours, pour water over the concrete floor and lie on it in her underwear. Life became a little more bearable when we were permitted to pile up grass on the metal roof.

There were about 1 000 of us in the Gatooma camp, the combined populations of both Marandellas and Rusape. It felt to me as if there were many more. My old chums and neighbours from Marandellas seemed to disappear somewhere in the huge compound. The people I was surrounded by were all strangers. Some were my new classmates. No longer were we shipped off to Lusaka, for Gatooma had its own secondary school run by an old Polish general, Zarzycki. Previously he had founded and run the Diggleford School for Polish girls just east of Marandellas. Being a co-educational school and with testosterone kicking in, I soon began to notice girls. I also started to show more interest in my own education. I liked French, but hated Latin, and crammed in English irregular verbs knowing that English was possibly the language of my future. Unlike the Lusaka school, here in Gatooma we had excellent teachers, mostly women. The old general maintained strict discipline and every Sunday he made the boys parade in step on the school yard (heaven help you if you got out of step) while he saluted and inspected the "troops". Yes, old soldiers never die.

North of the camp was the railway line and a strip road alongside it. Between the road and the camp was a large fallow field with nothing but weeds. Along the road and the rails were some stunted dry and dusty shrubs and trees. Compared to Marandellas it was again very boring. One of the very few occasions that took me to the railway track was to meet the 1947 Royal Train and see the British royal family during their state visit to Southern Rhodesia. Many of the Polish residents arrived, dressed up and carrying flowers, but we were greatly disappointed as the train came and rolled past. No royal face appeared in a window. Why were we were waiting in the first place?

The lands south of the camp were pockmarked by many shallow pits, dug by Italian POWs searching for gold. This must have happened after the war and just before these men were repatriated once the previously heavily-guarded fences came down. This was another patch of ravaged land that held no attraction for me. Nature was not teeming with spectacular life or, perhaps, I had stopped noticing it. My eyes for snakes and millipedes now focused on girls, my carefree and innocent life had ended. In its place came competition and confrontation, but also a sense of responsibility and the need for social interaction. Running into the bush no longer solved problems.

Two social activities I remember with pleasure. A young Polish teacher joined the school. He came from England where he had been educated. On days off school, he would take a group of boys on a brisk two-hour march to a river which, having looked on the map of the area, I suspect was the Ngondoma. The march through dry scrubby, seemingly lifeless woods was a chore, but the river itself was gorgeous in its splendid, unspoiled isolation. The area seemed totally devoid of people, not a living soul, neither white nor black. At the river we swam, built rafts, practised English, and heard stories about England.

The other event involved my mother. She was befriended by a Rhodesian couple who lived in the area. She was a vivacious plumpish English lass and he was a tall, distinguished-looking black Rhodesian. Rejected by both white and black communities, the couple longed for acceptance and company. They owned a car and would take our family out on picnics where we were treated to a barbecue (braai). Apart from my mom's sick-bed chicken broth made in Marandellas, those are the only meals that I can remember of my time in Southern Rhodesia.

Towards the end of 1947 the atmosphere in the Gatooma camp changed. It was time to go. The war was well over and we knew that we were not wanted. The Southern Rhodesian government felt that the best option was to persuade people to go back to Poland, but there were few volunteers. Already we had heard what awaited the returning refugees, especially allied servicemen, in what was now Communist Poland. Returning home was not an option for most. Families like ours awaited decisions made by their fathers in England where the necessary documents were not always quickly forthcoming. Those in England who decided to return to Poland now requested for their families to join them. Gatooma was in a state of turmoil. New people arrived, others disappeared. At school pupils would vanish overnight, including a girl I had a huge crush on. In desperation I started off to run to Gatooma Station so as to catch the last glimpse of her before it was too late. Half way there my brain kicked in and overrode my hormones.

My uncle, my mother's eldest brother, emigrated after the war from Britain to Argentina. He sent us documents for entry to Argentina and got similar permits for dad, still in a military camp in Scotland. The Polish army was not demobilised till 1948. Mum hesitated about taking up the South American option; she needed first to hear from dad as to what should be done. A few days later dad sent other documents that gave us right of entry to Britain. Our future had been decided and we were put on a long list of people awaiting transport to England.

At the end of 1947 I had an attack of acute appendicitis and was rushed to Gatooma Hospital, straight into the operating room. My hands and feet were strapped to the table, a nurse put a wad of gauze over my mouth and told me to count to ten while pouring ether from a bottle on my face. I was out before ten, but those were very long seconds as every cell in my body fought for survival. No wonder people had to be strapped down. I spent Christmas 1947 in hospital. Everyone was very nice to me and I even received a Christmas present. The doctor told me that I had been within hours of an appendix rupture, which in those days spelt certain death.

Within two weeks of my return to the camp, still nursing a 12-inch cut, I was on the train yet again. We travelled north and then east. I watched with nostalgia as our train rolled through the familiar rock formations and miombo woodlands around Marandellas. Later we went on through the lush, undulating countryside near Umtali, eventually reaching our destination, the Indian Ocean port of Beira in Moçambique. There, about 130 women and children boarded a 1 500-ton Greek freighter. It was dirty, smelly and hot. Just out of port we ran into rough seas and I thoroughly enjoyed being tossed and rolled, at least for about the first ten minutes. Then I got seasick, the first and only time in my life. While I recovered quickly, many passengers had to be taken off on stretchers when we reached Mombasa. The only happy passengers were the live goats and pigs in the hold, as nobody was left in a fit enough state to eat them. I spent two glorious (no school!) months in Mombasa before the MV Caernarvon Castle brought us to Southampton and so a new life began in England.

John Walter Wiles The Geological Survey's Seventh Director 1967-1976

by Peter Fey



John Walter Wiles M.C., M.Sc., Ph.D., C.Eng., M.I.M.M. was born in Uitenhage, South Africa and qualified at Rhodes University in 1939. He enlisted at the outbreak of World War II, served in North Africa and Italy with distinction and was awarded the Military Cross in 1944. After demobilisation he returned to Rhodes University in 1946 and worked towards a master's degree which was awarded in 1949. He married in January 1947 and just over a month later joined the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey in which he spent his entire professional career of 29 years. Wiles remained a field geologist for fifteen years, worked in a variety of geological terranes and in 1955 discovered the layered Chewore Complex in the Zambezi Valley. At the time he was mapping the Miami region where he recognised the existence of a metamorphic control over the development of economically viable mica occurrences. His work is documented in four geological bulletins of which he submitted the one on the Miami Mica Fields to Rhodes University as a doctoral thesis. In 1963 he was promoted to District Geologist, in 1966 to Deputy Director, in 1967 to Director of the Rhodesia Geological Survey. On retiring in April 1976 he returned to South Africa before emigrating to join his eldest son in Australia. Wiles' wife died in 1992 and he subsequently remarried in Perth, Western Australia where he briefly worked as a geological consultant. He passed away, aged 89 years, in Margaret River.

This text is one of an ongoing series on the Directors of the Geological Survey. As appropriate for the time historical place names have been used.

Author's note. *The hiatus between articles on the fifth and seventh directors of the Geological Survey is attributable to the fact that the biography of sixth director A E Phaup (Fey, 2013) was published before the present series was conceived.*



Plate 1. John Walter Wiles in uniform during World War II

Introduction

The eldest son of British-born artist Walter Gilbert “WG” Wiles and South African mother Pauline, née Harper, John Walter Wiles was born at Uitenhage in the eastern part of the Cape Province, South Africa on 29 April 1916. In 1929 he attended Dale College in King William’s Town, then at the beginning of 1930 entered St Andrew’s College in Grahamstown. He matriculated in February 1935 and in the following year enrolled at Rhodes University College, intending to study for the B.Comm degree (*Chamber of Mines Journal*, 1967). Soon becoming bored with commerce he switched to science, with majors in geology and chemistry together with subsidiary courses in physics and geography, and was awarded the degrees of B.Sc. in 1938, B.Sc. (Hons.) in 1939. While at school and university he was a cadet in the First City Regiment, Grahamstown. Personal references from that time describe him as keen, conscientious, of excellent moral character and popular with his fellow students.

On graduating Wiles obtained vacation work experience with the South African Geological Survey and was then awarded a Mineral Research Scholarship, tenable for one year at the Government Metallurgical Laboratory in Johannesburg. He commenced work there on 1 April 1939, and his scholarship was renewed for a further year in April 1940. During his time at the laboratory Wiles showed himself to be a capable and innovative experimenter as he investigated the suitability of locally occurring clay and talc for the manufacture of medium-grade electrical insulators. In June 1940 he requested permission to be released from his scholarship in order to enlist. His request was granted and it was furthermore agreed that the scholarship would be held open for him until he had completed his military service.

Wiles subsequently undertook the officer training course at the South African Military College, Voortrekkerhoogte and was commissioned on 21 February 1941. Promoted to Lieutenant on 21 August 1941 he departed for North Africa in April 1942 as anti-tank platoon commander with the 1st Royal Natal Carabineers, joining the 1st South African Infantry Brigade Battle Group at Gazala in Libya. He was one of the lucky last to escape from Tobruk after its capture by the Germans in June 1942. On 27 July at El Alamein (Egypt) he was wounded by machine gun fire, sustaining multiple fractures to his left arm. Unwilling to take an honourable discharge with disability pension, which he regarded as accepting defeat, he recuperated in Cape Town where he met his future wife, then returned to Egypt. In April 1943 he remobilised for the Italian Campaign with the newly amalgamated First City-Cape Town Highlander regiment, part of the 12th Motorised Brigade of the 6th South African Armoured Division. On 20 June 1944 he was promoted to Commander of the Scouts with the rank of Captain, and on 18 October was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry in action near Grizzana in the Appennines. A reference dated 1 December 1945 from his commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel W. L. Douglas, noted that “... he has proved himself to be a leader with an excellent command of men, his energetic and cheerful personality being an inspiration at all times. He has an outstanding administrative and organising ability and is indefatigable at any task to which he sets his hand.”

Wiles returned to South Africa in October 1945, was demobilised from the Union Defence Force in March 1946, then resumed studies at Rhodes University College where during 1946 he completed course work for the M.Sc. degree under Professor of Geology Edgar D. Mountain. Although he was still required to undertake fieldwork before the degree could be awarded he applied for a position as geologist with the Southern



Rhodesia Civil Service at the beginning of November, then in the middle of the month advised that body by telegram that he had been offered work with the Department of Mines in Pretoria. On 5 December the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey's Director A. M. Macgregor (Fey, 2018 a) offered Wiles a job. In his letter of acceptance dated 14 December 1946 the latter stated that his exams would end only on 20 December, that he had not taken a break since his demobilisation, had personal business to attend to and would therefore like to start in his new post only on 1 March 1947. In his reply of 23 December Macgregor noted that one of his departmental geologists, Dr F. L. Amm (Fey, in press), who also hailed from the Cape, had met Wiles and advised him to complete his thesis before embarking on a career in the field. In view of this Macgregor gave Wiles the option of joining the Geological Survey only after completing his thesis, if necessary as late as July or August 1947.

Fearful that he might be jeopardising his master's degree Wiles turned for advice to Professor Mountain who wrote to Macgregor on 4 January 1947, pointing out that at the time he did not have a suitable mapping programme for Wiles, and that in any case such a programme would take some six months to complete. Under the circumstances he felt that Wiles should proceed as planned and join the Geological Survey, where he would undoubtedly soon find a project for his thesis.

Before taking up this position Wiles communicated to both Professor Mountain and Director Macgregor his concern at being unable to find suitable accommodation in Salisbury. On 10 February 1947 Macgregor wrote to advise Wiles that the Government had converted the Cranborne Air Station into a transit camp for new immigrants. All furnished accommodation had been taken up, but small unfurnished single rooms were still available for couples without children. As an albeit more expensive alternative Macgregor offered to temporarily accommodate Wiles in a spare double room at his residence, providing full board and lodging for £10 per month per person. It is not on record if his offer was taken up.

Meanwhile, on 20 January 1947 Wiles married Sheila Catharina Pretorius, a relative of former Boer commandant Andries Pretorius who had given his name to the city of Pretoria. Just over a month later, on 25 February, he assumed duty with the Geological Survey in Salisbury at a salary of £550 per annum. He became one of a group of South African geologists who had joined soon after the war, the others being J. G. N. Stagman (Fey, in prep), B. G. Worst and G. T. Lamont.

Field geologist 1947–1962

The occurrence of coal-bearing strata in the south and southeast of Southern Rhodesia was undoubtedly known to the early hunters and trekkers who visited the region from the Transvaal. However, there are no written records predating the *circa* 1895 discovery of the Tuli coalfield 27 kilometres north-northwest of the present Beitbridge border post. Coal outcrops on the Mkwasini, a right bank tributary of the Sabi River, were already known in 1901, and by 1903 three coal seams had been proved at Malilongwe, 23 kilometres due east of the modern Chiredzi, and a reserve calculated. The Mkwasini claims, pegged by a Mr Berry, were visited and reported on in November 1911 by the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey's Ben Lightfoot (Fey 2015 a, p 93). Regional

exploration in 1931–1932 by the Victoria Prospecting Company, which held concessions over a large portion of the Lower Sabi Valley, showed that besides coal the area also contained bodies of magnetite. In May 1940 geologist Dr W. H. Swift and mining engineer R. B. Anderson carried out an investigation of these coal and iron occurrences for the Government. In their reports (unpublished) the men stated that further investigations were required to determine economic potential of the region. At the time the matter could not be pursued because of the war.

Early in 1947 however, because of the significance of mining to the Colony's economy, the Geological Survey's Director A. M. Macgregor decided to concentrate his department's manpower on an investigation of the Lower Sabi Valley. After delays occasioned by a shortage of transport work on the project began in May when Wiles accompanied Dr Swift to the designated area which was centred 160 kilometres southeast of the rail head at Fort Victoria. Since no maps existed at the time the men spent the month on reconnaissance, cut roads and, by means of theodolite and plane table surveys, established a series of fixed points on which to base aerial photography. This was undertaken in May and June over an area of some 3 240 km² and prints of the photographs were made available to the project geologists in July.

By the beginning of 1949 the Surveyor-General had produced a contoured map on to which geological information recorded on aerial photographs in the field was to be transferred. Geological mapping began in June 1947 when Swift and Wiles were joined by two other departmental geologists, W. C. White and B. G. Worst, the latter's geophysical training being utilised for a magnetometric survey, completed by October, of the magnetite occurrences. Fieldwork extended over two seasons and covered an area of approximately 4 145 km. Ancillary economic activity comprised the sinking of six exploration shafts as well as diamond drilling (25 holes totalling 4 065.9 metres), this latter activity continuing until November 1950. The campaign was hampered by the poor state of the roads, a shortage of water occasioned by drought, and an aversion to work on the part of the local Shangaans (Macgregor 1948, p 7).

The project was documented in *Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey Bulletin* No. 40 (Swift *et. al.*, 1953), a joint effort by all four geologists. Principal findings were that the coal, of Karoo age, is bituminous with a high ash content and occurs as four major, lenticular seams, much faulted and locally burnt by dolerite intrusions. A couple of the seams have economic potential and preliminary tonnages were computed. The second target investigated by Dr Swift's team were quartz-magnetite schists occurring within the metasedimentary Basement gneisses. Results of the magnetometric survey, which suggested that these schists might occur as a single sheet extending over a large area, could not be reconciled with data from four boreholes which instead indicated that the ironstone outcrops represent discontinuous, keel-like remnants of multiple, folded sheets. As such the occurrences were unlikely to constitute an economic target.

In the far southeast of the region the tungsten mineral scheelite occurs in quartz veins associated with post-Karoo granophyre at the Hippo and Loupangwan (P & O) mines. Immediately north of the project area copper was won between 1918 and 1971 from sediments of the supracrustal Umkondo Group at the eponymous mine.

Following publication of the bulletin the region received periodical attention between 1954 and 1982 from a succession of explorationists (Barber, 1987), but it took until



2006 for coal mining to begin on the Malilongwe seam near Chiredzi with operations by Steelmakers of Zimbabwe (Maponga 2019, pp 224-225).

As prognosticated by Professor Mountain, Wiles had indeed soon found a suitable subject for an M Sc thesis, namely ‘the geology of the country between the Lundi and Chiredzi rivers, Ndanga district’ in the Lowveld, where he had spent his first two years with the Geological Survey. The degree was awarded by his *alma mater* in 1949 when Wiles commenced fieldwork in the Hartley district, where mapping had been initiated by F. L. Amm late in 1945.

This project area covered some 2 600 km² and included the eastern portion of the highly productive Hartley gold belt as well as a segment of the then as yet unsurveyed Great Dyke. A small appendage to the map, at a scale of 1:50 000, depicts the Cam and Motor mine, which lies immediately west of the project area and was the country’s largest gold producer. Fieldwork in the district occupied Wiles until 1951, the following year being taken up with the writing and compilation of bulletin No. 44 (Wiles, 1957). In a departure from the norm the text was published in two volumes since the comprehensive economic section includes descriptions of 359 gold mines.

Wiles’ next project area, in the Urungwe district northwest of Salisbury, was centred on the then very new township of Karoi in a region only recently opened up for farming. Nineteen kilometres northeast lay Miami, a small, now defunct settlement which at the time was the region’s administrative, commercial and social centre as well as the focal point for mica mining. This industry flourished in the 1920s, prompting the Geological Survey’s first director, H. B. Maufe (Fey, 2015 b), to publish the first account of the mica field (Maufe, 1920). In the following year he visited mica mines in India and, with a view to stimulating production and efficiency, brought back examples of tools and the mica gradeograph, a template for standardising and classifying mica cut for the market. The gradeograph was eagerly adopted by the miners, the tools evidently not. With the onset of the depression mica prices plummeted and mining all but ceased. However, the Miami Mica Field, whose mining history has been summarised by Broderick (2013), subsequently experienced a resurgence which began in 1937, peaked during World War II and lasted until the 1950s. In view of the field’s significance R. Tyndale-Biscoe (Fey, 2017) spent the period between May and August 1943 preparing a geological sketch map of the 260 km² region then being worked, together with a report and notes on selected producers. Although the map was in great demand neither it nor the report was ever published.

Wiles’ investigations of the Miami Mica Field inevitably had a strong economic bias, focusing on the nature as well as origin of the mica- and beryl-bearing pegmatites, several of which were still in production at the time of his survey. By the early 1970s when the author mapped the region immediately to the north (Fey and Broderick, 1990) all mining had ceased, the sole activity being the milling of scrap mica at the Turning Point mine by former Geological Survey mineralogist, Henry J. Martin.

Over the four year period (1953–1956) which he spent in the Urungwe district Wiles mapped an area of some 3 800 km², its western half underlain by various granites, the eastern portion by sediments. The latter extend beyond the eastern boundary of the project area where they had, in earlier but then still unpublished mapping, been assigned by Stagman (1959) to the Precambrian Piriwiri Series. At the time the “Lomagundi

puzzle”, namely the contentious relationship between Piriwiri Series and Lomagundi System, both named by the pioneer geologist Molyneux (1919), had not been resolved. Wiles accepted Stagman’s stratigraphic classification but elevated the Piriwiri Series to a system which he, like Stagman, regarded as of pre-Lomagundi age. In these argillaceous rocks he recognised a classical Barrovian sequence, the north-trending strata having undergone regional metamorphism superimposed on an earlier thermal event. The grade of metamorphism increases from the lowest, greenschist facies in the east to upper amphibolite facies in the west, the original phyllites and greywackes grading through mica schists to sillimanite schists and gneisses, with the latter two lithologies hosting the economic pegmatites.

Wiles’ greatest contribution to knowledge was the recognition, from detailed petrographical studies, that there exists a metamorphic control over the development of economically viable mica deposits. These are often clustered around the margins of granite plugs and occur in pegmatites, generally coarse-grained rocks of gross granitic composition formed from the last and most hydrous portion of a magma to crystallise. As such they contain high concentrations of minerals present only in trace amounts in the parent rock. Many pegmatites are composite bodies which have derived their constituents from two sources, one igneous, the other metamorphic. They often display a zonation in which mica, as sheets or books, occurs preferentially in the wall zones whereas beryl is developed in the quartzitic cores. Wiles investigated and in his bulletin documented 227 mines which produced either mica only, or mica and beryl, and a further 134 mines which yielded only beryl. Also described were lesser occurrences of wolfram, gold, graphite, kyanite and rutile.

During 1955, in view of renewed interest in ruby mica, he undertook a study of aerial photographs covering over 1 400 km² of geologically unmapped country lying north of the Mukwichi River, rediscovering former mines, prospects and pegmatite bodies worth investigating. At the time the firm G. Paterson and Sons was working several properties there and Wiles (*pers. comm.*) related that, over weekends, the young manager of the company’s Flying Camel mine would undertake the round trip of some 50 kilometres, through the bush and on foot, in order to play tennis at Miami.

Late in August of that year an opportunity arose for Wiles to accompany Mr Webster, the Native Commissioner at Miami, on a visit to the sparsely populated lower Zambezi Valley. The journey from Chirundu down the Zambezi River was undertaken in a boat christened *Mucheni* (Mrs C. Pearce, *pers. comm.*), built and made available by Newby A. Tatham, then manager of the Rhodesia Mica Mining Company Ltd. On the party’s arrival at the mouth of the Chewore River Wiles, accompanied by seventeen bearers arranged through Webster, set off to reconnoitre the country to the east. Adjacent to the Mwanja River he discovered a layered intrusion which he named the Chewore Igneous Complex, whose rocks strongly resembled those of the Great Dyke and also shed chromite float. Highly enthused, he returned to the region some three weeks later at the beginning of October, this time travelling overland with Tatham who had again provided transport, this time in the form of two Jeeps. Over three days, high temperatures and aggressive rhinoceroses notwithstanding Wiles, with the aid of air photographs, prepared a reconnaissance geological map (unpublished) covering an area of approximately 560 km², found outcropping chromite, established the nature as well as extent of the complex



Plate 2. Jeeps used by J. W. Wiles and N. A. Tatham on their reconnaissance of the Chewore Igneous Complex, October 1955. View down Zambezi River above Mupata Gorge



Plate 3. N. A. Tatham and J. W. Wiles (sitting on fossilised tree trunk) in the Zambezi Valley, October 1955

and recorded the occurrence of large fossil trees in the overlying Karoo sediments.

Discovery and investigation of the complex were recorded in an appendix to the Director's annual report (Wiles, 1956) and elaborated on in a later document (Wiles, 1962) in which the back of one photograph was annotated "Chased by rhino on

17 occasions over three days”. Almost 40 years after its discovery the Chewore Complex and surroundings were geologically mapped in 1992–1993 by the writer (Fey, 2018 b), who over two field seasons encountered only one rhinoceros which had escaped the attention of poachers.

Wiles was in the habit of taking his family on annual holidays, many of which he spent in Knysna where his parents lived. On 12 October 1955, the day before he departed on leave, he began to feel unwell, sought medical treatment on arrival in Knysna but soon developed acute pleurisy and pneumonia. He was hospitalised in Port Elizabeth under the care of specialist physician Dr G. Dean, who diagnosed the extremely rare “cave disease”, a fungal infection of the lungs originating in bat droppings. Wiles had evidently become infected when, shortly before going on leave he had acted on a request from the Native Commissioner in Miami and examined the bat-infested Magweto caves (Stagman 1962, pp 70–71), in the Urungwe Reserve southwest of Karoi, for their prospectivity as a source of manure for native agriculture. He responded remarkably quickly to treatment, was permitted to return to Knysna at the beginning of December, and was advised to remain on sick leave until the end of January 1956. His second daughter and last child was born on 10 January.

In a letter dated 13 February 1956 to Director J. C. Ferguson (Fey, 2020) Wiles stated his intention to be back in Salisbury on 1 March, and is believed to have returned to the field shortly thereafter. Since he had contracted cave disease while on duty the Government bore the cost of treatment, but the paper trail in connection with his medical certificates, vacation and sick leave applications continued until August 1956. During the year he mapped the outstanding portion, amounting to 1 300 km², of his project area and in addition reconnoitred a region of 260 km² east of the Angwa River in an attempt to solve correlation problems relating to the schists and gneisses of the Miami region.

In the following year Wiles, although occupied principally with tasks of an economic nature, undertook a nine-day reconnaissance of extremely rugged terrain, part of the crystalline Basement, lying to the east of the Chewore Igneous Complex. On 28 November he suffered fractures to his left leg and ankle joint as a result of a motor cycle accident. He was admitted to Salisbury General Hospital, where he remained until 15 December 1957 under the care of surgeon Dr E. J. Nangle.

After a long period of recuperation Wiles commenced field work only at the beginning of June 1958, and by the end of the year had covered approximately 1 040 km² of his fourth and last project area which was centred on the small settlement of Sipolilo, 130 kilometres north of Salisbury. The western part of the region is underlain by the northward continuation of the Sinoia-Banket greenstone belt which here hosts only a few insignificant gold mines. In the east granites enclose the folded northern extremity of the Great Dyke which, with its associated chromite workings, had recently been mapped in its entirety by Worst (1960). Early in the 1959 field season Wiles returned to the Miami Mica Field, where he spent two and a half months assisting miners, many of them new to the field, paying regular visits to 18 properties and reporting on nine of these. Over three days he accompanied Director Ferguson on a survey of the field, then extended the mapping in his new project area by a further 777 km².

For much of 1960 Wiles worked on the text of his Miami bulletin which, except for the economic section, was completed by year's end. During October and November he undertook geological and geochemical surveys around the Sebakwe group of mines



in the Midlands, where high gold values are associated with antimony and arsenic in a series of narrow quartz veins. In addition he paid numerous visits to the Mazoe Dam in connection with the raising of the wall, gave several lectures to staff of various Government departments, and for short periods deputised for the mineralogist.

In February 1961 he spent four days on the Nzoe group of mica mines south of Kariba, and also paid further advisory visits to Mazoe Dam. He subsequently returned to Sipolilo when he covered an area of 640 km² along the Zambezi Escarpment. In this extremely rough terrain he found (J. W. Wiles, *pers. comm.*) that use of a motor cycle speeded up the mapping considerably. He was on sick leave between 28 May and 22 June, but no details are to hand. Over September and October he undertook geochemical prospecting at the Holdryhill nickel claims north of Shamva, until the end of the year supervised continuation of this work by a temporary field assistant and on occasion again acted as the Geological Survey's mineralogist. In addition he completed the manuscript and corrected galley proofs of his text on the Miami mica field, which was published as bulletin No. 51 (Wiles, 1961) and submitted to Rhodes University as a doctoral thesis.

From January to March of 1962 Wiles led a successful soil sampling programme on the Holdryhill claims, which in 1969 became the site of the Madziwa mine (Stidolph 1977, p 234). Thereafter much of the year was taken up with economic duties for which he visited 44 mines, documented many of these in 14 technical reports and again acted as mineralogist for two months. In August he returned to the Zambezi Valley as leader of a Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society expedition to the Chewore Complex, where a collection of rock specimens was made (Wiles, 1962). During October and November he was seconded to Penhalonga Exploration (Pvt.) Ltd., a company formed under a joint venture agreement between Government and the Rio Tinto Group in order to investigate remaining gold potential in the Penhalonga Valley, a significant historical producer (Fey, 2018 c). Wiles made a detailed plane table survey of the King's Daughter and adjacent claims in preparation for a proposed diamond drilling programme. In addition he presented a joint paper with his friend, mica miner N. A. Tatham (Wiles and Tatham, 1963) at a symposium on pegmatites held over the period 22–23 November in Salisbury by the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.

District Geologist 1963-1966

At the beginning of 1963 the Geological Survey was reorganised and the staff regraded following recommendations of the Paterson Report. Wiles was promoted to District Geologist, Salisbury and in March was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Rhodes University. He subsequently returned to Sipolilo in order to map 310 km² of dissected terrain which could be covered only means of long foot traverses, then commenced bulletin preparation, spending the balance of the year on economic work which included 13 mine visits. For the period from 26 August to 28 September he was appointed Acting Director in A. E. Paup's absence on leave.

During 1964, besides making 15 mine visits Wiles, together with other staff members, was very involved in organising the 7th annual congress of the Geological Society of South Africa. The technical session, with the theme "The later Precambrian formations of Rhodesia" was held between 13 to 17 July at the University College of Rhodesia and

Nyasaland in Salisbury. Several Geological Survey members presented papers, Wiles discoursing on “The metamorphism of the Piriwiri Formation, Urungwe District”. Pre- and post-congress excursions involved visits led by Wiles, Stagman, Bliss and Worst to mines and geological exposures in the Lomagundi region.

In December he attended the International Geological Congress in India, where he extended his stay into January 1965 in order to familiarise himself with the local mining industry and its mica mines, just as first Director Maufe had done in 1921. On his return he undertook the outstanding 100 km² of mapping at Sipolilo, completed the text of his bulletin (Wiles, 1972) and continued with economic work, writing five reports on seventeen mines.

Directorships 1966-1976

With effect from 12 March 1966 Wiles became the Geological Survey’s first Deputy Director at a fixed salary of £3 250 per annum. Nevertheless, he continued his involvement in economic geology, visiting mines, making mineral determinations and dealing with a large number of enquiries from the public. Only a year later, on 22 March 1967, he succeeded A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013) as Director.

In his new post Wiles was immediately saddled with a large administrative burden, being obliged to sit on well over a dozen boards and committees which included, *inter alia*, the Mining Affairs Board, Scientific Council of Rhodesia, and Mining Cadet Scheme. He was a local branch committee member of the Geological Society of South Africa, in 1969 was elected to Council of the parent body and twice served as Chairman of the local branch. The establishment of the Institute of Mining Research at the local university is in large degree due to his efforts.

In October 1967 the Geological Society held its “Symposium on the Rhodesian Basement Complex” at Ranche House, Salisbury, attended by over 100 delegates. In his opening address Wiles (1967) outlined the problem of “the ageing geologist” by developing an idea conceived by Professor G Bond, head of the Department of Geology at the University College of Rhodesia, that geologists from the Geological Survey and mining houses be seconded to the University for a limited period. This would allow them to catch up on very necessary study of recent technical literature, to undertake research into selected aspects of fieldwork, to write papers for publication and, occasionally, to lecture students.

At the symposium past and current members of the Geological Survey presented papers, Wiles addressing “Some aspects of the metamorphism of the Basement Complex in the Sipolilo district”.

On 3 October 1969 he gave the second Mennell Memorial Lecture, entitled “Field work in Rhodesia-past and present” at the University College of Rhodesia to members of the geology students’ Mennell Society, of which he was an Honorary Member between 1966 and 1975, and Chairman in 1967 (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*).

From the late 1960s periodically revised salaries of professional officers in the Civil Service saw recruitment rates accelerate so that in 1971 the Survey’s geological complement filled 26 of the 28 established posts. As a result regional mapping proceeded at an unprecedented rate, a record being set in 1970 when 15 geologists covered an area of 13 925 km². Five years later the rate of progress began to decline as a result of increasing military call-ups and attendant resignations of staff.

At the end of August 1971 the local branch of the Geological Society of South Africa



held an outstandingly successful international symposium, designated “Granite 71” and attended by 226 delegates. Much of the burden of organisation fell on the Geological Survey, five of its geologists presented papers, seven acted as guides on the field trips and Wiles himself served as tour captain on one of the long excursions.

Under his directorship virtually all as yet unmapped portions of the contentious Magondi Supergroup were geologically surveyed, investigations extending into high-grade metamorphic terrain on the Zambezi Escarpment north of Karoi (Fey and Broderick, 1990). Documentation of fieldwork undertaken during this period resulted in seventeen geological bulletins



Plate 4. Dr John Walter Wiles, October 1970

(numbers 59–75), three of the so-called short reports (numbers 40–42) and one volume in the ongoing Mineral Resources series of reports, all published between 1968 and 1975. The 6th edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of Rhodesia was issued in 1971. Emulating the example set by his predecessor A. E. Phaup, Wiles authorised the reissue, without amendments, of nine out-of-print bulletins (numbers 30, 31, 34, 36, 39 and 42–45) in the following year which also saw the publication of the Sipolilo bulletin (Wiles, 1972). In the late 1980s much of the region described in this bulletin was resurveyed and the mapping extended westwards by Hahn and Steiner (2001) as part of a wider geological and geochemical survey conducted under a German aid programme.

After assuming the directorship Wiles would periodically check the progress of regional mapping by visiting his geologists in the field, a task later devolving on Deputy Director J. G. N. Stagman and Senior Field Geologist I. M. Kirkpatrick. In the office he chaired weekly meetings, traditionally held before the commencement of each field season, at which geologists gave presentations on their individual project areas. These talks were usually attended by staff of the University, occasionally also by representatives of mining companies keen to keep up-to-date with developments in regional mapping.

Retirement

After 29 years of service with the Geological Survey Wiles, having elected to retain a pensionable age of 60 years, retired on 29 April 1976. His successor Dr J. G. N. Stagman, whom he had recommended for the position, presided over a farewell ceremony in the courtyard of Maufe Building (Stagman, 1976).

Wiles and his wife Sheila initially settled in Knysna where they managed a small real estate company. After a few years they relocated to Kalk Bay for a change of scenery, then emigrated to Australia in 1985 and lived near Melbourne, where their eldest son Christopher was working. The couple became Australian citizens in 1988. After Sheila had been diagnosed with breast cancer she returned to South Africa with her husband in 1991 and died there in 1992. Wiles came back to Australia in 1994, and in 1997 married Joan Irene Danser in Perth. V. R. C. Stocklmayer (*pers. comm.*) met Wiles there when the latter was engaged in contract photogeological work. At the time he was reportedly still playing golf.

John Walter Wiles passed away at the age of 89 in Margaret River, Western Australia on 19 May, 2005. Appropriately, his death was recorded in the Geological Society of Zimbabwe's newsletter by T. J. Broderick.

The man and his wider family

John Wiles' father Walter Gilbert (WG) was born at Regent's Park, London in 1875, the second of five sons of sculptor Henry Wiles of Cambridge. After several years in France, where he attended art classes and learnt to play the violin, WG travelled to South Africa in 1902 to seek his fortune. Following a brief period in Natal he lectured in art at Uitenhage College, then in 1911 furthered his art studies in London. On returning to South Africa he farmed ostriches on the Bushman's River near Alexandria until the market for feathers slumped, then turned to art full-time. He initially painted in pastels and watercolours, later almost exclusively in oils.

In 1915 he married Pauline Harper and the couple produced children John (1916), Paul (1918), Ruth (1920) and Brian (1923). In 1924 WG was represented at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley, England and in the following year, when the family moved to the Hogsback in the Eastern Cape, he held an exhibition in Grahamstown to coincide with the Prince of Wales' visit. WG spent the period 1937–1940 in Grahamstown for his children's senior schooling, then settled in Knysna where he acquired prime property at Land's End on Leisure Isle. After his very successful 1942 solo exhibition in Cape Town he no longer depended on sales from exhibitions for his livelihood.

Two of WG's brothers, Frank and Bernard, became artists. All three of his sons saw active service during the war, Brian serving in the Navy, Paul in the South African Air Force where he rose to the rank of Captain and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross in 1944. Both became part-time artists.

WG's eldest son John Walter Wiles and his wife Sheila had children Christopher John (1947), Allan Harper (1949), Anne Jennifer ((1951), Jonathan Brian (1954) and Elizabeth Mary (1956). The eldest son attended Springvale boarding school near Marandellas for two years after which, in a letter to the Director dated 19 May 1958, Wiles stated that he could no longer afford to keep the boy there. His financial position made it necessary for his wife to accompany him into the field where she taught the three youngest children but found it difficult to also care for the two eldest. Under the circumstances Wiles sought support for his application to the Department of Education for the two eldest children to be placed into a Government boarding school. From the above it would appear that, between field seasons, the family lived in rented accommodation at least until August 1957 when Wiles applied for a housing loan through the Land and Agricultural Bank of Southern Rhodesia. The property he purchased may well have been the one, located just off the Borrowdale Road in Alexandra Park, at which he and his wife held an



afternoon poolside party attended by the author and departmental colleagues at the end of the 1971 field season.

Nevertheless, until well into the 1960s Wiles continued to have difficulty in supporting a wife and five children on his Government salary. There is on record a letter, dated 23 June 1965, to the Establishments Officer in which he enquired about the value of his pension fund should he tender his resignation, stating that "...This is not a frivolous enquiry but vital information to assist me in judging the merits of a very serious move which may be forced on me for purely economic considerations". It is speculated that his superiors may have advised him to be patient since, only nine months later, he was promoted to Deputy Director.

During the 1960s the end of her husband's role as field geologist enabled Sheila, while still raising her children, to complete an honours degree in sociology at the University College of Rhodesia and Nysaland. It is surmised that Wiles' interest in golf dates from this time. He also played tennis, and the Geological Survey's F. P. Tennick (*pers. comm.*) recorded that, on the clay/sand court which he built at his Salisbury home, he and colleague P. R. Leyshon would team up for very competitive weekly matches against Drs Wiles and Stagman.

Wiles is remembered by the author, who joined the department in January 1971, as a reserved and somewhat ascetic individual who generally avoided mixing with his junior staff. Unfailingly courteous, he was greatly respected for his geological expertise and integrity. In an interview (*Chamber of Mines Journal*, 1967) he, surprisingly, described himself as a "wild and woolly type" until abruptly changed by a near-death experience, namely his ordeal with cave disease in 1955. He turned to religion, became a Christian Scientist (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*) and claimed that faith contributed to his recovery. It is believed that at the same time he became a teetotaler. V. R. C. Stocklmayer (*pers. comm.*) recalled that during a Geological Society meeting Wiles strongly condemned the serving of wine and beer after such events, as was the custom at gatherings of mining engineers. His comments did not go down well with the Geological Survey's Economic Geologist, E. R. Morrison, who pointed out that the meeting was of a scientific rather than a temperance society.

Despite his reticence Wiles was a very determined individual, possessed of a dictatorial streak displayed during one of only two staff meetings remembered by the writer and held in the first half of the 1970s. When a junior geologist asked if he could air a grievance the Director replied in the affirmative, adding that he would listen to but could not promise to act on the complaint.

In reality Wiles was extremely kind and helpful. On the author's first assignment, a mapping project in metamorphic terrain (Fey and Broderick, 1990) lying between the Zambezi Escarpment and the Miami region, he experienced some difficulty with the petrography of rock samples collected from there and approached the Director for guidance. Later that very day Wiles spent a good half hour in the writer's office looking at rock slides under the microscope and was able to offer some useful advice on the samples viewed. He was a competent mineralogist who, according to P. R. Leyshon (*pers. comm.*), habitually took his microscope and set of refractive index oils into the field with him in order to identify minerals for miners and prospectors, on request providing the same service for colleagues in the office.

Because he was colour blind his wife used to write the names of the colours on his crayons. Occasionally, when her husband was away from his office over lunch his friends would swap these inscriptions, an action which resulted in bizarrely coloured geological maps.

Although Wiles was known to paint (F. P. Tennick, *pers. comm.*) his father's artistic talent would appear to have been developed more strongly in John Walter's children, with the notable exception of Jonathan Brian. Wiles' second son, Allan Harper, studied at the Ruth Prowse School of Art in Cape Town and became a successful artist as well as sculptor, settling on South Africa's Garden Route. Anne Jennifer Hannaford, the eldest daughter, graduated from Rhodes University with a B.A. (Hons.) degree in Fine Arts in 1973 and soon afterwards one of her oil paintings was selected to hang in the Rhodesia National Gallery. She subsequently travelled extensively, painting in both watercolours as well as oils. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth Mary Usher combined her artistic talents with those of Anne Jennifer to create "Cushy Art", namely colourful cushions adorned with watercolour paintings of flowers.

Best documented of John Walter Wiles' children is the eldest son, Christopher John, known as "Chris" (Sexton, 2015). He graduated from Rhodes University in 1969 with a B.Sc. degree in physics and applied mathematics, then undertook geophysical surveys in many parts of the world for the Geoterrex organisation. In the latter half of 1970 the very affable Chris, when once driving between Maun and Kasane in Botswana, called on the author at his exploration camp in the Chobe Game Reserve. In 1981 he joined Newmont Mining Corporation in Tucson, Arizona and shortly afterwards was transferred to Melbourne, Australia on a "short-term assignment" which was to last almost 10 years. In 1991 Chris returned to Newmont's geophysical department in Denver, Colorado to become Chief Operations Geophysicist before taking on roles in global exploration management. In 2004 he returned to Perth in Western Australia to establish and manage Newmont Australia's Airborne Services.

After retiring in 2006 Chris, a keen and accomplished photographer, took up painting, concentrating on the bush and wildlife of Africa to which he regularly returned to collect new material. Highly respected by colleagues and friends for his work ethic, integrity and discipline he died in Perth at an early age in 2014.

Acknowledgements

During his first five years with the Rhodesia Geological Survey the author worked under Dr Wiles and for this article drew on his own reminiscences as well as on those of colleagues T. J. Broderick, V. R. C. Stocklmayer, F. P. Tennick and earlier staff geologist P. R. Leyshon. In addition to the material referenced below he made extensive use of the Annual Reports of the Director, and of other historical material in his database. Details of the wider Wiles family, and of John Walter Wiles' military career were obtained from the websites *wgwiles.com* and *TracesOfWar.com* respectively, while personal information was gleaned from the late Christopher John Wiles' now defunct website *chrisjwiles.com*. For photographs reproduced as Plates 2 and 3 as well as details of her father, N. A. Tatham, he is indebted to Mrs Carole Pearce.



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Book Review: Postmark Africa: Half a Century as a Foreign Correspondent – Michael Holman

by Duncan Clarke



Holman, Michael. 2020.

Postmark Africa: Half a Century as a Foreign Correspondent

Published by EnvelopeBooks

ISBN 979-8638906597

Amazon price - £10.05

I have known Michael Holman well for nearly fifty years. He became the godfather to one of my daughters who had been born in Salisbury in 1973. We first met in town one day that year, and then at University College of Rhodesia where I taught conventional economics and a final year degree course on the Rhodesian economy. In those days we shared a house at 204 Rhodes Avenue in Salisbury and so I came to know about his origin, works, thoughts and inclinations. We have been lifelong friends since. If one has in life but a handful of *shamwaris*, then Mike would be one for me to count, and count on.

Born in Penzance in 1945, the family emigrated to Rhodesia in 1951. From 1953–58 he went to Cecil John Rhodes primary, before attending Chaplin High School in Gwelo over 1958–64. The last scholastic year, when 17, was spent in Oregon as an American Field Scholar, a sojourn in the United States that cemented an already liberal outlook, not one that flowed from his Old Man, a true conservative by nature. Once done, he returned home just as Federation had broken up and as Rhodesia was moving inexorably towards UDI, the same year he entered the University College of



Rhodesia to read for the B.A. (Hons).

When at the multiracial university, he crossed swords with the government authorities over matters related to a student rag for which he wrote and co-edited, published anonymously, *Black & White*. It took issue with the politics of the time, in satire, and more critically with government. The magazine was banned in August 1968. Holman was in trouble.

It was the 'sixties. Rhodesia was not immune from the cross-currents of the times, with a small existent counter-culture, and the rethinking of ideas among the younger set and those in academe. However, Holman was no hippy, nor any sort of formal academic. Vegetarianism was his main social deviation from the norm, political journalism another ambition at that time.

The contretemps with the government led to arrest by the Security Branch for contravention of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. Their raid on the campus residence and the 5 o'clock morning knock on the door, with two Special Branch police there, resulted in rapid transfer to a police cell for the night, before he was escorted and driven to Gwelo for detention by 'house arrest' for 12 months. He might have been the first white detainee.

In the Rhodesian Government Cabinet Minutes Z535 there is an extract from August 1967, when discussion took place about what to do with the 'rebellious students.' The point was made that one notably, Holman, was a renegade, and an example should be made of him. So, it was done. As Desmond Lardner-Burke, the Minister at the time, said: "the boy has gone off the rails". Thereafter, an exit permit was granted to facilitate overseas study. During 1969–1971 he went to the University of Edinburgh to do an M.Sc. in Politics, the thesis focused on the Rhodesian Front.

After that, Holman took to freelance journalism in London, to later return home to 'do' journalism, initially for the *Financial Mail* in Johannesburg. This period enabled acquisition of the toolkit that underpinned Holman's professional life, the *metier* chosen one conducted inside the amorphous fourth estate: in reportage.

This 'journos world' became his lifelong endeavour, notably from 1977 in Lusaka with the *Financial Times* where he became the anchor on Africa. As Africa editor he coordinated continental coverage from staff writers and a network of stringers in London, Johannesburg, Salisbury-Harare, Lilongwe, Nairobi, and Lagos; and also edited the



Lagos 1993

FT's suite of country surveys, while writing editorials on Africa. In those days, the *FT's* views on Africa were much respected and influential in business.

Once retired from the *FT*, later years were spent in writing: undertaking contributory pieces, penning obituaries and publishing three satirical but withering novels on East Africa. There were also travels around Africa, with a return home after an absence of 15 years to Gweru, his favourite haunt, and to take another look at the cabal who ran Zimbabwe.

One may read about Holman's scribbings



in many places: his personal website, dated from 1977, but which has lacked additions since 2013, it seems; in *African Deadlines* which was self-published to celebrate his fiftieth; and lastly in *Postmark Africa* published in 2020, as a collection of about 60 selected pieces, published and unpublished, reviews and letters written. These three fulsome sources provide ample reflection on thoughts had, and musings scripted, taken from a welter of reportage in the last fifty years—an achievement few in Africa have ever accomplished.

Otherwise, there are hundreds of pieces that he wrote which can be read in the *Financial Times*, for which he was Africa editor for 25 years, items drawn from *Financial Mail* in the 1970s, when he was their correspondent in Salisbury. Other missives went off to *The Scotsman* and *The Observer* plus press outlets around and about. The journalistic output accomplished was large, crafted over half a century, and covered both Rhodesia's politics and the war drama intimately, Zimbabwe's too, with numerous pithy portraits on life in Africa, Southern Africa and the world's interfaces with the continent.

Many authors have had their books reviewed by Holman, Paul Theroux one. He could be a merciless judge: of Theroux's *Last Train to Zona Verde*, he wrote in *Literary Review* (June 2013) that it was 'imbued with a pessimism that verges on Afrophobia, peppered with sweeping, doom-laden conclusions, triggered by a trip that takes in but a fraction of a vast continent'.

Not all written by Holman was without mirth: much contained satire. One inventive and unpublished piece was on *Afroholics Anonymous*, a parody about an Afroholic overwhelmed by Africa's failures, disasters and wars, needing support and 'help'—in a 12-Step program for salvation. There were times when that sense of desperation came his way.

Holman was exceptionally generous in practising his trade. He liberally mentored a number of Africa's journalists over the years. There has yet to be any autobiography. His three published novels, set in East Africa which he knew well, parody the delusions of the World Bank. In them, Kenya is the mythical country depicted as *Kuwisha* in the texts. Without disclosure of any confidence, it is known that another novel is in the works: this time closer to home, set in modern Zimbabwe. In Holman's novels, there are serious observations hidden within dark humour, and undiluted truth lurking inside artfully confected storylines.

There is a lot more that could be written about the man and thoughts he scripted over the years. What is germane here is that as a writer, in or out of 'exile', often returning back to Zimbabwe in the post-1980s, Holman had never discarded an abiding love for the country and its peoples. From an early-in-life origin to outcast, to today, he has always sustained an identity with the House of Stone. That affinity cannot be said of several others in the authorial world.

He was no advocate for Ian Smith, or the RF. When in hot water with government in 1975–76, following writings on the civil war, reporting one case of torture, and critical comments made overall, he was threatened with deportation, or else 'call-up' to a conflict that he would have wished to avoid. When drafted to the army, temporarily foxing the military police sent to cart him away, he went to the Defence Exemption Board in January 1977 to plead for deferment, to be judged by some with lesser time and claim in-country than himself.

The verbatim Kafkaesque and semi-burlesque transcript is found in an Appendix to *African Deadlines* and in *Postmark Africa*. The plea fell on deaf ears. It left open the choice to ‘gap it’, this option taken underground as it were, in secret, after three weeks of hiding in Salisbury; then an exit hoofing it through to Botswana, and on to Zambia.

For long afterwards, Holman used to think he had ‘escaped from Gwelo’. He would return there later in life to realise, once more, that it was home. Those origins embedded foundational identity. It’s a story on a clandestine exodus still untold and hopefully one day to be written.

He was one of the few white Rhodesians who faced this unwanted exit option. After exodus to London he continued to write about Rhodesia, later in Lusaka from 1977 as the *FT*’s Africa Correspondent. While he had been inside the cauldron before, now it was to watch the unfolding bush war from outside. With parents, friends and family at home, it troubled him, too, as others, but no mention was made of this personal drama.

By 1984 the ‘Zimbo’ story’ was over. South Africa was the flavour of the journalist beat. Holman moved to London to take up a position as Africa Editor for the *FT*, a role continued until 2002, years of Parkinson’s having by then wreaked havoc on any normal working life. The retirement option loomed: he took it.

Many African presidents from Mandela to those lower down the political pecking order knew him, and some feared his views. Kaunda, Banda and lesser lights were aware that he could ‘make or break’ public perceptions in print. In those days the *FT*’s *Country Surveys on Africa* had meaning and impact on investors, this well before the ubiquitous digital age and information-overload. They all avidly read ‘the pink one’. He would say occasionally that the state of any economy in Africa could be readily discerned by the state of the airport. Holman’s nose for the story in Africa was epic.

In an Introduction to *African Deadlines*, Patti Waldmeir, FT Bureau Chief, Johannesburg 1989–94, would write: ‘Michael Holman does not interview African Leaders. They interview him. They recognise in him, the rarest kind of lover of Africa: one who feels its misfortunes but is not blinded by sympathy; one who condemns its barbarism without branding it barbaric; one who believes in a continent which has lost faith in itself’.

Life left Holman with familial tragedies to confront: the death of his brother, the father too, care for the mother in Edinburgh during the last 25 years, and aggravated Parkinson’s lurking since 1986. It was no life lived in the publisher’s padded suite.

In an experimental and gruelling 11-hour operation, when conscious, in Grenoble in 2001, he took the courageous step to seek remedy from unproven therapy for Parkinson’s, which he wrote about, as did Michela Wrong in *The Guardian* that year. It helped, but without any escape from long term debilitation; and so he has battled on for the last three decades.

Notwithstanding enormous stress endured as the years took their toll, Holman’s stream of writings continued—almost all on Africa. They are, as usual, full of political insight, wry observation, humour, with liberal doses of satire and caustic commentary. All this was aided by one steadfast pillar of support on life’s journey: an Englishwoman, Gabrielle Stubbs, with him in Rhodesian days, and alongside him today—an angel of the veld, if ever, and to whom he dedicated *Postmark Africa*.

There are almost none in the world of journalism in Africa who have racked up fifty years in that game, let alone with the volume and quality produced. It involved continuous travel, a wide range of presidential interviews done, courage displayed.



In *Postmark Africa* is found this widespread topicality of interests exposed about the country of his adoption, and the tragic self-harm which followed.

On the journo-author's website, one finds a rich history: songs written; news and comment on a range of themes; obituaries, reviews and letters to friends; satire and selected scribblings; notes on novels written; some old *FT* cuttings, including one on the former president Robert Mugabe headlined *Empire's Angry Offspring*; on war-torn Congo and Zimbabwe; travels around Africa, even on safari lodges; sport and rugby in South Africa; and images of the times lived and personages met. It reflects a snapshot of an achievement few will likely surpass.

To many looking back, or at the record, they will find that Holman took few prisoners. It was a *modus operandi* that served well. Reading *Postmark Africa: Half a Century as a Foreign Correspondent*, one finds expression of this critical style, insight and humour in a chronicle of writings done over the years 1964–2020.

These texts record a journey from Rhodesian dissident, alienated in part, to an 'Africanist' of note after more exposure to continental realities, to an older age—at which, he suggests, Postmark might be the 'last kick of an ageing horse'. I would not be so sure. The 'foreign correspondent' tag by-lining the book was always an epithet eagerly sought and much admired in the world of Africa's hacks: it does injustice to Holman, in my view: he has always been a 'man of Africa', one of its unsung luminaries.

On this lifetime trek, interviews were conducted with many of the leading politicians of the day—including Ndabaningi Sithole, Joshua Nkomo, Nelson Mandela, Hastings Banda. There is also insightful reportage found on Mugabe, Smith, Todd, Nyerere, Oppenheimer, Tambo, Slovo and Tutu among others. By 2004 Holman had exposed swathes of Africa as the 'Potemkin village', this before the mythic 'Africa Rising' trope took off in full flight only to soon crash land.

Reviews have been written on books about Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, plus Africa—by Peter Godwin, Doug Rogers, David Coltart, Stuart Doran and Paul Theroux, just some. There are obituaries on notables too—notably Mandela and Mugabe; another is of the well-known, local-bred journalist David Beresford, an old friend, also benighted by Parkinson's, who in jest once formed privately with Holman 'The Tremblers Club'.

Portraits on several African politicians, cultural icons, investors and events round off the kaleidoscope of themes embraced—the movable feast of deluded 'band aid' caravans one, the hapless World Bank as 'saviour' of Africa another. *Postmark Africa* is brutally honest, replete with its litany of trenchant asides.

Holman's latest book stands as a classic collection of reportage about a lifetime in journalism, credit for any man's three score and ten. There may be read a rare track record, one unlikely to be easily replicated. Holman has written in a quintessentially discriminating style in observing a fast-changing Africa, much parodied in his trilogy—*Last Orders at Harrods*, 2005, *Fatboy and the Dancing Ladies*, 2007, and *Dizzy Worms*, 2010.

As an *Africanista* of an old-forgotten school, the 'Afro-realist', Holman has collected the literature on Africa, especially on southern Africa, notably on Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. This huge library constituted of choice items is found in his house in the east of London. There, since retirement from the *FT*, he has scripted articles, reviews, poems, ditties, novels and more on 50 years of private and professional despatches sent



Hand-drawn portrait of Michael Holman done by YALO in 2004

from and on the continent. Numerous mementoes and artefacts from Africa are to be found scattered around the author's homely establishment. Not everyone will agree with Holman's take on all: but he has always listened with care, taken measure and eloquently argued the case.

It is no surprise then that Holman's writings and life have been lauded with many words of praise already bestowed. He was no starry-eyed journo hacking away at Africa for temporal reputation. Many pieces—written on Soweto, NGOs, aid 'experts', and Mandela's funeral circus—tell us the opposite.

Accolades have come not only from literary figures but the political world, peers too. Alexander McCall Smith said "If you want to see what a good man in Africa has done, read this book. It contains profound observations of real and lasting significance on virtually every page". The Kenyan, John Githongo, noted that, as a journalist and author, "Michael has been a rebel with a clear cause. He has a seamless capacity to get under the African skin, and a ruthless insight for sniffing out what's working, even though it may not look it, and what's an utter waste of time, even though no one else will admit". Ed Balls remarked: "Africa has no fiercer critic and no greater advocate than Michael Holman".

Some in the world of journalism have called him 'Holman of Africa', because of an endearing commitment to the continent, the literary scope and depth of writings, and their evident appreciation of a clear-eyed view of Africa, both rough and smooth. He would be the last to ever assume any such title, but *HoA* would be well-deserved as an honourable, entirely fitting one for someone who has been known worldwide as the country's most celebrated home-grown and foreign correspondent.

Duncan Clarke is author of *Rhodes' Ghost: The Conquest of Zambesia*, Amazon, 2020.

Book Review: Mining in Zimbabwe from the 6th to the 21st Centuries – M. D. Prendergast & J. Hollaway (ed.)

by R. S. Roberts



M. D. Prendergast & J. Hollaway (ed.)

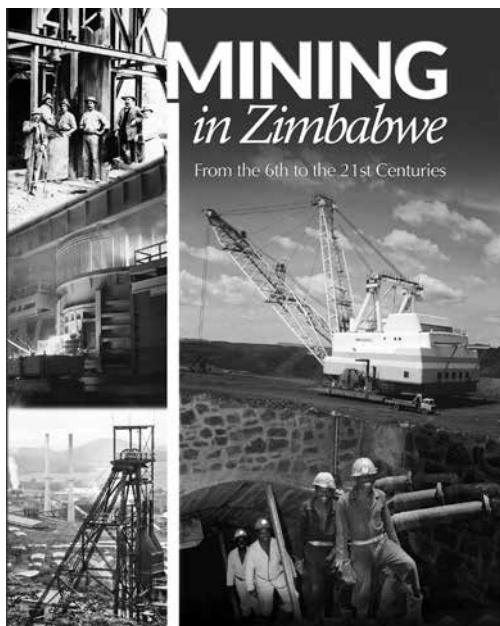
Mining in Zimbabwe from the 6th to the 21st Centuries

Harare: The Chamber of Mines of Zimbabwe, 2019

xlii, 645pp, 316 illustr., 55 tables

ISBN 978-1-7790 (h/b)

This book is a sumptuous, large-format production, designed, printed, bound, and largely written in Zimbabwe; it is a credit to the Chamber of Mines and everyone involved. Strangely, however, it has not been given the publicity it deserves; and hopefully this review will arouse more interest. The book consists of nineteen chapters, each written by an expert in the field, but some are jointly authored and three were written by the editors. The first two describe the context in which the mining industry operates—the geology of the country and the political economy and its government. The three chapters that follow are on the minerals that were important to the inhabitants of the country before colonisation in 1890, gold, iron and copper. The next chapter is devoted to gold which was the engine of the colonisation and the biggest single export earner; it is the chapter that will be of most interest to readers of *Heritage* because it also deals with the vast over-estimation of the gold reserves north of the Limpopo by Rhodes but for which Rhodesia would never have come to be. Then follow chapters on coal, asbestos, chrome, copper, tin, nickel, diamonds, platinum, industrial and minor minerals. Amidst these chapters is one on iron which is doubly interesting because it led to a steel-making industry that had a wider trickle-down effect on society and the economy than other minerals which were simply exported. Then comes an historical



overview of Zimbabwe's mining economy, and the concluding chapter by one of the editors analysing the industry's position in recent years.

Few readers will sit down and read this volume right through but it is an essential reference book, with notes on further reading, and it will remain so for many years to come. Each of us will have favourite parts—for me the three precolonial chapters, gold from 1890, iron and steel, and the mining economy chapter showing how important minerals have been in the development of the whole economy, especially in the early years: in 1924 it accounted for 29 per cent of total National Income/GDP; gradually it was overtaken by agriculture and manufacturing by the 1950s, and so down to today when mismanagement of the economy has brought all these sectors lower to roughly equal shares in a depressed economy where services now dominate.

The one subject that deserves more attention is that of labour. Originally mining was the largest employer of African labour; and even though much of the labour was migrant from Mozambique and Malawi, mining wages provided the income that helped the peasant economy in the Reserves meet the demands of government and the challenges of rapid social change.

Book Review: Road to Lithium Lodge – George Henry Nolan

by R. S. Roberts



R. Pullen (ed.)

Road to Lithium Lodge: George Henry Nolan

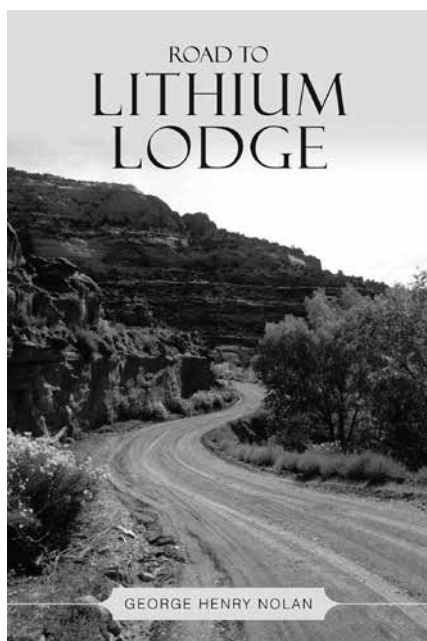
Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse™ UK, 2013

ii, 581pp.

ISBN 978-1-4918-8322-8 (s/c)

The making of this substantial and remarkable book is left entirely unexplained by its editor or compiler, R. Pullen, who, however, from evidence elsewhere, appears to be the husband of one of George Nolan's daughters. He clearly did some research for the first chapter but for the rest the book is written in the first-person voice of Nolan (1909–1980); and it is so detailed about his life as a smallworker in the Bikita area over thirty years or so that he must have left a manuscript or a very detailed diary.

Thus what we have is difficult to criticise: a heart-felt, eloquent, first-hand description of the tribulations and poverty, the rough and lonely way of life, the bitter rivalries over claims and pegging, the hostility and incompetence of government officials (something of a surprise to me) and the dishonesty of agents, shippers and purchasers of the lesser known minerals that Nolan worked with all his life. As such it gives us an illuminating insight into the virtually unknown world of the smallworkers who, unlike White farmers, have rarely appeared in novels, reminiscences or academic treatises; they were coarse, drunk, cantankerous, improvident and immoral in their use of African women, but the backbone of an industry faltering from Rhodes's over-estimation of the mineral wealth north of the Limpopo. Slowly the inappropriateness of the Southern Rhodesian mining law and the financial rights of the British South Africa Company were changed. The smallworkers responded and paved the way to success; they took over fading mines on tribute, their own small mines



became economic to work, particularly in the 1930s, and their prospecting located new deposits (the best of which, like the Cam and Motor they sold on). They were also influential in the early development of base-mineral mining, and this is where George Nolan's family had made a false start in 1929, with tin in the Bikita area.

George returned to the abandoned claims in 1934 and for over twenty years he lived and worked for a hunch that among the many minerals in this area there was something that would make his fortune; and he did so despite the fact that as the Great Depression passed the government slowly retreated from helping the smallworkers to accommodating large-scale, capital-intensive mining. Thus the Mines and Minerals Act of 1947 took away some of the smallworkers' support and protection in order to encourage more scientific prospecting (with exclusive prospecting orders) that had done so much in the opening-up of Northern Rhodesian copper mining and had been initiated in Southern Rhodesia in 1933 but abandoned in the face of opposition from the smallworkers and the Reform Party. The tin fields, however, did not immediately attract much attention, although Bikita Minerals was formed and became part of Chester Beatty's Selection Trust, but they were late in the field; Nolan persevered and his hunch paid off with the development of lithium by the early 1950s. He finally sold out in 1959 to Bikita Minerals/Selection Trust for £500 000 (equivalent to U\$12 million today); this must have had him one of the richest men in Rhodesia. And he celebrated his success by building Lithium Lodge, a mansion in the bush with a façade modelled on The White House. Thus the book ends, on a note of pride for what thirty years of smallworking had achieved.

(But the actual end of George Nolan's story was not about mining and has been outlined by Wendy Lapham in *Heritage* a decade ago: this is about the sumptuous furnishing of the Lodge, and the extensive damage to it by ZANU guerrillas, completed it is alleged by the disgruntled among his seventeen or so children, from at least four different mothers, after George's death in February 1980 in Fort Victoria Hospital. George had been persuaded by his advisors to put his wealth into a Trust and it appears that, on the one hand, it was so inflexible that it left George himself short of cash in the 1970s and so unable to meet all his parental responsibilities, and on the other hand was not extensive enough to take into account the full extent of his procreational activities.)

Essay Review

The Irish in Zimbabwe - Reflections on History and Empire

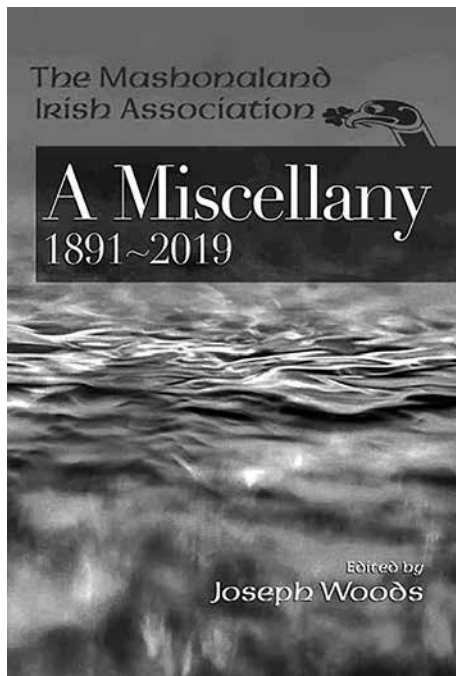
by R. S. Roberts



J. Woods (ed.), *The Mashonaland Irish Association: A Miscellany 1891–2019*
(Harare, Weaver Press, 2019), xviii, 186pp. ISBN 978-1-77922-354-8 (p/b)

This essay has been written under the difficult conditions of months of self-isolation that have prevented the checking in the National Archives and University Libraries for more details on Rhodesian Censuses, on the Catholic Church and the Irish in what was the British Empire. Consequently the essay is variable in its emphases and perhaps relies too much in places on my own memories and interests. The excuse is that this modest book has sparked a whole range of questions and comparisons, from the Irish Rebellions of the 1640s to Brexit and the Northern Ireland border today; and it will spur me on, when life returns to normal, to remedy any deficiencies of this essay and look more closely at the Irish and the others of the rich mosaic of settler ethnicities and religious allegiances in this country that we have rather unthinkingly taken for granted for too long.

Members will remember that Joe Woods, an Irish poet and visitor to this country, gave the History Society an interesting talk last December on the Irish contribution to the history of this country, concentrating on the early days of European occupation; and the book now under review is his published collection of twenty-six essays in honour of The Mashonaland Irish Association and the Irish presence in this country. Three essays are by academics (one a reprint) but not technical or over-burdened with footnotes. Four survey the Irish Catholic contribution to our history together with one of reminiscences by a Jesuit who has spent seventy years here on and off. Five (including one reprint) are on The Mashonaland Irish Association. Seven—the most interesting—are reminiscences by residents or memories of earlier



settlers. Three deal with cultural matters and three are on various topical subjects—all written in an easy style that will appeal to our members and the general reading public. The editor is to be congratulated and his book is a reproach to us who live here but too rarely find the time to collect and publish such useful information: a challenge, in fact, to us all, but especially the Scots, Welsh and Cornish and also the Portuguese, Italians, Greeks, Coloureds, Hindu, Goan Catholics, and Moslems who have, or have had, similar ethnic/religious associations. Only two of these, the Jewish and the Coloured communities, have enjoyed book-length studies, which however lack the voice of ordinary people which is a pleasant feature of this book on the Irish.

The Mashonaland Irish Association must be one of the oldest voluntary associations in the country—indeed the oldest if one excludes the congregations of the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches (and the London Missionary Society's in Matabeleland). It was inaugurated just before St Patrick's Day, 17 March 1891, a mere six month's after the establishment of Salisbury; and although the Scots and the Welsh were not far behind less is known about the Caledonian Society's celebrations of Burns' Night and St Andrew's Day and the Cambrian Society's of St David's Day. There was also to be a Cornish Society (St Piran's Day two weeks before St Patrick's) but the English in spite of their overwhelming numerical predominance seem to have been 'ethnically invisible' as an American historian has said of the English presence in the U.S.A. in the nineteenth century.

However, reading this book one is also struck by the fact that the Irish in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe have in other respects also been virtually invisible, so well did they blend into settler society: no 'social banditry' or notoriety for crime like Ned Kelly in Australia or Jack McLoughlin in the Transvaal; no notoriety for insurrection with republican overtones as seen in Alfred Aylward and Peter Lalor on the diggings of Kimberley and Ballarat, respectively. If the Irish were associated with anything in particular in Rhodesia, it was the uncontentious and praiseworthy work in missions, nursing and education; and when one of these fields did become contentious, notably the behaviour of some Catholic missionaries in the Tribal Trust Lands in the 1970s, then the Irish laity appear to have been at one with British and other Catholics in condemning the activities of Bishop Lamont. (He does, however, receive some praise in parts of this book and is sometimes regarded as a paragon of Irishness.)

There are two reasons for this invisibility. The first is that the number of Irish here was always small and the prominence given in the book to several Irishmen in the early days is misleading; they were mainly Protestants of the Ascendancy who were disproportionately represented in the officer class of the British army and were on secondment looking for fame and fortune in a new Imperial venture. Few remained as settlers. And to a lesser extent the same can be said of many of the Catholic religious. In 1904 there were 495 people born in Ireland, which was nearly 9 per cent of those from the British Isles but less than 4 per cent of the total White population. By the 1960s when the last two detailed censuses of the Whites were taken, the number born in the Irish republic was about 600 and the number in 'Ireland' (so stated, but presumably containing both British subjects from the North and Republic citizens from the 'South') was about 1 900; this total of 2 500 constituted just over 1 per cent of the total white population. There were of course many more descendants of



the earlier Irish settlers but to what extent they kept their Irishness in a cohesive, successfully non-sectarian settler society is debateable; and this is the second reason.

The Irish who settled had long become integrated almost seamlessly into colonial society; for, although there has been a tendency among intellectuals and Catholic religious to think of an Irish exceptionalism, the Irish in fact always were part of the colonial/imperial project. The proportion of Irish in the British Army had been over 50 per cent in the 1830s and although it declined steadily to about 13 per cent by the end of the century that was Ireland's proportion of the British Isles' total population. But now discharged or would-have-been Irish soldiers were to be found instead in colonial militias; the para-military Cape Mounted Police, for example, was based on the Royal Irish Constabulary (and was to be the prototype for the British South Africa Police), and it was said to be over fifty per cent Irish. Also the decline of enrolment in the British army was not because of a sense of oppression or national separateness but because an expanding empire gave them, of all the nations of the British Isles, better opportunities than back home. The Vatican, too, was not slow to take advantage of the British Empire and so enjoyed its greatest expansion since Spain and Portugal had founded their empires in the sixteenth century; and remarkably in this new expansion the Vatican used Britain to demolish much of the Portuguese Crown's control of the church overseas in India and Africa and even obtained financial help from the British government, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy of 1560, for the hierarchy in Australia. And in all of this the Catholic Church in Ireland played a leading part and for years the Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, welcomed colonial expansion and Irish emigration and advised the Vatican on appointments of bishops and vicars apostolic across four continents. Not for nothing is there an academic book entitled *An Irish Empire*?

For all this, however, it is true that Irish Catholics did experience some social snobbery in mainly Protestant colonies but far less in Rhodesia than, say, Australia. The most popular leader that Rhodesia ever had (at least before Ian Smith), was the Irish Catholic Sir Charles Coghlan; and the iconic British South Africa Police had a Catholic reputation right down to 1980. Otherwise the Irish presence has been taken for granted without comment; indeed in reading the various reminiscences in this book it is with surprise that one often learns that a 'so and so' was Irish.

Another reason for this 'ethnic invisibility' comes out in some reminiscences in the book where we learn that it was not unusual for the Irish immigrant here to have already lived in the United Kingdom and/or another British territory; indeed many of the Irish immigrants to Rhodesia after the mid-1950s were a part of that retreat from other parts of the Empire that is often said to have contributed to anti-African feelings, the rise of the Rhodesia Front and the development of a Rhodesian nationalism. One of the consequences was that the new RF government began to look beyond the narrow confines of the liberal British establishment to fill positions in public life; and as this book makes clear never were Irish names more prominent: Rhodesia Front MPs and at least one minister, and others in important public/government bodies (p.173). One contributor to this book and others cited were shocked that the Irish as former victims of oppression should thus join the oppressors, a reaction that is naïve in itself, ignores much of Irish history, and fails to recognise the success of settlers

from the British Isles in creating their own inclusive local sub-nationalisms in an empire that even in the late nineteenth century had become supernational.

The other small deficiency in the book is that there is rather a gap, in the middle as it were, between the well known early settlers, whether military or religious, and the later immigrants who tend to dominate. Admittedly people of sixty or so years ago are harder to document, given their 'invisibility' mentioned above. But four characters not mentioned in the book spring to mind; and I am sure that others could name many more.

First two Nolans, not related as far as I know. Kevin Nolan was the Central African manager for Alitalia, whose marketing ambition was to persuade every Catholic in Rhodesia travelling to Europe that a stop-over in Rome was essential; this only Alitalia could supply and if I remember aright the first night at my hotel in Rome was paid for by Alitalia when I took advantage of one of their special offers. This marketing ploy of his once took him and his wife Sheila to a mission near Salisbury and Sheila took her camera with her. When they arrived they found a couple about to be married but with no photographer; so Sheila took some photographs of the bride and groom after the ceremony. Mr and Mrs Mugabe never forgot this kindness but whether they ever flew by Alitalia is not recorded. Sheila later worked for the Centre Party. (Conversely Stan O'Donnell of the Ministry of External Affairs found the Irish consul very co-operative in obtaining a second, Irish, passport for staff with the remotest Irish connection to facilitate their sanctions-busting travel, with or without stop-overs in Rome.)

George H. Nolan, on the other hand, was a self-made millionaire, perhaps the richest man in Rhodesia and a staunch supporter of the R.F. He built a mansion in the bush, Lithium Lodge and when in Europe buying expensive furnishings he made his first visit to Ireland, which his grandfather had left to join the British army. Ireland, however, seemed to have meant nothing to him and all he brought away from his visit was a copy of a Nolan coat of arms to be embroidered onto the cushions of the French eighteenth-century salon suite that he had bought in London. Back home the settee was 'christened' by his first distinguished guest, Ian Smith. Nkomo let it be known that as soon as liberation came he was going to take over Lithium Lodge for himself, but ZANU guerrillas got there first and destroyed it with mortars. George died a broken man two months before Independence.

The third figure was something of a folk-hero or urban legend to school-kids in the 1960s–1970s: Aiden Diggeden was from Gwelo but as was usual in Rhodesia it was never thought important or necessary to mention his Irish descent. His grandfather, who soon after Aiden's birth legally became his adoptive father (to hide his unmarried daughter's shame), was Francis Aloysius Diggeden married to a McConnachie in the Eastern Cape where his original settler forebear was probably illiterate and allowed his Irish surname to be mangled by officials and/or other settlers into what appears to be a unique name. Aiden became an accomplished criminal from an early age, specialising in the theft of Ford cars and money by hold-ups. He was often imprisoned but frequently escaped, sometimes with the key to the main prison gates, just for the night in order to follow a tip-off about yet another Ford or a cache of money, and then return to his perfect-alibi cell. His even more extraordinary escapes were due to his remarkable gymnastic fitness; his favourite demonstration of this to other prisoners was to run up the wall of his cell to the ceiling and then somersault back to



the floor. While on the run after one escape he went to South Africa under an assumed name and became a member of the national Olympic team! About a year before Independence he chose to be deported to England whence he wrote a letter to the British South Africa Police thanking and congratulating them on their professionalism. There he was soon in trouble again under an assumed name and died there a few years ago (I am waiting on a Freedom of Information request for his police record to complete my record of his remarkable exploits).

The fourth and final figure I will not name until I have permission from the family, but he is the most important of my 'missing' examples because he was a working-class artisan, a type notably absent from the book. He was an Irish Catholic builder who was very kind to me when I first came to this country; uneducated and coarse he nevertheless was a man who thought a lot about the world around him and could be very eloquent about its deficiencies. He had no sense of belonging to a nation that had been oppressed but he had nothing but contempt for the earlier settlers, mainly British of course, who had done so little to develop the country before he and people like him had arrived after the Second World War. He was notorious for his verbal abuse of his African workforce, and I once had the temerity to chide him for it over a beer. All he did was to laugh: his job as a Whiteman was to 'boss-up' the African, as he and his forebears had been 'bossed-up' as navvies, dockers and building workers when they left Ireland, and necessarily so to prepare them for the modernising world. What liberals like me did not understand, he said, was that what we called racism was in fact the engine of, or discipline for, progress. The well-meaning English Jesuits that he saw on and around the university campus were obstacles to progress in his eyes: they took the brightest Africans to become religious and left the rest as peasants. A neo-liberal globalist forty years early, he of course strongly supported the R.F. who he considered the first sensible government that Rhodesia had ever had.

He undoubtedly was typical of the majority of settlers but was that typical of the majority of the Irish in Rhodesia, the people who leave little record and whose opinion is not often sought? Such questions and many other issues like comparisons with Ulster spring from reading this entertaining book, but answers must wait upon more research. In the meantime the reader should note that, unfortunately, there are some factual errors.

Sir Robert McIlwaine (p. 31) was never elected to the Legislative Assembly and that was because he spent his life as a civil servant, a High Court judge and chairman of the Natural Resources Board after retiring from the bench; and on the same page John McChlery was not Irish but a Scottish Presbyterian, albeit a radical who supported Home Rule for Ireland. Stephen M. Lanigan O'Keefe (p. 160) was not Southern Rhodesia's first High Commissioner in London; he was the third, from 1935 to 1946 (the first two were Sir Francis Newton and J. W. Downie). On the same and following pages there are many inaccuracies about Charles Olley, the Orangeman from Ulster. There is no mystery about the date of his death; it was in July 1966 in the Catholic Nazareth House in Salisbury. It is not made clear that he emigrated from Ireland as early as 1904 and stayed in the Cape until 1918 when his doctors recommended that the drier air of Southern Rhodesia would be

better for his tuberculosis. There is probably more in the book about Olley than any other Irishman but it is influenced too much by the supercilious comments of Doris Lessing in her communist phase; he was in fact a nicer and more rounded character: a great lover of music and virtually the only campaigning opponent against the death penalty in Rhodesia's history. Also the many references to his politics are misleading: the dating of the Reform Party is inaccurate, his role in national politics and relationship to Labour is confused, and the significance of his activities in local politics and civil society organisations (a sort of Libertarian Municipalism *avant la lettre*) is not explained.

Last but certainly not least, there is no recognition of his greatest success. After being forced to work twenty hours a day in a pharmacy without proper recompense during the Spanish Influenza epidemic, he became the prime mover in organising the Commercial Employees Association to obtain better working conditions. He persuaded a reluctant Company administration that such reform was necessary if the country was to progress; thus from 1920 to 1922 came a flurry of Ordinances on Bank Holidays, War Pensions, Shop Hours, Industrial Disputes and Workmen's Compensation. His hand was not in the drafting of all these reforms but it was his agitation that precipitated what was in effect a social revolution in White Southern Rhodesia, turning it in three to four years from a rough frontier society with few women into one where working-class settlers could make a normal family life.

But these few mistakes and omissions apart, the book passes the critical test of whether it makes readers think. And I hope some of our readers and members will now look at the other 'nations' of Southern Rhodesia; I am certainly going to look hard at Charles Olley from Belfast.

Mashonaland Branch Chairman's Annual Report presented to the 49th AGM



Welcome to our Branch Annual General Meeting.

I was elected Branch Chairman by the Committee on 18th June 2019. I would like to thank my predecessor, John Mc McCarthy for all the hard work he put into the success of the Branch during his time in office. Fortunately John is still very involved in our activities and I will say more about that later.

On 30 June 2019 Pierre Jaunet spoke to us about his purchase of a Catalina Flying boat which he then based on the Zambesi River at Victoria Falls. He operated charter services all over Africa and on occasion overseas. He followed the old Empire flying boat routes of 1930's and 40's. Some 80 members attended a well illustrated talk on a little known facet of our aviation and tourism history.

Well known member and presenter Benny Leon spoke to us on the history of and contribution of the Jewish community to Zimbabwe. As we have come to expect Benny presented a well illustrated talk including what was for me a moving extract from the film *Fiddler on the Roof*. The Jewish community now sadly very reduced in numbers made a major contribution to the life of this country in the fields of medicine, law, politics, commerce and industry. Eighty members attended.

August was our normal gap month—Due to the funeral of the late State president we postponed at fairly short notice the talk by Paul Hubbard scheduled for 15 September. Paul presented his talk on 26 January and it was well worth waiting for.

On 29 September Henrik Ellert addressed us on the early Portuguese in Zimbabwe. This is an area we have possibly neglected in the past and I hope we can in future learn more about the history of our interesting eastern neighbour and its relationship with this country. One hundred and twenty nine members attended a well presented talk.

Our next talk was a presentation by Advocate Jeremy Lewis on the events leading up to and the 1896 trial in London of Leander Starr Jameson and 12 others. The trial arose as a result of the infamous Jameson raid into the Transvaal from Bechuanaland. One hundred and two members attended an interesting presentation.

We followed this up with a visit on 17 November to REPS theatre to celebrate 90 years of the formation of REPS and the 60th Anniversary of the opening of the present theatre. A troop of REPS members on stage took us through the major events and some prominent personalities in the history of the Society. The presentation was followed up a tour backstage. I took a certain amount of criticism over this event which shows you cannot as Chairman please all of the people all of the time.

The final event of the calendar year was a talk on 4 December by Joe Woods on the Irish in early Mashonaland. Ninety people came along to hear our speaker detail the lives of four persons from Ireland who made a significant contribution in the early days of settlement. He traced their roots back into Ireland and the contribution they made in this country in a well researched talk laced with Irish humour.

On January 2020 we had Paul Hubbard's talk postponed from September. The title of the presentation was "A Pageant of Empire the burial of Cecil John Rhodes in the Matobo Hills World Heritage site". This was Part 1 and we look forward to Part 2 later this year. One hundred and sixty nine members gathered to hear what was a wonderful informative and dramatic presentation supported by historic photographs most of which I certainly haven't seen before. It was a memorable occasion.

Wild life is something most of our members are interested in and enjoy. On 1 March David Cumming took us back to the beginning of time and traced the relationship between man and

animals right up to the present. So much has been done in this country to preserve our wildlife after the wholesale slaughter of the late 1800s and early 1900s. However I got the feeling that once again the future of this most important natural asset is on a knife edge. One hundred and eighty eight members attended a very professional and well-presented talk.

A Society depends very much on its Committee for the success of its activities and I would like to thank them for the support they have given me.

Stan Fynes-Clinton has kept our branch financial records in impeccable form and insists on full accounting for all income and expenditure. Thank you so much Stan for a great effort which of course one would expect from an old school Civil Servant.

Charles Castelin has been very much in the limelight in his role as Membership and Communications member. We have for many years used Mango for sending out our notices and other communications and it has worked well. Mango suffered a major equipment breakdown and since then don't seem to have fully recovered from this, they have failed us badly. They haven't been able to distribute notices when requested and then some to other servers have dropped out and notices consequently have not been received by members. It has been a source of real frustration and I commend and thank Charles for all his efforts. Many would have given up long ago. We have decided to move away from Mango for the distribution of circulars and use Mail Chimp. Our thanks to David McAlister who is not a member for his help in setting up the Mail Chimp system. This system seems to be working well and I now hope our communication problems have been resolved. On behalf of the Society I apologise to all of you who have been inconvenienced by our failure to communicate properly. Hopefully this dark period is now behind us.

Doug Mc Clymont has kindly agreed to act as back up for Charles and you are asked to formally agree to his appointment to the Committee.

Tim Tanser has indicated to me that he wishes to stand down as a member of the Branch Committee. Tim has been a member since 1975 and I for one will greatly miss his enthusiasm and wise council based on all these years of experience. We all wish Tim well at this difficult time as he battles his health problems. Let us not forget Di who is always at his side quietly supporting him.

Alex Masterson sadly suffered a stroke and as a consequence hasn't been able to attend our Committee meetings but I am pleased to see him still attending our talks. Thank you Alex for your support.

John Mc McCarthy has continued to support the Committee. He arranges hall bookings for us at St Georges and operates the College's very modern sound and visual effects equipment. This results in excellent presentations and enhances the quality of our speaker's talks.

Special thanks to Julia Russell who does our Committee minutes in a very professional manner.

I would also like to acknowledge the Headmaster and staff of St Georges College for permitting us to use the excellent facilities at the College. It certainly imparts a professional edge to our activities.

The outreach programme conducted at Pleasant Ways has been on hold due mainly to the power problems that have beset us all. However Pleasant Ways have now agreed if necessary to run their generator for the duration of a presentation so hopefully this activity can resume in the near future.

May I also thank Jenny who does my typing and puts up with me when I am in history mode at home. Without her support I would be lost.

Turning now to the future: We will continue to do our best to provide interesting talks on topics of local historical interest. There is so much historical matter out there to be researched and covered in presentations.

The one issue which concerns me is that the general membership and especially our committee members are all ageing. We have had some younger folk at our talks recently and we need to make a big effort to encourage them to take a more active role in our Society. I know it is not easy as the younger generation face huge family and employment pressures especially in our current environment. I would appeal to them to come forward. The Committee meets about 8-9 times a year and we do try to keep the duration of meetings to an hour during the lunch hour.

It remains for me to thank your Committee and all our members for the tremendous support we have received during the year. When I see a full hall at the start of a talk it gives great satisfaction and a feeling that we are meeting our member's wishes.

Thank you, R. D. Taylor

The National Chairman's Annual Report for 2019-2020



Good morning members and adherents of the History Society,

Regrettably I am out of the country for medical treatment and have asked my deputy Kevin Atkinson to read this on my behalf.

No one can deny that 2019 into the current year has been an extraordinarily tough time in Zimbabwe. But in tough times, tough people make extraordinary things happen.

I am proud therefore of all that the Society has achieved this past year in spite of the state of the nation.

There can be no doubt that the constant organization of wide, diverse and fascinating talks is a tremendous triumph for the Mashonaland Branch Committee under the excellent chairmanship of Robin Taylor. Robin's separate report will deal with this aspect in detail but I record the thanks of all of us for these successful endeavours.

This will be an appropriate time to discuss the question raised from time to time querying the need of or rationale behind having a National Committee as well as a Mashonaland branch committee.

The background to this is that in bygone years, there were very active Matabeleland and Manicaland branches in addition to the Mashonaland Branch. Each branch was required to look after its own affairs and finances and to arrange its own outings and talks. Now, under the aegis of the History Society, only the Mashonaland Branch does this although in Bulawayo there are many activities organized through the Bulawayo museum.

The National Committee concentrates on matters entirely different from those of the branch. In particular it oversees the publication and sales of our journal, *Heritage* of Zimbabwe; arranges for sponsorship for the journal; monitors and maintains the financial aspects; considers membership, communications, publicity and maintaining the Society's website and arranges the annual luncheon.

The time given to all these responsibilities is significant and I have no doubt this division of functions has and continues to operate in the best interests of the Society.

One matter which has been discussed at length is that of making available *Heritage* of Zimbabwe and its predecessor, *Rhodesiana* (forty volumes) on our website. Should that be achieved, then the question was should access to this wealth of information be available free of charge or not?

After much discussion, the decision was taken to arrange for scanning of all *Rhodesiana* as well as back numbers of *Heritage* (all but the current three volumes) and for these to be available free of charge.

In essence it was felt that the wealth of information contained in our journals, seventy eight of them up until now, was of such worth that it should be easily accessible to all

who might have an interest in the history of our own country.

Talking of *Heritage*, Fraser Edkins, our editor, has Number 39 all ready for printing. As you can imagine the tumultuous financial factors at play in the economy made it difficult to settle on a cost but this has now been resolved and printing is shortly to occur.

During this past year, three of the most prolific contributors to our Society have passed away. The first of these was Colin Saunders of the Lowveld. Colin was an affectionado of everything in the Lowveld and over many years wrote and spoke on all the tremendous characters who built up that part of Zimbabwe and who contributed to its extraordinary development over the years.

The second was Mike Kimberley. Mike joined the Society in its infancy in the 1950s. He held every position of responsibility over his many years of association but his greatest legacy to the Society is his editorship of the journal for a staggering eighteen of our journals. In addition to his superb editorship, Mike was a meticulous recorder of the history of the Society and maintaining records of all the office bearers over the years.

The third was Bert Rosettenstein, he of the stentorian voice. Over many years Bert held all the positions of leadership in the Society and he was always one to volunteer to undertake any work that was required to be done for the smooth running and benefit of the Society.

To the families of Colin, Mike and Bert we offer our condolences but also thank them for the outstanding contribution that these three men made to our cause.

Our annual luncheon was a smaller affair than usual this past year, again as a result of the financial vagaries of our country. Those who attended were however well treated to sumptuous fare by Cresta Lodge as well as an excellent talk by Dave Grant, senior master of Falcon College, on the arrival of the Matabele.

I have been most fortunate this past year to have been able to lean upon my committee members to assist and advise on many of the matters which arose. In particular I thank my deputy Kevin Atkinson and my predecessor John McCarthy for their unstinting support. I am grateful also to Professor Ray Roberts who guided us though the discussion and decisions on the publication of journals on the website; to Charles Castelin for keeping the communication side of the Society going under some trying circumstances; Fraser Edkins for his excellent editorship of our journal and Robin Taylor for guiding the Mashonaland Branch .

Our treasurer, Adele Hamilton Ritchie has done sterling work to track the finances of the Society. Sadly she has indicated that she wishes to stand down from this post and I earnestly appeal for any member of a financial disposition to consider taking on this essential responsibility.

My period of office as chairman now comes to a close. I thank you for the honour you have accorded me over these past years. The History Society has been an intimate and substantial part of my life for the past half century and more. I am proud of all that it has achieved and shall, by God's grace, continue to achieve in the years ahead.

Thank you
Tim Tanser