

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

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

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



Editor's Foreword

This is the 40th annual volume of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* and our 80th volume since your Society began to publish some 65 years ago, (somewhat delayed in its release due to your Editor's involuntary indisposition for most of 2021).

This edition leads with an impressive, well-researched, handy and valuable record of the 1980 elections by regular contributor Paul Hubbard, one of our two leading historians living south of the Shangani, (into which great time and effort has clearly been put).

Equally well-researched is our second article, on the earliest visitors to the Victoria Falls, a labour of love by leading historian Mike Tucker, now living in London but still a prolific contributor to your Society. Mike's web-site zimfieldguide.com is widely considered the leading site for material on the heritage of our country – indeed we could fill every edition of *Heritage* solely with his output – and it is highly recommended to our readers.

A short piece follows on the history of Government House, which we trust will be of interest.

Geoff Brakspear completes his excellent two-part story (see *Heritage* 35) on his forebears, the Sanderson and Clayton families, in an engaging record of two characterful and valuable contributors to the development of commerce in Salisbury in its pioneer days.

Your Editor has yet to encounter a member more knowledgeable than Robin Taylor on matters of trains and transport in Zimbabwe and Robin's article on early road motor services is a most welcome addition to that aspect of our heritage.

A short but most absorbing article follows from the pen of Rob Burrett (our other man south of the river) on his investigation into the Franklin graves.

Your Editor's comments on Robin Taylor apply equally to Peter Fey with regard to geology and the geological survey history of Zimbabwe. Immense research goes into his written work for *Heritage*, (which we anticipate will be included in book form in the not-too distant future). In this edition Peter flawlessly describes the Zam-Tiki expedition down the Zambezi (led by the late Alex Siemers) and the stories of the 8th Director of the Geological Survey and the laws of extra-lateral mining rights.

New contributor Sheila Kabell writes of the work of her late husband the renowned Terence Colin (T. C.) Kabell in "One of the Dam Men," (a "dam" man very worthy of her tribute, who was involved in the design and construction of many of the finest dams and other waterways in our country).

Chris Halse contributes the first part of a history of lake shipping on Kariba with the story of the conception, construction and delivery (from Sicily) of the hydrofoil *Sea-Flight* (and, locally built, her sister ship the car ferry *Seahorse*). More on this subject will appear in *Heritage* 41. Much commendable work went into this intriguing article which will certainly be of great interest to readers, in particular those who have travelled the vessels.

Part One of the story of Marcel Mitton is next, a Frenchman who first moved to Zimbabwe in 1904 and made his home and fortune here, (being one of the founders of Radio Limited as well as other enterprises). His son was the well-known accountant, Tony Mitton. It is compiled from his writings by Noeline Barry and of necessity, due to



its length, quite heavily further edited, for which your Editor hopes he will be forgiven if he has not selected captivating and less well-known aspects of life in the early days. (The whole diary is available for perusal by those interested). Part 2 will appear in *Heritage* 41.

George Hindley and Benny Leon (our expert on all matters Kadoma) provide a fine tribute to the life of Samuel Hasson, a workhorse and devoted family man who, from humble beginnings, made a great success of his life through sheer hard work, mostly in the Midlands.

New contributor Ross Cooper writes fondly of his youth in Chipinge – his mother taught at the primary school and his father was the local vet – and he invites identification of certain of his finds as a boy collecting artifacts in the bush around his home.

Well-known agronomist Dr Doug McClymont (with whose writings readers will of late be familiar from our Society Chatline) makes a first, and impressive, appearance in *Heritage*, with an exhaustive history of the registration of pesticides in Zimbabwe over the last half century, a topic very valuable in that, as far as your Editor is aware, it has not before now been covered in any composite detail.

Another new contributor is Morag Flight (whose hospitality and beautiful garden have been enjoyed recently by those attending her Garden Club talk in 2021 and the March 2022 Annual General Meeting). Morag has been very active for many years in Garden Club matters, both in Zimbabwe and overseas, (flying the flag most successfully). Her account, often amusing, will be much appreciated, (albeit that our black and white magazine makes impossible the reproduction of the many colourful creations of the ladies of the Garden Club over the years).

Another new contributor, Peter White, (Emeritus Professor in Public Transport Systems at the University of Westminster) provides a detailed and most accomplished article on rural and long-distance bus transport in Zimbabwe, a welcome addition to what your Editor believes is a very limited field of locally published knowledge on that particular topic. We look forward to more from Peter in future.

We close with Robin Taylor's tribute to the late Bill Sykes, two incisive book reviews by Paul Hubbard and the annual reports of your Chairmen.

Your Editor, as always, pays tribute to his secretary Felicity Naidoo for her invaluable help, to the expert and inimitable Rhona Chapman, whose patience and skill as a typesetter ensures the appearance each year of the Society Journal, to the authors without whose knowledge and great efforts the production every year of a journal of quality would also not be possible, and to our sponsors and donors, in particular the ever-generous Duncan Clarke and Ray Roberts, (and those of our members who faithfully purchase the journal) not forgetting cash contributions from our Mashonaland Branch, for their support and, again, without whom, the wherewithal for your journal could not elsewhere be found.

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A Dream to be Deferred: Zimbabwe's First Elections and Independence Celebrations

by Paul Hubbard



At midnight on April 17, 1980, Zimbabwe was born. As the Union Jack was lowered, the last vestige of British rule in Africa came to a sudden end. Canaan Banana was sworn in as Zimbabwe's first president and, in turn, administered the oath of office to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, whose Zanu-PF party had at the end of February swept to a landslide victory in British-supervised elections. Here I briefly explore the mechanics of the first election in 1980 and the Independence celebrations.

Introduction

The landmark Lancaster House Conference had created a consensus amongst the protagonists which laid out the necessary conditions for peace. The ceasefire agreed that all hostilities would conclude on 28 December 1979, and the liberation forces had until 4 January 1980, to enter the rendezvous points. From there they would be taken to one of 16 Assembly Points (APs) to wait for elections. Lord Soames, the man destined to be the last colonial ruler of Zimbabwe, had arrived in the country on 12 December 1979, with the unenviable task of melding a polarised and war-torn nation into a democratic and peaceful society.

Soames's job was made all the more difficult by the fact that Zimbabwe effectively had four armies, as well as the police, roaming about, all with conflicting loyalties and political affiliations. These included:

Zanla (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army), the military arm of Robert Mugabe's Zanu (Zimbabwe African National Union), commanded by Rex Nhongo (Solomon Mujuru) and numbering about 21 000 inside the country and about 5 000 in Mozambique

Zipra (Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army), the military arm of Joshua Nkomo's Zapu (Zimbabwe African People's Union), commanded by Dumiso Dabengwa and numbering about 8 000 inside the country and 9 000 in Zambia the Rhodesian army and air force, commanded by Peter Walls and numbering about 17 000 regulars and about 58 000 territorials

About 26 000 uniformed 'auxiliaries' (*Pfumo Revanhu* or Spear of the People), initially the private army of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's UANC (United African National Council) but, by early 1980, nominally under Walls's command.

BSAP (British South Africa Police), numbering 8 000 plus 35 000 reservists, were assigned responsibility for maintaining civilian law and order.

Soames had precious little in his arsenal to contain this simmering powder keg. The Ceasefire Monitoring Force (CMF) consisted of 1 300 men, selected by the British from the Commonwealth countries of Australia, Fiji, Kenya and New Zealand as well

as the UK. They were deployed within a week of the signing of the agreement, with the assistance of the US Air Force, before being taken to their lonely posts in completely unknown territory. Their task was to monitor the guerrillas in the Assembly Points as well as the Rhodesian Joint Operational Commands, provide logistical support for the APs and defuse tensions between the Rhodesians and liberation forces, who had little reason to trust each other. They monitored the peacefully increasing numbers of guerrillas in the APs with palpable relief; if hostilities had resumed they would have been caught in the middle, almost defenceless. It was an unenviable task, as much a public relations mission as a respect and confidence building exercise and, by all accounts, they handled their duty with a level of skill and tact more commonly associated with diplomats than soldiers.

Life in the Country: A Snapshot of 1980

Writing in mid-1980, visiting scholar, Kevin Danaher, said, “The first-time visitor to Salisbury cannot help but be impressed by the exceptionally clean and modern downtown area. The well-kept parks and spotless boulevards put any city in the United States to shame. Supermarket shelves are well stocked, and the near total absence of beggars makes one wonder if this is in fact part of the African continent.” This was only one side of the story, however, since the urban areas had remained largely untouched by the war, in stark contrast to the rural areas, where policies such as *Operation Turkey*, had systematically deprived rural populations of food supplies. This was in addition to the brutal violence regularly meted out to the rural population by both sides. Danaher continued: “If one stays inside the downtown area and its rich suburbs, one can easily miss the ugly truth that millions of people in this relatively affluent nation are suffering from malnutrition and that whole communities have been destroyed by starvation.” A 1979 study by the International Red Cross found that malnutrition rates in Rhodesia ranged from 13% to 29%, depending on the area. Rene Kosirnik, then head of the Red Cross delegation, estimated that roughly one-quarter of the entire population was suffering from malnutrition.

One of the striking features of 1980 is that when looking at pictures of stores in the various areas around the country—in particular the rural areas—one cannot help but be impressed by the stock levels and full shelves. And mostly with locally-made products at that. In early February, when announcing a potential £200 mln a year trade deal with Rhodesia, the British Confederation of Industries claimed Rhodesia had 90% self-sufficiency in all sectors. Real per capita income in 1980 was R\$184, although this was marred by high economic dualism; there were huge inequalities in wealth distribution between racial groups and rural-urban inhabitants. During the years of white rule, this had become entrenched by political factors, institutional considerations and systems of land tenure. The wage or money sector was almost exclusively controlled by about 220 000 whites, responsible for almost 90% of GDP, operating alongside some 2 750 000 blacks contributing the rest of GDP mainly in the form of output for their own use. However, to see these as separate systems masks the complex inter-relationships, feedback and linkage effects that made these sectors thoroughly interdependent.



Percentage of Gross Domestic Product by Industry of Origin

	1954	1965	1980
Agriculture	22.8	18.3	12.5
Manufacturing	14.7	19.4	25.2
Mining	8.6	6.9	8.3
Construction	7.9	4.6	3.0
Public Administration	3.9	5.6	10.6
Distribution/hotels	13.9	15.0	12.4
Other Services	28.2	30.2	28.4

This table exaggerates the role of manufacturing at expense of agriculture and mining because processing of grains, tobacco, cotton, sugar and certain minerals was classified as manufacturing which obscured the extent to which the country was reliant on primary production. Also interesting is the growth of Public Administration which included defence, reflecting the growing impact of the war.

In 1980, Zimbabwe's population was 7.1 mln people, the labour force containing 2.75 mln people, just over half of whom earned their livelihood from non-wage agricultural activity in the subsistence economy. Formal sector employment was 1.01 mln (still below the 1975 record of 1.050 mln), while another 100 000 had casual seasonal or contract employment in agriculture. These figures show that in 1980 some 92% of the labour force was employed, albeit it at mostly menial levels, leaving an unemployment rate of 7.5%. However dark clouds were on the horizon: the labour force was estimated to grow at 2.9% a year, meaning at least 150 000 new jobs were needed a year to maintain the employment rate—a daunting task for the new administration.

The exchange rate on was R\$1:US\$1.54 on April 17, slipping to R\$1:US\$1.44 on April 22, 1980. Rhodesia's exports, including gold, in 1979 were to the value of \$700 mln, while imports were \$585 mln. Inflation in 1979 was measured at 11% thanks to higher oil prices but also owing to the effects of the war and international sanctions. As to prices, *The Herald* cost 10c, *The Chronicle* was 9c, a full English breakfast with kippers at the Ambassador Hotel in Salisbury was 50c—the same price as an average classified ad in any newspaper. A lunchtime braai at Bulawayo's Holiday Inn would set you back R\$2.35 (children, half-price), a citrus tree seedling was 20c from the government nursery, a WRS FM Radio/Tape combination player cost R\$132 or you could buy the same radio type but with two speakers from Supersonic for R\$131. A leather handbag was R\$15.99 in the shop and the cheapest summer dress was R\$12. The first week of tobacco sales in April 1980 yielded an average price of 84c/kg. Sedan cars sold for an average R\$2 500 if in good condition, and it cost R\$2 to get into a domestic football match, or R\$4 for VIP.

Major Exports 1980

	Value Z\$ Million	Share in Total Exports
Tobacco	123	13.6
Gold	115	12.7
Ferro-alloys	88	9.7
Asbestos	80	8.9
Iron & steel	73	8.1
Cotton	57	6.3
Nickel	53	5.9
Sugar	47	5.2
Copper	25	2.8
Meat	19	2.0

This table highlights the high dependence of Zimbabwe on primary production. Exports and imports were dominated South Africa, while Europe – especially West Germany – received the lion’s share of overseas exports.

Maintaining the Ceasefire and The Coup That Never Was

In the week between the agreement being signed at Lancaster House on 21 December, and the ceasefire taking effect, over 100 people had been killed in the war. The death toll the following week was down to a handful, although intermittent “contacts” (as the battles between the Rhodesian security forces and the Zipra or Zanla fighters were known) continued until the end of March. Although fragile and far from perfect, the implementation of the ceasefire had at least created a climate which allowed elections to be held. For example, according to not-wholly-reliable Rhodesian statistics, between the end of December and the elections in February, 290 people were killed—an average of five a day. Based on the figures for the last three months of 1979, had the ceasefire not been in operation, the number of dead during the period would probably have exceeded 3 500.

Despite the favourable climate created at the beginning of the ceasefire by the smooth assembly process and the considerable drop in the level of military activity, the British authorities soon agreed to the redeployment of the Rhodesian forces throughout the country, even though the agreement had stated that all military forces should be confined to barracks. This was a controversial decision by Soames who partly justified his action claiming they had the training and equipment to get the job done. The “auxiliary forces” roamed the country at will, occupying several of the regions previously controlled by Patriotic Front forces who were now in the assembly areas. Later research has shown these forces were responsible for innumerable violations of the letter and the spirit of the agreement.

The Ceasefire Commission, delegated to investigate breaches, investigated well over 200 incidents between January and March 1980, with the Zanu-PF army, Zanla, allegedly responsible for more than half. The management of the ceasefire was totally dependent on the Rhodesian Forces, especially Muzorewa’s auxiliaries. Ceasefire monitors never left the bases where they were stationed, but relied on reports from the Rhodesian Forces on ceasefire violations, and the Governor’s official briefings to the international press corps were based solely on these reports. As a result almost all cease fire violations



reported by the Governor were attributed to the Patriotic Front parties.

The run-up to the elections was a time of great tension and mass violence. The final ceasefire commission communiqué, published in *The Herald* of 23 February 1980, attributed the following total number of breaches, and incitements to breach: of Rhodesian Security Forces 2 and 12; Zanla 99 and 35 reported in former Zanla operational areas; Zipra 24 and 12 in former Zipra operational areas; bandits 17; unattributable 18. In the siege-like atmosphere created by the continuation of martial law regulations and the omnipresent military uniforms and arms, it is no wonder that violence continued throughout the election campaigning. The catalogue of intimidation, arrests and detention, illegal campaigning and dirty tricks was a long one. What was clear was that the rural population was mobilised and, often, bludgeoned into supporting the guerrilla army and political party active in their area.

There was a sense of outrage among the ranking military officers over events in January and February. Fearful that Zanla and Zipra were establishing a stronger position for themselves than before the ceasefire, the real danger of a coup presented itself—and some even began to actively plan for such. General Walls was aware of the dissatisfaction and his own frustrations led him to exclaim that it would be better “to blow the whole thing and get back to the war and bring the South Africans in”. Walls calmed down but many in the army were unsure, fearful or antagonistic. The assassination attempts on Mugabe are perhaps the clearest evidence of these plans. As one young Rhodesian army conscript put it, it was not “Britain has pulled it off”, but, rather, “You Traitors. You have sold us out.” With the password ‘Tally Ho the Fox’, the plan was to attack and destroy the main combatant assembly points, lightly guarded by the CMF. Attempts would be made to blame it all on Zanla and Zanu (PF), to have them banned from participating in the election and forge an alliance with any of the other political parties left standing.

On 14 February, the day of voting for the contested white seats, Salisbury was hit by bomb blasts that all-but destroyed the Presbyterian Chapel in Jameson Avenue (now Samora Machel) and Kingsmead Chapel in Borrowdale. The next day police disarmed another bomb outside the Salisbury Catholic Cathedral and found anti-Christian literature purporting to be by Zanu, obviously an attempt by the security forces to discredit the party. Even more ominous, attempts were made on Mugabe’s life, including gunfire attacks on his house (injuring two of his nephews) and a botched explosion meant to destroy his car as it entered Masvingo. Other plots included spiking a microphone with explosives in Bulawayo and an assassin waiting with a rifle near Gweru.

A false issue of the magazine, *Moto*, appeared on the last Saturday before the elections, carrying an inaccurate and defamatory profile of Mugabe that claimed, among other things, that he was a mummy’s boy with the nickname *nzvenga mutswairo* (to dodge the broom). On 24 February, the day after the *Moto* forgery was exposed, the paper’s presses were destroyed in a bomb blast, with another attempt to make it look like a revenge attack by Zanu (PF) forces. In the final week before the election, *Moto*—the only newspaper in the country to fully endorse and forecast a Mugabe election victory—was unable to publish.

The Logistical Lead-up to Elections

The electoral system used for the 1980 election was proportional representation. This

was based on the party list system, according to which seats in the National Assembly were allocated in proportion to the number of votes that each contesting party won in each of the country's eight provinces. A threshold of 5% was used for allocating seats in each province. This system was abandoned in the 1985 elections and replaced with the single member district or first-past-the-post, winner-takes-all system. Twenty members of the House of Assembly were to be elected by the 'white roll' comprising those people (mostly white) who had previously qualified to vote. This election was conducted in 20 single member constituencies which had been drawn up by a Delimitation Commission in 1978 and were the same as those used in the 1979 'internal settlement' election. Voters who were registered on the white roll were ineligible to participate in the common roll election.

Initially 10 political parties were registered but only nine actually took part in the polls. These were the NDU—National Democratic Union (Henry Chihota), NFZ—National Front of Zimbabwe (Peter Mandaza), PF—Patriotic Front (Joshua Nkomo), UANC—United African National Council (Bishop Abel Muzorewa), UNFP—United National Federal Party (Chief Kayisa Ndiweni), UPAM—United People's Association of Matabeleland (Dr Frank Bernard), ZANU—Zimbabwe African National Union (the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole), ZANU (PF)—Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Robert Mugabe), and the ZDP—Zimbabwe Democratic Party (James Chikerema).

After his removal as party leader in 1976, Ndabaningi Sithole continued to claim to be the leader of Zanu, ahead of Mugabe. He registered his party as Zanu during the 1979 elections, winning a handful of seats and thus establishing a precedent for his legal and political claim to the name. Thus, in 1980, it was almost impossible for Mugabe to run as Zanu. The major question at the end of 1979 was whether Nkomo and Mugabe would contest the elections jointly as the Patriotic Front (PF) or as their individual parties. Senior Zanu officials claimed this alliance would cost them votes in Mashonaland, as well as obscure the truth in the debate about which party had the larger support base (and, thus, the strongest hold on power) in the country. Nkomo, hoping the decision would win him votes and promote unity, registered the name of his party as the Patriotic Front (PF), temporarily dropping the name Zapu. Mugabe, thus unable to choose either Zanu or PF, chose the amalgamation Zanu (PF).

The first election symbol chosen by Zanu (PF) was a crossed hoe and AK-47 assault rifle, but this was rejected by the Electoral Commission for being inflammatory and warlike. This decision of course conveniently ignored the use of so-called traditional weapons by other parties, such as the spear and *knobkerrie* of the UANC. The crossed hoe and gun had been used by Zanu for many years and being forced to choose a new one was a great inconvenience in a country where much of the electorate was functionally illiterate and would rely on the symbol to show them where to put their "X". A cockerel in front of a rising sun was eventually selected and approved, signifying a new dawn in the politics of the country and heralding true independence for the majority. Hardly an innovative African motif, the simple rooster became an attention-grabber thanks to elaborate efforts of well-paid graphic artists. Soon, thousands of people were wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the symbol and moving their arms in imitation of a cockerel flapping its wings. "Cock-a-doodle-doo!" even became the official greeting for party supporters before the elections! The symbol may still be seen on the top of the Zanu-PF



building in Harare, completed in 1990.

In the areas under the sway of Zanla and, thus, Zanu (PF), an intricate network of people's committees from village to branch to district level had been elected and taken on specialist functions, having liaised with the guerrillas for years. This network, aided by *mujibas* (usually youngsters who acted as eyes and ears for the guerrillas), was largely unappreciated by the authorities and the observer group. Most outsiders were ignorant of this grassroots political system but it played a crucial role in organising voting.

From today's perspective, it is fascinating to note that there was a lack of inter-party debate over policy issues. All were agreed, for example, upon the need for free primary school education, major improvements in the health service and the necessity to provide better housing for all. Much of the campaigning was, therefore, focused on the personalities and liberation war service of the candidate—a corrosive, parochial mentality Zanu-PF has been unable to escape, even until the present day.

The election was run by the National Election Directorate who relied mainly on members of the Rhodesian civil service for their manpower requirements. There were 657 polling stations set up across the country—119 static, 23 mobile in the urban areas and 216 static and 298 mobile in rural areas. This favourably compares to the 685 polling stations used in 1979 but with far more mobile stations—encased in protective mine-proofed vehicles—in operation. There were over 200 official election observers from 30 countries, as well as countless journalists, unofficial observers and spectators travelling around the country. A two-stage counting of votes was planned—ballots were to be first counted “face down” in the eight provincial centres before going forward to the final count. This was done to ensure that no one could know exactly how each district voted and thus avoid reprisals from the winners—or losers. Every party was banned from singing, dancing and carrying placards within 100m of any polling station.

The 1980 elections for the black electorate were remarkable in that there was no voter's roll (a legacy of white Rhodesian indifference to the black electorate) and to qualify to vote was ridiculously easy compared to today's endurance rally. All you needed—as an adult male—were identity documents showing you were over 18 years old and either a citizen, born in the country or had lived in Rhodesia for more than two years. If your wife (or wives) had none of these, she (or they) could use that of their husband, provided he had been found eligible to vote. Fluorescent ink was used to mark voters' hands and prevent repeat voting. The 1979 elections had created a useful precedent—a test-run if you will—and many people were familiar with the intricacies of the methods of voting. What was crucial, however, was that the electorate really believed that the ballot was secret. Without this, it is possible that the weight of security force intimidation and economic pressures exerted by employers would probably have worked to reduce turnout.

Each of the leaders held massive rallies in Salisbury's Highfield Township at Zimbabwe Grounds, and to an extent these provided a barometer for the public mood. Sithole attracted a small crowd and, while Muzorewa had a fairly large turnout, there was a marked lack of enthusiasm once the free food and drink had been consumed. Joshua Nkomo attracted a huge crowd, but by far the most massive crowd yet seen in the country was that reserved for Robert Mugabe's triumphant return to his homeland. In fact the crowd at Zimbabwe Grounds on 27 January, was larger than the entire

white population of the country at the time. The media campaign was a three-way battle between Zanu (PF), PF and the UANC. Muzorewa's campaign was definitely the more lavish, aiming to dazzle the target market with style rather than substance. The contrast between the high profile, Western-style media of Muzorewa's campaign was never more obvious than the comparison of their headquarters—Muzorewa at the luxurious Monomotapa Hotel while Zanu (PF) was comfortably ensconced in rundown, workmanlike quarters at 88 Manica Road.

Voting Begins, 14 February, 27–29 1980

On 14 February, 20 House of Assembly members were elected by voters registered on the White Rolls. The Rhodesian Front of Ian Smith won all these seats, 14 of them unopposed. Future Minister of Health, Dr Timothy Stamps standing as an Independent, lost the Kopje seat in Salisbury to Dennis Divaris, but with the highest vote for any non-Rhodesian Front candidate.

Voting in Zimbabwe's first majority elections started on 27 February. Standing in enormous queues, 886 482 people cast their vote on the first day. Mugabe, reportedly supremely confident of victory, left for talks with Mozambican President Samora Machel and Tanzanian leader, Julius Nyerere, after casting his vote. He had, along with the other party leaders, cast his ballot in his home constituency of Mashonaland East. Abel Muzorewa symbolically signed his ballot with the same pen he used to sign the Lancaster House Agreement. On the second day of polling, the turnout reached 2 028 586 beating the final figure for the 1979 elections. By the end of the third day, 2 649 529 people had cast their vote—an unprecedented level of turnout, far exceeding the 1.87 mln turnout over five days of polling in 1979.

A peaceful transition of power was not genuinely anticipated. The results, which produced a transition to Independence under a government of the two wings of the Patriotic Front, surprised almost everyone. There was a feeling that the divisions which had led the two wings of the Patriotic Front to fight the elections as separate parties, plus the pressures from Rhodesian security and British officials who were running the elections, would produce another puppet regime or a stalemate, prescriptions for a neo-colonial state or for violent turmoil.

There is a question of whether the effect of brief but intense political events on the activities of any Stock Exchange is overrated. During the Lancaster House Conference the Rhodesian Stock Exchange (RSE) steadily climbed, later helped by high mineral prices (especially gold) as well as the announcement of duty-free access to the European Common Market from March. Nevertheless, some settling occurred as political events unfolded. On 12 February, for example, the Industrials stood at 343.74, 48.84 points below its 8 January, peak, a 12.5% drop. The Minings index fell 18.86 points (7.1%) to 249.83. In early March, the RSE took a drastic downturn after nervous speculation that Zanu (PF) had won the election but brokers dismissed the anxieties saying the market had to settle after the upturn before elections. This was reflected on the day results were announced, when shares firmed after falling due to the initial shock of a Zanu (PF) victory, closing the day 10 points (2.9%) down on 346.41. International opinion on the London bourse was not as sanguine, as Rhodesian government bonds 1965–70 fell from £123 to £110 while Lonrho shares fell 8p to 103p. In February, the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Dollar (as it was known) was worth US\$1.47 and ZAR1.23. In early March, it was revalued down by 4% against all currencies except the rand to make imports cheaper



and eliminate the cross-rates gap.

Companies Listed on RSE, February 1980

Industrial Financial & Commercial		Mining & Mining Financial	
Internal	External	Internal	External
Afdis, Art, BAT, Border, Cairns, Capri, CAPS, Gulliver, H&S, HiPaper, Hippo, J&F, Kingston, Maceys, Mash, Merlin, Morewear, M&R, Nat Foods, N/Chart, P&C, PGI, PP Cement, Porthold, Radar, Risco, Rho-Ab, RAL, Rhobank, Rhobus, Rhocable, Rhoplow, Rhotread, Riotrust, Rothmans, RSR, SPC, Schweppes, TA Holdings, Tanganda, Tedco, Tinto Industries, TSL, Wilbrik	Blantyre, Emray	Bindura, Coros, Empress, Falcon, Mangula, Rio Tinto, Shangani, Wankie,	Anglo, Lonrho, Welkom

Producing the Election Results

The results were announced on 4 March, at 0900, by Rhodesian Registrar of Elections, Eric Pope-Symonds. Zanu (PF) won 57 seats while the PF (Nkomo) won 20. The UANC, which had won 51 out of 72 seats reserved for Africans in elections the previous year, won only three, despite massive financial and organisational backing from Rhodesian whites, from South Africa and from international business, as well as overwhelming pressure to support the Bishop's party exerted by the Rhodesian security apparatus. It was later said to be one of the "least cost effective electoral battles ever fought in Africa, several million pounds sown, reaped a mere three seats." Unofficial reports have Muzorewa's electoral campaign costing £3 million, £1 million per seat won!

Party	Total Votes Cast	Seats
NDU	15 056	-
NFZ	18 794	-
PF	638 879	20
UANC	219 307	3
UNFP	5 796	-
UPAM	1 181	-
ZANU	53 343	-
ZANU (PF)	1 668 992	57
ZDP	28 181	-
Total Valid Votes	2 649 529	80
Spoilt Votes	52 746	
Total Poll	2 702 275	

Election Results, 1980

Manicaland			Mashonaland Central		
Party	Votes	Seats	Party	Votes	Seats
NDU	1 837	-	NDU	1 216	-
NFZ	1 283	-	NFZ	1 086	-
PF	4992	-	PF	3 947	-
UANC	19 608	-	UANC	14 985	-
ZANU	16 843	-	UNFP	914	-
ZANU (PF)	263 972	11	ZANU	3671	-
ZDP	5 251	-	ZANU (PF)	146 665	6
			ZDP	2 446	-

Candidates: ZANU (PF)—K. Kangai,
M. Nyagumbo, D. Mutasa, W. Ndangana,
F. Shava, V. Chitepo, N. P. Nshewatwa,
M. Mahachi, T. Dube, C. Makoni,
E. Sanyangare

Candidates: ZANU (PF)—
E. Z. Tekere, T. R. Nhongo,
F. J. Masango, S. Sekeramayo,
G. Rutanhire, J. Kapanidza

Mashonaland East			Matabeleland North		
NFZ	1 668	-	NDU	1 840	-
NDU	2 359	-	NFZ	4 517	-
PF	28 805	-	PF	313 435	9
UANC	75 237	2	UANC	30 274	-
UNFP	1 593	-	UNFP	1 340	-
ZANU	9 499	-	UPAM	729	-
ZANU (PF)	508 813	14	ZANU	3 218	-
ZDP	4 466	-	ZANU (PF)	39 819	1
			ZDP	1 333	-

Candidates: ZANU (PF)—R. G. Mugabe, M. Dube,
R. Marere, W. Mangwende,
M. Mvenge, E. Shirihuru, E. Pswarayi,
G. Ziyenge, P. Muranbiwa, J. Hunda,
H. Nyazika, G. Chidyasika, A. Kabasa,
S. Rambanepasi
UANC—A. T. Muzorerwa,
S. C. Mundawarara

Candidates: PF—V. Moyo,
D. Mangena, S. Malunga,
J. Ntuta, J. Nkomo, D. Ngwenya,
R. Chinamano, J. Ngwenya,
T. V. Lesabe
ZANU (PF)—H. Ushewokunze

Mashonaland West			Matabeleland South		
NDU	2 211	-	NDU	927	
NFZ	2 589	-	NFZ	2 494	
PF	37 888	1	PF	148 745	6
UANC	28 728	1	UANC	5 615	
ZANU	4 688	-	UNFP	619	
ZANU (PF)	203 567	6	UPAM	452	
ZDP	3 261	-	ZANU	694	
			ZANU (PF)	11 787	
			ZDP	775	

Candidates: ZANU(PF) – R. Manyika, J. Chivaura, E.
Chikowore, N. Shamyarira, S. Mombeshore,
A. Mudzingwa
PF – A.M. Chambati
UANC – T.G. Mukarati

Candidates: PF – T.G. Silundika, S. Nkomo,
E. Ndlovu, B.Mguni, C. Ndlovu, P. Njini



Midlands			Victoria		
NDU	2 218	-	NDU	2 448	-
NFZ	3 087	-	NFZ	2 070	-
PF	94 960	4	PF	8 107	-
UANC	30 245	-	UANC	14 615	-
UNFP	1 330	-	ZANU	8 938	-
ZANU	5 792	-	ZANU (PF)	285 277	11
ZANU (PF)	209 092	8	ZDP	7 262	-
ZDP	3 387	-			

Candidates: ZANU (PF) – S. V. Muzenda, R. C. Hove, E. R. Kadungure, W. Munangangwa, S. Makoni, S. Mumbengewi, J. Zvobgo, S. E. Mativenga
PF – J. Nkomo, C. Muchachi, C. Msipa, W. Kona

Candidates: ZANU (PF) – M. Urimbo, E. Zvobgo, D. Mutumbuka, S. Taruvisa, N. Makombe, S. Mazorodze, J. B. Moyo, O. Munyaradzi, N. Mawema, D. Maraire, A. Taderera

Western journalists and other commentators offered two contrasting explanations for the results of the 1980 elections in Zimbabwe. The defeat of the UANC by the PF parties was explained in terms of immediate and short-term intimidation. On the other hand, the victory of Zanu (PF) over Joshua Nkomo's PF was explained in terms of mythical, primordial history. The Shona and the Ndebele, it was held, were divided by 'traditional' tribal history and in the elections the majority Shona voted for Mugabe and the minority Ndebele voted for Nkomo. This confused legacy remains to this day and in no way helps to explain the results of the 1980, or subsequent elections.

In an interview immediately after the results were known, Mugabe said "We feel very indebted to the people of Zimbabwe for having given us this support, we will live up to their expectations as much as we can. We are also very happy that our allies in the PF, Zapu, have done well and they have come second which means really that the whole contest was between the two components of the PF". Nkomo accepted the outcome, saying "This is what we struggled for and have accomplished ... We have got the country for the people and therefore everyone has to accept it". Muzorewa said he was "shocked and puzzled" and claimed the election was not free and fair and in no way reflected the will of the people.

Mugabe began his official press conference with the following statement: "Some will be surprised by the size of the victory the Patriotic Front has won. We fought the election separately but the results go to both components of the Patriotic Front. It is a victory for the Patriotic Front as a whole. People committed to genuine independence have had the opportunity to prove to the world their allegiance to the patriotic forces. It is a moment of joy for the Patriotic Front". The same morning Nkomo opened his press conference with these words: "Together we have won 77 seats. This is vital. Even if we have won as separate parties, it is the Patriotic Front which has emerged. We fought for Zimbabwe. We have done it over the years. Finally we have got Zimbabwe. What we have done is to win Zimbabwe. What everyone must do now is to accept the result which gives us independence. The main thing is to see that Zimbabwe becomes an independent and stable state."

Was the Election Free and Fair?

The Commonwealth Observer Group (COG), along with the British and Irish Government delegations declared the election satisfactory before the final tallies were even in. COG leader Rajeshwar Dayal said, that “polling... provided an adequate and acceptable means of determining the wishes of the people in a democratic manner”. It was virtually the unanimous view of the British, Commonwealth and other international observers who witnessed the elections that they were, under the circumstances, free and fair.

In his report to the Governor, the Election Commissioner concluded that, despite some distortion of voting as a result of intimidation in certain areas, the overall result would broadly reflect the wishes of the people.” Many of the observers expressed their dissatisfaction with what they viewed as irregularities such as Soames’ use of the auxiliary forces for peacekeeping actions, perceived British partisanship, and the threat of disenfranchising parts of the country. Even the British Election Commissioner, or Returning Officer, Sir John Boynton, said in a report that although the election was in general a reflection of the wishes of the people, it was “in no sense free from intimidation and pressure”. He continued: “My view is that in the country as a whole, the degree of intimidation and pressure was not so great as to invalidate the overall results of the poll”.

Before the final election results were in, most observers felt that Zanu and Zapu combined would win no more than 41 seats in the new parliament—a majority of the 80 black seats. (The 20 reserved white seats had all gone to the Rhodesian Front Party in elections held two weeks earlier.) Governor Soames had the power to ask any party which in his opinion could form a government to do so, however Joshua Nkomo refused to commit his party to a joint Patriotic Front government with Zanu (PF) after the election, even though Mugabe had announced his intention to do so. Muzorewa needed only 31 seats between his ANC and other African parties—there were nine in the field—to form an alliance with the Rhodesian Front to form a government with a 51 seat majority.

What no one fully appreciated, and certainly what white Rhodesians, their South African allies and the British could not understand, was the Zimbabweans’ will to be free of white rule regardless of the guise under which it masqueraded. As Sonny Ramphal had warned, the people had voted for self-government, not good government. The whites reacted with stunned disbelief to the election results. Mugabe, the man portrayed by the government’s propaganda machine as a monster, had done the impossible and won. The mood among the majority was one of jubilation and not recrimination—the bitterness lay mainly with the whites. Some of Nkomo’s supporters bizarrely argued that the result was a plot by the UK, US, SA, China, Tanzania and Mozambique to put “their” man in power. Others, after thinking about it, said “The PF lost the election two years ago when Zanu began intensive political campaigning, using Zanla to politicise the masses”.

The New Government

Mugabe and Nkomo agreed in principal to form a coalition government on 5 March, and then took their time in deciding the actual composition of the various ministries and their responsibilities. Nkomo, spurning the ceremonial post of President of Zimbabwe (as it lacked political clout) had initially wanted the portfolio of Defence but had to settle for the Ministry of Home Affairs, under which the police were placed. The Cabinet was announced by Mugabe on 11 March and initially had 22 Ministers and 13 deputies. The list of people reads like a Who’s Who of Heroes Acre:



Position	Person
Prime Minister & Minister of Defence	Robert Mugabe
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs	Simon Muzenda
Minister of Home Affairs	Joshua Nkomo
Minister of Manpower, Planning and Development	Edgar Tekere
Minister of Finance	Enos Nkala
Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs	Simbi Mubako
Minister of Public Service	Richard Hove
Minister of Labour and Social Welfare	Kumbirai Kangai
Minister of Transport and Power	Ernest Kadungure
Minister of Local Government and Housing	Eddison Zvobgo
Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development	Sydney Sekeremayi
Minister of Commerce and Industry	David Smith
Minister of Agriculture	Dennis Norman
Ministry of Information and Tourism	Nathan Shamuyarira
Minister of Natural Resources and Water Development	Joseph Msika
Minister of Education and Culture	Dzingai Mutumbuka
Minister of Health	Herbert Ushewokunze
Minister of Public Works	Clement Muchachi
Minister of Posts and Telecommunications	George Silundika
Minister of Mines	Maurice Nyagumbo
Minister of Youth and Sport Recreation	Teurai Ropa Nhongo (Joice Mujuru)
Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office	Emmerson Mnangagwa

What Challenges Faced the New Government?

There were many challenges facing Mugabe's government, including:

The racism and segregation which caused much of the conflict did not magically dissipate with the independence celebrations. While many of the extreme racists had fled the country, others remained, confused, embittered and scarred by war.

Criticism of government was rising and political rivalries between the parties in Parliament were widening.

War-torn Zimbabwean society included some one million refugees who required immediate services and eventual resettlement. This was further complicated by a once-prosperous, now stagnant economy which had suffered from the erosion of a decade of unsuccessful but damaging international embargo, as well as five years of wartime distortion and recession. The loss of over 30 000 whites during the struggle drained away skills which were needed for the rapid rebuilding of the economy, especially the agricultural sector.

The four independent armies plus many privately-held weapons threatened the fragile political alliance. Although Mugabe ordered the integration of the armed forces, it seemed

likely that many would remain outside of the national army for some time to come. The soaring crime rate was considered to be a reflection of the residual power of and conflict between these armed groups.

Zanu (PF) was highly factionalised, reducing its effectiveness as an instrument of political solidarity. Mugabe's control of his party was not yet firmly established, with internal factions surrounding various contenders for power, including Edgar Tekere. The ideological flavour of Zanu (PF) was not clear, although a plurality appeared to be shifting toward the centre. It was likely, as forecast by one observer, that "Mr Mugabe won't be the fearsome revolutionary Ian Smith warned of, but neither will he be the man of conciliation and generosity that Rhodesia's whites think they now see."

Land redistribution was a vexing problem. Lord Carrington at Lancaster House assured Zimbabwe of as yet undelivered funds with which to purchase white farms, part of a Z\$1 billion aid package that promised some relief.

The role of foreign powers, especially South Africa, was still being defined. The two countries agreed to maintain economic relations and consular functions, although Zimbabwe's determined opposition to the apartheid system was already well understood in the South African government.

Creating New Icons for Zimbabwe

It was immediately clear that new national icons for the new country would be required, including a currency, stamps, name changes and corrections, a national anthem, and more. The main initial focus was to design a new flag to replace the short-lived hybrid used for only two months during the government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Once Soames had taken control in December 1979, Rhodesia was for a brief time a British colony again and, thus, the old flag ceased to be relevant and the British flag, the Union Jack, was used at all official functions.

The design of the new Zimbabwe flag was submitted by a government independence celebrations committee headed by Richard Hove, soon to be Minister of Public Works. Flight Lieutenant Cedric Herbert of the then-Rhodesian Air Force (and a member of the Rhodesian Heraldry & Genealogy Society), claimed that the initial design did not include the Zimbabwe Bird, and that this "was added [to the design] after I had pointed out its uniqueness and history". On 25 March 1980, Prime Minister-elect, Robert Mugabe saw and approved the final design which was made public the following day.

There was no doubt the name of the country would change from Southern Rhodesia, the name used in the period from Soames's arrival on 12 December 1979, to 17 April, 1980. Most historians have been content to explain the choice of the name "Zimbabwe" by nationalists as a reaction against colonial oppression and cultural aggression of the white settlers and foreign origins myths for the ruins and associated culture. The choice has been presented as a deliberate act of defiance by the freedom fighters, who wanted to show that the blacks were not as inept as presented by Rhodesian government propaganda. During the liberation war the ruins were rightly presented as a potent icon of achievement and pride for the inhabitants of the country and were a rallying symbol for unity, and reconstruction. But a rallying symbol was all it was to most nationalist politicians. Eddison Zvobgo in on record as claiming that, "as practical politicians we did not worry whether it was linked to religion or not. We had found a rallying point, a very useful one, and everyone then accepted that".

Veteran Nationalist Michael Mawema has often been credited with the first suggestion



of Zimbabwe as the name for the new country when he mentioned it, in passing, at a political rally in the early 1960s, where it then took hold in the popular consciousness. It was quickly adopted as the name for the successors of the National Democratic Party, ZAPU in 1961 and ZANU in 1963. Not many may know that the Zimbabwe National Party, formed June 1961 was probably the first party to use the name in a political sense although it seems to have been common currency for a black-ruled nation before then. Other than the use of the name of the site, there seems to have been little interaction with the site on the part of the leading nationalists.

Strangely though, it was on 7 September 1979 that a Bill was first introduced into the country's Parliament to officially change the name of the country from Zimbabwe-Rhodesia to Zimbabwe as reported on the front page of *The Herald* on 8 September 1979. White members of Parliament declared the motion "a breach of faith" but Bishop Abel Muzorewa, then Prime Minister, claimed it was a necessary step towards convincing the black population of the country that a meaningful shift to majority rule had occurred. Of course nothing of the sort had taken place but at the very least, it was a useful exercise in acclimatising the white population of the country to the fact that changes were going to happen.

First Independence Celebrations, 18 April 1980

The official date for Independence was announced as midnight of 17 April. The Governor, Lord Soames, had agreed to Mugabe's request to delay granting Independence "for a few weeks" to allow the new ministers time to familiarise themselves with their departments. The weeks after the announcement were spent in feverish preparation for a lavish, meaningful and iconic celebration.

The Independence Ceremony at Rufaro Stadium involved the usual pomp and ceremony, marching bands and demonstrations on the football pitch, transformed into a parade ground for the night. The stadium was crammed with people, packed on the rising terraces around the football pitch. Everyone had to be in their places two hours before midnight. Among the local bands entertaining the crowds were Thomas Mapfumo and the Blacks Unlimited, performing songs from their 1977 hit album *Hokoyo!* among others.

On the saluting base, built out onto the field, were the dignitaries: Prince Charles, to represent the Queen, dressed in the white uniform of a Royal Navy Commander; Lord Carrington and Lord Soames, the architects of Britain's handover; Kurt Waldheim and Sonny Ramphal from the UN and Commonwealth respectively; Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; Seretse Khama of Botswana; other frontline presidents and the leaders and ambassadors of over 100 countries that wished Zimbabwe well. Behind the saluting base were the benches for the junior ministers, party officials and the supporting cast of MPs, invited guests and security officials. Among them were Abel Muzorewa, PK van der Byl and Dennis Divaris. Mugabe arrived at 2340, driven in a white Mercedes, accompanied by 10 security men running alongside, followed by Canaan Banana, both arriving to thunderous cheers and applause.

Outside the stadium swarms of people struggled to get in. The police, over-reacting, used tear-gas to repel them—even Joshua Nkomo and his wife got some in their eyes! He said in his autobiography, *The Story of My Life*, "But even this squalid confusion

could not spoil the ceremony. Back in the 1940s at Tjolutjo Government School I had been the prize student who hoisted the Union Jack in honour of our visiting Prime Minister, the disappointingly tiny Sir Godfrey Huggins with his glittering shoes. Now for the very last time that flag came down, and the colours of free Zimbabwe broke out into the air. I am not ashamed to say that I wept for joy.”

RSM John O'Donnell of the Corps of Royal Military Police lowered the Union Jack. From the perspective of the British, the official lowering of the Union Jack had taken place in the afternoon of 17 April, at Government House, when it was lowered there and handed to Prince Charles. The new Zimbabwe flag was blessed by Archbishop Chakaipa and, as the clock struck midnight, the Zimbabwe flag was hoisted by Commander Amoth Chingombe (Chimurenga name: Agnew Kambeu) of Zanla. Speaking at Chingombe's funeral in 2008, Mugabe said of this moment, “As he hoisted the flag, his hand was firm and unyielding, clearly anxious that this precious symbol he was sending up would not slip down. Its significance was too great to tarnish by any faltering action or movement other than a straight upward pull.” As the Zimbabwe flag was raised (and saluted by Prince Charles), a 21-gun salute boomed out and smoke billowed over the stadium, packed with 40 000 revellers and guests, who roared their unmitigated approval. In that moment, the first child to be born in the new Zimbabwe emerged safely at 12:01, daughter of Mr and Mrs Musoesvi of Kambuzuma in Salisbury.

The President, Rev. Canaan Banana was sworn in by Chief Justice Hector Macdonald. Banana then turned and administered the oath of office of the Prime Minister to Robert Mugabe. Prince Charles then stood and presented the constitutional instruments of independence, documents of a symbolic nature and significance. The flame of Independence was lit by Mugabe, and immediately afterwards, runners took it to the Kopje where it was promised it would burn permanently. Later that day, Robert Mugabe pledged reconciliation, promised freedom and democracy. He spoke with electrifying eloquence of the need for Zimbabweans to unite and rebuild their country that had been ravaged by a protracted armed struggle to bring democracy to the people.

The headline event for most people however was the iconic Rastafarian musician Bob Marley and his band. Popular myth has it that Robert Mugabe had wanted to invite Cliff Richard, who performed music more to his taste. The first official words said in Zimbabwe's Independence Era were “Ladies and Gentlemen, Bob Marley and the Wailers. Viva Zimbabwe!” Marley immediately launched into an intro, shouting “Viva Zimbabwe!” again, followed by the songs, *Positive Vibration*, *Them Belly Full (But We Hungry)*, *Roots*, *Rock*, *Reggae* and *I Shot The Sheriff*. He did not complete his full nine-song setlist as a riot broke out in the midst of the fourth song. Marley did come back once everything was calm but played only a couple of songs. That night, he never got to sing his famous anthem “Zimbabwe” celebrating the country's fight for independence. The lyrics of the song speak to the right of all people to self-determination and promised a hope for a future in Zimbabwe that has yet to be realised. Marley sang in that song: “Every man got a right to decide his own destiny / And in this judgment there is no partiality / So arm in arm we'll fight this little struggle / Cause that's the only way we can overcome our little trouble.”



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The First European Visitors to View the Victoria Falls Before the End of 1880

by Mike Tucker



The list below contains the names of those that visited the Victoria Falls before the end of the 1880 cut-off date, the last six names are the party of Jesuit Fathers who attempted to establish a missionary base in Barotseland and were largely frustrated by the efforts of George Westbeeck. They managed to establish a foothold with St Joseph's Mission at Pandamatenga that lasted only five years. There was an even briefer Residence of the Holy Cross downstream from Wankie's kraal on the Zambesi river by the same Jesuit Fathers that lasted just from August to September 1880 and resulted in the death of Father Terörde and serious illness of Father Vervenne from fever before it was abandoned.

The year 1880 is not so arbitrary as prior to this date those who managed to make their way into the Far Interior were primarily hunters, traders, explorers, prospectors and missionaries. For many of the hunters and traders 1880 marked the end of an era as the elephant retreated into the tsetse-fly belts away from the Highveld that comprises roughly the region lying on either side of the central Matabeleland and Mashonaland watershed. Hunters could no longer shoot from horseback as horses are susceptible to the bite of the tsetse-fly which results in their death from nagana and hunting elephant on foot was a far more dangerous enterprise. Ivory was the most valuable commodity



Courtesy of Wikipedia: Thomas Baines (1865) The Falls from the East End of the Chasm to Garden island

of the Far Interior and as the supply dwindled many of the Shoshong traders went out of business.

Those that followed post-1880 in the footsteps of these true pioneers were in broad terms concession hunters and political agents and then those adventurers of the 1890 Pioneer Column who saw personal opportunities for both adventure and wealth, although the new desired commodities were gold and land. Some of course, such as Fred Selous, James Gifford and Frank Mandy were active both before and after 1880.

There will be names I have left off inadvertently; please send me as much details on any additional visitors you believe should be added ensuring that they visited the Falls before the end of 1880.



From African Hunting: from Natal to the Zambesi—W. C. Baldwin and his dogs flee from an enraged bull elephant

Discovery of the Victoria Falls

Most sources attribute David Livingstone as the first European to reach Victoria Falls on the present-day border between Zambia and Zimbabwe on 16 November 1855. However local people knew of the existence of the Falls long before. The actual date when Livingstone first saw the Falls was only established in 1955 when a Mr P. C. G. Adams found an entry in one of the small notebooks used by Livingstone for making daily notes and from which he wrote up his journal once or twice a week that read: “*Musioatunya bears SSE from Sekota islet after 20 minutes sail thence on 16 November 1855, saw three or five columns of vapour rising 100 or more feet.*”¹

William Baldwin was the second visitor on 2 August 1860 and records in his book *African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi* that: “*The discovery of the Falls was made in 1855 and from that time to this (1860) with the exception of Livingstone’s party no European but myself has found his way thither.*” Baldwin used a pocket compass to find his way from the Shua river and the Chobe and returned to Natal and England in 1861 through Shoshong. He caused great offence to the local chief by jumping into the Zambesi from the canoe and swimming ashore to the north bank. The chief said he would have to remain until as Baldwin writes: “*I had paid him for the water I drank and washed in, the wood that I had burned, the grass that my horses ate and it was a*

¹ Fagan, B. M. (Editor) *The Victoria Falls, A Handbook* (second edition) Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics; Northern Rhodesia, 1964.p. 22



great offence that I had taken a plunge into the river on coming out of one of his punts; if I had been drowned or devoured by a crocodile or sea-cow, Sekeletu would have blamed him and had I lost my footing and fallen down the Falls, my nation would have said the Makololo had killed me; and altogether I had given him great uneasiness!"

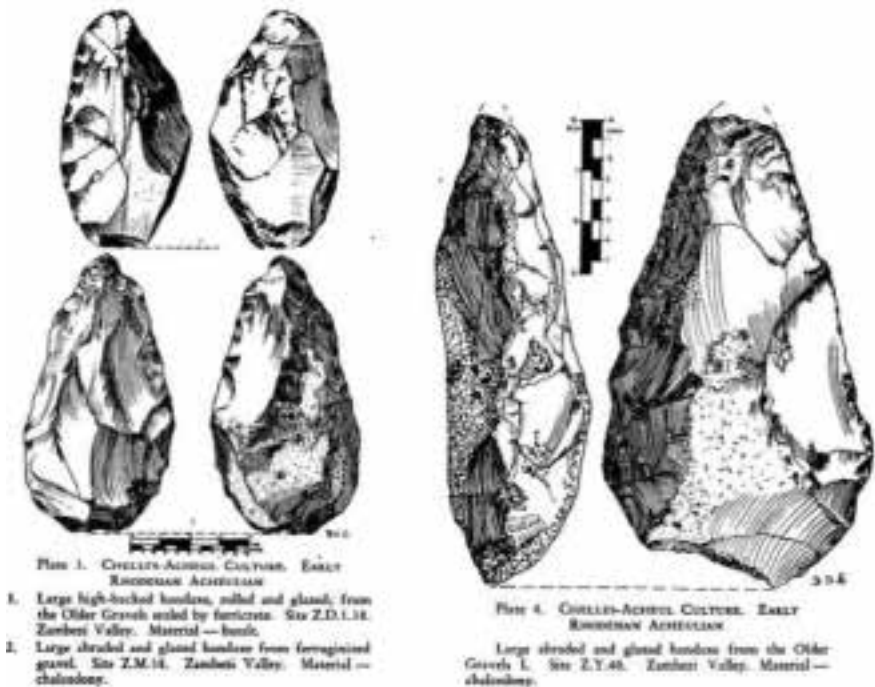
Livingstone, his brother Charles and Dr John Kirk arrived the following week and persuaded the local chief to let Baldwin leave, which he did on 10 August 1860 with Livingstone and his party leaving for Linyati on 12 August.

Pre-European Visitors to the Victoria Falls

Early and Middle Stone Age

Both Early (500 000 to 50 000 years Before Present) and Middle (35 000 to 10 000 years Before Present) Stone Age tools such as hand-axes, choppers, bored stones, picks and scrapers have been excavated from river gravels at sites on both sides of the Zambesi and also within the boundary of Victoria Falls National Park. The best assemblages of tools were found on the north bank in the vicinity of Livingstone town² and are often manufactured from quartz, agate and chalcedony pebbles which were available locally and did not need to be imported over long distances.

Clark states: "...it becomes apparent that Acheulian man was in complete control



J. Desmond Clark: Hand-axes from the Zambesi Valley gravels

² J. Desmond Clark. *The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*. The South African Archaeological Society, Goodwin Series. p. 7

of his raw materials. He could produce a hand-axe in quartz, quartzite or lava which was just as beautiful and efficient as that he could make from chert or chalcedony. His cleavers in the Zambesi Valley are just as well made as his hand-axes.³"

San Khoisan hunter-gatherers

The San Khoisan people inhabited much of Southern and South-Eastern Africa prior to the arrival of the Bantu people approximately 1 500 to 2 000 years ago. Among the artefacts excavated from this largely transient society that hunted small antelope, insects and grubs and gathered honey, edible fruits and roots are microlithic stone tools, ostrich beads and bored stones which were used for digging up underground roots and tubers. Many of their stone tools are quite small and were hafted together to form arrows, a knife or adze. It is unlikely that the San occupied permanent sites as they probably mirrored the seasonal movement of animals through the region. They made no pottery and used ostrich eggshells and calabashes for carrying water.⁴ Catching fish in reed baskets and weirs or with wooden spears in the Zambesi river may have formed a useful food supplement to their diet.

Their chief hunting weapon was the bow and arrow with the points often poisoned and a natural mastic used to keep the points in position. Thumb-nail scrapers were used as adze blades for shaping wood and bark vessels and for trimming bows and arrows. These were the people in possession of the Zambesi Valley when the first agricultural people with cattle and goats came down from the north.

Iron Age

People who made iron-age pottery first entered the Victoria Falls region around 2 000 to 1 500 years Before Present and the pottery found on surface collections as well as excavations resembles much of what is typically found in the region including Malawi, Botswana, Zimbabwe and the Limpopo province of South Africa; commonly called 'Gokomere' culture.⁵ Their culture was much more complex than that of the San Khoisan hunter-gatherers which preceded it although they may have existed side-by-side for some period of time. There is evidence of both agriculture and cattle and goat herding within a settled village-life and an extended tribal and social community. There is also evidence of smelting and working of both iron and copper.

By 1 000 years Before Present the village population of the Victoria Falls region had grown quite substantially particularly on the northern side of the Zambesi which lends itself better to agriculture and where large assemblages of pottery have been found at excavated sites. Both the basic technologies and the material cultures practiced were much the same over the local area with wider regional differences. Iron tools manufactured included hoes, knives, spears and arrowheads were produced in open-bowl smelter sites. Bones were worked into awls, points and hair ornaments. Ivory was worked into bracelets. Copper was worked into bracelets and currency bars made by pouring copper into sand moulds; they were traded over much wider distances and cowrie shells were clearly obtained from the east coast.

Larger communities were required to both look after herds of cattle and carry

³ Fagan, B. M. (Editor) *The Victoria Falls, A Handbook*, p. 58

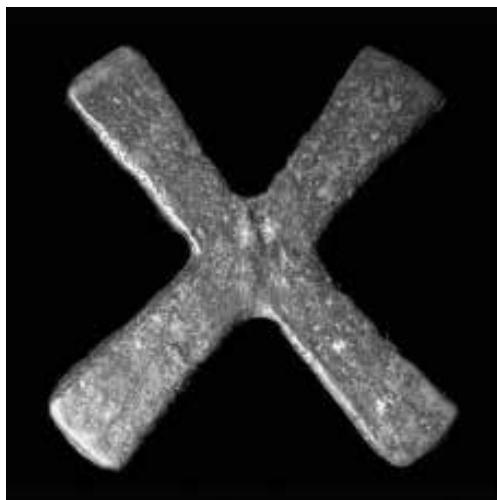
⁴ Ibid, p. 62

⁵ Vogel, J. O. The Early Iron Age (A.D. 500–1100) in the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia. *Current Anthropology Volume 17*, No 4, Dec 1976



out crop farming which relied upon the summer rains. *Dambos* are a natural feature particularly prevalent in Zambia and very often take the form of wetlands on flat plateau which form the headwaters of streams and rivers.⁶ In Mashonaland they are called *matoro* and Wikipedia lists them as providing the following vital resources to local people:

- as a dry-season water source
- for rushes used as thatching
- for clay used for building and pottery
- for hunting (especially birds and small antelope)
- for growing vegetables (pumpkin, groundnuts, leafy vegetables) and other food crops such as groundnuts, sorghum and millet which can be vital in drought years since *dambo* soils usually retain enough moisture to produce a harvest when the rains fail
- for fishing (generally using fish traps) in those *dambos* with streams and rivers



Copper currency cross

It was women's work to tend the fields. Men helped them to clear the ground using tools like the hoe. Later Europeans would introduce the ox-plough, which made the work easier, but as the plough had to be pulled by oxen and women were not allowed to handle cattle this meant men would take over that job.

Their huts were pole and *dhaka* often built on a mound with a central cattle kraal and a thorn fence to keep out lions from their domestic stock. Grain was stored in bins built on circles of stones. The arrival of waves of immigrants pushing down from the north-west seem to have disturbed the Tonga people who had lived here in peace for a considerable period and before the Europeans arrived they had been subjected to raids from the Makololo, the Lozi and then the amaNdebele.

The Makololo seem to have been the first to impose a loose sovereignty over the Tonga who paid them tribute. The Makololo were then deposed by the Lozi in 1864 – 6 and the Tonga were left to restore their cattle herds until warfare resumed in 1880 in the form of Lozi cattle raids. These were followed by amaNdebele raid in 1882, 1883 and 1889–90 when: “*they overran the [Tonga] villages, taking what they would, burning huts and galleries, killing whoever resisted and moving on with their spoils of cattle and slaves — usually women and small children.*”⁷

These Iron Age people left lasting legacies in their names for the Victoria Falls. The southern Tonga people known as the Batoka called the Falls ‘*Shungu na mutitima.*’ The Batswana and Makololo whose language is used by the Lozi people who call the Falls

⁶ Wikipedia — Dambo

⁷ Fagan, B. M., p 70

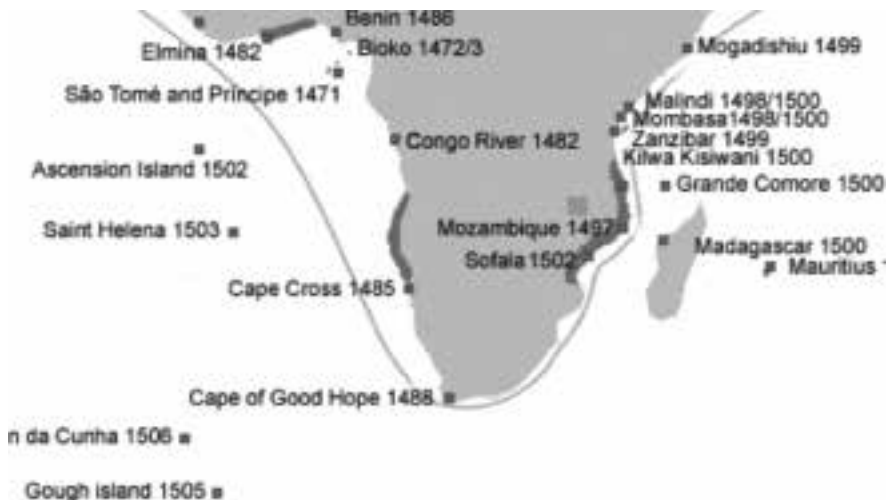
‘*Mosi-o-Tunya*.’ The Matabele, who came later as raiders making short, violent and transient visits named them ‘*aManz’ aThungayo*.’ All these names portray essentially the same linguistic image: “*the smoke that thunders*.”

Early Portuguese exploration in Africa

To the early Portuguese explorers who were sent in fleets each year after 1500 for a route to the spices of the East Indies, Africa was just an obstacle in their quest for the riches of Asia and their main goal was to circumnavigate around the continent.⁸

Initial Portuguese interest concentrated on the West coast of Africa which could supply the labour needs of the São Tomé sugar planters and the transatlantic slave trade and their influence was much more dramatic and destructive than on the east coast. Throughout much of the 16th century, for example, over 15 000 Africans from the Kongo Kingdom were enslaved and engulfed in the brutal trade every year. In 1526, King Afonso of the Kongo, converted to Christianity by Portuguese missionaries, wrote to the King of Portugal, to protest the trade: “*Each day the traders are kidnapping our people—children of this country, sons of our nobles and vassals, even people of our own family ... This corruption and depravity are so widespread that our land is entirely depopulated ... We need in this kingdom only priests and schoolteachers, and no merchandise, unless it is wine and flour for Mass ... It is our wish that this kingdom is not a place for the trade or transport of slaves*”⁹

The Portuguese established forts and trading posts between 1497–1510 along the east coast of Africa at former African, Arab and Muslim trading posts where Swahili was the *lingua franca* including Mozambique Island, Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi and Barawa which were destroyed, or became either subjects, or allies of Portugal. The Portuguese



Courtesy of Wikipedia; Southern African extract of map of Portuguese discoveries and explorations (1415 – 1543)

⁸ http://webs.bcp.org/sites/vcleary/ModernWorldHistoryTextbook/Imperialism/section_6/beforescramble.html

⁹ Ibid



needed bases for their ships to resupply, land the sick and fresh crew before crossing the Indian Ocean. The ships bound for India would ‘winter’ in these ports, sometimes for a long as six months, waiting for the monsoon winds to start blowing to the east.

Portuguese exploration from Mozambique up the Zambezi river

Although the initial reason for bases at Mozambique and Sofala had been as key ports of call for ships on the way to India they also knew that gold mined in the interior was brought to these coastal ports by Swahili merchants and hoped that by controlling the gold trade the precious commodity could be used to buy spices in the east. Although the situation further up the coast was always fractious between the Portuguese and the Muslim population, in Mozambique the two communities were able to rub along apart from one violent period in 1575 explained below.

At first the fortress captains were salaried royal officials, but gradually the system changed so that the captaincy of Mozambique was purchased from the Portuguese Crown for a substantial amount in return for being granted a three year commercial monopoly. The captain took responsibility for maintaining the forts at Mocambique Island and Sofala and appointed captains who regulated the gold and ivory trade through the regional centres at Sena, Tete, Zumbo and Quelimane, all Swahili trade centres before the Portuguese colonial era.

Once the Portuguese were established at the coast they gradually began to travel inland to trade concentrating their efforts on the Zambesi valley. Sena had been a



Courtesy of Wikipedia; Mozambique Island by Pieter van den Keere, 1598



Sofala by Manuel Faria e Sousa, 1666

Muslim village along the Zambesi until Vicente Pegado founded a fair in 1531 and grew gradually to become a major trading post, missionary centre, colonial era garrison and market town. Tete is 420 kms up the Zambesi from the sea and the Portuguese hoped it would provide access through *feiras*, or marketplaces, to the gold and ivory of the Mutapa State. Zumbo, the most westerly of the trading posts became prosperous in the eighteenth century as it traded along the middle Zambezi and up the lower Luangwa Valley, mostly for ivory, but also gold from the Mutapa State.

The first Portuguese made their way into the interior as *sertanejos* (backwoodsmen) and lived alongside the existing Swahili merchants. One *sertanejo*, António Fernandes was the first European who managed to travel extensively throughout the region and in two journeys between 1512 and 1516 he visited the Mwene Mutapa, the ruler of the

Mutapa State in the Mavuradonha wilderness area and the Msengezi river, then turned south to the Hunyani, now Manyame river and the site of Hartley, now Chegutu and returned to Sofala. On his second journey he reached Kwekwe before heading back across the Tokwe, Lundi, now Runde and Save rivers and followed the Busi river almost to Sofala. He found much evidence of gold-mining by local people during the winter season when they were not engaged in agricultural activities.

Despite his success, no immediate use of his knowledge was used by the Portuguese who preferred to use the unhealthy Zambesi valley for inland journeys.

Fernandes was followed by Gonçalves da Silveira, S. J. (1522–1561) a Portuguese Jesuit missionary who made his way up the Zambesi river arriving at the Mwene Mutapa's court on 26 December 1560 and managed to convert and baptise the ruler and a number of his subjects to Christianity. The Swahili merchants at court were fearful of his influence and agitated against him before he was strangled in his hut by order of the ruler and his body thrown into the Msengezi river.

This action demanded retaliation from the Portuguese who planned to penetrate the interior by force and take control of the gold mines in the hope that they would find gold in quantity such as the Spanish had found in the America's. After lengthy preparations an expedition of 1 000 men under Francisco Barreto was launched in 1568 and sailed up the Zambesi armed with weapons and mining tools and arrived at Sena in December 1571. They fought several battles against the Mongas whose territory lay between the Portuguese and the mines of Manica; their muskets winning them initial victories despite being faced by much larger numbers.

But before the expedition could progress further Barreto had to return to Mozambique Island to deal with the commander, António Pereira Brandão, who was spreading false information about Barreto. After removing him from his post as commander of the São Sebastião fort, Barreto returned to Sena where many of his men had become sick with malaria and where Barreto himself became ill and died on 9 July 1573.

Barreto's deputy governor, Vasco Fernandes Homem, succeeded him and returned with the remaining army to the coast and the expedition to Manica was resumed via the Sofala route. The Manica mines were found to be producing only very small quantities of gold and Homem abandoned the expedition with the Portuguese returning to their base in 1575 and taking their frustrations out on the Swahili merchants at Mozambique Island who were massacred.

Portuguese rule on the Zambesi

Malyn Newitt¹⁰ writes that local kingdoms established themselves north of the Zambesi — the Lundi, Undi and Kalonga; the Portuguese grouped them together as the Maravi and they controlled the whole region from the Luangwa Valley to the coast opposite Mozambique Island. Trade here in the seventeenth century was conducted directly through the rulers or at central markets, but by the eighteenth century their power had weakened allowing Portuguese traders from the Zambesi valley to circumvent the old customs as the old rulers were replaced by local warlords.

To the south of the Zambesi on the Zimbabwean plateau a series of separate Karanga states existed including:

- Mutapa State—on the plateau adjacent to the Zambesi
- Sedanda—between Sofala and the mouth of the Save river

¹⁰ Newitt, M., *A Short History of Mozambique*. Hurst & Company, London 2017, p 32.



- Quiteve—inland of Sofala
- Manica—the mountainous border area of today's Zimbabwe and Mozambique
- Barue—a district on present-day Mozambique adjacent to Nyanga
- Butua—in the southwest of Zimbabwe centred at Khami

The former Swahili traders were partially replaced by the Portuguese who married local women and with their half-African progeny became *prazeiros* (estate holders) of the lower Zambezi often adopting local life-styles and using local trade networks. *Feiras* were established inland within the Karanga states close to the known gold-producing areas and trade caravans took textiles, beads, metalwork and porcelain which were exchanged for gold.

In the seventeenth century the Portuguese became increasingly active in local politics establishing permanent bases with fortified storehouses and churches at the *feiras*. They exploited dynastic succession disputes between the Karanga rulers to weaken their control, but towards the end of the seventeenth century a new force arose in the state of Butua called the Rozvi who defeated both the Portuguese, expelling them from the plateau, and the Mwene Mutapa whose land was reduced to Dande and Chedimu north of the plateau and south of the Zambesi. This established the current boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

From this most historians conclude that it is unlikely that the Swahili merchants who traded down the coast and up the Zambesi and with the Mutapa State ever visited the Falls; however their trade goods in all probability found their way to the area through local middlemen, although it's possible that slave traders might have penetrated up into the middle Zambesi. No written accounts survive of such journeys though.

Although the Portuguese established forts in Mozambique by the 17th century and explored large areas of the lower Zambezi, there is no record of Victoria Falls being known to the outside world until the middle of the 19th century. There are falls marked on a number of maps of the seventeenth century, but these were used to fill in the blank spaces and not based on actual knowledge.

European Explorers of the region

Livingstone might have been challenged for the prize of being first by other explorers if the fickle finger of fate had not played its part.

António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto (1817–1890) a Portuguese merchant and



Courtesy of Wikipedia; António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto's journey from Angola to Cape Delgado (1853–54) from a map by James Macqueen

explorer made an epic journey from west to east across the continent from Benguela in Angola to Cape Delgado and Mozambique Island in 1853–54 when Portuguese interest in the interior revived. The detailed content of his wanderings were lost when his diaries were burned in the great fire of Lisbon, however the map of his journey below shows that he walked north of the Victoria Falls a year or two before David Livingstone but did not visit the Falls themselves.

James Chapman (1831–72) was another who might have been the first to discover the Victoria Falls. In 1849 he established a store in Potchefstroom and by 1852 was trading across the Limpopo river in BamaNgwato territory. Khama III (1837–1923) son of Sekgoma the *Kgosi* (Chief) of the Bangwato people, became a friend and gave Chapman permission to trade in the Chobe river region. In 1853 he had explored and hunted elephant with Francis Thompson and Donald Campbell down the Chobe river and 23 August they were camped on the Chobe at Mimili's kraal. They did not see David Livingstone although they delivered supplies sent by Robert Moffat from Kuruman and Chapman and Livingstone exchanged letters. Chapman had heard of the Falls and tried to recruit boatmen to take him down river, but they refused to go because the amaNdebele were raiding to the south along the Zambesi and they were afraid. Thus James Chapman failed to discover the Victoria Falls although it is only 75 kms from the confluence of the Chobe river at Impalera Island with the Zambesi river to the Victoria Falls. Chapman himself wrote: *"Could I but have known of the magnificent sight I lost in August 1853 after being very near it and how nearly I had forestalled Dr Livingstone's discovery, I should certainly have made another effort at that time to accomplish the object."*¹¹

László Magyar (1814–64) was a Hungarian explorer and naval officer who lived for 17 years in Angola and made his first African expedition a voyage up the Congo River in 1846. He married a daughter of the King of Bié and used his family connections to gain access to the interior making in all six voyages to the sources of the Congo and Zambezi rivers, regions at that time still very difficult for Europeans to visit. He wrote three volumes of geographical and ethnographic observations, with a focus on the Kimbundu people of present-day Angola. One volume was published in Hungary, but the manuscripts of the other two volumes, along with Magyar's journals, were lost in a warehouse fire after his death.

Magyar would remain at one location for a long time and studied African societies recording local ethnographical details. The African people called him *"Mister What-Is-This"* because he was always putting questions to them. His main interest was the local people, their habits and their societies and he was an excellent observer with very good drawing skills. He lived in Bié for several years, stayed in the kingdom of Mwata Yamwo over a year and spent nine months travelling along and between the Cunene and the Rio Cubango, the Portuguese name for the Okavango and on the headwaters of the Zambesi river.

Unfortunately Magyar lacked experience in using a sextant and so his position determinations were faulty and he tended to overestimate distances. At the time most geographers made estimates of distances based on the time spent marching. However unlike Livingstone, who travelled with just a few men, Magyar had several hundred men on his expeditions so they tended to move slowly and at an unsteady pace and were delayed by natural obstacles as well as by its ill-disciplined members and therefore

¹¹ Fagan, B. M., p 27.



Petermann's Map of László Magyar's Travels in Angola:

he had to stop for days which made the estimation of the daily average distance very difficult if not impossible to calculate accurately.

Consequently his maps are distorted and August Petermann, the German cartographer, had to redraw Magyar's maps before they could be published. Although he traced the headwaters of the Okavango and Zambesi his exploration tended to the north of Angola rather than to the south and therefore it is unlikely that he heard about the Victoria Falls.

William Cotton Oswell (1818–1893) was an English sportsmen and explorer and great friend and supporter of David Livingstone. Educated at Rugby School, he joined the East India Company and after passing out head of his year started for Madras in 1837 and during his ten years' residence in Madras studied surgery and medicine and won fame as an elephant-catcher and for his talent with languages including Tamil and several native Indian dialects whilst serving as head assistant collector at the Madras Presidency.¹²

Several bad attacks of fever resulted in his transfer to South Africa in September 1844. He made his first hunting trip into the interior with Mungo Murray and at Kuruman was directed by Robert Moffat to the London Missionary Society (LMS) mission at Ga-Mabotsa, near current day Polokwane, which was the beginning of Oswell's lifelong friendship with Livingstone.

Oswell and Murray hunted as far as the Limpopo and BamaNgwato country returning to Cape Town in December 1845 to outfit for another inland journey. He took two ox-wagons from Grahamstown and was at the Marico river by June 1846 where he hunted with Captain Frank Vardon. He was injured by a black rhino on this trip before returning

¹² Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900, Volume 42



Woodcut engraving 1874: David Livingstone being attacked by a lion in the Mabotsa Valley, 1843

on the missionaries road to Cape Town and went to India and England.

In 1849 Livingstone decided to investigate rumours of a great lake in the Kalahari; Oswell and his friend Mungo Murray returned to South Africa to take part in the exploration with Oswell undertaking to pay the guides' expenses. Five wagons set off avoiding Shoshong and Sekhomi and with Kwena guides they reached the Botletle river on 4 July and Lake Ngami on 1 August 1849. Although Lechulathebe refused guides to the Makololo and onwards the expedition resulted in the discovery of Lake Ngami, and the important practical demonstration that the Kalahari could be crossed by oxen and wagons. Livingstone acknowledged his debt to Oswell who looked after the wagons and supplied the party with food. The kuabaoba, or straight-horned rhinoceros, was named *Oswellii* after Oswell, who also received the Paris Geographical Society's medal.

Oswell and Livingstone hoped to go to Lake Ngami and Makololand in 1850 and they arranged to meet at Kolobeng, Livingstone's third and final mission. But a drought started in 1849 and the Bakwena people blamed it on Livingstone's presence which prompted him to leave and when Oswell arrived he found that Livingstone and Sechele I, the *kgosi* (chief) had left for the interior. So Oswell travelled to the Botletle where he shot over 30 bull elephants and met Livingstone's party on their return.

Livingstone was determined to reach the Makololo and Oswell gave him supplies, oxen and a new wagon at Kolobeng mission to enable Livingstone to make the journey. Oswell started ahead in April 1851 to clear the waterholes and the parties joined up and were at Shoshong on 8 May. At Chapo's on the Ngami road they obtained guides crossing the Ntvetwe Pan and reaching the Chobe river near Linyati on 19 June where they remained for two months. Chief Sebitwane died on 7 July and Oswell and Livingstone rode over 160 kms to Old Sesheke and reached the upper Zambesi river at Mwandi on 4 August 1851.

Local BamaNdwato hunting elephant in these northern regions and returning to their homes in the 1840's had told tales from river boatmen of a mighty Falls with ravines that gave off smoke.¹³ These oral accounts were confirmed by Oswell and Livingstone when local natives talked about the Falls which lay downstream and Oswell marked

¹³ George Lacy, an early visitor, confirmed these reports in the 1904 South African Handbook No 33—The Victoria Falls



the approximate position on a manuscript map which was not seen again for 50 years: “waterfall, spray seen ten miles off.”¹⁴

They left the Chobe on 12 August 1851 and reached Kolobeng mission by 27 November where Oswell stayed before leaving for England in February 1852. Although he never returned to Africa he served and gave good service in the Crimean War both in the trenches and in the hospitals and later travelled through North and South America.

Livingstone wrote that Oswell had more hairbreadth escapes than any man living, although he never wrote an account of his hunting; it is known that he was twice tossed by rhinoceros. A fine rider and shot he always got as close to elephant as he could on foot and without dogs.

David Livingstone—journey to Makololo country and Barotseland

Much of Livingstone’s earlier trips are described under the William Oswell entry above and the story picks up on Livingstone’s trip from Kolobeng in 1850 when Oswell arrived to find Livingstone had already left in April with Samuel Edwards (1827–1922) and J. H. Wilson, Livingstone’s long-suffering wife Mary, their three children and chief Sechele who wished to visit Chief Sebitwane of the Makololo. The party travelled through Shoshong and went on to Lake Ngami by the usual route on the south bank of the Botletle river. Livingstone planned to cross the Botletle and follow its north bank to its confluence with the Thamalakane and then follow that river north toward Makololo country.

But local people told Livingstone of a tsetse-fly belt which would kill his oxen so he re-crossed to the south bank of the Botletle and went to Lechulatebe’s kraal at Lake Ngami where he planned to leave his family before going on to the Makololo country. At the lake he found three Englishmen very ill with fever; Harris, Stephenson and Ryder, the last of whom subsequently died. Edwards and Wilson also caught fever as well as his children and as his wife was pregnant so Livingstone abandoned his journey to the Makololo and returned to Kolobeng meeting Oswell on the trip home.

The trip to the Makololo in 1851 is described under Oswell when they reached Makololo country and heard first-hand accounts of the Falls on the Zambesi.

Livingstone realised that the Chobe river was too feverish to take his family and in March 1852 took his family to Cape Town and sent them to England to improve his wife’s health and for the children to begin school. He would go alone to the Makololo country and look for a higher and more healthy site for a mission and cut a road to the east or west coast as the roads from the south were too long and costly.

Livingstone and George Fleming, a former slave from the West Indies who had been Oswell’s cook, left Cape Town on 8 June 1852 reaching Kuruman in early August where they were detained by Boer raids on Sechele and Kolobeng until mid-December. They detoured around Kolobeng to avoid the Boers and reached Sechele’s town on 31 December 1852. They trekked through Shoshong and had reached the Makgadikgadi salt pans in February and Linyati on 23 May. Livingstone was exploring Barotseland in today’s north-western Zambia from May to mid-September 1853.

Livingstone’s major journeys until his return to England were;
Linyati to Luanda—11 November 1853 to 31 May 1854

¹⁴ <http://rhodesianheritage.blogspot.com/2011/12/first-to-victoria-falls.html>



Adapted from D-maps.com: Livingstone's Journeys excluding the quest for the Nile (1866–1873)

Luanda to Linyati—24 September 1854 to 11 September 1855

Linyati to Quelimane—3 November 1855 to 26 May 1856 during which journey he discovered the Victoria Falls on 16 November 1855 and the Kafue river the next month.

David Livingstone—discovery of the Victoria Falls in 1855

Once again on the upper Zambezi, as before, Livingstone heard tales of the great waterfall of *Mosi-oa-Tunya*, that natives called “*smoke that thunders*” and on 3 November 1855, he set out to visit them along with Chief Sekeletu of the Makololo and 200 of his tribe. After leaving Old Shesheke they were forced to portage around the Katambora rapids and two days later reached Kalai Island where he saw where Chief Sekute was buried in a grave surrounded by a fence of 70 large elephant tusks.

They stayed the night on the island; Sekeletu had intended to accompany Livingstone, but as only one canoe could be found he stayed behind and soon after from the canoe they could see the columns of spray and hear the thunderous roar of water miles away at the Falls. About one kilometre upstream of the Falls Livingstone transferred to a smaller, lighter canoe and proceeded in this to the island between the Main and Rainbow



Falls¹⁵. Landing there he obtained his first view of the Falls from what is surely the most impressive of all viewpoints. The following description is in Livingstone's own words:¹⁶

"After twenty minutes' sail from Kalai we came in sight, for the first time, of the columns of vapor appropriately called 'smoke,' rising at a distance of five or six miles, exactly as when large tracts of grass are burned in Africa. Five columns now arose, and, bending in the direction of the wind, they seemed placed against a low ridge covered with trees; the tops of the columns at this distance appeared to mingle with the clouds. They were white below, and higher up became dark, so as to simulate smoke very closely. The whole scene was extremely beautiful; the banks and islands dotted over the river are adorned with sylvan vegetation of great variety of colour and form...no one can imagine the beauty of the view from anything witnessed in England. It had never been seen before by European eyes; but scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight. The only want felt is that of mountains in the background. The falls are bounded on three sides by ridges 300 or 400 feet in height, which are covered with forest, with the red soil appearing among the trees.

When about half a mile from the falls, I left the canoe by which we had come down thus far, and embarked in a lighter one, with men well acquainted with the rapids, who, by passing down the centre of the stream in the eddies and still places caused by many jutting rocks, brought me to an island situated in the middle of the river, and on the edge of the lip over which the water rolls. In coming hither there was danger of being swept down by the streams which rushed along on each side of the island; but the river was now low, and we sailed where it is totally impossible to go when the water is high. But, though we had reached the island, and were within a few yards of the spot, a view from which would solve the whole problem, I believe that no one could perceive where the vast body of water went; it seemed to lose itself in the earth, the opposite lip of the fissure into which it disappeared being only 80 feet distant.

At least I did not comprehend it until, creeping with awe to the verge, I peered down into a large rent which had been made from bank to bank of the broad Zambesi, and saw that a stream of a thousand yards broad leaped down a hundred feet, and then became suddenly compressed into a space of fifteen or twenty yards.¹⁷ The entire falls are simply a crack made in a hard basaltic rock from the right to the left bank of the Zambesi, and then prolonged from the left bank away through thirty or forty miles of hills. If one imagines the Thames filled with low, tree-covered hills immediately beyond the tunnel, extending as far as Gravesend, the bed of black basaltic rock instead of London mud, and a fissure made therein from one end of the tunnel to the other down through the keystones of the arch, and prolonged from the left end of the tunnel through thirty miles of hills, the pathway being 100 feet down from the bed of the river instead of what it is, with the lips of the fissure from 80 to 100 feet apart, then fancy the Thames leaping bodily into the gulf, and forced there to change its direction, and flow from the right to the left bank, and then rush boiling and roaring through the hills, he may have some idea of what takes place at this, the most wonderful sight I had witnessed in Africa.

In looking down into the fissure on the right of the island, one sees nothing but a dense white cloud, which, at the time we visited the spot, had two bright rainbows on it.

¹⁵ Today called Livingstone Island

¹⁶ Livingstone, D. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. John Murray, 1899

¹⁷ These figures are of course understated

From this cloud rushed up a great jet of vapor exactly like steam, and it mounted 200 or 300 feet high; there condensing, it changed its hue to that of dark smoke, and came back in a constant shower, which soon wetted us to the skin... On the left of the island we see the water at the bottom, a white rolling mass moving away to the prolongation of the fissure, which branches off near the left bank of the river... The walls of this gigantic crack are perpendicular and composed of one homogeneous mass of rock. The edge of that side over which the water falls is worn off two or three feet, and pieces have fallen away, so as to give it some- what of a serrated appearance. That over which the water does not fall is quite straight, except at the left corner, where a rent appears, and a piece seems inclined to fall off upon the whole, it is nearly in the state in which it was left at the period of its formation... On the left side of the island we have a good view of the mass of water which causes one of the columns of vapor to ascend, as it leaps quite



Dr Emil Holub



Dr John Kirk



**David Livingstone statue
at Victoria Falls**

clear of the rock, and forms a thick unbroken fleece all the way to the bottom. Its whiteness gave the idea of snow, a sight I had not seen for many a day. As it broke into (if I may use the term) pieces of water, all rushing on in the same direction, each gave off several rays of foam, exactly as bits of steel, when burned in oxygen gas, give off rays of sparks. The snow-white sheet seemed like myriads of small comets rushing on in one direction, each of which left behind its nucleus rays of foam."

In the evening Livingstone went back upstream by canoe to Kalai Island and returned the following day with Chief Sekeletu when he planted peach and apricot stones on Garden island, now Livingstone island and carved his name on a tree ... clearly he was so full of wonder at the spectacle that for once he indulged "*in this piece of vanity.*" He lay over the edge of the chasm—the waters were low in mid-November before the onset of the rains—and lowered a string weighted with some lead bullets in a handkerchief to establish the depth. It stuck on a ledge some way off the bottom when the string measured 295 feet (90 metres).

Livingstone's journey continued down the Zambesi river, this journey will be the subject of another article, until he finally reached Quelimane on the Indian Ocean in May 1856.

William Baldwin and George Polson visit the Victoria Falls in 1860

Following Livingstone's first visit there was a gap of almost five years before any Europeans arrived to visit the Falls. They were William Baldwin and George Polson



who arrived together on 3 August 1860 just before the arrival on 8–9 August of the Livingstone brothers, David and Charles and Dr John Kirk. Baldwin and Polson were both hunters and traders (i.e. they hunted elephant and sold the ivory) and whilst this was Polson's first trip into the interior, Baldwin had spent much of the decade from 1851 wandering widely between Natal and the Zambezi and he found their way to the Falls, via the Chobe River, by pocket compass. Baldwin made the first reasonably accurate estimate of the size of the Falls; he considered them to be two thousand yards wide (1 800 metres) and three hundred feet high (91 metres) For eye-estimates these are remarkably close to the true figures and a great improvement on the gross underestimate made by Livingstone in 1855.

Livingstone's second visit to the Victoria Falls

When Livingstone reached Quelimane he was congratulated on his journey across Africa but told that the LMS directors were "*restricted in their power of aiding plans connected only remotely with the spread of the Gospel.*"¹⁸

From Quelimane he went to England, but returned two years later, having resigned from the LMS and been appointed H. M. Consul for the East Coast of Africa to the south of Zanzibar and for the unexplored Interior. It was on this occasion that Livingstone paid his second and last visit to the Victoria Falls which has been covered in the website article *Thomas Baines' disastrous 1858–9 Zambesi Expedition with David Livingstone*.

The British government agreed to fund Livingstone's idea to examine the natural resources of south-eastern Africa and open up the Zambezi River to "*Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation*"¹⁹ and he returned to Africa as head of the Second Zambesi Expedition. However, the Zambesi river turned out to be completely impassable to boats past the Cahora Bassa rapids, a series of cataracts and rapids that Livingstone had by-passed on his first journey.



Courtesy of National Archives of Zimbabwe; T. Baines 'Zanjueelah, the boatman of the rapids' Baines and Chapman in a dugout

¹⁸ Jeal, T. *Livingstone*. Heinemann, London 1973

¹⁹ This is inscribed on the Livingstone statue facing the Devil's Cataract.

During the course of extensive explorations by the Zambesi Expedition David and his brother Charles Livingstone with John Kirk visited the Falls arriving on 8-9 August 1860. They explored the rain forest on the southern side of the Zambesi where Kirk took botanical specimens and tried to make more accurate measurements of the height and width of the Falls.

Subsequent Visitors

George Lacy wrote: “A trader, H. Polson was at the same time within 50 miles but didn’t trouble to see them.²⁰ The following year (1861) three or four Boer hunters made their way there, but except Martinus Swartz, they all died of fever. The year 1862 was marked by Chapman’s arrival there on his great journey from Walvisch Bay on which he was accompanied by T. Baines, E. Barry, H. Bell and J. Laing. A trader, H. Reader was there the same year.”²¹

Thomas Baines and James Chapman camped close to the spot where the present-day statue of Livingstone has been erected. The same boatman who had ferried Livingstone in 1855 took them to Garden Island. The peach and coffee seeds planted by Livingstone had been trampled by hippo but they saw the initials D. L. 1855 and C. L. 1860 for his brother, Charles cut into a tree. Sir Richard Glyn and his party in 1863 found the initials of the two Livingstones and Baldwin nearly grown out, so they re-cut them and added ‘Glynn 1863.’

Numbers of Visitors 1855 to 1880		
		Cumulative
1855	1	1
1860	5	6
1861	1	7
1862	6	13
1863	4	17
1865	1	18
1867	1	19
1868	2	21
1869	3	24
1870	7	31
1872	2	33
1873	8	41
1874	9	50
1875	19	69
1876	10	79
1877	12	91
1878	5	96
1880	6	102

Gradually a steadily increasing number of Europeans found their way to the Victoria Falls although there are some years, such as 1864 and 1866 when there were none.

Dr Emil Holub (1847–1902) a Czech doctor was much influenced by Livingstone’s writing and gained permission with George Westbeeche’s help from Chief Sipopa to enter Barotseland and visited the Victoria Falls in September 1875 in a party which included Mr and Mrs Westbeeche and Mr and Mrs Francis and again in October 1885.

On his first trip he travelled up the Zambesi from Sesheke but lost much of his supplies from a canoe upset and caught fever which made him ill throughout December 1875 after which he returned to Impalera island in January with Westbeeche’s cargo of ivory. On his return Holub practised medicine at Kimberley to recoup the expense of hauling his large collection to Europe which only arrived in 1880. In Vienna he held a large and very successful exhibition from May to October 1880 before distributing the many specimens to various Austrian museums. For this he was awarded a medal by the Geographical Society of Vienna.

Three years later Holub led a large expedition with six servants from the Austrian ambulance corps to South Africa and had a difficult journey to Pandamatenga arriving on 26 September 1883 after losing many oxen to poisonous plants. Westbeeche advised against travelling into the Zambesi Valley in the rainy season but was overruled by

²⁰ Not correct; Tabler states G. Polson may well have been the second European to see the Falls with W. C. Baldwin.
²¹ Partially correct; see the correct names in the table.



Courtesy Old Maps online: The earliest detailed map of the Victoria Falls by the Czech explorer Emil Holub

Holub who insisted on visiting the Victoria Falls in October. Two of Holub's European servants died of fever.

Holub made a further expedition in 1886 after Westbeeck obtained Chief Lewanika's permission for Holub to cross the Zambesi at Impalera Island which he did in March 1886. However he could not get porters and was still at Kazungula in June when Westbeeck came to his rescue. Holub managed to travel 260 kms north-east to the Kafue river where he was attacked and robbed by local tribes. A servant named Oswald Zoldner was killed and Holub lost everything but his notebooks and struggled back to Kazungula where once again Westbeeck came to his rescue.

In 1878 the Portuguese Major A da Rocha de Serpa Pinto measured the Victoria Falls with a sextant assisted by two local assistants who held him over the edge of the gorge with a cloth so that he could get his readings. Serpa Pinto was the fourth explorer to cross Africa from west to east, and the first to lay down a reasonably accurate route between Bié (in present-day Angola) and Lealui in Barotseland. In 1881 the Royal Geographical Society awarded him their Founder's Medal, "for his journey across Africa ... during which he explored five hundred miles of new country."

He clearly was not as impressed as the British visitors: "All else at Mozi-oa-Tunya is sublimely horrible. That enormous gulf, black as is the basalt which forms it, dark and dense as is the cloud which enwraps it, would have been chosen, if known in biblical times, as an image of the infernal regions, a hell of water and darkness, more terrible perhaps than the hell of fire and light.. At times, when peering into the depths, through that eternal mist, one may perceive a mass of confused shapes like unto vast and frightful ruins."²²

²² Serpa Pinto. *How I crossed Africa*. Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. London, 1881. Vol II, p 159

Henry Reader’s wife may have been the first European woman to visit the Falls with her husband and child in August 1862. Cornelia Carolina Westbeeche, George Westbeeche’s wife on her honeymoon may have been the joint second female visitor with Mrs Francis, the wife of William Curle Francis, when they visited from 13–24 September 1875.

Detailed Table of the First 100 European Visitors Between 1885—1880

A few Boer hunters are said to have been in the Zambesi Valley prior to Livingstone’s arrival, but were stranded as in the case of the Pretorius party who endured a two-year stay after their oxen died from tsetse-fly and had to be rescued by Chief Sechele who sent replacement oxen. Pretorius died at Deka about 16 December 1862. Other parties were supposed to have been almost wiped out; Martinus Swartz is sometimes cited as the sole survivor. Swartz farmed in the Marico district, but hunted in the Limpopo Valley in 1853–4 and on the Shashe river in 1855 when he was punished by Mzilikazi for poaching elephant in amaNdebele territory. He hunted almost every year on the borders of their territory killing 294 elephants over a career of 21 years, but I can find no evidence that he hunted in the Zambesi Valley prior to 1861 and he died of fever with ten members of his family east of the Mababe Flat in 1877.

The First European Visitors to View the Victoria Falls Before the End of 1880

Year	Name	Details
1855	Livingstone, David	Travelled from Luanda to Linyati river 1854–1855 and first saw the Falls on 16 November 1855. Visited again during the Zambesi Expedition with Dr John Kirk and Charles Livingstone in August 1860
November	Missionary, explorer	
1860	Polson, George	Met W.C. Baldwin near Tamasanka and both walked from the Matetsi river and reached the Falls on 2 August where met David and Charles Livingstone and John Kirk on 8–9 August, stayed until 6 September. The country was unsuited to hunting on horseback because of tsetse-fly and he left for Shoshong which he reached after much hardship on 24 November. Baldwin and Polson were probably the joint second Europeans at the Falls.
August	Hunter, trader	
1860	W.C. Baldwin	Met George Polson near Tamasanka and both walked from the Matetsi river and reached the Falls on 3 August where met David and Charles Livingstone and John Kirk on 8–9 August, stayed until 6 September. The country was unsuited to hunting on horseback because of tsetse-fly and he left for Shoshong which he reached after much hardship on 24 November. Baldwin and Polson were probably the joint second Europeans at the Falls.
August	Hunter, trader	
1860	Arend, Joseph	Griqua hunter, a fugitive from the Cape. At the Zambesi and the Falls in August 1860.
August	Hunter, trader	
1860	Kirk, John	Joined the Zambesi Expedition visiting the Falls with David and Charles Livingstone for 3 days and met W.C. Baldwin there
August	Explorer, botanist, photographer, physician	
1860	Livingstone, Charles	Joined the Zambesi Expedition visiting the Falls with David and Charles Livingstone for 3 days and met W.C. Baldwin there
August	Expedition assistant	
1861	Swartz, Lucas Marthinus	Hunted in the Zambezi Valley in 1861-2 and was in the Barotse Valley during 1864 returning to Shoshong in 1865. Hunting at Lake Ngami in 1868-9. Died with ten members of his family of fever east of Mababe Flats in 1877.
August	Hunter, trader	



1861	Pretorius Hunter	Stranded at the Zambezi for almost two years by loss of their oxen to tsetse-fly. He died of fever at Deka about 16 June 1862. No confirmation they saw the Falls but likely.
1862 July / Aug	Baines, Thomas Artist, explorer, cartographer, concessionaire	Travelled extensively throughout Southern Africa in Eastern Cape, Lake Ngami, on the Zambezi Expedition with David Livingstone, Namibia, the Zambezi Valley. James Chapman, Barry walked to the Falls from Deka and stayed 22 July - 16 August and met Reader. Travelled extensively in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and improved the Hunter's Road from Tati to Hartley Hill. Southern Africa's greatest artist and the first to paint the Victoria Falls.
1862 July / Aug	Barry, Edward Wagon driver, manager	Visited the Falls from 22 July to 16 August with Baines and Chapman and met Reader
1862 July / Aug	Chapman, James Hunter, trader, explorer, naturalist	Began trading in 1849 and hunted widely around the Botletle river; Zambesi boatmen refused to take him to the Falls because the Matabele were raiding in October 1853. If they had done so he would have earlier than David Livingstone. Visited the Falls from 22 July to 16 August 1862 with Baines and Barry and met Reader. One of the greatest explorers of the period who opened the Western Old Lake Route to east of the Makarikari salt pans.
1862 August	Snyman, Jan Hunter, trader	Griqua who spoke good English and walked with Oswell to Lake Ngami in 1849. Met Chapman and Baines at the Zambesi and remained from September 1861 to August 1862; probably visited the Falls
1862 August	Reader, Henry & wife & child	Camped at the Matetsi river July–September 1862 with his wife and child; his wife may have been the first white woman to see the Falls. Met Baines, Chapman and Barry
1863 July / Aug	Gifford, James Hunter, trader, trek manager	Wagon manager to Sir R. Glyn, his brother and Osborne on their journey to the Falls in 1863 and only stopped hunting after 1870 because hunting on horseback was more difficult as the elephants retreated into the tsetse-fly belt
1863 July / Aug	Glyn, Robert C. (brother of Richard) Sportsman	Journeyed to the Falls in 1863 with his brother, Osborne and James Gifford
1863 July / Aug	Glyn, Sir Richard G. Sportsman	Journeyed to the Falls in 1863 with his brother, Osborne and James Gifford
1863 July / Aug	Osborne, Henry St George Sportsman	Journeyed to the Falls before 1868 and visited Logier Hill and Wankie's kraal. Again at the Zambesi in 1877 reaching Tati from Pandamatenga on 14 December with Fry, Palmer, Bray and others
1865 August	Zietsman, Paul Hunter, trader	Hunted in Zambezia in 1860's and visited the Falls in 1865. Hunting with Mohr and K. Lee in 1869
1867 August	Gordon, George Trader, bookkeeper	Based in Shoshong he was secretary to Chief Macheng for a time; travelled to the Falls before 1868 and visited Logier Hill and Wankie's kraal. Again at the Zambesi in 1877 reaching Tati from Pandamatenga on 14 December with Fry, Palmer, Bray and others
1868 June	Horn, William Hunter, trader	Accompanied Leask and Van der Berg to the Zambesi in 1868. Visited the Falls on 22 June and then Wankie's kraal in July. Traded in Matabeleland and died at Hope Fountain on 5 October 1875 leaving his wife and child.
1868 December	Lacy, George Hunter, trader	With unnamed companion (Fred) walked from Deka to the Falls, hunted down the Matetsi river to Logier Hill
1869 July	Coverley, Dr Physician	Reached the Falls and Wankie's kraal with Thomas Leask

1869 July	Leask, Thomas Hunter, trader, concessionaire	Reached Pandamatenga in 1868, but not the Falls as he had fever. Next year he and Dr Coverley spent 22–25 July at the Falls. See the article Thomas Leask's two journeys to the Zambesi in 1868 and 1869
1869	Mahure, Jan Griqua hunter, trader	Hunted with James Chapman, lived on the north bank of the Zambesi river from 1869 at Wankie's kraal for total of eight years
1870 June	Mohr, Eduard Sportsman, prospector, explorer	Visited the Falls from 15–20 June, leaving William Cluley who was sick at Logier Hill, near Wankie's kraal
1870 June/July	Ellis, Hon Charles Hunter, trader	No other details or who accompanied him
1870 June/July	Anderson, O Trader, prospector	With Kirton, Martin, Broderson, Knuttel, Colville
1870 June/July	Broderson Trader, prospector	With Kirton, Martin, Anderson, Knuttel, Colville
1870 June/July	Colville, Henry Trader	With Kirton, Martin, Anderson, Broderson, Knuttel
1870 June/July	Knuttel, George Trader, prospector	With Kirton, Martin, Anderson, Broderson, Colville
1870 June/July	Martin, George F. Trader	With Kirton, Anderson, Broderson, Knuttel, Colville at the Zambesi. Later traded from a store at the Inkwekwesi river near Inyathi Mission.
1870 June/July	Kirton, George Hunter, trader	With Martin, Anderson, Broderson, Knuttel, Colville at the Zambesi with only a cart and suffered from fever in 1870; hunted at Pandamatenga in 1875 with his brother and visited the Falls again; brought his wife in August 1877 to Pandamatenga and hunted at Tamaseti vlei
1872	Blockley, George Trader, storekeeper, hunter	Employed by Westbeeck at Pandamatenga for 16 years from 1871; his was the longest residence of anyone in the Zambesi Valley and was often at Pandamatenga when Westbeeck was buying trade goods. He assisted the Jesuits and they relied upon him as a guide. In 1882 he planned to walk to Zumbo, but only made it to the Kafue confluence. He helped most of the well-known travellers and was known as 'little George' to differentiate from Westbeeck; good natured and helpful and friendly with all the chiefs.
1873 August	Dawnay, Hon. Guy Cuthbert Sportsman	Dawnay and Moore left Mangwe on Lee's Road on 2 June and met Piet Jacobs at the Nata river and were guided to the Westbeeck Road and were at Pandamatenga on 5 August. Visited the Falls 10–12 August before hunting around 'The Berg' and reached Tati on 18 October 1873
1873 August	Moore Sportsman	Dawnay and Moore left Mangwe on Lee's Road on 2 June and met Piet Jacobs at the Nata river and were guided to the Westbeeck Road and were at Pandamatenga on 5 August. Visited the Falls 10–12 August before hunting around 'The Berg' and reached Tati on 18 October 1873
1873 August	Garland Hunter, trader	Accompanied Schinderhutte and Byles to the Zambesi in 1873-4; they killed 150 elephants
1873 August	Schinderhutte, Christoffel Trader, hunter, transport rider	Employed by Phillips and Westbeeck, went to the Falls with Garland and Byles in 1873. Back in the Zambesi Valley in 1874 when he lost servants to fever. Had delirium tremens in July 1875 from heavy drinking and died in the bush or was killed.
1873 August	Byles or Biles, Henry Hunter, trader	Hunted with George Wood, Zietsman and Wood when Firmin was killed by an elephant on the Ramaquabane; hunted widely in northern Matabeleland and Mashonaland; was at Pandamatenga, August / September 1877, went to the Falls with Garland and Schinderhutte



1873 August	Truscott, James Hunter, trader	He and his partner Wilmore arrived at Pandamatenga from the Zambezi on 24 December 1874, both with fever. Known to have traded from Shoshong until 1881
1873 September	Humphrey Sportsman	Visited the Falls with Westbeech where he was refused permission to cross the river. Left with Schinderhutte, Garland and Byles when the rainy season began.
1874 June	Garden, Francis A. Sportsman	The Garden brothers hunted in the Semokwe river area with Piet Jacobs, Oates and Wall and in May left Tati with George Wood and Selous for the Zambesi. From their stand place at the Deka river they all walked to the Falls by 27 June 1874 and went on to hunt elephant in the Chobe river area.
1874 June	Garden, John L. Sportsman	The Garden brothers hunted in the Semokwe river area with Piet Jacobs, Oates and Wall and in May left Tati with George Wood and Selous for the Zambesi. From their stand place at the Deka river they all walked to the Falls by 27 June 1874 and went on to hunt elephant in the Chobe river area.
1874 June	Tofts Gardens English servant	Accompanied the Garden brothers to the Falls
1874 June	Selous, Frederick C. Hunter, naturalist, explorer	Hunted in Matabeleland from September 1872 and spent four months in Mashonaland in 1872 with George Wood. Later in the year they followed Lee's Road to the Linkwasha Valley hunting elephant. From their stand place at the Deka river he walked with George Wood and the Garden brothers to the Falls by 27 June
1874 June	Wood, George Hunter, trader, explorer	Explored and hunted in Northern Matabeleland and the south east of Zimbabwe and Mashonaland. From their stand place at the Deka river walked with Selous to the Falls by 27 June 1874. Hunted at Lake Ngami in 1879 and visited the Falls again in 1881. Hunted in the Barotse Valley where they caught fever; Wood, his wife and child died in early 1882
1874 July	Robertson Hunter, wagon manager	Camped with Bond at Deka in May 1874 and hunted elephants at the Deka river. Revisited with Frewin and stayed at Deka before visiting Wankie's kraal with Brockley and Mackenna in August 1877.
1874 July	Bond Hunter	Camped with Robertson at Deka in May 1874 and hunted elephants at the Deka river. Bond sketched the Falls
1874 September	Schuch, Harry Trader	Accompanied Stabb and George Wood to the Falls
1874 September	Stabb, Charles H. S. Sportsman	Walked to the Falls via Inyati with Schuch and George Wood from 18 August to 7 September via the Bembesi and Gwaai rivers and left the Falls on 9 September
1874 December	MacKenna, Jan or John Hunter, wagon manager	In 1874 was hunting for Selous and George Wood in western Matabeleland. At end November was hired by Frank Oates to be his conductor to the Zambesi. Visited the Falls with Bradshaw and Mackenna from 31 December to 14 January. Travelled with Oates until his death below the Bakalanga kraals on 5 February 1875. Worked with Richard Frewen until discharged at Deka on 19 September 1875
1874 December	Bradshaw, Dr Benjamin Trader, physician, naturalist	Employed by Westbeech at Pandamatenga from 1873, guided Frank Oates to the Falls 27 December to 13 January 1875. He collected zoological specimens and Walsh prepared them and left the Zambezi Valley in August 1879

1874 December	Oates, Frank Naturalist, cartographer, artist	Persuaded by Schinderhutte and Dorehill to leave Tati on 3 November. P. Jacobs, Van Rooyen and later Selous and G. Wood tried to persuade him to turn back. Schinderhutte stayed at Tamaseti pan, Dorehill turned back with Selous; Oates visited the Falls with Jan McKenna and Bradshaw on 31 December 1874 returning to Pandamatenga by 13 January 1875. Oates died of fever near Wankee's kraal on 5 February 1875
1875 August	Anderson, O. 'Sandy' Hunter, trader	Travelled with Webster to Pandamatenga and visited the Falls with Barber, Frank, Wilkinson, Browne and Cross
1875	Barber, Frederick Hugh	Hunted and visited the Falls with Anderson, Frank, Wilkinson, Browne and Cross. See the article Frederick 'Freddy' Hugh Barber, hunter, trader, artist - visited the Victoria Falls in 1875
August	Hunter, trader, artist	visited the Victoria Falls in 1875 and Matabeleland in 1877 under Bulawayo
1875 August	Cross, Alfred Hunter, trader	Hunted and visited the Falls with Anderson, Browne, Wilkinson, Barber and Frank.
1875	Frank, Levitt	Hunted and visited the Falls with Anderson, Browne, Wilkinson, Barber and Cross.
August	Sportsman	Hunted and visited the Falls with Anderson, Browne, Cross, Barber and Frank.
1875	Wilkinson, Patrick	Hunted and visited the Falls with Anderson, Frank, Wilkinson, Barber and Cross.
August	Hunter	Walked to the Falls with Deans from Inyati via the Gwaai Valley and met Cross, Browne, Anderson, Barber, Frank and Wilkinson
1875	Browne, W. A.	Walked to the Falls with Deans from Inyati via the Gwaai Valley and met Cross, Browne, Anderson, Barber, Frank and Wilkinson
August	Hunter, trader	Hunted at Pandamatenga with his son in 1875; Khama forbid him from hunting in BamaNgwato territory because he poached; from September 1877 hunted elephant for George Westbeeche and was still there in 1884 whilst recovering from a lioness mauling which he killed with his knife. Was at Gazuma pan north of Pandamatenga but was not molested because he was Westbeeche's man; the San Khoisan there were killed or fled to safety.
1875	Clarkson, Matthew	Started hunting at 14 years with his father
August	Hunter, trader	Visited the Falls with the Westbeeche party 13–24 September; died at Pandamatenga, Dec 1875
1875 September	Afrika, Jan Hunter	W.C. Francis transport manager from June 1875; went to the Falls, later at Shoshong
1875	Afrika, Klaas - son of Jan	Resident trader at Shoshong by 1870; the firm of Francis and Clarke was the most important business there in the 1870's. Joined Mr & Mrs Westbeeche & Holub on a trip to the Falls returning to Shoshong in October with a good load of ivory and was still trading in Shoshong in 1887
September	Hunter	Visited the Falls 13 - 24 September; joint second European woman to visit with Cornelia Westbeeche
1875	Bairn, Robert	Visited the Falls 13–24 September with Mr & Mrs Westbeeche, his employer Mr & Mrs Francis, Bairn and Holub. In 1876 entered Westbeeche's employ as a trader and collected bird skins. Travelled with Bradshaw to Impalera many times, escorted the Jesuit Mission from Kimberley and worked at the Pandamatenga store until 1881.
September	Store manager	
1875	Oppenshaw, G	
September	Wagon manager	
1875	Francis, William Curle	
September	Trader	
1875 September	Francis, Mrs Wife of William Curle	
1875	Walsh, Alexander	
September	Hunter, trader, naturalist	



1875 July	Westbeeche, George Hunter, trader, concessionaire	Westbeeche and Blockley went to Zambesia in 1871; thereafter held a monopoly of trade with the Barotse. Cut the Westbeeche Road from Tati in 1872 and established his trading station at Pandamatenga. Friend of Sipopa, Lewanika, Mzilikazi and Lobengula who befriended and helped many travellers to the Zambesi until his death in July 1888
1875 September	Westbeeche, Cornelia Carolina	On her honeymoon accompanied George Westbeeche to the Falls from 13 - 24 September, joint second European woman to visit the Falls
1875 September	Wife of George Holub, Dr Emil	Wanted to trace Livingstone's footsteps; visited the Falls from 13-24 September with Mr & Mrs Westbeeche, Mr & Mrs Francis, Bairn, Walsh and again in 1883 October 1885
1875 September	Traveller, physician, museum collector	Lived at Pandamatenga as Westbeeche's cook in 1875-6
1875 September	Gosling, John	
1875 September	Cook	
1875 September	Vean	A Swede at Pandamatenga trading August-September 1875
1875 September	Trader	
1875 September	Kirton, Argent	Visited the Falls with his brother George, killed with Wilson at Shangani on 4 December 1893
1876 January	Hunter, trader, soldier	Traded in Matabeleland from 1872 and was travelling to the Zambesi in November 1874 with Oates and Schinderhutte when Selous and George Wood persuaded Dorehill to turn back. Joined Macleod, Fairlie and Coley to Pandamatenga although only Macleod and Dorehill visited the Falls in January 1876
1876 January	Dorehill, George	
1876 January	Hunter, trader	
1876 January	Macleod, Norman	His friend William Fairlie was left at Pandamatenga with fever and Richard Cowley died at Pandamatenga. Reached the Falls with George Dorehill, both caught fever.
1876 June	Sportsman	In Matabeleland in 1865 and after a period in England returned and was poisoned by Sipopa and died at Sesheke in July 1876. Buried at the Chobe / Zambesi junction.
1876 June	Hewitt, G. H.	A Griqua at Pandamatenga in September 1875, hunted elephant for Westbeeche until his employer's death in 1888 and was still in Zambesia in 1889
1876 June	Hunter, trader	Brother of W.C. Baldwin, died at Pandamatenga, Nov 1878
1876 August	Baldwin	
1876 August	Hunter, trader	Visited the Falls with Musson, Ware, Meyer and Webster, died of fever at Pandamatenga
1876 August	Lowe, Walter Carey	Visited the Falls with Lowe, Musson, Ware and Webster. He seems to have stayed in the Zambesi Valley as in July 1877 he was at Hendrik's Vlei with Weyers and met Pinto at Pandamatenga in November 1878
1876 August	Traveller	Visited the Falls with Lowe, Meyer, Musson and Webster; traded at Shoshong with his brother George
1876 August	Meyers, Karl	Visited the Falls with Lowe, Meyer, Musson and Webster and by 1885 had made at least 3 trips to the Zambesi
1876 August	Hunter, trader, blacksmith	Visited the Falls with Lowe, Meyer, Musson and Ware
1876 August	Musson, Alfred	
1876 August	Trader, forwarding agent	
1876 August	Ware, Harry	Travelled with Westbeeche, Dorehill and Horner in December 1876; they were ill with fever in rainy season of 1876-7 at Pandamatenga. Grandy was better in April when buying supplies at Tati for himself and friends but died at Bakalanga towns in May 1877 on the way back to Pandamatenga.
1876 August	Trader, tourist conductor	Horner, Grandy and Dorehill went to the Zambesi with Westbeeche. The three were ill with fever in rainy season of 1876-7 at Pandamatenga and Horner was still ill at Pandamatenga in June 1877.
1876 August	Webster	
1876 August	Hunter, trader	
1877 Jan	Grandy, William J.	
1877 Jan	Hunter, trader	

1877 July 1877 August 1877 August	Scott Sportsman Bagger, Oswald Trader Frewen, Richard Traveller	Went to the Falls with S. Anderson and Webster in 1877 leaving his wagon at Hendrick's Pan leaving by December A Swede and flamboyant character known as 'Count' and 'Uncle;' died at Lesuma, Barotseland Left Kimberley in April 1877 intending to cross the Zambesi river. Walked from Pandamatenga with Kingsley and Mackenna to the Falls by 14 August and found Palmer, Fry and McCall camping there. Frewen and Kingsley walked to Wankie's town, but quarrelled with the chief. Hunted in 'The Berg' with Selous, Owen and Dorehill and left for koBulawayo.
1877 August	Kingsley Hunter, trader	Left Kimberley in April 1877 intending to cross the Zambesi river. Walked from Pandamatenga with Kingsley and Mackenna to the Falls by 14 August and found Palmer, Fry and McCall camping there. Frewen and Kingsley walked to Wankie's town, but quarrelled with the chief. Hunted in 'The Berg' with Selous, Owen and Dorehill and left for koBulawayo.
1877 August 1877 August 1877 August	Fry, Thomas Hunter, trader McCall Hunter, trader Palmer, Grey Hunter, trader	Travelled with Palmer to Pandamatenga and left for the Falls on 10 August. Met Frewen, Kingsley, McKenna and McCall Surname may be confused with Henry Hall; met Fry, Palmer, Frewen and Kingsley at the Falls. Left Pandamatenga on 10 August with Thomas Fry for the Falls and arrived at Tati on 14 December with Fry, Wiltshire, Gordon and Bray
1877 August 1877 September	Sadlier, Tom Hunter Owen, L. M. Hunter, trader	Hunted in Matabeleland before working for Westbeech at Pandamatenga in 1877; probably visited the Falls Shot with Selous, Dorehill and Frewen at 'The Berg' - the hilly country east of Deka. Hunted with Selous north of the Zambesi in 1877-8 but they caught fever and forced to retreat to Inyati.
1877 October	Phillips, George A. Hunter, trader, concessionaire	Formed a partnership with Westbeech that lasted from 1867-1888. Took Mrs Westbeech to Pandamatenga in October 1877 and in 1878 and took Mr & Mrs Williams to Pandamatenga in 1883. Resided in Matabeleland for 25 years.
1878 July	Weyers, Jan Hunter	Hunting with Meyer at Hendrik's pan in 1877; hunted in Zambezia in 1878-9. Hunted elephant for Westbeech until 1888 from Pandamatenga
1878 August	Coillard, Rev Francis & Mrs & Elise Missionaries	Deported from Matabeleland by Lobengula in 1878 and decided to start a mission in Barotseland and visited the Falls on 7 August; very much helped by Westbeech
1878 August	Taylor, Robert Trader	Trading at Sechele's in 1876; in 1878 at Shoshong with a large trade in ivory with his wife. Visited the Zambesi before 1879.
1878 September 1878 November	Anderson, Andrew Arthur Trader, surveyor, artist Pinto, Alexandre Alberto da Rocha de Serpa Portuguese Traveller, cartographer	Refused entry to Matabeleland in January 1878; met Westbeech at the Zambesi Sent on an exploratory mission by the Portuguese and left from Benguela in September 1877 and arrived at Lealui, Barotseland in August 1878. Met Bradshaw and Walsh at Impalera. Visited the Falls from Lesuma on 16 November and went to Pandamatenga and left for Tati with Rev Coillard and Phillips.



1880 July	Depelchin, Henri Jesuit Father	Depelchin, Terode, Weisskopf, Nigg, Simonis and Vervenne with Walsh as conductor left Tati on 17 May 1880 for Barotseland and the Tonga region below the Falls. Blockley took the Jesuits to the Falls 10–17 July and a mission was begun at Pandamatenga with Simonis as carpenter. Terode and Vervenne started a mission on the north bank of the Zambesi about 80 kms below Wankie's kraal. Terode died of fever about 16 September and Vervenne was seriously ill and returned to St Joseph's at Pandamatenga. The Jesuits were prevented from entering the Barotse Valley partly due to Westbeech not supporting their mission and the Jesuit Mission was abandoned about 1885.
1880 July	Nigg Jesuit Father	as above
1880 July	Simonis Jesuit Father	as above
1880 July	Terörde, Anton Jesuit Father	as above
1880 July	Vervenne Jesuit Father	as above
1880 July	Weisskopf Jesuit Father	as above

The real author of this article is Edward C. Tabler who over 24 years of study and research compiled all the details and particulars about the persons listed in the table above. His book *The Far Interior* contains the names and itineraries of over 400 persons who criss-crossed the region during this period. A typical entry has each individual's full name, years of birth and death, parents, education and early life, their career which highlights the period they were in the region of central Southern Africa and an assessment of their achievements. All of them whether hunter, trader, prospectors or missionaries were "Pioneers" of the region and all shared the hardships and dangers of life at that time. This article includes only those who made the arduous trek to the Victoria Falls before 1880.

Photographs of Edward Tabler at Mangwe Pass through which every one of these individuals passed at one time or another are shown below as a tribute to his great contribution and achievement.



Courtesy of West Virginia and Regional History Centre; Edward Tabler at the Mangwe Pass Memorial

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Notes of the History of Government House Salisbury 1910–1963

(A production of the National Archives from 1963)

Edited by Fraser Edkins



During the period in which the British South Africa Company was directly responsible for the administration of Southern Rhodesia, from 1890 to 1923, the head of affairs was in the earlier years the Chief Magistrate and afterwards the Administrator.

His Honour the Administrator seems to have had no officially designated residence in Salisbury until 1896 when a large and newly-constructed house was rented for him. This, first occupied by Sir William Henry Milton, the then Administrator, still exists as Milton House, in Montagu Avenue, overlooking Greenwood Park, and next door to the headquarters of the British South Africa Police.

In subsequent years the present Government House area was set aside as Government House Reserve, against the day when a suitable residence should be built on it. The grounds were cultivated and used for out-door receptions.

When the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal came together as the Union of South Africa the opening of the new Dominion's first parliament in 1910 was planned as the occasion of a Royal Visit. The opening was to be performed by the Prince of Wales (later George V) on behalf of King Edward VII, but the death of the latter, and accession of the former, caused a change and the Duke of Connaught was invited by the South African Government instead.

On 30 October 1909, the Secretary of the London Office of the British South Africa Company informed the Administrator in Salisbury, who was still Sir William Milton, that "in reference to the forthcoming visit of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales to South Africa, it has been arranged that a lengthy visit will be paid to Rhodesia, during which the Prince and Princess will be the guests of the Company". By 24 March 1910, the Board of the Company was able to cable as follows to Sir William Milton: "... There must be suitable accommodation for them and suites. We propose sending our house and furniture complete from here to be erected in Government House Reserve. House would be made of steel and cement interior similar to that used in construction Mount Nelson Hotel (in Cape Town). This would be suitable afterwards for use as Government House. The cost will be approximately £8 000. We understand that Administration pay Pauling and Co. rent £585 for Government House under 21 years lease, of which several years still to run. Can you place new Government House on estimates spread over period of years. Money to be advanced by British South Africa Company or have you any other suggestions to make for suitable housing of Royal party consisting of 24 persons at least".

In his reply Milton expressed doubts whether a building could be constructed in steel and cement for the sum mentioned. "If Salisbury decided on", he cabled, "we could vacate Government House and endeavour procure other houses in vicinity for suite and

servants... Further suggestion if Lomagundi line widened make 700 yards of siding and bring train into Reserve adding sufficient Durbar tent accommodation on lawns ... Consider rapid building of Government House unadvisable under present conditions”.

Sir William elaborated these remarks in a letter to H. Wilson Fox dated 2 April 1910: “...We are quite in the dark as to the method in which the house is to be built in so short a time, but I suppose you are satisfied that it can be done. If this is not a certainty I presume nothing will be done, as I feel that our only excuse at the present time for incurring such expenditure is the Royal Visit. Our present house, though I admit somewhat uncomfortable, and over-run periodically with plagues of ants, would, I think, under ordinary conditions, suffice for some years to come”.

Lord Winchester wrote to Sir William Milton on 16 April 1910, about his suggestion of using the train and Durbar tents to house the Royal party in Salisbury. “I tried to obtain the loan from the Indian Government of suitable tents, but failed in that direction. Sir Havelock Charles, who will accompany their Royal Highnesses, has, after studying the thermometer charts, decided that the train is quite impossible as a temporary residence, and therefore there is nothing but to build... The residence which we have decided upon will be erected by Cubitts, who are the best firm of London builders, and who constructed the Mount Nelson Hotel. Their system is one which is universal in this country, although the system has only very recently been introduced. It provides for a residence cool in Summer and warm in Winter... The house will have its own electric light plant, and I should have ordered a gas suction engine had we not been considering a general electric lighting scheme for the town. Messrs Cubitt undertake to have the building erected by 31 August, and the furniture I am having made to fit the rooms. In this, I am, as far as possible, following the Dutch style. Messrs. Keightly, who was responsible for furnishing Government houses at Pretoria and Bloemfontein, is undertaking this work...”. On the day when this letter was written, the London Board cabled Sir William with its final decision: “After full consideration various alternatives Board have decided Company must either build suitable house or inform HRH the Prince of Wales and HRH the Princess of Wales that they cannot be invited here. Latter course impossible. Contract signed accordingly with Cubitt and Company to erect new Government House steel and concrete on Government Reserve. House as designed quite suitable for future requirements. Cost approximately £30.00 including furniture ... Cubitt’s Manager sails 16 April. Please arrange deliver at site by 12 May 1500 cubic yards suitable for concrete ballast, 1000 cubic yards sand, 100 yards lime, 20 tons Portland cement, 5000 bricks. Also please engage for the same date three carpenters, 25 skilled labourers and 50 natives...” Having reached this decision, the Board issued a formal invitation to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Visit Southern and Northern Rhodesia. The Prince signified his acceptance on 24 April 1910.

Sir William Milton conveyed the intention of the Board to the members of the Executive Council. Their response was varied. Sir Raleigh Grey wrote on 25 April 1910: “I am glad that the Administrator is at least to be provided with an official residence suitable to his high position. I am of course unable to speak for my Colleagues, but I personally shall be most pleased to confirm the action the Government have thought fit to make in view of the early visit of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales”. (Other members regretfully declined to confirm the decision, or suspended judgment until they had consulted their colleagues. The London Board itself discovered an obstacle in the plan, for on 7 May 1910, a cable was sent to Sir William Milton stating:



“You should suspend preparations Royal visit. Do not proceed erection Government House pending further instructions”. The hesitation was due to the death, on 6 May 1910, of His Majesty King Edward VII. On 10th May, however, the Board cabled: “Erection of permanent houses to be proceeded with ...”.

By July 1910, the building was well advanced. Sir William Milton was informed by the London Board on 2 July that the Royal party would arrive at Salisbury on 17 November. On 5 July, he informed the Board that the Manager of Holland and Hannen and Cubitts Limited, the contractors, had undertaken to hand over the house by 15 October, despite the fact that clause seven of the Agreement made on 12 April 1910 stated that the Contractor guaranteed the completion of the Contract by 31 August, 1910.

F. S. Inskipp, head of the British South Africa Company’s commercial branch in Bulawayo, wrote to Sir William Milton on 6th October: “I hope you are overcoming most of your difficulties, but Newton tells me it is going to be a near thing”. Inskipp informed Sir William that the London office had told him that the contractor’s estimate of the cost of the building was approximately £25 850, so that the original estimate of £18 000 had been—as Sir William had said it would be—much too low.

The Royal party arrived in Salisbury on the morning of Thursday, 17 November 1910 and stayed at the new Government House until the afternoon of Sunday 20 November. On the day of their arrival, at 4:30 p.m., the very first garden party was held in the Government House grounds. In addition to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and their daughter the Princess Patricia (afterwards Lady Patricia Ramsay), the suite consisted of Miss A. E. Pelly, (Lady in Waiting), Lord Hamilton of Dalzell, (Lord in Waiting), Sir Francis Hopwood (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies) Captain R. E. Wemyss, R. N., (commanding the Balmoral Castle), Major M. C. Lowther, Scots Guards, (Private Secretary), Captain T. R. Bulkeley, Scots Guards (Equerry), Captain R. F. S. Grant (Extra Equerry) Captain G. S. Worthington, R. A. M. C. (Medical Officer): the servants included a valet to His Royal Highness, a chef, two maids for the Duchess, a maid for Miss Pelly, three footmen, seven extra valets, one clerk, a hairdresser, a photographer and a baggage-master.

On 2 December 1910, the Administrator wrote that “Mr Hill, the Manager of Cubitt’s Limited, has completed the work of erecting the new Government House. The erection has been carried out under some difficulties, and great pressure, and it was only by unremitting attention and energy on the part of the Manager that the building was completed in time for the reception of their Royal Highnesses!

When finished, the house had the form of a square, with an open inner court 50 feet by 50 feet, in the centre. The most unusual feature, made necessary by the speed at which it was constructed, was the use for the walls of a patent composition which included asbestos. This possessed great strength and durability, although the walls were only three inches thick. They kept out extremes of heat and cold. There were fifteen rooms, and the largest, the reception room, measured 60 feet by 60 feet.

A telegram from London 7 April 1911 informed Sir William Milton that the total cost of the house, excluding the furniture, was £56 000, almost double the estimate made in August 1910. In February 1911, Sir William had written: “I should like to divest myself of further responsibility for old Government House”, and in July the

London Board informed him: “We have bought old Government House from Pauling and Co”. By that time, the Administrator had settled down in his new home. The unusual circumstances under which it had been built gave it a certain notoriety. In May 1913, the Administrator received a letter from Government House, Darwin, Australia: “As the question of erecting a new Government House for this territory—the Northern Territory of Australia—is likely to arise in the comparatively near future, and as I have seen some particulars regarding the new residence erected for Your Excellency, I would deem it a personal favour if you will kindly direct your Public Works Department to forward me full particulars with copies of specifications etcetera”.

And so, after an urgent beginning, Government House was settled to its present purpose. There have been many notable visits and notable functions in peacetime and wartime. Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught (son and daughter-in-law of the Duke of Connaught) stayed for a few days in August 1921—the next Royal visit. In 1925 the Prince of Wales (now the Duke of Windsor) visited Salisbury in the course of a major tour of southern Africa when there was a remarkable *indaba* of 800 African chiefs and headmen from Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the paddock at Government House. The then-Governor, Sir John Chancellor, was informed by the Prince immediately before an investiture that he, Sir John, would be the first on the list as a cabled conferment of the G.C.V.O. on him had just been received.

The Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice visited Salisbury in August 1926 when again an *indaba* was held in the Government House grounds. Thereafter it was 21 years before the next Royal Visit, the most significant of all in the history of the House. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth with Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret spent 67 days in southern Africa travelling by air and by train, in 1947. Ten days were allocated to Southern and Northern Rhodesia and three nights were spent at Government House in Salisbury.

This visit required exceptionally detailed planning and the large staff in attendance made heavy demands on the accommodation: demands which were met by echoing a suggestion of the Administrator in 1910. In 1947, as in 1910, the railway from Salisbury to Sinoia ran behind the grounds of Government House and it was possible to put down a special spur of track for the Royal Train and many of the staff continued to live in it.

1953 was the centenary of the birth of Cecil John Rhodes, the focus of many celebrations in the Colony. The Queen Mother and Princess Margaret came in June to open a significant Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo and were in Salisbury for 7 days. The same year saw the inauguration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Government House became the seat of the Governor-General of the Federation.

In 1910 the building was foursquare with an internal courtyard; subsequent additions have blurred this original outline but basically its internal divisions have undergone little change and the fabric is still the “Hy-rib” expanded metal, plastered, with a skeleton structure of steel work that the British South Africa Company exported from England.

Georgiana Sanderson/Clayton

by Geoff Brakspear



This is the second part of my family history and continues on from the article in this Journal on Harry Sanderson.

Georgiana was the fourth daughter of builder Henry and Mary Anne Adkins and was born on 3 March 1867, in the small village of East Farndon, Northamptonshire. The couple later had a son and a further four daughters. They had large families in those days. In 1891, aged 24, Georgiana was living in Leicester with three of her sisters and was a school teacher. In 1896 she met and married Harry Sanderson, and with him travelled out to Rhodesia. (See the article on Harry Sanderson, *Heritage of Zimbabwe* Publication No 35 of 2016). I pick up the family history with the death of Harry and there is much to come on this remarkable lady.

At the time of Harry Sanderson's death on 3 May 1909, Georgiana was in the UK with Geoffrey (now aged 11 years) and Molly (4 years). John Sanderson's notes indicate that they were staying with Harry's sister Aunt Missus.

John Sanderson's 1992 notes say that prior to Harry's death "this was the happiest time in Georgiana's life, as she struggled with her husband to get the hotel on its feet". After the first rebuilding exercise in 1899, with extensions in 1906, the Commercial Hotel was doing well. They then acquired two further stands in Speke Avenue. It is probable that negotiations had begun to acquire the last stand before Harry's death, enabling the couple to control five of the seven stands between First and Angwa Streets, Salisbury.

With the acquisition of the additional two stands, and the likely purchase of a third, it was now time for Harry and Georgiana to consider the possibility of building a very much larger hotel, capable of expansion over the additional land as the business grew. I think it is probable that plans had started to be drawn up and with that it was agreed that Georgiana should go to England to look for the latest furniture and hotel accessories. In addition Georgiana also needed to consider the education of her children, particularly that of Geoffrey.

From John Sanderson's notes and information received from Sherborne School, we know that Geoffrey went to Stonegate Preparatory School just outside Leicester. Indeed the 1911 UK Census places him at the School as a boarder. But I have not as yet been able to find out when he first went to the School. I think it is likely that Geoffrey started at Stonegate at the beginning of the school year in September 1909.

I looked at the passenger records of British citizens leaving the UK. This is not always easy as quite often only the surnames are stated with their status (Mr, Mrs, Master and Miss). The first Sanderson I found that could be a likely candidate were a Mrs and Master Sanderson on board the *Kildonan Castle* which left Southampton for Cape Town on 13 November 1909.⁹ I find it somewhat surprising that Molly is not

mentioned in the passenger list, but this may be because of her age. It is unlikely that she was left behind in England. Why did Georgiana take so long to get back to Rhodesia after Harry's death? Firstly she needed to get Geoffrey into a school and secondly she needed to see that he was reasonably settled before going back to Salisbury.

On her return to Salisbury, John Sanderson says in his notes Georgiana "told me that when she went through the books and receipts of the hotel bar, after Harry's death, she found a stack of IOU's for drinks from Harry's numerous friends, who were 'down on their luck'". This checks out with Harry's obituary. In the months following her return she is likely to have got her head down to sort out the accounts, probably tried to get as many of the IOU's paid, had meetings with the architects and started to arrange for the new development. At this time it is likely that most of the building materials needed for the new hotel would have had to be brought up from South Africa. Rhodesia's industrial development would have been in its infancy and the only materials to be manufactured locally would likely have been bricks. So, with any building works, time would have been needed just to order materials, and these had to be ordered accurately from plans as there was no going round the corner for something that was short or forgotten.

Probably in the UK summer of 1910 she returned to England to see how Geoffrey was getting on and to start to place the orders for furniture and the like for the new hotel. Molly went with her. She returned to Rhodesia with Molly on the *Kenilworth Castle* on 8 October, the day before Molly's sixth birthday.⁹

The remainder of 1910 and well into 1911 was probably taken up with the building of the new Commercial Hotel. With its completion she had fulfilled the dreams of Harry and herself. John Sanderson suggested in his notes that Georgiana decided to return to England. This is probably right as she sold the newly constructed Commercial Hotel to I. & J. Goldberg. But she only sold 4 of the 5 stands to the Goldbergs, and retained stand 527, quite why I have not been able to ascertain or surmise. The discovery that Georgiana had sold the Commercial Hotel was new to our knowledge of the family history, but my researches show that this was the case.

Jack Goldberg was born in London in about 1871. He emigrated to Southern Rhodesia in 1897, when he was about 26, after being excited by the events of the Jameson Raid. After arriving in Bulawayo, his first job was to record admissions to the Bulawayo Memorial Hospital. He also traded the goods he had brought with him. From 1898 to 1900 he worked as a trader, including cattle trading, in Barotseland and Bechuanaland, travelling through wild, untamed country in the Zambesi valley. Returning to Bulawayo, he became a wholesale merchant and managing director of Matebeland [sic] Trading Association (MTA)—the first Jewish wholesaling organisation for the local indigenous people, and the Manchester Trading Company. After a few years he sold some of his interests and went to Europe, returning to Rhodesia with his elder brother Isadore to run stores at Colleen Bawn and various mines in the Gwanda district.³ In 1910, with his brother, he built the Gatooma Hotel, and in 1911 purchased the Commercial Hotel, Salisbury for £31 000. In 1914 he decided to give up the hotel business and go into mining, and later ranching.

In my researches I found two bits of paraphernalia related to the time that the Goldbergs owned the Commercial Hotel, Salisbury. The first is a luggage label for the Commercial Hotel, Salisbury which also said "And at Gatooma", with the manager's name being T. Bundy. The second is a postcard of the Commercial Hotel with "I & J Goldberg, Proprietors" printed on the front.



With the sale of the Hotel, it is likely that Georgiana packed up and returned to England with Molly. John Sanderson's notes say that she bought a house in Bournemouth and lived there with her two children. From the records of Sherborne School her address is given as St Albans Avenue, Bournemouth. My grandmother, Molly, told me that she went to a school in Harrogate, Yorkshire, an institution that she hated. I have been unable to identify the school that she attended.



Commercial Hotel circa 1912 (Photo: National Archives)

What happens next is speculation on my part. Georgiana had known Frederick Clayton for many years through Harry Sanderson's association with him. I think that Clayton arrived in the UK sometime in early 1912 and travelled to Bournemouth to see Georgiana, and during the course of these visits proposed marriage. Why else would Georgiana then leave the UK on board the *Armada Castle* on 13 July 1912, to marry Frederick Clayton in Salisbury on 28 November, 1912? Frederick Clayton boarded the *Balmoral Castle* in Southampton on 4 May 1912, headed for Cape Town and Salisbury, leaving his fiancé to follow later.⁹

But what does puzzle me is that the passenger list for the *Armada Castle* on 13 July 1912 only lists Mrs G. Sanderson and Master G. Sanderson. There is no Molly. If indeed Geoffrey did go out to Rhodesia with his mother, this must have been a short visit as we know from the records of Sherborne School that he started there in September 1912. The ship's log is very clear that the passenger was a male and over the age of 12. So it appears that Molly was left behind in the UK. It must have been about this time that Geoffrey met Clayton and it appears to be about the only time they were together.

John Sanderson's notes indicate that "he couldn't stand Clayton".

Frederick Clayton was born on 4 March 1868^{4,5}, in England. He ran away from home as a young man and emigrated to South Africa as a jockey⁵. In 1885 he was employed as a stable-boy at Addo Heights outside Port Elizabeth on a farm recently purchased by Peter Bailey, a racehorse owner.⁴

He attested into the British South Africa Company Police on 21 February 1890, and served in A Troop in the Pioneer Column as a groom to Capt. H. M. Heyman, his commanding officer.⁴ His nickname was "Sundown" either after a horse that got him into trouble, or on account of his flaring red face"⁴ or because of his "cheery, round and ruddy face"⁵. It appears he accompanied the Pioneer Column through to Salisbury, and was later posted to the Odzi River, where he was met by Lionel Cripps in May 1891. He was discharged from A Troop on 5 January 1892.

It appears he set up a wayside hotel at Odzi Drift⁴, or ran a trading store in the Odzi district⁵, possibly both. It is not clear whether he was involved in the occupation of Matabeleland in 1893⁴, but if he was stuck in Odzi it is probably unlikely. However he was away from the hotel at the end of 1893 and had a man named Jones running it for him⁴. It would also appear that he ran several trading stores in partnership with O'Reilly, one of which was burnt down in the Mashona Rebellion of 1896⁴.

I have his British South Africa Company Medal, which was awarded to the people that participated in the forces during the 1896 Matabeleland and Mashonaland Rebellions. The medal was also awarded to those who served in the Pioneer Column and invasion of Matabeleland. The medal has two bars on it reading "Mashonaland 1890" (Pioneer Column) and "Rhodesia 1896", which would have been in connection with the Mashona Rebellion. Engraved on the side are the words "Tpr Clayton, F. BSACP". As he appeared to be in Mashonaland at the time it is highly likely that he would have been involved in the Mashona problems but I cannot be certain in what capacity.

He then moved to Salisbury where he opened up a livery stable in Stanley Avenue, where visiting farmers and miners kept their horses and carriages when in Salisbury⁵. I



Frederick Clayton

am uncertain when he sold this business and it did not appear in the contents of his will. The livery stable later became a garage, then Pockets Tea Room. In the 1960's the site was redeveloped as Bothwell House.

*"Fred Clayton also engaged in mining and struck it rich when he became a partner in the Yellow Jacket Syndicate which sold the Cam and Motor claims for a large sum, said to be in the 'tens of thousands' and a record for those days."*⁵.

When he received this "large sum" is unclear. However he bought two areas of land described as "Hatcliffe" (size about 3 500 acres) and "Hatcliffe Extension" (about 11 acres), which were part of the Borrowdale Estate on 8 March, 1912.



He was later to buy another large piece of land known as “Hatcliffe South Extension” (about 3 450 acres) on 17 December, 1914. Finally he had agreed to buy and paid for a further 48 acres, known as Hatcliffe Extension No 2. Immediately before his death in 1916 the property had not been transferred. So by the time he died he had accumulated about 7 000 acres of the land that we all now refer to as the “Hatcliffe Estate”.⁶

It is probable that, with his great love of horses, he was involved in racing at the Mashonaland Turf Club, which was founded in 1892 and had its racecourse just west of the town. The race course moved in 1958 to its present location in Borrowdale. The site now has the buildings for the Magistrates Courts, Harare Library, National History Museum, Sheraton Hotel, International Conference Centre and ZANU (PF) headquarters. I have a photo of Clayton holding a horse with a jockey in racing colours that was probably taken at the old race course.

Georgiana married Clayton on 28 November 1912, the marriage certificate showing Clayton’s occupation as “farmer”.

What is however interesting is that Georgiana’s occupation is that of “Landed Proprietress”! The wedding certificate shows the witnesses as solicitor W. S. Honey (who we shall hear more of later) and W. W. Tucker.

I have no evidence of where Georgiana was living before the wedding, but according to John Sanderson’s notes she “insisted on a decent house if Clayton wished her to move to Hatcliffe”. His notes indicate that he lived in a cabin. Clayton did build a substantial house at Hatcliffe, but he “was able to enjoy it for only three years”⁵, indicating that it was probably built in 1912 shortly after he bought Hatcliffe.

John Sanderson’s notes say Clayton was “definitely the ‘horsey type’, saw himself



**Hatcliffe House in 1915, with Georgiana,
Clayton is probably the man standing, and the horse called ‘Chanticleer’**

as very much the country squire. He established orchards at Hatcliffe, a dairy, pedigree cattle, fences, boreholes etc. Every day he would ride through his domain.”

John Sanderson’s notes continue by saying that Clayton’s “insistence that everyone should learn to ride well extended to Georgiana. A quiet horse was bought and equipped with a side saddle. Georgiana was mounted, and the horse walked to the kitchen garden —about 300 yards—Georgiana suddenly became alarmed and yelled ‘he’s bolting, he’s bolting.’ In actual fact the horse was standing still. This was the first and last time Georgiana ever sat on a horse! She later contented herself with a Ford Model T as the best mode of transportation.”

In early 1914 they both travelled to the UK, I have a photograph of them attending the Sixth Annual Rhodesian Dinner held at the Holbein Restaurant, London on 9 June 1914. However the only passenger transcript I have found for that year is that of Clayton returning, via Cape Town, on the *Edinburgh Castle* on 11 July.⁹

The next intriguing part of the story is that Georgiana bought back the Commercial Hotel from Goldberg, with the transfer of the four stands being registered at the Deeds Office on 21 August, 1914. Unless the transaction was carried out telegraphically, it is probable that Georgiana did travel back to Rhodesia.

I am uncertain why Goldberg wanted to sell the hotel, but judging from his brief biography he was not a hotelier, and it is probable that even with Mr Bundy as manager he was not doing well from the business. With the reacquisition of the Hotel, Georgiana would have wanted to disassociate the new management with what had happened over the last three years. It was at this point that she rebranded the hotel as “The Grand Hotel”, a name by which the hotel was to be more commonly known.

In January 1915, with World War I in progress, Geoffrey left Sherborne School at the age of 17. He was perhaps too young to join the forces and instead took on an apprenticeship with Vickers as an engineer working on submarines at Barrow-in-Furness. This apprenticeship in a vital war-related industry probably saved him from conscription, when it was introduced in 1916 for all men aged 18 to 45. However I have evidence that he was in some sort of military unit, in a postcard with a group of soldiers photographed outside a building entrance. On one of the soldiers is a handwritten X. The reverse of the card reads—“My dear Mollie. You have been wanting a photo so I am sending you this. When I get a better uniform I will have one taken separate. You can see inside one of the rooms, they are absolutely bare and we sleep on straw mattresses on iron bedsteads. Very rough but still I don’t mind. It is a bit like a picnic. Well I expect I shall have to finish the war for them!! Much love & kisses from Geoffrey”.

I also have a newspaper cutting at the time of Geoffrey’s death, which reads “*He was trained in engineering at Messrs. Vickers and joined the Air Force during the war as soon as he was old enough, and became flight-lieutenant.*” I have looked at the Muster Roll that was produced as at 1 April 1918 that listed all personnel in either the Royal Flying Corps or the Royal Naval Air Service which went to form the Royal Air Force. The most likely suspect I found was a G. Sanderson who was a ‘Fitter Aero Engine learner’, who joined one of the forces on 16 May 1917, and had his last promotion on 22 December 1917.

Despite the war, it would appear that Georgiana and Clayton returned to England in April/May 1915. This time they were to leave the UK on the *Balmoral Castle* on 19 June, with Molly.⁹

Life for Georgiana was probably looking reasonably good. Clayton was doing his



farming and she had her hotel back, Geoff appeared to be safe from the rigours of war and Molly was at school in Salisbury. But all was to change. Clayton “was out riding in one of his paddocks one July day when he decided to move a family of wild ostriches to another paddock. He was chasing them at top speed when his horse stumbled in a hole and he was thrown from the saddle.”⁵ John Sanderson’s notes say Clayton “was shaken up, but remounted and returned to Hatcliffe. He told Georgiana about it, but nobody thought it was serious. When (Sunday) morning arrived Clayton was found dead”. Clayton probably had concussion from the fall, (no “health and safety” in those days and he probably didn’t wear a riding helmet). His death was likely therefore to have been due to untreated concussion.

Poor Georgiana didn’t seem to have much luck, but worse was to come.

Clayton had drawn up and signed a will dated 1 March 1906 in which he charged his executors to sell and dispose of his estate and to hold the proceeds thereof in trust. The executors were to use the income derived from the capital “in giving and providing annually on the 12 September (Occupation Day of Mashonaland) a free picnic to all the European children and their parents who happen to be in Salisbury on the said 12th day of September”. On the 10 October 1910 he added a codicil for a legacy to be given to his godson, Cecil Hatcliffe Whittaker. This was the only legal will that was relevant on the date of his death, 2 July 1912.

Clayton had however been to see his lawyer, W. S. Honey, on Saturday the 1 July, 1912 and gave him instructions for a new will that would replace the 1906 will and 1910 codicil. He had arranged to go into Mr Honey’s offices to sign it on the following Tuesday, as he was due to go to Beira on the Wednesday. “The formalities of law in executing the will drawn by the deceased himself had not been complied with, and so the last wishes of Frederick Clayton cannot be carried out unless the Legislative Council of Southern Rhodesia passes an Ordinance hereunder published”.

The contents of his proposed will was to replace the previous will and codicil with *“the life interest in an estate or property known as Hatcliffe Estate was given and left to one Georgiana Clayton, his wife and on her death the said property was to be devolved and used for the benefit of the pioneers of Rhodesia and their descendants who were in need of help, more especially those who have been disabled in the present war”*. In addition there would remain the sum of £5 000 for Cecil Hatcliffe Whittaker. Finally the remainder of the estate was to be bequeathed to Evelyn Mary Sanderson on her attaining the age of 25 years. There are no details of contents of the estate’s remainder.

A Bill was included in The British South Africa Company Gazette of 1 June 1917, which provided a draft for an Act of Parliament to be known as the Fred. Clayton Trust Ordinance (Act). As the Legislative Council was suspended at the time of the publication the final approval of the Bill would have to wait until the next session. The Ordinance was finally promulgated on 2 August 1918. The probable reason for the long delay was due to the compilation of the schedules of names of men who participated in the 1890 Pioneer Column and the 1893 invasion of Matabeleland. The value of the Hatcliffe Estate is given a £30 000. The Ordinance also lists other properties that he owned in Stanley, Baker, Cape Avenues, Salisbury, four cottages and a half share in Weardale Farm (total value £13 900). Also listed are mortgages granted by Clayton to various individuals in the sum of £7 300. The total value of this today would be in excess of

£2.15 million in the UK, but this was probably worth more in Rhodesia as the cost of living was much lower.

What the Ordinance did was to blend the two wills together. Georgiana was to have a life interest in the Hatcliffe Estate “*with all buildings, fences and works thereon, and all livestock and implements at present upon and appertaining to the proper working and conduct of the said property; provided always that she shall from the progeny of any live stock upon the property replace in value any animals which may die of ordinary natural causes or from accident, save that should such stock die from or be destroyed on account of any general cattle plague or pestilence she shall not be obliged to replace such. Any progeny of the remaining stock after such replacing shall be at the sole discretion of the said Georgiana Clayton*”.

“*Upon the death of the said Georgiana Clayton the whole of the property known as the Hatcliffe Estate..., with all buildings, live stock, fences, works and implements thereon, shall be vested in the trustees, who may retain the same entire or dispose of it ... at their discretion, and invest the proceeds thereof on good and sufficient security.*” The income derived from the Hatcliffe Estate or the investments was to be used “*for the assistance of such pioneers or their descendents as may be in need of help*”. Those pioneers disabled in World War I would have a priority claim over others. In addition, from the income of the Hatcliffe Estate, a sum of money, no more that £100, was to be placed at the disposal of the Mayor of Salisbury “*for the purposes of carrying out a picnic for the European children and their parents who happen to be in Salisbury on the said “Occupation Day” . The said sum would be a first charge on the income of Hatcliffe Estate*”. (Interestingly in the preamble before the Bill it suggested that the cost of the picnic was “*not more perhaps than one shilling or so a year for a few years*”).

The Fred. Clayton Trust Act is the only Act of Parliament that has ever being passed within Southern Rhodesia/Rhodesia/Zimbabwe that bears the name of an individual. The Act is still on the country’s statute books.

It has been important to go into some detail on the estate of Clayton because it was to have an effect on the family as a whole for the next 30 years.

In John Sanderson’s words “Poor Georgiana—she didn’t like the bush, or horses, and she loathed Hatcliffe. Now, by Act of Parliament, no less, she was stuck with the place. She couldn’t sell, there was no incentive to improve the place since she could not pass it on to her family, and she must maintain Hatcliffe in the pristine state required by Clayton’s first Will.” To be fair, from the contents of the Bill it would appear that Clayton had only intended that she had a life interest in Hatcliffe in terms of the draft will. Clayton however had not anticipated quite so early a death! However it was the Act that placed an obligation on her to maintain the livestock (cattle) at the same numbers and at the same value during her lifetime. The Act did not say that she could not undertake improvements to the property to improve its income.

From the earlier photographs it would appear that some European men were employed at the farm, and no doubt Georgiana relied on them to keep the farm going. Indeed someone had to manage the farm during the period from Clayton’s death until the Act was passed in the Legislative assembly about two years later or, in farming terms, two growing seasons.

John goes on to say “*Anyway, the first thing that Georgiana did was to arrange for Geoffrey to return to Rhodesia. The fact that this was done successfully is testimony to Georgiana’s determination. It involved breaking an apprenticeship contract with*



Vickers and arranging for ship passage all in the midst of one of the most savage wars in history—the date being 1915/16.” I think that John is wrong in this. Firstly it was not until 1918 that the Act was passed and, if she had acted earlier, it may have been premature. Secondly, it would appear that Geoffrey was in the Royal Air Force, possibly as an apprentice fitter. It could be that after the war Geoffrey had to return to complete his apprenticeship at Vickers, and this contract had to be broken.

I have searched the passenger lists of ships leaving the UK from 1914 to 1920, and the only reference I have to a Sanderson of the right age leaving the UK was on the *Balmoral Castle* leaving Southampton on 4 June 1920.⁹ The passenger list for this first class accommodation had a 22 year old, whose final destination was Rhodesia and whose occupation was that of farmer.

Whatever the story, Geoffrey came back from the UK and took over the running of Hatcliffe. In John’s words “Geoffrey gradually took over the operation of Hatcliffe, where he put his engineering training to good use. He established a shop where he could himself repair all the machinery on the farm. He had a tractor running on producer gas, made from charcoal, which in turn was made on the farm. The house had electric light, piped water supply, and a flush toilet.”

Another piece of information came to me some years back which I have not been able to verify but the way the information came to me makes it plausible. I was advised that a house in Fife Avenue, Salisbury had at one time been made available to Georgiana as a life time interest from the estate of the Sir John Christopher Willoughby, 5th Baronet Willoughby of Baldon House. My informant appeared to have all the facts, but unfortunately at the time I failed to get greater details. Sir John Christopher Willoughby had an interesting life, the part of more concern to us is that he was a captain in the British South Africa Company Police on the Pioneer Column. He accompanied Jameson in the invasion of Matabeleland, and participated in the Jameson Raid as commander of the Rhodesian Volunteer Corps. He was captured with Jameson and would have been condemned to death by the Transvaal Court, but instead they were sent to the UK for trial. He accompanied Jameson to London and was one of the defendants in the trial resulting from the infamous raid. With Jameson and his partners he was jailed for a year for contravening the Foreign Enlistment Act and conducting a military occupation against a friendly state (Transvaal). He died on 16 April 1918.

It is possible that a life interest was left to Georgiana in the Fife Avenue property. The will could have been drawn up in sympathy to her predicament following Clayton’s death to ensure that she had a home. Given that Willoughby died in April 1918, the will would have been drawn up earlier. None of the family photos show a house like the Fife Avenue property, only more modern ones I have been furnished with. Interestingly one of the bedrooms had a washbasin which would have been something a hotelier like Georgiana would have had.

I do not know if Georgiana lived in this Fife Avenue property. John Sanderson’s notes suggested that Georgiana resided at Hatcliffe and that she retained a suite of rooms in the Grand Hotel for her own use. It was the suite on the second floor beneath the tower on the street corner. Molly was initially sent to school at the Dominican Convent, and later to Girls High School. I am uncertain if she was a boarder at these schools or not. If not it would have been an arduous journey to school each day if they lived at

Hatcliffe. Certainly the Grand Hotel would not have been the ideal place to bring up a schoolgirl. The Fife Avenue house would then make some sense.

In 1922 Mr J. W. Nash was appointed manager of the Grand Hotel. He was to remain the manager until 1937. In 1924 the first extension to the Grand Hotel took place at a cost of £12 000⁷. This involved the demolition of the last remaining building of the old Commercial Hotel that faced onto First Street. The extension duplicated the frontages of Speke Avenue.

The Hotel was further extended and improved in 1930 with a further £15 000 spent in improving the building. The Grand Hotel is always pictured showing the 1911 building with the 1924 First Street extension. Very few pictures exist of the building along Speke Avenue. According to Alex Jack the Hotel increased its original 25 rooms to 97, so the 1930's works probably helped to increase the number of rooms. In an advertisement with a 1950 publication, the Grand Hotel is said to have "110 rooms, Grill Room,



**Grand Hotel after First Street extension
(Postcard in "Herald Series")**

Banqueting Hall, Dining room (seating 200 people), and 28 lock up garages".¹⁰ So further extensions were made following the 1930 extension

Probably in the latter half of 1923 Georgiana and Molly travelled to England. I have a few photographs of them travelling out on the *Windsor Castle*, and photos of them at Bournemouth. They returned to Rhodesia on board the *Briton* (also of the Union Castle line) which left Bournemouth on 15 February 1924.⁹ Also on board this ship was my grandfather, Donald Nicholas Brakspear, and there was most certainly a shipboard romance. I have Molly's dance card for the Fancy Dress Ball held on the 27th, in which a Mr Brakspear appears 6 times—leaving little time for other men. This Ball must have been just before reaching Cape Town, so no doubt they had met prior to this.

On reaching Salisbury, Don Brakspear went into the British South Africa Police, the reason he had travelled out to Southern Rhodesia. Molly at this time was 19 years old. What she did following her return I have no idea, but probably started to get to know the hotel operation.



On 4 June 1925, Geoffrey married Liliias Annabella Wiley, known as Lyll, at the Cathedral, at which Molly was one of the two bridesmaids. A year later on 17 June 1926 John Graham Sanderson was born. At this time I am unsure where Georgiana and Molly were living. The family photo album only shows pictures of them at Hatcliffe. It could be that the Fife Avenue property was being used at this time, as well as Georgiana's suite at the Grand Hotel.

Meanwhile Don Brakspear bought himself out of the Police and went farming and appears to have been a farm manager at Dorothy Hill, Makwiro. Makwiro was a small mixed farming area about 50 miles west of Salisbury towards Hartley (now Chegutu). From the family album it is clear that Don and Molly continued to see each other. On 24 April 1927 they married at the



Georgiana, circa 1927

Cathedral, with their reception at the Grand Hotel. Don and Molly started their life together at Makwiro, moving in 1928 to Shashi Farm (mid way between Shamva and Bindura), and a year later buying their own farm in the Nyabira area.

In 1929/30 Georgiana was to buy a couple of three quarter acre stands opposite the Alexandra Sports Club, and to build a house we all knew as Shirley House. The original address of the property was No 1 Alexandra Avenue, later renumbered to 7, and still later renamed 7, Denmark Avenue. When the house was built, I understand, people queried why my great grandmother had built so far out of town! The property is within reasonable walking distance of the city centre, but at the time the new house looked over virgin bush.

Shirley House was an expensive house to build at that time. It consisted of a central lounge, dining room, kitchen and three bedrooms. Uniquely for that time Georgiana built her own en-suite bathroom to the master bedroom, and had it tiled with the best wall tiling I have ever seen. Each of the other two bedrooms had a small recess for a washbasin, perhaps like something that came from her hotel background. Each of the bedrooms had built-in wardrobes, probably unheard of at the time. To the front of the house was a large veranda, something that was normal at the time. The whole floor was raised, which was fine during hot weather, as the house was always cool, but it was cold during the winter months. The raised floor also caused constant problems with termites (white ants as they were known). At the back of the house was a garage and servants quarters, all in brick under tiles roofs. The house was to remain in the family for four generations before it was eventually sold, very reluctantly, in 2002.

Tragedy was to strike in 1930, during a trip to visit Lyll's sister (also called Molly) in Cape Town with John. John's notes say that Lyll cut her hand, which turned septic and she died of septicaemia. John was aged 4 at the time, and he was to stay with his

aunt for a couple of years.

Geoffrey went to England in or about May/June 1931, without John who was no doubt left with his aunt in Cape Town. Whilst in England he must have met and, after a whirlwind romance, married Cecil C Horne-Douglas in a civil wedding in Kensington. According to John's notes, Cecil was one of two sisters who assisted a well known magician and illusionist Jasper Maskelyne. "*Jasper Maskelyne (1902–1973) was a British stage magician in the 1930s and 1940s. He was one of an established family of stage magicians, the son of Nevil Maskelyne and a grandson of John Nevil Maskelyne. He is most remembered, however, for his entertaining accounts of his work for British military intelligence during the Second World War, in which he claims that he created large-scale ruses, deception, and camouflage.*"⁸ Jasper married the other sister. Geoffrey and Cecil returned to Southern Rhodesia on the Carnarvon Castle sailing from Southampton on 21 August 1931.⁹ En route they collected John in Cape Town

From John's notes "On returning to Salisbury with his new bride they took up residence at Hatcliffe. Cecil, who only regarded Hatcliffe in terms of cash flow, regarded herself as a *prima donna* with an attitude of Christ coming to cleanse the temple. She employed a local artist to redecorate the house at Hatcliffe, with some rather startling results since she was unfortunately colour blind. The rest of the family was not sympathetic to her grandiose schemes. She succeeded in creating a favourable impression with the elite of Salisbury (notably Col T. Ellis-Robins, Chairman of BSA Co). Molly Cooper (Lyll's sister), who saw through this ploy and never minced words, always referred to Cecil as 'the juggler's assistant'". It is evident from these notes that there was little love lost between John and Cecil.

Geoffrey and Cecil's first child, Belinda Ann was born on 26 June 1933, but she tragically died within her first year. This was the same year that John was sent to Ruzawi School in Marandellas, the first of the family to go to this preparatory school.

John's notes continue—"Cecil was in the Lady Chancellor Nursing Home expecting Robin. John was staying with Georgiana at Shirley House. Molly was diagnosed with appendicitis, and was taken to Salisbury General Hospital for surgery. Geoffrey drove up to Shirley House and complained of severe abdominal pains. He went to visit Cecil at the Lady Chancellor Nursing Home, but continued to rest at Shirley House. He was eventually taken to Salisbury General Hospital with appendicitis. Immediate surgery was required, but alas it was too late. He died several days later. Molly recovered from her surgery and Robin was born." Tragedy had struck once again. Robin Geoffrey Sanderson was born on 18 December 1934. I understand that Molly was not told of Geoffrey's death until she had recovered. It seems amazing that brother and sister were to get appendicitis at the same time, with only one recovering. Robin was never to know his father, or his half brother, John.

Georgiana was, obviously, devastated by Geoffrey's early death. This now created another problem for Georgiana, as she still had to run and maintain the Hatcliffe Estate. Geoffrey's death was at the midst of the farm's growing season, and no doubt Don also had his season well under way. Whether Georgiana or Geoffrey had farm managers or not I do not know, but Don would have had to step into Geoffrey's shoes at Hatcliffe and probably supervise the growing seasons on two farms. Fortunately Nyabira and Hatcliffe were not too far apart. It was probably in 1934 that Don and Molly sold their Nyabira farm and moved to Hatcliffe to continue with its operations. The Clayton Act continued to be a burden that Georgiana had to bear. Don and Molly had by this time



got their own family consisting of Anthony (born 1928) and Julian (1933).

John's notes continue—"Cecil and Robin stayed in Salisbury with her various friends, until it was decided that she would move to the UK to rear Robin, and would be financed by Georgiana. Georgiana agreed to accept custody of John and Shirley House became my home till 1947."

So by the end of 1934, Georgiana was now residing at Shirley House with John, and Don. Molly and family were living at and running Hatcliffe Estate. Cecil had returned to UK with Robin.

With the declaration of war by Great Britain and France on Germany on 3rd September 1939, the world was to go through a horrendous global conflict. The colonies were called upon to recruit men for the fighting forces needed to battle the Axis powers, (Germany and Italy to start with). Don Brakspear was one of the first to volunteer at the age of 37. He was commissioned a temporary lieutenant into the Rhodesian territorial forces on 14 September 1939. He was seconded into the Gold Coast Regiment and was involved in the liberation of Abyssinia from the Italian occupying forces. His war and war diaries may make another article for this Journal. (*Heritage of Zimbabwe* Publication No 38 of 2019)

Meanwhile Hatcliffe Estate was left in Molly's hands with the assistance of two farm managers, one running the crops and the other the livestock. Don was to return to Hatcliffe in 1943, but was not in any condition to continue managing the farm. The two farm managers were retained, with Anthony assisting after he left school in 1946, but this was not to prove to be for very long.

On 13 April 1947, Georgiana collapsed at Shirley House and died aged 80. So ended the life of a formidable woman who had been one of the early settlers of Rhodesia. Although she could not claim to be a Pioneer in her own right (which is only reserved for people settling between 1890 to 1895) she was every bit a pioneer in the developing country.

With Georgiana's passing, Hatcliffe Estate was to pass to the Trustees of the Frederick Clayton Trust, who immediately sold the property to Messrs Newmarch and McLean for, in John's opinion, the paltry sum of £45 000. John suggests that the family were highly criticised for allowing the farm to be sold at about a tenth of its worth, but in terms of the will this was out of their hands. The capital of the trust was \$106 020 in August 1972, which lends credence to what John has said. With decimalisation the pound equivalent would have been £53 010.

At last the unintentional legacy from Frederick Clayton came to an end having affected the lives of Georgiana, Geoffrey, Don and Molly.

References

I refer to various notes made by John Sanderson that were of great assistance to me in piecing this story together. John is Harry and Georgiana's grandson, the son of Geoffrey Sanderson.

1. Jackson, P., *Historic Buildings of Harare*, p 124
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Railways: Road Motor Services

by R. D. Taylor



The South African Railways in December 1912 introduced its first road motor service on the 20 mile route between Bot River station and Hermanus in the Western Cape. Motor transport at that time was still a novelty but the advances in vehicle technology brought about by the First World War 1914–1918 meant that by the early 1920's road transport was in some circumstances becoming a viable alternate to rail.

The General Manager of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Col C. F. Birney, writing in his Annual Report for the year ended 30 September 1927 stated "The year under review has witnessed the introduction of the first road motor services to be run by the railways. The operation of these services is a new departure as far as these lines are concerned, but experience of our neighbouring administration the South African Railway, during the last few years goes to show that it is a most useful method of feeding the railways and in many instances becomes an important factor in encouraging the development of farming areas.

The Road Motor Service operated by the Railways in Southern Rhodesia have been undertaken in conjunction with the Government and in many cases at their request. The services may be divided under two main heads namely those serving districts where a general review of traffic prospects indicates that earnings are likely to recover working expenses and those that may be regarded as development expenses to open up new agricultural areas.

In the case of the former the operation of the services has been undertaken without any assistance from Government but in respect of the latter an arrangement has been made with Government to make up by financial assistance any loss incurred on working exclusive of initial expenditure. The practicability of maintaining road motor transport with outlaying parts has been very materially assisted by the recent development of six wheeled motor lorry's which are much better equipped to run over rough roads than the more conventional four wheeled vehicle.

The six wheeled lorry has been adopted for operating the Road Motor Service (RMS) run by the Railways and it has been found the Morris and Thornycroft are well suited to the somewhat arduous conditions existing in this territory."

The first road motor service was between Sinoia and Miami a distance of 116 km. Miami was an important mica mining area at that time and was on the edge of the Tsetse fly belt. The service also served the farming area on the first 48 km on its route out of Sinoia. The driver on the initial run on 15 June 1927 was Mr Jimmy Parks. The vehicle used was a Thornycroft A3 petrol driven six wheeler. The cab consisted of a canvas roof with attachable side screens. There was no windscreen and the payload was 2 ½ tons. The journey was scheduled to take seven hours and the outward run was on

a Wednesday and Saturday returning the following day. In the rains it was common for a single journey to take 24 hours.

A second service was introduced on 15 September 1927 from Sinoia into the Umboe Valley. At first it was a circular route of 124 km. The driver was Mr Ben Trigg. Later two separate routes were introduced to Zebra Vlei and the Warren respectively. These were found to be more economic and convenient for the farming community. The Miami route was profitable and its revenue included twenty pounds per month from Government for the carriage of mail. Expenses of running the Umboe routes considerably exceeded the revenue earned and consequently these services were withdrawn from 1 October 1932.

On 12 December 1928 the Railways Board meeting in London resolved to increase the grant of 15 000 pounds already authorised upon the initial equipment of Road Motor Services to 30 000 pounds. On 1 May 1929 the Board decided that road motor services from Messina in the Transvaal to Fort Victoria and Shabani should be introduced as soon as the Limpopo Bridge was completed. This bridge which became known as Beit Bridge was opened in September 1929. They also authorised a further expenditure of 10 000 pounds making 40 000 pounds in all upon initial equipment, including garages and central repair shop in Bulawayo for the RMS.

New services were introduced as follows up to September 1929.

Umtali–Chipinga	193 km twice weekly	2 November 1927
Salisbury–Enkeldoorn	148 km twice weekly	April 1928
Salisbury–Beatrice	58 km once weekly	April 1928
Fort Victoria–Vrendenburg	64 km once weekly	July 1928
Bulawayo–Lonely	90 km twice weekly	July 1928
Bulawayo–Umgusaan	59 km twice weekly	July 1928
Gatooma–Chakari	24 km	November 1928
Marandellas–Wedza	90 km	November 1928
Enkeldoorn–Umvuma	64 km	January 1929
Chipinga–Mount Selinda	34 km	January 1929
Chipinga–Eastern Border	22 km	January 1929
Umtali–Melsetter–Highlands	195km	April 1929
Salisbury–Enterprise (Oribi)		June 1929
Fort Victoria–Mashaba	42km	September 1929
Fort Victoria–Beit Bridge	290km	September 1929
Rusape–Inyanga	97 km	October 1929

Services were also opened into the farming areas around Banket, Bindura, Gwelo and Sinoia. These latter services were operated with a Government guarantee.

In his report for the year ended 30 September 1929 the General Manager recorded that a route network of 2 183 km had been developed. Forty one vehicles had run 540 735 km, carried 12 428 passengers and 20 553 tons of freight. A considerable achievement in about eighteen months considering the then unpaved earth roads and low level bridges or drifts across the many rivers and streams.

The first paved roads were the strip roads. They consisted of two parallel strips made of concrete or asphalt each 0,6m wide and 0,8 m apart to suit the standard motor vehicle track. The first experimental concrete strip road was laid between Gwelo and Selukwe in 1930 and by the end of 1937 some 2 074 km of strip roads had been constructed.

At the end of 1929 the Road Motor Service had been well and truly established providing much needed transport links in the rural areas. The worldwide economic



depression of the early 1930's was to have a negative effect on the RMS. The Railways Board was informed on 21 January 1931 that owing to the need for economy the Government of Southern Rhodesia could no longer provide funds from taxation to meet losses on RMS services. The Board decided to ask Sir Henry Chapman (General Manager of the Railways), subject to his concurrence, to inform the Southern Rhodesia Government that the Railways are prepared to bear the loss on these services on the distinct understanding that they were at the liberty to discontinue any of them at their discretion.

The downturn can be seen from the following distance run figures:

Year ended 30 September.	Total distance (km)
1929	540 735
1930	889 600
1931	852 565
1932	731 256
1933	606 295
1934	610 632

On 1 April 1930 a service from West Nicholson to Beit Bridge was started. This 154 km route connected with the train service from Bulawayo to West Nicholson and was to become an important link with South Africa in the years that followed. On that date services were also started out of Lusaka in the then Northern Rhodesia to Greenpoint, 54 km and Reitfontein, 60 km. These were farming areas to the south east of Lusaka. However the services were not well patronised and therefore withdrawn in December 1932. These were the only RMS services ever operated in Northern Rhodesia.

Birchenough Bridge

The first major contract undertaken by the RMS was to transport all the material for the construction of the Birchenough Bridge over the Sabi River between Fort Victoria and Umtali. This structure was fabricated in Britain, shipped in sections to Beira and the individual sections were then railed to Umtali. Certain RMS vehicles were converted in the Railways workshops into articulated lorries with telescopic trailers in order to carry the long girder sections some of which were up to 16 metre in length. Mr Jimmy Parks was in charge of a specially selected team of drivers.

Foundations of the bridge were commenced in April 1934 and the steelwork started to arrive in December 1934. Sections weighed anything from 3 tons to 8 ¼ tons. Transport of the sections during the wet season over 130 km of unpaved roadway containing many long and steep gradients was a notable achievement. Total weight carried from Umtali to the bridge site was 2 600 tons. The bridge, funded by the Beit Railway Trust was opened to traffic on 20 December 1935 by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia Sir Herbert Stanley.

Otto Beit Bridge Chirundu.

Construction of this bridge started in 1937 and was the next big assignment undertaken by the RMS. It involved a haul of 241 km from the rail head at Sinoia. Later the railhead was moved to Lions' Den where a workshop and staff quarters were provided. Lions'

Den was to remain an important RMS Depot for many years to come.

Road conditions were far worse than those encountered on the Birchenough Bridge run. A rest camp was established at Makuti, 177 km from Sinoia and a vehicles first days run was from Sinoia to Makuti. The second days run was from Makuti to the Zambesi and return and then on the third day from Makuti back to Sinoia where the vehicle would be reloaded ready to leave again on the fourth day to restart the cycle. By 31 September 1939, 2 533 tons had been carried on this contract. Heavy rains in 1939 meant trailer work had to be discontinued and vehicles run in convoy with 30 m of wire rope supplied to assist each vehicle if it became bogged down. This contract was a tricky assignment and driver George Short was specially mentioned by the bridge contractors, Messrs Dorman Long for his outstanding work and ability. The bridge also funded by the Beit Railway Trustees was opened on 24 May 1939 by Sir Hebert Stanley, Governor of Southern Rhodesia. It is named after Sir Otto Beit brother of Sir Alfred Beit.

Second World War

This conflict broke out on the 3 September 1939. The RMS had by then recovered from the downturn caused by the economic depression of the early to mid thirty's. In the year ended 30 September 1939 its fleet of 42 vehicles had covered 971 706 km, carrying 49 160 passengers and 54 274 tonnes of goods. On 22 September 1939 only 18 days after the declaration of war 16 of the 38 members of the RMS staff proceeded on active service. They were sent via the Great North Road to Nairobi to form the nucleus of the East African Army Services Corps. Driver J. P. Taylor was to die on active service in East Africa on 17 July 1943.

For those remaining members of staff the war years imposed a massive strain on both men and vehicles. Some services were withdrawn or curtailed. Overtime became the normal and workshop staff made prodigious efforts to keep an ageing fleet in service. Vehicles were often run with double crews working 20 hours a day.

In 1943 the General Manager of the Railways in his annual report stated "Road transport in precarious position with 67% of vehicles having done over 160 000 km considered to be the life of a lorry and 47% of the 37 strong vehicle fleet over 12 years old. Unless successful in near future in obtaining certain chassis and engines which have been on order from England for some time there will be no alternative to curtail our road motor operation as existing vehicles become unfit for further service". The situation was similar in 1944 and the General Manager praised the staff and said the performance achieved reflects the highest credit on the staff responsible.

In his 1945 report the General Manager must have been relieved to write that orders had been placed for 12 Foden 15 ton eight wheeled chassis fitted with Gardner engines.

In 1946 orders were placed for a further 16 Foden and 15 Thornycroft lorries and re- equipment of the RMS was at last underway.

Fuel and Vehicles Livery.

The original lorries were fitted with petrol powered engines. As the carrying capacity of the vehicles increased from two and a half tonnes to seven tonnes plus a six tonne carrying capacity trailer being hauled it was found that vehicles were only averaging 6,4 km to 4,5 litre (4miles to the gallon) of petrol. In 1935 a four cylinder L.W. Gardner crude oil engine was fitted to a Thornycroft chassis. This conversion was most successful with double the distance being achieved using a fuel which at the time cost half the



price. It was decided to switch over to diesel engine vehicles thereafter.

In 1953 bulk overhead fuel tanks were erected at all RMS depots. Hitherto fuel had been delivered to depots in 200 litre steel drums. These drums took up space, maximised handling with an increased risk of dirt and water contamination in the fuel. At the same time two 11 140 litre road tankers were introduced, one based in Salisbury and one in Umtali to serve depots in those areas. Bulawayo used a local oil company to deliver fuel and Fort Victoria had a 55 000 litre tank with facilities to pump directly into it from a rail tanker.

The first livery on goods vehicles was khaki brown with green on buses and dual purpose vehicles. It was found that these colours soon became drab and blended into the background of grass and trees on country roads. In 1956 two shades of grey with a red dividing line separating the darker shade of grey applied from midway to roof line was tried out. This colour scheme proved successful and was adopted into the future.

Passenger Services.

The early RMS services did not specifically provide for the carriage of passengers. European passengers had to travel in the cab with the driver and Africans climbed aboard with the goods. Considering not too many privately owned motor vehicles existed at that time a ride in a cab with no windscreen, canvas roof and attachable side screens would have been preferable to travelling on a horse, cart, bicycle or ox wagon. In the rainy season a waterproof was essential travel ware. Despite these obvious discomforts in the year ended 30 September 1929 the RMS carried 12 428 passengers and this had increased to 49 160 at the start of the Second World War in September 1939.

In 1930 four lorries out of a fleet of 60 vehicles were fitted with semi-passenger bodies designed to accommodate 6–10 European passengers.

As the service recovered from the effects of the Second World War it was recorded in 1947 that passenger vehicles were being operated on four routes:-

Umtali–Fort Victoria The 280 km run taking 11 hours with the bus being restricted to a maximum speed of 45 km/hour.

Umtali–Melsetter–Chipinga.

Fort Victoria–Beitbridge.

Rusape–Inyanga.

African passengers were still expected to travel on goods vehicles. However the report observed that Africans were being offered quicker transit and comfort by competitors' services. With more spending money available African passengers did not mind paying for this. It was hoped the RMS should gain ground when six new passenger buses on order were placed in service. For the year ended 30 September 1947 the service carried 117 225 passengers.

The highest number of passengers carried was in the year ended 30 June 1960 (change in reporting period) when the RMS carried 394 574 passengers. Thereafter passenger numbers showed a steady decline until 1984 when the RMS ceased to carry fare paying passengers.

As 1960 was the zenith of RMS passenger services it is of interest to record some of the passenger/parcels services then operating.

		<u>Depart</u>	<u>Arrive</u>
Umtali–Fort Victoria	Mon, Wed, Fri	07.30	17.30
Fort Victoria–Umtali	Tues, Thur, Sat	08.30	17.45
Fort Victoria–Beit Bridge	Tues, Thur, Fri, Sat	09.00	18.00
Beit Bridge–Fort Victoria	Wed, Fri, Sun	08.30	17.25
West Nicholson–Beit Bridge	Tues, Thur, Sat	14.00	17.30
Beit Bridge–West Nicholson	Wed, Fri, Sun	08.00	11.30
Bulawayo–West Nicholson	Tues, Thur, Sat	08.30	13.45
West Nicholson–Bulawayo	Wed, Fri, Sun	11.45	17.00
Salisbury–Shamva	Daily except Sun	09.15	12.45
Shamva–Salisbury	Daily except Sun	13.00	17.00
Salisbury–Sinoia	Daily except Sun	08.15	12.15
Sinoia–Salisbury	Daily except Sun	12.45	16.30
Salisbury–Concession (via Old Mazoe Rd)	Weekdays	07.00	08.45
Concession–Salisbury (via Old Mazoe Rd)	Weekdays	09.00	10.45

Passengers intending to travel on from Beit Bridge by the South African Railways daily train to Johannesburg were advised to book in advance overnight accommodation at the Beit Bridge Hotel. As the Johannesburg train only left Beit Bridge at 14.00 hours a passenger would have had plenty of time for a leisurely breakfast and border formalities.

In December 1971 the following passenger services were being operated:-

Salisbury Concession. Second class passengers and goods.

Salisbury Fort Victoria. First and Second class passengers and parcels.

Bulawayo West Nicholson. Second class passengers and parcels.

West Nicholson Beit Bridge. Second class passengers and parcels only.

Fort Victoria Beit Bridge. Second class passengers and goods.

Fort Victoria Umtali. Second class passengers only.

Journey times were reduced compared to 1960 and this can be attributed to the improvements to the main road network which took place during the 1950's and 1960's.

Rural routes.

Over the years the RMS developed a widespread network of routes serving farms, mines and small centres of population. The services on these routes ran to a published timetable and apart from breakdowns and weather related delays the vehicles kept to these timetables. For those living in remote locations the arrival of the RMS service was a much looked forward to event as the driver delivered mail, parcels and no doubt imparted news from the local community. Drivers became friends and members of the community. As an example of one of these services I quote below the details of Route 11 between the then Salisbury and Enkeldoorn illustrated by the published timetable in operation in 1949.



Route No. 11: Salisbury – Enkeldoorn

Mon & Wed	Fri	Sat	Km from Salisbury	Stopping Place.	Mondays Wednesdays Fridays & Saturdays.
Dep.	Read Down.				Read Up.
9.30am	8.00am	6.30am	-	Salisbury	Arr. 12.15pm
11.00am	9.30am	8.00am	40	Nyarakuru	Dep. 10.55am
11.21am	9.51am	8.21am	50	Gowerlands	“ 10.34am
11.28am	9.58am	8.28am	53	Beatrice	“ 10.27am
12.17pm	10.47am	8.47am	55	Beatrice Mine	“ 9.54am
12.39pm	11.09am	9.07am	64	Elvington	“ 9.35am
12.51pm	11.21am	9.17am	69	Enslindeel	“ 9.25am
1.00pm	11.30am	9.24am	72	Argyle Ranch	“ 9.18am
1.29pm	11.59am	9.52am	84	Highlands Halt	“ 8.52am
1.39pm	12.09pm	10.02am	90	Brooklyn	“ 8.42am
1.56pm	12.26pm	10.16am	97	Uitkyk	“ 8.29am
2.12pm	12.42pm	10.30am	103	Sikoto	“ 8.16am
2.39pm	1.09pm	11.02am	106	Featherstone	“ 8.09am
2.53pm	1.23pm	11.06am	113	Opal	“ 7.26am
2.57pm	1.27pm	11.10am	114	Versailles	“ 7.23am
3.02pm	1.32pm	11.15am	117	Palestine	“ 7.18am
3.07pm	1.37pm	11.20am	119	Wildebeestelaagte	“ 7.13am
3.21pm	1.51pm	11.34am	126	Pennyfeather	“ 7.00am
3.34pm	2.04pm	11.51am	134	Euston Estate	“ 6.43am
<u>Arr.</u>					
4.15pm	2.45pm	12.30pm	151	Enkeldoorn	Dep. 6.00am

The journey times may appear to be long but at the time the road would have been strips with cattle grids and single lane low level bridges across the rivers and streams.

The South Eastern Lowveld

The South Eastern Lowveld is a vast area with huge agricultural potential. This potential was recognised by far sighted men such as the late Tom Mac Dougall who started growing sugar cane and crops including citrus in the 1930's. The RMS played an early part and the main traffic at the time was cattle for the Fort Victoria abattoir over indifferent roads. The Cold Storage Commission abattoir in Fort Victoria opened in 1951.

The real development of the area started in the early 1950's with water being the key to the opening up of the area. Government took the lead and built the 1 425 million cubic metre capacity Kyle Dam (now Lake Mutirikwi) which was opened in 1961. This was soon followed by the 130 million cubic metre capacity Bangala dam completed in 1963. These dams and the associated canal networks provided the water supply for

the irrigation of the crops. The RMS played a major role in moving cement and other inputs for the construction of the dams and canals. Between January 1959 and October 1960 the RMS moved 322 000 pockets of cement the 42 km from the Fort Victoria railhead to the Kyle dam site. In addition a large quantity of steel and machinery was also transported to the site. Some 966 trips were involved. In August 1955 a main railway line was opened from Bannockburn to link up with the Mocambique port of Lourenco Marques (now Maputo) and this brought the developing Lowveld nearer to a railway and port. (See *Heritage* 24. The South East Connection).

In 1962 the RMS took delivery of 3 tanker vehicles with bodies built by Morewear Industries of Salisbury. These tankers had a capacity of 20 tons of bulk cement. They were based on six wheel Leyland tractors. The first assignment for the new tankers was to move 26 000 tons of cement for the Bangala dam. The bulk cement was delivered to Rutenga in special rail tankers. A silo was erected at Rutenga and the cement was loaded from the silo directly into the road tankers for the 109 km journey to the Bangala dam site. Each tanker made one and a half trips per day.

Meanwhile sugar production was increasing as Triangle and then Hippo Valley commenced production. This production had to be hauled by RMS from the Triangle and Hippo mills to Fort Victoria from where the raw sugar was railed to the refineries in Salisbury and Bulawayo. The distance was 180 km and tonnages increased from 1600 in 1954/55 to 4761 tons in 1957/58. In addition to sugar many thousands of tons of machinery, irrigation piping, fertilizer and other goods were moved into the Lowveld from Fort Victoria.

The Triangle mill was some 74 km from Mbizi a siding on the then new southeast railway line. However at the time no road connection between Triangle and Mbizi existed so early in 1958 a road link was started and completed in July of that year. There was no bridge over the Lundi River but a corduroy causeway of wooden logs was laid over the river bed until the completion of a low level road bridge at the end of 1958.

Mbizi was opened as a commercial station in July 1958 and in 1959 27 000 tons of traffic was moved by the RMS through Mbizi station. This figure had increased to 66 000 tons by 1961. It was realised that the volume of traffic now justified the construction of a branch railway line from Mbizi into the Lowveld. The intention to build such a line was announced in June 1962 and the 68 km line between Mbizi and Triangle was opened in September 1964. The line was subsequently extended. Wheat became an important crop and in late 1967 a fleet of 11 RMS lorries and trailers was deployed to move bagged and bulk wheat from Mkwasine and Chisumbanje to Chiredzi for railing to the major centres. Extra drivers and checking staff were brought in to handle the crop.

The RMS in Manicaland.

The RMS also played an important role in the development of agriculture and forestry in Manicaland. This area with its mountainous terrain, heavier rainfall and fast flowing rivers was to provide many challenges to a transport operator.

In the early 1960's the fleet of vehicles based in Umtali consisted of:-

Five passenger buses in regular use.

Three livestock units.

Twenty goods or composite lorries.

They carried a total of 58 324 tons of freight, 12 843 head of livestock and 112 364 passengers in the year ended June 1960.



Products carried included wattle extract, cotton, fresh fruit, fertilizer, tea, seed potatoes, vegetables and motor fuel.

Protection from Competition.

In order to ensure the most efficient use of national transport resources and some claim to protect the railways from competition in October 1936 Government established a Road Services Board in terms of the Roads and Road Traffic Act. The Act required that any motor vehicle or trailer used for the carriage or haulage of passengers or goods or both for hire or reward on one or more occasions required a road service permit issued by the Board.

The Railways in Rhodesia and elsewhere after the Second World War were not in a position to expand their facilities quickly enough to meet the rapidly increasing demand for transport, and road services were accepted as the only inevitable means of temporarily bridging the gap. In 1941 the Road and Rail Transport Commission recommended the Government take action to amend the Roads and Road Traffic Act to empower the Road Services Board to refuse to issue a road service permit if the proposed route is adequately served either by rail or road. Government instructed the Road Services Board that in future it should take into consideration the incidence of rail transport when investigating the adequacy of transport on routes.

One result of the urgent necessity to restrict the use of petrol during the war period was to prohibit with effect from 1 April 1942 the running of privately owned lorries for hire or reward along main line routes served by the railways.

Eventually, after the war when the railways were in a better position to meet the demand, road transport naturally remained as part of the overall national transport pattern. The road vehicle had earned its right, from an economic angle to operate together with the railways in serving the public. Moreover it was generally accepted that for short hauls within a radius of eighty kilometres of a distribution centre, and for certain specialised tasks it was the logical tool for the job. Responsibility for control vested in the Road Services Board which after the war consisted of a Chairman who was required to be retired magistrate, an advocate or an attorney of not less than ten years' standing, a deputy chairman and several members appointed by the appropriate Minister.

Legislation for implementing control was amended throughout the years to ensure its efficacious application, and the procedure followed in determining whether a public service vehicle, or vehicles, should be added to an existing fleet ensured that the best interests of the public were served at all times.

Any person desirous of operating a vehicle for hire or reward had to apply to the Road Service Board for a permit. The application was published in the Government Gazette and any interested party afforded an opportunity to object on the grounds that existing transport services were adequate to serve the route or area sought by the applicant.

Alternatively he could object on the grounds that the granting of the application would have an adverse effect on existing services or that it is neither necessary nor desirable in the public interest. Any other good or sufficient reason was admissible.

All interested parties were permitted to be represented by an attorney or counsel when the Road Service Board hearing took place. The hearing was very formal taking place in an atmosphere of dignity similar to that of a courtroom. Indeed, the procedure

followed was not dissimilar in that witnesses gave their evidence under oath and were cross-examined and re-examined in an endeavour to obtain factual evidence upon which the Board could reach an equitable decision.

If it was decided to refuse the application or to grant less than was sought, the applicant could appeal to the Minister who had the authority to reverse or uphold the decision or direct that the application be re-heard by the Board.

In the early 1970s the economy of Rhodesia was growing at a rapid rate and with it the demand for transport. The Road Services Board was a part time body and as such became unable to cope with the growing work load. This situation led to much criticism from the business sector and Government carried out a review of the process. As a consequence on 1 October, 1972 the Road Motor Transportation Act, 1972, came into force and which brought about the dissolution of the Road Services Board and its replacement by a full time administrative organisation headed by a senior civil servant in the position of Controller of Road Motor Transportation. Mr P. R. Cocksedge was appointed as the first Controller. At its dissolution on 31 September 1972 the Board had a backlog of 970 contested applications awaiting consideration.

The Controller had the difficult task of deciding between the public interest and existing services both road and rail.

The Railway administration took a close interest in this issue and had a small section in Head Office whose function it was to follow the applications and lodge objections when considered necessary to the Road Services Board and subsequently to the Controller. Thus in this way the RMS in particular received a measure of protection from competition especially in respect of high rated traffic.

In 1974 the country was experiencing yet another energy crisis and an appeal was made to the public and business community to make greater use of RMS services in the interests of conserving fuel. Scheduled services often ran with less than full loads and traders often used their own vehicles in distributing goods to rural areas already served by the RMS. It is not certain if the appeal was heeded but tonnage hauled in 1974 was 557 000 tonnes, 1975 was 669 000 tonnes and down again to 584 000 tonnes in 1976.

Maintenance and Workshops.

The RMS had repair and service facilities in Umtali, Salisbury, Fort Victoria and Bulawayo.

In 1966 the RMS fleet consisted of 167 lorries and over 180 trailers serviced by a workshop staff of fifty. Normally after a period of 9 years a lorry was shopped for a complete overhaul or rebuild. The cab and body were removed and the chassis stripped down to the frame members. Units such as engine, gearbox, transmissions, wheels and axles went to various sections of the workshops for reconditioning. If necessary, new cabs and bodies could be built. Finally the assembled lorry would be spray painted, road tested and ready to return to service. A period of 21 working days was required for a complete rebuild. These major overhauls were undertaken in the Bulawayo workshops.

Tyres were an important consideration and a separate workshop and store was provided. It was recorded in 1957 that one RMS vehicle on the Salisbury/Fort Victoria run had done 83 600 km on a set of re-treaded tyres.

1970's

During the turbulent decade of the 1970's the RMS continued to serve their customers



in the rural areas taking in supplies and moving out crops and produce. The drivers faced an increasingly hostile environment with ambushes, land mine detonations and other acts designed to isolate rural communities. Drivers working in sensitive areas were issued with rifles and pistols. Vehicles were mine protected but despite this suffered serious damage in landmine explosions. It says much for the loyalty and calibre of staff of the RMS that they continued to provide this vital transport service in increasingly difficult conditions.

In the year ended June 1971 the RMS fleet of vehicles travelled a total of 7 038 731 km carrying 628 434 tonnes of freight and 297 845 passengers. By the end of the decade in 1979 these figures had dropped to 460 800 km, 408 000 tons of freight and 44 000 passengers. No mean achievement given the difficulties encountered at the time.

The General Manager of the Railways Mr W. F. Sievwright writing in March 1980 paid tribute to the RMS and its staff.

“The Road Motor Services of the Railways has been in existence since 1927 and although in the early days there was no shortage of problems these have multiplied in recent years and have been aggravated by the dangerous and difficult conditions under which the branch has had to operate.

Our road services provide a vital link between people living in the hinterland and the main centres on the line of rail. These services may go unnoticed by the majority of townsfolk but they are greatly valued by users who have the highest regard for the men who keep the services going, in particular the crews who often travel alone every day in remote and sensitive areas.

The RMS has an excellent record, consequently it enjoys a very high reputation and I wish to express my appreciation to all personnel in the branch and especially to those who have been working for many years, under arduous and dangerous conditions in order to keep the lines of supply open.”

Managers Road Motor Services (Job titles varied over the years)

W. T. Breach 1927–

P. Moffat September 1939–August 1957

W. L. Blair September 1957–February 1962.

On the retirement of Mr Blair the management of the RMS devolved to the Regional Managers of the Southern and Eastern regions of the Railways who became responsible for the day to day operations of the RMS. In 1969 in a further senior management reorganisation the management function reverted to Head Office and Mr A. Ferguson was appointed Manager.

Mr Ferguson retired in November 1977 and his place was taken by Mr R. E. Bull who held the position until his retirement in May 1983.

The post of manager was then occupied by Mr J. B. Stuart until Mr A. T. Mutizwa took up the position in 1989.

Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe achieved Independence in April 1980. Peace returned and the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) Road Motor Service was able to operate its services in a more settled environment. It became possible to purchase new vehicles, many of

these were acquired under various foreign aid schemes. For example 28 new MAN trucks were financed under a commodity aid programme by the Federal Republic of Germany in early 1983.

In line with Government policy services were expanded into the communal areas where more than 80% of the population lived. New routes included Kadoma–Sanyati and Rusape–Dorowa–Mhanadzoro. The regulatory environment became more relaxed and competition from other road hauliers increased rapidly. Despite this the RMS made a profit in the years 1987 to 1992.

Tonnages carried by road and rail started to decline and NRZ adopted an overall Business Plan to meet a Government directive that it operate as a commercial entity with reduced financial assistance from Government to fund any deficits.

As part of this plan the RMS was to be separated from the NRZ and run as a private company by the end of June 1994. The new RMS company was expected to operate more efficiently with reduced overheads and be able to operate on new routes to compete with other private road hauliers without the constraints imposed on it when it was part of the parastatal NRZ. It should also be able to raise funds on the open market for capital investments. As a parastatal the NRZ's main policy was for the RMS to be complementary to the railways and also to operate on routes that were not served by other road hauliers.

The privatisation process took time, finally RMS employees were given up to 25 August 1995 to decide whether to join a new entity Road Motor Services (Pvt) Ltd or remain employees of National Railways of Zimbabwe. The majority elected to remain NRZ employees.

In conclusion it can be said that over a period of some sixty eight years the Road Motor Service made a very significant contribution to the development and wellbeing of the residents of the country's rural areas.

In preparing this paper I have consulted a number of sources:-

Railways of Rhodesia by A. H. Croxton ISBN 9715360256 Published by David and Charles.

Annual Reports of the General Managers of Beira and Mashonaland Railways and of the Rhodesia Railways.

Rhodesia Railways Bulletins 1932–1952.

Rhodesia Railways Magazines 1952–1979.

Railroader Magazines 1980–1994.

I also acknowledge the assistance I have received from:-

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Personal communication Mr Brian Killin.

Personal communication Mr P. R. Cocksedge; First Controller of Road Motor Transportation.

The Franklin Grave Memorial: Gwanda or Fort Monze

by Rob S. Burrett



This note concerns the mistaken marking of two early police graves, one located in the Southern Province of Zambia and the other in Matabeleland South, Zimbabwe. The latter grave memorial, dated 1907, is a “Gregory Cross”¹; one of the iron and brass memorials erected around the country by the Loyal Women’s Guild (LWG) in the early years of the twentieth century (Fig. 1). After first photographing it in the original Gwanda cemetery in 2013, I was unable to find matching records for one “Corporal Franklin”, supposedly dying in Gwanda in 1907. Clearly there was an error, something often found elsewhere in the country when dealing with the Gregory Crosses where lists of the dead were compiled from hazy memory, written up by hand, and recompiled several times in various local police stations and government and LWG offices². There



**Fig. 1 The Gwanda LWG Memorial at the head of the grave of
Charles Franklin Smith (2013)**

¹ Named after the Cape Town firm, James Gregory, which cast them for the LWG, they consist of iron cross mounted with a circular brass plaque on which details of the deceased were individually cast.

² Tucker 2017, but see also individual grave assessments - see Burrett 2000; Burrett & Quick 2009

were also errors made by the manufacturer who was not always careful in setting the moulds for the brass memorial plates. At the time it seemed to me there was no clear solution and the matter was left unresolved.

Recently, as part of a completely different exercise, I revisited the Gwanda District grave lists, double checking grave details against the actual death certificates. Yes, there was a former policeman who died in Gwanda on 30 April 1907. Matching the Regimental Association records and the date shown on the grave marker suggests that he was an ex-trooper in the British South Africa Police (BSAP), not a Corporal. In addition his name as listed on the BSAP pre-1903 Nominal Roll, was CHARLES Franklin Smith (Regimental Number 1311). Smith enrolled in the Matabeleland Division of the BSAP on 14 September 1900, and left with a good service record on 6 April 1903 by way of purchase³. He went gold mining in the Gwanda District and was working at Sabiwa Mine, northwest of Gwanda, before going down with blackwater fever (malarial complications), before dying at the Gwanda Hospital. Clearly the Gwanda marker is incorrect, making reference to his middle rather than surname.

So where does Fort Monze in Zambia come in? As chance would have it, independently, I have been working on this short lasting BSAP position north of the Zambezi⁴. In September 1898, Captain G.V. Drury, BSAP, was sent up from Bulawayo to build a fort at Monze⁵, so establishing a BSA Company (BSACo) presence in this part of what was North Western Rhodesia. Responsible for keeping the peace, the BSAP were to prevent local tribal tensions, stop Europeans reported to be dealing in firearms and stealing cattle, and to protect European traders and prospectors who were then arriving in ever increasing numbers.

After many of Drury's men fell ill, one dying of blackwater, they were relieved in April 1899 by a fresh batch of BSAP recruits under Captain J. Carden. However, illness persisted and three more policemen died before a decision was made in August 1900 to relocate the fort to nearby higher, healthier ground away from the mosquito infested swampy lands in which the first fort had been built. With changes in BSACo interests and the centre of power in North Western Rhodesia, the police presence was gradually wound down and Fort Monze was decommissioned in 1903. For a while it was used as a trading post before it was finally abandoned in 1904. The second fort is now a Zambian National Monument, together with the five nearby, unmarked stone graves. Here lie the remains of four policemen and one BSACo official. A combined sandstone memorial was erected at the graves sometime before 1904, probably paid for by the BSAP as it recalls their dead (Fig. 2). Carved from "Pasipas Sandstone", the memorial was brought up from Bulawayo. It recalls the names of the men who died between 1899 to 1901 at Fort Monze. The graves are simple rectangular piles of stone with no individual markings.

Now back to our story. The last man to die at Fort Monze was **CORPORAL Benjamin CHARLES FRANKLIN** (Regimental Number 786). He attested in the Matabeleland Division of the BSAP on 29 September 1897, dying at Fort Monze on 30 April 1901. Being the last, most recent, fatality his death would have been remembered

³ It must be remembered that the BSAP pre 1903, when the force was reorganised, have a different nominal roll to that after 1903. Members were renumbered in 1903, starting again from 1. It is also entirely different to the BSACP, British South Africa Company Police.

⁴ Harding 1904, Monze Website <https://www.monze.com/historyfort.html> (although this has several major errors); <http://www.nrpa.org.uk/chapter-three-the-british-south-africa-police-in-north-western-rhodesia/>

⁵ Near the main village of the Toka chief of this dynastic title. Sometimes written Monza in early publications. This location should not to be confused with the modern town of Monze which, although nearby, dates to much later when the railway was built going north to Broken Hill in 1906.



by those in the BSAP command who assisted the LWG in 1908 with compiling a list of those “early settler” graves that needed to be marked. The Gwanda memorial may have been intended for Fort Monze, however a cumulative set of errors appear to have occurred. The two listed BSAP men died on the same day, although six years apart, while both have Charles Franklin in their names. Somewhere along the line this gave rise to considerable confusion. There are three possible scenarios. Details of the two



Fig. 2 The Pasipas Sandstone Memorial, Fort Monze Cemetery (2020)
courtesy Glenda Douse

“Charles Franklin” may have become muddled in the compilation of the original lists used to order the memorials from Cape Town, mixing up the rank and name of the man at Fort Monze with the year of demise of the Gwanda man (Smith). Alternatively the manufacturer may have cast 1907 instead of 1901. This is not impossible given the sometimes obscure Edwardian handwriting of the time. Or the BSAP, on receipt of the finished crosses from the LWG in 1911, may have erroneously sent this one to Gwanda rather than up north based on partial memory of their deceased comrades. Examples of such errors are known elsewhere in the country, suggesting that any of these possibilities are likely.

Whatever the actual cause of the original error, I suggest that the Gwanda Gregory Cross was probably meant for Corporal Franklin’s grave at Fort Monze, but instead it was wrongly placed on the grave of Trooper Smith in Gwanda. Yes, a minor glitch in history, but one that causes considerable problems for researchers for all may not be as obvious as it seems. It is hard to say what to do about the problem. Possibly the best thing is to attach the correct details on the Gwanda grave marker, and restore the old, weathered Pasipas memorial at Fort Monze. That way both men will be better commemorated.

In compiling this note I have been assisted by many people, but thanks in particular go to Mike Barter, Mike Tucker and Glenda Douse.

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Zam-Tiki and the Legend of Chimombe –a Schoolboy Odyssey

by Peter Fey



Introduction

This is the account of a journey by raft down the Zambezi River, undertaken in 1960 by a party of schoolboys led by their adventurous science master and his long-time friend, a mining official and Honorary Game Warden in the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management. The writer's interest in the adventure stems from the fact that he was a classmate of some of the expedition members, was taught by the same science master and, over 30 years later, spent two field seasons geologically surveying the country flanking the lower reaches of the Chewore River, scene of an epic route march undertaken by the raft's crew.

A precedent for such an expedition had been set in July 1949 when four friends travelled on a home-made raft down the Zambezi River from Chirundu to Nsusa's kraal, located approximately at longitude 32° east some 175 kilometres inside Mozambique (Chittenden, 2012).

The idea for a raft trip was conceived by N. A. (Newby) Tatham, who had formerly overseen mining operations on the Miami mica field east of Karoi, knew the country and its inhabitants between there and the Zambezi Valley intimately, and was fluent in several local dialects. According to his daughter, Mrs Carole Pearce (*pers. comm.*), Tatham had become interested in rafting after reading about Thor Heyerdahl's voyage across the Pacific Ocean on *Kon-Tiki* in 1947. His close friend A. H. (Alex) Siemers, senior science master at Prince Edward School in Salisbury (Harare) was one of the foundation members of the Rhodesian Schools' Exploration Society, under whose auspices he had previously led schoolboy expeditions to, *inter alia*, the Chimanimani Mountains and Kilimanjaro (Siemers, 2009). Some of these expeditions were scientific and involved the collection of flora and fauna specimens. In contrast, the planned raft trip from Chirundu down the Zambezi River to its confluence with the Luangwa was to be more of an adventure, to which spice was added with a planned excursion on foot up the Chewore River to visit Chimombe, the idol of a tribal god.

The concept, and probably also the raft's name, was initially discussed by the two men at Mana Pools in 1959 (G. de la Mare, *pers. comm.*) and finally realised in the August–September school holidays of 1960. Experience gained on the ensuing *Zam-Tiki* trip greatly assisted the planning, team selection and training for the longer *Kon-Bezi* raft journey in 1961, as well as for the even more ambitious ZEDA canoe expedition in 1962. Both of the latter were also undertaken on the Zambezi River by pupils of Prince Edward School (1963).

In this account the original spelling of place names has been used.

THE VOYAGE OF THE *ZAM-TIKI*

Team selection, raft construction and provisioning

Although there was no formal selection process it was deemed vital that team members were compatible. At the beginning of 1960 Siemers had been promoted to the Schools Inspectorate and posted to Lusaka. There he was visited in the April school holidays by Glen de la Mare and Bill Purves, both boarders at Prince Edward School's Rhodes House, who had hitchhiked from Salisbury to spend a week with him discussing team selection and other matters relating to the proposed venture. These boys formed the nucleus of the crew, which was rapidly expanded to include another Rhodes House boarder, John Osterberg, as well as day scholar Brian Kisch, an amateur photographer. Glen became the crew's diarist. All were in Form VI Upper. To them were added Form VI Lower pupils Robert Henney and Clive Lilford, both of whom a year later also took part in the *Kon-Bezi* raft trip. Raft design was undertaken by Newby Tatham, assisted by Clive Lilford, a practically-minded boy with mechanical aptitude who then



Zam-Tiki being trialled in the Prince Edward School swimming pool

supervised construction at Prince Edward. On completion the raft was tested in the school's swimming pool.

The *Zam-Tiki* (Figure 1) consisted of a basal, wooden frame measuring 16' by 10' (approximately 5 by 3 metres) to which ten 44 gallon (200 litre) drums, five per side, were clamped with bolts 2' (60 cm) long utilising a technique developed on Operation Noah, when rhinoceros and other large game were rescued from islands in Lake Kariba from 1958 onwards. This base was capped by decking of planks some 2 centimetres thick. The hold, consisting of a drum cut in half, was used for storing perishables. The

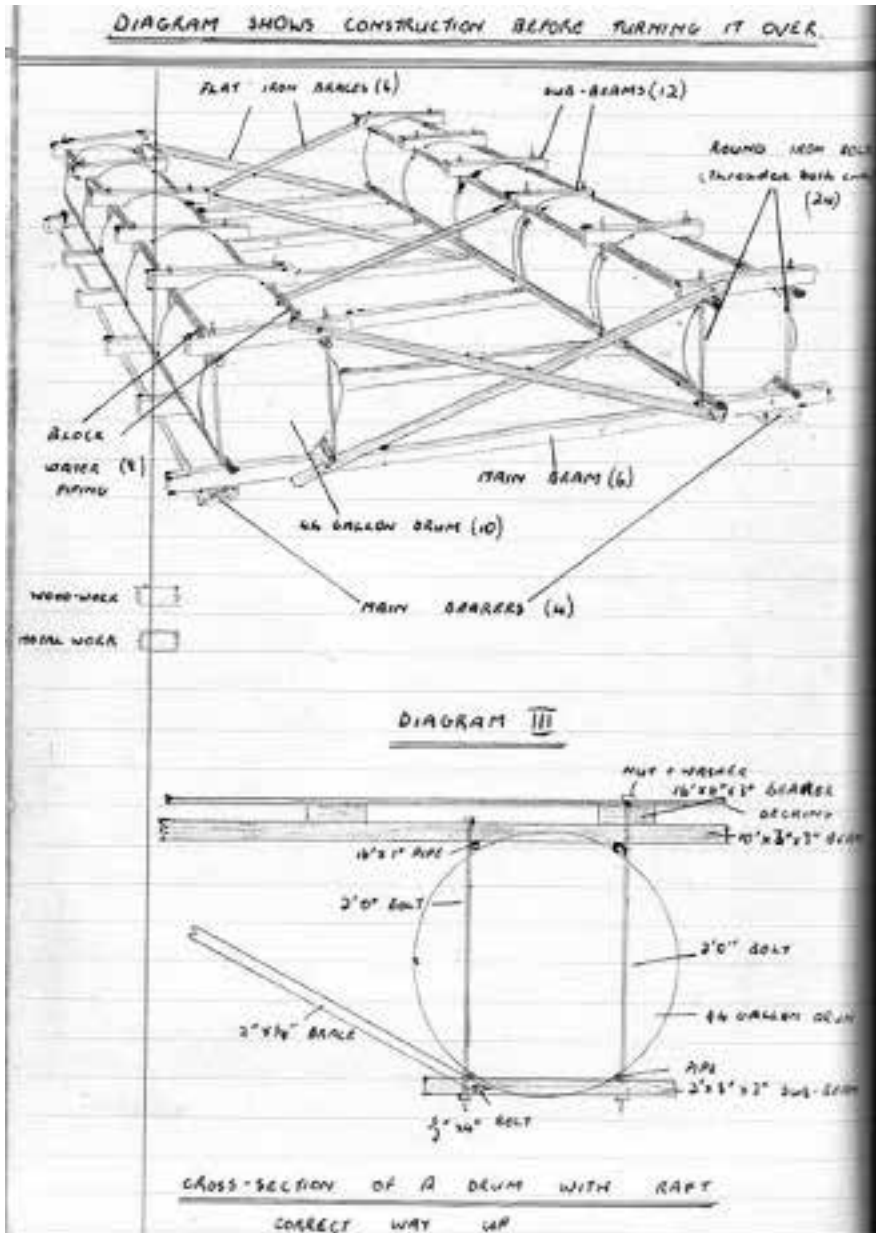


Figure 1: Diagram showing details of raft construction

two forward drums were fitted with cones, as was already done by Chittenden (2012), to improve the raft's speed and manoeuvrability; at the stern were a tripod for the rudder as well as mountings for a 10-horsepower outboard motor which was pressed into service whenever required. All timber utilised in the construction was second-hand, as were

the drums, whereas other metal parts were new (G. de la Mare, *pers. comm.*). Because there was only limited seating and no sleeping accommodation on the raft the crew were obliged to overnight either on islands, or on the river bank.

Besides essentials such as tea, coffee, salt and sugar other provisions for the voyage included eggs, fresh and tinned vegetables, dried and tinned fruit as well as two pockets of oranges and a tray of apples. Only a small quantity of meat was carried since it was anticipated that Newby Tatham, who brought along the only rifle, would shoot for the pot. As it turned out, members of the party had considerable success with fishing. Breakfasts typically comprised cereal and fruit, lunches were snacks consumed on the move, and evening meals often consisted of stews. Cooking was undertaken either on a Primus stove or, more usually, over an open fire. Glen de la Mare recalled having on one occasion to prepare and cook six guinea fowl. Lighting was provided by a Tilley lamp.

Amongst the equipment carried were tools, a radio transmitter, life jackets and a first aid box which included a snake bite kit and malaria prophylaxis. Photographic material comprised one cine and two still cameras. To frighten off game in an emergency Newby Tatham brought along thunder crackers.

The Zambezi River

The distance along the river from Chirundu to the Zambezi-Luangwa confluence is approximately 185 kilometres. The Zambezi River, initially confined to one principal channel, changes its character in the vicinity of Mana Pools, becoming wider and shallower, with numerous islands, sandbanks and extensive flood plains. The most easterly of these, the Shamashanga flood plain, ends at the Kampoti Rapids, beyond which the river narrows and deepens.

Approximately 16 kilometres below the confluence with the Chewore River, near longitude 30° east, the Zambezi enters a belt of rugged, elevated terrain which, straddling the border between Zimbabwe and Zambia, consists of crystalline Basement. South of the river this takes the form of several horsts (uplifted, fault-bounded blocks) known as the Chewore Inliers (Fey, 2018). The Mupata Gorge, 21 kilometres in length, occurs along this stretch where at one point the river narrows to just under 100 metres and the flanking hills locally rise to around 300 metres above the water. Immediately below the gorge the river widens once more, emerging from the Basement massif 18 kilometres west of the border with Mozambique.

At the time of the raft trip the south bank of the Zambezi River downstream from Chirundu was but sparsely settled by African tribesmen who lived in a few scattered villages. Owing to the occurrence of sleeping sickness the population was relocated in 1963 to the headwaters of the Chewore River and settled in the country east of Vuti, a region now known as Chundu after the tribe and its chief (Fey & Broderick, 1990). This section of the Zambezi Valley was subsequently proclaimed Parks and Wild Life Land comprising, from east to west, the Chewore, Sapi and Mana Pools areas.

From Salisbury to the Chewore River

For the trip from Salisbury (Harare) to Chirundu the *Zam-Tiki* was dismantled and loaded on to a lorry provided and driven by Clive Lilford's uncle, wealthy farmer D. C. "Boss" Lilford who two years later contributed financially to the establishment



Zam-Tiki on the Zambezi River

of a new political party, the Rhodesian Front. The crew of eight left Prince Edward School at 3am on the morning of 27 August 1960 and, travelling in the back of the open 5-ton truck, suffered from cramp and cold during the seven-hour journey. On arrival at Chirundu the raft was carefully reassembled, then floated a short distance down the Zambezi before camp was made.

The river journey proper began on the next day when sandy shallows were soon encountered, as was the first and most difficult set of rapids at the confluence with the Kafue River, an obstacle which took the party three hours of portaging to overcome. In this section of the river hippopotami and birds were abundant, yet crocodiles were conspicuously absent. At around noon there was pandemonium when the *Zam-Tiki* almost collided with a herd of drinking elephants who fortunately dispersed in fright.

The crew quickly settled down to a daily routine. They would journey until mid-day when it often became windy, then rest, travelling again from 3pm until an hour before sunset. Over the first four days much effort was expended in refloating the raft, which on occasion had to be offloaded after frequent groundings on one or other of the numerous sandbanks. Leisure time was usually spent fishing.

On 29 August the expedition reached Mana Pools, 60 kilometres below Chirundu where a party of Prince Edward boys under science master K. C. Palgrave, an expert on indigenous trees, was filming the local wildlife. Palgrave generously replenished the fuel supply for the *Zam-Tiki's* outboard motor and also replaced the team's cutlery, most of which had been lost in the river on the first night when Robert Henney slipped down a steep bank. In the evening crew members were treated to their best dinner of the voyage-steak, *boerewors*, vegetables and pudding.

The following night was spent immediately above Chikwenya Island, over 6 kilometres long and populated by large herds of elephant and buffalo, with lesser numbers of kudu and waterbuck. The fishing there was excellent, yielding tiger and

vundu. Approaching the Kampoti Rapids on 1 September the crew batted everything down and braced for a rough ride. However, owing to the high-water level the *Zam-Tiki's* passage through this obstacle was uneventful and turned out to be great anticlimax. Camp was made immediately below the rapids, and over the space of an hour some 30 pounds (almost 14 kilogrammes) of fish were caught, the haul including tiger, bottlenose, vundu, bream and moonfish. On the next day a cruise of only 7 kilometres brought the travellers to the mouth of the Chewore River, 120 kilometres below Chirundu. Once the raft had been securely moored there the crew walked the 3 kilometres to Tugwe, a *Baka Chimombe* village where they were hospitably received before setting off on the following morning to visit the tribal idol Chimombe. During the night two feeding elephants approached to within a few metres of the sleeping party.

On foot to Chief Chundu's village

The *Zam-Tiki's* crew took two days for each leg of their route march, and were away from their raft for a total of 4½ days. In view of the fact that few geographical details of the route appear to have been recorded in the expedition's diary the location of Chief Chundu's village at that time remains speculative.

Pertinent here is the unpublished text by Hughes (1970), which records that Chundu periodically moved his kraal from the Chewore-Zambezi confluence to the vicinity of the prominent mountain Pfumbe, where it was visited in 1938 by Government geologist A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013), and thence higher up the river to the confluence of the Chewore and Masikoto rivers. The Pfumbe site is 23 kilometres, the Masikoti site approximately 55 kilometres from the mouth of the Chewore River. Such relocations,



Kisch with fish



made at Chimombe's request, were conveyed to the tribe through his medium and effected along a well-worn footpath on the west bank of the Chewore River. Because the journey between the river mouth and Masikoto usually took two days the villagers would overnight in a cave, located west of the Mariatsoro Gorge and large enough to house 20 to 30 persons.

In Robert Henney's description of the Chimombe ceremony, entitled "The ancient tribal god" and published anonymously in the Prince Edward School magazine of 1960, he wrote that the kraal was reached "after 30 miles (48 kilometres, the one-way distance) of extremely hard walking". This distance is corroborated by notes on the march made by Glen de la Mare (*pers. comm.*) in his personal diary. From this it is surmised that, at the time of the *Zam-Tiki* expedition, Chundu's kraal was probably situated near the Chewore-Masikoti confluence, now the site of a National Parks and Wild Life Management camp east of the mountain Mangaingai. Newby Tatham's son Glenn, formerly Chief Warden of this Government department, has advised the writer (*pers. comm.*) that he was unaware of the existence of any other kraals between Pfumbe and Masikoto, and hence tacitly supported the inferred, latter location. In view of the problems which beset the team it is astounding that the entire journey was accomplished in under 5 days.

The party set off from Tugwe village at 7am on the morning of 3 September, led by two guides who carried additional water in two large gourds. The group followed the course of the Chewore River upstream and was accompanied for the first 10 kilometres by headman Maprouse and his family, who had come along to forage for edible berries and tubers. Game, abundant near the Zambezi, soon became rare inland. The weather was unseasonably hot, the guides set an extremely fast pace and, by the time the first waterhole in the river was reached at 2pm, everyone was suffering from thirst and exhaustion. Because they had been advised to use their cadet boots for the march all team members except Robert Henney, who wore *veldskoene*, had developed blisters on



On the way to Chundu's kraal



On the way to Chundu's kraal. From left to right: C. Lilford, J. Osterberg, R. Henney, N. Tatham, W. Purves, A. Siemers, B. Kisch. Foreground: Guides with gourds of water

their feet. The party rested until 4pm and then, with water bottles as well as their pot refilled, continued for another two hours before making camp.

Soon after a 5.40am start on the following morning the expeditionists encountered an inquisitive rhinoceros and all except Alex Siemers briefly took refuge in nearby trees. By mid-morning Newby Tatham, who suffered from stomach ulcers, was experiencing acute discomfort, and Alex was forced to rest because of the pain from his blisters. With water supplies running low it was decided to split the party. John and Clive were to stay with Alex and Newby, all sheltering in the meagre shade of a baobab tree where they rationed themselves to an orange every four hours, and half a cup of tea each for the entire day. Having given their water to these four Glen, Robert, Brian and Bill took six oranges before pressing on with the two guides. After two hours of hard walking the advance party had eaten all the oranges, it was hot and there was no sign of water. Brian collapsed and Bill stayed with him while Robert and Glen continued with the guides, finally reaching a muddy waterhole at noon.

Meanwhile Bill and Brian staggered on and, having discarded their packs on this section of the hike, eventually reached the waterhole early in the afternoon. Although the water had scum on the surface and smelled foul the boys not only bathed in it but some also drank it, fortunately without ill effects. Later, with water containers refilled and the contents sterilised with Halazone (chlorine) tablets the guides set off to fetch the remainder of the party. Exhausted, the boys at the waterhole soon fell into a deep sleep, disturbed neither by the return, well after 8pm, of the guides with the remainder of the party nor by a rhinoceros which had come to drink.

On the following morning (5 September), in view of some uncertainty about the distance remaining to Chief Chundu's kraal, the two individuals whose blistered, bleeding feet were described by the other crew members as resembling "raw hams", decided to remain at the waterhole while the other six continued. However, after only an hour's brisk walking they reached their destination at 10am. The village, noted as



“Determination”-J. Osterberg and R. Henney

being “exceptionally clean” (Glen de la Mare, *pers. comm.*), comprised a number of small *kraals* situated in green countryside traversed by the Chewore River.

The legend of Chimombe

This has been summarised from accounts by Nicolle (1936–1937), Campbell (1957), Hemans (1987) and Main (1990), which vary in detail. Unpublished notes by Hughes (1970) on the history of the tribes in the region are particularly informative.

Chimombe, said to have been a rainmaker and magician, was chief of a tribe, now known as *Baka Chimombe*, which is believed to have originated in the Kankomba region of Zaire. The tribe subsequently settled among the Vatori (Vasoli) people on the north bank of the Zambezi before Chimombe led it across the river some 200 to 250 years ago (Main 1990, p 194). Although his followers spread out over the country lying between the Sapi and Mwanja Rivers Chimombe himself initially settled a short distance south of the mountain Pfumbe on the Chewore River before moving higher up the river to what was to become its confluence with the Masikoti (below).

In their new surroundings the *Baka Chimombe* discovered and began to work a salt deposit. This brought them into conflict with the Mwana Mutapa, who claimed both the land and its salt. Accordingly, he sent an army of Makorekore under Nyamapfeka to evict the newcomers. However, as the warriors approached Chimombe’s kraal they

were beset by illness, attacked by wild animals and overtaken by natural disasters, hence were unable to locate the chief and challenge him.

Resorting to guile the Makorekore selected Semwa, a beautiful maiden who, according to legend, was Nyamapfeka's daughter and, after the warriors had withdrawn, left her at the waterhole used by Chimombe's people. She was found and duly taken to Chimombe who, on seeing her, was enthralled and took her as his new wife. However, once he was asleep on his wedding night his bride killed him by cutting his throat. When the Makorekore arrived on the scene the following morning they found only a stream of blood. On his death Chimombe's voice was heard booming out, promising retribution against the Makorekore, and henceforth the inhabitants of the valley were subjected to a series of frightening events. A period of total darkness was followed by continuous sunshine and great heat which scorched all vegetation, then by incessant rain and widespread flooding. This persisted for a long time and the Makorekore army, its numbers continually reduced by disease and wild animals, found itself unable to escape.

The *Baka Chimombe* moved their kraal away from the murder site and the stream of blood eventually turned to water, giving rise to the Masikoti River which flows to this day. Some time later a young tribesman, walking along the bank of a river (either the Chewore or Zambezi-accounts differ), found the barrel of an old muzzleloader and a twisted piece of metal, the upper portion of which resembles a praying mantis. When he examined this object it declared itself to him as Chimombe, who had returned home. Because of what had occurred to him he would no longer disclose his form or communicate directly with humans. Main (1990, p 196) speculated that the twisted metal object might well be the remains of a stand (*kapanda*) similar to those formerly used by chiefs of the Bemba people in Zambia for their bows, arrows and spears.

Chimombe then showed his headdress and spear, hidden in a tree, to the young man who proceeded to build a small hut for the idol near the river and thereafter became the first *Mbaya*wa, or medium. Another version of the legend has it that, in order to lift



Chimombe

the spell keeping him and his remaining troops in the valley, Nyamapfeka was obliged to offer his first-born son to become the spirit's guardian. *Mbaya*wa eventually implored Chimombe to end the people's suffering and made him an offering of beads, black cloth and beer. Thereafter the rains indeed ceased, life returned to normal and the Makorekore were able to depart. From that time onwards they remained in dread of and will not go near the idol.

Chief Chundu and his people then lived in peace until, at some time in the middle of the 19th century, the Matabele raided the Zambezi Valley. They captured Chimombe but were immediately beset by bad luck and, feeling themselves bewitched, repeatedly threw the metal figure into the Zambezi



River, only to have it re-emerge, eventually missing two pieces. Terrified, the Matabele fled, never to return.

Chimombe, the idol, is god (*Mudzimu*) and chief in one; it is not the figure that people worship but the spirit behind it. He is regarded as a kind and helpful god, a rainmaker and a judge but, since the tribe has its own witchdoctors, is not a god of medicine.

Chimombe's ultimate guardian is Chief Chundu, head of the small Chimombe clan which remained after the main body of the tribe eventually returned to Zambia, other members settling in Mozambique. Of the god's two permanent aides one, the hereditary high priest Nyawunda, maintains Chimombe's hut, located behind that of the chief. The other, *Mbayiwa* is a man "possessed" of the lion spirit (*mondoro*). Although other men may speak to the god only *Mbayiwa* is able to hear the answer. On his death a new man, not necessarily a relative, will come forward and claim that he has been endowed with the *mondoro*. To succeed in his claim he must first find the drum and headdress, hidden in the bush at a place known only to the chief. Having passed this test the applicant is obliged to visit the Dande communal lands in the Lower Zambezi Valley, there to seek out Nyamapfeka's spirit, which will confirm or reject the candidate.

In order to gain audience with Chimombe petitioners are required to bring a present, usually black cloth, alternatively beads or tobacco. The ceremony, arranged through *Mbayiwa*, is attended by Nyawunda and Chief Chundu.

There is also an annual ceremony, held in November after the crops have been planted in order that the god may bless the seed. Amongst local chiefs who still send representatives, with offerings, to pay tribute to Chimombe at this ceremony are Chisunga, Sipolilo, Dandawa, Mburuma and Kanyemba. Other participating tribes reside in the Luangwa Valley and in Mozambique.

The Chimombe ceremony

This ceremony, documented by Campbell (1957), Hemans (1987) and Nicolle (1936–1937), has evidently changed somewhat over time. The following account, based on the article referred to above by Robert Henney has been augmented by entries from Glen de la Mare's personal diary.

At Chief Chundu's village the *Zam-Tiki*'s crew members were hospitably received by the inhabitants who, although middle-aged and mostly toothless but nevertheless very jovial, offered them clear, cold water to drink. There followed a wait of some considerable time while the guides went to the surrounding kraals to fetch the various headmen. These arrived in due course, bringing with them a small container of beer which was shared and greatly enjoyed by the visitors. Newby Tatham talked with the villagers and, since Chief Chundu was ill at the time and away in Feira, Chimombe's three custodians were persuaded after much discussion to grant an audience. Thereafter the assemblage moved the short distance to a clearing surrounding a solitary hut, completely separate from the others, where the idol was kept.

Before entering the clearing the visitors were required to take off and leave behind their headgear as a mark of respect; in the past footwear to be removed as well. The custodians seated themselves to the left, beckoning the visitors and guides to join them, while five women making up the chorus sat on the right. Chief Chundu's wife, a very old woman referred to as *Mbayiwa* by Henney, although she was probably the high

priest(ess) Nyawunda, had been sitting at the entrance to the hut. She then brought out Chimombe and placed it, together with the barrel of a muzzleloader, in the centre of a reed mat. Flanked by tusks and a quantity of black cloth on which had been placed a few beads the idol was secured by piercing the mat with its lower extremity, which was then stuck into the ground. Thereafter the custodians began to beat their thighs with their hands, gradually increasing the tempo and chanting. Suddenly the chorus emitted the shrill *umfururutsa* call whereupon Nyawunda presented Chimombe with the visitors' gift of black cloth and recited an ancient prayer. Once the *umfururutsa* call had been repeated Newby Tatham requested permission for the visitors to take photographs. Several good still shots, in black and white as well as colour, were obtained but Alex Siemers' cine camera malfunctioned and the film was spoilt. Nyawunda then asked Chimombe to grant the visitors a safe return journey to the Zambezi River, as well as rain. Finally she joined the chorus in a further *umfururutsa* call which was followed by thigh slapping from the custodians, whereupon the audience retired from the clearing.

THE VOYAGE RESUMED

From Chief Chundu's village to the Zambezi-Luangwa confluence

After the ceremony the *Zam-Tiki's* crew rested in Chundu's village until the afternoon and were offered *sadza* covered in gravy made from groundnuts, a combination recorded as being unpalatable since it lacked salt. On the visitors' departure the custodians, who were in a festive mood since they had been drinking beer for much of the day, presented them with two live chickens as well as a couple of gourds for carrying extra water.

At around 4pm the party rejoined the other two team members who in the interim had dug for and found fresh water just upstream from the waterhole. After a hasty supper of watery soup and vienna sausages supplemented by a cabbage from the village (G. de la Mare, *pers. comm.*) the expeditionists began the return journey at 7.30pm. It was close to full moon and they marched for two and a half hours. That night their sleep was disturbed by a large herd of elephants passing close to the camp, and a leopard was heard coughing nearby. On the following day, 6 September, the march was resumed at 4.30am. Although the heat was tempered by a breeze progress was slow, with a 10 minute stop every hour since two individuals were still suffering from sore feet. Early in the afternoon the guides prepared a meal of *sadza* and chicken, Newby Tatham having carried the live birds from Chundu's village. The march was then resumed for one and a half hours before the party halted for the night, during which sleep was once more disturbed by game, notably rhinoceros and leopard, with lions heard roaring in the distance.

On 7 September a rather leisurely walk of some 6 hours brought the party to Tugwe village by noon and the guides were paid off. Once back at the raft the crew relaxed in the cool water of the Zambezi River and then, after a good meal, took the *Zam-Tiki* some three kilometres downstream before making camp. There followed a most enjoyable evening's fishing before the journey was continued on the following day when the crew safely negotiated the steep-sided Mupata Gorge with its large whirlpools. However, a short distance below the gorge the raft ran aground. It took half an hour to free, within sight of the intended overnight stop, Koliwa Pool, which was said to offer good bream fishing. That night a little rain fell, possibly attributable to Chimombe.

On the final morning (9 September) of the trip the *Zam-Tiki* swept through "The



At Sipolilo, homeward bound

From left to right: C. Lilford, W. Purves, G. de la Mare, A. Siemers, J. Osterberg, N. Tatham, R. Henney, B. Kisch

Gate”, where a narrow range of hills briefly constricts the Zambezi to a width of 150 metres. The day turned out to be the least comfortable of the entire journey since high winds, also experienced by Chittenden (2012), whipped up large waves which at times swamped the raft. At 1.30pm the party reached the Native Commissioner’s hut at Kanyemba on the south bank of the Zambezi River. There the *Zam-Tiki* was dismantled and during the next day contact was made with “Boss” Lilford, camped a little further down the river. With the raft once more loaded on to the truck the crew spent the last night of their journey at Lilford’s camp, then set off before dawn on the following day, 11 September 1960.

Return to Salisbury

Because Kanyemba was then not connected to the Southern Rhodesian road network the first part of the return journey lay through Mozambique. With memories understandably growing dim the expedition’s diarist Glen de la Mare was able to recall only that the Zambezi River remained intermittently in view for 15 miles (24 kilometres) before the truck headed south, leaving Mozambique at approximately 8 am. It took 8½ hours to cover the distance from Kanyemba to Sipolilo (Guruve), recorded as a somewhat exaggerated 116 miles (186 kilometres). After a bone-shaking 12-hour day the travellers arrived back at Prince Edward School at 5pm and dispersed to their homes.

The author was able to satisfy his curiosity about the route of the return journey by recourse to the 1:1 million scale land tenure map (1970 edition) of Rhodesia. This map

shows a track leading eastward from Kanyemba into Mozambique along the south bank of the Zambezi River. At Panhame, 26 kilometres east of the international boundary, there is a junction with another track which runs south along the right bank of the Hunyani River. After 42 kilometres it crosses the border with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in the vicinity of Hunyani Mission, which lies some 80 kilometers by road from Sipolilo.

The track in part follows an ancient trading route which linked Sipolilo with Feira and Zumbo on the Zambezi River (Wiles 1972, p 2), and was also used by the hunter F. C. Selous in 1862. There is little doubt that this was the route taken by D. C. Lilford, at a time when crossing international boundaries was simpler than it is today.

Record of the expedition

Glen de la Mare's account of the *Zam-Tiki* raft trip, entitled "Zamtiki expedition, 1960" was published anonymously in the 1960 Prince Edward School magazine and also later, with rather fewer photographs, in a booklet documenting several of the school's expeditions (Prince Edward School, 1963). In November 2009 Alex Siemers entrusted the expedition's unpublished 289-page diary to Glen for safekeeping.

A geological epilogue

At the end of June 1939 Geological Survey geologist A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013) spent 8 days on a survey of that part of the Zambezi Valley lying between Chirundu and the mouth of the Chewore River. He accessed the area by means of a rough track cleared by the Native Department, and at the river mouth camped near Nyakasikana's kraal, one of three closely adjacent villages there. Because most of the able-bodied indigenous men in the Zambezi Vally were away working Phaup (1939, a, b) was unable to obtain bearers for his proposed geological reconnaissance of the wider region. He therefore restricted himself to recording the geology exposed along the Chewore River between its mouth and the Mariatsoro Gorge and prepared a sketch map (Figure 2). While spending his last night in the area at Chief Chundu's kraal he was told of but was apparently not shown Chimombe. Phaup's map shows the kraal as then lying on the right bank of the Chewore River at its confluence with a major west-bank tributary, the Musambwa, some 23 kilometres from the Zambezi and 4.5 kilometres south of Pfumbe mountain.

Phaup left a letter at the Chewore River mouth for fellow Geological Survey geologist A. M. Macgregor (Fey, 2018) who, accompanied by his wife, was at the time undertaking a reconnaissance of the Zambezi River below Chirundu by boat. From Kanyemba the couple walked up the Escarpment to Sipolilo, Macgregor (1938) continuing to record the geology along the way.

In August 1955 yet another Government geologist, J. W. Wiles (Fey, in prep.), at the time mapping the Miami Mica Field (Wiles, 1961), joined the local Native Commissioner, R. Webster, on a trip down the Zambezi River from Chirundu to the Chewore River mouth. The party travelled in a boat made available by Newby Tatham, then manager of the Rhodesia Mica Mining Company Ltd. Accompanied by a team of porters provided by the Native Commissioner Wiles reconnoitred the surrounding country and, almost at the end of the time available to him, discovered a suite of intrusive rocks centred some 15 kilometres southeast of the Chewore River mouth (Wiles, 1956). He returned to the area three weeks later, this time in two Jeeps provided by Tatham, who accompanied him. The men then spent three arduous days investigating what Wiles named the Chewore Igneous Complex, rocks of which closely resemble those of the



Figure 2: Extract from A E Phaup's 1938 sketch map of the region immediately south of the Zambezi-Chewore River confluence, showing location of Chief Chundu's kraal

Great Dyke and also host chromite seams. The occurrence was soon investigated by several mining houses for its chromite, nickel and platinum potential but no economic mineralisation was found. Wiles returned to the area in August 1962 as member of a Rhodesian Schools' Exploration Society expedition on which rock specimens were collected from the Complex for petrographic study (Wiles, 1962).

The author joined the Geological Survey in 1971 and spent two field seasons mapping the terrain between Shamrock mine on the Angwa River and Vuti, north of Karoi (Fey and Broderick, 1990). The region, which includes the headwaters of the Chewore River, is the current home of Chief Chundu, his followers and Chimombe, all of whom were moved from their original domicile in 1963. With interest at the end of the 20th century focused on the uranium and hydrocarbon potential of the Zambezi Valley the Geological Survey initiated mapping in the terrain lying between the Angwa and Chewore rivers. As one of the participants in this programme the writer (Fey, 2018) renewed his connection with the latter river in 1992-1993 by investigating the geology of the country along its lower reaches, a section of which had been traversed by the *Zam-Tiki's* crew on their epic route march.

Acknowledgements

Former fellow school prefect John Osterberg is sincerely thanked for putting the writer in touch with classmate Glen de la Mare. To him the author is deeply indebted for extracting and forwarding information as well as photographs from the expedition's diary, for answering innumerable questions and for twice scrutinising the manuscript. Geological Survey colleague T. J. Broderick provided the account by Hughes on the history of the Chewore region.

Additional details as well as other photographs were kindly provided by Mrs D. Siemers, Alex's widow, Mrs C. Pearce (Newby Tatham's daughter) and her brother Glenn, former Chief Warden in the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management.

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From Messina, Italy to Andora, Rhodesia

by Christopher Halse



The story of how the hydrofoil 'Seaflight' got from its manufacturer's shipyard in Italy to its launch site at Lake Kariba, 1972



Introduction to the owner and the vessel

Lake Shipping Company (Private) Limited (referred to as Lake Shipping Company or simply Lake Shipping) had been formed in mid-1971, its purpose being to own and operate boats on Lake Kariba for the carriage of passengers and vehicles. The idea was for a high-speed service for passengers, from one end of the lake to the other with, in the case of those on holiday and travelling by road, their cars being transported overnight by car ferry. The service was to enable tourists, principally those from South Africa, to holiday at the Kariba end of the lake, and also to enjoy the attractions inland from the western end of the lake, i.e. Victoria Falls and Wankie Game Reserve, without having to double back, thus saving them a road journey of an extra 1 200 kilometres.

The company had investigated hydrofoils¹ manufactured in Italy, and had purchased an H57 model manufactured by Seaflight S.p.A. whose shipyard was at Messina, Sicily, the island at the southern tip of the Italian 'boot'. Lake Shipping prevailed on the manufacturers to allow the boat to be named *Seaflight*, thus the boat was immediately identifiable with its manufacturers.

This article is not a history of Lake Shipping Company *per se*. Neither is it the full history of *Seaflight*. Its purpose is to record, nearly fifty years later, the logistical difficulties in bringing a 17.4 metres long, and 8 metres wide² vessel from the builder's shipyard in Europe to a launch site in Central Africa.

The political picture

Rhodesia was a pariah state after its Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 and no country recognised it. Portugal and South Africa maintained Accredited Diplomatic Representatives in Salisbury which enabled them to continue to deal with the *de facto* authority of the Rhodesian Government. The neighbouring country of Mozambique, a Portuguese colony, was thus friendly to Rhodesia. In May 1968 the United Nations imposed total mandatory economic sanctions on Rhodesia, and this led to 'sanctions busting' on a large scale.

One of the results of the United Nations decision was for the United Kingdom to set up, in 1966, the so called 'Beira Patrol'³ whereby the British Royal Navy used its ships,

¹ A hydrofoil is designed so that a ship's hull travels above the surface of the water, having 'taken off' by means of foils on each side of the hull, as the vessel gathers speed. The working speed of an H57 was 65 km/h.

² With its foils attached. The hull width without the foils was 5 metres.

³ The Beira Patrol mainly operated in the Mozambique Channel. It ceased operations in 1975.

including aircraft carriers for air surveillance, to monitor vessels entering the port of Beira, with the principal objective of intercepting and preventing oil tankers off-loading their cargoes at the terminal for the Beira-Rhodesia pipeline.

The Feasibility Study that led to the formation of Lake Shipping Company was prepared in October, 1970 and it was 18 months before *Seafight* reached Rhodesia. Sanctions were in place throughout this period (and continued thereafter) and on the part of Rhodesians were there to be broken both in the way of imports and exports.

This article largely deals with the physical transportation side of getting the hydrofoil to Rhodesia in the face of sanctions, but there were numerous legal issues to overcome as well, in ensuring that the purchase was done in a manner that would overcome sanctions. The author believes (but has been unable to confirm) that the invoice and paperwork for the purchase of the hydrofoil from Seafight S.p.A would have been in the name of Lake Shipping Company Limited of Maritime House, Loveday Street, Johannesburg, South Africa. This would be an accommodation address—certainly there was no Lake Shipping Company registered in South Africa.

On the face of things Rhodesia in this 18-month period was peaceful, tourists were aplenty and industry was becoming more and more inventive. The peaceful scene was first disturbed by the attacks on Altena and Whistlefield Farms, in December, 1972⁴.

Lake Shipping's key personnel

Key personnel mentioned in this article are Bev Portman⁵ and Clive Halse⁶, father of the author⁷ of the article. Bev had prepared the original Feasibility Study (referred to earlier) and was Managing Director of the company. He had gone to Italy in July 1971 to examine various hydrofoil types. Clive was an Executive Director, and he and Bev



**Bev Portman (c. 1980) left, and
Clive Halse (1972), right.**

worked hand in glove to bring what was a dream, to fruition. Both were substantial minority shareholders in the company. All references in this article to either Bev or Clive are to these two directors.

Italy – 1971

Clive spent nearly two months in Italy late in 1971, during which time he learnt how to operate the hydrofoil, attended its sea trials in

the Mediterranean Sea, and spent time with AIFO⁸, the manufacturers of the vessel's diesel engines, on a maintenance course. He also liaised with lawyers and financiers on behalf of his Board. It must be remembered that sanctions were in place. This meant that Clive's regular communications with the Board were in code. Being in the days before

⁴ Described as 'The beginning of the end' in *Blue and Old Gold, the history of The British South Africa Police*. This reference can be taken to infer to the start of 'terrorist' incursions into the country, which led, ultimately and less than a decade later, to the Independence of Zimbabwe and the end of white-minority rule.

⁵ J. B. (Bev) Portman, B.Sc. Eng. was a new immigrant to Rhodesia, and had almost immediately seen the potential of Lake Kariba. He died in Johannesburg in March, 2021.

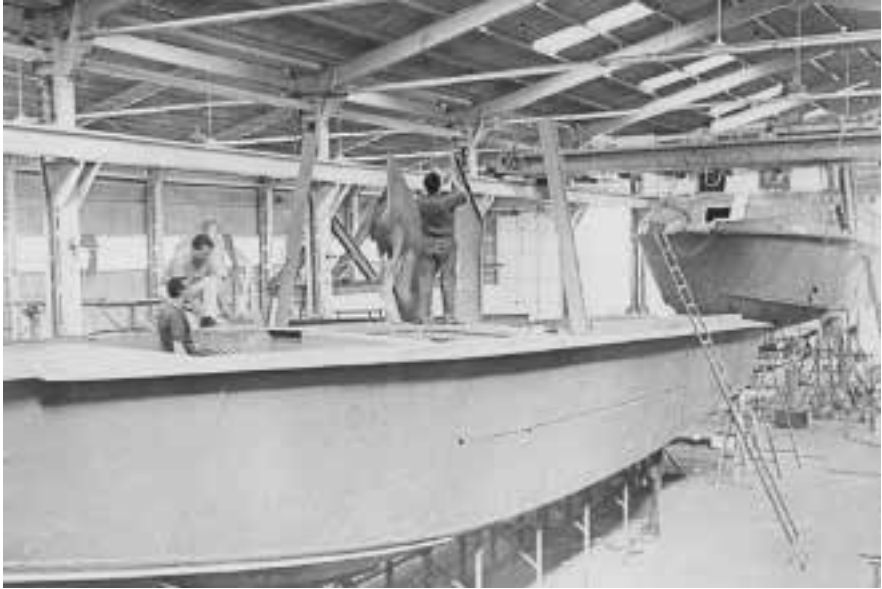
⁶ Clive Halse (1917–1993) was a former airline pilot who was Chief Pilot of Hunting-Clan African Airways when that company started operations in Rhodesia in 1955. He subsequently was Chief Pilot of Rhodesian Air Services and then Air Trans Africa. His flying career ended in 1970.

⁷ The author attended to Lake Shipping's accounting matters for a period. He was a director for 18 months before resigning to pursue a professional career, but retained a small minority shareholding.

⁸ AIFO [Applicazioni Industriali Fiat OM S.p.A.], part of the FIAT group, were based in Milan.



email, telex and telegrams were the communications used. A lot of these were routed via Jack Malloch's Air Trans Africa, which company was a noted sanctions breaker.



**Birthplace of *Seaflight*.
The builder's shipyard in Messina, 1971.**

Clive finally left Italy on 14th December, 1971.

Shipment by freighter, quaintly called *Primrose*, was initially planned for the 13th, then the 15th and then the 22nd or 23rd December, and was to take 25 days. The first of many difficulties in getting the hydrofoil to Rhodesia had struck—financial and legal issues causing delays. The actual day of loading *Seaflight* on to the freighter, now the *Cinzia d'Amato*⁹, and the sailing date has not been recorded but there was probably a further delay while legal issues were resolved.

The hydrofoil was mounted on stanchions that were welded to the deck of the freighter, and was kept in place by ropes. It was thus deck cargo and exposed to the elements and was easily visible.

The *Cinzia d'Amato* sailed through the Mediterranean, through the Suez Canal and Red Sea into the Indian Ocean, calling in at Dar-es-Salaam an unfriendly, to Rhodesia, Tanzanian port, where it spent 12 days. While heading down the east coast the freighter broke down and was adrift for several days. There was concern in the Lake Shipping camp that a Beira Patrol Royal Navy boat may have headed for the freighter to render assistance. As *Seaflight* was visible on the freighter's deck, had it been spotted there may have been repercussions. Fortunately, the *Cinzia d'Amato's* crew managed to get their vessel going and it finally headed for a berth in Beira.

⁹ There appears to be a succession of Italian registered vessels with this name. A bulk carrier, register in Naples, was built in 1973 and another was built in 2008. Presumably the freighter used in 1972 and the vessel built in 1973 have been decommissioned. Going by the years it appears that the vessel used to carry *Seaflight* may have been at the end of its life. Perhaps that is why it broke down.

There were endless delays in the date of arrival from Italy, the first estimated date being the 9th or 10th March and the date being altered nearly every day for a month. Lake Shipping staff were nearly driven mad by the lack of positive information.

Beira, Mozambique – April, 1972

Eventually Lake Shipping received 24 hours' notice of the boat's intended docking in Beira and so on Sunday 9th April Clive Halse and Bev Portman, accompanied by Clive's wife Penny¹⁰, went to Beira to fetch the *Seaflight* taking with them all necessary tools, including welding equipment.

The first delay on land soon happened in that the empty low bed transporter hired to collect *Seaflight* from Beira was held up 24 hours at Forbes Border Post, Umtali on its way to the port. *The Sunday Mail*, a fortnight later in an article headed 'Customs Delay Nearly Wrecks Hydrofoil Plan' stated 'The Customs and Excise Department nearly wrecked the delicate sanctions-busting operation. Last week the Department admitted that a "misunderstanding" prevented a Rhodesian based transporter from collecting the hydrofoil quickly from Beira docks, where it was lying in full view of "enemy" consular officials'. Lake Shipping Company had taken every precaution to get the transporter straight through the border post, but to no avail.

The low bed transporter had been hired from Thorntons' Transportation¹¹ to transport the hydrofoil, as an Abnormal Load, to Kariba. That company had transported abnormal and heavy equipment for the Kariba Dam project, and were thus specialists in the carrying of huge loads. At the time of *Seaflight* it was the largest and most dramatic marine craft to be moved in Rhodesia (although this mantle would be passed to the carrying of Lake Shipping Company's car ferries, *Seahorse* and *Sea Lion*, in 1972 and 1973 respectively).

The route had been previously surveyed by Thorntons' and Lake Shipping Company personnel to determine obstacles, both overhead and lateral. In charge for the entire operation for Thorntons' was their Field Supervisor, Frank Lobb¹², and the driver of the transporter was Foni Matambudziko¹³. Lorry mates made up the crew.

The transporter then only arrived late at night on the 10th and unloading of the hydrofoil from the freighter could only start the next morning. The first task was to enable the stanchions used on the *Cinzia d'Amato* to hold *Seaflight* on the deck, to be used on the transporter. By mistake the shipping agent's (Cory Mann George Limited) representative had taken the passes needed to get on the ship, so Penny had to use her French with the Dock Captain to enable them to get permission to board.

Going on board was necessary as Clive and Bev had to measure the stanchions and arrange their removal. After the measurements had been taken, the two men 'unwelded' the stanchions from the deck with a large angle grinder. They spent the rest of the morning preparing the transporter ready to take the stanchions and then, with the ship's crane lifting the hydrofoil clear of the stanchions, took the stanchions down to the

¹⁰ Penny (1918–2018), the author's mother, was from a Belgian family.

¹¹ Thorntons' Transportation was started by Samuel Thornton, a Californian, in South Africa in 1892 with mule-drawn wagons carrying food and equipment for the Witwatersrand gold diggings. The company modernised and expanded, and its introduction to Rhodesia in 1955 was through the acquisition of Michael Stafford Limited. In 1961 Thorntons' was taken over by Rhodesia United Transport and became one of the United Transport Overseas Limited group of companies.

¹² Frank was born in Gwelo and had obtained a Diploma in Engineering and Management from The College of Aeronautical and Automobile Engineering in Chelsea, London. Upon his return to Rhodesia, he joined Thorntons'. Lake Shipping met up with him again when their two ferries were transported from Salisbury to Kariba. He died in 2016.

¹³ Foni was from Mrewa and had been with Thorntons' 15 years but had only become a heavy-duty driver about 3 years before his *Seaflight* responsibility.



transporter and welded them in place on it. This was done in the pouring rain and at one stage they got flooded out standing on the railway line, one holding an umbrella while the other welded, and they had to rush to the nearest building to seek refuge—this turned out to be the Senhoras toilet .

The hydrofoil was mounted on the freighter with its foils and propellers detached and these would be carried separately to Kariba and only re-fitted once it was there. *Seaflight* also contained a spare set of propellers, various other spares, a model of it from the manufacturers, a set of stands longer than the afore-mentioned stanchions ... and some ‘goodies’ such as bottles of Italian wine!



Off-loading *Seaflight* from the *Cinzia d'Amato*.

The Thorntons' transporter is just visible behind the dock hands.

One of the all-important short support stanchions which were originally welded on to the deck of the freighter, here welded on to the cross beams of the transporter, and then finally used on the slipway cradle in Andora Harbour.



All was ready, and in the afternoon the ship's crane swung *Seaflight* out and carefully lowered it on to the transporter under supervision of the two directors and Frank Lobb. Penny recorded: 'Standing on the dock with the ship's Captain watching, the dock supervisor frightened us all, by saying one of the wires of the crane was not safe. But all turned out well, although the wire was changed immediately after.'

The bridge over the Pungwe river some 50 km from Beira had previously been identified as a major obstacle in the path of the transporter and its load. Because of this Clive (and Penny) went to the bridge at 5 p.m. to re-measure the available height. Despite getting a tape over the top girders in the now darkness it was not possible to get an exact measurement. They then rushed back to Beira, on the way leaving their car trailer with its equipment at the Dondo police station, with a rather garbled explanation to the officers on duty. It was picked up the next morning when they had breakfast in Dondo.

It is believed that customs clearing was done very early the next morning. Lake Shipping directors had been advised to be out of Customs by 5 a.m. to avoid the eagle eyes of various Consuls whose cars were later parked around the dockside. Of particular concern was the Italian consulate who might have ordered the Captain of the Italian registered vessel not to off-load the hydrofoil.

The docks were left at mid-day on Wednesday 12th with the convoy having a police escort of three. It took 4 hours for the first 9 kilometres through Beira, lifting power and telephone lines all the way. The various Portuguese authorities were most helpful and created no difficulties anywhere along the route to Rhodesia. At dusk the convoy parked, with the transporter being under police guard, for the night.



Leaving Beira ... 'with 5 000 cars behind' (Clive Halse).

The convoy of course had additional Thorntons' vehicles front and back of the low loader. Lake Shipping directors' vehicles were from time to time in the convoy, as were cars of the public relations (PR) people covering the journey to the border and beyond.



Reg Shay of SANA¹⁴ handled the PR aspect on behalf of the company. Public interest in the hydrofoil started immediately it was disclosed that such a boat for Kariba had arrived in Beira and the Portuguese language daily *Noticias da Beira* prominently covered the arrival in their issues of 13th, 14th and 15th of April. *The Rhodesia Herald* of the 14th with the bold article headline ‘Kariba Hydrofoil Beats Blockade’ (by-lined John Allin) described the boat’s arrival in Beira, stating it had been a closely guarded secret because of sanctions. It quoted a Lake Shipping spokesman as saying ‘It has been something of a hectic cat-and-mouse game because of sanctions and we have been successful.’

Moving inland – Beira to Pungwe river

At dawn on 13th April the transporter was away and soon covered the 50 kilometres or so to the major obstacle of the road bridge over the Pungwe river, between Dondo and Tica. This bridge, well known to Rhodesian holidaymakers heading for Beira, was a steel arch suspension bridge whose top girders were just too low to enable the transporter and its load (at 20 foot, 9 inches high) to get through. The problem had been anticipated and 8-inch rollers had been brought in Thomtons’ support vehicles. *Seafight* had to be unloaded from its trailer by jacks on to these small bogie wheels and then towed across the bridge, all in all a most tedious task. Part of the operation required the welding of extra supports, done in the evening by Bev and Clive, after the two ladies, Penny Halse and Frances Louw, had been sent back to Beira to buy more welding rods. To reload *Seafight* on to the transporter, the reverse jacking operation had to take place. All this was done in a hot, mosquito ridden, wet environment.



Map showing the road between Beira and Umtali – the first third of the journey.

¹⁴ Reg Shay (of Southern Africa News Agency) was a well-known independent journalist who had lived in Rhodesia for 12 years. Before that, most of his working life had been spent in Fleet Street, London. He had just published a book (co-authored with Chris Vermaak) entitled *The Silent War*, being a documentary account of the fight for Southern Africa. Reg was assisted by Frances Louw on the Lake Shipping story. John Evans also accompanied them. By June, they had produced and directed a documentary film centred on the hydrofoil and car ferry service on Lake Kariba.

Bev recalls: ‘As an alternative idea I had tried to remove the top of the bridge cross stanchions but the bolts were completely rusted and absolutely immovable. One broke off in my hands and at that point I decided it wasn’t a good idea!’



Trying to loosen the top girders of the bridge. Bev Portman (leaning forward) and his team, working from the deck of the hydrofoil, parked, as far as it could go, under the bridge.



Left: *Seaflight* about to go on rollers, before being towed through the bridge.



Right: Bev Portman (with dustjacket) and Clive Halse watching proceedings.



Left: View showing the problem of the height.



Right: An unusual sight of a boat going through a bridge.



The whole operation took 30 hours and *Seaflight* was finally moved into Tica¹⁵ at 5 p.m. on the 14th, where she stayed the night, again guarded. Being a single lane bridge, disruption to the flow of traffic during the whole operation, must have been significant.

Penny recorded: ‘We found a café in Tica which we just about took over. Frances and I spent most of the 30 hours collecting beers, rolls and cold drinks. We spent two nights at Tica, sleeping 10 in the only 3 rooms available¹⁶. They were wonderful to us.’

From Pungwe bridge to Machipanda/Forbes Border Post

At dawn on the 15th the convoy set off again, heading for Gondola. Near here there was another major obstacle, a low rail over road bridge. This obstacle had also been provided for by arranging, after the original route survey, for a farmer to bulldoze a dirt road through his farm for about four kilometres, and then simply making a level-crossing. At the last hour, after checking the road again, the corner of a bend was recut to make it easier for the transporter. At mid-day Foni Matambudziko, the driver, was taken ahead by Frank Lobb to inspect the deviation and he gave it the okay. There was, however, a crisis when the transporter actually tackled the deviation. It began to sink on one side and in Clive’s words it was only Foni’s ‘brilliant driving that saved it.’ Bev, when reviewing the draft of this article, stated that ‘this was the most dangerous part of the whole journey. The transporter leaned over at a very precarious angle which was extremely concerning for the spectators.’ Foni was acknowledged as being most competent and very careful, and he negotiated the road (with a bit of sinking, bouncing and swaying) and the make do level-crossing, so that the transporter was back on the main road within 1½ hours.



Frank Lobb



Foni Matambudziko



Left: The by-pass cut through the bush, Clive Halse in the foreground.



Right: Boat over rail crossing, Gondola

¹⁵ A small town, 82 km from Beira.

¹⁶ The 10 are not recorded.

An amusing incident occurred when the transporter was taking the boat along this dirt road that had been cut and which in part ran parallel with the railway line. Around the corner came a goods train, the driver of which could, because of the 2 metres tall grass, only see a vessel slowly moving through the bush. Those there, say they will never forget the look of complete consternation on the faces of the train crew. It should be said though, that the train was scheduled to come past two hours later than it did, but instead missed hitting *Seaflight* by only a couple of minutes.

After that it was, to use a pun, plain sailing, except for having to raise power and telephone lines. This was happening at nearly every settlement along the route. Lopping branches off trees also had to be done. Having passed through Gondola and Vila Pery¹⁷ *Seaflight* reached Vila de Manica¹⁸ at 6 p.m. where it was decided that the transporter would night stop.

As some evidence of frantic rushing around, it is recorded that Frances Louw, who had returned to Salisbury with John Evans to deliver film, story, etc. had re-joined the convoy at Vila Pery. Later in the day Reg, Frances, Bev, Clive and Penny crossed into Rhodesia, and dined together at the Cecil Hotel¹⁹, Umtali.

Once through Rhodesian Customs and Immigration though, Clive and Bev had asked permission to return to Mozambique to see the hydrofoil through that night, not realising that a night stop had been called²⁰. Border personnel being excited, gave their permission. Once they had found out the transporter was not crossing that night, it did, however, give Clive and Bev time to start dismantling the booms and gates on both sides of the border, in the dark, leaving things loose for the next morning.

20 km to go (in rain) and Forbes Border Post was crossed through on Sunday 16th at 9 a.m. The removal of the booms and gates turned out not to be enough, and part of a tree had to be cut down as well. Of course, not only were lines to be lifted as obstacles all the way from Beira, trees as well had to be lopped.

Not being allowed to travel on Sunday, *Seaflight* stayed on the Rhodesian side of the border post until she was cleared through customs on Monday morning. This stop at least enabled a faulty fuel pump on the transporter to be repaired. After nearly a week, 300 kilometres of the journey had been completed, many physical obstacles overcome, and economic sanctions had been beaten.

Umtali to Salisbury

On Monday the 17th the second part of the journey started with a 'parade' through Umtali. It was reported that over the weekend scores of Umtali people had besieged the border post by telephone calls asking when the hydrofoil was coming through. When it reached Umtali groups of people flocked to street corners to see the boat that had been driven on its journey at, reportedly, an average speed of eight km/h. At the rear of the main cabin the hydrofoil proclaimed, in a large sign, 'Apologies for the hold-up. I belong to Lake Kariba'.

In Umtali there was the usual lifting of cables: electricity ones owned by ESC (Electricity Supply Commission) and telephone cables of the PTC (Posts and Telecommunications Corporation). It was reported that ESC engineers lifted de-energised low-tension and high-tension cables and telephone wires 20 times between the border

¹⁷ Now Chimoio.

¹⁸ Now Manica. 279 km from Beira.

¹⁹ The Cecil was part of the Meikles group of hotels. It was moth-balled a couple of years later and in 1974 a new, adjacent, hotel was built, also called the Cecil. The name was changed to Manica Hotel in 1980.

²⁰ Before the days of mobile phones!



and Rusape.

These operations were repeated in all the towns that *Seaflight* passed through, and there was an enormous amount of co-operation by personnel from those two parastatals, as well as from the various town councils and rural district councils, and, of course, the BSAP²¹. Once again a large amount of planning had gone into the journey.

From Umtali it was off to Salisbury, 271 km from the border. Christmas Pass was a relatively easy challenge for Thorntons' and then in Rusape there was a 20-minute delay which resulted in over 100 people clambering on top of *Seaflight*. This was later mentioned to the manufacturers as evidence of the strength of their product—one can imagine the Italians being horrified when they saw a picture of this, particularly as the hydrofoil designer had given the strength of the roof as being able to carry ten people. Responsible for this 'event' happening were an over keen cameraman and the BSAP.

The progress of the transporter and its load were cheered on by hundreds of townsfolk and farm labourers alike as it passed through various communities on its way.



Rusape residents greet the arrival of the hydrofoil.

A night stop was made by the transporter at Macheke, after the day's journey of 163 km. Here members of the Halse and Portman families not involved with the boat's movement from Beira, met *Seaflight* for the first time. The convoy left Macheke at 7 a.m. on the 18th, but its journey to Salisbury was delayed for three hours at Ruwa while Post Office linesman raised lines crossing the road. The transporter was then diverted off the main Umtali–Salisbury road to go around the Portland Cement factory because the load was too high for one specific set of power lines.

Seaflight arrived in Salisbury at 3 p.m. on the Tuesday, a week after being taken

²¹ British South Africa Police, the police force of Rhodesia.

off the freighter. It had been planned to put the boat on display in Jameson Avenue (now Samora Machel Avenue) for a few hours to enable Salisbury residents to get a good look at it but this was cancelled for two reasons: (a) the police would not let the transporter park in the city, and (b) the owners wanted to catch up on lost time due to the more recent delays. The convoy then proceeded to Mount Hampden where it spent the night. It had, however, been permitted to go through the Central Business District via Jameson Avenue, where cars stopped and heads turned.



***Seafight* at the intersection of First Street and Jameson Avenue, Salisbury. Police outriders accompanied the convoy.**

The final stretch

The next day the transporter was off at 6 a.m. on what was to be the easiest stretch of its journey, along the A1 to Makuti. By now lifting overhead wires was routine, and there was little else to trouble the convoy as it went through the various small towns. In the afternoon a halt was called so that the road from Makuti to Kariba could be tackled in one day.

On Thursday 20th came a further test of driver Foni's skills as the twisting 3,5 km (including one bend with a 180-degree turn) from Makuti down to the escarpment floor had to be negotiated. Done successfully, there was then a fairly easy stretch until a section of varying gradients and bends through the hills to Kariba. This part used to have features named at the time of the road's original construction in 1956: Camp Hill, Razor Ridge, Kidney Hill, Puff Adder Ridge, Buffalo Nek²², Rhino Nek, The Basin, Savory's Folly and Kieck's Corner, but the signs were removed some ten years before *Seafight* passed by²³. Kariba was reached in the early afternoon, the final part of the

²² Nek being a low part between adjoining hills [origin – South African Dutch].

²³ The story of the building of the Makuti to Kariba road by Jim Savory and the Southern Rhodesia Irrigation Department is told by Bob Woollacott in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* No. 12 (1993). Woollacott concluded with a note recommending that the series of signposts, by which the history of the road was commemorated, be returned with suitable inscriptions. The author of this current article would also like to see informative signs erected. Interestingly a 1992 Surveyor-General's map of Kariba still shows these names.



road journey being a short narrow dirt road²⁴ down to Lake Shipping's site in Andora Harbour²⁵. The police escorted the transporter for the last 18km of its journey.

Once it had arrived at Andora the next task was to get the hydrofoil into the lake. This was done by reversing the transporter towards the water and over the slipway, then jacking *Seaflight* up off the body of the transporter, which then pulled away while trollies (with cradles) mounted on the slipway were moved under the hull. Jacks were carefully removed so that the hull would then rest on the cradles which could be lowered down the slipway and into the water. Needless to say, this had to be carefully done. *Seaflight* (still without its protruding foils and its propellers) was in the water in the afternoon of 21st April.

The slipway had been designed by Bev to take, separately, *Seaflight*, and the soon to be delivered sister ship, the car ferry, *Seahorse*. No outside contractor was used in its construction, the welding being done by Bev, assisted by Clive, together with a team of labourers. It consisted of two trolleys of 30 wheels each on 4 rails going into the lake for about 10 metres and to a depth of at least 8 metres. There was no underwater construction, the rails being made in sections and then pushed into the lake by a bulldozer. Bev had established the shape of the bottom of the harbour from a photograph taken many years before, when the water level was very low.



Journey's end – Andora Harbour, Kariba. Andora is in the foreground, with Kariba Heights being in the background.



***Seaflight* nestling in Andora Harbour, Kariba, April 1972. The slipway is to the left and shows the four stanchions referred to earlier in this article.**

A few days later the car-ferry, *Seahorse*, arrived from Salisbury (again, transported by Thorntons') and was launched using the slipway. Once this had been done, on 1st May the hydrofoil was pulled out of the water, placed on the long stands, which were the tall stands that had come loose from Italy, and had by now been fitted to the slipway cradles. The long stands enabled the foils and propellers to be fitted and this was done by Bev and Clive in the next few days. *Seaflight*, now in her operational state, was ready for re-launching on May 6th and the first trial run (of 45 minutes), which was

²⁴ Apart from this and the section cut through the bush near Gondola, all roads were tarred roads. Tarred roads were, except for the Pungwe bridge, two laned.

²⁵ The author has been unable to find out why the harbour is named Andora. It is spelt differently from the name of the European principality, Andorra.

successful, was done the next day. The dream of getting the boat to the waters of Kariba had been fulfilled.



The final task—the foils being fitted, prior to the trial run on 7th May, 1972, when *Seaflight* would be skimming Rhodesian waters for the first time.

The media

As has been mentioned the press coverage of the event was significant. It was also covered on television. The journey from Beira to Kariba, just over 900 kilometres, was a huge team effort carried out in the face of many obstacles but the objective was clearly achieved—getting the hydrofoil into the waters of Kariba.

It also attracted attention overseas and one instance of that is *The Daily Telegraph* which reported, on 29th May, 1972:

‘As Rhodesia squares up to a tighter trade embargo, a 20-ton tribute to sanction-busting ingenuity and Western European indifference to international regulations brazenly takes to the waters of Lake Kariba. The hydrofoil, fully assembled was shipped to Beira, Mozambique and taken overland to Kariba, stopping at towns and villages on the way to give admirers an opportunity to examine her’.

Thanks

I would like to record my thanks to the late Bev Portman for answering many questions, searching through his photo albums and reading a final draft of this article.

In this article, as appropriate to the time of the event, original place names in Rhodesia have been used. A list of changed names, showing both old and new, can be found in the *Index to Heritage of Zimbabwe*, published in 2017. In the case of names of places in Mozambique, 1972 names have also been used, but with present names indicated in each case where the name has been subsequently changed.

John Gerard Norman Stagman

D.Sc, C. Eng, FIMM

The Geological Survey's Eighth Director 1976–1978

by Peter Fey



Introduction

John Gerard Norman Stagman was born in 1918 at Wynberg in the Cape Province of South Africa. After a peripatetic early life and fragmented schooling he entered the University of Cape Town in 1938 but soon broke his studies in order to enlist and spent over three years on war service in East Africa and the Middle East. On demobilisation he returned to university and qualified in 1945 as a geologist. He married early in 1946 and a month later became one of a small band of South Africans who joined the Geological Survey of Southern Rhodesia soon after the war. During his career of almost thirty five years with that organisation he became a competent mine geologist and proficient mineralogist. However, most of his efforts were devoted to regional mapping, which occupied him for fifteen years, spending most of that time elucidating the then little known geology of the sedimentary Magondi Supergroup in the northern part of the country, a portion of which was to become Rhodesia's "Copperbelt". He was the first to recognise gravity tectonics in this region. Overall he mapped an area of 7 720 km², recorded his findings in four geological bulletins, then presented a synthesis of his work to the University of South Africa for a doctoral degree. In 1962 he was promoted to District Geologist and transferred to Gwelo where he took charge of the Geological Survey's local office. He returned to Salisbury as Regional Geologist in 1966 and on the installation of Director J. W. Wiles in March 1967 was promoted to Deputy Director. In this position he worked tirelessly to improve conditions of service for his staff, oversaw publication of the 6th edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of the country and undertook a photogeological study of the region bordering the Zambezi Valley in order to determine how this could best be mapped, then initiated fieldwork there. In 1976 he became Director but remained in office for only two years during which he wrote his final bulletin, an updated account, still in print, of the geology of Rhodesia. He subsequently gave a further two and a half years of sterling service to the department as its editor before returning to South Africa to take up a similar position with the Geological Survey in Pretoria. Retiring to



Somerset West in the Cape Province, where his wife predeceased him, he passed away there on 29 May 2004, aged 86 years.

This text is one of an ongoing series on the Directors of the Geological Survey. As appropriate for the time historical names have been used for countries and places.

Early years and education

John Gerard Norman Stagman was born into a military family at Wynberg in the Cape Province on 2 June 1918, but almost nothing is known of his family, childhood and adolescence. As a consequence of his father's various postings Stagman's early education was severely fragmented and saw him passing through primary schools in Durban, Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town. Fortunately for him his senior schooling was rather less disrupted. He attended Rondebosch Boys High school (1929–1934) and Pretoria High School (1935–1936), where he displayed a marked aptitude for the sciences as well as languages, took an interest in rugby and excelled at tennis, a game which he played for much of his life. He matriculated at the end of 1936, a time when the effects of the Depression were still being felt, unemployment was rife and poverty commonplace.

In 1937, having early on formed an attachment to the Western Province and its associated coastal fishing, Stagman joined the Electricity Supply Commission in Cape Town with the intention of becoming an electrical engineer. However, enthusiasm for his intended vocation rapidly diminished when, as a trainee technician, he found that one of his tasks was the descaling of boilers at the municipal power station.

As a result, and no doubt influenced by a family friend, doyen of South African geology Dr Sydney H. Haughton, he enrolled at Cape Town University in 1938 and commenced studies under Professor Frederick Walker, taking geology and chemistry as majors.

War service

In November 1940 Stagman put his university education on hold, enlisted in the South African Engineer Corps and was assigned to that unit's Road Construction Company, learning to survey roads and associated works in Kenya, Abyssinia and the Middle East. During the Abyssinian campaign he drove heavy transport vehicles in convoys through the mountainous terrain of that country (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*), then transferred to the specialist Water Development Unit, serving in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Persia. He gained considerable experience in locating underground water by means of resistivity surveys, acquired an abiding interest in things mechanical as well as electrical and became a proficient amateur motor mechanic. After 3¼ years of military service, during which he attained the rank of technical sergeant, he was demobilised in March 1944 and returned to Cape Town University. There he completed his studies for the B.Sc. degree, followed in 1945 by an M.Sc. degree awarded with honours.

Quest for employment

At the beginning of December 1945 one of Stagman's uncles, John G. Jearey, who was evidently on very good terms with the then director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, Ben Lightfoot (Fey, 2015) since he began his letter with "Dear Lightfoot...", sent him Stagman's details and enquired about employment prospects with the department. A week later he wrote to another acquaintance in Salisbury, L. B. Fereday MP, asking him to try and promote Stagman's case. In the interim Jearey had received a letter from



the Geological Survey's A. M. Macgregor (Fey, 2018), answering on Lightfoot's behalf to advise that the sole vacancy for geologist was being kept open for former employee F. S. Dobell (Fey, 2016) who was still serving with the Royal Air Force in England. He noted that scales of pay were in a state of flux but would have to be augmented in order to attract staff of the right calibre. The entry level for professional officers possessing a four-year degree, unaltered since 1929, remained at £400 *p.a.*, one step in the grade being allowed for each completed year of war service. Marriage allowance stood at £600 *p.a.*, and provision of a child allowance was being recommended. Lightfoot, who had joined the Service on a salary of £500 *p.a.* in 1911 after two years in the Scottish Geological Survey, regarded local conditions as being so bad that he advised intending applicants not to accept them.

On 17 December 1945 Stagman, undeterred by this gloomy portrayal of conditions, applied for the vacant position, stating that he had similarly applied to the Union Geological Survey. Meanwhile, in a letter dated 16 November 1945 Dobell notified Lightfoot that he had accepted a permanent commission with the Royal Air Force, hence would not be returning to the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey. This was acknowledged by Lightfoot in a memorandum dated 22 December to the Secretary, Department of Mines, recommending that Stagman's application be considered by the Public Services Board. Since there was no suitably qualified Rhodesian available to fill the post Lightfoot was able to offer the position to Stagman on 28 January 1946 at £450 *p.a.*

On 1 March Stagman telegraphed Lightfoot to advise that he had recently got married (to Audrey Fay, eldest child of the late Major-General Daniel ("Dan") Hermanus Pienaar), and enquired if this would affect his appointment. It did not and he was requested to report for duty on 1 April 1946.

The period 1946–1962

As the first of a small group of South African geologists to join the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey not long after the war Stagman arrived on the day the department's second director, Ben Lightfoot, went on leave pending retirement. He soon found that part of his war service had been taken into account, raising his starting salary to £475 *p.a.* In December his entire war service was recognised, augmenting his remuneration to £500 *p.a.*, effective on commencement of service. His first child, John Gerard, was born on 2 July 1946, followed in 1948 by son Brian, daughter Rosemary arriving in January 1952.

There is limited information only for the eldest son, who in due course joined the Rhodesian Air Force where he was known as "Jim", qualified as a Lieutenant Pilot and is remembered for one particular incident. While on a training exercise over the Wankie National Park one evening in October 1969 "Jim" and his navigator attempted to evade storm clouds, became disoriented and their Canberra bomber ran out of fuel. The men ejected, to be rescued on the following morning (Salt 2001, pp 428–429). "Jim" later flew commercial aircraft in the Middle East (J. G. N. Stagman, *pers. comm.*).

Sad to relate, his marriage ended in 1982 when his wife committed suicide, leaving two small daughters (E. R. Morrison, *pers. comm.*).

Stagman lost no time in becoming acquainted with the region northwest of Salisbury, where he was to undertake virtually all of his subsequent field work. During May, June and September of 1946 he reconnoitred part of the Urungwe Reserve southwest of Karoi, as well as the region immediately to the south, investigating occurrences of cement quality limestone discovered there by the Geological Survey in December of the previous year. At the time of writing (2020) these remain unexploited. In June, and from August to December he familiarised himself with the country around Banket where mapping, initiated in 1938 by A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013), had been continued by F. S. Dobell (Fey, 2016) in 1939. In the early part of 1947 he undertook petrographical studies on samples collected from the project area and prepared a fair copy of the geological map, then during August and September completed fieldwork over an area of some 180 km² underlain principally by granite southeast of Banket. The remainder of the year was taken up with inspecting and reporting on 25 mines, most of them operated by former servicemen under the Mining Settlement Scheme.

On 1 April 1948 Stagman was appointed to the Fixed Establishment. Economic work occupied him throughout the year during which he visited a total of 48 mines, and continued for part of the following year when he spent a fortnight on the Shamva mine and a week on the Gladstone mine at Arcturus, which he had been instrumental in reopening. There he sited a borehole which was successful in locating the continuation of the rich gold reef cut off by a basic dyke on the 230 foot level. Furthermore, he devoted three months to infill mapping over an area of some 580 km² situated between Concession and Msonneddi, thereby completing the department's survey of the Mazoe Valley Gold Belt (Stagman, 1953). The region was then still undeveloped and lions were not uncommon, causing Stagman (*pers. comm.*) to have concerns over the safety of his young family of wife and two boys, obliged to spend their days alone in a bush camp while he was out mapping.

In 1950, besides logging 755 metres of drill core at the Kariba hydro-electric project, he embarked on a task which was to occupy him for ten years, namely mapping the northern portion of the Lomagundi System, an arcuate belt of sedimentary and minor volcanic rocks of Proterozoic age extending from west of Gatooma to the Zambezi Escarpment.

The Geological Survey's first foray into the region north of Salisbury was an investigation undertaken by the pioneer geologist A. J. C. Molyneux (Fey, 1994) who mapped a tract of Proterozoic sediments west of Sinoia and for these coined the terms Lomagundi System and Piriwiri Series (Molyneux, 1919). Subsequently the Deweras Series, comprising arkoses (feldspathic quartzites) and minor volcanics, was recognised along the Lower Umfuli River by Phaup and Dobell (1938) who included it within the Basement. It was later incorporated into the loosely defined Lomagundi System as its basal unit. Mapping of these sediments had been all but completed by the middle of 1970 when the existence of three major lithological groups was confirmed. However, relationships between these are complicated by folding, thrusting and lack of exposure in critical areas, leading to uncertainty long termed the "Lomagundi puzzle" over the stratigraphic relationship between Lomagundi and Piriwiri strata. Under currently accepted lithostratigraphic nomenclature the entire sedimentary package is termed the Magondi Supergroup, its major components constituting groups instead of series. The fault-controlled Deweras Group is regarded as a continental basin or rift deposit. It is overlain by marine sediments comprising the shallow-water quartzite-dolomite



assemblage of the Lomagundi Group, which is flanked in the west by greywackes, phyllites and slates of the Piriwiri Group, laid down contemporaneously in deeper water.

Stagman established his field base 50 kilometres north of Sinoia in the vicinity of the Molly and Norah copper claims (Macgregor, 1931) which were then being explored by Rhodesia Copper Ventures Limited. He was seconded to the company for the period 1950–1951 and assisted American mining engineer Raymond Brooks, who had in earlier years undertaken copper exploration in the Congo and on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt (Gunning 1961, pp 3–10). Since he was given control of the exploration programme, which had an allocated budget of £200 000 for diamond drilling, Stagman initially deferred regional mapping in favour of a detailed survey over some 26 km² around the Molly and Norah claims. During 1952 he expanded the investigation by mapping 1140 km² of the surrounding country lying between the small centre of Doma in the north and latitude 17° south, all the while maintaining contact with Brooks. Over weekends he would take time off in order to play tennis at the Umboe Country Club (Stagman, *pers. comm.*). In 1953 he visited the Kariba dam site with the Director, J. C. Ferguson (Fey, 2019), at the end of August spent five days in Northern Rhodesia to study sediments tentatively correlated with the Lomagundi strata, and subsequently undertook a six-day reconnaissance of the Urungwe Reserve. While there he concluded that the contentious Piriwiri Group of sediments, hitherto regarded as occurring at the top of the Magondi sequence, was actually older. Results of his fieldwork in the Mangula region were compiled during 1954 and published as bulletin 46 (Stagman, 1959).

In the interim exploration comprising drilling, shaft sinking and underground development continued on the Molly claims until 1953, when a resource of 20 million tons grading 1.5% copper and 0.5 oz silver per ton had been established, the strata-bound mineralisation occurring in arkoses of the Deweras Group. The Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Limited (MTD) subsequently acquired a controlling interest in Rhodesia Copper Ventures Limited, resumed exploration and in October 1957 commenced production at its new Mangula Mine (Stagman *ibid.*).

Over the period 1954–1956 Stagman extended his survey southwards into the adjoining region which includes the southern end of the Archaean Sinoia-Banket schist belt and hosts several formerly significant gold producers such as the Eldorado, Ayrshire and Golden Kopje mines. The resulting geological map accompanies Bulletin 49 (Stagman, 1961), covers a quarter degree square (3 300 km²) and incorporates mapping undertaken before the war by Phaup and Dobell, much of which Stagman revised. His recognition of the southward extension from Mangula of the Deweras Group into the Sinoia region subsequently led to its intensive exploration there and resulted in the opening during the 1970s of the Angwa, Avondale, Hans and Shackleton copper mines, all operated by MTD which had a monopoly over the exploitation of Rhodesia's "Copperbelt".

Early in his career Stagman faced three major issues in his personal life, namely his wife's indifferent health, accommodation for his family during the rainy season and schooling for his children. From 1948 onwards he, like several of his colleagues in the Geological Survey, had been taking his annual holidays in South Africa, specifically in Cape Town. On the first of these his wife required an operation in January 1949, to be followed by a second urgent operation during the family's holiday early in 1951 when

post-operative pneumonia prolonged her recuperation. In both instances Stagman was obliged to request extensions to his leave.

The second issue was one which also faced other departmental geologists with young and growing families, such as Stagman's colleague John Walter Wiles (Fey, 2020). For the duration of the dry season these men would take their wives and children into the bush with them where, since the Geological Survey introduced caravans only in the late 1950s, they lived in assorted tents, accommodation patently unsuitable for the rainy season. On returning to Salisbury at the end of the field season the families would have to find quarters to rent which, because of the post-war influx of immigrants, were in short supply. From his arrival in Salisbury early in 1946 Stagman had occupied a flat in Earl's Court, Fife Avenue which he had to vacate at the beginning of the 1951 field season because the landlord would no longer allow him to sublet for longer than six months, evidently a not uncommon practice. In July of that year he therefore applied for accommodation in the Government's Merrivale Flats in Belvedere. In August 1951 and again in the following August he solicited the support of Director Ferguson in his ongoing search for accommodation, in the second letter advising that he had bought a stand at what was to become number 8 Clairwood Road in Alexandra Park. However, municipal regulations prevented him from building before January 1953. In the absence of further correspondence on file it appears that he was eventually allocated Government housing. Once he had built on his stand he and his family lived there until 1980.

Furthermore, by 1955 Stagman's itinerant life style was adversely affecting the education of his two sons who, able to attend kindergarten and school only over the rainy season, were obliged to resort to correspondence school for the duration of the dry season which they spent in the field with their parents. With the support of the Director Stagman applied to the Department of Education on 14 February 1955 for his two boys, who were then at Blakiston School, to be enrolled in a Government school with boarding facilities such as Highlands School, which they could attend as day scholars in the first and third terms, as boarders in the second term. At the time the younger son required close monitoring since he was recovering from poliomyelitis, hence Stagman was unwilling to place him into full-time boarding. It is not known if the request was granted.

At the beginning of May 1955 Stagman acquired personal transport in the form of Government vehicle LL 1120, a Chevrolet vanette. The purchase price was £130, for which he took out a vehicle loan repayable in monthly instalments over one year. Only a month later, while he was in the field near Sinoia, he was diagnosed with a sub-acute peptic ulcer and granted sick leave from 20 June until 17 July. It is speculated that the condition may have been caused by stress since, many years later, he confided to the author's colleague V. R. C. Stocklmayer (*pers. comm.*) that he had at some time during his field career suffered a nervous breakdown. In December he took his annual vacation in Cape Town and in January 1956 applied for further sick leave, with treatment of his then unspecified condition expected to continue until 1 March. To help with expenses he requested that monthly repayments of his vehicle loan be halved between September 1955 and May 1956. He took out another vehicle loan in 1962.

After four months devoted to revision of the Sinoia-Banket map sheet Stagman embarked on his last assignment on the Magondi Supergroup, spending the final two months of the 1956 field season in the southeast of the Urungwe Reserve. There he discovered an occurrence of high grade travertine. Although too remote and small for



commercial exploitation this limestone, together with bat guano from the numerous caves occurring in it, might conceivably have a use in African agriculture.

The project area measured 2 700 km² and, because mapping was based on aerial photographs taken in 1951 and 1954, much new cadastral information including several dams, almost 100 boreholes, over 500 kilometres of new and realigned roads as well as the route of the Kariba power line had to be added to 1:50 000 scale base maps provided by the Surveyor-General.

Because there were periodical interruptions to mapping the field work, undertaken between 1956 and 1959, occupied Stagman for a total of 15 months. In March 1957 he investigated the Semanika Township lands at Sipolilo to check if the reservation might be prejudicial to any possible future mining development, and also spent 10 days examining six mines. In May 1958 he was diagnosed with malaria by a Karoi doctor who prescribed sick leave of five days. During the remainder of the year, besides mapping, Stagman reported on the Early Worm limestone deposit near Concession (Fey, 1980), a mica mine at Miami and the Shamrocke copper prospect on the Angwa River, where the writer began his fieldwork with the Geological Survey in 1971. For eight months of 1959 he was in charge of the department's Mineralogical Branch, also visiting one mica and six gold mines. Stagman spent a week in the Lomagundi and Urungwe districts with a member of the Northern Rhodesia Geological Survey, then followed this with a trip to the Monze and Mazabuka areas of Northern Rhodesia. Towards the end of the year he accompanied Professor Arie Poldervaart of Columbia University in North America on a three-day tour of the Miami mica field. A sample of phyllite collected on this trip gave a radiometric age of 1 655 million years (Stagman *ibid.*, p 11), then regarded as a minimum age for the Piriwiri Group. During 1960 he deputised for both the Director and Mineralogist, undertook eight mine visits, completed the text of his bulletin 49 (Stagman, 1961), compiled the new geological map of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and completed the remaining 52 km² of mapping. He resumed his lapsed membership of the Geological Society of South Africa and furthermore became an Associate Member of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy.

Salient result of the Urungwe survey was Stagman's recognition during 1957 of hitherto unsuspected gravity tectonics. These have resulted in a thrust sheet (nappe) which covers 780 km² of the area mapped, its stratigraphy comprising a basal Urungwe Series of Archaean arkoses overlain by an arkose-limestone-dolomite-orthoquartzite sequence now termed the Tengwe River Group (TRG). This in turn is unconformably overlain in the west by tillites and other fluvioglacial sediments initially assigned to the basal Dwyka Group of the Karoo Supergroup. The nappe, its superstructure of rocks extraneous to its surroundings, was considered by Stagman (1962) to have originated some distance to the north, to be then thrust into place. However, regional correlation of the TRG proved difficult and contentious. On lithological grounds there are affinities with Magondi Supergroup strata to the east. Correlation with the Katangan Supergroup and its Kundulungu tillites in Northern Rhodesia and the Congo was ruled out because of the unconformity at the base of the glacial beds, although the concept would be strengthened if the glacial beds were included with the Tengwe River Group.

The conundrum remained until the 1970s when, in the course of a world-wide study of sedimentary carbonate rocks, German researchers found that the anomalous

$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value of Magondi Supergroup carbonate rocks did not extend to TRG strata, thus precluding any correlation. However, by that time the Makuti Group of paragneisses, high-grade sediments and amphibolites had been recognised and geologically mapped (Broderick 1976; Fey and Broderick, 1990) in the region between Vuti, Makuti and Kariba, from where it links with the Katanga Supergroup across the Zambezi River. This made it conceivable that the thrust-isolated Tengwe River Group represents the miogeosynclinal (non-volcanic) phase of a Neoproterozoic orogeny, the somewhat older formations of which are preserved in Zimbabwe as the Makuti Group (Stagman, 1978).

District Geologist 1962–1967

By 1962, Stagman had completed his Urungwe bulletin and map and, working extramurally, submitted a synthesis of the Magondi Supergroup as a dissertation entitled “The geology and structure of rock sequences in the Lomagundi and Urungwe districts, Southern Rhodesia” to the University of South Africa. He again visited the Kariba dam site, attended four meetings of Federal Power Board officials and Council in connection with litigation over flooding of the coffer dam, and undertook numerous mine visits. During the August–September school holidays he was transferred to Gwelo where, newly promoted to District Geologist, he headed the Geological Survey’s regional office, located in Development House at number 106, 7th Street and unmanned since April on the elevation to Director of A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013).

Stagman spent four years in the position, devoting his time to the examination of mines and prospects in the wider region, attending to enquiries from the public and undertaking mineral determinations. He gained a detailed understanding of mining properties, particularly of those within his jurisdiction, knowledge which proved of great value in later years during deliberations of the Mining Loans Sub-Committee and Mining Affairs Board. Periodically he inspected dam sites on behalf of the Department of Water Development and in addition gave talks to schools, other Government departments, civil engineers and mining associations.

In 1963 the Natural Resources Board made “Minerals Year” the theme of its publicity campaign in which by means of broadcasts, films, literature and displays in several centres it drew the attention of the wider public, within the country and the surrounding region, to Southern Rhodesia’s mineral wealth. The Geological Survey assisted as far as it could with several of its officers giving of their time outside office hours. In Gwelo Stagman sat on the organising committee, prepared and presented numerous rock and mineral collections to schools as well as other organisations, and helped to arrange a symposium for teachers at which he gave a talk.

In July 1964 he attended the 7th annual congress of the Geological Society of South Africa, held at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury with the theme “The later Precambrian formations of Southern Rhodesia”. A post-congress excursion to the Lomagundi and Urungwe districts, with visits to the Alaska and Mangula mines, was led by Stagman, Bliss, Drs Wiles and Worst, all from the Geological Survey. At several outcrops there was robust discussion about the stratigraphy of the Magondi Supergroup as recently portrayed by Jacobsen (1962), son of the Mangula mine geologist, whose interpretation was at variance with the more widely accepted one by Stagman. At the exposure of the supposed Dwyka tillite in the Urungwe nappe several delegates including Dr A. M. J. de Swardt and W. G. Garlick, both from Northern Rhodesia, and Professor H. Martin, from the university at Göttingen in Germany, suggested that it might



equate with the *Grand conglomerat* of the Katanga Supergroup (Phaup 1965, p 68).

At some time during 1964 Stagman, while continuing to play tennis, took up golf (Morrison, 1976), and early in the following year he was awarded the Doctor of Science degree by the University of the Orange Free State. At the time there was some dissatisfaction among senior staff about the slow rate of promotion within the Geological Survey, but the issue was addressed in due course. Regradings in March 1966 saw Stagman's post designated Regional Geologist, he returned to Salisbury in October and on 6 December proceeded on two months leave. Director A. E. Phaup retired on 21 March 1967 and was succeeded by Dr J. W. Wiles (Fey, in prep.). Effective from 22 March Stagman became Deputy Director on a fixed salary of £3 250 *p.a.*

Directorships 1967–1976

During the early part of this period the Geological Survey was reorganised and, stimulated by salary reviews, considerably expanded. The number of geologists increased from 18 in 1967 to 24 in 1970, a year in which mapping coverage by twelve geologists reached 13 924 km², an all-time high. There was a corresponding increase in calls for mineral determinations and mine visits. In addition to shouldering a considerable administrative burden Stagman became intimately involved in this reorganisation and repeatedly took up cudgels with the Ministry of Mines Head Office and the Public Services Board in his quest to improve conditions of service for his staff, many of whom were probably unaware of his efforts on their behalf. Furthermore, he facilitated the acquisition of essential field equipment as well as power tools for its maintenance and repair. Other purchases included petrographic microscopes, a dyeline printer for the Drawing Office and a scientific calculator.

His interest in things electrical as well as mechanical extended to motor vehicles of which, over the period when the author served under him, he successively owned three, namely an Austin *Westminster* sedan followed by two Alfa Romeo models, all purchased through Government loans the first of which was taken out in 1971.

He was entitled to use his personal vehicle on Government business and to claim for mileage at the stipulated rate. In the first years of his Deputy Directorship he continued to undertake mine inspections, and in addition would periodically visit his field geologists to check the progress of regional mapping. In the early 1970s he had an accident in his car, and it was observed by his staff that for some time thereafter the number of field visits increased significantly as he sought to meet the cost of repairs from his mileage claims.

At the beginning of 1971 Stagman, assisted by I. M. Kirpatrick, carried out a detailed photogeological interpretation, coupled with reconnaissance field visits, of an area covering some 7 350 km² along the Zambezi Escarpment between the Sanyati River and Sipolilo in order to obtain information for the proposed 6th edition of the 1:1 million scale provisional geological map of Rhodesia, and to ascertain how this rugged tract of country could best be mapped. The author joined the Geological Survey in January and, together with colleague C. B. Anderson, accompanied the two men on a short reconnaissance of the country around Karoi, then towards the end of April began fieldwork at the Shamrock Mine which was about to commence copper production. The new million-scale map was published in July, just in time for "Granite 71", an international geological symposium held in Salisbury and attended by 226 delegates.

During the following years the bush war in Rhodesia intensified, resulting in ever more onerous military call-ups and concomitant resignations of staff. Mapping coverage during 1975 dropped to 4 023 km², with only four geologists enjoying a full field season.

Dr Wiles retired on 29 April 1976 and was succeeded as Director by Stagman, whose post then attracted a fixed salary of \$14 190 *p.a.* He immediately passed most routine administrative duties on to his deputy E. R. Morrison and embarked on a two-year period of sustained creativity and effort during which he wrote “An outline of the geology of Rhodesia” (Stagman, 1978), with contributions by staff members T. J. Broderick, N. M. Harrison and V. R. C. Stocklmayer. This Bulletin 80, the third work of its kind in the history of the Geological Survey, proved tremendously popular and was reprinted in 1981. Although he was the Geological Survey’s expert on the Magondi Supergroup Stagman was disinclined to incorporate in it the Dett-Kamativi Inlier in the far west of the country, as had already been speculated by Watson (1962) and was favoured by N. H. Lockett (1979) who had mapped the region. This correlation was subsequently adopted by Master *et. al.* (2010). To accompany the bulletin Stagman compiled a revised 7th edition of the million scale provisional geological map of the country. Published in November 1977 and still in print it is the first of the series to distinguish between the Archaean gneisses and granites of the Rhodesian Craton.

By the end of 1977 there were 14 vacancies in the Establishment of 55 posts, including those of the Economic Geologist and five field geologists. Owing to the deteriorating security situation systematic fieldwork was suspended indefinitely for the first time since 1941.



**Dr J. G. N. Stagman’s retirement party,
July 1978. Left to right: Dr Stagman,
Mrs Fay Stagman, Director E. R. Morrison,
Mr J. O. M. Wilkinson
(Ministry of Mines Head Office)**

Having earlier opted to retire at the age of 65 Stagman was able to change this to age 60, as recorded by the Public Services Board on 10 November 1976. That decision notwithstanding, in a memorandum dated 30 November 1977 apprising the Secretary of Mines of the deteriorating staffing position in the department, and of the impending final retirement in April 1978 of the department’s supernumerary editor, A. E. Phaup (Fey, 2013), Stagman

offered to defer his own retirement by a year. Since the offer was not accepted he retired as planned on 2 June 1978 and was succeeded as Director by his deputy, E. R. Morrison (Fey, in prep.).

Epilogue

On 6 June Morrison, having evidently discussed the matter with Stagman, set out for the Secretary of Mines, M. M. Cawood, the time (six years) and cost (\$50 000) of preparing and publishing each individual bulletin. The backlog of unpublished material then stood at ten bulletins and so-called short reports awaiting editing, with a further six in varying stages of preparation. In order to safeguard this considerable investment Morrison recommended that Stagman be re-employed as editor, at the top salary on the geologist scale (\$11 064 *p.a.*), as from 1 August 1978. This was accepted by the Public



Services Board on condition that Stagman enter into a renewable 12-month contract. The question of annual increments, broached by Morrison, was left in abeyance but successfully addressed subsequently.

In the event Stagman returned to the Geological Survey on the agreed date, and during his two and a half years as editorial geologist oversaw the publication of ten bulletins and three short reports. During 1978 he was awarded the Order of the Legion of Merit and furthermore was made a Fellow of the Rhodesia Scientific Association.

After almost 35 years of service he retired for the second time on 31 December 1980, by which time his remuneration had increased to \$13 248 *p.a.*

On leaving Zimbabwe Dr Stagman returned to South Africa and joined the Geological Survey in Pretoria, where he occupied an editorial position in the Publications Section until 1985 (N. Baglow, *pers. comm.*). He finally retired to Somerset West in the Cape Province, where his wife Fay predeceased him. The author briefly corresponded with him and paid him one visit in the late 1990s. He died on 25 May 2004, aged 86 years.

Stagman is remembered as a taciturn individual whose geological bulletins were models of conciseness. He responded more warmly to geologists who were mapping the Magondi Supergroup, as he had, than to others and, when the writer's colleague Tim Broderick was compiling his Short Report 43 for presentation to Rhodes University as a master's thesis, he became his mentor and supervisor. In the office his door was always open. When approached for advice or comment on an aspect of geology he would inevitably take a blank piece of paper on which to illustrate his point, then commence the discussion with "*Ab initio*".

During 1970 the writer was offered a position in the Rhodesia Geological Survey by Dr Stagman, worked under him for eight years and felt privileged to write his obituary (Fey, 2004).

Acknowledgements

For this article extensive use was made of the Annual Reports of the Director, and of other historical material in the author's database. It has also drawn on personal reminiscences as well as on those of colleagues, notably T J Broderick and V R C Stocklmayer.

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Terence Colin Kabell 1935–2019

One of the Dam Men

by Sheila Kabell



When Terence Kabell died on 21 September 2019, his family received many wonderful tributes regarding the legacy he left behind in the number of dams for which he and his staff in the Designs Department, Ministry of Water Development, were responsible. Dr Wilson Banda, who wrote the obituary on behalf of the Zimbabwe Institution of Engineers, said he had “an illustrious engineering career spanning over 55 years ... arguably one of Zimbabwe’s greatest dam designers to date”. He added, “We will miss his engineering advice, exhortation on life skills in general, and sense of humility.” Albert Muyambo, former Director of ZINWA, the Water Authority, commented “Terry had a positive impact on design engineers nationally, regionally and internationally.”

Terry always acknowledged the dedicated work of the engineers and technicians who preceded him, building up the Irrigation Department and the construction of numerous dams, weirs, canals and water supplies throughout the country; also for the valuable contribution made by local contractors and geologists. He was especially grateful to the late renowned engineer, Bill Wild, (former Director of Water Development) for his valuable mentoring and friendship, to whom he owed a great deal.

Over the years the Designs Department was responsible for the investigation of sites and the design and building of 58 large dams (178 dams in all, including farm dams and those built for town water supplies) which reflected international best practice and were carried out in-house with minimal external assistance. Over the years Terry had overall responsibility for design and construction of numerous projects including earthfill embankment dams, rockfill, masonry and double-curvature concrete arch dams, and canals.

The highlight of his career was to oversee the design, planning and commencement of construction of Tokwe-Mukorsi Dam in the Lowveld (now renamed Tugwi-Mukosi). It is the largest internal dam in the country, a 90.3m high concrete-faced rockfill with a storage capacity of 1 751 780 ML. Because of its large catchment,





Tokwe-Mukorsi Dam in the Lowveld (now renamed Tugwi-Mukosi)

7 120 km², it has twin spillways comprising a 16.6m diameter drop-inlet bellmouth spillway leading into a 6.0m diameter shaft and discharge tunnel, sited one on each flank of the dam. Drop-inlet spillways were one of Terry's hallmarks.

Mukorsi's construction by the main contractor, Salini-Impregilo, was long and arduous due to funding problems. Work commenced in August 1998 but was suspended eight months later when only 27% of the work had been done, though the tunneling of both spillways had been completed by KW Blasting. In 2006 it was fully suspended but work finally resumed in early 2011. The dam had been designed for flood waters to pass through the placed rock but in early 2014, with the premature plugging of the diversion tunnel before the rainy season, the huge floods caused a slip on the embankment downstream slope. Repair of the damage was carried out and the entire project, with sub-contractor ICZ (International Construction, Zimbabwe), was eventually completed in 2017.

Terry and I were invited to attend its opening, by President R. G. Mugabe, in May 2017 where we met many old friends and colleagues. I had visited the site years before and had been asked to draw a picture of what the completed dam would look like which was used in a set of stamps reflecting new projects. Initially, few of the \$ 100 stamps were bought due to their high cost and, soon after, with inflation, their value became minimal. During the stop-start years a colleague asked an elderly Terry if he was 'hanging on' to see completion; he agreed that he was, and that he hoped it would therefore take a very long time for that to happen!

Terry (originally Maher) was born on 26 May 1935 in Nairobi, Kenya, two years after his sister, Rosemary. His mother, Margaret, who had read Modern Languages at Girton College, Cambridge was an intrepid lady believed to have been the first woman to climb to the summit of Mount Elgin (14 178 feet) on the border of Kenya and Uganda. Terry's father, Colin Maher, graduated from St John's College, Cambridge, where he met Edinburgh graduate, Alec Prentice, who later became well known in the agricultural field in Rhodesia, specializing in cotton and maize. Together they went to Trinidad and studied at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture before Colin joined the Colonial Service in Kenya. He was an Agricultural Officer specialising in maize breeding, subsequently buying a farm.



At Independence, the farm was nationalised so he went to Tanganyika and purchased land on which to grow pyrethrum; the farm suffered the same fate, after which he moved to Teheran as head of a CENTO Agricultural College. Years later, our son, Peter, would lose the farm he bought, during Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme, bringing to three the number of farms lost by the family in 'the Winds of Change'. Unfortunately, Terry's parents divorced when he was very young. His mother, at the time in England, was encouraged



to start a new life in Rhodesia by Alec Prentice, Terry's godfather, who was working in Gatooma (Kadoma) married to Peggy of the Tanganda Tea family. The three travelled the east coast route, disembarking at Beira and arriving by train in Salisbury in 1938. Margaret's first job was teaching at Lilfordia School. She had met Sven Kabell, the son of a Danish doctor, on the ship and instead of returning to Malaya, he and Margaret married in Salisbury (Harare), changing the children's surname by deed-poll.

The family led a rather nomadic life, at times in rural areas such as Romsley Estate, south of Inyazura, where Sven joined The Casava Corporation. Terry enjoyed building dams in local streams and determined at an early age to become a dam engineer, from which he never deviated. He attended various schools, was a founder member of Highlands School and later, with his sister, became a boarder at Umtali (Mutare) High School.

During the 1940s, in addition to some teaching, Terry's mother became secretary of the newly formed association known as "Friends of the University of Rhodesia" which lawyer and Member of Parliament, Manfred Hodson, instigated. In 1947, in her personal capacity, Margaret expressed her belief that, as well as high entrance qualifications, the proposed university should be non-racial from its inception. When the City of Salisbury granted land for the Mount Pleasant site, Terry joined his mother and Hodson in inspecting it, and fund-raising began in earnest. (*A Non-Racial Island of Learning* by Michael Gelfand tells the full story).

Later, Terry's stepfather flew to Nigeria to join a new agricultural project at Mokwa, near Jebba, on the River Niger, leaving his wife to follow with two teenage children and all their possessions. Thomas Cook's Travel Agency insisted they must return to England and take another boat to Lagos, which Margaret thought ridiculous. Intrepid as ever, she organized train tickets to the Victoria Falls, crossing the bridge into Northern Rhodesia while being served Christmas dinner (1949), and on to Elizabethville in the Belgian Congo. They eventually reached Lobito Bay in Angola where they managed to secure passages on an old cargo ship calling at ports en route to Lagos.

Moving on yet again and with his love of The East, Sven Kabell returned to Malaya as a Resettlement Officer where the Communist insurgency was in full swing. When Margaret followed, Terry boarded at Dulwich College, London where he completed his schooling. He then served two years National Service, commissioned in the Royal Engineers, much of the time spent in Hong Kong building Bailey Bridges and sailing

the Engineers' ketch. After this, he studied at St John's College, Cambridge, on a state scholarship reading Mechanical Sciences (Engineering), graduating in 1959.

During the summer vacation of 1957, he met me, Sheila Slater, while working on a large fruit farm in Suffolk which accommodated students for the back-breaking job of picking strawberries, the fruit being on the menu for the three meals a day. I had spent my early childhood in India, had just finished at Homerton College, Cambridge and was about to start teaching at a secondary school near the Albert Dock in the East End of London.

In the summer vacation of 1958 Terry returned to Nigeria with a group of undergraduates to survey the area around Jebba for the proposed dam, subsequently built by Balfour-Beatty. The students camped and travelled the Niger in dug-out canoes. All of them, three years later, were diagnosed with filariasis which affected their lymphatic vessels and glands; one student became very ill, initially thought to have leukemia. Terry, the only one afflicted with 'river blindness' spent two periods in the Hospital for Tropical Diseases to eradicate the microscopic worms adhering to the back of his eyes.

Terry and I were married in July 1959 prior to Terry starting a job with consultants, Binnie and Partners in London. He worked on design details for a hydroelectric project in the Cameron Highlands of Malaysia, and on the preliminary trials for Mangla Dam, Pakistan. In September 1960, our son, Peter, was born. Requiring site experience, Terry applied to join the Irrigation Department in Rhodesia. We sailed to Cape Town, arriving on Peter's first birthday on 7 September 1961 and went on by train to Salisbury where Terry was posted to the Hydrological Branch.

In 1963, Terry moved to the Designs Division and worked on the design of Odzani (near Mutare), and Manjirenji Dams. The arch cantilever design of Odzani was probably the last hand-calculation as the department had no computer facilities at the time. Terry never comfortably got to grips with computers, being on site and thereby missing many of the courses. Many years later he relied on younger, computer-literate staff members such as the talented Menaj Laxman. It was a source of amusement that Terry, a lover of the slide rule and a smoker, used the back of his cigarette box for quick calculations which he claimed justified his continuing to smoke, against advice.

Terry's first site job was as Assistant Resident Engineer on Manjirenji Dam (formerly Lake McDougal) on the Chiredzi River. The 51m high rockfill dam was equipped with the country's first gated spillway, automatically operated by floats designed by Terry. The water from the outlet works fed directly into the Left-Bank Canal for conveyance to the irrigation scheme at Mkwasine Estates. The family moved to site in January 1964, eighteen months after the birth of Caroline in July 1962. We were accommodated on site, 160 kms from Fort Victoria (Masvingo) in rudimentary thatched cottages with no internal doors and only gauze in the windows. Later, site staff demanded electricity and even air-conditioning. While I tamed the old Dover stove, the temperamental paraffin fridge was a bugbear. Complaining to Terry's mother, the latter described the primitive meat safe hanging in a tree which she used in Inyazura days. The complaints ceased. (For more details of the old meat safes, see Robin Taylor's article in *Heritage* 337).

Elizabeth (Liz) was born in October 1964. I flew from Chiredzi airstrip to Salisbury in a DC3, luckier than the wife of an engineer working on the Birchenough Bridge Road who gave birth early in a tent with only the male domestic worker in the camp. When bush clearing of the dam basin deprived the hippo of vegetation, they foraged further afield, up the hill, to the vegetable gardens. There was some argument with the



contractors regarding the cost of removing a dead hippo, injured in a fight, from the small pool which had formed between the main rockfill and the coffer dam. On 11 November 1965, the families listened to the broadcast by Ian Smith announcing the Unilateral Declaration of Independence and discussed the consequences.

Back in Head Office in January 1967, Terry was involved with Ingwezi Dam (70 kms from Plumtree) and Claw on the Umsweze River (water supply to Kadoma), also with Darwendale Dam and Mid-Save Canals I and II. He was responsible for the major input to Eben Dam on the Muturudzi (some distance from Bindura), Mwenje on a tributary of the Mazoe River and Beit Bridge off-river storage dams. Terry worked on the design of Siya Dam (south of Bikita) and the Turgwe and Chiredzi Right Bank Canals. He was involved with the preparation of specifications and tender documents for these projects and numerous other schemes were studied at feasibility level. On the home front, another pleasant surprise was finding that yet another daughter, Sarah, born in May 1968, would join the ranks and, in 1970, Terry's mother returned to the country for good.

In January 1974, Terry became Resident Engineer for the construction of Siya Dam, while his colleague, Keith Landing, was Resident Engineer on Turgwe Canal which, when completed, would convey water to the Chiredzi catchment (to augment the irrigation water supply to Mkwazine) upstream of Manjirenji Dam. Siya, a 56m high earthfill dam included the first drop-inlet spillway in the country leading into a 160m long discharge tunnel. This proved a happy site partly attributed to Terry's strong belief that, in the interest of progress, cooperation was preferable to confrontation with contractors (Gulliver, Cementation, Andrews and Kidd and Blastfast). Engineer Phillip Gibb, working in Zimbabwe on Australia's technical aid scheme, said, after his first meeting with contractors at Mwenje Dam, 'My previous experience with site meetings in Australia and England were, in general, a 'fight-to-the-death' between client and contractor. This meeting was, however, different. Issues were discussed in an almost amicable atmosphere with Kabell invariably proposing a solution, which was then generally accepted'.

There was good social mixing in the modest club house including a number of Portuguese folk who had recently lost their livelihoods in Mozambique. Our children and their friends were pleased to spend holidays from boarding school on this interesting site. In 1976 there were incursions from the eastern border through Devuli Ranch, security was improved and night shift work continued to complete the project by the end of the year. I manned a police radio warning the authorities in advance of blasting on site to allay fears that there had been an attack. When the nearby Water Bailiff on the completed canal was hit, the responders from Bikita were alarmed, initially, on discovering a blood-spattered room. It transpired that a rocket had penetrated a deep freezer full of meat while the occupants were unscathed, cowering under their bed at the other end of the house.

In April 1977, we visited Europe where we hired a camper van to tour France, Italy and Switzerland. We met Terry's father, Colin Maher, in Venice and in Paris, in the Bois de Bologne camp, we bumped into Mike and Di Robertson whom we had last seen at Siya Dam where Mike was Assistant Resident Engineer. We celebrated the extraordinary coincidence with an evening of wine and reminiscences.

For some years after Independence numerous loans and grants were available in addition to government spending and there was phenomenal development. Sebakwe Dam, built in the 1950s, was raised by 7m to 47m. This entailed filling the space between the buttresses with mass concrete and adding 80 post-tensioned anchor cables each exerting a 600 tonne load. It was completed in 1986 as was the raising of Mwenje Dam by 9m to 36m. Earthfill dams included Smallbridge on the Odzani (water to Mutare), Rufaro on the Nyambuya near Marondera and Bangazaan on the Buzi River (water to Chipinge), all built during the '80s, as was Nyadiri masonry dam. Mazvikadei Dam on the Mukwadzi River near Banket, a 63.4m high earthfill embankment with a drop-inlet spillway, was completed in 1988, mainly for irrigation purposes; also Clifton off-river storage for additional water to Chegutu and Mid-Save and Bonde Canals.

By 1990, Manyuchi, a 41m high double-curvature concrete arch dam on the Mwenezi River (some distance from Rutenga), Muzhwi on the Shashe and, on the Ngezi, Mamina, a gravity arch of masonry, were added to the list. Tokwane, a thin cylindrical concrete arch was completed in 1991; the plan was to transfer water from Mukorsi (when completed) from the Tokwe to the Mutilikwe River, via the Tokwane Canal. Osborne Dam on the Odzi River, constructed by Salini-Impregilo, was finished in 1994. It has a height of 66.6m with a crest length of 1 007m.

Mtshabezi, a 42.5m high double-curvature concrete arch dam won a Commendation in the 1995 South African Fulton Awards; Concrete-Beton's aim being to promote excellence in the use of concrete. The dam was constructed by ICZ. The judges commented, "Mtshabezi Dam combines simplicity in both design and construction resulting in an elegant arch whose elevation echoes the shape and scale of the kopjes and boulders of the surrounding Matobo granoliths with the massive granite abutments emphasizing its fragility. The overall effect is a sympathetic solution in beautiful surroundings. "The dam illustrates the versatility of concrete being used to create a useful structure".

Terry, generally known as T. C., was renowned for his excellent mentoring of young members of staff. The Australian engineer, Gibbs, said that in his opinion, "the essential elements of leadership were excellent technical knowledge, people management, organizational skill and the capacity to inspire people to perform to the maximum of their ability. Terry Kabell possessed these talents to a greater degree than any engineer that I have worked with. He was always approachable and gave generously of his time and knowledge. He had the ability to instruct and guide younger engineers". Other colleagues remarks were, "a role model", "inspirational", and "there is not even one person who ever had a bad word for him or who would not go the extra mile if he were to ask".

In 2000, Terry retired from the Public Service after 40 years of interesting and fulfilling work, achieving his childhood ambition. Before retirement he had been heavily involved in the reform of the water section which led to the new Water Act and the formation of ZINWA, the Water Authority, in 2000. When he left, he was confident that it would go from strength to strength with many qualified and experienced engineers and technicians. Unfortunately, many of them have since left the country and have succeeded elsewhere.

Terry then undertook consultancy work locally and in the region. As a member of what was grandly known as "Review Panel of Experts", he was involved with Letsibogo Dam in Botswana and Malunguzi in Malawi. He served as Technical Advisor associated with Dikatlhong, Lotsane, and Thune Dams in Botswana and, among others, Massingir



and Nacala Dams in Mozambique. Locally, he was advisor to Stewart-Scott during the construction of Chitsiwa Dam (formerly Island Dam) built across two branches of the Munyati River to provide water for Ngezi Platinum Mine. Only a relatively short time before his death, he was involved with the design and inspections during the construction of Chisola Dam for First Quantum at Kalumbila Mine, North Zambia. Numerous dam inspections were carried out including Nampula and Kamuzu Dams in Mozambique and Malawi.

Terry was Review Consultant to ZRA, the Zambezi River Authority, for many years, participating in regular inspections of Kariba Dam with consultants from overseas. Their presence often provoked unfounded rumours that the dam was at risk of collapse with dire results. Terry features in the recently published book on *Kariba* (2019) by Jonathan Waters. A Fellow of the Institution of Civil Engineers, London, he was also a fellow of the Zimbabwe Institution of Engineers and of the Zimbabwe Academy of Sciences. He received the Winquist Award in 1986/87, the P. W. Kennedy Award in 1992 while he and his team received the P. H. Haviland Award in 1994/95.

Terry was involved with the International Commission on Large Dams and was Vice President for the Africa-Australasia Zone during the period 1989-92. He was Chairman of the Zimbabwe Committee, ZIMCOLD, for 17 years, representing the country at numerous conferences and technical visits. In 1982 he attended ICOLD in Rio de Janeiro, the following year in Tokyo, Lausanne next and Beijing in 1986. The Congress was held in San Francisco in 1988, after which he and a colleague made a quick visit to Yosemite National Park. Copenhagen and Reykjavik followed and in 1990 it met in Sydney and then Vienna. I accompanied him to Granada in 1992, a tour of the Alhambra being one of the cultural events; followed by a study tour of Andalusia which included the Seville Expo where delegates enjoyed the privilege of a private visit to the Spanish Pavilion, exhibiting famous paintings. Cairo was next, and in 1994, Durban, where Nelson Mandela addressed the meeting, having recently been inaugurated as President.

Terry also attended ICOLD in Oslo and Santiago, and in 1997 I again accompanied him to Florence where we met old friends who had been associated with Mazvikadei and Osborne Dams. The final dinner was held in the precincts of the historic Uffizi Art Gallery (on the banks of the Arno). Antalya, Turkey was the venue in 1999 followed by a fascinating study tour. In 2006, Terry and I, under our own steam, attended ICOLD in Barcelona before joining an outstanding tour of dams and hydroelectric projects in the Southern Pyrenees. These meetings were extremely valuable giving the engineers the opportunity to exchange ideas, discuss problems and study new technologies. During the study tours, we were able to inspect many interesting projects while the cultural arrangements were an added bonus, especially for me.

Terry wrote many papers and articles, one of which, on Zhove Dam, won the Stevens Award in 1999. He published a number of booklets, some of which are still being used today; these include, *Basic Design of Embankment Dams – More Art than Science*, balancing the science of dam design without complications and advocating simple solutions. Though he appreciated that health, safety and environmental issues were important and needed to be improved, he believed that recently this had become ‘the tail that wagged the dog’. On occasion he was frustrated with the imposition of petty safety

rules whose purpose he considered questionable and which, applied arbitrarily, impeded progress. Later he became disappointed by what he saw as the commercialisation of some companies whose first consideration appeared to be about making a large profit. Terry admitted that, in the past, there had been a rather casual approach to safety, especially when he and his staff were clambering around dams and spillway gates many metres above ground.

Terry is survived by me, his wife of 60 years, our son Peter, daughters Caroline, Liz and Sarah, nine grandchildren and four great-grandchildren. Though none of the children followed in his footsteps, one of our grandsons is a structural engineer, having studied at Leeds University where Terry's grandfather and brothers graduated as engineers in the late 1800s. Other than dams, Terry's interests included playing squash in earlier days, often with the young engineer, Menaj, who tactfully let his boss win the odd game, gardening and photography. He loved ballet and music—especially classical and 'Trad-Jazz'—and family pursuits, also spending time in the bush. He gave a lot of time to his family and enjoyed playing chess and Scrabble which he liked to win, doing so a few days before his death.

Speaking on behalf of other family members, one granddaughter said 'our childhood years with him were the most formative, and some of our happiest memories were made at our grandparents' home, for us a safe haven'. She added that he "showed resolve, integrity and kindness in abundance in that quiet, understated way that sought no recognition", and that he "eschewed materialism". Terry was certainly non-acquisitive, content with his old clothes and 'vellies', his old vehicle, old thatched house, and his old wife! He claimed, correctly, that he would always be recognized at ICOLD meetings by the same suit which featured in photographs spanning many years.

Terry was an optimist, generous and patient with a quick wit and a dry sense of humour, albeit with a strong streak of stubbornness, especially regarding his enjoyment of smoking. This exacerbated his bouts of bronchitis and ultimately led to the development of COPD. This affliction, his need for oxygen and failing sight frustrated him; he had always maintained that he held no wish to prolong his life if it were an inactive one "twiddling his thumbs in God's waiting room". With his mother living to almost 97, and my mother to nearly 106, the family considered 84 far too young to pass on, and he left a huge gap in our lives.

Nearly 100 people attended the celebration of Terry's life in the private garden of the Bronte Hotel, one afternoon in October 2019. It was a sad, but not a dismal occasion and all agreed that he 'got a good send-off'. Engineer Harvey Rapson said, "in many different ways a lot of us here today were with him on part of his journey; we not only enjoyed it but are the better for it". Jens Mirabelli, former engineer with Salini and old friend wrote, 'a good part of myself is with Terry, wherever'.

Engineer Peter Lapham (from Botswana) remarked, "a truly unique, humble and successful engineer who left a wonderful legacy". Mike Tumbare, former Director of ZRA added, "Terry's engineering works and those whom he mentored will continue to testify and be a testimony of his contribution to water resource development". It is hoped that the die-hard and young engineers who remain can continue to maintain and build upon the initiative, expertise and hard work carried out over the past 120 years since the first dam, Matobo, was completed in 1901. Former CMC Ravenna engineer, associated with Mazvikadei, and old friend, Leonardo de Angelis, wrote, "I wish to tell you that, for me, Zimbabwe meant Terry—a special person".

Sixty-Six of the Best The Frenchman who became a Rhodesian

compiled by Noeline Barry,
further edited by Fraser Edkins



Editor's Note

This is the first part of a heavily edited copy of the memoirs of indefatigable Frenchman Marcel Mitton, excluding certain of his views on aspects of early mining and of Great Zimbabwe and the early days of Harare, (which topics have all been covered in greater detail by other writers). It provides a useful record, amongst other things, of the development and personalities, particularly of the Lomagundi district, and of attitudes to hunting at the turn of the 20th century and he was acquainted with novelist Gertrude Page. He arrived with nothing but, by perseverance in various ventures, achieved success in mining, farming and in business, (including the formation of Radio Ltd in the 1960's). He passed on in 1972, about two years after arranging this transcript of his memoirs with the help of Noeline Barry. His son Tony Mitton was a well-known member of the accounting and business world. Part Two will appear in the next edition of *Heritage*.

Introduction - October 1st 1969.

I have just returned from a short visit to France. How glad I was to return home, and to be able to call Rhodesia "Home." I owe a great deal to my adopted country, and I am proud to think that I may have contributed something towards her development. The story of Rhodesia's growth is a fascinating one, and I have indeed been privileged to watch it during my sixty-six years here. This book is something in the nature of a testament, and I dedicate it, with affection, to all Rhodesians.

I was born on 26 February 1889, in the small village of Sardy-les-Forges in the Nievre department of central France. I was the youngest in a family of three boys and one girl. My father was a tenant farmer, and also ran a flour mill, powered by a water wheel. My mother, an ardent Roman Catholic, was a forceful character. She helped to augment the family income by running a men's tailoring business, with the help of two young apprentices. At the age of five I started attending school at the village of Breves, a mile and a half away from my home. I walked there, accompanied by several other boys.

Thursday was always a school holiday, and eagerly looked forward to. On Wednesday nights, in summer, we would often camp out, under the hazel-nut trees. We enjoyed the traditional boys' sport of bird-nesting, and, when it was warm enough, swimming. The sport we most enjoyed was hunting for badgers.,

Marcelin, my eldest brother, chose to join the French Army and, at the age of seventeen, was sent on service to New Caledonia. When he returned, he served his apprenticeship as a chef in one of the leading hotels in Paris. When he had qualified he left for South Africa, where he became the chef at the Rand Club, in Johannesburg. His skill at target shooting led him to join the ranks of a Boer Rifle Company, and during

the course of the Boer War it was he who manned the “Long Tom” which took part in the shelling of Kimberley. After the war, Marcelin remained in Kimberley, as a chef at the Kimberley Club.

In 1903, not long after my fourteenth birthday, Marcelin wrote to me, suggesting that I should join him in South Africa. He believed that I should have a better future in a new and developing country, and sent me the most convincing argument of all, the princely sum of sixteen pounds and ten shillings! The boat-fare from Southampton to Cape Town cost nine guineas then, provided you travelled third-class, which meant sharing a cabin with five others. My brother, Auguste, accompanied me across the Channel, to catch the Arundel Castle at Southampton. We travelled in a small boat which pitched and rolled so much that we were both very sea-sick. Auguste’s final words to me were that I was lucky to be travelling to Africa on a decently sized ship! Indeed, I thought the Arundel Castle looked most impressive. She carried sail as well as boasting a steam-engine. Our voyage took us three weeks, and it was a happy time for me. I had a lot of fun and I was much spoiled, as I was one of the youngest passengers on board.

My brother Marcelin had a friend who ran the Camps Bay Hotel, and this gentleman kindly met me at Cape Town Docks and put me up for a week before sending me on to Kimberley. My lasting impression of the railway journey from Cape Town to Kimberley was of the miles of empty brandy bottles which decorated both sides of the track! Obviously the South Africans were dedicated drinkers!

Marcelin gave me a job as a kitchen-hand which I took to quite well. He paid me £4 a month, and out of this sum I was expected to re-pay him for my boat-fare! The little free time I had I spent on bicycling out to Kenilworth, the mine dumping-ground, and to Alexanderfontein. Marcelin’s hobby was photography and he and his friend, Ernest Oppenheimer, spent many happy hours together, developing their negatives and discussing the results. Sir Ernest, as he later became, was at that time studying the financial back-ground to mining at Kimberly.

This was not a very happy period of my life. I worked so hard in the kitchen all day, especially on banquet nights, that it left me little energy for anything else. I had made friends with a young man named West, who was manager of a bicycle-shop. He was due for three months leave, and persuaded me to join him on a cycling trip to Macequece, in Portuguese East Africa.

West had heard that the whole territory was littered with gold nuggets and, although I did not share his optimism as to the truth of this rumour, I was very willing to escape from my hot kitchen and join in his adventuring. My brother was not at all pleased with me for leaving him, but I was too excited about the prospect ahead to let that dampen my youthful spirits.

West and I set out, in April, 1904, riding Rover bicycles—with fixed gears!—and carrying our kit and blankets, a Martini-Henry (a combination of shot-gun and rifle) and one hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition, quite a load, I assure you! Ironically enough, we never shot anything, except one small dove which we encountered near Enkeldoorn.

We used to camp out at night, making use of gangers’ cottages, or railway sheds, whenever possible. We followed the railway line, branching off at Gwelo to make for Enkeldoorn, where the Native Commissioner at that time was a Mr. Posselt. This kindly man lent us an African guide to put us on the way to Umtali. It was the season of the long grass, so when the native foot-path petered-out we found a compass more reliable



than our black Mercury. We were very disappointed at the total absence of game. Our guide showed us a tree laden with madora, the large fuzzy, orange-coloured caterpillars, which are considered a delicacy by the Africans. They did not tempt us!

We eventually landed at a native kraal, where we met another white man who had been tax-collecting, but had lost his way. The three of us travelled on together with the help of our compass until we arrived at Odzi. I noticed the unusual formation of the kopjes, around Inyazura. These kopjes today supply the Rodia factory with phosphates for manufacturing fertilizers.

We took the train from Odzi to Umtali, to give ourselves a short and much-appreciated rest, and then cycled on again from Umtali to Macequece. The journey had taken us one month and six days, but it seemed to us at least a year since we had left Kimberley!

We were sick of the apparently useless load of the rifle and ammunition, so we sold them for £15, a loss of more than £7, which we could ill afford. We were glad of the cash, as there were no nuggets in evidence! West and I now had to part company, as he had to take a boat from Beira in order to return to his job. I was very sorry to see him go and decided to return to Rhodesia myself. I spent one day in Umtali, and then bicycled on to Salisbury—completing the one hundred and seventy mile journey in one day. It was eleven-thirty at night when I finally reached Salisbury, and I was grateful to find some sort of a shelter under the band-stand, in Cecil Square.

I spent the following day at Jack le Fevre's hotel, the Empire, which stood where the *Herald* Office stands today.

Jack was a great favourite even though the stuff he sold was regarded as "tanglefoot". He had once been a ship's steward, and had many a comical tale to tell.

Although it was a Sunday, the auctioneer Natty Arnold was in his office, and I went to see him about the possibilities of a job. I would have to find work—or starve!

Natty offered me a job as a chef at the Ayrshire Mine Hotel in the Lomagundi area, belonging to Mr George Peake. I enquired about transport. I had just sold my bicycle and I did not feel like walking the sixty or more miles to my new position.,

"Oh," said Natty, cheerfully, "there is a train—which leaves once a week—and—it's just gone!"

There was no alternative. I would have to walk, it seemed. I took my blankets, my few possessions, and the £4.10s. which I had received for my bicycle, and I set off along the railway line. I trudged along, past the Avondale of today, and here I was fortunate enough to meet a ganger who kindly gave me a lift on his trolley as far as Trelawney. Here I met another ganger, Boutelli by name, who not only put me up for the night but also helped me the following day on the last stage of my journey to the Ayrshire. These Italian gangers could all speak French and were a friendly lot. I shall never forget their kindness to me.

I was soon back to my pots and pans, in the kitchen of the Boarding House, attached to the Ayrshire Mine. My new employer, George Peake, was a genial character, and befriended me. Even so, I grew restless and, after three months, decided to move on to the Victoria Falls Hotel where there was a vacancy for a chef.

The Victoria Falls, Madagascar and New Caledonia

When I travelled by rail from Cape Town to Kimberley I thought that I should never

again, in all my life, witness such piles upon piles of empty liquor bottles, but I was wrong! There was a veritable mountain of empty bottles surrounding the back of the Victoria Falls Hotel! The manager of the hotel was an Italian, Pietro Gavuzzi, a little man, swamped by his hat, a double terai, and equally swamped by his very fat wife. He was much disliked, and particularly by the Italians who were building the bridge across the Falls at that time. These builders enjoyed tormenting Pietro by deliberately fusing his electric lights every night. This not only annoyed Pietro, but also myself for I, in my capacity as chef, depended upon the coldroom and ice-blocks, which were run off the electric plant.

I got my beef supplies from cattle which were slaughtered on Kandahar Island. Due to fear of carrying infection they were not allowed to cross the Zambezi. Rinderpest was the dreaded scourge of those days.

My most harassing moment in my life as a chef came at the time when the electricity failed just before we were expecting fifty VIP guests travelling with the British Association.

The thirty-five carcasses in the cold room were roasted, before time!

I had to rely upon fish, instead, and fortunately there was always a good supply, easily obtainable from the Zambezi. The Italians would dynamite the fish out of the Gorge. Tiger fish, often weighing 17 lbs. or more, were sweet eating but bony, and the Bottle-nose was popular because it was less bony and had no scales. The most delicious fish was bream which, when properly cooked, to my mind, compares very favourably with sole.

It did not take me very long to discover other ways of supplementing the larder. There was excellent shooting to be had—guinea fowl, pheasant and partridge and, on the river itself, wild duck and geese. There were also herds of eland, sable and oribi, wandering around.

The highlight of my six months stay at the Victoria Falls Hotel came towards the end of my sojourn, with the visit of members of the British Association, who were then touring South Africa. Professor George Darwin, son of the famous Charles, and the most prominent member of the Association, had been invited by Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Railway Engineer, to open the newly-completed railway bridge across the Gorge. Sir Charles was one of the most popular of all the BSA Company officials, loved by all, and commonly known as Uncle Charlie.

The bridge, which stands 400 feet above the racing waters, is 650 feet long, one of the biggest and highest bridges in the world. The site was very carefully chosen, so as not to impair in any way “the impressive beauty of the scene”—described so well by David Livingstone, the first white man to see it and to record it.

The five hundred members of the British Association made the nineteen hours journey from Salisbury in five special trains, travelling through the trackless and uninhabited tropical bush. They took every precaution against the malaria-carrying mosquito, their compartments using nets. As this was the month of September and the weather was warming up well, I wondered how the delegates endured their heavy suits, and, in the case of the women, their long down-to-ankle dresses, then the fashion of the day.

The special train which carried the special guests on to the bridge for the great day of the opening, 9 September 1905, was decorated in front by two enormous Union Jacks, and drew up on the middle of the bridge. Professor Darwin made his speech, declaring the bridge open, and then touched a button, which fused a cord stretching across the



bridge. Afterwards the visitors were taken on an excursion to Livingstone Island, being carried in canoes. I shall never forget the colourful spectacle provided by the ladies, who were all armed with parasols! Some of them were charming, and they, at least, did not deserve the title of “asses”, usually irreverently bestowed upon the members of the British Association!

It was, indeed, a very exciting occasion, but extremely hard work for the chef, especially as the festivities concluded with a gymkhana. I only hoped that the vast quantities of alcohol consumed glossed over the deficiencies in solid refreshment!

Soon afterwards, I felt a longing to get back to Kimberley to see my brother Marcelin, but I was not to stay with him for long as he was anxious for me to visit Madagascar and explore the possibilities of opening a hotel there.

(Marcel spent time in Madagascar, thereafter in New Caledonia).

After my return from New Caledonia I found it hard to settle down to the dull and exacting routine of my job as a chef in Marcelin’s kitchen, so I turned my eyes north again. Before long I was on my way back to Salisbury, this time travelling by train. I was fortunate, and very soon after my arrival I was able to find a job. Arthur Pocket was at that time working as a chef at the Queen’s Hotel and as he wanted to go on leave, he offered me his place for the next six months.

In the early days the Queen’s Hotel was the most up-to-date in Salisbury. The proprietor George Farthing had originally been the head printer for the Argus Company. He married a Canadian girl, a Miss Carter, whose father owned a milling business near the Salisbury Market Square. She was very attractive and had a good contralto voice. They were a popular couple. In those days many men from the bush would come into the local hospital to die. They would have no friends or relatives, so the undertaker would always get in touch with Farthing, who would then see to it that they had a respectable funeral.

The hotel catered for residents as well as table boarders, and I was kept busy in the kitchen maintaining the high standard expected. The cost of living was extremely high. Everything had to be transported by rail from the Cape via Bulawayo. Eggs cost 8/- a dozen, butter 6/- a lb. and, if you were lucky enough to be able to get them, a pair of boots would cost you £5.

When Sir Roy Welensky was born in 1907, his father’s hotel, The Central, was also in Pioneer Street, not far from the more fashionable Queen’s Hotel. Pioneer Street, at the foot of Salisbury Kopje, was in those days the main street of the scattered little settlement. This residential settlement was divided from the administrative quarters by a black and muddy vlei, through which ran the Makabusi River. The river, usually more of a stream, was crossed by a little bridge made of wooden planks. This bridge was known as the Bridge of Sighs, as it proved quite a hazard for late pub-crawlers, especially on moonless nights. The only transport we had was provided by Cape Carts and buggies drawn by mules, the clumsy ox-wagon and, later on, rickshaws. The first so-called houses were built in traditional African style of msasa poles stuck together with mud. The floors, which were also of mud, were coated with a mixture of cow-dung and animal blood, which gave a hard surface. The B.S.A. Company started the main official centre of the town, the Causeway, by building wooden huts for Dr. Jameson and his staff. The famous “Paper House” was a two-storeyed place, built mostly of compressed paper boards, to

accommodate some nurses sent out by the Women's Emigration Committee in England to help the rough men of the wild places. This they did, and eventually tamed a few of them—those they married!

There was, at first, an unpleasant scandal attached to these nurses. It was rumoured that they were burying babies in their garden.

After a public enquiry, instigated by Bishop Gaul, it turned out that one of the nurses had brought to the house a well-developed embryo for the other nurses to study. Finally, they had buried this embryo in their garden. Naturally, the affair was laughed out of court, and soon forgotten.

The two well-known doctors in Salisbury then were Godfrey Huggins, now Lord Malvern, and Dr Appleyard. The latter used to have his consulting rooms in Pioneer Street, not far from the Queen's Hotel and the Masonic Hotel. He was the Railway Doctor for a time, and then became the physician in partnership with Mr Huggins, the surgeon.

Dr Appleyard was a thick-set Yorkshireman, kindness itself, and greatly loved. He was one of Salisbury's first motorists, but motor-bicycles were his speciality. On one occasion he was trying out his newest acquisition on the Salisbury racecourse, when he found out that he did not know how to stop it. He was forced to ride round and round the track until the petrol gave out. Another time he took his wife with him, seating her in a wicker basket type of trailer, attached to the back of the bike. They were heading for Mazoe and, when they reached Mount Hampden, the good doctor thought that his load seemed lighter and, looking behind him, realised that he had lost his passenger. He found her some way further back, badly shaken, covered with red dust, and not in the best of tempers! In those days the roads boasted no tar, and were shockingly pot-holed and rough.

Later on, my friend Mungo Graham married Dr Appleyard's daughter Joan, so I got to know this delightful family very well.

The population of Salisbury before 1910 was less than two thousand but, on the whole, we were well enough off for entertainment. We had our bridge parties, dances, and, of course, our musical concerts, where soloists like Mrs Farthing were in great demand. We even had a small library, run by a man named Chandler, and this I found a boon, as reading and bicycling were still my favourite recreations. I sometimes attended the race meetings which were held at the old Rotten Row Course.

Geoffrey Clinton, a friend of Arthur Pocket, was a foundation member of the Mashonaland Tattersalls Club, and for a long time he was the only bookie. Arthur Pocket too was fond of the horses and his trainer was Captain O'Dell, of the BSAP, who later owned the Posada Bar. Many of the bar-owners were also keen prospectors, and Arthur Pocket himself would always "grub-stake" a prospector for a percentage of his strike—if any. When prospectors and miners came in to the town with their gold, or their money, they would hand it all over to the barman, who would wisely keep it for them, and would always retain sufficient for their railfare back to the mines.

At first brandy cost £4 or £5 a bottle, but it eventually fell as low as 6/6d for a bottle of whisky, whilst Cape Brandy or "dop" was only 2/6d a bottle, a very cheap headache indeed.

Mining in the Early Days

When Arthur Pocket returned to the Queen's Hotel I was only too happy to give him



back his hot kitchen. I was itching to get back into the Bundu so, when I heard of a job going at the Beatrice Mines, over thirty miles from Salisbury, I set off at once on my bicycle. The job was to operate and maintain the pumps on the mine, something I knew nothing about, but I was signed on, just the same! I soon found out why! I had to swim in the shafts, in order to fix up the steam-pumps. I only stuck this specialised form of torture for a week. My friend, Ikey Cohen, at that time a timber-man on the mine, laughed at me when I told him why I was going. "It's a job only suitable for a mer-man," I declared bitterly.

"Don't worry" laughed Ikey, "In fact, I should congratulate you, you stuck it out for a full week, most of the previous employees packed it in after one day!"

Ikey Cohen was a good-hearted man. He later became very well known in Salisbury, as an auctioneer, and at one time employed the young Roy Welensky as a clerk. He had a very fat wife, who, in spite of her size, could not find room for all the jewellery her fond husband lavished upon her. The poor woman took a slimming course which, although it certainly reduced her size, also cost her her life.

Ikey helped me to find another job on the Butterfly, a gold-mine about six miles from Hartley. This time I travelled in style, in a Cape-Cart, pulled by a couple of mules, and driven by a Cape Coloured driver. I was met by Mr Senior, the Secretary of the mine, and we decided to walk to the mine, leaving the cart and the mules in the charge of the driver, at a pleasant resting spot, near a little stream.

The Mine Manager wished to deposit some gold in Hartley, so he accompanied me on my return journey. When we arrived at the stream a few hours later one mule was missing, and so was the driver, whilst a very hungry looking lion was making a meal of the remaining mule. Fortunately our arrival scared the lion off, and the Cape Coloured driver, several shades paler in hue, emerged from under the cart!

Mr Senior, the Secretary of the mine, pegged abandoned claims for himself,—the Giant Mine,—in the district, and worked them very successfully. Later on he became MP for Hartley and finally the Minister for Mines. He was instrumental in starting the Electricity Supply Commission in Rhodesia. He lost his life in a flying accident, piloting his own plane near Makwiro, and his son, strangely enough, and his son's fiance, were also killed later on in a flying accident, near Umfuli.

I spent four months on the Butterfly Mine, working as a fitter, in charge of the boiler and the engine, which were operated by steam.

I then grew restless again and moved on to the Cam Gold Mine, near Gatooma. This mine belonged to the Yellow Jacket Syndicate. The original peggings dated back to the first occupation of Mashonaland when the Eiffel block was pegged by Dr L. S. Jameson on 22 December, 1890.

The Yellow Jacket Syndicate acquired the Cam and Petrol Blocks in 1907, added three adjoining blocks, and began production on the Cam itself. The Motor Mine which adjoined the Cam Mine was also later bought from the Anglo-Indian brothers, the Campions.

The Cam Mine was managed by a very good chap, Woodforde, commonly known as Woody. I was fortunate, always, in finding warm-hearted, genial employers. Nevertheless, my feet continued to itch and it was not long before I moved on again to the Eiffel Blue Mine where I became very friendly with the timber-man, Jack Tilbury. He used to take

me prospecting at the week-ends, and, at last, and with what excitement, I discovered a gold-mine, the Pickstone, which now belongs to the Rio Tinto Company, and is still running. It then panned at 10 dwt. and over, and how I longed to keep it! But I had no option. I was only a poor young man, and as neither myself nor my friend Jack could afford the running costs we were forced to sell, at a very low price, to the Lonhro Company, which was operating at that time, and backing the small-workers.

Long before I discovered my own gold-mine, stories of the mineral wealth of Africa had fascinated me. Not only miners but poets and historians have also been fascinated by the subject. William Shakespeare, himself, when he spoke of Africa referred to its “Golden Joys.” He failed to mention the heart-break of the disappointed!

The ancient people of Rhodesia mined copper, iron, tin and gold and, as miners, showed considerable skill, for they seldom abandoned a working until they had reached water-level, and had to give up, having no knowledge of pumps. More than half of the gold-mining claims registered in Rhodesia in September, 1900, were pegged on the lines of ancient workings, and at least 70 000 pits and ancient workings are scattered across Rhodesia. Many of these ancient workings are found along the Mazoe Valley.

At the beginning of the sixteenth Century a Portuguese, Diego de Alcacova wrote to his king, Dom Manuel, describing the mining methods of the Bantu.

“They dig out the earth, and make a kind of tunnel, through which they go under the ground a long stone’s throw, and keep on taking out from the veins, the ground mixed with gold, and, when collected, they put it in a pot, and cook it much in fire, and after cooking they take it out and put it to cool, and, when cold, the earth remains, and the gold all fine gold.”

He went on to describe the way sometimes the Bantu would discover nuggets and pieces of gold after they had been laid bare by the torrents of water which rushed down the hill-sides in the heavy rainy seasons.

They would also grind the gold-bearing rocks to powder, which they would wash in bowls—anything not gold would melt in the water and be thrown away, leaving the fine gold silted at the bottom of the bowl.

Alluvial gold, from the Mazoe River, was extracted all the year round, but especially in the rainy seasons, and when the rivers were going down.

Many of the gold-crushing sites of the ancients are still to be found all over Rhodesia, their diorite pestles and mortar holes worn by constant pounding.

It is recorded that at least 1 700 ounces of gold ornaments were found in, and taken away from, the Zimbabwe Ruins, before 1912, when the Rhodesian Public Works Department took over their protection and reconstruction.

Many of the more modern legends about mining in this country are both fascinating and amusing, and sometimes, poignant, too. Many of the early prospectors, like myself, sold their claims for a mere song, sometimes even for as little as a case of brandy! In the early 1900’s there were hundreds of lonely prospectors combing the country-side for gold. Few of them ever found it. They would travel with a couple of pack-donkeys, loaded with blankets, flour, salt, tea and sugar, maybe a bottle of brandy, their prospecting pan, a rifle or shot-gun, and, perhaps, a couple of Africans, to act as guides, trackers and game-skinners. Many of them relied upon information obtained from the Africans, and they believed that the wild fig-trees were indications of gold, for these trees were nearly always found near ancient gold-workings. Some said that the seeds had been carried by the early Arab traders.



The Shamva Mine, pegged by Blackwell and Singer in 1908, got its name from these fig trees, known as “tsamvi.” (*Ficus rhodesiaca*.)

One of the best known of the early-day prospectors was a tough little Scotsman, known as the “Admiral of the ‘Poti’ River”—Douglas MacAndrew. He had a glass eye, which he used to leave behind, on a ledge, or a box, whenever he left his mine, warning the labourers that the eye would be watching them at work. On one occasion he returned to find that one of the miners had thoughtfully covered the eye with his old cap! MacAndrew eventually died whilst still working his claims on the Mazoe River, not far from Shamva.

Interestingly enough, the Killarney Mine site of Rhodesia’s only stage coach robbery, which closed in 1905, is now, in 1970, being re-opened again, with a view to recovering both gold and scheelite in payable quantities.

After my personal disappointment over the Pickstone Mine I got myself a contract with the Cam Mine, and also with the Butterfly Mine, to supply wood, both for mine-props, and fuel. It was a comparatively easy job, apart from transport difficulties, as the country was much more heavily wooded in those days. Mopani wood, which hardens in water, was a favourite choice, and the Mfuti, with its straight poles, was also a favourite. I disliked cutting the Msasa trees partly because I hated to destroy anything that gave us so much beauty every spring, and also because the wood is soft and rots easily.

As the Cam and Butterfly Mines are some distance apart I did a lot of travelling by train. I seldom paid for my fare, but would treat the friendly guard to a bottle of whisky, whenever I could.

My days as a contractor for wood were very happy ones. They gave me ample opportunity to indulge my passion for hunting. Sable, reed-buck, duiker, and wart-hog abounded in those days, and my African labourers and myself never went short of meat.

Eventually, I returned to the Eldorado Mine, where George Peake was still running the hotel, stores, and boarding-house for that area, as the Ayrshire Mine had closed down. George gave me back my old job as chef, but I soon got bored with it and worked as a fitter, on the 30 Stamp mill. On one occasion I was asked to paint the smoke stack. My African assistant hauled me up on a wind-lass, “Bosun’s Chair” and then left me, tying the rope with a six-inch nail to the smoke-stack post, whilst he cleared off on his own affairs! After that experience, I demanded a European assistant. I can still remember my princely salary, twenty-one shillings for a twelve hour shift.

It was on the Eldorado Mine that I met Fred Turner, the mine carpenter. We became close friends, and arranged to take a month’s leave so that we could go hunting on the Umboe Flats.

Big Game Hunting in the Early Days

Several pages recording Marcel’s hunting exploits in the Umboe Flats have been edited out for reasons of space, (but are available for perusal or photocopying for anyone interested).

Characters mentioned in this section include Fred Turner, H. G. Miolee, Jack Merry, Puffy Davis, Native Commissioner William Scott and H. N. Watters, his clerk, Noel Townley, J. R. Jelliman, John Martin and A. W. Redfern.

Farming in Rhodesia 1913-1938

The Lomagundi district which I came to know so well has a fascinating history, although unfortunately there are no records prior to the 15th Century. There are well preserved and vividly executed Bushmen paintings decorating many of the caves found in the kopjes of the area, but these tell us only that the little yellow men lived there once, that they hunted lion, elephant, antelope and other creatures with their bows and arrows, and that they got their pigments from iron-stone and manganese, the base being formed from the sap of trees and animal fat.

Apart from the oral tradition, still current among the Shona people, the only written records we have of the areas medieval history we owe to the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandes, the ship's carpenter, who helped to build the fort at Sofala in 1505, was the first European visitor to Rhodesia. He made two journeys into the interior, to discover the origin of all the gold that found its way to Sofala. He himself could neither read nor write, but fortunately for posterity the story of his travels was recorded by a clerk, Gaspar Veloso. Fernandez noted what each part of the country produced, and particularly where gold was mined. Few of the names in Veloso's records fit those we use today, but it seems probable that the intrepid Fernandes travelled along the banks of the Sabi and the Zambezi rivers, and he saw the fortress he named Embire, which was, no doubt, the Utete dzimbabwe, where the chief, Mutota, established his court.

Mutota was the chief of the Vakaranga tribe, which had once lived on the shores of Lake Tanganyika before they crossed the Zambezi River to settle south of the Umfuli River. In about the year 1440 A.D. the Vakaranga invaded the Sipolilo area, in search of salt. They conquered the Tavara people, who were living there, and who re-named the Mutota the Mwene-Mutapa, or the Master-Pillager, and his followers, the Makorekore, because they swarmed over the land like locusts.

The next historical event recorded in the Lomagundi district took place on Sunday, 16th March, 1561, when the Portuguese Jesuit priest, Goncalo da Silveira, was strangled and thrown into the crocodile-infested river, the Mzingezi, by the soldiers of the Mwene-Mutapa of that time, Ngomo Mupunzaguta.

Da Silveira had managed to baptise Ngomo, his chief wife, and his sister, and three hundred of his people, before the jealous Arab traders persuaded the chief that da Silveira was a wizard, and his baptismal holy water evil magic, (and he was killed).

After this tragedy the Jesuits left the country and did not return until the next century. The next important visitor to Lomagundi was the artist Thomas Baines, who arrived in 1869, looking at the quartz reefs and the ancient gold-workings on behalf of the South African Goldfields Exploration Company. He found a peaceful and industrious people, living under the amiable rule of the chief, Lomagundi.

In this area tsetse-fly were then a serious menace to horses and to oxen, and Baines tried his own remedial measures, an aqueous ammonium carbonate wash for his horses, and tar-water for his oxen. Even so, the sleeping-sickness took its toll. It was whilst he was on this trip in the Lomagundi (Magundi) district that Baines sketched a giraffe hunt. He returned again on a final visit in 1870, with a friend, an elephant hunter, George Wood, and together they inspected the gold pits which the Mashona were trying to work in secrecy, lest the Matabele should plunder them.

In 1878 the district was visited by yet another famous hunter, Frederick Courtney Selous, who was looking for corn, and he noted that "in the mountains about here, extensive excavations have been made, but whether for gold or iron, we could not learn."



He came back again in 1880, following the eastern bank of the Umfuli River, and then along the Hunyani, and he visited Lomagundi, whom he described as a “petty Mashona chief, holding his life and property at the caprice of the Matabele chief, Lobengula.” He noted that the people were “very industrious, cultivating great quantities of corn, mealies, ground-nuts and a few sweet potatoes, they have got any amount of vegetable food, and lots of beer.” He saw them weaving cotton, but stated that Lomagundi himself wore a gaily-coloured Portuguese cloth, bound round his loins, and hanging like a skirt, and that his weapons were a muzzle-loading rifle, a gift from Lobengula, and a battle-axe made entirely of native Mashona iron.

Selous described the chief as a “very decent old fellow, if it were not for his begging propensities.”

He came back to Lomagundi again in 1882, not only to hunt, but to travel from the Hunyani River to the Zambezi, and to map the route. He camped near the western end of the Umvukwes Hills at a place called Ushamba, and described the desolation of the country, deserted by the Mashona, after too-frequent raids by the blood-thirsty Matabele. He wrote that obviously the country had only recently been thickly populated, as large patches of the thick forest had been cleared for the cultivation of maize, corn and sweet potatoes. Every cluster of rocks had not long before been the site of a Mashona village.

When Selous made his next visit, the following year, he came to the high open downs, in which the Hunyani and Mazoe rivers take their rise, and he wrote of it as a “country where European children would grow up with rosy cheeks”, although at the time it was quite empty and roamed over at will by herds of eland and other animals.

On Selous’ last visit in 1887 he discovered the Sinoia Caves, and swam in the silent pool. He reported that he believed the excavations were the result of old gold workings, and that the natives had built a stockaded town around the old working, going down the tunnel to draw water at the bottom. Later on the chief Chinoyi (from whom Sinoia got its name) built his village here, and successfully resisted the attacks of the Matabele. When the Europeans came he moved again, and settled in Lomagundi’s country.

Another famous visitor to Sinoia was Bishop Knight-Bruce, first Bishop of Mashonaland, who came up in 1888, with the idea of possibly starting an Anglican Mission. He camped near Selous’ old camp of the previous year, and also visited the caves, but to his annoyance he was not allowed to enter.

Poor old Lomagundi came to a sad end. In November, 1891, a party of Matabele warriors descended upon his kraal, stole his horses, cattle, guns and beads, and shot and stabbed the old man, cutting him open to remove his heart. When Lobengula was asked to explain the barbarous attack he simply replied, “Lomagundi belongs to me.” No doubt he had become jealous of the old chief’s increasing fame and wealth, resulting from his friendliness with the Europeans.

A new chief, Mazimbaguba, was appointed, and European miners, un-afraid of Lobengula, began to open up the district. In 1894 the Lomagunda Development Company took up the Ayrshire Mine, and in the same year slate and lime deposits were found near Sinoia, and pegged out as a BSA Company Reserve. The Eldorado Mine, which so often gave me employment during the years from 1909–1912 and was one of the richest ancient workings in the district, was discovered by Arthur Eyre, a member of the 1890 Pioneer Column. He came across it whilst tracking a wounded

elephant. He found old wooden buckets and iron hoes lying about, probably left there by Portuguese miners. This mine, although troubled by water seepage, remained for some time as Rhodesia's chief producer of gold, paying its share-holders, at one time, over two hundred and fifty per cent in dividends.

The disadvantage of the Lomagundi area in those days was its extreme unhealthiness. Most of the miners succumbed either to black-water fever or dysentery, and the area was so remote from the comforts and aids of civilization, such as doctors, hospitals, or even a post office. Until about 1930, when the Rhodesian Railways Road Motor service came into operation, the mail between Eldorado and Sipolilo was carried by a brave and trusty African, on a bicycle, with only one rifle as his protection against lions, prevalent in that area then.

The district suffered during the Mashona Rebellion of 1896. Nobody expected these docile people to cause trouble, with the consequence that more than a dozen Europeans were taken by surprise, and cruelly murdered, amongst them Arthur Eyre, only a young man, twenty-eight years old at that time. Even after the Rebellion had been crushed, Mapondera, one of the most influential of the Makore-Kore chiefs, who was, unfortunately, a rogue, caused much havoc in the district, by raiding minor tribes. In 1900 an expedition consisting of members of the BSAP, the Mashona Native Police, and one squadron of the Imperial Yeomanry, was sent to punish the evil-doer. Mapondera and his bandits managed to escape across the Portuguese border, and here he built up an army of about six-hundred men. He was eventually captured and brought to the Salisbury gaol in 1903. There was little trouble from the Shona people after that.

Farming in the area was slow to develop, until 1912, when the Land-Settlement Department thought it would be a good idea to cultivate sugar-cane north of Lomagundi. The Land-Settlement Department was, of course, under the control of the Chartered or BSA Company, the General Manager at that time being the very able Major Percy Inskipp. His deputy was Mr C. D. Wise, who was in charge of the Company's estates. The Chartered Company was, of course, the government, in those days, and remained so until 1923 when Rhodesia became a self-governing colony. To my own way of thinking the Company did its best, always, to live up to its motto of "Justice, Freedom and Commerce", and I had the greatest regard for its administrators.

When the idea for the cultivation of sugar-cane was first put out the Native Commissioner for Sinoia, H. S. Keigwin was quite enchanted, and suggested damming the Zambezi at the Kariba Gorge so as to irrigate the entire valley. His dream was not, of course, realised until 1960, but it was a good idea, even then!

Sinoia township was surveyed, and its Village Management Board came into being in 1914, and one of its first tasks was to get a piped water supply, urgently needed. The Sinoia Hotel was built about four years previously by Charlie Wilson and S. R. Garrard. It was bought from W. Philippi and Company by the Henry family in 1918, and they ran it very successfully for many years thereafter.

The hotel, at that time, consisted of six new, and six old bed-rooms, a cook's room, bar, sitting-room, dining-room and store. Apart from some additions it has really changed very little, and still retains a strong atmosphere of the old-time Rhodesia. Not far from it grows the baobab tree, planted by H. C. Howell, a BSA Company Land-Agent in 1906, a very useful tree, as it gives an accurate indication of its extremely slow growth.

The Umvukwe Ranchers and Farmers' Association was formed in 1913, and met for the first time on 8 June at the Lone Cow Estate, the property of the Thornycreek



Ranching Company. The Lone Cow had belonged to Ralph Bliss, who was caught with his ox-wagon, between the M'neni and Maquadzi Rivers, one very wet February. His wife contracted black-water fever and died of it, when only twenty-two years old. She was buried near the Lone Cow homestead.

The Lone Cow was bought by Mr John Arnold Edmonds, an 1890 Pioneer, and a member of the famous Mazoe Patrol, which relieved the Alice Mine. At one time a prospector, he changed to farming and ranching and became a founder of the Mashonaland Farmers' Association, and was its president for ten years. He was a man of remarkable vigour and courage, admired and liked by every-one. He eventually formed the Thornycreek Ranching Company, which incorporated the Lone Cow Estate, himself being the managing director, and his partners being Lord Parker of Waddington, his brother Mr E. Parker, Sir Richard Garton, and Mr Jack Fraser-Mackenzie's father. The estate finally comprised 23 000 acres of good grazing land.

The young Hon. John Parker, and the young Jack Fraser-Mackenzie left England in 1912 to join Mr Edmonds on the Lone Cow, and Jack was to become my life-long friend. His son, Peter, now married and a family man himself, is still ranching at the Lone Cow.

Edmonds bought a car, an American Krit tourer, which went fairly well, John Parker acting as chief driver and mechanic. It was the second car in the district. I, myself, brought the first car into Lomagundi, in 1910. I drove from Salisbury to Banket, and then on to the Eldorado Mine, a Gladiator car, from Johannesburg, for the Mine-Manager, an elderly French-man—Mr H. Stephan. The car was well-named. What a fight it had to get to its destination, over the roughest of tracks.

The journey took me just over a month. I had a gang of boys with me, to dig out rocks and other obstacles, and to help me make a way through spruits and dongas. I finally came to a dead end, at the M'neni River, which was so deep that we hadn't a hope of crossing.

I walked sixteen miles to the nearest farm, belonging to John McChlery, and borrowed his span of oxen to haul us across, and up the steep bank. I carried petrol for the journey in cases of 2 x 4 gallon tins, packed in wooden boxes. How useful those boxes were. They made our house-hold furniture, even our coffins, out in the bush. Ian Tulloch made the water-wheel for his gold-mine, at Battery Spruit, out of the wooden cases for petrol and whisky, and it worked very well for many years.

My first experience with cattle came in 1908, just after I had left the Butterfly Mine. I brought 600 head of cattle down from Fort Jameson to Sipolilo, for the BSA Company. I took a gang of sixteen boys and could not have managed without them. When we reached the Zambezi River we made for the Murouro Mission run by Roman Catholic Fathers, which is about twenty two miles from Zumbo, opposite Feira, and near the Luangwa River. The good Fathers would take care of one for a very small fee, whilst the herd was crossing. This was a lengthy and a tricky performance., Each animal would have riems tied to the horns, and these riems would be held by a couple of men, usually one in a canoe and one swimming along-side, so as to guide the beast across to the other side. The first cow to take the plunge into the river always gave the most trouble; naturally, the rest of the herd would follow, and swim across without too much protest.

I did very well out of the trip as I was paid 30/- a head for each beast safely delivered, and I only lost one – to a crocodile. Apart from the river-crossing, the real danger lay

in the fact that we had to travel through the tsetse-fly area. Fortunately the natives were well-acquainted with the locality of the worst areas, and so we were able to by-pass them. We also travelled by night, when the flies were dormant. Some cattle-drovers used to take a dozen or so donkeys to lead the herd and, as soon as flies were spotted on their coats, the herd would be halted, and another way would be sought.

Cattle in those days would be bought either from German East Africa, or from Bechuanaland. They were mostly hump-backed, those from the north being either of the Angoni or Zebu type. The indigenous cattle were probably brought from Asia, centuries ago. In the early days an indigenous cow could be bought for as little as ten shillings worth of trade goods. The Angoni, however, would never part with their breeding stock.

The cattle used to be kept in quarantine at Sipolilo, for three months, and butchers from Salisbury would come out to buy, one of them being Partridge, forebear of our present Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mark Partridge.

It was in 1912 that I myself came to settle at Banket, in the Lomagundi district. Mungo Alan Graham and myself went into partnership on the farm Dalston, comprising 3 000 acres, to which he later added the adjoining 450 acres of Choasina. Alan had come out as a settler-pupil to the Chartered Company, in 1910 and had spent eighteen months at the Sinoia Government Farm, which later became the Citrus Estates, and it was here that I got to know him. When the 1914 war broke out, Alan joined the 2nd Rhodesian Regiment, 60th KKRC and left me in charge of the farm.

We ran 300 head of ranch-cattle, mostly of the sturdy Afrikaner type and we also grew maize. The cattle did well on the excellent grazing, but prices were poor—in those days you were lucky if you got £4 for a fat beast.

In 1915 a bag of maize was sold for 5/9d, and from that you had to deduct 7d. for the bag. Retail price for a bag of mealie-meal was 8/6d for a 180 lb. bag. We ground our own meal with a Corbett plate-mill, which gave a coarse-ground crushed meal, excellent for porridge,

I had no car, and if I wanted to go to Banket, I would ride the forty miles on my bicycle in one day. I sent a boy for mail, once a week. In the rainy season the boy would have to swim across the M'neni and the M'quadzi rivers, holding the canvas bag of mail above his head! We only lost one mail, and that, unfortunately, was a Xmas mail, which got washed down the river which was in flood.

I lived, first, in the usual pole and dagga house. My diet was mainly mealie-meal porridge, milk, venison, guinea-fowl, Shona poultry and eggs, pumpkin and sweet potato. I always kept a tin of bully-beef in the pantry, to offer the un-expected guest. We had no refrigeration in those days, but I built a charcoal-cooler, out of bricks, with hollowed spaces left for the charcoal, and hessian soaked in water, covering this structure, which kept the interior surprisingly cool. My drinking water I kept cool in a clay pot or water monkey.

My African labour I fed on beans, ground-nuts and salt, and sometimes mealie-meal. There was no need to give them meat, as they laid traps for their own. The thickly-wooded area, msasa and mufti country, was teeming with sable, kudu, reed-buck, oribi and duiker, and every sort of bird-life, including a few ostriches. The African labourers had their own gardens in which they grew their traditional crops of millet, pumpkin and sweet potato. When maize was short I would give them rice, because the yellow imported Argentine Maize cost us £2 a bag. They did not like the rice and said it was not satisfying. The average wage was 12/6d a month—the ox-driver receiving £1 a



month, and the leader-piccanin 5/- a month. The Boss-boy received the princely wage of 25/- a month.

I ran a store on the farm, selling mostly grain, blankets, blue and white cloth, and a type of vest, which came from Japan, and, I remember, cost me 4/6d a dozen.

I employed twenty Africans altogether, and they never gave me any trouble except, occasionally, on a Saturday night, when they drank too much of their rapoko beer, and would start fighting each other.

Wild pig were a curse in the maize fields, and leopards and jackals took our calves. As I have already stated, prices were poor, and we were far from the market.

It is interesting to look back on the Notes of our Farmers' Meetings, of those times.

In 1914 we discussed the need for a main road from Banket to Birkdale, and also the necessity to investigate the causes of Black-water fever, sleeping sickness and East Coast fever.

A road was begun the following year, and £1 000 was granted by Parliament for the purpose of research on fevers. Our discussions bore fruit!

Our next ambition was to have a telephone line, connecting the areas between the Eldorado Mine, Sipolilo, Banket, Umvukwe and Ruia, and this was also eventually constructed. By the end of 1914 our balance was revealed as £8.12s.!

In 1916, when I was elected as a member of the Farmers' Association, we discussed contagious abortion, which was troubling cattle-breeders.

In 1917, I was a Committee Member with Noll Colborne and Albert Peake, our Chairman Bill Colling, and our Secretary Mr H. K. Bracewell. We wanted to make dipping compulsory in the district, and we were worried about the numbers of native-owned cattle, which roamed about, un-dipped, on the farms of men, absent at the Front in WWI. In 1918 Bill Colling was Chairman, Mr Bracewell the Vice-President, and Treasurer, Light, Colborne and Dobbin on the committee, and myself the Secretary.

We discussed the growth and importance of the cattle industry and the opening of the Sinoia Sale-pens. Later on that year a Mr Taylor, the Government advisor on tobacco and cotton, gave us an address on the growing of these crops, The early growers had their difficulties as, until 1923, very little was known about the diseases of these crops, or the usage of sprays and insecticides to combat them.

In 1920 Mrs Dobbin, or, as she is more commonly known, Gertrude Page, became the first woman in the district to hold office. Her husband, Captain Dobbin, was a hot-tempered but warm-hearted Irishman. He acquired the ranch O'Meath from the BSA Company in 1910, and then brought his young wife out to the country. She was the daughter of a British MP. She was the second woman settler in our district, Mrs Bracewell being the first. The house at O'Meath was on one side of the main road, the kitchen on the other, so that the waiter had to scurry across the road with the meals. The door-less lavatory faced the road but, fortunately, there was not much traffic in those days! Dobbin loved his dogs, red setters and grey-hounds and they would accompany him on his rides round the farm, the grey-hounds helping him to kill many a jackal.

Gertrude Page became one of Rhodesia's most famous novelists, describing the life of the Umvukwes, as she knew it, in two of her most popular novels, "*Where the Strange Roads Go Down*" and "*The Veldt Trail*." Her heroes were of the bronzed English Public School type, and John Parker, and Jack Fraser-Mackenzie, of the Lone Cow, no

doubt provided her with plenty of material. She always referred to them affectionately as the “Lone Calves.” Her heroines were maidenly, if rather flirtatious. She herself was a good-looking, heavily-built woman, with piercing blue eyes. She preferred the company of men, and always dressed in masculine-looking coats and skirts. She was, of course, not only a literary celebrity, but a politician, and spoke out fearlessly at a time when women did not take much part in public life.

(Editor’s note: when Umvukwes Junior School was opened the two Houses were named Rose and Bracewell).

It was she who helped Sir Charles Coghlan to attain self-government for Rhodesia. She wrote her book, “*Jill’s Rhodesian Philosophy*”, when she first came to the country and was living near Salisbury, on the Home Farm, better known today as Borrowdale Brook. She gave a sympathetic picture of what life was like for the women of those days, describing vividly the hardships and loneliness, the ugly homes of corrugated iron and brick, the lack of amenities and supplies. She describes one of her first evening meals in the country, “bully-beef, potatoes, bread and treacle, potatoes handed round in a tin basin.” Breakfast brought its own surprises. The table was loaded with whisky, cheese and pickles, and the meal had a very tinny flavour, consisting of “tinned milk, tinned butter, tinned jam, tinned fish, tin cups and saucers, and tin plates.”

Gertrude Page died, after a stroke, at Meikles Hotel in Salisbury in 1922, at fifty years of age. Her friend and neighbour, Mrs Bracewell, nursed her and remained with her until the end. After the service in the Salisbury Anglican Cathedral her coffin went, by car to O’Meath, and thence, by ox-wagon, to the granite grave, prepared for her on the top of her favourite kopje. This kopje commands a magnificent view of the ranch and the surrounding country which the writer had loved and described so well. She used to spend many hours on top of that kopje, seated in a stone shelter, which is not far from her grave, and may still be seen today. Here she would gaze upon the miles of dreaming loneliness, and gain inspiration for her books.

At the foot of the kopje lie the graves of some other early settlers, including that of Dobbin, himself, who provided the site, and was buried there in 1945. Bill Collings was the first to be buried there, although his body was later moved to Salisbury to be buried in the Pioneer Cemetery.

What a character Bill was! He was a man of powerful build, with a friendly face and the keenest of blue eyes, and he wore a great bushy moustache. He had only his right arm, losing the other to a musket shot during the Mashona Rebellion of 1896. His bluff and cheery manner and his kind heart made him popular with all. On one occasion Bill was away from home for a few days, and he was very annoyed when he got back to find that his cattle had broken into the store where he kept his salt. They were so avid for the stuff, which they knew was kept there, that they had smashed down the brick and dagga walls.

Bill’s best friend was a man named Willie Biggs, who, with his brother Sammy, farmed near Concession Siding. He was one of the first to grow Virginia tobacco in that area. His barn looked like a cross between a public convenience and a Moorish Mosque. He dug down about six feet and put a brick construction over this, the roof being a cleverly constructed cupola, which gave it the Moorish aspect. Bill and Willie were such devoted friends that they had a re-union at least once a week, in spite of the distance between them.

Bill had built his house upon a granite out-crop, or “dwala”, because, he said, “The



Bible tells you to build your house upon a rock.” He was very proud of his garden, in which he grew every type of vegetable, apples, quinces, and even raspberry canes; under the fruit trees he grew banks of violets.

He never forgave the Mashona for the loss of his arm, and so refused to have one in the house. He did all his own cooking and cleaning, this last, only when he remembered to, or when necessity forced him!

He used to drive his own mule-cart and pair of mules, named, Dandy and Sandy, which he would harness and manage himself, driving over the shocking roads with the reins over his stump of a left arm, the whip in his right hand. If he happened to be visiting a farm-house where he knew they would be appreciated, he would sometimes tuck a bunch violets into the hat-band of his battered old Stetson.

Towards the end of his life he suffered from heart trouble and his doctor advised him to give up riding, but this he would not do, remaining active until the end. When it came to the last great tidying-up of his home, his artificial arm, which he had never worn, was discovered amongst his belongings. He managed remarkably well with his stump: he could even balance a rifle on it, and shoot pretty straight, whilst on horse-back.

When I first lived on “Dalston” my home was of the usual pole and dagga construction, but towards the end of World War I, I began building a brick under corrugated iron homestead, so that Alan Graham would have decent quarters when he returned from the Front. Poor Alan had been taken as a prisoner of war, at Craudenz, near the Russian Frontier, and did not get back to Rhodesia until May, 1919. He was very happy indeed to get back to the freedom of the farm, and was well pleased with all my improvements. He married Joan, daughter of Dr Appleyard, and they moved to the Doctor’s farm, “Villa Franca”, in the Glendale area. They had two sons, one became an architect and went to live in South Africa, in the Cape, whilst the other is a BP agent, in England.

Alan left me in charge of “Dalston”, and Noll Colborne and I, between us, bought another 10 000 adjoining acres, which I decided to call “Mafuta”, which was the name of a South-Sea Island I happened to be reading about, at the time. We paid six shillings a morgen for the land, and were given six years in which to pay it. Today “Mafuta” belongs to Fred Alexander, and it has become one of Rhodesia’s biggest producers of cotton.

One of the first things I did at “Mafuta” was to build another big brick under iron home-stead, consisting of three bed-rooms, a dining-room, a sitting-room, bathroom, and a separate kitchen and laundry. I laid every b – y brick myself and am proud to say that the house is still standing and in excellent condition. I got a European to help me with the cement work and to lay a zinc anti-termite foundation. We built four steps up to the house, and the verandah was graced with pillars. I put the roof on myself, and was very satisfied with my labours. It certainly was the best house in the district for a long time to come!

When I bought my portion of “Mafuta” my first crop was 40 acres of maize, which I planted on what had been Chininga’s Kraal. Chininga, the Chief, was transferred to Sipolilo Reserve, by Government orders. All the European farmers were complaining about his un-fenced, un-dipped cattle. I offered to help him dip his cattle, but he was too lazy to drive them to my dip. I reaped 10 bags to the acre which was considered good in those days, before we used fertilisers.

The soil varied from rich red to chocolate, and I did all my cultivating with two

oxen. Wild pigs were a menace, when the cobs ripened. I gave my herdsman my rifle, and one dark night he was kind enough to shoot both of my precious oxen, mistaking them for pigs! I did fairly well, out of beef sales to the butcher, and also ran the store at a reasonable profit.

My greatest opportunity to make a fortune occurred during the year 1916. I had, at that time £1 500 on fixed deposit at the Farmers' Co-op in Salisbury, paying me 5% interest. I happened to be discussing this and other possible investments, with a friend of mine, Mr J.W. Downie, who was then running a shipping agency in Beira and who later became High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London. Downie offered me a proposition, £600 for a stand in Salisbury, on which there was only a cottage, bringing in a rental of £2.10s. a month.

Today this stand is owned by Duly's, and must be worth close on a million pounds. However, I was suspicious of the investment at the time, and so I lost the chance of a life-time!

An investment I did make, round about this time, proved to be most unsatisfactory. O. C. Rawson, of Darwendale, and Ted Scott of "Ndiri", Concession, started a meat-canning factory at Odzi, but, owing to lack of proper knowledge of canning methods, the enterprise failed, and we lost our money, and also our hoped-for market.

My nearest neighbour at "Mafuta" was Captain Gordon, a relation of the famous Gordon of Khartoum and another character. He farmed Kashao Estate. He always wore his kilt and a Glengarry Cap, and this was apt to prove a bit warm in the hot weather. If he happened to be walking along the Maquadzi River on a hot day he would jump in, fully clothed, and on one such occasion, when I happened to be with him, he was most annoyed because his cap fell off, and floated away down-stream! He was a bachelor for a long time and his partner Captain Robertson was the son of the Robertson who sold Yellow Label Whisky. Another Robertson product was a whisky called The Sun-Downer, which bore a label depicting a setting-sun. This particular brand never became popular. We preferred Johnnie Walker, White Horse, and John Haig, all to be bought at 6/6d a bottle. Cape Brandy cost us only 2/6d a bottle.

Looking back on those times I think our greatest farming difficulties were due to lack of communications and markets.

For a long time the Lomagundi district was served only by the Eldorado Railway, or the Lomagundi Railway Extension, as it came to be called. The line began at the Banket Junction, and owed its life to the Lomagundi Mining Boom of 1904, when it was reported that a banket reef had been discovered there. "Banket" is the Dutch word for almond-candy, and was originally used to describe the formation of a Johannesburg Rand. The road bed, culverts and so on were to be cut so as to be capable of taking a 3 ft. 6ins gauge line, but the track itself was only 2 feet. When the line was opened to traffic on 12 July 1905, it gave the incentive to the building of a hotel and store at Banket run by A. G. Cottrell, and to the building of a road, 16 miles long across country, from the Ayrshire to the Eldorado. The only locomotives that I remember operating on this "mini" line were the Hans Sauer and the Jack Tar.

It is recorded that in May 1910, at a time when all Lomagundi activities centred on Eldorado, the railway earnings amounted to £1 772—and that by August they had risen to £2 275.

At the Lomagundi Farmers' Association meeting in Sinoia, on 26 November 1911, it was requested that the Railways should extend a broad gauge rail line to Sinoia, and



the Golden Kopje Mine, but it was not until 1913 that the rail extension was actually commenced. This was as a result of a visit from Percy Inskipp and C. D. Wise, who were much impressed by the increase of farms and the general development in the area.

The gauge was widened four miles beyond Banket Junction and it was decided to build a bridge over the Hunyani River, at the Rowdy Boys drift. On 8 June 1914, we find the "*Rhodesia Herald*" reporting that "a large crowd assembled to witness the launching of the big bridge over the river." On 22 June, the first 3 ft. 6 ins. gauge train ran to Sinoia, with Mr George Pauling, the railway contractor, on board.

With the completion of this broad gauge line, the Ayrshire line became subsidiary, and a less-powerful engine was used on it.

Mr E. W. Alderson was both Station-Master and Post-Master at Banket, from 1915 until 1918. He is still alive and active, though in his late eighties, and now lives at Enkeldoorn. His grand-son is Patton, of Patton and Palmer, Electrical Goods Suppliers to Salisbury. It was not until 1927 that a separate post and telegraph office was opened at Banket Junction.

Motor-roads, as I have already mentioned, had as a rule, more or less, to be carved out, as one went along. Albert Peake was responsible for cutting over 100 miles of road, connecting various farms in the area. O. C. Rawson helped to construct a good drift through the Gwebi River, at Darwendale, and a great deal of help was given by H. S. Keigwin, who used gangs of convicts to assist the road-building, in 1916. It was not until the 1930's that the Beit Trustees provided low-level bridges to make our roads safe for motorists. Local road councils began to operate from that date.

I have not made any mention of tobacco because it was not a crop that I ever grew, myself, but it was a crop that greatly influenced the development of the Lomagundi district, and, for that matter, the development of Rhodesia as a whole.

Long before European occupation the indigenous tribes were growing their own tobacco, known as Nyoka. This was grown by the Matabele as well as the Mashona, and was a small Turkish-Tobacco type plant, providing a tobacco that was not too strong but pleasant enough, if you needed a smoke. The African preferred to make it into snuff, and in the old days most Africans carried beautifully-carved wooden snuff-boxes or snuff-containers made out of antelope horn.

Some of the early settlers brought up from South Africa a seed of a heavy Boer-tobacco, and they grew small quantities, mostly for home consumption. It was terrible stuff, and it was said that cow-dung was an essential in the curing process. It certainly had an aroma reminiscent of the cattle-kraal and was strong enough to lift the roof off the house. The South African Boer tobaccos were favoured by the early Rhodesian pipe-smokers and the sun-burned heroes of the wide-open spaces usually carried a bag of Hartley's or Magaliesberg tucked under their belts.

G. Odlum was undoubtedly the man who initiated the Rhodesian tobacco industry. He came to Rhodesia as a young man in his early twenties, as a missionary attached to the American Methodist Mission at Melsetter, and it was he who interested Earl Grey, a director of the BSA Company, in the commercial possibilities of both the crops, tobacco and cotton, which were grown in his own Southern States of the USA.

One of the first commercially successful crops of Virginia was grown by Robert Garvin at his farm, beyond Glendale. It sold at 3/-d a lb. and everyone was amazed, and

most farmers caught the tobacco-fever, and tried to grow it. Unfortunately the market was not well organized, and so the growers lost interest, and no wonder at 9d. a lb. which was all the stuff fetched, round about 1914.

As early as 1903 Lachie Black formed the “Rhodesia Cigar and Tobacco Syndicate” with an E. W. Graham, and a Dr Sketchley, who built the first brick barn for air-curing tobacco. Dr Sketchley had learnt something about tobacco production on the island of Fiji where he studied cigar-leaf, and he had also studied Virginia tobacco in Kentucky, USA.

The tobacco was grown on Black’s farm “Stapleford”, twelve miles north of Salisbury, and cigarettes and pipe-mixtures were made from the leaf, by craftsmen from the Balkans. They flavoured the tobacco with rum, honey and molasses, and made Virginian cigarettes, Turkish cigarettes and a “Stapleford Special”, a blend of both, which sold at 5/- a hundred, and was extremely popular. I remember them well, and that I enjoyed smoking them.

O. C. Rawson was one of the pioneers of Turkish Tobacco in Mashonaland, and by 1911 Turkish leaf production reached half a million pounds, Cape Town being the principal market. In 1910, Rawson persuaded the Parham brothers—known as Red, Black and White, according to the colour of their hair—to come over from America to teach Rhodesian growers how to produce a better quality leaf. They also tried to introduce sisal as a crop. Mr Kileff grew Turkish Tobacco for one season, round about the year 1911, I think it was, at the Lone Cow Estate, and, seeing the potential for this crop, bought his own land near Salisbury, and later on founded the Rhodesian Turkish Tobacco Company.

By 1923 most of the ranchers in the Lomagundi area had switched to the growing of Virginia tobacco, and did pretty well at it, particularly Myring and Andrews, who opened up the Msonneddi Block. Unfortunately, the market was limited to South Africa, as Britain preferred American leaf, and soon there was trouble with the Union tobacco manufacturers, who introduced severe import controls. It was not until the 1960’s that Salisbury was to possess the largest tobacco market in the world. The 1927 slump, caused by over-production, and lack of markets, spelt ruin to many of the early growers, but, I am happy to say, some were able to hang on to their farms, and so reaped the delayed benefit which came their way, in the golden days of Federation, and a preferential market.

Samuel Hasson

A One-Man Settler Scheme

by George Hindley and Benny Leon



Salisbury Public Relations consultant, George Hindley, made a collection of histories of Rhodesian businesses that still remain in the hands of the founding families. From a cutting from the *Gatooma Mail* dated August 1976 the following excerpts are reproduced and certain reminiscences from are inserted.

Samuel Hasson was born in 1910 on the Island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea just off the south coast of Turkey. It had been under Turkish rule since mediaeval times when it was taken from the Knights of St. John. This rule was terminated when it was taken over by the Italians in 1912.

For at least two generations before him his family had been traders dealing in piece goods. The economy of the island could not sustain a population of over four thousand and many began to emigrate to South and North America, the Belgian Congo and the Rhodesias. In 1916 Sam was only fourteen when he set sail for Egypt, where he caught a steamer and travelled to Beira through the Suez Canal. After a couple of days in Beira he travelled by train through Mozambique to Salisbury where he stayed with a cousin. His final destination was the Belgian Congo, but just before he was due to leave he received a letter from his mother urging him to stay in Rhodesia because she was worried about Europeans dying of malaria and Blackwater Fever in the Congo.

He was offered a job by B. S. Leon who owned the Cam Trading Company, at the Cam and Motor Mine, in Eiffel Flats five miles from Gatooma. David Alhadeff also worked there. As he stepped off the train at Gatooma railway station, little did he think that this would be his home for over fifty years. A Model T Ford was waiting for him and transported him to the Eiffel Flats.

With trading his heritage, Sam took to the little general dealer store at Eiffel Flats very easily, but with the enthusiasm of an 18 year old , he decided that he could do better by himself.

Two factors tipped the scale when the Cam mine was closed down for reconstruction, with a resultant heavy loss in trade, and a property came up for sale in Rhodes Street, Gatooma, which Sam bought with his hard earned savings. This was 1920.





For five years he devoted all his waking hours to his business. A bachelor in a town where bright lights were few, he built up goodwill with farmers, miners and townspeople as well as with the African population, that made him one of the best known trading figures in the district.

After ten years away from Rhodes, he had a longing to return and planned to bring a bride. In 1925 he sold his property in Gatooma and set off for the pilgrimage to Rhodes Island.

He brought back Ellenora Hasson a relative, but left behind many relatives he would never see again after the Nazis deported most of that community to Auschwitz, in July 1944, where they were murdered.

Although essentially a Gatooma man, Sam Hasson did not confine himself to a relatively small oyster. He opened a wholesaling branch in Salisbury and head office in Gatooma, (surely the only organisation to have a branch in Salisbury and head office in Gatooma) It was Hasson House in Manica Road (Robert Mugabe Way). His brother-in-law Maurice Franco, married to Rene Hasson, Ellenora's sister, managed the branch. He also opened the Honda Motorcycle Centre in Salisbury Street which was managed by Keith Rodman, married to Betty Franc, one of Sam's twelve nieces.

Peppo Franco was a travelling salesman for Sam. On one of his trips he collided with a train and was killed. His wife Rene was pregnant with a son at the time and when born was named Joseph Franco after his father. Peppo's brother Maurice Franco then married Rene. Joe Franco now lives in Cape Town. I believe he was Sam's favorite nephew.

He also had a couple of trading stores at the Cam and Motor Mine in Eiffel Flats, one of which was managed by Phillipo Angius a Greek gentleman from Rhodes Island who could speak Ladino. (Ladino refers to the Jewish. Spanish language used by the Sephardie Judeo. Spanish diaspora).

Why did he stay in Gatooma? "I was too lazy to move," he said.

Sam's years of labour did not lift him from the shop floor to an ivory tower, with wall to wall carpeting and lavish furnishing. His was a business he believed had to be run by the owner and not a manager.

As a young boy I remember Sam sitting at his desk placed at the front door. From there all business was conducted. The interior of the shop was dark with the only light coming in from the front door. Merchandise, unpriced, was stacked on shelves made from



packing cases. He had the prices of all goods in his head and could quote immediately the price of an item.

Up at 5.30am each morning Sam was at the shop long before eight o'clock opening time and stayed there until the doors closed. He was his own accountant, buyer and merchandiser. He did not have any sophisticated window display.

It should be noted that he employed Ettie Gavronsky (nee Pogrund) as a secretary and an Italian gentleman who he always addressed as Senor Ballocca, who was once an internee at the Internment camp near Gatooma during the war. He also had a young African male as store assistant called Chifupi which in Shona meant "Shorty", which is what he was—a shorty.

Gatooma was the hub of the cotton industry and Sam used to advance supplies and cash to farmers in the district. When the Cotton Marketing Board paid out for cotton crops Sam would be reimbursed. . Senor Ballocca would handle this department.

But many bought on credit. Sam Hasson's judgment was sound and he believed that Africans, whose ready financial resources were small, needed credit. He had bad debts from all races, but the percentage was small.

Sam Hasson was a one-man Rhodesian settler scheme. The country teams with his relatives—a good one hundred he reckoned.

I remembered that in the 1940s and 1950s Sam's house on the weekends was full of relatives and their children. On a Sunday afternoon mostly the population from Rhodes Island would gather for a social tea and cake. Ellenora had many sisters. Rene married Maurice Franco, Sarina married Albert Amato, Bellina married Jack Israel of Chakari. There was Solly Hasson married Ester Hanan. There was Gabriel Pilosof of the Golden Valley Mine married to Sam's sister Esther, the parents of Rueben and Boaz Pilosof.





Sam also had two brothers. Moshe Hasson who had a trading store in the Eiffel flats, married to Rachel with three children Rueben, David and Mattie. In the early 1950s Moshe and family moved to Salisbury. Jack Hasson, a bachelor who had a trading store in Gatooma, was a second brother.

Sam had urged all his relatives to emigrate from Rhodes to the good life to be found in Rhodesia. It was just as well they did emigrate. In 1944 the Nazis rounded up the remaining community in Rhodes and then deported them to Auschwitz where they were murdered. Only ten percent survived the horrors of the death camp.

My further memories of Sam and Ellenora Hasson are of having dinner there. His wife usually would present a plate of spaghetti with a juicy steak with almost every meal. Sam would partake of the meal and then sit in his favourite armchair and fall asleep, during which everyone would keep their voices low.

At eight o'clock he would turn on the radio and listen to the news, after which he would sit at the dining room table and, amidst conversation, write out invoices of the day's business. He used several indelible pencils and would write down everything from memory.

Sam and Ellenora seldom went out during the evenings and were quite content to sit at home. They very seldom went to the cinema. With the advent of television in 1960 they bought a set.

I would attend the installation of the mayor of Gatooma and amongst the guests were Sam Hasson and Ranchod Kewada. They were the biggest ratepayers in the town, and between them owned the most property in the town.

I last saw Sam in February 1978, when he was very ill with leukemia. He had difficulty in breathing. He went to the home of his brother Moshe in Salisbury where, after some treatment, he died. He is buried in the Warren Hills Jewish Cemetery, Harare.

December 2021.

Extra-Lateral Rights in Rhodesian and Zimbabwean Mining Law

by Peter Fey



Introduction

Throughout much of the world ownership of the surface is segregated from ownership of the underlying mineralised bedrock. Importantly, long enshrined in the mining regulations of several countries is the “apex law”, more commonly known as the law of extra-lateral rights. This is based on a fundamental principle *viz*: the right to pursue and mine a vein at depth beneath surface ground not owned or controlled by the mine operator. This article explores the origin of extra-lateral rights and the history of attendant regulations in several countries, then focuses on their adoption in Rhodesia by John Cecil Rhodes’ British South Africa Company and their place in the several editions of the country’s Mines and Minerals Act. Also examined is litigation relating to extra-lateral rights.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO EXTRA-LATERAL RIGHTS

Germany

What is believed to be the first reference to extra-lateral rights is contained in a code of mining law enacted in 1249 by the King of Bohemia for the mining town of Iglau¹. This code was later enshrined in laws adopted by the various other states which subsequently merged to form the German and Austrian empires. From the beginning of the nineteenth century extra-lateral rights, which over time had become exceedingly complex, were abolished in many mining districts within Germany, to finally be extinguished by the general mining law of June 1865. However, existing vested rights were recognised.

France

Although severance of the mineral from the surface was one of the prime characteristics of French mining law the extra-lateral right appears not to have obtained a significant hold in these regulations².

England

In the High Peak lead mining district of Derbyshire an exotic survival of mining law, regarded by Hoover and Hoover³ as being of Saxon origin, marked a wide departure from common law property rights. The miner had the right to enter upon privately held land, there to prospect for lead ore, mark out a defined, albeit very short length of vein, utilise adjacent land to erect mine buildings and establish dumps. Moreover, it was

¹ Colby, W. E. (1916 a). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part I (untitled). *California Law Review* Vol. IV, No 5. (July, 1916), pp. 361-388

² Ibid., p. 370

³ Hoover, H. C. & Hoover, L. H. (1950). Reprint of 1912 edition of: Georgius Agricola’s *De Re Metallica*. Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 638 p.

accepted that he could then work the vein to unlimited depth between vertical planes passing through the ends of the claim at right angles to the vein. This represented the purest form of extra-lateral rights in that the vein was the principal thing, the surface merely incidental⁴.

Australia

Between 1858 and 1866 the mining regulations of New South Wales included a modified extra-lateral right. Afterwards vertical claim boundaries were adopted because the former system had led to disputes⁵. In Western Australia the right to mine to depth was virtually equivalent to the exercise of an extra-lateral right, whereas in other parts of Australia the locator of the vein's top or apex had the right to acquire "frontage claims" overlying the dip.

Spain and Spanish America

The Spanish mining law of 1559 was formulated on early Germanic codes, recognised a limited extra-lateral right⁶ and was later applied in Peru. The Spanish Ordinance of 1783 amended the regulations, setting out a graduated system which dictated size and shape of the surface claim, based on the dip of the vein within vertical claim boundaries. This legislation was in force in Mexico at the time of the Californian gold rush, but has since been superseded by codes which abolished the graduated form of claims.

North America

The gold rush which began in California in 1848 marked the birth of mining regulations in North America. Hitherto there had been no general mining law, the few Acts of Congress on the subject applied only to the lead and copper deposits of the Middle West and lacked any reference to extra-lateral rights⁷. Gold, first found in California in 1842, was mined there together with quicksilver but these small-scale operations had never been regulated by the administrators of Mexican mining legislation. After the Mexican-American War the United States annexed the territory in 1848 and its military governor at the time, Colonel Mason, issued a proclamation "abolishing the Mexican laws and customs now prevailing in California relative to the denouncement of mines."

The gold rush saw an ever-increasing influx of prospectors and miners from many parts of the globe, all initially focussing on the relatively easily worked placer (alluvial) gold. Colby⁸, quoting from an earlier law report, observed that:

"When placer mining began in California there was no law regulating the size of claims or the manner of holding and working them, and local regulations by the miners themselves became a necessity... The first and most important matter to be regulated was the size of the claims, and the earliest miners' rules contained little else than a limitation of the maximum amount of mining ground that one miner might hold."

Another early rule concerned water rights, which were of critical importance to placer mining. The 1850 Act of Admission by which California was admitted to the Union as a state made no reference to minerals, and the developing system of locally

⁴ Colby, *op. cit.*, p. 376

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 386

⁶ Colby, *ibid.*

⁷ Colby, W. E. (1916 b). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part II. The origin and development of the extralateral right in the United States. *California Law Review Vol. IV, No 6*. (September, 1916), pp. 437–464

⁸ Colby, W. E. (1916 c). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part III. The Federal Mining Act of 1872. *California Law Review Vol. V, No 1*. (November, 1916), pp. 18–36



established mining codes continued in force⁹. By then outcropping gold reefs had been discovered and, with the arrival of mining machinery, were being worked by the end of 1850. For these reefs the law of the placer was adapted and title secured by pegging claims which typically were rectangular, the sides measuring only a few tens of feet in length. The earliest set of rules recorded by Colby¹⁰ was adopted on 30 December 1850 by the Gold Mountain Mining District in Nevada County and stipulated that “thirty by forty feet shall constitute a full claim”. Other mining districts soon followed with similar regulations, although the size of claims varied.

The first appearance of the right to follow the “ledge” or reef down dip appeared in regulations adopted on 6 June 1851 in the Saunder’s Ledge Mining District, which was also in Nevada County. Article 3 of the local laws stated that “One hundred feet on the ledge *with the dips and angles* shall constitute a claim¹¹. There is circumstantial evidence that this regulation had as its source the mining law of Derbyshire in England (see above). Although a few districts adhered to square claims with vertical boundaries, in most the regulations included the extra-lateral right. The early rules prescribed a certain length of claim “without regard to width”, allowing the locator sufficient surface area for working the reef. During the 1850s this length was commonly one hundred feet along the ledge, but subsequently a defined width for lode claims was prescribed, ranging from fifty feet upwards in the newer mining districts. On 7 April 1863 the El Dorado Mining District adopted a maximum width of six hundred feet, a figure later enshrined in the Mining Act of 1872.

As mining spread eastwards as well as northwards from California these regulations, standardised and including the right to pursue the vein(s) down dip, were successively adopted by states such as, *inter alia*, Washington (1863), Oregon and Idaho (1864), Arizona and New Mexico (1865), Nevada (1866).

During all of this time the Federal Government remained silent on the disposition of these mineral lands, which were part of the public domain. There had been plans to lease these areas, reserving a royalty for government, also to sell them by public auction so as to enable the government to pay off some of the debt incurred by the Civil War. In order to forestall contemplated drastic legislation which would have crippled the mining industry in the western states Congress eventually passed the “hastily prepared”¹² Mining Act of 1866 which established the free right to mine on the public domain, legalising what had hitherto technically been a trespass. The Act limited the length of a claim to two hundred feet along the vein for each locator, “with an additional claim for discovery to the discoverer of the lode”, and confirmed the by then established extra-lateral right, which was restricted to the principal vein¹³. However, it prescribed neither a width for the claim nor the manner in which the direction of its end lines was to be determined. Such lines were seldom parallel and often broken, while shape and size of the claim’s

⁹ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law in 1850–1900. In: *BC Studies, Nos 91–92, Autumn–Winter. The British Columbia Quarterly*, University of British Columbia, pp. 79–77

¹⁰ Colby, W. E. (1916 b). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part II. The origin and development of the extralateral right in the United States. *California Law Review Vol. IV, No 6*. (September, 1916), pp. 79–97

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 444

¹² Colby, W. E. (1916 c). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part III. The Federal Mining Act of 1872. *California Law Review Vol. V, No 1*. (November, 1916), pp. 18–36

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27

surface area were incidental.

This legislation was superseded by the General Mining Act of 10 May 1872, a much improved version of the 1866 Act. Soon after its passage the eminent mining engineer Dr Rossiter W. Raymond coined the term “extralateral (*sic*) rights”¹⁴. This term, not hyphenated in North America, was used by him to define the right, given by Section 2322 of the United States Revised Statutes (of the above Act), of locators of all mining locations to pursue the vein on its downward course, outside of and beyond vertical planes drawn through the side lines of the lode location (read claim), into and underneath the surface of adjoining or contiguous land. The vein need not necessarily outcrop as long as its apex ie: the point at which it comes closest to the surface, lay within the boundaries of the claim. The Act extended the extra-lateral right to all veins occurring on any one quartz reef claim¹⁵. Claim dimensions were limited to a width of 600 feet and a maximum length of 1 500 feet along the strike of the vein or lode. Under Section 2320 of the United States Revised Statutes end lines of “lode locations” were to be parallel to one another, and at right angles to the general course of the vein. Since the Act superseded the original miners’ rules established in the various districts these rules died a natural death.

Clayberg¹⁶ defined the various mining terms used in the 1872 Act and examined the application of extra-lateral rights to claims of irregular shape with reference to individual court rulings.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the emergence of large mining companies whose quest for control over large, often ill-defined bodies of low-grade ore replaced the nineteenth century focus on high-grade vein structures. In the west of the United States law suits over extra-lateral rights were for long a common impediment to the acquisition of large blocks of ground which might host mineral resources amenable to bulk mining. Only after the First World War were court procedures streamlined to the point where such suits became difficult to launch.

Despite repeated calls for its repeal the extra-lateral right remains an integral part of mining law in the United States¹⁷.

Canada

Title to Canada’s mineral wealth has resided with the Crown since colonial times, and this regal right was first formally asserted in what is now British Columbia. In 1853, on the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Governor Douglas proclaimed that “all mines of gold, and all gold in its natural place of deposit... whether on the lands of the Queen, or any of her Majesty’s subjects, belong to the Crown.” Issued with the proclamation were provisional regulations to counter an anticipated rush of Californians to the Queen Charlotte Islands in search of gold. Based on mining rules developed in Australia these regulations established a licencing system for miners and reserved the right of the colonial government to regulate “the extent and position of land to be covered by each licence”¹⁸. Because of the easy movement of men and capital across the

¹⁴ Clayberg, J. B. (1913). Extralateral rights to quartz veins granted by the Act of Congress of May 10, 1872. *California Law Review Vol. 1, No. 4* (May, 1913), pp. 336–358

¹⁵ Colby, W. E. (1916 c). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part III. The Federal Mining Act of 1872. *California Law Review Vol. V, No 1*. (November, 1916), pp. 18–36

¹⁶ Clayberg, *ibid.*, p. 337

¹⁷ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law 1850–1900. *BC Studies, Nos 91-92, Autumn–Winter*. The British Columbia Quarterly, University of British Columbia, pp. 79–97

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 88



border American placer miners played an important part in the Big Bend, Cariboo and Fraser River gold rushes over the period 1850–1860. Lode mining in the Boundary and Kootenay districts was also initiated by American companies and became the basis for subsequent expansion of the local mining industry where in due course mining shifted from the labour-intensive working of narrow, high-grade veins of gold and silver to the mechanised exploitation of massive, low-grade deposits of copper and other base metals.

The Gold Fields Act of 1859 allowed for the establishment of local mining boards but, in contrast to practice in California, these were not independent bodies since any action they might take with regard to the holding and working of claims had to be approved by a Gold Commissioner appointed by the Governor. However, legislation began to align itself with the North American model. The Gold Mining Ordinance of 1867 associated quartz claims with the strike of the vein and with a specific surface area, limited to two the number of claims a discoverer could hold, and established a limited extra-lateral right. British Columbia's Gold Mining Amendment Act of 1872 assigned full and unrestricted extra-lateral rights to mineral claims, this right being reaffirmed by the 1884 Mineral Act "in language taken directly from the United States Act of 1872"¹⁹.

The extra-lateral right was in force during the initial period of sustained growth in British Columbia's mining industry. By 1890 numerous problems with the existing Act led to major revision (Mineral Act, 1891) but the wording, quoted from Colby²⁰, concerning extra-lateral rights was retained from the earlier Act, *viz*:

"The lawful holders of mineral claims shall have the exclusive right of possession of all of the surface included within the lines of their locations, and of all veins, lodes and ledges throughout their entire depth, the top or apex of which lies inside of such surface lines extended downward vertically, although such veins, lodes or ledges may so far depart from a perpendicular in their course downward as to extend outside the vertical side lines of such surface locations," etc.

However, in light of increasing litigation in North America over these rights British Columbia introduced amendments to the Minerals Act in 1893, substituting vertical claim boundaries for the apex provision. Nevertheless, valid claims pegged prior to 1892 retained their extra-lateral rights²¹. The change appears to have been approved by the province's mining industry and encouraged the emergence of large mining companies.

EXTRA-LATERAL RIGHTS REGULATIONS IN RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

Origin and evolution

Under its Royal Charter of December 1889 the British South Africa Company had been granted title to all minerals, as well as mining rights, in Rhodesia. In order to expedite mining development in the new country Cecil John Rhodes ensured that the proposed mining regulations included three features *viz.*, the discovery of a deposit as prerequisite for title, the obligation to maintain the claim's validity by either work or payment, and

¹⁹ Hovis, *ibid.*, p. 90

²⁰ Colby, W. E. (1916 a). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part I (untitled). *California Law Review Vol. IV, No 5*. (July, 1916), pp. 361–388

²¹ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law 1850–1900. *BC Studies, Nos 91–92, Autumn–Winter*. The British Columbia Quarterly, University of British Columbia, pp. 79–97

extra-lateral rights. Amongst Rhodes' closest technical advisers were three Californians²² of whom at least two, namely John Hays Hammond and Gardner Frederick Williams, were mining engineers and would have been familiar with extra-lateral rights. Hammond argued strongly, albeit unsuccessfully, against their adoption in the British South Africa Company's regulations because they had led to numerous lawsuits in North America²³. This topic is addressed below.

The BSA Company's mining regulations were initially encapsulated in the Mines and Minerals Ordinance (1895) and in the Gold Trade Ordinance (1901). Both were repealed and replaced by the Mines and Minerals Ordinance (1903), published on 27 May, 1904²⁴.

Commenting on these regulations Colby²⁵ stated that they had been "largely copied from the American law" under which "a reef claim" is a parallelogram 150 feet in length along the course of the reef with a width of 600 feet at right angles to the length. A "block" is a group of not to exceed ten contiguous reef claims, thus forming a parallelogram measuring 1 500 by 600 feet, the exact size of a lode claim under American law. The "course of a reef" is defined to be a line on the surface marking the intersection of the centre of the reef with such surface. If the reef were "blind" i.e., situated below the surface the points where it approaches closest to the surface were projected vertically upward. This is the "course of the apex" or "lode line" of the American law.

The miner had the "extralateral (*sic*) right of pursuit of such portions of his discovery reef on its dip outside the limits of his vertical block as are comprised between vertical planes indefinitely extended and passing through the end lines of his block." This is clearly set out in Section 23 of the BSA Company's 1903 Ordinance:

- (1) 'Whenever it is established that a reef in its course has only two points of departure from any block, and also in the case of a regular block, does not pass through both end lines, the extra-lateral right of pursuit possessed by the holder of such block shall be comprised between vertical planes of unlimited dimensions passing through straight horizontal lines drawn through the points of departure and parallel to each other and in the mean directions of the end lines.
- (2) Whenever it is established that a reef in its course has more than two points of departure from any block the extra-lateral right of pursuit possessed by the holder of such block shall be confined to such portions of the reef as lie in its course within such block, and shall be comprised within vertical planes of unlimited dimensions passing through straight horizontal lines drawn through the points of departure between which the course of the reef lies within the block and parallel to each other and in the mean direction of the end lines'.

From the foregoing it is inferred that the section pertaining to the law of extra-lateral rights had already been encapsulated in one or other of the two earlier BSA Company ordinances mentioned above.

In 1923, when Rhodesia became the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia within the British Empire, it took over the BSA Company's mining regulations, although the company retained the mineral rights until 1933 when the government purchased these. Thereafter such rights were vested in the state.

²² Hollaway, J. (2019). Gold. In: *Mining in Zimbabwe — from the 6th to the 21st centuries*. M. Prendergast and J. Hollaway (eds). Chamber of Mines of Zimbabwe, Harare, pp. 157–206

²³ Ibid., p. 168

²⁴ Fraser Edkins, *pers. comm.*

²⁵ Colby, W. E. (1916 a). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part I (untitled). *California Law Review Vol. IV*, No 5. (July, 1916), pp. 361–388



The BSA Company's mining regulations became the Mines and Minerals Act, Chapter 195²⁶, and the earliest version consulted for this text is dated 1935, revised or reprinted in 1938. Under Part III (Rights of claim holders and landowners) of Chapter 195, Section 47 gave every holder of a registered block of precious metal reef claims the exclusive rights to:

- a) mine such portions of his "discovery reef" as lay within the vertical boundaries of his block
- b) prospect the claim for any other precious metal reefs which might exist within the vertical boundaries of his block and thereafter to mine such "secondary reefs"
- c) mine any placer, alluvial or rubble deposit, also any dump containing precious metal found within the vertical limits of his block
- d) prospect for, and mine, any base mineral, coal, mineral oil, natural gas and precious stones within the vertical boundaries of his block. Any diamonds discovered could not be mined until the block had been converted into a precious stones claim

Section 48 defined extra-lateral mining rights on both regular and irregular blocks, these rights pertaining to the "discovery" as well as to any "secondary" precious metal reef.

Noteworthy is the final paragraph, which stated:

- 6). Notwithstanding anything in this section contained, no holder of any block of precious metal reef claims registered after the first day of September, 1935 shall have any extra-lateral right of pursuit of or mining any platinum or platinoid metal reef.

The Act was amended in 1941, twice in 1946, and again in 1947, when establishment of a Prospecting Board as well as a Mining Affairs Board was introduced. Changes to Sections 47–49 were made in 1949 and incorporated in the 1951 edition of the Act, in which extra-lateral rights were dealt with under section 102.

On 1 November 1961 the Act was consolidated and amended to become Chapter 165. Precious metals were defined (page 513) as "gold, silver, platinum and platinoid metals in an unmanufactured state" and include "all such slimes, concentrates, slags, tailings, residues and amalgams as are valuable and contain such precious metals"; Rights of claim holders and land owners were set out in Part VIII, where Section 160 sets out extra-lateral rights pertaining to precious metal reef blocks.

Various amendments, including metrication, were made up to 1979. In due course the Mines and Minerals Act was reclassified as Chapter 21:05, the wording of which in the revised edition to hand dated 1996 is in most parts identical to the preceding Chapters 195 and 165. However, the numbering of sections has changed so that Part X now covers the rights of claim holders and land holders. Periodical amendments made between 1981 and 1994 have not affected regulations pertaining to extra-lateral rights.

At the beginning of this century significant changes to Chapter 21:05 were proposed. The Mines and Minerals Amendment Bill of 2007 (Clause 19) repeals Section 169 (Precious metal reef claims; mining rights within vertical limits), section 170 (Pegging of secondary reef) and section 171 (Precious metal reef claims: extra-lateral mining right). Clause 20 amends Section 172 (Mining rights: other than precious metal claims) so as to give every holder of precious metal reef claims the same rights as holders of

²⁶ T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*

any other claim, currently set out as:

- a) The exclusive right of mining any ore or deposit of the mineral in respect of which the block is registered which occurs within the vertical limits of his block; and
- b) The exclusive right within the vertical limits of his block of prospecting for any ore or deposit of any mineral other than the mineral in respect of which the block is registered and if such ore or deposit is discovered within such block, the holder thereof shall notify the mining commissioner of such discovery and shall, subject to this Act, thereafter have the right of mining such ore or deposit within the vertical limits of his block:

Provided that nothing in this paragraph contained shall confer any rights to mine any coal or mineral oil or natural gas.

The Mines and Minerals Amendment Bill (2015) reiterates, *inter alia*, the repeal of Sections 169-171 and the rewording of Section 172.

At the time of writing (2020) these various amendments had not been passed by Zimbabwe's Parliament. If adopted the changes, whose implications have not been examined here, will spell the end of extra-lateral rights which have hitherto been a cornerstone of Zimbabwean gold mining regulations.

Here it is apposite to quote Colby²⁷ who, after lengthy consideration of the case for abolition of extra-lateral rights in North America, where they nonetheless remain in force, concluded that:

9. The logical solution based on world experience is to sever all mineral except superficial deposits from the surface and dispose of the minerals and the surface separately.
10. Whether a workable system based on this principle of severance can be devised at this late day which will not result in producing greater confusion and more litigation by reason of new and untried problems and conflict with innumerable rights vested under the former system, is a question which would tax the wisdom of Solomon.
11. In any event, revision, if attempted, must be general and not piecemeal and should be enacted only as the result of the most careful deliberation by a commission composed of the best talent available.

It is conjectural if implications of the proposed amendments to the Zimbabwean Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05) have been subjected to such "most careful deliberation by... the best talent available".

PRACTICAL DETERMINATION OF EXTRA-LATERAL RIGHTS

Section 171 (Precious metal reef claims: extra-lateral mining right) of the Mines and Minerals Act (1996 edition), in which the wording is virtually identical to that in section 48 of Chapter 195 (1938 edition), deems a block to be that portion of the block as pegged which lies between the side lines and the corrected end lines.

For the purposes of extra-lateral rights conferred by Section 171 paragraph 2 sets out that a regular block of precious metal reef claims shall have its end lines corrected as follows-

- a) straight horizontal lines shall be drawn parallel to each other and to the mean direction of the end lines of the block as pegged;
- b) each of such horizontal lines shall pass through one of the corner pegs of the

²⁷ Colby, W.E. (1917). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part IV. Conclusion. California Law Review Vol. V, No 4. (May 1917), pp. 303-330

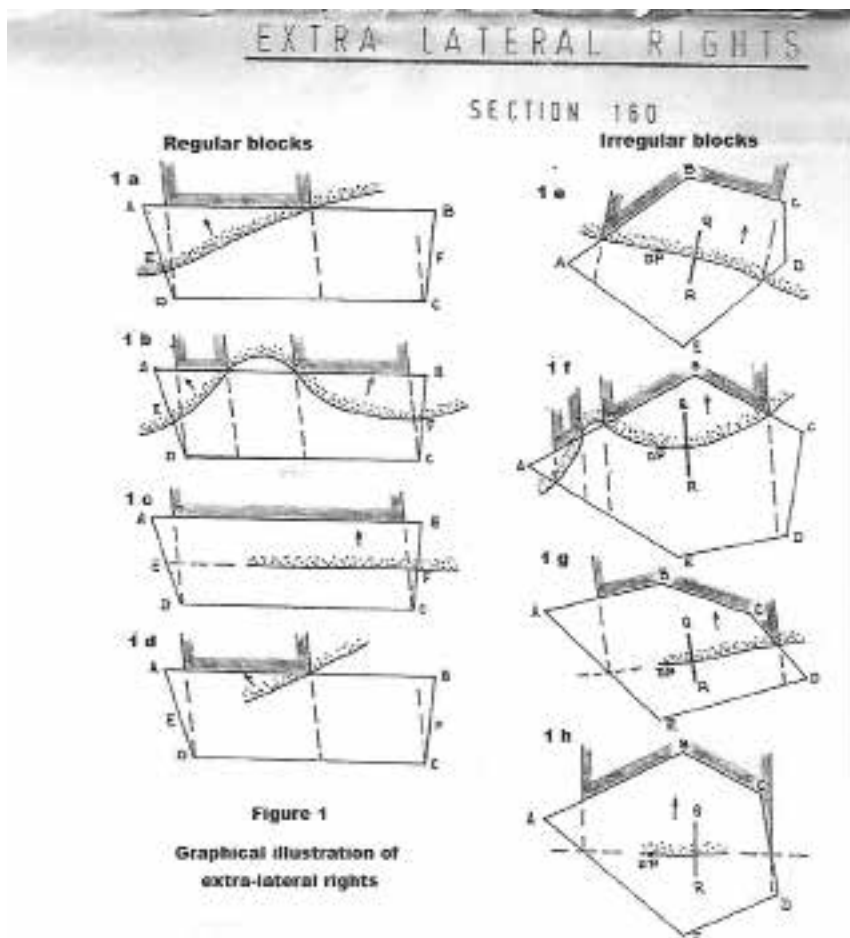


Figure 1
Graphical illustration of
extra-lateral rights

block and they shall be so drawn that no portion of either of them shall lie outside the end lines of the block as pegged.

The concept is illustrated in Figure 1, in which the corrected end lines are dashed. The known course of the reef through the block is shown as a solid line; where the course is inferred or extrapolated the line is dashed. Stippling along this line denotes the reef's down-dip side, an arrow showing the direction of dip. Straight horizontal lines, also dashed and parallel to the end lines, are drawn through the departure point(s) of the reef from the block and define vertical planes of unlimited dimensions. Those portions of the discovery reef to which extra-lateral rights apply outside the vertical block boundaries have been shaded. Cases of multiple departure points of the reef from essentially regular blocks are depicted in Figures 1a and 1b, those of a single departure point on either an end line or a side line are shown on Figures 1c and 1d respectively.

The position with respect to irregular blocks is portrayed by Figures 1e to 1h, on which point DP denotes the position of the reef's discovery peg. The line Q-R indicates the mean dip direction of the reef and is the straight line joining pegs Q and R, these lying within the block as pegged. Corrected end lines, which rarely pass through any

corner peg, are drawn parallel to line Q–R and pass through the points of departure of the reef from the vertical boundaries of the block. Cases of multiple departure points are exemplified by Figures 1e and 1f.

If only one point of departure is established (Figure 1g) extra-lateral rights apply to ... such portions of the reef as are comprised between vertical planes of unlimited dimensions passing through two straight horizontal lines, both of which shall be drawn parallel to the line QR so that one of them passes through the point of departure and the other passes through the point at which a line drawn through the DP peg at right angles to the line QR crosses a boundary line of the block on that side of the DP peg which is opposite to the point of departure;

If no departure point (Figure 1h) is established extra-lateral rights apply to ... such portions of the reef as are comprised between vertical planes of unlimited dimensions passing through two straight horizontal lines which shall be drawn parallel to the line QR through the points at which a line drawn through the DP peg at right angles to the line QR crosses the boundary lines of the block.

LITIGATION OVER EXTRA-LATERAL RIGHTS

North America

In most jurisdictions the extra-lateral right was vigorously asserted and often tested in court, so that by 1900 an increasing number of lawyers made their living from such case, while a great many geologists and mining engineers specialised as expert witnesses. In court claims were frequently supported by reference to three-dimensional models, generally constructed with often less than perfect knowledge of the geology. Because evidence was provided by a parade of competing expert witnesses most cases were argued before a jury. However, since the injunctions granted before any dispute was resolved usually prevented work in the contested area the simple act of launching a suit was an effective form of legal blackmail and often resulted in out-of-court settlements²⁸.

One of the earliest disputes occurred in 1863 when the Burning Moscow Mining Company successfully sued the Ophir Mining Company for control of a relatively worthless vein in Nevada's Comstock Lode, eventually taking over the Ophir as well as three other mining companies active in the district.

At Butte, Montana the rich copper deposits, complex geology and often haphazard method of pegging claims provided motive and opportunity for litigation on a grand scale, and became the scene of the most famous and lengthy series of extra-lateral rights cases. Irish-born Marcus Daly had emigrated to North America as a young boy, began his mining career in 1861 at Virginia City, Nevada and in 1876 arrived in Butte, then famous for its silver mines. These, as Daly soon discovered, were associated with large deposits of copper. In 1881 he bought the small Anaconda mine and, as surrounding silver mines were worked out he bought those for their copper potential. He soon built a smelter and in 1899, in association with two directors of Standard Oil, created the giant Amalgamated Copper Mining Company, one of the largest trusts of the early 20th century²⁹.

However, life for Daly was made difficult by F. Augustus Heinze, a "court house

²⁸ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law in 1850–1900. In: *BC Studies, Nos 91–92, Autumn–Winter*. The British Columbia Quarterly, University of British Columbia, p. 87

²⁹ Wikipedia



miner” who exploited inconsistencies in mining titles and often initiated extra-lateral rights suits on speculation³⁰. He had secured a small block of unclaimed land on top of Butte Hill and, through actions upheld by several judges, was able to access copper ore from Ananconda’s workings between 1898 and 1906. After years of losing lawsuits to Heinze the Amalgamated Copper Mining Company shut down its operations, laying off 80% of Montana’s workforce in an attempt to force the state’s legislature to adopt a “change of venue” provision for legal challenges. The matter was resolved only when Amalgamated Copper purchased all of Heinze’s mining assets in addition to the majority of mining companies operating in the district.

North Americans are renowned for being litigious but their propensity to sue over extra-lateral rights has been exaggerated. Analysis by Colby³¹ of law reports and tabulation of all extra-lateral cases in the western United States for the years 1870-1916 inclusive revealed that such cases averaged less than three *per annum*. Admittedly, the data relates only to extra-lateral cases which, because of their importance, were brought before federal courts. Colby also cited Charles H. Shamel, author of *Mining, Mineral & Geologic Law*, who examined the syllabi of all cases reported in *Morrison’s Mining Reports*. These contain all the important mining decision made in the United States “during the past half century” (no dates are given in the reference). Shamel noted that “The total number of syllabuses (*sic.*) in the 22 volumes of decisions is 5 808, of which the number concerning the apex law is 115. The apex cases are only about two per cent of the whole ...”

The amount of litigation which may legitimately be charged to the extra-lateral right is therefore not excessive, since the actual number of cases arising is insignificant when compared with the number of claims exercising this right. Accordingly, the only valid charge which can be made on this score is the great expense associated with the few such cases as arise.

British Columbia

Owing in part to the repeal in 1893 of extra-lateral rights, and to the fact that mining interests over large blocks were held by emerging conglomerates rather than by individuals, litigation was never as extensive as in the United States, and arose over relatively few valid claims located mostly in the West Kootenay mining district.

The first, and most famous case, was over claims in that district, litigants being the Iron Mask Mining Company (Iron Mask) and the Centre Star Mining Mining Company (Centre Star)³². Both companies, American-owned, had pegged claims over the rich copper-gold ores of Red Mountain, Rossland at a time when extra-lateral rights were in force under the provisions of the 1884 Mineral Act. In September 1897 Iron Mask had called in a surveyor after its miners encountered a tunnel driven by the adjacent Centre Star, which had sunk a shaft near the border between adjoining claims of both companies. Initially the apparent trespass was resolved amicably by installing a door and posting guards at the intersection of the workings. According to the *Rossland Miner* the

³⁰ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law in 1850–1900. In: *BC Studies, Nos 91-92, Autumn–Winter*. The British Columbia Quarterly, University of British Columbia, pp. 79–97

³¹ Colby, W. E. (1917). The extralateral right: Shall it be abolished? Part IV. Conclusion. *California Law Review* Vol. V, No 4, (May 1917), pp. 303–330

³² Hovis, *ibid.*, pp. 91–95

disputed area contained “a large body of iron-stained rock on each side of the (claim) line and hence an ordinary survey would not settle the dispute, as it might still be an apex question as to which claim contained the true apex of the vein.” Despite the newspaper’s cautionary note Iron Mask, which was already shipping ore, completed its survey and began removing ore from the area. Centre Star, the earlier of the two companies on the location, was still developing and as yet not mining its claim. The company sought an injunction, which was upheld on appeal, prohibiting Iron Mask from interfering with its workings lying within the side lines of Iron Mask’s claim. Under the ruling Centre Star agreed to suspend operations in the disputed area while ownership of the vein was being contested under the extra-lateral right regulations.

Although the question of ownership of the disputed vein did not come to trial until the spring of 1899 both companies appeared frequently before the Supreme Court of British Columbia. On 24 December 1898 Mr Justice Walkem closed a long series of actions focussing on the injunction against working the disputed ground. He ruled that Iron Mask had the right to all ore between the vertical boundaries of its claim until such time as Centre Star’s extra-lateral rights were proved or disproved. In the meantime the injunction over the contested area remained in force.

For the trial, which began in the Miners’ Hall at Rossland on 17 April 1899 and ran for 15 days, Centre Star called three eminent and highly respected expert witnesses. They comprised Clarence King, founder and first director of the United States Geological Survey, noted metallurgist Louis Janin and Dr. Rossiter W. Raymond, one of the founders of the prestigious *Engineering and Mining Journal* and president of the United States Mining Institute³³. On 29 April Mr Justice Walkem found in favour of Centre Star and allowed the company to proceed with requested development in the contested area in order to transfer geological inferences into physical fact. After further conflicting evidence and attendant legal wrangling the case was adjourned *sine die* on 3rd May, with costs assigned to Iron Mask. The defendant retired to prepare yet another appeal whereas the plaintiff immediately began developing the contested area. By mid-May Centre Star was shipping ore from there, but failed to establish continuity of the vein said to apex on the ground. Although the case remained technically unsolved the local mining community regarded the defendant as the loser. At the final hearing of the Iron Mask Mining Company’s appeal of the inspection order late in November 1899 this order was upheld and a variation in the assignment of costs was granted.

The way in which the matter was handled greatly reduced the potential for success of other speculative suits, and a number of similar conflicts raised in British Columbia were simply abandoned by mutual consent of the parties. In the case of Iron Mask versus Centre Star a geologist acceptable to both companies examined the source of the problem, concluded that the Iron Mask and Centre Star veins intersect and a private settlement was subsequently arranged.

Southern Rhodesia

The full history of litigation over extra-lateral rights legislation in this country has not been researched for this article. Significant, however, were two court cases of which the first became world-famous. Both involved the Globe and Phoenix mine at Que Que (now Kwekwe).

³³ Hovis, L. W. (1991–1992). The extralateral right in British Columbia and the western United States: A comparison of the mining law in 1850–1900. In: *BC Studies, Nos 91–92, Autumn–Winter*. The British Columbia Quarterly, University of British Columbia, p. 93



In April 1894 E. T. Pearson pegged the Phoenix reef on a double line of ancient workings striking approximately north³⁴. At the same time the Globe claims were pegged by J. Schukula on a second group of workings trending east-southeast across the northern continuation of the Phoenix reef. The gold mining town of Que Que was subsequently established immediately to the east of these workings (Figure 2). The peggings, together with several adjacent claims, were soon acquired by the Philips Exploring Syndicate³⁵ which in October 1895 floated the London-based Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Company Limited in order to raise money for exploration of the reefs. Milling began only in August 1900, having been delayed by the Matabele rebellion, the rinderpest and the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa. Until 1905 the Globe reef was considered to be the company's principal asset. It was worked until 1907, then allowed to flood until at least 1929³⁶ but was subsequently reopened. Mining, principally on the Phoenix reef, continued until the late 1950s after which the Globe and Phoenix mine was let to tributors. By this time it had become one of the two deepest and most productive gold mines in Southern Rhodesia

Outputs from the Globe and Phoenix reefs were reported together and by 1986 amounted to 124.064 tonnes of gold from 4 619 905 tonnes milled at an average recovery of 26.9 grammes per tonne³⁷, equivalent to almost one ounce per ton.

Because the Globe and Phoenix blocks were soon surrounded by other gold claims disputes arose over access, water and timber supplies, to be followed after production began by litigation over mining rights. In 1911 the company acquired, from Amalgamated Properties of Rhodesia Limited, a block of claims known as the Phoenix Parallel block which double-banked the northern portion of the Phoenix claims on their west or footwall side³⁸, followed in 1912 by the John Bull block. This lay east of the Phoenix claims and was acquired to allow sinking of a vertical shaft (the Phoenix Shaft, Figure 2) to the reef which had been developed from the Phoenix block in pursuit of extra-lateral rights. These two blocks were bought for £1 000 each on the condition that the vendor company "should retain an undivided one half share interest in any minerals which might be found in these claims and in any proceeds obtained from such minerals".

In 1914 the Amalgamated Properties of Rhodesia Ltd sued the Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co. Ltd for a half share of the proceeds from gold mined within the vertical boundaries of the John Bull block. The plaintiff claimed that the reef exploited below this block was not the "Phoenix discovery" reef but another, of different strike and not extending to surface. As such it was not included in the extra-lateral rights appertaining to the "Phoenix discovery" reef. The case opened in the Court of Chancery, in England on 26 October 1915 and continued until November 1916. Mr William Henry Upjohn, K. C., gained a place in the *Guinness Book of Records* with the longest address to a British court, concluding after 45 days on 22 September 1916. Mr Justice Eve, who presided, accepted that the quartz vein had been mined continuously from surface and was therefore presumed to be one continuous orebody. He held that the plaintiffs had failed to

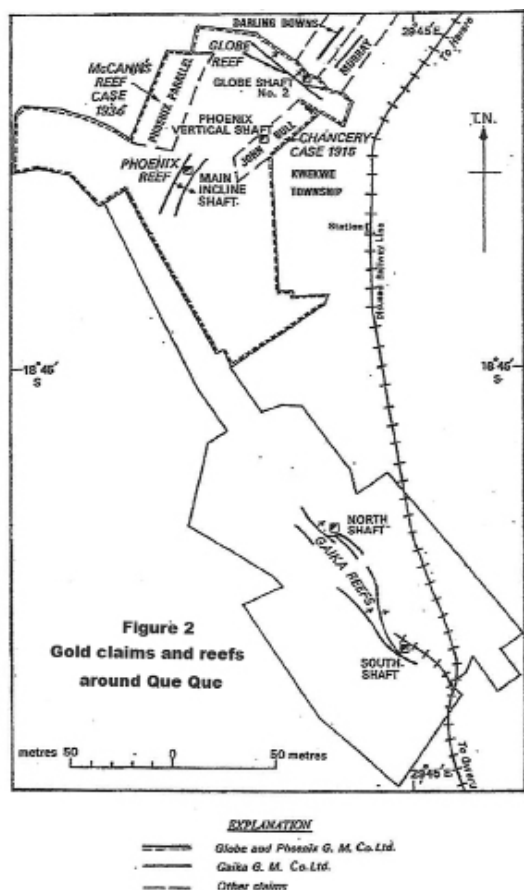
³⁴ Macgregor, A. M. (1932). The geology of the country around Que Que, Gwelo district. *S. Rhod. geol. Surv. Bull.* 20, 113 p.

³⁵ Du Toit, A. (1998). The economic geology of the country around Kwekwe. *Zim. geol. Surv. Bull.* 67 Part II, 84 p.

³⁶ Macgregor, A. M. (1929). Geological notes on the Globe & Phoenix mine, Que Que. *International Geological Congress, South Africa, Guide Book, XV Session, Excursion C 20*, pp. 36–40

³⁷ Du Toit, A., *ibid.*, pp 82–84

³⁸ Macgregor, A. M. (1932). *ibid.*, p. 87



establish a break where the reefs met in a stope between the eighth and ninth levels and found for the Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co. Ltd. Judgement was upheld on appeal and confirmed by the House of Lords in 1919³⁹.

The Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey held transcripts of this court case. Regrettably, these were amongst documents damaged when white ants invaded the library which in the early 1990s had been moved into the former Macgregor Museum on the ground floor of the department's headquarters, Maufe Building in Harare.

At the beginning of 1933 the Rhodesian Corporation Limited, successor of Amalgamated Properties of Rhodesia Ltd, brought a similar case against the Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co. Ltd. The plaintiff claimed half the proceeds from mining of the Northern Extension reef, maintaining that this was an extra-

lateral extension of the Phoenix Parallel “discovery” reef, also known as McCann’s reef (Figure 2). The matter was heard in the High Court of Southern Rhodesia where the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey’s A. M. Macgregor appeared as expert witness⁴⁰. The court found in favour of the defendant, a decision upheld by the Supreme Court in South Africa after an appeal. However, Amalgamated Properties of Rhodesia Ltd derived some benefit from the sale of its claims in that it received one half of the proceeds from gold mined from the East Reef which occurs on the John Bull block (Figure 2).

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to his colleague T. J. Broderick for information on successive editions and amendments to the Mines and Minerals Act since 1938. Mr Fraser Edkins, editor of the *Heritage* journal, is thanked for researching the BSA Company's mining regulations. Figure 1 was copied from a Department of Mines document, Figure 2 from Du Toit (1998). Additional details, as well as wording of regulations, were taken from the Mines and Minerals Act, Chapters 195, 165 and 21:05.

³⁹ Macgregor, A. M. (1932), *ibid.*, p 87.

⁴⁰ Fey, P. (2018). Alexander Miers Macgregor OBE, MA, D Sc, FGS. The Geological Survey's third Director 1946–1948. *Heritage of Zimbabwe* 37, pp. 69–78

A Child's Gazaland Historical Find

by Ross Cooper



I grew up in the 1970's in Gazaland in eastern Rhodesia, near the Mozambique border, and as a child I would venture out into the veldt and run along the stream leading into Chipinga Municipal Dam which was mainly stocked with bream and minnows. In my youth I would walk two miles to school and, in the early morning, often accompanied by friends, I would observe many wild animals in the veldt including bushbuck, zebra, kudu, mongooses, beetles and many birds including fire-finch, sparrows, hawks, kites and Fiscal Shrike.

Most of the roads in the town were dirt and graded by Chipinga Municipality every year. I remember rubbing my bare feet along the freshly graded surfaces. The town was remarkable in its many industries, including an enormous cheese-making factory. The surrounding areas were principally concerned with agriculture, livestock, crops, tea, coffee, fruit, vegetables and wattle. I really enjoyed the natural panorama and abundance of the flora and fauna and the tremendously exhilarating fresh air, sunshine, brief thunderstorms and of course our pets.

My parents kept chickens and guinea pigs and grew an abundance of vegetables. It was in Chipinga that I learnt how to grow an avocado tree from a pip positioned on three sticks in a jar of water. There was a lot of respect in those days towards our elders and parents and those in authority including our teachers, doctors and nurses, policemen and women and soldiers.

As a boy I was always admiring the soldiers in their camouflage uniforms. When I was admitted in Chipinga Hospital to have my tonsils removed I was treated well by the nurses and Dr R. Carshalton, albeit strictly, and remember the anaesthetic gas that sent me to sleep in 7 seconds. Waking up with a very sore throat necessitated eating soups, maltebella porridge, and ice-cream. The army helicopters would often land in the hospital grounds bringing in wounded troops.

In 1978 I was made a boarder at Chipinga Junior School and was soon in a very regimented system of "wake up early, make one's bed, inspection, breakfast, assembly and lessons", commencing at 0730 hours. I missed the freedom of my parent's house and garden but unfortunately, they had separated at that time. However, when I was walking about the school fields during break time and on weekends, I still saw the creatures I liked including innumerable insects, beetles and birds. At school we had a small museum and any interesting finds, including bird's nests, twig insect cocoons, rocks, porcupine quills, historical artefacts and so on, were arbitrarily added to the collection. The teachers and headmaster encouraged us to do this, particularly on school outings, and thereby we learnt about the natural beauty of Rhodesia, including its history.

The war escalated and it became too dangerous for a busload of school children to



Fig. 1



Fig. 2i & ii

venture out too far to historical sites like ancient stone forts, Chirinda Forest and the Chimanimani mountains. Many children took comfort in their pet rock collections and any finds including historical were treasured, preserved and well kept. Certainly, a grader or municipal tractor would do untold damage to such interesting objects.

My father and mother both worked in Chipinga town as a veterinarian and nursery schoolteacher, respectively. “Present” our three-legged family dog accompanied us everywhere.

My memories of Chipinga, Rhodesia, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Zimbabwe inspired me later in life to write and publish many books (currently 42) including educational, poetic, autobiographical, historical, recollection, reflective, anecdotal, etc of life in our green emerald of Southern Africa. Specific books relating to Chipinga include *The Mouldings of Chipinge*, *A Three-legged Dog Called Present*, *Chipinga Junior School Days*, *Crocodile Creek Tree House* and *Sons of the Soil*. The only communication at the time in our Chipinga house was via a Bakelite telephone, the *Rhodesia Herald* and through the post.

My parents were very sociable and had many visitors and kindly



allowed other employees in the veterinary profession to stay when the need arose. My mother had one relative in the touring band Four Jacks & a Jill and I remember them staying in our house—they performed in Chipinga Junior School hall. Also, as my mother was a nursery schoolteacher, I would come home to lots of younger friends. The kitchen possessed an enormous wood-burning stove. There was no distraction of television in those days. My father's vegetable garden was frequented nocturnally by antelope and the occasional leopard, as identified by the distinct pugmarks between the maize furrows.

The grass and trees in the veldt had been cut very short as the Rhodesian war was intense. This shredding of vegetation extended about 1 km from the town in order to prevent surprise attacks and ambushes on properties. The bush and grass were cut using tractor-drawn mechanical cutters and graders operated by the municipality. My parents rented a house which bordered the veldt.

In 1977, whilst playing in this area approximately 500 meters from Moodie Street, I came across some historical artefacts including two traditional arrow heads attached to termite-eaten shafts (Fig. 1), a small carved walking stick 90cm in length (Fig. 2i & ii) and two decayed knobkerries. The one surviving arrowhead is 11.8cm long, although both its ends have weathered away. It was hand-beaten and appears to have flecks of paint on it. There was no sign of a bow. The walking stick was in fairly good condition although cracked and these were repaired with wood sealant to prevent further degeneration. The items were all partly buried in the soil near a bush and were wrapped in mostly dried and decayed goat skin. There were also elements of broken pottery probably of recent times and shards of glass from broken soft drinks bottles in the vicinity. There was no evidence of a burial or a grave but there were certain partly buried granite stones arranged in the form of a semi-circle which intrigued me. Could this have been an ancient place of ritual rites or a place of religious forbearance and intercession with the Shona *tateguru* (senior deceased relative) or *mudzimu* (grandfather) ancestors? It certainly did not appear to be Koi San Bushman related. Its significance was unexplained. It was a random and only such find by me in the veldt stretching along the river for 800 meters. It was fortunate that the find was made as the municipal tractors and mechanical cutters would have eventually completely destroyed it.

Are any of our readers able to suggest the meaning of this cache?

I have never forgotten it.

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WWW.ZIMFIELDGUIDE.COM

In your Editor's opinion, the above web-site is far and away the best available on the general history of our country since 1890.

Readers may note a dearth of articles in *Heritage* by the compiler (Mike Tucker), one of Zimbabwe's leading historians and a prolific writer on many aspects of our heritage.

This is because it is felt that most members have access to the internet and can read Mike's articles on that format (and we do not want unnecessary duplication in *Heritage* journal).

If there are a sizeable chunk of members who do NOT have access to the internet please contact your Editor accordingly (in which case, we will resume publication of Mike's articles in the *Heritage* journal).

In any event, Mike's web-site (which contains over four hundred well-researched articles/features) is highly recommended reading and members are encouraged to go to it.

Pesticide Registration in Zimbabwe 50 Years on

by Doug McClymont



In the world of Pesticide Distribution, Registration and Use Rhodesia was an innovator. It is with great pride that the country could boast one of the first recognised Pesticide Registration systems in the world, ahead of most countries including the FAO and WHO. This coincided with the boom in numbers of new pesticides worldwide from the late 1960's.

The need to control the import and use of farm products was realised quite early on. In 1952 the Southern Rhodesia Government passed the Fertiliser, Farm Feeds and Remedies Act (Chapter 111). This sought to give a measure of control of products available for farmers. The hazardous nature of the new pesticides was also recognised and the Rhodesia Government passed the Hazardous Substances and Articles Act (Chapter 322) of 1972 which was administered by the Ministry of Health, as this covered all products entering the country not just those of an agricultural nature. Agricultural Pesticides per se were then regulated by Rhodesia Government Notice No 10 "Pesticide Regulations" (1977) which was administered by the Department of Agriculture. The Government of Zimbabwe then issued three more series of regulations; (1981a) Hazardous Substances and Articles Regulations (Group II), (1981b) Hazardous Substances and Articles Regulations (Group III) and (1985) Hazardous Substances and Articles Regulations (Protective Clothing: Pesticides). The 1981 regulations had been formulated by the Rhodesian Authorities over several years and their implementation was only rubber stamped by the Zimbabwe Parliament in early 1981.

Within the Rhodesian Ministry of Agriculture the registration of pesticides was undertaken by the Pesticide Registration Officer of the Department of Research and Specialist Services in 5th Street. When the Ministry of Agriculture was renamed and expanded to the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Resettlement in 1980 the pesticide registration portfolio remained where it was despite severe opposition from the Ministry of Health, who wanted to take over the portfolio so all products such as drugs, pesticides and other remedies should be under their control. Under the Hazardous Substances and Articles Act (Chapter 322) of 1972 a Hazardous Substances Board, initially of 6 members, was created to administer the Act. This Board had the power to designate and define products as to their toxicity and danger to both man and the environment, while pesticide registration would include their definitions as to toxicity while regulating their actual use on farms and plantations. This system worked extremely well for a number of years under a responsible government. The members of the Board were appointed by the Minister on a personal basis and not according to their official position. If the government is responsible this works well, but should the standards of government drop then this becomes a nightmare. People without suitable qualifications are appointed on

the whim of the Minister and for purposes other than those expected by the Act. These persons can then act as they see fit and for themselves rather than for the good of the industry. Such is the case at present and the high esteem the Hazardous Substances Board was held in up and until 1990 has been severely eroded. Politics and greed have overtaken common sense and good government.

PESTICIDE TOXICITY

As mentioned, the Hazardous Substances Board defined the toxicity of products imported into the country. They had three broad categories.

Group I Chemicals

These chemicals were defined as being too toxic for use, possession, importation, manufacture or any other reason and were totally banned. Many organochlorines were classified as Group I chemicals, so products such as aldrin, dieldrin and heptachlor were banned forever. Possession of these products was thus a chargeable offence. An anomaly was DDT. It was initially banned as a Group I product but then the Ministry of Health itself allowed importation and spraying in certain areas for mosquito control. The blanket banning of all organochlorines was a political mistake. There are a number of very useful organochlorines which bear no relation to the aldrin/DDT group, are not insecticides, and which are used world-wide as fungicides and bactericides such as dichlorophen widely used in tobacco and horticulture. Other notable exceptions include lindane for public health and Endosulfan (Thiodan) used extensively in cotton which are not included in the overall ban.

Acute LD_{50} Classification

The international standard for determining the toxicity of chemicals is known as the LD_{50} for oral and dermal applications and the LC_{50} for inhalation products. LD stands for lowest dose and LC for lowest concentration as it applied to gases. For LD_{50} 's the dose must perform within 24 hours and for LC_{50} 's in 4 hours. Thus when applied to a population the dose that kills 50% of them within the time specified for the type of product is taken as the level of toxicity. The amount as specified for mammals (including humans) is measured in milligrams per kilogram of live body weight. Thus a product with an LD_{50} of 100 means that it will kill 50% of the target population at the rate of 100 mg/kg so you will need $80 \times 0.100 = 8$ grams of product for an 80 kg person – less than a teaspoon. Usually the tests are conducted on mice as the target population.

The Hazardous Substances Board decided on 4 categories of poison depending on the LD_{50} and this was to be reflected on the product label according to the colour of the warning triangle which had to occupy 20% of the label area.

Purple Triangle Pesticides

Purple triangle pesticides were those with an LD_{50} of 0 – 100mg/kg. Within the triangle there should be skull and cross bones and the words DANGER and beneath the triangle the words VERY DANGEROUS POISON. These are Hazardous Substances Board Category II products.

In general terms a Category II product has to be

PURPLE LABEL PESTICIDE



VERY DANGEROUS POISON
(LD_{50} = 0 - 100mg/kg)



stored in a secure storage area suitably marked and may only be in the possession of recognised persons or licenced organisations such as Research Stations, Pesticide or Public Health Companies/Pest Control Operators. They may only be sold to those with licence to do so such as Commercial Farm Licence holders or Pest Control Operators. They cannot be sold to the general public and all purchasers must sign the Poisons Register at the point of sale. They must be locked away and not be on display or on view. It has been pointed out that the products are generally tested on mice to determine the LD₅₀ but there is one product that has a human LD₅₀. Parathion produced in the 1940's by Degesh in Germany and used in Hitler's "Final Solution" and was reported as having a human LD₅₀ of 2- 8 mg/kg – hydrogen cyanide (Zyklon B) was the preferred product but parathion was one of the products tested.

Under the Hazardous Substances and Articles Regulations (Protective Clothing: Pesticides) there are specific instructions as to what to wear when applying these products such as respirators, face masks, gloves, boots, overalls etc. The labels are very specific as to what kit must be used.

Red Triangle Pesticides

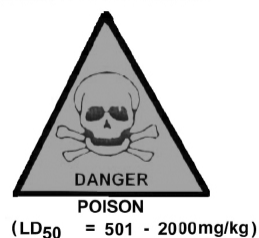
This group is also included in the Hazardous Substances Group II category.

The LD₅₀ varies from 101 – 500 mg/kg. These products can be bought by the general public but sellers must have them locked away securely and not on shelf display. Sellers are usually restricted to specialist commercial outlets such as hardware or garden supply stores. Supermarkets and stores selling food are specifically denied access. All labels have the instructions as to what protective clothing must be worn.

RED LABEL PESTICIDE



AMBER LABEL PESTICIDE

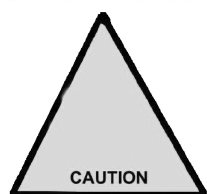


Amber Label Pesticides

Amber and green label pesticides are considered to be Group III pesticides by the Hazardous Substances Board. They may be sold in supermarkets. Protective clothing is minimal but gloves and masks are essential.

The LD₅₀ varies from 501 – 2000 mg/kg and Hazardous Substances and Articles Regulations (Protective Clothing: Pesticides) requirements are on every label. These products can be on shelf display.

GREEN LABEL PESTICIDE



(LD₅₀ = ≥001+ mg/kg)

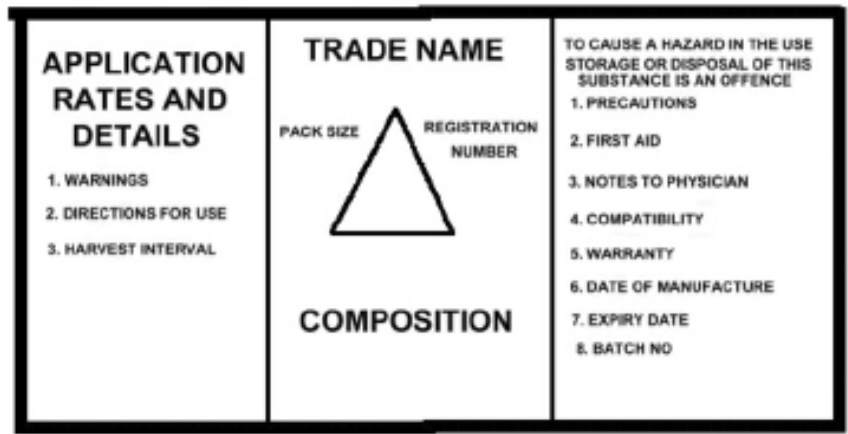
Green Label Pesticides

Green label pesticides are the least toxic with LD 50's being 2000 mg/kg and above. Common sense should always prevail when using them and they can be shelf displayed for sale in supermarkets.

Product Labelling

The duty of the Pesticide Registration Officer includes examination of all labels for pesticides that are submitted

for registration. As a general rule all labels have the form of three distinct panels. This may be varied with the size and shape of the packaging. In any event the information on the label is pretty specific and has to be approved for registration. The triangles as shown above always take precedence over the other information. The general layout is as follows:



Panel 1 Application Rates and Details

The first panel contains the rates and details for application of the pesticide as well as the harvest intervals where appropriate. Generally herbicides do not have a harvest interval. The general layout is usually a table with CROP: PEST: APPLICATION RATE: APPLICATION DETAILS as shown here.

CROP	PEST	APPLICATION RATE	APPLICATION INSTRUCTIONS

Panel 2 Trade Name/Triangle/Composition

Normally the centre panel contains the important triangle but other important details include the Trade Name and normally the formulation percentage and type; e.g. Dursban 48EC where this is a 48% emulsifiable concentrate. There are a number of abbreviations internationally accepted for the type of formulation from soluble liquids (SL) to granules (GR).

Below the triangle is the actual composition of the product where the active ingredient percentage and other constituents are stated. This is very important and should always be consulted when purchasing a pesticide. The trade name means nothing and can be misleading – in Southern Africa alone there are over 8 pesticides known as “Bullet”, ranging from herbicides through insecticides to fungicides. Purchase the wrong one and it is your own fault. For instance on the Dursban 48EC label you will see:

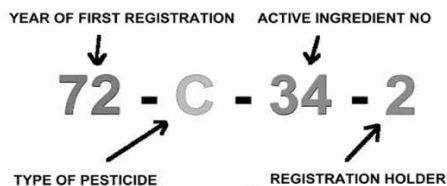
Active Ingredient
chlorpyrifos 48%
inert ingredients 52%

Often if there is a particular poisonous attribute to the product it is stated here. In the case of Dursban 48EC the warning is given above the active ingredient statement of content:



HARMFUL VAPOUR HARMFUL BY SKIN ABSORPTION

The pack size is normally stated adjacent to the triangle as well as the registration number. Registration numbers are unique to both the product and the distributor or holder of the registration.



This diagram is self-explanatory. Schedules are maintained by the Registration Officer for easy access. For instance “C” is a herbicide, but it would be “B” for a fungicide and “D” for a herbicide. The registration holder number gives an indication of how

many other people hold the registration for this active ingredient. Generally proprietary products, not yet out of patent, may only show 1 or 2 but generic products such as the maize herbicide atrazine can be 30 or more.

Panel 3 General Warnings

As shown previously the last panel shows important safety information for the product. These usually take the form of:

1. Precautions for use
2. First Aid
3. Notes to physician
This usually has a statement of the antidote in cases of poisoning.
4. Warranty – this is usually insisted on by the supplier
5. Date of Manufacture
6. Expiry Date:
Very important that pesticides are used when they are in good shape and have not deteriorated in storage.
7. Batch Number:
This is important if there is a problem especially with poor efficacy – identifying when and where the product was manufactured is often a pre-requirement for insurance purposes.

Where the application instructions and warnings cannot be included on a label because of the small pack size e.g. a 200 ml bottle, then a printed leaflet is attached to the pack. This is done in a number of ways but the object is the same – the relevant information is available for every pack bought.

Although Rhodesia was the first to standardise pesticide registration and label format the WHO and FAO have since 1975 tried to emulate this. Modern pesticide labels are extremely complicated and the colours used for danger warnings not immediately obvious. They all include pictograms which are meant to help unsophisticated peasant users to understand the information even though they may not be able to read. However tests conducted under the Ciba-Geigy Kohwa Pakhuru exercise of the early 1980's showed that these pictograms were meaningless at best and confusing at worst for the peasant farmer. The standard label in this country contains a great deal of useful

information but generally there is not too much information as to confuse the end user. They say that a camel is a race horse designed by a committee and this is the case with present labels recommended by the WHO and FAO. Too much information covering every single possible outcome is included on every label and rather than offer help this tends to confuse.

Pesticide Resistance and Registration

It is a well-known phenomenon that pesticide resistance can occur among all target types, from grasses to white flies. As a general rule resistance occurs in species that have a very fast life cycle such as aphids, mites and white flies. In some cases on other species it is a result of continued use of over dosed products. Rhodesia has the distinction of having one of the first cases of fungicide resistance in the world. The product was metalaxyl (Ridomil) which is a potato fungicide for blight, the same blight that nearly destroyed Ireland 150 years ago. Ridomil was a Ciba-Geigy product and was very active against the blight but over use caused this resistance found at Mt. Hampden. The farmer had been spraying the product every week for 4 years. Labelled use was twice per season!

There are two important aspects as regards pesticide resistance that must be understood. In any target population there are individuals that are not affected by the pesticide. Continuous spraying leaves these as the only individuals left and with a pest with a very short life cycle it is not long before resistant individuals proliferate rapidly to become the only population. The second important issue relates to the action of the pesticide on the pest. Pesticides that attack one single site in the metabolic pathway of a pest are called 'single site inhibitors.' The pesticide works by closing down the metabolic pathway at a crucial spot that then eliminates life. Usually these products work very quickly. However there may be some individuals in a population that have a defence mechanism where the metabolic pathway attacked by the pesticide is side tracked by ancillary pathways. Like those pest with quick life cycles, these individuals then breed and proliferate and even though the pesticide blocks a particular pathway, the pest shrugs this off as it has alternate pathways and then there is a problem. It should also be noted that all these powerhouse products are systemic – they enter the plant and are transported around by the vascular system of the plant. Generally "contact" products that are not absorbed by the plant and have to actually hit the target before working are infinitely less prone to resistance.

To overcome these problems there are a number of strategies. The major one used world-wide at the moment is the use of combination formulations, or "combi" products. Here the major active ingredient has another product mixed with it that uses a different mode of action. The theory is that pesticide "A" will kill 99% of the pest population and pesticide "B" will take out the 1% problem. These combis have worked well. In the case of fungicides with a single site inhibitor the product is usually mixed with a "multi-site" inhibitor, so the resistant individuals or those who can use alternate metabolic pathways are eliminated by product "B". As an example to get over the single site inhibition of metalaxyl it is only sold in combination with mancozeb (MZ), a multi-site inhibitor. Thus instead of Ridomil you will get Ridomil MZ only. Most companies use mancozeb (Dithane M45) as their mixer except Bayer, who use their in-house product antracol.

Rhodesia had a different strategy especially relating to red spider mite, a serious pest in cotton. Mr. John Brettell, head of the entomology department of the Gatooma Research Station, devised a situation where the country was divided into areas. Each

area would then only spray with a specific systemic product for 2 years before changing. Thus over-spraying was prevented and if anything happened there was a contact product available as a safety valve, not quite as effective and more expensive. The country was divided up on a district level by Intensive Conservation Area (ICA) or by tribal area. He took his suggestion to the chemical trade and it was agreed by all that this was an excellent idea. The trade itself then undertook only to sell the designated products in their depots in these areas, so a cotton farmer could only buy the recommended product in his farming area. This required countrywide discipline and it worked extremely well until the present regime abandoned it from 1990 onwards.

The map shows the main cotton areas and Tables IX3 and IX4 show the recommendations from the Cotton Research Institute.

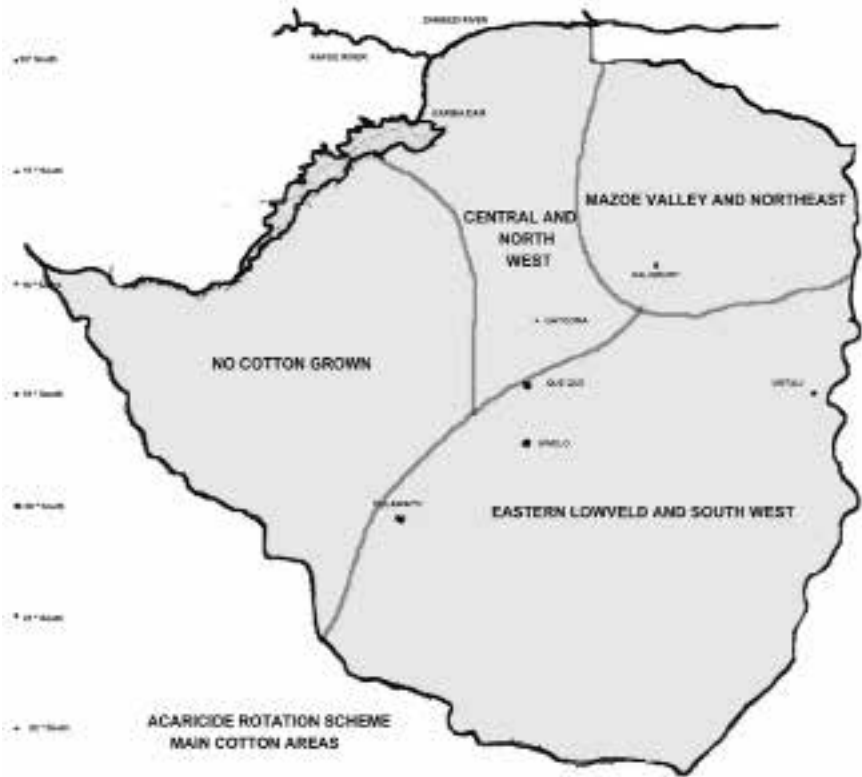


Table IX/3 Recommended acaricide rotation

AREAS	SEASONS	
	1985/86 1986/87	1987/88 1988/89
Western, Lowveld and Eastern Areas	Hostathion, Curacron @Azodrin/@Nuvacron	Mitac
Mazowe Valley and North Eastern Areas	Mitac	Tedion
Central and North Western Areas	Tedion	Hostathion, Curacron @Azodrin/@Nuvacron

@Not to be applied with ground ULV sprayers

Table IX/4 Details of acaricide rotation groups for large scale and small scale commercial farming areas

Group	Commercial farming areas	Small Scale commercial areas
Mazowe Valley and North east	Arcturus, Barwick, Bindura, Bromley, Centenary (Muzarabani) East, Centenary (Muzarabani) West, Glendale, Gwebi-Hunyani, Harare West, Horseshoe, Maradzi-Tatagura, Mount Darwin, Ruwa, Shamva	Chesa, Gota, Karuyana Nyakapupa, Shangure
Central and North west	Angwa North, Angwa South, Ayrshire South, Banket-Eldorado, Battlefields, Beatrice, Bembezaan, Chatsworth, Chivha, Darwendale, Doma, Featherstone, Gadzema, Gutu, Gweru, Harare South, Karoi Central, Karoi South, Mvuma, Norton, Selous, Selukwe (Shurugwi), Sessombi, Sokis, Suri-Suri, Tengwe, Tokwe, Trelawney, Umfuli (Mupfure), Umsweswe, Umniati (Munyati)-Sobakwe, Vuti	Chemagora, Chenjiri, Chimbghanda, Chitombogwizi, Copper Queen, Gamwa, Gokomera, Jobolinko, Lancashire, Marirangwe, Maronda Mashuna, Musengezi, Muda, Nyaswidzi, Silobela, Tokwe, Vunga, Vuti, Wiltshire, Zowa
Eastern lowveld and South west	Beitbridge, Belingwe-Shabani, Cashel, Chimanimani, Chinyika, Chipinge, Chiredzi, Filabusi, Gwaai, Gwanda, Headlands, Limpopo, Macheke, Marondera North, Marondera West, Marula, Mayo, Middle Sabi (Save), Mutare North, Mutare South, Mutoko, Mwenesi, Nyanga, Odzi, Rusape, Sabi (Save) Valley, Tsungwesi, Umshandige Upper Ngezi, Victoria (Masvingo) Central, Victoria (Masvingo) East, Virginia, Vungu, Wedza North, Wedza South, Wenimbi	Budjga, Bungowa, Chinyaduma, Chinyauhera, Chitowa, Dewure, Dope, Dowa, Fingo, Godhwayo, Gonakudzingwa, Gwaai, Gwatemba, Inkosikazi, Jenya, Mazari, Mount Sibali, Mungezi, Mshabashe, Mshawasha, Mukuni, Nyahunda, Nyamsundu-Biriviri, Rowa, Save, St. Faith's, Samenani, Tamandayi, Tanda, Tsonzo, Tuli, Wedza, Zinyama, Zinyaningwe, Ziyambe

In the list above all the large scale and small scale commercial farming areas which fall within each acaricide rotation area, are given. This is regardless of whether cotton is at present grown in these areas or not.

When discussing the rotation scheme with Principal Companies and Research Stations overseas they were always amazed that this system operated so well. Because of various discipline problems non-one was able to mirror this scheme and the companies had to resort to the combi product approach which operates today. Needless to say this excellent system was completely abandoned after the land invasions of 2002.

There was also a restriction on the spraying of synthetic pyrethroids. Farmers were asked not to spray synthetic pyrethroids on crops before Christmas or the New Year. Bulk volume soil applications were recommended before then especially for cutworm attack on most crops. Again this was a measure designed to prolong the life of the product group and the majority of farmers adhered to it.



Pesticide Registration Procedures

There was a tried and tested registration procedure which did not include the “fast track” registrations and the abuses possible under the system available today.

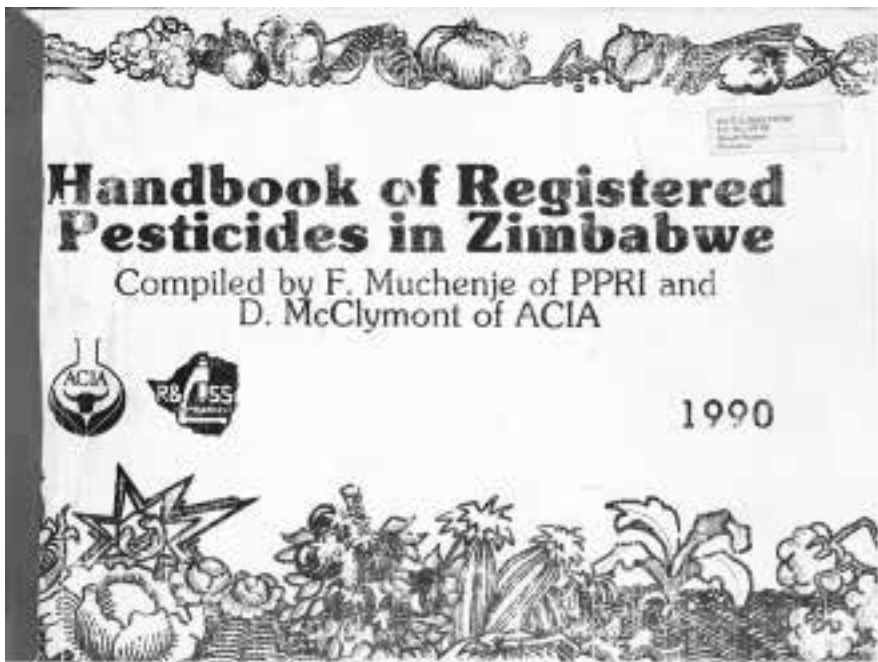
Once the Hazardous Substances Board had allowed a pesticide into the country the importing company had two options. The first and obvious was to make the product available to the relevant Research Station for testing. Cotton products went to the Cotton Research Station in Gatooma and tobacco products went to the Tobacco Research Board as an example. Where there was no research station handling a particular crop, and this often happened with new horticultural products, the company technical team conducted the trials under the super vision of an officer appointed by the Pesticide Registration Officer. A minimum of three years field trials was compulsory before data could be submitted and the data had to show that the product had a similar or better efficacy than the standard chemical used. Once efficacy had been determined the company could then apply for registration. Registration consisted of these issues:

1. Submission of a full toxicity package to the Registration Officer who passed it on to the Hazardous Substances Board. The toxicity package had to have been generated by a reputable overseas laboratory. The Hazardous Substances Board would then consider the package and issue Triangle requirements and any safety issues they thought fit that had to be included on the label.
2. The efficacy data was then submitted by the Registration Officer to the relevant Government experts for their approval.
3. A label was then generated and approval had to be obtained for, first the wording and layout, and then the colour printing. Once a label had been approved a full colour label plus copies were submitted to the Registration Officer.
4. Approval could then be given once the Registration Number was added and the registration fee paid.
5. Registration was only for three years when it had to be renewed and a further registration fee paid. At this time the label was reviewed and any updating or changes had to be made coincident on any advanced research.
6. Where a product was generic in nature, field use data could be abstracted from the files of the relevant research station and used in the application. This saved time and money re-inventing the wheel by carrying out experiments that had been done several times before.
7. Trade names were closely monitored so that confusion did not arise as in South Africa where there were a number of products ranging from herbicides to fungicides called “Bullet”.

This whole process was not a quick one – even when time wasting was eliminated, from the introduction of a new product to being able to market it seldom took less than 5 years. The Pesticide Registration Officer Mrs. Faith Mwashita Muchenje upto approximately 1992 was excellent. She had been trained by Mr. George Herd and was head and shoulders above any of her contemporaries. In running the pesticide registration office she was meticulous, extremely knowledgeable, dedicated, very approachable and entirely trustworthy. When you submitted a registration application you knew she would do her utmost to process it efficiently. She was particularly good at recommending and organising product labels and was excellent at riding the problematic line between

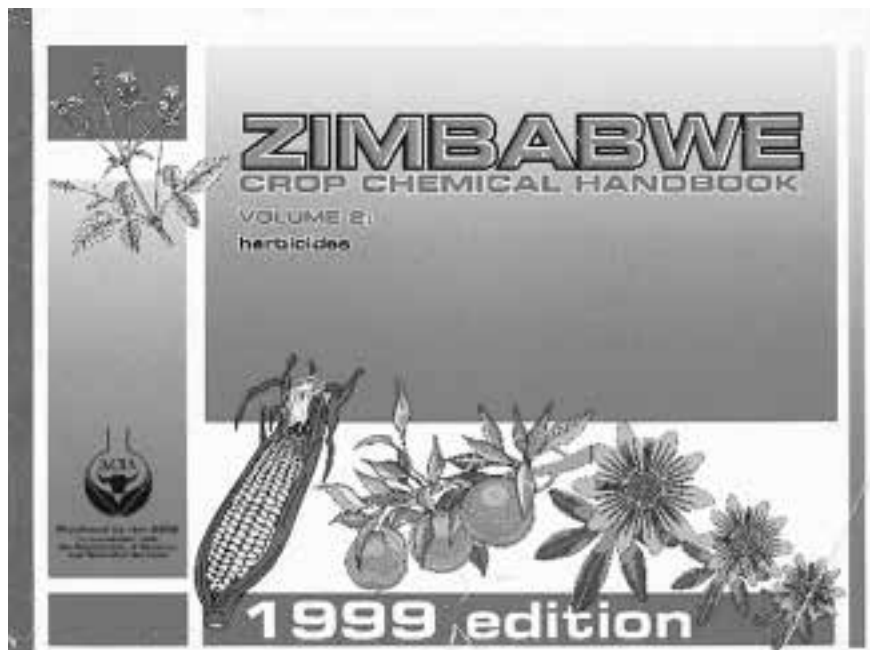
company requirement and farmer understanding. She also had a delightful sense of humour.

In line with our neighbours to the south who produced an annual Handbook of Registered Pesticides, the Department of Research and Specialist Services printed a limited edition for use by professionals. The South African equivalent ran to several volumes; Insecticides, Herbicides, Growth Regulants, Fungicides and Pest Control editions. Being on the Technical Committee of the Agricultural Chemicals Industry Association (ACIA) I approached her in order to get an update, as the previous publication had become seriously out of date. We started gathering information in 1986 just as the Agricultural Pesticide Rationalisation Exercise began. We both agreed that the massive amount of information available should not be buried and irrespective of the outcome the rationalisation exercise we would continue. It was not fair that over 10 years of dedicated service to the pesticide industry should be just blown away by a political whim. The ACIA agreed that they would sponsor the publication and we proceeded. The volume eventually was published under our joint authorship in 1990.

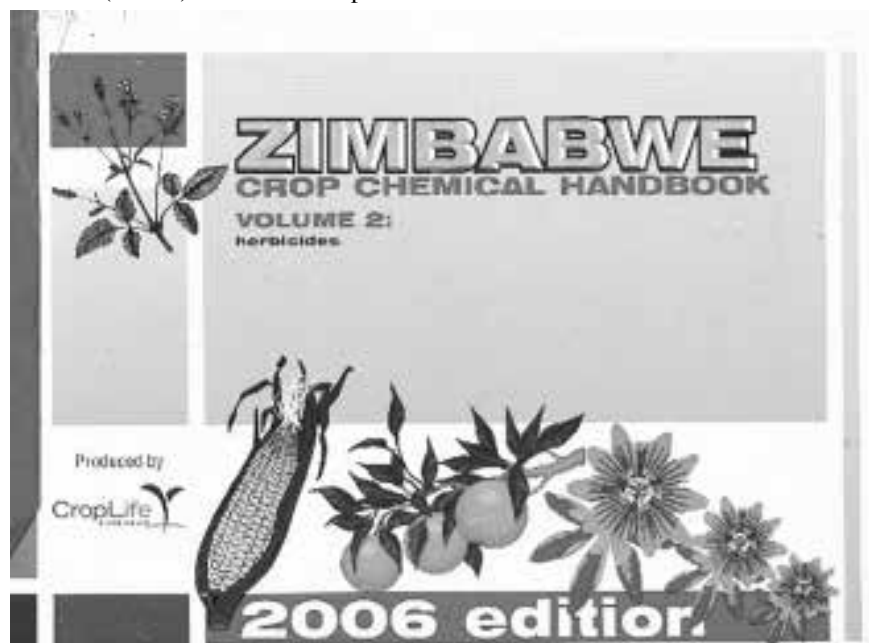


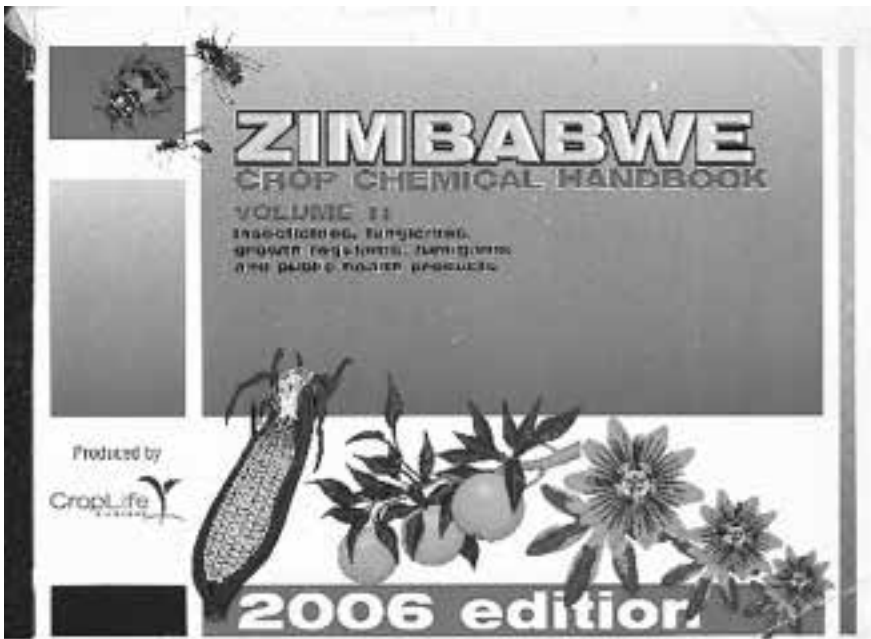
We charged \$20 a copy and it was sold out in 3 months. It was another 6 years before an update became available, Peter Wells from the Shell Co (PVT) Ltd lead the technical committee from ACIA in producing one. Here there were 2 volumes produced, one dedicated to herbicides and the other to the remainder of the registered pesticides. Coincident with this was the production of a CD containing all this information. The registration authorities were less than enthusiastic and help was grudgingly given. In 1999 Miss Brenda Fitzgerald (ZFC) and Mr. Stan Sheppard (Windmill) updated the Handbook once again with the help of many people in the industry.

Further editions came out in 2000 and again in 2002 – the year of the Mugabe Land Invasions. In the meantime the ACIA had changed its name to CropLife Zimbabwe and



produced a 2006 edition with the help of Syngenta Zimbabwe who funded most of the costs. The technical committee under Mr. Stan Sheppard (Windmill) were responsible for the content but at this stage the Department of Agricultural Research and Extension Services (AREX) had minimal input.





Since then nothing has been forthcoming which is understandable in light of the collapse of Zimbabwe agriculture.

The Pesticide Rationalisation Scheme

In early 1986 the ACIA were told that there would be a Pesticide Registration Meeting at the Plant Protection Research Institute 5th Street Harare. The ACIA duly sent its technical team of Messrs C. Dolloway (Bayer), D. McConaghy (ZFC) and Dr. D. McClymont (Agricura). At the meeting there was the Registration Officer, Mrs. Muchenje, and a collection of unknown junior staff from the research station. No other Research Organisations were represented. The head of the Plant Protection Research Institute Dr. Shadreck Mlambo then addressed the meeting. He said that the Zimbabwe Cabinet had decided that the pesticide situation in Zimbabwe was a racist, imperialist, colonialist throw back and had to be rectified immediately. From then on there would only be one registered pesticide for each problem in each crop; i.e. for maize only one herbicide, one insecticide and one fungicide and fumigants were to be banned completely. On saying this the largest gasp came from the Pesticide Registration Officer herself. As an ex gratia concession, the ACIA had been invited and, so companies were not severely financially disadvantaged, they could decide amongst themselves which these products would be. All other products would then deregistered and be banned for use, storage or ownership in the country.

At that stage despite protestations from the ACIA Committee, Dr. Mlambo refused to make any further statement and removed himself from the room. Only the Pesticide Registration Officer and the ACIA Committee raised any objection and it was painfully obvious that the staff assembled there had no idea what was going on. The Pesticide Registration Officer had not been informed previously of this decision. The ACIA then spent the next 3 years at innumerable meetings with many people all over the country. Dr. Mlambo refused to be interviewed on a personal basis and would only appear at



hastily convened meetings when more senior interested parties from the various Research Organisations from around the country would protest to him in public. After the first meeting the Committee decided to take the issue to all the Research Organisations in the country. They were flabbergasted and knew nothing in advance. The ACIA asked that they protest on their behalf as much of the registration data had been generated by the Research Stations themselves and this would effectively mean they had worked for nothing. Dr. Barry Blair and Mr. John Shepherd from the Tobacco Research Board, Mr. Ken Cackett from the Chiredzi Research Station. Dr. Mike Clowes from the Coffee and Sugar Research Stations, Mr. John Brettell from Kadoma Research Station and the full Weed Research team from Henderson Research Station all registered such a fierce opposition that eventually Dr. Mlambo backed down from his preposterous position. With a few minor face saving regulations the situation returned to normal and in 1990 suddenly the whole issue disappeared completely and suddenly as though it had never happened. Common sense returned and country got on with some real farming. This was viewed by many as a complete waste of time, money and effort. However several lessons were learnt:

1. There was an abysmal lack of the most basic knowledge of crop production of even the simplest crop. Dr. Mlambo did not know that there were three different groups of weeds in maize each of which required a separate group of herbicides for control. This shows how idiotic the concept of one herbicide for one crop represents.
2. When other pest problems were considered there was no knowledge of the issues involved as regards, spraying, time of application, group, harvest interval, cost/ha and so on.
3. There was also absolutely no knowledge of how pesticides were formulated, packed and distributed through the country even though there were strict regulations as to how these should be done. The majority of staff had no idea of the differences between pesticide groups, formulations or patents.
4. There was absolutely no idea of the cost of production of any crop and what effect the use and purchase of any pesticide meant and its value to production. Farm budgets and terms such as Gross Margin per hectare were completely unknown.
5. As to labour costs and the use of makes, models and types of application methods for various pesticide groups there was absolutely no competent knowledge. The mention of such matters in meetings were greeted by open mouthed disbelief. The understanding was so low that every meeting brought complete frustration but more importantly, and this was to be shown after the land invasions of 2002, an extra level of frustration was provoked by the attitude that even though they did not know or understand, they were not interested and did not care to improve on their lack of knowledge.

In the early 1990's under extreme political and institutional pressure, Mrs. Muchenje took early retirement and a political appointee, Mrs. D. Ndebele was appointed in her place. This proved to be extremely trying as she was completely at sea in the job. Her chemical and pesticide knowledge did not match that of Mrs. Muchenje and any discussion was severely hampered by both a scientific English language lack and a basic

lack of chemical knowledge. It is extremely difficult to discuss metabolic pathways in fungi when the person in the discussion is unsure as to what an 'isotope' was and how important this was in a metabolic pathway.??? Registration application became a nightmare and, as with all persons who resent their lack of knowledge and to save face never make a decision, any problems were left to moulder with all correspondence being left untouched in a steadily climbing "In" Tray. Registration delays became unacceptable and often the only way progress was made was for the person wanting a product registered to bring the principal research officer who was to approve the registration with them and discuss it in the Registrar's Office. Here the research officer could discuss and sort out the problem in the vernacular. It was only after 2015 that several back ground issues unknown at the time were finally aired. The Secretary of the Hazardous Substances Board at the time of all the rationalisation was a Mr. E. Bwititi. Towards 2000 he resigned from the Board and started his own pesticide company with a 'factory' in Ruwa. New pesticide distribution companies are not easy to set up as can be gathered from the Pesticide Regulations listed already and there is always significant delay in getting 'in house' registrations. However Mr. Bwititi became a significant player in the market when he announced that he had over 20 registrations of a number of generic products. It was then learned that "fast track" registrations could now be organised if the Pesticide Registration Officer approved. This was unknown to either the ACIA or later Croplife Zimbabwe and certainly not a feature of previous performances. It was also quite a coincidence that at the time he entered the market the Pesticide Rationalisation exercise disappeared completely.

Since the land invasions of 2002 the pesticide registration has become a shadow of the former high standard. 'Fast track' registrations using the Ben Franklin registration route are available and there seems to be no effort being made to update the Registration Handbook. Getting Research Stations to test and provide registration data has become extremely difficult as station budgets allow very little activity, mostly being used for staff salaries leaving nothing else. The pesticide business has become very difficult with the loss of the buying power of the European commercial farmers and most business is on a tender basis from NGO's and others. In-house formulation of product is at a very low level and mostly centres on small packs with limited income potential. Most companies now cannot afford the large and highly trained technical teams of the past, so the level of pesticide knowledge has also been severely disadvantaged – this means a severe lack of knowledge in the field. At one stage Zimbabwe provided 5% of world flower production at the Dutch Auction sales but now is not even mentioned since 2002. Unfortunately this is a very practical and accurate mirror of the pesticide industry and the registrations thereof.

A History of Garden Clubs in Zimbabwe

by Morag Flight



I was not really keen on gardening as a child, even though my mother was a founder member of Karoi Garden Club. She had many happy hours getting lost on the way to meetings and my father was known to remark “if they would only walk to the meetings they would not need all the expensive diets they keep putting themselves on.”

On 25 March 1961 an Association was formed to be called the National Association of Garden Club (NAGC) in conjunction with the first Congress. The Objects were:

1. To encourage and maintain a system of co-operation between members in the art and science of horticulture and allied interests.
2. To encourage the formation of panels of qualified judges whose standing could be acknowledged worldwide.
3. To make awards and donations to persons and/or groups who in the opinion of the Association served to further the objects of the Association.

This is adhered to and recipients are nominated and then chosen by a panel before being awarded their badges at the annual Congress.

The panels were duly formed and consist of one for Floral Art and one for Horticulture. NAGC is a member of both the Royal Horticultural Society of Britain and of the World



Mrs Janet Smith, wife of the Prime Minister visited the National Floral Art Competition in Salisbury Showgrounds March 1970. Mrs Smith is a keen gardener and a member of the Avondale floral group. Photo by Alan Allen, Ministry of Information

Association of Flower Arrangers in order to keep updated with changing ideas and reclassification of plants. At one point they were also affiliated to the Association of State Gardens of America. The members have to pass exams and attend workshops before they can become accredited judges so it is not an easy attainment. The qualified judges are up to world standard and have been invited to judge internationally both on the floral art and horticultural side.

It was a serious job setting all this up. It took four years to get the Constitution right and it was only adopted in 1967. Reading the minutes it is hysterical how many arguments there were over punctuation and the panels being scared of losing their identity etc. In its heyday there were 55 Clubs as members and in the 1980s there were 26 horticultural judges and 18 learner judges.

There were Floral Art competitions held before this with the first being in 1959 and it was meant to include all members of the Federation, being N. Rhodesia, S. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Unfortunately this never materialised. There were very few years during which the competition had to be cancelled but 1974 was one of those years, mainly due to petrol restrictions.

A huge exhibition of flowers was planned in 1963 and was hailed in the *Herald*. Even then we were exporting proteas and aloes to the International Floral Exhibition at Trieste. Unfortunately I can find no record of it actually taking place. 1963 was a busy year as the Rhodesia ladies did extremely well at a National Association of Flower Arrangers (NAFAS) show in London. Amazingly enough the exhibits were flown to London and the following clubs were successful:-

1st Prize	Elizabeth Kay	Marandellas Garden Club
2nd Prize	W. Kenyon	Hatfield Garden Club
3rd Prize	Kitty Kimber	Bulawayo Floral Group

So the whole country was represented and did extremely well. Independence hit hard and from 41 teams taking part in the annual floral art competition in 1979 there were only 18 teams in 1982.

Our members enter world flower shows when they can and the most recent achievements are:

2020 Sarda Ramabhai	Gold	WAFA India
	Best Use of Foliage	
Neels Scott	Gold	
Anusu Munengwa	Gold	
Morag Flight	Board Member of Wafa and Steward	
Felicity Ambrose	Judge	

Our floral artists have created honorary exhibits around the world and the most recent was in Jaipur at the 2020 World Flower Show, put together by Neels Scott and depicting the Nyami Nyami. Therein lies a tale as I was asked to transport the palm spath. It was taller than me and quite fragile so you can imagine the fun I had, with two changes of plane, to get it to Jaipur. The honorary exhibit in Boston at the World Flower Show in 2011 put together by Neels Scot and Lorrette and Kayla Smith, now stands in the Museum of Fine Art in Boston. Before that in 2006 an honorary exhibit was staged in



Dromantine, Ireland where Morag Flight, Lynda Grace and Margaret Shattock depicted a wild scene using Margaret's drawings lasered onto wood. That again was fun as there was a world-renowned Judge there from Japan "Madam Minoko" who had hot and cold minions following her dressed in black and bowing to her every request.

I was sweeping up after putting together our exhibit as we were in the bay next to hers and she barely gave me a glance. Next morning I came in after a walk to find her in the hall. I greeted her and with that she handed me a load of laundry and said, "you wash." Not wanting to cause an international incident I took the washing and handed it to the housekeeping team. Imagine the surprise of Madam Minoko when this laundry maid was seated next to her at the Gala Dinner. We were staying in a converted monastery and no alcohol was allowed except at functions. I like my evening glass (or bottle) of wine and Linda Grace, who was staying in a hotel in town, had to smuggle my booze in every day and smuggle the empties out. From someone who did not drink I really appreciated it.

Our members would decorate many churches in Harare on a regular basis especially for the major religious festivals. Many government ministers' wives were involved. Many of you will remember Dennis Norman who was in the first Zimbabwe government as Minister of Agriculture and his wife June was a leading light in the floral world with a magnificent garden and was always willing to assist the Association.

The Association was proud to be the instigator of the idea of Expo which was originally held in Ruwa. It then featured both a small garden and a floral art demonstration as well as commercial stands. It then amalgamated with Exhibition Park, and they were pleased to be part of the Your Garden Your Home Expo which unfortunately has not been held for a few years. I was on the Expo and Agricultural Show Committee for many years and it was great fun. We were also asked to judge the annual Harare Agricultural Show for Best Garden and Floral Art and to this end I designed a simple points system sheet which is used to this day.

Once a year NAGC hold their annual Floral Art Competition and this prestigious event is a highlight of the year.

There are now currently seventeen garden and floral clubs in Zimbabwe which belong to the NAGC and there are still some regular shows held, mainly in Nyanga and Kwe Kwe.

One of the members – City Garden Club, (now Harare) was formed on 28 December 1928. It held regular garden competitions and had amongst its members the person responsible for many of Harare's tree plantings, Ronnie James. He was an amazing gentleman with a passion for gardening. He followed Ernest Montagu who was Secretary for Roads and Public Works in the 1920. Ernest Montagu was the original Chairman of the Tree Planting Committee in Salisbury and was knighted for his services to the country. He was still on the Tree Planting Committee in 1945. He is largely responsible for our beautiful tree-lined streets, a task which Ronnie James followed diligently. When Ronnie James joined the Municipality, he crossed swords with Sir Ernest. Sir Ernest had the staff washing all the white ants off trees and Ronnie stopped them. It was a never-ending job as you can imagine and Ronnie believed that the ants only attacked the old bark replacing it with mud and that covering protects the young bark underneath until the rains come and wash off the ant dirt. I am not sure if this theory, has been proved



Minister of Local Government and Housing Mr M. Partridge with the winner of the Best Garden in Highfield competition Mr E. Mbofana.

Photo by Mike Grant-Parke, Ministry of Information

to be correct or not. As an aside Montague Avenue was named after Sir Ernest for all his work and (now called Josiah Chinamano) so there is no longer a memorial to a man who worked to hard to beautify our streets and avenues. Ronnie helped plan the Botanical Gardens and was responsible for the Herbarium. He was also a keen potter and when he retired to the UK even managing to set his kiln on fire in one enthusiastic episode. His son with whom he lived “was not amused”.

We always have many “characters” in our midst but mostly we all get along mostly though tempers can flare. In the original days learner judges had to follow respectfully behind their mentor at shows and, as we say now, “follow quietly in their perfumed wake”. Whilst judging we always had to wear a hat and gloves and Patricia West was famous for always being immaculately turned out. She was known as “Pat the Hat” for her marvellous selection. Another doyenne of both the floral art and horticulture world was Mary Rich who, even after moving to Malawi in her eighties, was still teaching and potting. I am the proud possessor of a number of her vases which are beautiful and quirky. She was a great advocate of using what you had from your garden and was also an Ikebana master.

Bobs Bailey was another expert gardener and her collection and care of ferns is legendary. When I was training for my horticultural judge’s exam her information on ferns was most useful.

As part of the talented team of people teaching us we have Meg Coates - Palgrave whose Key to the Indigenous Trees is an invaluable guide. When she came out to the



farm to conduct an identification course she stated that one had to learn to identify trees at 80km an hour on the road. I am still practising. Dorfie Walker was another wonderful judge and she told a delightful tale of how one night, being stopped by the police, she had the following replies:

Where are you going? Pink Elephants Farm

What is your name? Mrs. Johnnie Walker – you know, like the whiskey

The poor policeman, not sure if she was serious or drunk, let her carry on.

Our most recent doyennes are the late Mary Willcock and Patsy Keevil who again were fountains of knowledge and part of the reason I became a Horticultural Judge. Patsy Keevil and her beloved husband Bruce ran Dodhill Nursery for many years and trained many budding landscapers. Patsy has a lovely phrase to explain the pruning of this city. You know what I mean, the poor bougainvillea has just finished flowering and it gets cut into a round shape by the enthusiastic landscape architect. She always used to call it “chop chop lollipop” and I cannot but call all these poor chopped bushes by that name. Patsy and Bruce set up Dodhill in Chegutu in the 1960’s on their farm and moved to its current site in 1993 and it is the biggest nursery in Zimbabwe, popular with gardeners and landscapers alike.

Mary Willcock was another font of knowledge and never too busy to share. She was a great grower of *hippeastrum* (commonly known as amaryllis) and, every time mine bloom, I think of her. That is why today I have placed a bunch at the back and would like everyone to go home with one to enjoy in your garden. Mary was always the first to volunteer to man doors or sit at an enquiry desk. She and her husband Ashton would bring back exotic plants or vegetables as sponge bag immigrants from wherever they had been and then we were all treated to bits and grew them on.

Gil Laver is another wonderful gardener, and well-known from Picabello Roses. He is an avid gardener and always willing to share his knowledge. Anyone who has bought his roses knows they are of the highest quality and he is always propagating marvellous stock. All of those listed are holders of our prestigious NAGC Award. I am very honoured to have been given this award in 2006.

We have had many happy days travelling round the country to shows and the comradeship made for some very good friends. Once whilst travelling to Kwe Kwe the welcoming committee had to be told to give us a few minutes as Patsy, Mary and I were in total hysterics laughing and not showing the correct decorum as judges at all. It all had to do with my driving as Patsy was not allowed to drive their car, but I was and Patsy was relegated to the back in charge of the coffee. After that Bruce was always referred to by Patsy as my boyfriend.

When judging horticulture you are meant to ignore all but the plant but presentation does play its part and in one hall during a show we entered to be met by a gorgeous plant in a glaringly bright blur bucket. Not only that but the bucket was broken. The dear old man, who we tried to talk to afterwards, was so proud of his bucket and mentioned that all the Judges had commented on it. He did not realise that all were trying to tell him to get rid of it.

We always try to encourage people to enter shows and one of the HSZ members is no exception. I was staying with Charles and Lesley Castelin once and bullied Charles into putting some of his roses on show, though he kept trying to insist they were not of

standard. Of course they were and he did extremely well.

We try to have the annual congress outside Harare once every two years if possible and have been treated to some lovely venues from Bulawayo to Nyanga. Serving on Council is voluntary and very little assistance is given with transport and other costs. It is all for the love of gardening and floral art and I have delighted in being part of it for so long. And just a note for the long-suffering husbands and wives of us gardeners and floral artists - thank you for your patience as we ramble on in Latin discussing names that mean nothing to you and then request that you just put together some mechanics for our next floral arrangement.

Ray my husband and Bart Toet deserve a mention here as, once when we were staying with Hannelie Muller in Rusape, we yelled at Ray to stop the car and then manoeuvre it into position near a gum tree (off the road of course) whilst we climbed onto the roof to pull down the most marvellous bark which we used to great effect in future flower arrangements. Ray is known as the “Ray of Sunshine” at the floral art competitions as he is always around fixing backgrounds or making a plan for failed mechanics. I have often been tempted to sell him off to the highest bidder as he is in such demand.

In closing I must say that we have a lot of wonderful talented gardeners out there who have never been part of the National Association but I am grateful for my time on National Council (over 20 years) and delighted to have shared so much with such lovely people.

A History of Bus Services in Zimbabwe

by Peter White



Introduction

This paper is a revised version of a paper first published in May 2016 issue of the *Journal of the Road Transport History Association*. It draws on the author's experience in consultancy work in that country in 1984 (as a specialist in the Zimbabwe National Transport Study – ZNTS) and subsequently on another consultancy study in 1994, both visits focusing on the rural and long-distance services. The first visit, in particular, provided an opportunity to obtain information on the earlier history of services in that country, as well as examining the then current situation, which is itself now 'history'. Readers of this journal will of course be far more familiar with the general history which provides the background context. My own understanding was that obtained from these two visits, together with background reading as cited.

The background context

In referring to the history of transport in Zimbabwe it is useful to be aware of previous names by which the country was known prior to internationally-recognised independence in 1980:

Southern Rhodesia. A 'self-governing' crown colony, established in 1923, previously run by the British South Africa Company, with a government directly elected by part of the population (my visit in 1984 provided an opportunity to see the two chambers of parliament, the Senate with red leather seats, and House of Assembly with green leather, in direct imitation of the Houses of Lords and Commons at Westminster). Together with Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) it formed the Central African Federation from 1953, for which Salisbury (Harare) was the headquarters, until the other two countries gained independence. A revised constitution was adopted in 1961, including formation of a 'Council of Chiefs' to give expression to opinions of those living in the 'Tribal Trust Lands' (see also below). A useful account is provided by Smith.¹

Rhodesia. From 1965, following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965. The composite title of 'Zimbabwe Rhodesia' was briefly adopted in 1980, prior to adoption of the present title. A description of events during the transitional period is provided by Parsons.²

Even today, the population density of the country is relatively low. Almost all of the growth occurred during the twentieth century, rising from only about 1 million in 1900, to 4 million in 1950 and 8 million in 1980,³ which was then rising at about 3.5% per annum and has grown strongly since. By that time, Harare (formerly Salisbury),

¹ Smith, Donald *Rhodesia: The Problem*. Robert Maxwell, Oxford, 1969.

² Parsons, Sir Anthony *From Southern Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, 1965 – 1988*. International Relations, 1988.

³ From Zimbabwe National Transport Study Report (hereinafter ZNTS) 1985.

the capital, had a population of about 800,000, and the second city, Bulawayo, about 400 000. Other major centres – Gweru (formerly Gwelo), KweKwe (formerly Que Que), and Mutare (formerly Umtali) – had under 100,000 each, and the urban population was growing at about 5% p.a.



The long-distance bus station at Bulawayo on 16 August 1984, showing a longer version of the AVM vehicle with forward entrance in wide use with many operators at that time, operated by P. Hall & Co ('Shu-Shine'), destined for Gokwe.

Note the volume of goods placed on the roof

Although economic development was based primarily on agriculture – notably extensive commercial farming within the main central belt (the 'high veld'), extending from the north east of the country around Harare, through the Midland region, and around Bulawayo, and also into the south eastern region around Masvingo – a significant industrial base also developed, with manufacturing industry in the two main cities (Harare and Bulawayo) and some other centres in the central belt (such as Gweru). Heavier industry developed around the Hwange (previously Wankie) coalfield in the north, including iron and steel production. Tourism played a major role, notably Victoria Falls on the Zambesi (which forms the northern border with Zambia). Development of the Kariba Dam in the 1950s created a source of hydroelectric power.

However, the population distribution did not necessarily correlate closely with economic development. Apart from some concentration in the main urban areas, the central commercial farming belt was settled at relatively low densities. Much of the rural population was located in communal (subsistence) farming areas, notably in the north of the country toward the Zambesi, and the south west (Matabeleland): the colonial term 'Tribal Trust Lands' (TTLs) for such areas was still to be found in use in some quarters in 1984.



An AVM of Super Godlwayo at Bulawayo bus station in August 1984. Note the passenger door behind the front axle. The destination is simply shown as 'Masase Mission', Mapping the service network proved quite a challenging task in identifying such locations.

The lack of employment in the subsistence farming areas, and substantial industrial activity in larger towns, led to recruitment of a labour force, typically of young men moving to an urban area for substantial periods, but still regarding the rural area as 'home' and returning there for visits, described by O'Connor as 'labour circulation'.⁴ This resulted in a marked imbalance in the sex ratios in the main urban areas. Workers from the communal farming

⁴ O'Connor, Anthony. *The African City*. Hutchinson University Library for Africa, London, 1983, page 68



areas lived in hostels in the urban areas, rather than their own houses. As an approximate estimate, about 25% of the urban workforce (and probably a higher share of those in manufacturing) in 1984 were in this position. In comparison to other parts of Africa, the population of European origin was substantially greater, although still in minority, accounting for about 25% of the population of Harare (and 20% in Bulawayo) in 1969⁵ – it continued to grow in absolute terms into the 1970s, although by then falling as a percentage. A small Asian community also developed in urban areas.

Early transport services

The railways played a major role in development, the 3ft 6in ‘Cape gauge’ system being extended from the south, to form a trunk route through Bulawayo and the central belt to Harare. Subsequently routes extended from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls and Zambia, from Harare to the Mozambique border at Mutare, and a later direct link to South Africa at Beitbridge. Passenger services were generally limited in frequency.

The first motor services in rural regions were probably those of the Road Motor Services (RMS) of the national railways. Claxton⁶ records that feeder road services by the railways commenced in June 1927, serving Sinoia (now Chinoyi), north of Harare. Fifteen services were running within two years, subsidised by the government to serve developing areas (mainly farming). The title Road Motor Services was adopted, and in 1937 vehicles were fitted with Gardner diesel engines. RMS also introduced a service in the south east of the country between West Nicholson, Fort Victoria and Beitbridge soon after South African Railways opened their line to Beitbridge in August 1929. A number of combined passenger and goods vehicles were operated – one on display at the Railway Museum in Bulawayo in 1984 was a 1952 Leyland Octopus with a small passenger compartment. Claxton also observes that some limited passenger services were provided on early narrow gauge railways serving mines (such as Banket, and Sinoia). Road Motor Services continued in operation for many years – into the 1990s – as a freight operation.

A photograph in the National Archives shows the first motor operations of the Post Office in 1928. The first bus operators as such probably appeared in the 1930s, but there is no firm documentation. One of the first locally-owned businesses was that of F. Pullen in the Lupane area (North Matabeleland, a mid-way point on the main road between Bulawayo and Hwange) established around 1946 with a Chevrolet, which developed into the business of F. Pullen and Son, running 36 buses at 1984. In 1947 African Matabeleland Bus Services of Bulawayo began, and also the operations of Mr J. Ruredzo, who by 1967 had built up to a staff of 100.⁷ Other large, locally-based firms began in the 1950s – P. Hall and Sons of Bulawayo in 1956, and Matambanadzo in 1958. The Hall fleet built up to almost 100 vehicles, establishing a major depot at Bulawayo, and remained one of the largest local operators (if not the largest) at the time of my first visit in 1984, although with slightly smaller fleet by then. Other firms established in the 1950s included Mpepu and Penlandaba, whose operations I observed in 1984, but most probably dated from the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵ O'Connor, op cit, page 103

⁶ Claxton, Anthony. *Railways of Rhodesia*. David & Charles, Newton Abbott, 1973

⁷ Chikerema, Charles. ‘Rural Buses: too many for too few...’ *The Herald* (Harare) 11 April 1984

Bus service regulation

The 1930s saw restrictive quantity licensing systems introduced in many countries, such as the Road Traffic Act of 1930 in Britain. These represented a reaction to the economic depression of that era, seeking to safeguard existing operators and protect the railways. Safety was also a major concern (although this is better dealt with through quality regulation).

Despite the very limited development of motor transport at that time, the government established a similar form of regulation in the Road Motor Transport [RMT] Act of 1936. Bus and road haulage operators were required to obtain permits for each vehicle and each service operated, thus protecting the railways (i.e. each vehicle had a permit specific to a certain service, still in effect in 1984 – see below). It became possible to ‘buy’ permits by taking over existing operators. Both the United group (see below) and some larger local firms expanded on this way outside the main urban areas, but a large number of operators continued in being, with no monopolies developing.

A viewpoint on the 1936 Act was given by Cartwright:⁸ a ‘Road Service Board’ functioned in a straightforward manner, with a core staff of three, and a board membership of about seven. Both applicants and objectors were able to present their cases, and decisions were given on the spot. However, following a complex case in 1954/55, the process became much more legalistic, with lawyers representing both sides, and far more prolonged, under the Department of Motor Transportation.

The RMT Act was re-enacted in similar form in 1972, the previous Board being replaced by a Controller and two Assistants. Despite this restrictive legislation, the industry continued to grow, although not competing with the main rail passenger services.

Urban operations and franchising

Operations in the Bulawayo area were provided by a municipal undertaking, established just after World War Two, of which little is known, but these were acquired by the Bulawayo Omnibus Company Ltd in 1948, a company which was part of the African Transport Group (see also below), operating in Kenya and other countries to the north. In 1950 the company extended its operations to the towns of Gwelo (now Gweru) and Umtali (now Mutare), previously without bus services, and in 1951 changed its name to the Rhodesia Omnibus Company (ROC). A comprehensive account of its early development was provided by Lt Col J. E. Everington⁹, its Managing Director, in 1953. Bulawayo operations had commenced on 1 December 1948, and by 1953 a fleet of 41 Guy Arab, 4 Daimler and 2 Leyland single-deckers was in operation, of which 35 were based in Bulawayo, 6 in Umtali 4 in Gwelo, and 2 in Que Que. In 1952, some 4.36 million passengers were carried. Strong seasonality of demand was found, and also marked peaks during the working day, with little evening traffic. A subsidiary company, the Rhodesia Touring Company Ltd, was formed in 1952 and operated tours to game reserves and Victoria Falls. Long-distance interurban services had also recently commenced.

On my first visit to Zimbabwe in 1984 I became acquainted (through the Institute of Transport) with Richard Cartwright, then a Member of Parliament for the Highfield district within Harare, and sitting as an independent. He had been involved in both bus and road haulage operations from the early 1950s, as recalled in his paper to the Institute

⁸ Cartwright, R. ‘A paper on 25 years of road transport development in Rhodesia’, delivered to the Salisbury [Harare] Branch of the Institute of Transport on 7 February 1977, 6pp

⁹ Everington, J. E. *Pioneering in Southern Rhodesia*. Passenger Transport, 12 August 1953, pp 209-215.



of Transport in Salisbury [Harare] in 1977.¹⁰ He noted that the Salisbury municipality had small fleet of Daimlers. Urban operations were also established by Transrhodes, running a mixed fleet ranging from a Ford VS to Seddons and Leylands. In 1952 he had been involved in bringing five Guy double-deckers purchased from London Transport (for £157 each) via Durban, driving overland from there (I have a photocopy of a 'contact' size print of this he lent me in 1984, but unfortunately the quality is too poor to reproduce). The municipal operation, with 18 vehicles, was taken over by the Salisbury Omnibus Co. (subsequently part of United) in 1953, along with Transrhodes, then running 38. These operations were then merged under United. In 1954 it was granted a franchise giving a monopoly within a 15 mile (26 km) radius of the city, initially for 21 year period running to 1975, then renewed for 12 years to 1987. A local independent, Bernard Vito, also ran in the city until 1956.

A similar form of exclusive franchise arrangement was also introduced in Bulawayo. In 1956 a report on transport services in Greater Salisbury and Greater Bulawayo, commonly known as the Beadle Report, was published.¹¹ A four-man commission carried out extensive enquiries into the two urban transport systems, including private and public road transport. The possibility of a suburban rail service was examined briefly by the Commission, but no immediate proposals were put forward. The monopoly bus franchise system in both cities was endorsed, despite objections by local operators who argued for competition. The commission comprised three Europeans and Mr Joshua Nkomo, more widely known as the leader of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) who was eventually ousted by Robert Mugabe of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) after formal independence. His role on the commission may at first sight seem surprising, but may also reflect a more open approach found prior to the regime of Ian Smith from 1965. Coltart¹² refers to Joshua Nkomo as a 'veteran nationalist' in 1961, when a revised Constitution was being considered: at that time he was leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP).

United Transport

Substantial development of bus services in the country was stimulated through investment by the Red and White (R&W) United Transport Company, by 1954 known as United Transport (Africa), under the chairmanship of John Watts.¹³ Sales of the UK R&W operations to the state in 1950 released capital for investment elsewhere. Following the 1954 agreement to run Salisbury urban services (above), L. Smith was appointed as engineer (lately depot engineer at Stroud).

By early 1955 'Rhodesia United Transport' was in operation,¹⁴ as a joint venture of John Watts's United Transport and British Electric Traction (BET). It took over Thatcher, Hobson and Co., a firm established 25 years earlier, running both goods and passenger services, renaming it as Central African Road Services Ltd. It had previously been owned by the Northern Rhodesian government. Recently-delivered

¹⁰ Cartwright, R. *ibid.*

¹¹ Report of Commission of Inquiry into The Transport Services of Greater Salisbury and Greater Bulawayo ['The Beadle Report'], Salisbury [Harare], November 1956.

¹² Coltart, David. *The Struggle Continues: 50 Years of Tyranny in Zimbabwe*. Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd., South Africa, 2016, 647pp [the '50 years' may be seen as dating from the coming to power of Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front in 1965].

¹³ United Transport and Rhodesia' (news item). *Bus & Coach* May 1954.

¹⁴ African Developments (news item) *Bus & Coach* February 1955.

vehicles comprised Leyland goods chassis fitted with 53-seater bus bodies. A fairly comprehensive description by 'The Editor' in 1956, 'Africa is Becoming Bus-minded', gave fuller details.¹⁵ The United Transport Company Ltd of Chepstow was described as having entered African operation in 1949, then with two major subsidiaries, the African Transport Co. Ltd of Nairobi, and Rhodesia United Transport Ltd of Salisbury. BET was said to have a 'substantial minority interest, approaching 40%'. The Nairobi company controlled thirteen central African goods and passenger operations, having in acquired the Overseas Motor Transport Co Ltd, of Commander F. R. Hare, R.N. (retd), running in a number of eastern and central African countries. Hare had established operations in Devon in 1919 which expanded until its sale to the National Omnibus and Transport Co Ltd in 1927. He then invested the proceeds of the sale in setting up Overseas Motor Transport Ltd, with a registered office in London; in 1929 (the Red & White company's investment twenty years later can be seen as parallel). It purchased the Bulawayo municipal operation, established just after the war, in 1948 or 1949, forming the Bulawayo Omnibus Company.¹⁶ The company was renamed African Transport Co Ltd in 1951.

The Salisbury operation in 1956 then comprised 80 buses, including Leyland Tiger Cubs, Royal Tigers, and Comets, as well as Leyland-MCW integral Olympics. Long-distance services were then planned to Johannesburg, using Royal Tiger Worldmaster coaches. The ROC operations in Bulawayo were still being managed by J. E. Everington, with a fleet of 60 vehicles, including the exclusive city franchise, and also the urban operations in Umtali and Gwelo. Under the same management was the Rhodesia Touring Co Ltd., running a long-distance Bulawayo – Salisbury – Umtali express route, and coach tours. As well as the exclusive franchises in Bulawayo and Salisbury, and smaller area franchises were awarded within Gwelo (now Gweru) and Umtali (now Mutare) to ROC in 1950. BET took over the whole ownership of United Transport Ltd, forming United Transport Overseas Ltd in November 1971.¹⁷

Bus and coach design

Early technical press illustrations shown vehicles from the 1950s very similar to those of Britain at the time, including the Guy Arab (a front-engined single or double-decker, with the driver sitting alongside), Bedford OB (a small single-decker, with the engine under a protruding bonnet, and the driver sitting behind it) and Leyland underfloor-engined single-deckers. However, a striking feature was the adoption of more generous dimensions than found in Britain, permitting a length of up to 35ft, and width of 8ft 3in, from 1953. In 1962 Leyland supplied the Rhodesia United Transport Group with six-wheeler single deckers, a variant of the Royal Tiger Worldmaster with the 0.680 engine.¹⁸

A noteworthy feature by the time of my first visit in 1984 was the use of full-length single-deckers for most services, but on a two-axle layout. Gross permitted two axle vehicle weight (15.9 tonnes) was similar to that in Britain (then 17 tonnes, with 10.5 tonnes on the rear axle) but a very marked contrast existed in the axle load distribution. Whereas in British regulations a much heavier load is permitted on the twin-tyre rear axle, in Zimbabwe they were very similar, at 7.7 tonnes for the front (single tyre, steering) axle, and 8.2 tonnes for the rear. A possible justification for this might be

¹⁵ Pages 348-355, probably from *Leyland Journal* September 1956 Transport Ticket Society journal, December 1965.

¹⁶ Transport Ticket Society journal, December 1965.

¹⁷ Transport Ticket Society journal, August 1974.

¹⁸ Everington, *ibid*



found in the ‘fourth power’ rule, a widely-used measure of the relative wear and tear imposed by different axle loadings on road structures, derived from tests in the 1960s by the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO), i.e. the impact is in proportion to the fourth power of the axle load. For example, raising the axle load from 8 to 10 tonnes (a ratio of 1.25) would cause the fourth power value to rise from 8 to the power of 4 (i.e. 4 096) to 10 000 (a ratio of 2.44). The substantial proportion of earth and gravel roads would also make axle loads a more important factor in Zimbabwe than in Britain.

The situation from UDI to 1980

At the time of UDI, British-owned bus companies running in Rhodesia comprised:

Express Motorways Africa (Central) Ltd, Salisbury (running long-distance services)

United Bus Services Ltd, Salisbury (operating longer-distance services, and also some urban services outwith main cities)

Salisbury United Omnibus Co., Salisbury (operating urban services)

Rhodesia Omnibus Co. (ROC), Bulawayo

These were described as being ‘...connected with United Transport Overseas Ltd, a subsidiary of the United Transport Ltd of Chepstow, and in which the BET has some interests’. Some freight subsidiaries were also operated, two of which – Bulwark Transport and Swift Transport Service – were active at the time of my visits described below. A visit in the early 1960s reported by D. J. Smith¹⁹ indicates that ROC then ran 84 buses and one coach, seven being based at an outstation at Livingstone, now part of Zambia. Salisbury United ran 135 single-deckers, mostly Leylands. Most bodywork was built locally, for example by Zambesi Coachworks Ltd.

Fleet composition

The 1965 vehicle deliveries had already been received from British manufacturers by the time of UDI, but clearly future supplies would be threatened by restrictions on British exports. Donald Smith²⁰ indicates that a somewhat confusing range of restrictions on exports was applied immediately after UDI in November 1965, becoming a complete embargo from late February 1966. Operators thus had to look for suppliers other than Leyland and other British manufacturers.

The response was to develop a home-produced vehicle, the AVM, manufactured on a large scale from about 1974 by the Dahmer company (a Lonrho subsidiary), with locally-built bodywork. This comprised a chassis of similar form to previously-imported vehicles. i.e. a high frame, with front-mounted engine. Steel for principal chassis members and some other components was manufactured within the country, and exported for rolling, then re-imported. Earlier models were on a relatively short wheelbase, giving a seating capacity of about 64 (with ‘five across’ seating), later on a longer chassis giving a seating capacity of 76. Operators also became adept at recycling components and materials. A notable feature on my first visit in 1984 was extensive use of metal spraying and reworking of components in the light industrial estates of Harare such as Workington.

¹⁹ Smith, D. J. The smoke thunders: A Look at Southern Rhodesia. *Buses Illustrated* May 1964, pp 164-167.

²⁰ Smith, Donald. Op cit, chapter V.

Urban operations continued to expand: a further insight into operations in Harare is provided in a dissertation by Ben Sambana, completed under my supervision (prior to visiting Zimbabwe for the first time in 1984) in 1979.²¹ He subsequently became an official in the government ministry responsible for transport, who I met on a later visit. This examined bus operations in Salisbury, as the capital was then known, covered through the United franchise within the 26 km radius as previously described. It indicates that 420 vehicles were then operated by United on the 34 city services, serving a population of well over 600 000. Services were operated from two depots, at Willowvale and Belvedere. In contrast to European cities, children (aged 0 – 14) comprised about one third of the population, but the elderly only about 4%.

Very marked differences were found in service levels to the low-density, European suburban areas (such as Highlands, Hatfield or Mount Pleasant) where car ownership was about two per household, and the high-density township' suburbs. The European services, operated from Rezende Street in the city centre, comprised 15 routes but were covered by only 30 vehicles, with the best a.m. peak headway being 20 minutes and many irregular, approximately hourly. Conversely, the high-density township services (such as those from Harare, Mufakose and Glen Norah) were covered by about 380 buses, and operated at much higher frequencies to meet demand (on some routes, peak headways of less than 1 minute), even so experiencing considerable overcrowding. 77-seater fulllength single deckers could accommodate over 20 standing passengers, giving peak loads of over 100. A very high ratio of peak to off-peak service frequencies (typically about 4 or higher) was found.

Some very low-density services were also operated to the city perimeter, typically peak-only journeys. Services from the European areas were one-man operated, but others carried a conductor to cope with demand. A graduated fare system applied to all adult journeys (albeit with a considerable taper), with a flat fare for schoolchildren and those under 10. Fares per km from European areas were about four times from other areas, reflecting lower traffic densities and ability to pay. All fares were charged as cash singles. At busy stops, off bus ticket sales were provided, but nonetheless the ticket had to be shown to the driver or conductor before boarding the bus, resulting in long dwell times. Almost all services operated as radial routes between housing areas and the city centre and/or industrial areas, with virtually no orbital provision, apart from a weekend-only service.

I was able to inspect police records for the total fleet in mid-1984 (including urban buses) then licenced, which comprised just over 4 000, with a several hundred dating back to the 1960s and a few even earlier (how many of these remained operational was uncertain). A substantial peak in deliveries had occurred in the late 1970s, with a very strong peak in the early 1980s of about 400 per year in 1981 and 1982, as import restrictions were lifted and economic growth occurred.

The situation in 1984

Following formal recognition of the independent state of Zimbabwe, trade restrictions were lifted, and substantial economic growth took place. Operators were once again free to import from manufacturers such as Leyland. My visit in 1984 was as part of a team conducting the Zimbabwe National Transport Study (ZNTS), undertaken by a Swedish consultancy (SWECO), and examining all aspects of the transport system, including

²¹ Sambana, B. M. 'Urban Bus Networks in Salisbury, Rhodesia.' Dissertation for Postgraduate Diploma in Transport & Development, Polytechnic of Central London [now the University of Westminster] 1979, unpublished.



road infrastructure, railways, aviation, road freight and passenger operations, etc. Urban operations did not form part of the study, which was concerned with rural and long-distance movement. My role was to examine the role of bus and coach services in this sector, building on work already conducted by other members of the team, and a rural bus study by another consultancy in the previous year. My visit coincided with one by Robert Brook, then Chief Executive of the National Bus Company in Britain. I attended a Chartered Institute of Transport meeting he addressed in Harare, which provided an opportunity to make contact with those in the industry (also giving a talk myself to the local section later in my visit).

In particular, I became quite well-acquainted with senior managers of the United group of companies. While many aspects of the business culture seemed quite familiar, there were some oddities. On requesting street directions in central Harare, I was advised to 'turn right at the third robot', generating a somewhat surrealistic spectacle of dalek-like structures being placed in the city centre. This duly turned out to be the expression for traffic lights, whose sequence of automatic operation does indeed have a robotic quality. I quickly found that reading the weekly *Financial Gazette* gave a far better guide to what was going on than government-controlled newspaper such as the *Herald*. However, a reference therein to 'The Old Lady of Samora Machel Avenue' likewise seemed inexplicable, until realising that this was a reference to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and its address (by analogy with 'The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street' for the Bank of England).

Bus industry structure in 1984

While United dominated in the larger urban areas and on some longer-distance routes, I quickly found that the majority of services to rural regions were operated by locally-based independents, whose activities had not been covered in reports in the British technical press, some of the larger companies approaching 100 vehicles (such as P. Hall and Co. of Bulawayo, trading as 'Shus hine Bus Service'). A number of the medium-sized and larger operations were owned by members of the Asian community, but most independents were Black Zimbabwean citizens.

About 170 operators were running in the country in 1983, with about 1 700 road service permits on issue - each vehicle had to display its own permit, similar to operator licence discs in Britain, but specific to certain route(s) - and a total fleet of about 1 800 (implying an average of about 11 vehicles per operator). Permits both for buses and goods vehicles were issued by the Controller of Road Motor Transportation (RMT) in Harare, resulting in a highly centralised administration. Applications received were published in the weekly *Zimbabwean Government Gazette*, with a six week period of notice for objections. As noted above, in earlier years, a fairly restrictive system had applied, protecting the incumbent operator and encouraging acquisition of companies (analogous to impacts of the 1930 Road Traffic Act in Britain), with United and larger independents such as Hall expanding by this means, but by 1984 a more liberalised system had been adopted, making entry easier. About 60% of rural and long-distance bus-kilometres were run on tarmac road, the other 40% on earth or gravel. Strong competition was to be found on main routes (but not in terms of price).

A much more marked contrast to practice in Britain was to be found in the structure

of the rural and long-distance services. In Britain, a rural network typically comprises a series of local services, each focused on a long-established market town whose antiquity might be illustrated by buildings such as churches. Interurban links are formed by local services between market towns, and some longer-distance services, including express coaches. In contrast, the very low population density in rural areas of Zimbabwe meant that the development pattern was very scattered and often quite recent. Tracing authorised routes on a map proved difficult, as the final terminal was often merely identified by the name of a farm or mission station, rather than a sizeable settlement. Local market centres had formed in some of the commercial farming areas (such as KweKwe and Gweru in the Midlands), but were largely absent elsewhere.

In the communal farming areas in particular, employment opportunities were very limited, and strong pattern had developed of weekly commuting from such areas to major towns with manufacturing industries such as Harare. Workers would be based in hostels, returning home at weekends. This generated a very strong peak in demand on Friday evenings (not totally unlike that at Victoria Coach Station, in London), with a corresponding peak from rural areas on Sunday afternoons and evenings. Some workers returned home as frequently as every weekend, others at wider intervals, or seasonally, producing marked peaks at times such as Christmas. Interviews with operators confirmed this strong pattern. The manufacturing sector had probably grown significantly during the UDI period, as a response to developing self-sufficiency. Employment opportunities were thus generated for male workers from the communal farming areas, and income which they could pass back to their families living there. However, this often involved very long journeys, in the order of 100–200 km in many cases. Ironically, in the regions around Harare these passed through commercial agricultural areas which generated fewer employment opportunities. One could thus see that considerable prosperity had developed, but with a very unequal distribution.

A further consequence of this pattern of travel was that the main long-distance bus stations were often located adjacent to the industrial employment zones, rather than city centres. This was particularly noticeable in the case of Mbare bus station in Harare, necessitating a local bus journey from the city centre, and also KweKwe, although Bulawayo was more centrally located. A further feature of the longer-distance services was the substantial volumes of goods carried, in addition to passengers' own luggage (which itself could be extensive), given the absence of regular postal services in the more remote areas. Larger operators such as Hall provided a fixed-rate tariff, dependent on the item carried (up to the size of a wardrobe or bed). These items were typically carried on the roofs of vehicles, hardly assisting stability.



**The modern bus station at KweKwe in August 1984, with an AVM vehicle of Hall & Son.
The station was located at Amaveni Township, rather than the main town centre**



Vehicle supply from the early 1980s

In terms of vehicle supply, Leyland had re-entered the market after formal independence, but with modest results. The AVM model had become very well established, not only due to lack of alternatives, but also its very robust design, well-suited to poor road conditions. Conversely, the Leyland CD series vehicles of a generally similar layout suffered from a less robust structure, notably in the front axle assembly, which made them more prone to failure under poor road conditions (especially given the axle load distribution mentioned earlier). Their general reliability was also poorer. This became evident in many discussions with operators, notably a small independent in Bulawayo who was underneath his CD series vehicle when I arrived at his depot. He emerged from that position to inform me (a) he was a qualified mechanical engineer, and (b) of his views on the Leyland design, then returning to work on the vehicle. I had already observed problems with the front-end design when talking to operators on my first visit to Africa, to Tanzania in 1981, but little change seemed to have taken place at Leyland following complaints from there (the Tanzanian operators had little choice, the vehicles being supplied as part of British aid, with no local alternative). This complacency was perhaps affecting the whole group at that time - as described by Cole.²²



Rival bus products on display at the Harare Agricultural Show 29 August 1984. Leyland emphasised the strength of their CD design by placing a Land Rover on its roof, and AVM showed an 11m version of their standard vehicle (slightly shorter than that used in Zimbabwe itself), as an export model for other African countries

Operating patterns

A further consequence of the pattern of passenger movement on the rural and long-distance services was that operators tended to be based in larger urban areas, rather than at the 'rural' end of their routes, since for the greater part of the week that was where vehicles meeting the weekend peak were based. This was also where fuel, tyres and spare parts could be obtained. In particular, I recall a day spent in Bulawayo in which I managed to interview about eight operators in succession, who served extensive areas of North and South Matabeleland from that city (I had arranged to see fewer operators, but as my visit became known, was invited to visit others while in the city. I gained the impression that sympathetic ear was much appreciated, even if I had negligible power to influence issues such as supply of reliable vehicles or materials).

An issue affecting operators of long-distance services was the quality of the road

²² Cole, Lance. *British Leyland: From Triumph to Tragedy – Petrol, Politics and Power*. Pen & Sword, Barnsley, 2020.

system. While much better than in many other African countries (such as Tanzania), this nonetheless included substantial sections of gravel or ‘narrow mat’ roads, in addition well-surfaced tarmac roads on the principal links. This is a common pattern, associated with limited capital investment, and the rightful priority being given to the busier routes. A trade-off thus exists between higher operating costs (notably for tyres, fuel and suspension systems) and the capital costs of better roads, for which well-established appraisal systems such as those developed by the Transport Research Laboratory in Britain are available. A further consequence may be that vehicle life is reduced. Safety can also be affected, since vehicles may be less stable on poorer roads, and in particular the ‘narrow mat’ road format (a single strip of tarmac, with gravel either side) carried an obvious risk of head-on collision, since vehicles travelling in both directions tended to keep to the tarmac part of the road. The late Friday evening/Sunday evening weekend travel pattern also resulted in much activity being after dark, aggravating safety risks. In general, good tarmac roads were found in the more heavily-populated areas but with an odd pattern when passing through the commercial farming areas, where district councils were empowered to upgrade to tarmac surfaces. A long distance route might thus pass over a sequence of alternating tarmac and gravel sections, rather than a single transition from one type to another.

Express services

Although carrying passengers long distances, the buses used were of a very basic interior design, unlikely to attract those with an alternative mode available. However, the quality of the main road network was generally good, enabling a reasonably smooth ride. In 1984 a number of express services were also in operation, using vehicles with a lower seating capacity and generally more comfortable layout (although still without air conditioning, and with front-mounted engines producing high interior noise levels). The ‘Express Motorways’ subsidiary of United Transport provided a number of major links, such as Harare–KweKwe–Bulawayo, and Harare–Rusape–Mutare (on the Mozambican border). In 1984 these were operated largely by elderly, locally-bodied Mercedes. By 1994 these had been superseded by AVMs, seating 48, as I sampled on a journey from Harare to Rusape. Independent operators also served this market, notably Ajay Motorways. Fares in 1984 were approximately double the rate per kilometre of bus services as such.



AVM vehicles with 48-seat coach bodywork as used on express services to Mutare and Bulawayo, April 1994

The very limited rail network – geared largely to freight demand – meant that even on trunk routes very low frequencies were offered. For example, at the time of the 1984 study, the only rail passenger service between Harare and Bulawayo consisted of a single



overnight journey each way (with antiquated sleeper and seated stock). Express coach services this provided a wider range of timings (and took about the same time as rail), as well as serving destinations not covered by rail.

Regulation in the 1980s

A further challenge affecting operators was the regulatory system. Operators required a permit for each route (as described above), specifying timetable and any duplicate vehicles permitted (each of the latter being required to display their own permit). Furthermore, individually-identified vehicles were authorised for specific routes, making it difficult for operators to deploy their fleets efficiently. Fare regulation was also strict, imposing a common fare defined as a flat rate per kilometre travelled. In 1984 this was 2 Zimbabwe cents (at that time there were about 1.7 Zimbabwe dollars to the £, hence 2 cents was about 1 pence). In order to break-even, operators were not only attracted to the denser routes, but there was also a disincentive to serve non-tarmacked roads, since there was no differential in the fare level to reflect higher operating costs over such roads (conversely, other countries in similar circumstances, such as Tanzania, did so). There was also little incentive to cater for shorter-distance traffic (e.g. 20-30 kilometres) since if the same peak timings in demand occurred, it made far more sense to run a vehicle to and from the remoter areas, getting better utilisation and revenue as a result. The low fare made it necessary to operate at high load factors to break-even. Roadside surveys on major routes carried out in an earlier phase of the ZNTS indicated figures in the order of 60%, with substantial overloading (in relation to seating capacity) in some cases.

As part of its rural development policy, the government was aiming to create hubs in more remote rural regions, which could develop as market towns and also provide education and medical services. One such was Gokwe, in the communal farming area, about 80km north of Gweru, in 1984 reached by gravel and earth roads (although by the time of my second visit in 1994 the main link from the Harare – Bulawayo road had been tarmacked). However, providing local feeder routes into a centre such as this could be financially unattractive to an operator, due to the lack of any taper in the fare scale mentioned above.

Urban services from the 1980s

Although my own work in 1984 and 1994 was concerned with rural and long-distance services, I also had the opportunity to observe urban operations, in 1984 dominated by United subsidiaries as described above. The Harare franchise initiated in 1956 ran for 21 years to 1975, with a subsequent 12 year franchise running to 1987. In Bulawayo, ZOC held a franchise initially awarded in 1948 (see above), a 12-year franchise then being due to expire in 1988.

A clear distinction could be seen between the affluent low-density suburbs, lying mainly to the north of the city centre in Harare, whose inhabitants had a high level of car ownership, which generated little bus demand in consequence, and the high-density suburbs – often further out from the centre – which generated high demand for bus services. A similar disparity was found in Bulawayo.

In 1984 the Harare United fleet comprised 601 vehicles, all single-deck, of which 223 were older Albion Valiant/Leyland vehicles, 64 short-wheelbase Leylands and Mercedes,

and 314 full-length AVMs. ZOC operated a fleet of 444, of which about 320 were based in Bulawayo, of which 162 were Leyland CDs built before 1974, 30 AVM 64 seaters built after 1974, and 252 AVM 76-seaters.



An older Leyland single-decker of the Zimbabwe Omnibus Company used on Bulawayo urban services in 1984. Note the front entrance and high floor level.

However, in the case of Harare, a major housing development had taken place from the late 1970s well to the south of the city in Chitungwiza, part of which, Seki, lay beyond the 26 km limit of the United franchise. The Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning created a new franchise to serve this area, which was awarded for a ten year period from 1977 to 1987 to a new operator, Zimbabwe Express Motors (ZEM), operating a fleet of about 67 full-length AVMs in 1984. It was financed partly through some existing independent operators based elsewhere in the country and also active in rural/long-distance sector. However, the company was then encountering some financial difficulties, having been placed in provisional liquidation in May 1983. Very high bus demand was created from this area, but with a very concentrated journey to work peak.

The standard AVM model, when used on rural and long-distance services, carried bodywork fitted with a single hinged door, to the rear of the front axle. All services carried conductors, whose roles included getting baggage and goods to and from the roof rack, as well as collecting fares. In urban service, the front overhang of the same chassis enabled an entrance to be fitted adjacent to the driver and engine, for one-person-operation. The sequence of high steps was hardly convenient for the user, although no worse than some British designs (such as Ford R-series) in use at that time. United operated ticket-selling kiosks at busy points to reduce boarding times.

Also to be seen in both in Harare and Bulawayo in 1984 were 'Emergency Taxis', legalised in 1982 (the term 'Emergency' referred to legislation under which they were authorised, not their pattern of service), i.e. shared taxis seating up to 7 (in practice often carrying more), working on fixed routes with fares determined by the municipality. 437 had been approved in Harare by mid-1984, and 130 in Bulawayo. These were authorised to relieve overcrowding on the bus networks.

Following the creation of ZUPCO (see below) a further franchise was granted in Harare, due to end in 1994, but scrapped by the government in 1993. Commuter omnibuses were then authorised, enabling operation by other firms of full sized vehicles – such as those based on an AVM tractor unit with a passenger trailer – mainly for the journey to work peak, many of which were in evidence on my visit in 1994.



The 1984 report

A report was duly compiled as part of the ZNTS and submitted to government, analysing the problems facing the industry, and advocating means of encouraging local service provision within rural areas. By way of adding some local background to an otherwise dry technical report I included a quote from a then recently-published Zimbabwean novel, *The Non-Believer's Journey*,²³ essentially a description of a citizen who is 'radicalised' (in the current jargon) as a result of his treatment during the UDI period. Much of it is set during a lengthy bus journey, hence the title. The author described the journey as one in which the passengers would begin to sing to pass the time:

".. When once the bus got on to the main tarred road, clear of the town, one of the passengers would start intoning a song. Invariably, there would be one or two men with *Mbiras*,²⁴ and they would start to play. The whole bus would take up the melody....." .

However, Zimbabwean government officials were not noted for a sense of flexibility, even at that time. In their queries on the draft report, they wished to know whether this was a correct factual description. I had by that time returned to the UK, but a member of the study team still in Zimbabwe was duly dispatched to make a long-distance bus journey to observe whether it was the case that passengers were singing on the journey. He went. They did.

Developments by 1994

I was in Zimbabwe again in 1994, participating in a study by another consultancy which effectively formed a follow-up study to that of 1984. Relatively little change had taken place 'on the ground' in the rural service pattern, although the United Transport operations had been brought into partial state ownership through ZUPCO (Zimbabwe United Passenger Transport Company). However, due to limited supply of urban services marked expansion had taken place in informal operations, not only the 'emergency' taxis to be seen in 1984, but extensive minibus operation in cities such as Harare, together with larger vehicles.

The rigid fares control found in 1984 was still applied in 1994, albeit with the flat rate per kilometre adjusted for inflation, set at 10 cents per kilometre in the latter year. Despite the inflation, a generally optimistic view was taken of both economic and political development by many people I spoke to, both within the bus industry and more widely. The mood of time is mentioned briefly in one of the stories by Petina Gappah in her book *An Elegy for Easterly* (2009). The severe instability and economic decline was to follow later.

As part of the study in which I was then involved, an estimate was made that interurban and rural buses then carried about 100 million bus trips per year, compared with about 2 to 3 million for air and rail together (although, as in Britain at present, those modes often received far more attention in government planning).

One consequence of protecting local industries was that tyre production and supply

²³ Nyamfukudza, Stanley. *The Non-Believer's Journey*. Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1983 (see page 24).

²⁴ Defined as 'a family of musical instruments, traditional to the Shona people of Zimbabwe. They consist of a wooden board (often fitted with a resonator) with attached staggered metal tines, played by holding the instrument in the hands and plucking the tines with the thumbs (at minimum), the right forefinger (most *mbira*), and sometimes the left forefinger' (Wikipedia, April 2022).



An AVM of Matemai at Rusape in April 1994, showing the 'safety wheel' device on the front offside wheel.

was limited to a local manufacturer, with high import duties on rubber discouraging use of alternatives. Production quality was poor, increasing the risk of tyre blow-outs, especially given the heavily-loaded front axle (as described above). Consequences could be particularly severe on earth or gravel roads, or running on the 'narrow mat' type described above. As an interim measure a device called a 'safety wheel' had been adopted from 1993 (see illustration), comprising a steel wheel of a slightly smaller diameter than an inflated tyre. Should a tyre burst occur, the vehicle would tilt slightly, but remain upright rather than a catastrophic overturning occurring. The vehicle would not be able to continue in

service, but could be brought to a halt more safely. However, the 'safety wheel' itself added further unsprung weight to the front axle.

A major feature of my second visit was chairing a day conference to discuss future options for the industry, attended by operators, local authorities, government representatives and suppliers, the opening speech being by the Minister then responsible for Transport, the late Dennis Norman. The intention was to provide opportunities for general discussion rather than make formal decisions, but particularly strong concern was expressed about safety issues (a major accident with numerous fatalities had occurred at Mount Darwin in the north of the country one day before the conference). As a result a resolution was formulated, calling for import restrictions on tyres to be reduced, in order that higher quality tyres be more easily imported. Other issues raised at the conference included the effects of the rigid fares control, and quality of bus stations provided by local authorities. The axle weight issue was raised, one option being the development of three-axle layouts (as found on vehicles operating international services into Zimbabwe at that time), enabling a reduction in front axle loading without increasing load per axle in the rear and thus increasing road maintenance costs.

In conclusion, it should be noted that further scope may exist for research into the evolution of the bus industry in Zimbabwe, on the roles of both British-financed companies, and locally-funded operators.

Acknowledgements

Although the historical work was undertaken largely by me on a personal basis, my presence in Zimbabwe was of course a result of being invited to become a member of the consultancy teams undertaking the National Transport Study in 1984, and the Rural Bus Study in 1994. The work dealing with the then current bus operations was carried out as part of those teams, and I am grateful to other team members for their work on which I was able to draw in analysing the role of the bus industry – for example, from the roadside surveys carried out in the ZNTS. Particular thanks are due to Martin Kerridge who invited me to join the ZNTS team in 1984. All viewpoints expressed in this paper should be seen as my own personal views, and not as representing the study teams involved. All photographs were taken by me.

Obituary: A Tribute to R. W. J. (Bill) Sykes 1943–2021

by Robin Taylor



Bill Sykes a well-known and liked member who contributed much to the Society passed away on 14th February 2021 after a long battle with cancer.

Bill served the Society over the period 2007 to 2016 as a member of the Mashonaland Branch Committee and the National Committee. He also chaired these Committees at various times. During his term in office with the Mashonaland Branch he made great efforts to update the quality of the audio and visual content of speakers' presentations by introducing the Society to modern technology. He spent a lot of time with speakers prior to talks making sure the quality of the presentation did credit both to the speaker and to the Society. His direct involvement with the Society ceased in 2016 when he and MaryAnn moved out of Harare to retire at Mazvikadei.

Bill was born in Kadoma. His parents came to this country with the Royal Air Force during the Second World War. His father was a senior officer in the RAF Training Group. The family returned to live here after the war. His early education was at Eagle School in the Vumba. This experience gave Bill a great love for the mountains of Manicaland



21 PTC 3rd April 1967
Bill Sykes third from left back

and he and his family spent many happy family holidays in the area.

Bill retired from the Air Force of Zimbabwe in June 1985 holding the very senior rank of Group Captain. He gained his wings in 1968 and flew many hours on operations. He was awarded the Military Forces Commendation in 1978. Aviation was in his blood and he co-authored in 2001 the book *A Pride of Eagles*. This book is regarded as the definitive history of the Air Force. Bill also produced the documentary film *The Pursuit of a Dream* on the rebuild and eventual demise of the Spitfire which crashed on the final film shoot, killing Captain Jack Malloch the pilot. He also published late in 2020 the book *100 Years of Aviation in Victoria Falls* and was never happier when talking about aircraft and the people that flew them.

Upon retirement Bill worked in the public relations business and then went on his own using his other considerable skill which was fine woodworking making clocks, including grandfather clocks and restoring and crafting quality furniture. Bible numerics fascinated him and he used his interest in mathematics to further his knowledge on this subject on which he lectured in this country and South Africa.

He will be missed both as a friend and as someone who made a great contribution to our Society and in his recording for posterity an important segment of our national history.

Our deepest sympathy goes to MaryAnn who so ably supported his many activities and to his family, Katy in Brisbane, William and Jono in Harare and Chris in Melbourne. Bill and MaryAnn have nine grandchildren.

Book Review: The History of the University of Zimbabwe 1955–2015 – Chipo Dyanda (ed.)

by Paul Hubbard



Dyanda, Chipo (ed.) 2018

The History of the University of Zimbabwe 1955-2015

Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications

413+viii pages

ISBN: 978-1-77920-117-1. US\$25.

The University of Zimbabwe celebrated 60 years' existence in 2015. This book is to be welcomed as a companion volume to an earlier publication (Katsamudanga & Mujere 2015), albeit with much more information on specific aspects of the history of many faculties and departments in the University. Much of the early history of the University is covered by Gelfand (1978) and a few articles scattered in journals.

In 18 chapters, including a pictorial section, the faculties of Agriculture, Arts, Health Sciences, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Law, Science, Veterinary Science, and Social Studies present the tale of their founding, growth, research and other achievements. What is useful in many chapters is the inclusion of lists of previous Deans, staff members and luminaries from the various faculties. Associated departments such as Computer Science, Technology, African Languages, the Library, Post-Graduate and Students Affairs, as well as the Teaching and Learning Centre also tell their story. Much of the book reads like a prospectus rather than a conventional history which is not a major weakness but will often leave the historically-minded reader wanting more details.

The longest chapter in the book is that covering the College



The History of the University of Zimbabwe 1955-2015

Edited by
Chipo Dyanda



of Health Sciences (p.49–128), arguably the most important part of the entire University owing to its focus on saving lives via research and training into nearly every aspect of human healthcare. With 22 teaching departments, one institute and one school, UZ staff and alumni in this College may be proud of the great contributions they have made to Zimbabwe—and beyond. Several medical innovations in treatment and equipment in “third world” conditions have been developed thanks to staff and students from this section of UZ. It is a truism that one of the country’s greatest exports has been its doctors and nurses, many of whom find great success in the western world. One could only wish that the government would support and develop this and other medical schools in the country, as well as actually pay staff in hospitals and clinics countrywide a living wage in order to retain them.

Arguably the next most important Faculty, Education, was established in 1955, along with the University itself. Many of its senior staff were eminently qualified and assisted with developing the national teacher-training programme that has stood the country in good stead for decades, despite a lack of investment in the educational sector from the 2000s as purely political considerations and rampant corruption gobbled funding for such social services. The Faculty and its departments have seen thousands of graduates pass through its hands, many going on to work in the educational sector across the region.

The chapters I most enjoyed reading were those on the Faculties of Science, Engineering, Law, and Veterinary Sciences, owing to the many fascinating aspects of work, described in an engaging fashion, carried out by them. The section on the fight to create a multi-racial system for training lawyers is a must-read for people wishing to understand how the iniquitous inequality of the Rhodesian system was deployed against even the most-qualified. The list of discoveries of diseases, parasites and viruses by the Veterinary faculty (p.336–340) is impressive as is their work on their treatment and prevention. A quick internet search shows alumni of all of these faculties at the forefront of research and development in the public and private sectors around the world, a truly impressive legacy. If only conditions in Zimbabwe rewarded and encouraged such people too.

Amusingly, the list of significant milestones (p.4–5) jumps from 2000 to 2015, ignoring the lost years when the university experienced an unprecedented decline due to the disastrous economic and political policies of the government. This period was not ignored in contributions in the 2015 publication and only a couple of chapters here mention that decline in anything resembling an honest fashion. The constant political interference by the government, capricious educational policies and drastic economic decline led to loss of competent, experienced staff which was as transformative to the university as the decline of infrastructure occasionally mentioned here. It will have a much longer effect, especially with regards to institutional memory and character.

Aspects of the book have not aged well in light of the military coup in November, 2017, especially the slavish inclusion of Grace Mugabe (e.g. p.59, 297), whose “academic achievements” at the University are demonstrably false (e.g. Helliker 2018; Dembedza 2021). The repeated emphasis in discussions on the race of the student body and faculty members is jarring and badly done. More pertinent 21st century concerns such as gender equality, sexual harassment, the flight of qualified staff, the decline in educational quality and the collapse of Zimbabwe’s education system also need recognition in a publication



such as this.

The repeated focus in several chapters on denigrating the colonial era in favour of post-Independence propaganda is a curiosity somewhat undercut by the choice of cover picture for the book: the Queen Mother laying the foundation stone of the university on 13 July 1953 with the logo for the 60th anniversary celebrations plastered below. The slavish adherence to the current ethos of patriotic history and presentation of “alternative facts” is sadly present, undercutting the independence of the university, its essential asset. A missed opportunity here is to show how the Zimbabwean government currently wants essentially the same as the Rhodesians did: to create a docile student body and a “patriotic” research agenda that fulfils narrow political ends. Nevertheless, to its credit, the Zimbabwean government invested heavily in UZ during the 1980s, creating new faculties and facilities.

The book is littered with unfortunate spelling mistakes, odd sentences and strange typesetting. Many figures are pixellated or difficult to make out. One has to consult the contents page for the names of the author of each chapter since it does not appear at the heading of each new section, while the quality and coverage of contributions is erratic, requiring better editing for uniformity. The physical quality of the book is poor as my copy literally fell apart after one reading, the binding having given up.

I received my first degree from UZ in the mid-2000s, during arguably the worst period in the institution’s existence. I am proud of my association with the university and visit there whenever time allows, to meet colleagues, old and new, and seek inspiration for more work or information on current activities. This book is a reminder of the proud past of the country’s greatest institution of higher learning and will hopefully serve as a foundation on which to build a brighter future. As alumni, staff, students and citizens, we deserve nothing less.

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Book Review: **Setting of the Sun: King Lobengula Khumalo; Fate of the Last Ndebele Monarch – Pathisa Nyathi**

by Paul Hubbard



Pathisa Nyathi. 2020

Setting of the Sun: King Lobengula Khumalo: Fate of the Last Ndebele Monarch.

Bulawayo: Amagugu Publishers.

118 pages.

ISBN: 978-1-7790-161-4. US\$15

What happened to King Lobengula after the Battle of Pupu on 4 December 1894? *Yasinyamalala*. This has been the topic of debate and enquiry amongst scholars and the general public for well over a century now. Much of the focus was prompted by attempts to find his mythical treasure that never actually existed (Roberts 2004). There was some serious scholarly enquiry to lay the ghosts of the past to rest—as far as colonial authorities were concerned. On the internet and in various publications, it is far too common to find Lobengula's date of death formally pronounced as December 1894, with no actual evidence that this is the case beyond myriad and muddled accounts, most based on rumour. What is little appreciated today is that it suited the BSACo to have Lobengula declared dead so that they could get on with the business of claiming the Ndebele kingdom and its many assets and people as their own by right of conquest.

Split into 21 chapters, namely the 21 articles published in a local Sunday newspaper, the book is uneven in its treatment of the story of the fate of King Lobengula. There is a great deal of repetition of information across the chapters, while the story meanders.

The book begins with an abbreviated account of the Pupu battle on 4 December 1893, where Allan Wilson and his 33 men fought and died against the Ndebele. Nyathi then jumps through the various stories regarding Lobengula's fate—smallpox, sleeping sickness, suicide, assassination by his own people or by BSACo forces—before usefully explaining why it is critical for the Ndebele to know what happened to their King. “According to their politicians philosophy, the King epitomised the State” (p.19). By that logic, the lament that the King simply “disappeared” is a clear indicator of the notion that perhaps some of the senior indunas and family members of the Ndebele royal family did know what happened to King Lobengula.

It is all too easy to create a conspiracy behind the events of Lobengula's disappearance. To wildly speculate, from the perspective of the monarch, it may have been well within his purview to quietly head into exile, perhaps to avoid something similar to the cruel ignominy inflicted on Cetshwayo of the Zulu only a few years earlier by his British conquerors. Additionally Lobengula could have been seeking a quiet end to a turbulent life. He may well have ordered several messages sent back via trusted followers with the words “ilanga selitshonile”, “the sun has set”, preventing his people



from attempting to follow him into exile. Rumours of the death of the king in early 1894 were certainly spread by contemporary Ndebele leaders and readily accepted by the new white administration. Not all were convinced, however, as reports from the Native Commissioner Wankie, F. W. T. Posselt in the 1920s, clearly indicate, although he took several years to actually publish his misgivings in 1945.

Chapters 3 to 5, explore a little of the history of the Tonga people in the area through which Lobengula presumably passed on his way to the Zambezi, an important addition to the literature on this topic that needs further elaboration. Nyathi makes the valid point that the BaTonga lived across much more of Zimbabwe than is the case in more recent times (p.31), a point undermined by his startling and unfounded assertion (p.30) that the BaTonga and Khoisan provided labour for the construction of Great Zimbabwe. A similar point may be made about the story of white pursuers of the King being tricked into falling down a precipice and dying (p.46)—to my knowledge no such losses are recorded in any reputable historical account.

After a brief discussion of certain funerary rites among the Ndebele in Chapter 7, Nyathi next claims that Magwegwe Fuyane was killed and buried in the faux grave in Chief Pashu's area as a decoy. Detailed analyses of bones in the grave have been done, and reveal that they were from someone not older than 20 years (Cooke 1970). There were no diamonds found in this grave either, despite claims on page 60 that these were used to found Highlanders Football Club. It would be against custom to remove grave goods from any grave and, thus, it is likely that the money and other treasures possibly accumulated by Lobengula were hidden elsewhere for the personal benefit of his family, as Roberts (2004) convincingly relates.

Chapters 10 to 16 cover the issues of how, by culture and custom, Ndebele leaders would have kept secret the King's escape and final destination. Additionally, Nyathi shows the familial relations between Mphezeni's Ngoni people and the Ndebele, as well as Ndebele familiarity with the territory beyond the Zambezi, thanks to trading and raiding before colonisation. The important memorialising ritual of naming children is a welcome addition to the evidence that Lobengula potentially crossed the Zambezi and eventually settled near modern-day Chipata.

The last part of the book, Chapters 17 to 21, relates a visit to the Ngoni iNchwala ceremony in Zambia in 2011, to explore linkages between the past and present cultural practices of the Ngoni and Ndebele peoples. The final chapter relates a visit in the area of Lobengula's alleged final resting place, Nsanjika Hill, near Chipata, which they did not actually visit but was pointed out to them. It is a pity no physical verification was done, although Nyathi and his companions did conduct interviews in the area which hinted that perhaps Lobengula did end his days in this area around 1896 or 1897. Strangely, Nyathi claims that Lobengula died 26 years after his arrival (p.89) but there is little to suggest such a long lifespan for the King, who was already in his late 60s at the time of the Anglo-Ndebele war. At the last, however, "one woman freely volunteered her own side of the story. 'People came here to remove King Lobengula's remains and reburied them at a secret site.'" (p.116). And so, some mystery remains.

In common with other titles released by Amagugu Publishers, it is clear that more time and effort is needed proofreading the manuscript once it has been typeset. There are spaces missing between words on nearly every page. My copy had random blank pages

that did not affect the pagination. The lack of references for much of the information presented is a little troubling and it makes it difficult to follow up on areas of interest. How Nyathi presents information collected from oral interviews, is worrisome as informants are never named, the dates of the interviews never given, and the necessary critique of such information is lacking. As is well known, there is a need for rigorous and critical evaluation of oral traditions owing to issues around their creation, maintenance and use. Amusingly, Nyathi repeatedly refers to “white scholarly researchers” (e.g. p.18) without ever naming them. Who are they and what work have they done? More care should have been taken with adapting Nyathi’s newspaper columns into this book; such a revision would have avoided much of the repetition of information. Fact checking is also an important component for any historical book. For example, “Fort Johnston” as the author refers to it, should be Fort Jameson, now Chipata in Northern Zambia. Fort Johnston is located in southern Malawi, now renamed Mangochi.

What is not touched upon in this book, but must be mentioned, is the crucial importance of the repatriation of King Lobengula to Zimbabwe, should his grave be convincingly identified. Over the past century, many efforts have been made to repatriate the bodies of other Ndebele royals from South Africa, something discussed by Professor Ray Roberts in his many articles about the Ndebele royal family. For myriad cultural and national holistic reasons, King Lobengula should be brought home, perhaps to be buried near his father in the Matobo Hills, celebrated and admired for the great leader that he was through such turbulent times.

Yasinyamalala. Lobengula disappeared. But our interest in this topic and its implications for Ndebele identity and statehood will not.

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Mashonaland Branch Chairman's Annual Report 2020-2021



When we met on 15 March 2020 for our Annual General Meeting I don't think many of us realised that the World wide COVID 19 Pandemic which was just gaining traction would last as long as it has and cause so much dislocation to all our lives and to our History Society.

To combat the pandemic the Zimbabwe Government introduced varying measures which changed from time to time depending on the level of lockdown. Your Society has endeavoured to operate within the parameters imposed on us and has tried to have some gatherings of members as and when this has been possible. We will continue to do so.

Our first talk was on 8 November 2020 in Raymond and Morag Flight's lovely garden in Broadlands Road, Avondale. Morag spoke to us about the history and achievements of Garden Clubs in Zimbabwe over the past 60 years. She also included anecdotes on some of the characters who have contributed to the Zimbabwe gardening world over the years. Our hosts provided memorable teas and eats after the talk. The writer spoke briefly about the original railway line from the then Salisbury to Ayrshire Mine which ran close to where we were sitting. Unfortunately to conform with Covid restrictions it was necessary to restrict attendance to 40, a measure which led to many disappointed members. It was an interesting and enjoyable morning for those lucky enough to be able to attend.

The next talk was on 8 November 2020 when popular Bulawayo historian Paul Hubbard spoke to us about the setting of our Eastern border and the early difficult relations with the Portuguese Government, its agents and other characters with an interest in the area. We used the Gazebo at the Mukuvisi Woodlands as a venue. In the present situation the Gazebo being partly open is suitable for our purposes. About 85 members attended and again we had to disappoint some members who couldn't attend as we had reached the maximum numbers permitted.

Paul Hubbard spoke to us again on 9 May 2021 on the subject "Rhodes Still Lies: The Divided legacy of Cecil John Rhodes in Zimbabwe (and beyond)". It was a well presented talk exploring the many current views on a man who has been dead for 119 years and yet can still ignite so much passion for and against his lifetime achievements. Some 85 members attended with many folk disappointed when we reached the attendance limit.

On 20 June 2021 we scheduled a presentation by Mr Cosmas Nyamutsa entitled "Great Zimbabwe: who built it and why".

Four days before the event we had to postpone it as a change in the lockdown regulations effectively banned any gatherings. The presentation will now take place on 26 September 2021.

The Chat Line operated by Charles Castelin ably assisted by Doug Mc Clymont has played a large part in maintaining interest in the Society and in matters historical. I have received many favourable comments about the Chat Line and record my sincere thanks to Charles and Doug for this valuable contribution to our Society.

Our finances have been in the able and reliable hands of Stan Fynes-Clinton. Stan will be reporting separately on our financial state. To cover our expenses we rely on donations made at our talks. This system seems to work well and means minimal administrative work all around.

Our long serving and very efficient Minutes Secretary, Julia Russell stood down in January 2021 having served the Branch since 2012. Julia lived at Christon Bank and her employment in the travel industry meant she was now only coming into town once a week and was therefore no longer able to continue. Sadly Julia passed away suddenly on 19 August 2021.

Mrs Anne Campbell has kindly offered to take on the role of minutes Secretary and we look forward to welcoming her to the Committee

Bill Sykes a long serving Committee member and Branch Chairman passed away on 14 February 2021. Bill hadn't been involved in the Society for a number of years after moving out of Harare but in his time did much to enhance the quality of our presentations and communications.

Alex Masterson also a long serving member and Committee member since 2018 passed away on 24 June 2021 after a long illness.

The Committee elected in March 2020 was as follows:-

Meg Cumming
Charles Castelin
Marco Faccio
Stan Fynes-Clinton
Ben Kaschula
John McCarthy
Doug Mc Clymont
Alex Masterson
Ray Roberts
John Tayler
Robin Taylor
Glyn Vale
Kevin Atkinson (National Chairman)

Meg Cumming stood down from the Committee in April 2021. Meg had been a member of the Committee since July 2014 and I thank her for a contribution to our affairs. It was good to have a lady on the Committee.

As already recorded Alex Masterson passed away on 24 June 2021

Due to the Covid Pandemic our outreach programme has been on hold during the period under review.

I would like to record my appreciation to Jenny who does my typing and puts up with my historical moments.

Finally I would like to thank the Committee who have supported me during this unusual period in our lives. Members have always been available to undertake any tasks that are required to keep an organisation such as ours running smoothly. Likewise our members have supported the Society and I am only sorry that we have not been



more active and have had to disappoint members by restricting numbers when we have managed to arrange a talk.

The Society's Constitution provides that no person shall hold office as National Chairman for more than two years in succession. This provision has also been applied to the Branch. Having been elected in June 2019 I will accordingly stand down as your Chairman at the conclusion of this on line Annual General Meeting process. The incoming Committee will elect a new Chairman at its first meeting.

I would like to thank all our members for the support and friendship I have received during my term of office. It gives a feeling of great satisfaction when I see a good turnout of members at a talk. I wish my successor good luck in guiding our Society in the years ahead.

R. D. TAYLOR

Chairman.

14 September 2021

The National Chairman's Annual Report for 2020-2021



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 gave made it difficult to settle on a cost but this has now been resolved and printing is shortly to occur.

During this past year, two 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 other 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.

To the families of Colin and Mike we offer our deepest condolences but also thank them for the outstanding contribution that these two 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

18 March 2020