

HERITAGE of ZIMBABWE

PUBLICATION NO. 41

2022



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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE
Harare
Zimbabwe



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- ☆ The Society aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Zimbabwean history.
- ☆ The Society encourages all readers and their friends and colleagues to enrol as members.
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- ☆ Outings to sites of interest with talks on related subjects and a national annual luncheon are part of the organised activities offered to members.
- ☆ The Society encourages historical study and research; and endeavours to record in interesting form the story of Zimbabwe in *Heritage of Zimbabwe*, the only publication devoted exclusively to this purpose.
- ☆ Membership is open to everyone and there is no joining fee.
- ☆ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* is published once a year and copies may be purchased by members from the Society. The articles will appeal to Zimbabweans as well as people beyond our borders who seek to understand our country.
- ☆ Each issue of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* contains a wide variety of articles on Zimbabwe's historic background: pioneering, military, transport, agricultural, political, biographical, literary, cultural and so on.
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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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THE HISTORY SOCIETY OF ZIMBABWE

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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 underway.



Editor's Foreword

This is the 41st annual volume of *Heritage of Zimbabwe* journal and our 81st volume since publication began in 1956, (following formation of the History Society of Zimbabwe in 1953).

We kick off with leading historian Professor Ray Roberts' fascinating article on Lobengula's "War Doctors", (the Mzizi Family). Their wagon drivers who accompanied Lobengula wherever he went were "... all dressed in the highest European fashion and were the greatest scamps in the country — idle, vain, insolent and vicious". They "doctored" the *Impis* before going to raid and upon their return, gradually making themselves indispensable to Lobengula. This information was wholly unknown to your Editor (and to most I suspect) and provides a valuable addition to the story of our heritage. Later in this edition Ray makes a second related contribution in the form of the story of Elsa Godwin Green (nurse to the wounded settlers and militiamen in the Jameson Raid and the First Chimurenga/ Umvukela). This brave woman came from the ranks of ordinary Britons who did not hesitate to serve in dangerous situations and on distant frontiers.

Ray demonstrates the depth of his research and knowledge in explaining in yet another article the lead-up to the assumption of power in Rhodesia by the British Crown. This account should be read in conjunction with the article by Adrian de Bourbon at page 115. Ray observes and concludes that Southern Rhodesia was "annexed as a colony but ... was soon treated as a Dominion. Northern Rhodesia was different (administered) ... as a protectorate. Had the BSA Company given up its pre-occupation with its indifferent assets of gold and land in (Southern Rhodesia) and developed the copper reserves (of Northern Rhodesia at the beginning of the 20th century) ... the outcomes could have been very different". Food for thought.

Veteran pilot, lawyer and aviation historian John Reid-Rowland contributes a most interesting article on what it took to reach southern Africa by air in the 1930's (an exercise involving many days of perilous flying and many crash landings along the way). The writer Elspeth Huxley flew 6½ hours from Entebbe to Croydon in 1933. She said her journey was bumpy, hot and stuffy with passengers getting airsick. Her breakfast in the Sudan was "repellent". We have less to endure in comparison today, but the luxuriously appointed passenger cabins and lounges of those days put modern equivalents to shame, as will be seen from the photos accompanying the article, certainly as far as flying economy class is concerned, (albeit at five times current prices).

Anthony Stidolph's memoir of growing up in the "back of beyond" of Inyanga North follows. It is a beautifully written tribute to his family and the area by a prolific writer and well-known cartoonist for the *Natal Witness* and other publications. He writes that "no other place has affected me so deeply or had such influence on my imaginative development or provided me with such a rich vein of memories. Living there, imaginative doors were opened, creative juices started to flow, ways of seeing begun". Anthony's other works can be seen by Googling Stidy's Eye. There must be many other similar stories of the early days out there

amongst our membership and members who have a story to tell, but are reluctant to do so for whatever reason, are encouraged to put pen to paper and submit your drafts to your Editor (who will be happy to assist with editing and polishing up). Long or short, erudite or written in simple terms — all are very welcome.

The Meikle family are amongst the most renowned pioneer families and made massive contributions to the development of our country for the benefit of those who came after. Quoting Kingsley Fairbridge in part: “we wrought in death and hunger, we fought the veld, we few, behold the effort of our hands, this road was built for you”. In this edition Barbara Meikle writes of her grandfather, John Meikle who arrived in Rhodesia in 1892 with wife Sarah and four young children, including John, her father, aged 9 months. A Family Tree is provided and useful complementary notes on the border question with Mozambique (see also Mike Tucker’s article on this subject in *Heritage* 39).

The late great Professor Michael Gelfand wrote an article in the 1950’s about one of the earliest “heart of darkness” type trips by naval officers, by canoe up the Zambesi into Portuguese territory (in this case in 1823). We are pleased to be able to reproduce it here. It describes slavery, jungle fever from “swamp vapours” and privation and deaths, all in the name of exploration.

Transport fundi Robin Taylor weighs in next with a thoroughly researched and well-illustrated article on public transport in the 1890’s. Robin’s writings on transport in Zimbabwe deserve publication in book form (just as do those by Peter Fey on geological matters) and it is hoped that this might one day become a reality, perhaps a coffee table book in co-operation with Jono Waters? In this article Robin describes coach services in Rhodesia before the construction of the rail network and the final blow to coach and wagon transport (certainly by the end of the Great War) from the arrival of lorries and motor cars.

A most interesting (and very amusing account in the case of the opening ceremony at the bridge) follows next from Billy Moubray (with informative notes from regular contributor Rob Burrett) on the 1935 opening of Birchenough Bridge, another illustration of the amazing early works from which people in this country are still privileged to benefit. Thanks are also due to Stuart Beverly who found Moubray’s notes in old papers held by Stuart’s family.

Renowned author and geologist Peter Fey continues his deeply-researched history of the Geological Survey of Zimbabwe with three articles, on widely-travelled geologist Francis Keep (who arrived in Rhodesia in 1926 via England and Canada), on Euen Morrison (the 9th Director, until 1989, of the Geological Survey) and on the discovery of one of the world’s largest deposits of Lithium in a tinfield discovered in 1909 in Bikita. Peter’s articles never cease to illustrate the highly-educated, competent and conscientious men who staffed this country’s Geological Survey.

A labour of love follows from new contributor Adrian de Bourbon renowned Advocate and defender of rights in Zimbabwe for most of his working life, (and keen philatelist now resident in the United Kingdom). Adrian deals with the winding up of the BSAC administration in Zimbabwe in 1923 in a well-researched, comprehensive and most informative article. He concludes that, with the benefit of hindsight, the end of Company administration of Southern Rhodesia was “dealt with in a businesslike manner, obtaining what in the result was a substantial commercial

and financial advantage for the Company and its shareholders”.

Well-known and well-respected Veterinary surgeon, the urbane and articulate Charles Waghorn, kept a large attendance of members enthralled in a talk in 2019 on the early veterinary history of Zimbabwe and we reproduce that excellent talk in this edition. In 1981 Charles implanted Danish Red embryos, imported in a thermos flask flushed from two cows in Denmark and sped by plane to Harare. Five pure Red Dane calves were born 10 months later. This made history as Charles was the first to achieve this success in Zimbabwe.

Keen member Mike Barter and well-known historian Rob Burrett’s article on Frank Oates (adventurer, naturalist and uncle of the Antarctic explorer), who first arrived in Zimbabwe in 1873, is a gripping tale of the stubborn and determined Oates’ exploits in Zimbabwe, in particular his fatal determination to reach the Zambesi and Victoria Falls, and in later years an account of the search for his grave (only discovered in 1955 in the wilds of north-eastern Botswana near the Tati Concession).

Part 2 of the irrepressible Marcel Mitton’s entertaining story describes, *inter alia*, his marriage and rise to wealth (in part due to his introduction of the credit system No Deposit No Interest associated with Radio Limited, with which most of our membership will be familiar). Feedback on Part 1 has been very positive and Noeline Barry deserves congratulations on recording his memoirs.

The knowledgeable and super-efficient Chris Halse provides a sequel to his well-received article in *Heritage* 40 on the ferry *Seaflight*, with a detailed history of the Lake Shipping Company and the vessels (*Seaflight*, *Seahorse* and *Sea Lion*) operated by the admirable entrepreneurship of the founders of that company in the 1970’s (until its final liquidation). Chris is also working on an update of the hugely popular *Index to Heritage of Zimbabwe*.

A tribute to Chris Andersen follows (written by his wife Anne and with a note from our member and retired lawyer Richard Wood). Chris was a man of many talents – Advocate, politician, Member of Parliament, Government Minister in the Smith, Muzorewa and Mugabe administrations (prompted in all three cases by a remark by Ian Smith that “if one cared for one’s country one should get involved”) and a skilled squash player, avid fisherman and loving family man.

We are grateful that prominent guide and historian Paul Hubbard has provided a valuable bibliography of the 31 issued journals of the *Pre-history Society of Zimbabwe*, over 60 years of its existence, which every historian, amateur or otherwise, will treasure as a handy guide to the contents of the publications of that society. Paul has a complete set of the journals — the first was published in 1959 — but there is another full set at Arrupe College in Mt. Pleasant (and partial sets elsewhere in Harare and Bulawayo). Incorporating the Pre-history society into our Society has been mooted and this may or may not happen in the future.

We close with the usual Annual Reports.

Your National and Branch Committees are most grateful to:-

- a. our Sponsors (who, along with sales of *Heritage* to members, provide the necessary funds, approximately USD\$4 000 per annum, to produce each new annual edition of *Heritage of Zimbabwe*);
- b. the members who attend our talks, buy the journal and donate to the ice-cream box at our talks to cover venue hire costs;
- c. our authors for their skills and hard labour in producing articles of great merit and interest;
- d. my secretary Felicity Naidoo for her typing skills and general assistance in putting together the journal over many years;
- e. our wonderful type-setter Rhona Chapman who expertly guides your Editor through the process of finalizing each edition of *Heritage* and getting it to print;
- f. John and Anna McCarthy for additional proofreading.

F. A. EDKINS

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The Mzizi Family: War Doctors to Lobengula

by R. S. Roberts



Bulali (Mbulali; Bolala) was of the Zizi (Amazizi, Mzizi) clan which had fled from Zulu country in the 1820s and merged with others to form the Mfengu (Fingo) in the Eastern Cape. He was born c.1830 into a chiefly family in the Newtondale area, south of Peddie, but fled north in the late 1850s to avoid prosecution for witchcraft and/or murder. He then settled near Hopetown among the Griqua under their leader, Nicolaas Waterboer, and David Arnot, the government agent. A son of Bulali known as Hlegisana, Shekelsan or Willem came into Matabeleland as a hunter about the time of Mzilikazi's death in 1868; and when doubts and problems developed over the succession, Willem saw, and seized, an opportunity that led the family to Matabeleland and prominence until the fall of the monarchy in 1893–4.¹

After Mzilikazi's death Ncumbata Khumalo acted as regent and was beset by disputes and delays over the recognition of a new king; Lobengula's claim was contested by those who preferred Nkulumane, the royal son who had disappeared years earlier. Willem, sensing an opening, began to tell anyone who would listen stories of the miraculous powers of his father as a doctor. These stories reached, and impressed, Ncumbata who asked Willem to bring Bulali to Matabeleland to help; and soon after arriving Bulali 'doctored' the regiments loyal to Lobengula and then participated in the ceremonies of installation of Lobengula.

By his shrewdness Bulali then gradually made himself indispensable, particularly in doctoring impis before going to raid and in cleansing them on their return; for this he was well rewarded, and as early as November 1870, according to Clarke and Nyathi, he

¹ There are numerous references to the Mzizi family in Matabeleland but the most reliable source is J. G. Wood, *Through Matabeleland: The Record of a Ten Months' Trip in an Ox-Waggon through Mashonaland and Matabeleland* (London, Richards, Glanville, 1893) Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, reprint with Foreword by E. C. Tabler, 1974), 45. 54–6. Wood came from the Eastern Cape and may have already known something of the Mzizi but he probably learned more from the Mfengu William File, who was a witness to the concession that Wood obtained from Lobengula. File acted as an interpreter; whether he had been brought in by Wood or whether he was already there is not clear, but it seems that he stayed on in Matabeleland.

A somewhat different version, but without references, of the Mzizi is given in M. F. Clarke & P. Nyathi, *Lozikeyi Dlodlo: Queen of the Ndebele: 'A Very Dangerous and Intriguing Woman'* (Bulawayo. Amagugu Publ., 2nd ed., 2011), 31–2, where the man they call Hlekisane appears as father of Willem. This is the edition some pages of which appear on line via Google Books which, however, is presented as the 2010 edition which in fact lacks this section on the doctors; readers also need to be aware that the pagination of this work seems to vary from copy to copy even of what is ostensibly the same edition.

There is also an account of a doctor to Mzilikazi while still near the Vaal River, Mphubane Zizi: this may indicate that Willem's story was not the whole truth of the association; see P. Mahlangu, *Umthwakazi* (Cape Town, Longmans Green, 1957), 7–8.

was the doctor who received 150 head of cattle after a very successful raid.² He soon became well established and a daughter of his was taken to wife by Lobengula; and to entrench his influence he turned Lobengula against the London Missionary Society ministers resident in Matabeleland, who had had hopes of the new king.³ In 1876 Bulali obtained permission from Lobengula to bring up his whole family from Griqua country, and two men of some authority, Mangesi and Ntanyela (not otherwise known) were sent south to conduct them to Matabeleland. It was this party's presence in Kimberley in May 1876 that prompted Alexander C. Bailie of the Griqualand West surveyor's department to suggest to his superiors that he join the party and visit Lobengula with a view to obtaining labour for the diamond fields and mapping the best route for the migrants; and it is from Bailie's contact with the Mzizi that some of the information in this article has come.⁴

Bailie and his party reached Gubuluwayo on 5 December 1876 and the Mzizi family were allowed to settle and make their own village a few miles to the south which became something of a centre for other Africans from outside Matabeleland.⁵ The Jesuits who arrived in late 1879 mentioned them often, mainly in the context of the superstitions of the Ndebele,⁶ but also as hunters and transport-riders, and as such some of them were hired by Fr Depelchin for his first journey to the Zambesi.⁷ By then Bulali had become blind and was helped in his work by Willem, who after his father's death in 1879 took over his estate and his place as doctor; indeed it appears that one of his first jobs was to organise the skinning alive of chief Mazorodze Chibi in late 1879.⁸

Like his father Willem became influential, married a relative of Lobengula and half-a-dozen other wives, and was said to be the only African in the country allowed to own a waggon. Oates in 1874 noted that the waggon-drivers of the doctor's entourage, which accompanied Lobengula wherever he went, all dressed in the highest European fashion and were 'the greatest scamps in the country—idle, vain, insolent, and vicious'.⁹ Willem himself was a very quarrelsome person and was regarded with a mixture of distrust and fear; even within his extended family, which was equally quarrelsome, there

² J. P. R. Wallis (ed.), *The Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines 1869–1872* (London, Chatto and Windus, Oppenheimer Ser. 3, 3 parts, 1946), (ii), 550–1, and Clarke & Nyathi, *Lozikeyi Dlodlo*, 31, without any source mentioned. The raid was almost certainly on the Gutu area, J. R. D. Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos, 1820–1896' (Lancaster, Univ. of, Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 316, and 'Mziki, [A.A. Campbell], *Mlimo: The Rise and Fall of the Matabele* ([Pietermaritzburg, Natal Witness, 1926] Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, new ed., 151.

³ Particularly Sykes according to D. Carnegie, *Among the Matabele* (London, Religious Tract Society, 1894), 103–4; see also W. A. Elliott, *Gold from Quartz* (London, London Missionary Society, 1910), 144 for Bulali's 'evil influence'.

⁴ Great Britain, [C. 2220], *Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of South Africa*, No. 17, Sir Henry Bartle Frere, Gov. Cape, to Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Colon. Off., 30 July 1878, encl. 4: A. C. Bailie, Gubuluwayo, to Chief Clerk Colon. Secretariat, Kimberley, 31 Dec. 1876 (H.C. 1878/79, lii, 1). An article on Bailie and his journey will appear in a later issue.

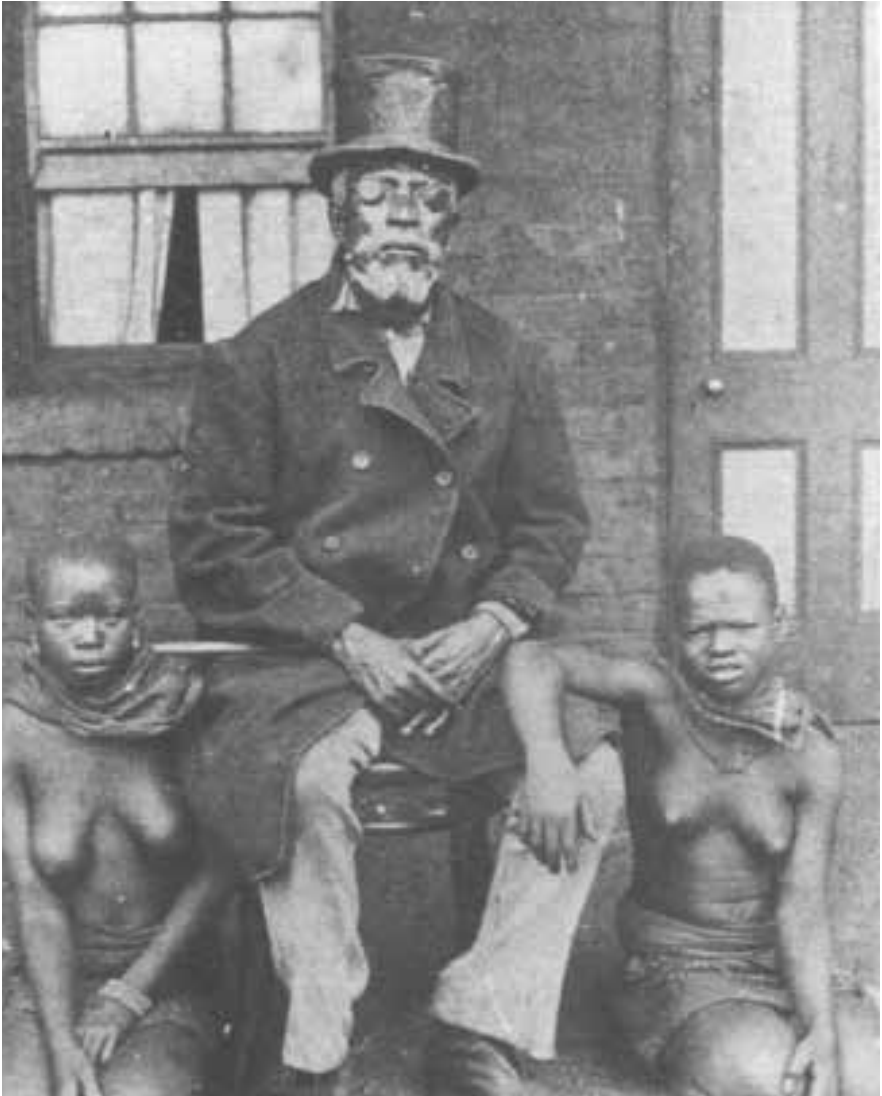
⁵ R. S. Roberts (ed.), *Journey to Gubuluwayo: Letters of Frs H. Depelchin and C. Croonenberghs, S.J. 1879, 1880, 1881* (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1979), 274–5, 293. M. Gelfand, *Gubuluwayo and beyond: Letters and Journals of the Early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia (1879–1887)* (London, Geoffrey Chapman, 1968), 251; Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 147, quoting Hist. MSS, WO1 4/1, 'Wood Journals', entry 3 June 1887.

⁶ Roberts, *Journey to Gubuluwayo*, 241, 260, 263, 302–3, 309.

⁷ R. S. Roberts (ed.), *Journeys beyond Gubuluwayo to the Gaza, Tonga and Lozi: Letters of the Jesuits' Zambesi Mission, 1880–1883* (Harare, Weaver Press, 2009), 13.

⁸ Chibi had been captured, almost by accident, when some of his people's strongholds resisted the collection of tribute; see D. N. Beach, 'The Adendorff Trek in Shona history', *South African Hist. Jnl* (1971), III, 39. The identification of the doctor as Mbulali comes from Clarke & Nyathi, *Lozikeyi Dlodlo*, 31, without any source mentioned.

⁹ C. G. Oates (ed.), *Matabele Land and the Victoria Falls . . . from the Letters & Journals of the Late Frank Oates, F.R.G.S.* ([London, C. Kegan Paul, 1881] Salisbury, Pioneer Head, reprint, 1971), 103.



War doctor to Lobengula (><https://www.reddit.com/r/HistoryPorn/>; I have failed to discover the date, source and the copyright-owner of the photograph).

was resentment of his dominance and suspicions following several deaths.¹⁰

His prominence, however, grew rather than diminished; and he became a leading voice in the opposition to the Rudd Concession; and in the indaba of March 1889 to discuss the meaning and implications of the concession he led the cross-examination of the Revd C. D. Helm concerning the verbal understandings not in the document and he did not hide his contempt for the missionaries: ‘Ay they tinkle tinkle the bell to tell

¹⁰ Roberts, *Journey to Gubuluwayo*, 349–50.

us child's tales but they don't tinkle it to tell us bad news like this.'¹¹

After the Matabele War and the collapse of the Ndebele kingdom in 1893, it has been assumed that Willem was the Mazizi who gave evidence in 1894 to the Land Commission, but this is almost certainly a confusion with a headman under Gambo.¹² Indeed in 1896, according to Cobbing, Willem took an active part in the Rising,¹³ but not prominently enough to be mentioned in Ranger's history.

What happened to him and his family thereafter is not known, but a photograph of him on online, which appears to be genuine, presents him as prosperous on the stoep of a European-style house; but it gives no clue as to how he was making his living. It seems that his family did not merge into that loose grouping of Africans from the south generally referred to as Colonial Natives who were to become predominantly Mfengu because of an official immigration scheme; a significant Zizi group indeed settled in the Fingo Location in Bembesi in the early twentieth century, with the Kona family as its leaders, but there is no evidence of the doctor's family settling there or playing any part in early African political activities led by these immigrants.¹⁴ The conclusion must be that they merged into the wider Ndebele society, into which, of course, they had already married, and it may be that it is some of them that appear as ordinary Ndebele among the relocations to Buhera in the 1970s.¹⁵

¹¹ Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 255, quoting LMS, ML 1/4/B, Elliott to Thompson, 27 Mar. 1889. Bailie still regarded himself as an expert on Matabeleland as late as 1893 (sixteen years after his only visit) and as war against Lobengula was looming he maintained that Willem's influence was pro-European, *The Star* [Johannesburg], 22 July 1893.

¹² Great Britain, *Report of the Land Commission of 1894 and Correspondence relating Thereto* [C. 8130], (H.C. 1896 lix, 903); P. Stigger, *The Land Commission of 1894 and the Land* (Salisbury, Hist. Assoc. of Zimbabwe, Local Ser. 36, 1980).

¹³ Cobbing, 'The Ndebele under the Khumalos', 389; T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1967), as far as an inadequate index indicates.

¹⁴ e.g. in T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (London, Heinemann, 1970), as far as an inadequate index indicates; or, more importantly, in E. P. Makambe, 'The African Immigrant Factor in Southern Rhodesia, 1890–1930: The Origin and Influence of External Elements in a Colonial Setting' (York, Univ. of, Ph.D. thesis, 1979).

¹⁵ F. Musoni, 'Forced resettlement, ethnicity, and the (un)making of the Ndebele identity in Buhera District, Zimbabwe', *Afr. Stud. Rev.* (2014), LVII, 79–100. However, it needs to be remembered that there were Ndebele called Mzizi with Mzilikazi who were indunas of early regiments; see, for example, Mfanembuzi and Mhlambi of the Emazizini and the Embelesi, respectively, Mahlangu. *Umtlwakazi*, 14, 16.

Long Haul Down Africa in the 1930s

by John Reid Rowland



The idea of talking about long haul flights to this part of the world came from the Aeroplane (July 2019) in which there is an account, written by a passenger by the name of George Flynn, of a trip with Imperial Airways to Bangkok in 1934. The trip, as far as Alexandria, was the same as would have been undertaken by passengers coming to southern Africa.



Van Ryneveld and Brand, with the engineers, in front of Silver Queen

First flight down Africa and first aeroplane in this country – 1920

Early in 1920 several expeditions declared their intention to set out for the Cape. First to leave, on Saturday, 24 January 1920, was a converted Vickers Vimy bomber, sponsored by *The Times* of London. This was piloted by Captains S. Cockerell and F. C. Broome, two very experienced airmen. They got as far as Tabora, Tanganyika, where they crashed on 26 February.

Within the next 10 days three more aircraft left England:

- a Handley-Page sponsored by the *Daily Telegraph*, piloted by Major Brackley and Captain Tymms;

- a DH14 of Airco Ltd, piloted by Captain Cotton and Lieutenant Townsend
- a second Vickers Vimy, registered G-UABA, named the *Silver Queen*. The *Silver Queen* was sponsored by the Government of South Africa as General Smuts, then the Prime Minister (and one of the movers behind the establishment of the RAF) wanted South Africans to be the first. He authorised the purchase of the Vimy, for £4 500. She was flown by two South African pilots, Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre van Ryneveld, DSO, MC, and Flight-Lieutenant C. J. Quintin Brand, DSO, MC, DFC. With them, to attend to aircraft and engine maintenance were a Mr Burton, an airframe engineer, and F. W. Sherratt, of Rolls-Royce.

A third Vimy, flown by Major Welsh and Captain Halley, only got as far as Wadi Halfa, Sudan, where it crashed.

Not one of these five aircraft made it to Cape Town, and only one crew did, the South African one.

Van Ryneveld and Brand took off from Brooklands on Wednesday 4 February 1920. By 9 February they arrived in Cairo, after an extremely arduous crossing of the Mediterranean at night in vile weather and a two day stop at Sollum to repair some damage caused by a boulder on the airfield.

The next night, 10 February, they took off from Cairo and flew south, presumably hoping to get to their next destination, Khartoum, in the daylight. An engine overheated and they force landed in the dark, on the eastern side of the Nile, at Korosko, between Aswan and Wadi Halfa.

They were helped by none other than Field Marshal Allenby, who had liberated Jerusalem from, the Turks in 1917, and was now Ambassador to Egypt. He and his wife were returning to Cairo by river from Wadi Halfa after a tour in the Sudan. They stopped their steamer at Korosko and helped the crew, bringing supplies of food.

The fuselage was wrecked, but the engines were serviceable and were sent back to Cairo and fitted onto another Vimy provided by the RAF at the request of the SA Government.

Silver Queen II left Cairo on 22 February. They reached Abercorn on 28 February. On 29 February they reached Ndola. They left Ndola on 2 March and got to Livingstone. They had a problem getting out of Livingstone as the aircraft got bogged down, but the crew still had time to visit the Falls.



Van Ryneveld and Brand at the Falls



It's not very clear where the airfield was at Livingstone, but it seems to have been south of the town, between the river and the railway line.

On 5 March 1920 *Silver Queen II* finally left Livingstone. Once the aircraft was airborne for Bulawayo, the first aerial photo of the Falls was taken.

It arrived in Bulawayo, landing on the race course. The triumph of their arrival was not to last: on 6 March *Silver Queen II* crashed on takeoff and was wrecked.

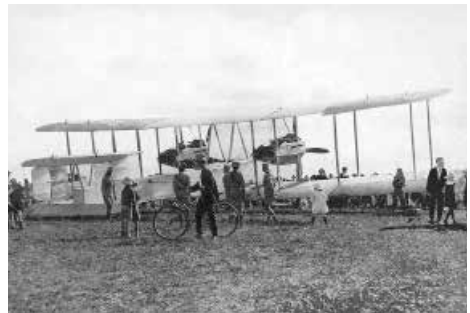
On 16 March a DH9 of the SAAF, *Voortrekker*, arrived, sent by General Smuts.

The next day van Ryneveld and Brand set off for Cape Town, and arrived on 20 March, two wrecked aeroplanes and six weeks after setting off from England. Both were knighted for their efforts. Both returned to service. Brand ended up as an Air Vice-Marshal in the RAF, and retired to Umtali, Rhodesia, where he died in 1968.

Although van Ryneveld and Brand were successful, in one sense, clearly it would not be economical to keep on doing that sort of trip.



First photo of the Falls from the air



***Silver Queen II* after arrival at Bulawayo**



***Voortrekker*~~**

A few small aircraft visited the country over the next few years, and in 1924, when Sir Alan Cobham, who was conducting a route survey, passed through the country on his way to the Cape, coming back through again in early 1925.

After that, visits become more and more frequent, both civil and military (RAF and SAAF). Both the RAF and the SAAF crashed aeroplanes in Rhodesia in 1929, one fatally.

Later on, proving flights were carried out for Imperial Airways, which started a scheduled service from London to Cape Town in 1931. Salisbury and Bulawayo were the destinations in Southern Rhodesia. Night landing facilities and hangars were installed at Salisbury, and emergency landing grounds, at approximately 50 mile intervals along the route, were constructed. They were at such places as Chipani, which was near Makuti; Miami, near Karoi; Banket; Que Que; Insiza; and Sengazani, near Tuli. The government decided to install a route beacon light near Banket, as it was expected that arrivals in Salisbury in winter would be after dark.

The journey from London to Kisumu was initially accomplished in a variety of different aircraft, including HP42, AW Argosy and Short Kent flying boats – and there was a long train journey through Europe.

The HP42 was a very significant aircraft. Only 8 were built, the first one flying in 1930. Four were intended for European routes and had more passenger accommodation than those for the Empire routes. The latter needed to take more mail. They flew safely for several years and no passenger was injured in one. They all had names beginning with H: *Hannibal*, *Horsa*, *Hanno* and *Hadrian* were those used for the European routes. *Heracles*, *Horatius*, *Hengist* and *Helena* were used on the African and Indian routes.



HP42 *Helena* at Bulawayo on a proving flight to evaluate the route.

They were large for their day, and luxuriously appointed, having been intentionally styled to resemble Pullman railway carriages akin to the famous Orient Express. Other features intended to increase passenger comfort were a high level of spaciousness, relatively wide windows, and full on board services. Initially, there were no seatbelts present on any of the seats until an unrelated air accident motivated Imperial Airways to install this feature. On the ground, passengers could both embark and disembark without using steps or ladders due to the low position of both the doors and the fuselage overall.

The first mail flight from Kisumu to Cape Town set off on 31 December 1931, the aircraft being a DH Hercules named *City of Karachi*.

It made it all the way, but the return journey was less successful. The aircraft was



damaged on landing at a water-logged Salisbury airport. Another Hercules took over the journey but was also unsuccessful, having a forced landing in a *vlei* near Broken Hill. It took three days to find the aircraft and recover the crew, who were unharmed.



HP42 passenger cabin

Imperial Airways London-Salisbury 1933

I have picked on 1933 because my grandfather, who was then a city councillor, and later that year mayor of Salisbury for the second time, recorded in his memoirs: “On the 30th January we had our first large airliner, the *Atalanta*.”

This era is often, in aviation histories, called the “Golden Age” of flying. It is hard to know why.

Potential passengers would be lured by posters showing how exotic and romantic air travel was. As is pretty normal, the posters were somewhat misleading. One advertised



Imperial Airways poster



“57 hours to Egypt”. It did not mention the fact that 35 of those hours were on trains from Paris to Brindisi.

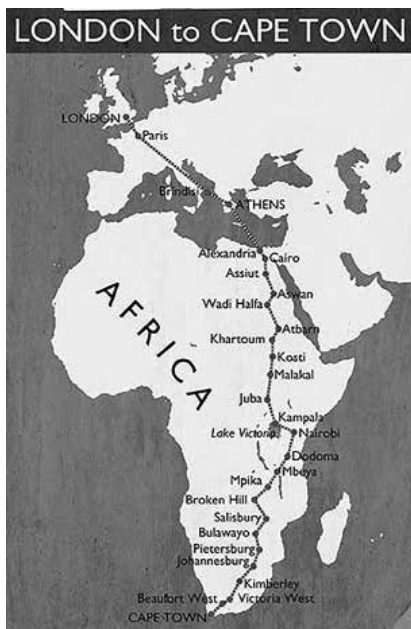
The travel was not that leisurely. Passengers were often roused in the early hours of the morning so that they could wash, breakfast and be at the airfield for dawn departures. Most of the scheduled departure times were around 7 am local, but sometimes as early as 5 am. No night arrivals were scheduled.

The aircraft were very slow: 100 mph/85 knots was the cruise speed of the HP42. Most light aircraft nowadays are appreciably faster than that. Airsickness would have been a problem.

The fares were very high: from London to Salisbury it cost £115 one way (return was £207), equivalent to £8770 today (£16785 return). Salisbury to Cape Town one

AFRICAN SERVICE

ENGLAND—EGYPT, EAST AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA				
Service in force from 1 Mar. 1933 until further notice				
	Departure and Arrival Times (Local Standard)		Miles Port to Port	Miles from London
Airway Terminal, Victoria, London, S.W.1.	dep.	Wed. 11.45		
Air Port of London, Croydon, England	dep.	" 12.30		
Paris, Gare de Lyon, France	dep.	" *21.40	693	693
Paris to Brindisi	dep.	Thurs. 11.30		
Brindisi, Italy	arr.	Fri. Morn.	1147	1374
Athens, Greece	dep.	" 11.30		
Alexandria, Egypt	dep.	Sat. 07.00		
Cairo	arr.	" 07.00	580	1954
Aden	arr.	Sun. 07.30	123	2077
Amman	dep.	" 10.30	205	2282
Wadi Halfa, Anglo-Egypt-Sudan	dep.	" 14.15	205	2487
Khartoum	arr.	" 06.00	330	2817
Arbaia	dep.	" 08.00	344	3161
Khartoum	arr.	" 08.00	344	3505
Khartoum	arr.	Thurs. 05.00		
Khartoum	dep.	" 07.45	160	3665
Khartoum	dep.	" 11.45	160	3825
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	316	4141
Khartoum	dep.	Wed. 09.40		
Khartoum	dep.	" 14.40	370	4511
Khartoum	dep.	" 14.40	150	4661
Khartoum	arr.	" 10.00	160	4821
Khartoum	dep.	Thurs. 07.30		
Khartoum	dep.	" 10.05	160	4981
Khartoum	dep.	" 13.25	160	5141
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	320	5461
Khartoum	dep.	Fri. 07.10		
Khartoum	dep.	" 09.50	220	5681
Khartoum	dep.	" 13.15	270	5921
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	300	6221
Khartoum	dep.	Sat. 07.00		
Khartoum	dep.	" 10.25	160	6381
Khartoum	dep.	" 14.25	160	6541
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	320	6861
Khartoum	dep.	Sun. 06.00		
Khartoum	dep.	" 09.40	370	7231
Khartoum	dep.	" 13.40	315	7586
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	340	7941
Khartoum	dep.	Sun. 06.00		
Khartoum	dep.	" 09.40	370	8311
Khartoum	dep.	" 13.40	315	8666
Khartoum	arr.	" 05.00	340	9021



Imperial Airways route down Africa

way cost £21 (£1525, or USD2086 now – compared to the current Harare–Cape Town return on Airlink at USD420!).

Excess baggage fares were 11/6 (= £43.85) per kilo for that route. The calculation method was this: passenger plus baggage: 100 kg allowance. If the total was over 100 kg, anything over the 100 kg was the excess. However, if a passenger weighed more than 85 kg, only the weight of the baggage over 15 kg was charged as extra. It paid to be thin.

Meals and accommodation were included in the fare. Imperial Airways had a system whereby each passenger would get a book of 10 x 5 shilling coupons which could be used instead of foreign currency at the various stops. Any coupons not used would be redeemed at the end of the journey.

The high fares deterred leisure travel by air, and very few passengers in that era were tourists as we know them. Survey data and passenger profiles from contemporary sources show that most commercial airline passengers flew on work assignment. But the journey itself was a form of tourism, and there was often time to visit attractions when on the ground. Frequent stopping, and overnight halts, helped to make tourists of all air travellers irrespective of their trip purpose. Passengers disembarking temporarily at aerodromes could not avoid experiencing the local climate, scenery, buildings and refreshments. They saw the dress and heard the speech of local refuelling and cleaning crews, and curious local onlookers. At isolated, inland colonial outposts the balance between indigenous and exotic did vary: Imperial had its own modest “station” buildings and facilities in some places, and would recreate comfortable “little Englands” for its passengers, flying crew and expatriate airfield superintendents. There, authenticity was compromised by imported foods and decoration.

At overnight stops in sizeable towns, passengers would be taken by motor coach to a commercial hotel. At Cairo, the airline used Shepherd’s Hotel and the Continental Savoy Hotel. They were said to be among the finest in the world. Shepherd’s was legendary. Many Imperial passengers sleeping overnight at Shepherd’s must have felt they were the new agents of Empire.

Lengthy stops allowed passengers to walk about or hire motorcars to see local sights.

Some of Imperial’s stops were unscheduled, not to say accidental. Storms, flooded airfields, hard landings, damaged undercarriage, empty fuel tanks and technical failures delayed service on several occasions. Passengers awaiting replacement aircraft, parts or fuel could spend time sightseeing at airline expense. Sheltering from a storm, three celebrity passengers on an Imperial aircraft delivery flight in 1932 landed unexpectedly at a private estate in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) where the impromptu colonial encounter could not have been bettered. This seems to have been at Sir Gore-Brown’s “Africa



House” in the north-east of the country. Passengers had different experiences of Africa after other forced landings. In 1933, twelve Imperial Airways passengers spent a day and a night on the ground in the Nubian Desert between Cairo and Khartoum before being rescued.

Some passengers did not have good memories of their flights. There were elements of adventure in the Kenyan writer Elspeth Huxley’s six-and-a-half-day Imperial Airways flight from Entebbe to Croydon in 1933. Made independently, her husband’s flight was worse: it stranded him, the crew and other passengers in the Northern Rhodesian bush for three days when pilots lost their way and the aircraft ran out of fuel.

The discomfort of flying left a lasting impression on 26-year-old Elspeth. Her journey, she said, was bumpy, hot and stuffy. Passengers were airsick. The midnight temperature at Khartoum was 43°C. A “repellent” breakfast was served before sunrise at Atbara. At Wadi Halfa, an inedible lunch smothered by flies was set out in a stiflingly hot tent. Passengers endured a night in a “horrible” hotel at Aswan.

Night time tourism was limited by Imperial’s practice of rousing its passengers in the early hours of the morning so that they could wash, breakfast and be at the airfield for dawn departures. Nevertheless, some passengers could not resist nightlife away from the hotel or aerodrome base. Passengers staying overnight in Cairo could always watch Egyptian belly dancing. One “very respectable” English passenger sought out Cairo’s special cinemas that screened pornography. An ex-Imperial Airways manager in Egypt was expected to know the going rate for Cairo’s “ladies of pleasure”. Apparently the airline bus called at Alexandria’s nightclubs and brothels on its way to the airport in the early morning; one Madame customarily cashed in piles of the coupons that Imperial Airways gave its passengers.

Smoking was not allowed on Imperial Airways aircraft. Cameras had to be handed to the captain of the aircraft where there were restrictions on photography from the air. This applied particularly in Italian airspace. The cameras were carried in a sealed bag and returned when the restrictions did not apply.

In spite of publicity photos showing passengers being served luxurious meals on china plates during the flight, in fact meals were mostly taken on the ground, at hotels if possible, but not always. A movie from the 1930s shows a tent as being the place to have lunch during the refuelling stop at Malakal, Sudan.

So here is what the London to Salisbury journey was like in 1933. There was then one service a week, but by 1935 there were two. The timetables seem to have varied over the years, though being basically similar.

Wednesday afternoon: Leave London (Croydon). Arrive in Paris (Le Bourget). Flight time about 2½ hours.

Wednesday evening: Leave Paris by train at 2130 local time, for Brindisi, Italy (Mussolini wouldn’t allow foreign aircraft to overfly Italian airspace). Two nights on



Malakal dining facilities

the train(s), arriving Friday morning.

Friday morning: Depart Brindisi at 1130 in a Short Kent flying boat. Arrive Athens in the evening. Flight time around 4 hours. Night stop.

Saturday morning: depart Athens 7 am, for Alexandria, via Mirabella (Crete), Arrive Alexandria in the afternoon. Flight time around 6 hours. Meals were served on board the flying boat – maybe flights over the water were smoother. George Flynn said of the in-flight meal on his trip: “I may say we had lunch on board after leaving Athens and it was quite a meal and well served; better than on the aeroplane from Croydon.”

By train to Cairo. Night stop.



Short Kent flying boat at Alexandria



Short Kent passenger cabin

Sunday: Depart Cairo (Heliopolis aerodrome) in a Handley Page 42 at 0730 for Wadi Halfa, with stops at Assyut and Luxor and Aswan. All the flying was at low level, so good views could be had of many of the antiquities. Around 7 hours of flying. Night stop at Wadi Halfa Hotel.

Monday: Early start (5 am takeoff) Wadi Halfa to Khartoum, with stops at Kareima and/or Atbara. Around 5½ hours of flying. Night stop at Khartoum.

Tuesday morning: Early start (5 a.m. takeoff) from Khartoum to Juba, stopping at Kosti and Malakal. Again, all at low level, with good views of



plentiful game. Around 8½ hours flying. Night stop at Juba.

Wednesday: Another early start (5 a.m. takeoff) from Juba to Nairobi, with stops at Entebbe and Kisumu. There was a change of aircraft at Kisumu, to the Atalanta type. Total flying time: over 7 hours. Night stop Nairobi.



Kisumu changeover: Atalanta and HP42

A short digression on the Atalanta. They were built by the Armstrong-Whitworth Company at Coventry. As with the HP42, only eight were ever built. It was somewhat smaller than the HP42, carrying a maximum of 17 passengers. They were slightly faster than the HP42, at 115 mph cruise (100 knots), though that is not saying much. They all had names beginning with A: *Atalanta*, *Andromeda*, *Arethusa*, *Artemis*, *Athena*, *Astraea*, *Amalthea* and *Aurora*.



Atalanta passenger cabin



Amalthea at Moshi, Tanganyika

Thursday: A relatively late lie-in – 7.30 takeoff from Nairobi. The flight ended at Mbeya, with stops at Moshi and Dodoma. Around 7 hours of flying. Night stop at Mbeya.

Friday: Depart Mbeya at 7.10 am for Salisbury, with stops at Mpika and Broken Hill. Lusaka was a stop on later flights, but not in 1933. Around eight and a half hours of flying, arriving in the evening.

Arrival in Salisbury would be at Belvedere Airport, near the showgrounds.

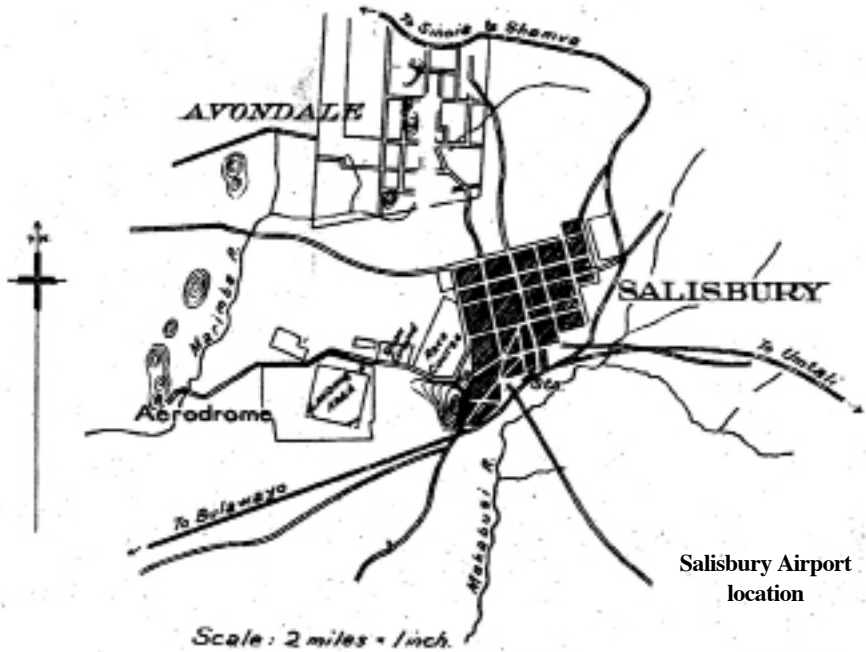


Atalanta at Salisbury

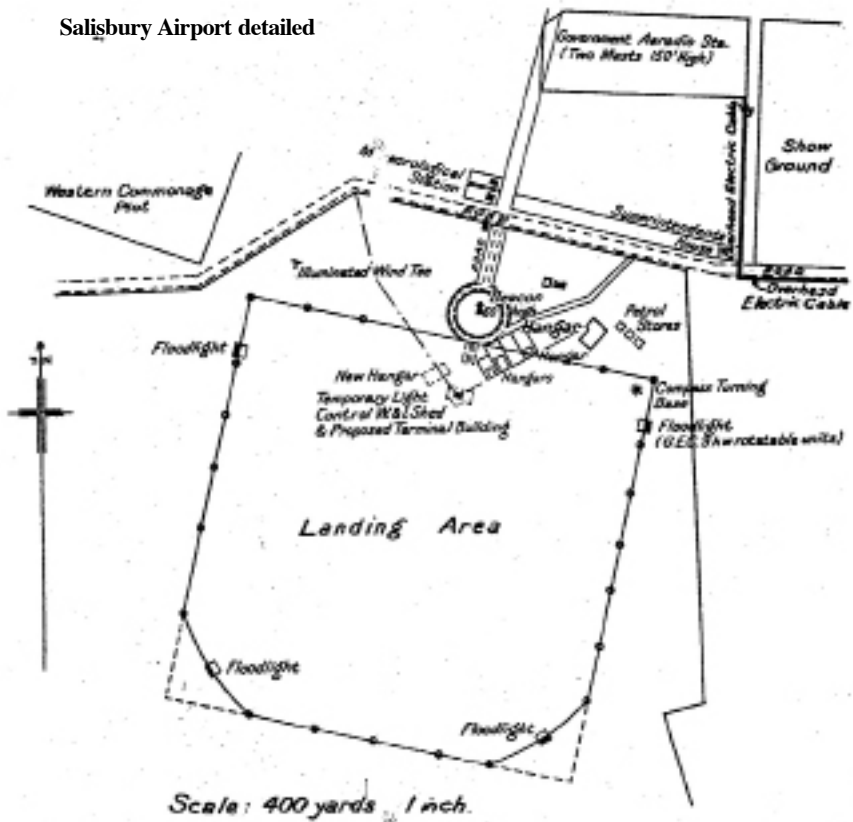
The airport was not like a modern one. It had no runways. The aircraft landed and took off into wind, whatever direction the wind was coming from. The night landing facilities consisted of floodlights around the perimeter of the airfield.



Salisbury Airport from the air, looking south. The industrial sites did not exist then.



Salisbury Airport detailed



Saturday: If you were carrying on to Cape Town, it took another two days to get to there. The first stop was at Bulawayo, after a flight of around 2½ hours. I am not sure where the aircraft landed in 1933. A 1929 aerial photo of Bulawayo shows the racecourse and what look like two runways. By 1939 Bulawayo's airport was at Kumalo, just outside town, by the Salisbury road. Wherever it was, there was an Imperial Airways rest house. The flight went on to Pietersburg and Johannesburg (night stop) (around 7 hours of flying altogether). The then new airport at Rand (Germiston) was where Imperial Airways landed.

Sunday: The last day was Johannesburg via Kimberley and Victoria West to Cape Town, landing at Wingfield – now a suburb known as Acacia Park, off the M7. Around 8½ hours flying.

Overall there were 30 stops provided on the London-Cape Town journey (involving 72 hours in the air, four different aircraft, and 2000 km of rail travel). Going by air to Cape Town didn't save all that much time, and at £130 (around £9 900 now) cost appreciably more than a first-class fare by sea.

Holidaymakers with limited time would have been more attracted to air journeys that saved considerable time over shorter sectors. For example, the advertised 1931 London-Karachi single airfare of £98 (£176 return) cost only £6 more than first-class surface fare for a journey that saved 12 days. In the same year, the advertised London-Kisumu flight saved 23 days and was £2 less than the first-class surface fare. But, as stated by researcher Gordon Pirie, flying was not just about balancing time savings and cost; it was also about conspicuous consumption, boasting and thrill.

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Atalanta <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELgmR8YRR9g>

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Down the Old Dutch Settlement Road – A Boyhood Memoir

by Anthony Stidolph



Dedication

To my parents, Wing Commander Reginald Neville and Monica Mary Stidolph – for giving me lots of space to grow up in and letting me follow my own road.

A special thanks, also, to my brothers, Patrick and Paul, for sharing their memories and encouraging me in my writing.

What follows is also dedicated to the memory of my late brother, Peter, who, although only a schoolboy at the time, did so much to help out on the farm when the going was tough.

In the Beginning

In was some time in the mid to late 1950s that my father announced he was going to buy a farm although I think the idea had been festering away in the back of his mind for some time before then.

Browsing through the paper he had chanced across a ‘for sale’ notice advertising a group of farms in the Inyanga (now Nyanga) North area at around one pound per acre. It seemed a fair asking price.

Catching a shadowy glimpse of a new way of life, my father decided, on an impulse, to go and take a look, then and there. With my mother dutifully in tow and accompanied by a Mr Mortimer, the estate agent, he set off, along the great central plateau, for this remote neck of the woods.

The agent had told them the farm was very beautiful and indeed it was. There were mountains, range on range of them, rising high and glistening into the fresh blue sky. Below them lay a good twelve thousand acres or so of almost virgin bush, stretching down irregularly from the slopes of the main Nyanga escarpment. It was all rocky outcrops, twisted trees and wastes of shimmering grass backed by mountains.

My father was immediately smitten by the scenery. His only concern was that the farm seemed so far from anywhere. It was what people used to call “the back of beyond”. But – discussing it with my mother once they had got back home – he decided this was not an insurmountable obstacle.

He was going to buy the farm. So what if it was miles from civilisation and



Reg and Monica.

there were hardly any other white farmers in the area? He would open it up. Maybe others would follow.

I was about seven or eight and away at boarding school at REPS, in the Matopos, when all this happened so it was only later that I got to hear about my father's bald statement of intentions or that he was going to swap his life as a highly experienced commercial airline pilot, with Central African Airways, for one as a farmer.

We were still living at "Doverly", our smallholding in Umwindsidale, just outside Salisbury, back then. There were six of us kids – Patrick, Paul, Peter, myself, Sally and Penny (Nicky would arrive later, after we had moved to the farm).

Little did we realise how much our lives were going to change...



View towards farm from the Old Dutch Settlement Road. Muozhi in background.

The Farm

Made up of five separate entities – Wheatlands, Barrydale, Groenfontein, Ellenvale and Witte Kopjes – the farm my father had purchased was in the shape of an inverted 'L', with its two furthest beacons sitting on the summit of Mount Nyangui (since it was the highest peak in the area, my father decided to apply this name to the whole farm) and Muchena on the western side.

The rest of the farm was low-lying with a long fat strip of red land, held between two rivers: the Mwenje and the Pendeke. To the west and north lay the Zimbiti Tribal Trust Land and on the eastern side it was flanked by the Nyangui Forest Reserve.

Squatting square in the middle of the farm, linking it all together, was a large sugar loaf hill covered in msasa trees and mountain acacias.

It was also the last white commercial farm in the district, situated some distance from the nearest rail head. Beyond it lay more broken country with yet more hills covered in ancient terraces and fortifications, stretching down to the Ruenya River. Very few whites ever visited this part of the world although there were two Catholic-run missions – Elim and Avila.

On the other side of the Ruenya was Makaha – literally meaning "Wild Country".



It certainly was. A gold belt in this area had drawn some early prospectors, including the German, Carl Peters, whose name you forever find cropping up all over Africa. He claimed them for Germany as the Kaiser Wilhelm Goldfields in 1892. The name was used for the whole area until the war with Germany broke out in 1914, when it was hastily dropped.

This, then, was our new home. If Southern Rhodesia, back then, was little more than a remote outpost of the British Empire, we occupied a very remote corner of that outpost.

Because my father still had his flying job we did not move to Nyangui immediately. Instead we stretched it out over several years, going there mostly during the school holidays and taking out more of our household goods and belongings each time.

Each trip was a mini expedition in itself. Lots of planning and preparation went in to them – what to take, how to fit everybody in.

My mother always used to pack *padkos* (although being English speaking Rhodesians we never called it such) to stop us kids complaining about being hungry or in case we broke down, something that used to happen, with frustrating regularity, with our old cars. Sometimes the vehicle used to overheat, especially going up hills. I can still remember my father stressing how important it was to keep an eye on the water levels because of this. ‘She is running a bit hot’, he would say.

We almost always travelled with a water bag too, which my father hung from one of the side mirrors of our Land Rover. It was made of canvas and had a plastic spout with a cork in it. The water always tasted slightly dusty but was wonderfully refreshing and cool.

Although it had a very poor turning circle and was a bit heavy and clumsy to drive, the old Land Rovers had one great advantage over modern cars – it was very easy to open a bottle of beer or a cold coke on its thick, metallic, highly angular bodywork.

Two Routes

From Salisbury there were two ways of reaching the farm. The common route, taken by most motorists, was to follow the main tar road to Umtali, turning off at Rusape and then heading up, via Juliasdale, to the Nyanga village. From there it was about a thirty kilometre drive, northwards, down the Old Dutch Settlement Road.

In the previous century, the grand imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes, had made a gift of the land in this area to a group of Afrikaner farmers. It was a somewhat



Map of farms



Rhodes' house, Nyanga.

uncharacteristically generous act from a man who had never shown much sympathy for the Boer cause and, in fact, had gone out of his way to thwart their ambitions.

Never one to pass up an opportunity of grabbing an attractive piece of real estate for himself, Rhodes also purchased a large chunk of land just south of present day Claremont where, in 1897, he built a summer residence and stables. At his bequest the farm was

later turned into the national park which bore his name – Rhodes Inyanga National Park. It was abbreviated, for obvious reasons, at independence, to Nyanga National Park. In turn, his old home became a hotel and his stables, a museum.

The more adventurous way, which my father often favoured, was to turn off at Baddeley Siding, near Headlands, and follow the dirt road that wound its way through broken country to Mt Dombo, an enormous granite dome which dominated the skyline.

I can still recall the flutter of excitement I felt when we first drew our car up at the top of the Dombo Pass and looked over the wide saucer of land stretching out beneath us. I had the sense of stepping in to a vision. Looking over it, I experienced that mysterious, overwhelming release that a place can impose on the imagination. What lay of the other side of that pass was to become, for me, paradise. Nirvana on earth.

And also my home.

Stretching along the far side of this valley and running south to north, lay the main Nyanga range. In time I would come to know the name of its various peaks: Nyangani, Rukotso, Muozzi, Nyangui.



Mt Dombo, Inyanga District



Numerous streams flowed down from these mountains.

From the top of the pass the road wound its way down to the Nyangombe, a fast-flowing, good-sized, river which eventually became one with the Ruenya. It, in turn, flowed in to the Mazoe, a tributary of the Zambezi.

As we crossed over the river and headed towards the main wall of mountains, my father pointed out interesting details of the scenery, such as Ziwa and Nyahokwe, two highish mountains, piled high with granite boulders that stood together, at some distance from the main range. They looked like a pair of truants who had decided to do go wandering and then found themselves marooned, unable to return.

Ziwa was the taller of the two and was shaped like the tooth of a dragon or the claw of some prehistoric beast. Like many mountains in the area it is considered sacred.

Nyahokwe had a more rounded, genial, appearance and was the less threatening-looking of the two. The slopes and the ground between the mountains was linked by a complicated network of rock walls, pit enclosures, hill forts, melting sites and grinding areas.

There was something quite sepulchral about it all. Wandering amongst the ruins, it was impossible not to feel the ghostly past of the place.

Back then, in the days before Zimbabwe gained its independence, they were known as the van Niekerk ruins. They took their name from Major Pompey van Niekerk who, in 1905, guided Dr Randall-Maciver, the first trained archaeologist to inspect them.

He was not the first white person to actually see them. That honour lay with Dr Heinrich Schlieter, who first visited them in 1897 and Carl Peters – him again – who went there in 1900. Both thought, wrongly, they were of ancient Semitic origin.

The farm, on which the bulk of the ruins fall, belonged to Friedriek Bernard, a Swiss and a keen amateur archaeologist himself. While he devoted the majority of his time to his hobby, his farm was managed by a young couple, Frank and Aileen Donnelly, who in time would become good friends of ours (Aileen had worked as an air hostess). Later they moved to Karoi where my brother Pete and Paul would also, one day, go farming.

About five to ten kilometres beyond Ziwa the road reached a T-Junction, linking it



**My sister, Penny, at Ziwa, Nyanga District:
a return visit.**



Nyahokwe Ruins, Nyanga



The Old Dutch Settlement Road. Rukotso in background. Painting by the author.

with the Old Dutch Settlement Road. From here, the road hugged the shadow of the mountains. Transfixed, I sat staring out the car window at the natural beauty – the rivers, the valleys, buttress- like peaks rising up next to us.

The most solid and imposing mountain in this section of the range is undoubtedly ‘Rukotso’ or ‘the Rhino’, as we always called it because the two prominent granite pinnacles at its northern end made it look like an enormous, dozing pachyderm. Just beyond it is Bende Gap which lies directly under the front ‘horn’ and which from ancient times has provided a pass through the mountains. It would also serve as a corridor through this barricade for the infiltrating ZANLA forces during the Rhodesia Bush War.

In our day it also demarcated the boundary between the black Tribal Trust Lands and the white commercial farm land, not that there had ever been too many farmers in this area.

The first of these farms was called Jerusalem. My spirits, already high, rose even higher at the sight of it. Situated on the far side of the very rough track that wound its way up through Bende Gap, the farm had once belonged to the Levy family, who went on to establish a chain of supermarkets in Salisbury (now Harare).

With the mountains – one great etching in greens, blues and purples, suffused with great age – behind it there was something quite romantic and magical about this farm and about Bende Gap too. I wanted to cross over it and find out what wonders lay on the other side. It would only be much later that I did.

As we continued bowling down this dusty track my father resumed his commentary. “Now there is something you would not expect to see in the Eastern Highlands” he said, pointing to a baobab growing on the side of the road. The further north we drove the more of these strange trees we began to see. Eventually, on top of a rise, we came upon a whole grove of them. In the middle of them stood a large, rambling farmhouse with a thatched roof and a verandah on all sides. A battered sign-post revealed its name - “Cream of Tartar Kop”.



‘This belongs to the only other white farmer in the area,’ my father revealed as it slowly began to dawn on us just how cut off from civilization we were going to be, ‘He is also the only remaining survivor of the original Dutch settlers in this area. Back in the early days he was a transport rider with the wagons’. And, sure enough, there was an old wagon parked around the back of his house

As was the custom of the day we drew in to pay our respects. A jovial giant of a man with an enormous beak of a nose and sharp, twinkling eyes, dressed in faded khaki, came ambling out from under the cooling thatch and greeted us at the gate. This was ‘Old Man Mienie’ or ‘Baas Mutenga’, as he was known to the locals because he liked to buy and sell things.

‘Come in, come in’ he beckoned us in strong Afrikaans accent and gesturing with his massive mitt of a hand, ‘Come have some tea. Or brandy’. My father’s eyes lit up for it had been a long, hot drive.

Long before it had become fashionable to do so, Gert Mienie lived totally off the grid. He had a house generator that operated off a Pelton wheel with buckets on a water furrow. His wife made soap and candles from the fat stored in the tails of their Blackhead Persian sheep. He also owned his own brandy still.

They never bought medicines either, preferring to manufacture their own concoctions which they then used to treat both man and beast. Mr Mienies’ various recipes for his cattle frequently included carron oil, wood turpentine and linseed oil. From him we learned the cheap answer to ‘ophthalmia’ in a cows eye – brand a half-circle around the eye, and then also insert a short piece of soft wire in the ear and then twist it into a knot – this would bring a rush of blood and anti-bodies to the area of infection. Amazingly it worked!

I would come to remember his house for the citrus trees in front of it. In the intense dry heat of summer their delicate scent seemed like a gift from the angels, while the fruit was as sweet and juicy as any I have ever tasted.

Although the rest of the early Dutch farmers had either long since left or died when we arrived, their presence still lingered on in the names of many of the farms – Witte Kopjes, Groenfontein, Summershoek, Doornhoek, Flaknek etc. Mount Pleasant, the farm to our immediate south, on which there stood the remains of some crumbling tobacco barns, was still referred to, locally, as Bekker’s Place.

There was also a fenced cemetery near where my brother Paul would, one day, build his house, which contained the graves of several Oosthuizen children all of whom had died from Black-water fever in the early 1900’s. The remains of their family house, which had been built from stone quarried from the nearby outcrop of white quartz (Paul would also



My parents with Mrs and Mr Mienie, in between, Cream of Tartar Kops.

make use of this source for his house), was situated at the bottom of the ridge. In front of it there was a field in which several enormous mango trees still grew.

The Strydoms were another name associated with these early settlers, one having farmed at Doornhoek and another at Flaknek. Although the bulk of these first arrivals were of Afrikaner stock, they were not the only ones to have been lured here by the promise of adventure, space, nature and escape.

Wheatlands and Barrydale, two of the farms my father subsequently bought, were originally registered in the names of J.B.J. Barry and D'Urban Barry. They, presumably, were an offshoot of the famous Barry family from the Overberg in the Cape after whom the South African town of Barrydale is named.

Our farm was about another fifteen minute drive down the road, just beyond St Mary's, the old Anglican mission station. Most of the land between the mission and Old Man Mienie was unused, except where the odd reserve cattle had crossed over the boundaries looking for grass to eat. I was too young and too taken by the beauty of the scenery to pause to wonder why so many these old farms lay abandoned.

The next moment we crested a slight rise and before us lay our new home.

I have often found myself wondering what my mother must have felt when she first laid eyes on it, so isolated and so far from anywhere. I am sure there must have been some trepidation. Would she, a conventionally brought-up, pretty young English girl from a small village in Sussex, who had married a decorated war-time bomber pilot, be able to cope out here, alone in the wild? Roughing it in the bush?

Was this the life she had envisioned when she left England for Africa after the war?

How different it – the sky, the land, the thin, dry air – must have seemed from the small village of Herstmonceux she had grown up in England.

Loading Up

It was amazing what we were able to fit in to the back of the Land Rover on these journeys to the farm. On the one trip we managed to load a huge, metal, water storage tank, which we then weighed down with rolls of barbed wire to prevent it from bouncing out. Above that we stacked more gear and on top of that my mother lay mattresses and bedding in which us kids slept while she and Paul took turns to drive.

For some reason that particular journey seemed to go on forever so somewhere between Rusape and Juliasdale – I forget the exact spot – we pulled over to the side of the road and spent the night parked there.

It was a clean, cold evening and felt excitingly different, fresher than I had ever



Old graves on Witte Kopjes.

known, with a clean smell of pine sweeping away under stars to the main Nyanga escarpment. I can remember waking up at one point during the night and looking out through the small rectangular opening that was our entry point in to the tank, and seeing the moon, large and remote and soft, lifting over the trees. Snuggling back under the blankets, I lay there, in the velvet darkness, smelling the strangely scented air and listening to all the thousand



noises, rustlings and movements of the night on the highveld. For a young boy, hoping for adventure, this was as about as exciting as life could get.

On another journey, again driving at night, we encountered a leopard crossing the road, not far from where we had previously camped.

There was garage and small shop at Juliasdale which sold the basic necessities – eggs, bread, a few vegetables. We often used to stop here on our way to the farm to do a final stock up. It belonged to a Mr Liddell, a tall, thin, stooped, bespectacled man who more closely resembled an elderly maths teacher than a shop owner.

Once we had done a final stocking-up here we would head on down through the Nyanga Village and then follow the Old Dutch Settlement Road to the farm.

We were not the first of our family to pass this way. Claremont, one of the more prosperous and best managed farms in the area, had originally belonged to an ancestor of ours – John Benjamin Moodie, a member of the Moodie Trek to Gazaland who had named the farm after his wife's birthplace in the Cape. He is generally credited with being the first person to successfully grow apples in an area now noted for the quality of its fruit.

Their one daughter, Agnes Manica Moodie, achieved her own brief moment of fame when she was the first girl of European parentage to be born in Manicaland. As a Mrs A. M. Harmer she would later go on to be one of the early pioneers of sheep farming in Inyanga.



The Nesbitts at Inyanga

Another member of the Moodie Trek, my great-grandfather, John Warren Nesbitt, also pegged a farm, Warrendale, in the area. He later became the first Native Commissioner for the Umtali district which included Inyanga.

The strange thing about all of this, is that I have no recollection of either of my parents ever telling us about these family links when we were growing up. Indeed, I only found out about it all much later in my life when I was doing some research into

the subject.

What I do remember them telling us is that J. W.'s brother, Randolph Cosby Nesbitt, earned his place in history by being the first Rhodesian to ever be awarded a Victoria Cross. This was for his role in the famous Mazoe Patrol where he rescued the besieged residents of Alice Mine who were under attack from several thousand armed Shona. As a national hero of early Southern Rhodesia his medal used to be on display in the National Museum in Salisbury.

My little sister, Nicky, managed to find a wonderful old photo of the Nesbitts, posing outside the old BSAP Mess in Inyanga, in the National Archives in Harare.

Backdropped by a high mountain and a house that looks like it was built by elves, it is a study in contrasts and, somehow, captures an era.

There is some question as to which of the two brothers it is sitting in the foreground, although from all the pictures I have seen of him – and from what my Aunt Joy McKenzie, who remembered him, always insisted – it would appear to be the more famous Randolph. The setting is definitely Inyanga – it is easily identified by the mountain in the background which runs at right angles to the main range and is situated not far from the old District Commissioner's Office.

A Tale of Two Towns

For some odd reason, which I could never get to the bottom of, there is both an Inyanga Town and an Inyanga Village. The use of the word 'town' is, in this instance, something of a misnomer for, when we were growing up, it consisted of little more than a single street on which there stood a garage, a post office, a butchery, a tiny supermarket and a general dealer store. Beyond that was a scattering of houses making up the residential area.

Equally small, the Inyanga Village, which was situated about five kilometres north, was more an administrative centre, standing in glorious seclusion on the edge of a steep, wood covered hill. It was made up of a police station, the District Commissioner's Office (where I would later work during one of my varsity vacations, my brother, Paul, would also be employed there) and a few other Governmental offices.

A little bit further on, where the former white farm land bumped up against black Tribal Trust land, stood The Anglers' Rest, an old style country hotel with a wide stoep that became a favourite haunt of my father.

From here the road wound down to an "African Business Centre" - as they were then called – where we used to stop to buy meat. Back then, virtually all the buildings on the site had belonged to Marcus Mangondoza, a small, dapper, very wealthy black African who drove a large, posh, American Cadillac and also owned the local bus company which, among other things, used to deliver the mail to our farm.

It is from here that the Old Dutch Settlement road begins.

From Mangondoza's stores, it begins a steep and curvaceous descent into a long, broad valley, and then skirts along the hem of the mountains before striking off cross-country onto the scrubby, open plains. The countryside around here is a lot drier and hotter than in the Nyanga Uplands because the valley falls within the rain-shadow of the mountains.

It was still mostly farmed in the traditional way with contoured fields and patient oxen doing most of the work. Dotted around these fields were the usual clusters of five or six round huts with their thatched conical roofs connected by a hard-trodden courtyard.



Nearby the cattle and goats were kept in brushwood kraals usually made from acacia thorn trees with bits of rusting barbed wire and poles added to make them more secure.

Our First House

There was already a prefabricated house on the property when we arrived, although it had stood empty for years. It was one of those cheap, easy to erect, temporary structures that farmers used to put up, back in the early days of the colony, when they were waiting for better times and more money to come rolling in. In this case it obviously never happened.



View to Nyanga North from World's View with Old Dutch Settlement Road directly below. Nyangui mountain in far distance on right.

Built of corrugated iron with beaver-board on the inside, it had the slightly care-worn appearance of the down-at-heel. There were no shrubs or creepers to soften its stark outlines and long exposure to the blistering sun had dulled down its original colours. Because it had, most recently, been used as a place to store maize in, it was overrun with rodents which we found a little off-putting although for our cats it was manna from heaven.

Outside one could still see the vague outline of what had once been a garden although it was now mostly bare dust. There was also a garage made of un-plastered brick, again with a corrugated iron roof. Further down the slope, where the ridge on which the house was built came to an abrupt end, was an old cattle kraal.

If the house looked slightly worse for wear, an old lady battling to keep up appearances, it at least felt like it had a bit of history. Isolated and cut off from the rest of the world it also exuded a sense of mystery.

And, as if to make up for its shortcomings, the view was magnificent.

If you stood in the doorway, looking out, Mt Muozi reared up immediately to your left; beyond it lay further blocks of mountain, pale and hazy in a strong blue sky, stretching all the way back to Nyanga and beyond. In the other direction, on the far side of our boundary with Zimbiti TTL, were more mountains – although much lower



Our first house with my father's Land Rover.

in altitude than the main Nyanga range – kopjes, hills, valleys, hollows, lonely ridges, with long views of more ridges, grassy balds and rocky descents.

Immediately below the old house, the ground dropped down to the Pendeke River on whose far bank my father was planning to build our own dwelling, by a small waterfall.

The road up to the house crossed over a large field in which another large baobab stood. Because the lands had not been farmed in years they were covered in new, scrubby vegetation and patches of grass. Between it and the house lay another low, rocky ridge, covered with trees.

On the other side of it, heading towards the far side of the farm, the soil changed: it became pale and sandy, typical granite country. At first glance it looked like it would be suitable for tobacco, at that time still the go-to crop for farmers wanting to get rich quick.

The few broken down, deserted barns we had seen along the road showed that others had thought the same thing but that their efforts to grow the crop had failed.

It was, nevertheless, wonderful country to explore. Once we had all unpacked and settled in, and while my mother was trying to make the place liveable I would head off down unfamiliar paths past kopjes covered in yet more ruins. Not having been farmed extensively for years the country looked fresh and untouched. There was still a lot of game about, including a herd of kudu that mostly lived in the hills through which the Mwenje had cut a channel.

This river soon became a favourite destination of mine. Flowing directly out of the mountains the water was sparkling clean. There were numerous small waterfalls along the rivers course especially where it flowed through the hills. Small pools formed at the bases of some of the falls, and we could swim in these.

Because there were no settlements, or any other human habitation, between us and the source of the river and as the water was often icy cold we did not have to worry about catching bilharzia, the scourge of so much of Africa. Diving in to them I would feel the cool go through me. I felt alive, tingly, happy to be in the water.

Afterwards, I used to sit on the bank, feeling the blaze of yellow sunlight falling



down on my back. I felt like I had this whole wilderness of rock and grass and tree and flowing water all to myself. This was my own private kingdom.

Often the whole family would drive over to the river for a picnic. Usually, it would be on a Sunday, our only non-working day of the week. In a way it became our substitute for a church service, our way of rejoicing in the beauty of the natural world around us.

Much closer to our house was the Pendeke which had its source in Mount Muozi, the flat-topped, steep-sided and seemingly impregnable mountain which served as the centre of a powerful rain-making cult.

This association added an element of both the holy and the supernatural to the whole cleansing ritual. Every time I sat under a waterfall I felt like the water I was immersing myself in had both come from and been blessed by the Rain God himself. Exulting in the freedom and solitude I would lie there, allowing the river to grow around me until nothing existed but me, it and that towering, mysterious mountain.

Although it did not directly pass through our farm, the other river I loved to explore and swim in was the Nyangombe which lay just beyond our western boundary. Commencing its journey somewhere up in the misty uplands, the mountains kept the river in a tight embrace as it roiled along, pounding in to cliffs and dashing and leaping against rocks.

As it coursed along at a good clip all the streams that flowed out of our section of the Nyanga range fed in to it, swelling its size. In places it would slow down, spreading itself out over sheets of polished rock or plunging into deep pools.

Often, with the river at flood stage, we would leap in to its dirty water and swim with all our strength for its far side, hoping not to be swept away by the torrent.

The exciting thing about the farm was its emptiness. Walking out across that landscape, I felt I had it all to myself. The absence of human life only added to my sense of enjoyment, it made it seem somehow more momentous and mysterious. At times it could be a little frightening. Maybe it had something to do with all the old ruins, perhaps it was the mountains themselves, with their constantly changing moods, but there seemed to be a presence here, a spirit. I sometimes felt I was walking among ghosts I could never see.

I had some idea to whom they belonged. The original Afrikaners who had settled here had, of course, not been the first cultivators of this land to have suddenly packed



Penny, Sally, Peter, self



Crossing the Nyangombe - Paul shows the way.

up and left without explanation. There had been others before them.

The whole country from the Nyanga uplands, north to the Ruenya River and westwards to the Nyangombe River, was strewn with relics from their stay – dozens and dozens of loop-holed stone forts, look-out points, pit villages, furnace sites, grinding places, monoliths and miles of terracing stretching along the mountain sides; the latter were often irrigated by means of furrows that carried water long distances from the streams.



Ruins, Ellenvale

The amount of rock that had been moved to build all this was astonishing although, as Herculean as their labours had been, the stone fortifications tended to suggest that the ordinary villagers had lived in constant fear of attack. Clambering over the piles of ruins I had, in my youth, always imagined some fabulous Rider Haggard vision of lost mines and lost worlds but the sad reality is that the people were probably poor, because the soils they had cultivated were, for the most part, thin and infertile – although they probably supplemented them with kraal manure.

Our farm was no exception. From beacon to beacon it, too, was covered in a jumbled mass of ruins, terraces and hill-top fortifications. Exploring them, I was seized by a kind of incredulity. It was impossible not to marvel at the intensity of the endeavour that went in to their construction.

And where had all that passion and effort gone? That was the mystery for me.

One of the aspects of this now abandoned civilisation which especially intrigued me was the endless piles of gathered stones that lay scattered all over the veld. What was their purpose? I was flummoxed.

My brother Paul's theory was that they used them for growing melons.

To me, the ruins seemed very old – none of the locals we spoke to appeared to know much about who had constructed them – yet the consensus amongst the experts is that they were mostly built between the 16th and 19th Century by the Tonga people from Zambezi. Adding to the air of mystery, no one seems to be able to state with any degree of certainty why the whole complex was eventually abandoned.



Getting to Know the Ropes

For the rest of the time, it was a question of getting to know the ropes. My father had to study the lay of the land and make important decisions about what he planned to do with it.

There were paddocks to be fenced off for the cattle he hoped to get, for he saw this as primarily ranching country. Wheatlands, in particular, was covered with miles and miles of burnt, honey-coloured grass which he thought the animals would thrive on.

Some of the farm did look suitable for arable, especially the red soils. We started clearing new ground for the crops we planned to grow. Furrows were dug to bring water to these lands from the Mwenje and Pendeke rivers. It was back-breaking work especially as we could not afford much labour so all us children were expected to pitch in.

There was a bit of badly eroded land on the other side of the road to where my father planned to build our house. He decided that this was where the labour compound should be. It was also close to the river so they could draw water from it.

We would later hang a “simbi” (a large metal gong) from a tree in our yard. It would sometimes be my duty to go and hammer it when it was time for our labour to come to work or go home.

There would be many a Saturday night when I would lie in my bed listening to the thudding of drums in that compound, as our workers enjoyed their weekly “beer drink”. It always sounded, to me, like they were calling up an ancient Africa, strange and mysterious. Sadly, it is a sound you seldom hear these days.

The Big Move

Eventually the time came when we actually made the big move out to the farm. I think it was around 1962. For the next ten years it would become the centre of my life.

No other place has affected me as deeply or had such influence on my imaginative development or provided me with such a rich vein of memories. Living there imaginative doors were opened, creative juices started to flow, ways of seeing begun.

The house that we built for ourselves did not follow any architectural plan but instead



Stone piles, Wheatlands.



Preparing the lands - Witte Kopjes.



The ‘Compound.’ Devite’s huts in foreground.



Building our new home.



Our home.

evolved, amoeba-like, over time, to meet our changing needs and requirements. Originally, it was not even supposed to be our main residence but rather a temporary living quarters in which – the plan was – we would base up until my father had built the house of his dreams on top of a small, adjacent kopje, that enjoyed a far more commanding view of the surrounding countryside.

Somehow it never happened. Instead we continued to add on to this first room. Mostly, we used material we found on the farm. For the walls we purloined rock from the surrounding ruins (something I disapprove of now I appreciate their historical importance), for mortar we used the local clay. We dismantled the prefab house on Ellenvale using its beams and corrugated iron for our own roof. In turn, its windows became our windows.

The front of the house looked north over the Pendeke river, just above the spot where Paul would construct a weir, which fed a furrow that led down to the old lands. Slightly down stream of this was a small waterfall that emptied into a pool, which we used to swim in as children.

At the back, a stone pathway led from the kitchen up the hill to the chicken run, sheep pen and milking shed. On top of the same hillock stood two large metal tanks into which we pumped water, via an old hydraulic ram, for the house.

The verandah, which was lifted on pillars, jutted forward over the garden and, because we always had tea out there, had an assortment of chairs, tables and deckchairs and even an old US Navy-issue hammock which my father had picked up on his travels. On very hot nights I often used to sleep in it so I could catch the cooling breeze.

My room was another add on, around the back. Although I was quite happy sleeping there, it suffered the disadvantage of being on the main thoroughfare to both my sisters' bedroom and to the bathroom and toilet which meant I was constantly being disturbed. My section of the roof also leaked badly and during one, particularly violent wind storm, actually blew off (I always remember the date – 16 September, my sister Penny's birthday). To try and prevent a recurrence we weighted it down with large stones.

Thrifty to a fault, my parents did not believe in paying good money for what we could produce or grow ourselves. Because of this, one of their first priorities was to establish a vegetable garden. From its unpromising clay soils Devite, our gardener who had come with us from Salisbury, would do his best to coax cabbages, cauliflower, spinach, radish, carrots, lettuces, rhubarb, beans, peas, asparagus, strawberries, gooseberries etc. I also planted lots of fruit trees including citrus, guavas, peach trees and grapes. Later, I would go on to create my own vineyard on the other side of the river.

Bent on self-sufficiency, we would further supplement the table by keeping chickens,



The vegetable garden with house (concealed) behind. My mother's flower garden was under the trees.

for eggs and for eating, and a small herd of Jersey and Friesland cows which Devite's other duty was to milk. The manure they produced was used in the garden.

I think my mother would have disapproved of today's throwaway society. Bought up during an era of war-time rationing and austerity, she did not believe in letting anything go to waste. Everything that could not be used immediately had to be preserved.

Our bathroom doubled up as a pantry with shelf upon shelf packed solid with bottled fruit and vegetables, pickles, home-made jams etc. Some of these bottles would remain unopened for years.

Besides growing our own fruit (mostly sub-tropical) we also had easy access to the Nyanga orchards. My father became friends with Bud Payne, who was in charge of the Nyanga Experimental Station. He kept us well supplied with the most delicious, mouth-watering, deciduous fruit and charged us next to nothing for it. Maybe my taste buds have dulled over the years but the fruit you buy in the shops these days just doesn't have the same excitingly aromatic quality.

Again, what we didn't eat got bottled or turned in to jam.

Busy as she always was there was one other thing my mother always found time to do – create and maintain a flower garden. She was quintessentially English in this respect, believing that wherever she went a large, well-tended garden was an essential part of the family.

The one she designed at Nyangui sprawled over the side of the hill near the front of our house and contained a mixture of exotic and indigenous plants. It was watered by the same furrow that fed our hydraulic ram.

On my walks across the countryside I would always be on the lookout for orchids and wild lilies and aloes and other wild flowers I could bring home for her. Scrupulously honest in all other matters she was also not above stealing the odd plant for her garden



The Pendeke river in flood. Note furrow on far bank.



Storm approaching over Muozi.

with a mixture of blatant casualness and ill-concealed guilt.

One of my schoolboy memories is of her pilfering bits and pieces from the Umtali Botanic Gardens and slipping them in to her handbag. It is a trait, I am ashamed to say, I have inherited.

Her biggest love, of course, was her roses although, unfortunately, the rose beetles, who also thrived in her garden, loved them too. My mother was constantly at war with them. Invariably she emerged the victor.

The Changing Seasons

It was never possible to predict with any degree of accuracy when the rains would arrive. If it was a good year they could start as early as October and we would settle comfortably into a soaking November and December. On bad years, months could pass without any sign of rain and the strain of waiting would

become almost unbearable. I can remember seasons when we still had not received anything by Christmas.

Day after day we would watch the great clouds banking up with mounting excitement, only to be disappointed when they dissolved or moved away.

When the rains finally did break and the jagged streaks of lightning would begin to crackle out of the thunderous black clouds, it was always a cause for celebration. It was time to get busy in the lands too.

Sometimes the storms moved in narrow swaths, drenching one part of the farm but completely missing the other. It was very easy to think that there was some capricious mind behind it all, a mind that took a certain impish delight in building up your hopes and then dashing them down.

Some of our heaviest rains came from the direction of the Wheatlands mountains. It was like watching a magician at work. One moment the mountains would stand silhouetted against the gathering clouds, the next they would vanish behind a white curtain of rain.

I loved this time of the year. Lying in bed at night, I would listen to the thunder rolling and crashing along the mountains and see the lightning darting from peak to peak. Almost overnight the landscape would be miraculously transformed, turning a luscious green.

Whenever there was a big downpour in the catchment areas, the rivers would invariably flood, and the water would come racing turbulently down, swirling away the soil and pouring over its banks, like torrents of boiling coffee. Because there were no high level bridges, vehicles would often have to stop and wait for the water to subside.

Then there was the hail which would pop up and down on our corrugated roof like



popcorn in a frying pan, making such an unholy din we could barely hear each other speak. Depending on the size of the stones, the hail could play havoc with the crops, leaving acres of broken stalks and threaded leaves in its wake.

By the end of March the rains were usually over. As the grass dried out and yellowed in the sun, it became a serious fire hazard. August was the most dangerous month because it was usually at that time of the year that the wind would really begin to blow hard.

We had to be constantly on the alert. The first sight of that revealing column of black smoke, drifting up in to the blue, fresh sky and we would grab the fire-fighting gear leap in to the Land Rover and head off in its direction.

The effect of a fire could be devastating as they swept through, leaving behind it black expanses of desolation and, here and there, the odd still smoking log. For days afterwards the countryside would remain blanketed in smoke, everything hazy and indistinct, the sky a grey, sulphurous colour.

Sometimes the fires would rage for days, especially the ones in the mountains. At night, we would often stand outside and watch the orange- red rags of flame riding in erratic rows across their slopes.

Living Rough

For the most part, we lived a very isolated life, cut off from modern amenities. We had no electricity, our water was pumped up to a big tank on the hill behind our house by a hydraulic ram that ran off a furrow we had dug from the Pendeke river. In the early days my mother boiled our bath water and cooked our meals on a wood fire round the back. Later, after we had built a new kitchen, we purchased a Dover wood stove. This was followed by an even more fancy ‘Jewel’ stove which had a metal water jacket around it which provided us with hot water.

The irons we used on our clothes were equally primitive but just as effective in their own way. My mother had two kinds – the one you opened up and put red-hot coals



Mum’s kitchen.

inside; the other you just placed on the hot plate of the stove and waited for it to heat up before using. Our clothes used to smell of wood smoke as a result.

Our tea which came from water boiled on the same stove tasted of smoke too. I actually grew to like the flavour, especially with added condensed milk.

Our first toilet was a long drop which you had to use a torch to get to at night although it did, at my father's insistence, have a magnificent view of the mountains made even more beautiful when, above them, hung a large crystal moon.

For lighting at night, we used candles and hurricane lamps but later graduated to the Tilley, a slightly more complicated device that had to be pumped with air to keep its mantle glowing white and which emitted a strange hissing sound, a bit like a snake. Finally, we graduated to gas which we considered a huge advance in technology.

Shooting for the Pot

Because my mother always operated on a tight household budget one of us brothers would occasionally grab a shotgun or .22 rifle and go out and try and shoot a guinea fowl or francolin for the pot.



Illustration 29: Peter - shooting for the pot.

With a sweat-stained, felt hat on my head, *veld skoens* on my feet and wearing the regulation khaki shirts and shorts that had got too worn from continual use to take back to school, I would set out in the early morning, a gun cradled in the crook of my arm. In front of me the farm dogs would range freely back and forth, panting happily. They were not trained to hunt but were still good at flushing out the birds, sending them clattering in

to the skies, a trail of feathers and bitching noise drifting behind them.

Often I forgot that I had come to shoot, striding cheerfully across the bush through waist-high grass and leaping over rocks and feeling my life ahead of me while all the world's birds seemed to be calling around me. Sometimes I would disturb a duiker or startle a small herd of kudu or see a klipspringer peering down at me from some tall pillar of rock but I felt too exulted by their presence to want to put an end to their lives.

An Isolated Life

Visitors to the farm were few and far between. Most were government officials – the Animal Health Inspector checking the cattle for ticks and other pests, a Conex officer advising how best to grow our crops, or a solitary black policeman on a bicycle sent out on patrol. Sometimes, during the school holidays, we would have visit from members of the McKenzie family, our relations who lived in Salisbury.

Our main way of keeping in touch with the outside world was an old crank-handle phone (our call number was 1030 or three shorts rings) that operated off a party line which meant that if your neighbours were the inquisitive sort they could listen in to your conversations. In some districts, especially where there was some bored and lonely farmer's wife who liked to gossip, this could cause friction but fortunately the few telephone users in our area were much too discreet.

The original telegraph line, which had been installed back in Rhodes's day, had run



all the way to Tete on the Zambezi River in Mozambique, but now stopped with us.

Although Rhodesia got TV long before South Africa (the Christian-Nationalist government down there feared it would corrupt the minds of its God-fearing citizens) we obviously did not have one because we lacked electricity. Instead, in the evenings, we would entertain ourselves. When my father, who was a keen gambler, was home we often played poker using Monopoly money. Although it was difficult to do so because of the poor lighting we also read. I think my love of literature began here.

The one thing my father always insisted on having in every house we ever owned was a huge fire place. This became the centre of family activity at night, the hearth of the home. In winter we used the coals to make jaffles with cheese and tomato or bacon and egg.

Few delights could compare with those wintry evenings, the muted lights, the glowing red-hot embers, the evocative smells, taking it in turns to cook.

There was little in the way of formal social life. Unlike most other farming districts in Rhodesia there was no country club where we could gather and play sport and socialise with others. This was hardly surprising since, besides the Mienies, we were the only white farmers in the Nyanga North area. (We would later be joined by Chris Ross who bought Doornhoek).

Again, other than the Mienies, nor was there anyone to invite us over for meals. Once or twice a year we would travel up to Inyanga and visit Colonel and Mrs Wyrley-Birch who farmed Corriedale sheep and Sussex cattle on the slopes of Mt Inyangani where the air had the crisp chill of an English autumn. My father also became friends with Major McIlwaine who had built and ran the popular angling spot, Troutbeck Inn.

In the 1940s and 1950s the Inyanga Uplands had been a popular retreat for many of these ex-British army officers, attracted – like Cecil Rhodes before them – by its more temperate climate and superficial Englishness. With his Royal Air Force background I think my father felt a kinship with them although, unlike them, he was a Rhodesian by birth.

The only other social event I can remember us attending regularly was the Inyanga Fruit and Flower Show where, after a cursory inspection of the items on display, my father would, inevitably, disappear in to the pub and make merry with the locals. Extracting him was never an easy task.

Despite living such an isolated life I don't remember ever feeling lonely. Indeed, looking back on these free and captivating years, I realise now how much they unfitted me for a conventional life.

The occasional trips to town – either Nyanga, or when we needed to do a serious shop, Umtali – were planned well in advance. Usually there would be a long list of places to visit – the Farmers Co-op, The Great Marketing Depot, the hardware shop, the garage, the supermarket, the chemist, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker and the place where you got the cattle feed.

For some reason or other – maybe she thought I would get bored – my mother always chose to pick me up from boarding school after she had completed all her shopping. There were many times when I sat fuming on my trunk because I was the only one left who had still not been picked up!

By the time she finally pitched up the car was usually overloaded to the point where

it almost became unroadworthy but in those much more casual motoring days we never worried too much about that. Getting home was all I cared for.

One of the holiday tasks I most enjoyed was taking our locked, old canvas post bag (we were Private Bag 11) down to the bottom of our drive so it could be picked up by one of Marcus Mangondoza's dilapidated, smoke-belching, old buses that used to operate between Nyanga and Zimbiti. The next day, as soon as I heard that familiar rumble in the distance, I would sprint down again and collect the full bag, still locked but containing all our mail (mostly bills), which had been delivered by another bus, filled with dusty, smiling faces.

Mangondoza's Bus Service – if occasionally unreliable because of breakdowns or delays caused by flooded rivers – proved something of a godsend for us. If she needed meat from his butchery or groceries or wanted something picked up from the RMS (Rhodesia Mail Service) depot (the citrus trees and grape vines I ordered came this way), my mother would get hold of Marcus, via our old crank-handle phone, and ask him if he could deliver. He always obliged.

The arrangement worked both ways. Once when his driver approached the drift below our house at too rapid a speed and went sliding off, nose first, in to the river, we sent our big tractor down to help pull it out of the reed bed.

Making a go of it

Over the years we tried growing various crops – maize, cotton, monkey nuts, soya and even winter wheat – with varying success. To offset the vagaries of the weather and in an attempt to improve the yield per acre, we dug furrows from the rivers to irrigate the fields.

Because of its stronger flow, my brother, Paul, decided to try the Mwenje as a water source for our crops even though it was much further away from our lands and had to traverse some rather rough terrain. He contacted a Mr. Watermeyer from Umtali who travelled out to the farm and advised him how to build a cement weir on the upper Mwenje (near the old Summershoek dip and the nearby swimming pool we loved to use) and then make a brick-lined furrow to take the water all the way through Ellenvale to Witte Kopjes.

Originally we used oxen to till our lands using a single-disc, hand-held plough but, realising that possession of a tractor was the key to modern farming, we finally lashed out and bought a very ancient Massey Ferguson 35. Small and underpowered as it was, it certainly speeded up the planting process.

Deciding they needed something more powerful, my two brothers, Paul and Pete, went to an auction sale in Salisbury where they purchased a MF165 tractor. Pete drove it to the station where it was put on the goods train and a day later he picked it



Cattle and crops.

up at Rusape station, from where he drove it all the way home to Nyangui, via Dombo Pass – with Paul driving behind (Paul, in typical Paul-fashion, had decided that Pete, being the younger of the two, should be responsible for the tractor!).

Because we could not afford much labour – as cheap as it was back then – all the family was expected to pitch in



Pete with our smart new tractor.

during planting season. It could be hard, sapping, back-breaking work trailing behind the tractor, carrying seed or fertilizer, under a harsh, implacable sky.

Keeping on top of the weeds was a constant battle since we did this mostly by hand. They grew so fast in the heat that you would barely finish weeding one side of the field before you would have to go back and start all over again.

Dog-tired we would stagger home from the lands in the evening and fall in to a relaxing bath.

Then there were the cattle. During the cold and dryness of winter and in times of drought, when the grazing was thin and poor and there was not much nutrition left in the grass, we often had to give them supplementary feed which could be a costly business.

There were also ticks and internal parasites and various diseases to worry about. Besides a weekly dipping, when we used to drive our herd over to Summershoek, there was also the big branding day when all the cows and calves would be rounded up and penned. Next, began the difficult business of separating the two, so all the terror-stricken calves would be in one kraal and their equally upset mothers in the other.

Again the whole family were expected to pull their weight – helping round up the cattle from the various farms – mostly Witte Kopjes, Ellenvale and Wheatlands – and then driving them all the way to Summershoek. Because of the time this took we eventually built our own dip on Wheatlands, just up from the Mwenje, although, I seem to recall, we had a lot of problems with it.

When my father took over the farm, he inherited along with it old man Bekker's chief stock-man, Boesman, whose small, yellow-skinned, round- faced frame gave some indication of both his ancestry and where his name came from. Part San (or Bushman as they were called back then), he had many of the First Peoples' instinctive hunting skills.

Paul often went out into the hills with him. Once, tramping along in his company near the source of the Mwenje river on Summershoek, Boesman suddenly stopped and

asked him if he was hungry? When Paul replied that he was, Boesman stared fixedly into the sky for some time, walked on a bit further, stopped and stared again, and then set off towards a tree with a bees nest in it! According to Paul, Boesman had the uncanny ability of being able to see and watch bees in flight and so get a bearing on the hive!

Because he was in charge of the cattle, Boesman did not stay in our main labour compound on Witte Kopjes but he instead lived with his family in his own small collection of huts on top of a windswept ridge on Wheatlands where he had stunning views over both Nyangui and Muchena mountains. Besides his knowledge of the bush and his ability to live in complete harmony with nature, Boesman was also a skilled cattle handler with a deep understanding of their ways and individual personalities.

After we had left the farm, I often found myself wishing I had asked him more about his past and how he came to be working on the farm. If I had a Time Travel Machine I definitely would go back and put these questions to him.

Every rancher had his own brand which had to be registered – ours was 9G (for Nyangui). Branding was not the only thing that had to be done on the day. In fact there was a job for almost everyone – de-worming, ear-tagging, de-horning, weighing and, if they were male, castration. There would also have to be someone standing with a mechanical counter keeping a tally of each calf as they left the pen and another person recording all the details in a large ledger.

During one devastatingly dry spell in Matabeleland, my father decided it was his duty to help out by purchasing a couple of hundred drought-relief animals from this stricken area and then walking them, Wild West style, all the way from the rail head at Baddeley Siding, near Headlands, back to the farm – a distance of over one hundred kilometres. Many of them were so thin and emaciated they didn't have the will or energy to live on and succumbed. Those that did survive soon found themselves under threat from a different source – hyena.

Dozens of these animals would visit the cattle kraal on Wheatlands at night, spooking the terrified cows with their weird cackling until they broke down the wood enclosure in fright. The hyena would then zero in for the kill. Armed with rifles, my brothers Paul and Pete tried laying ambushes for them but the cunning beasts seemed to have some prior warning system in place and never turned up on those nights. As if that



Farm cattle. Wheatlands mountains in background with Muchena on the right.



was not enough, we then found ourselves being visited by a pride of lion who, I think, must have strayed over the border from neighbouring Mozambique. Their mysterious appearance was considered sufficiently unusual, even back then, for the Umtali Post to run a front page story on it (slightly exaggerated. I don't recall any horses being killed or Paul shooting as many as four lion).

Nick Oosthuizen, who farmed on the other side of the Inyangombe, offered to help with the lion problem. One night, using torches, he and Paul both shot together at same time killing one lion.

Nick was a bit of a legend in the district. He owned two massive dogs, Irish Wolfhounds cross Airedales. Twice a week he would take them in the back of his bakkie in to his green maize crop. As soon as the dogs 'smelt pig' they would leap out the back and take off into the mealies to flush them out. Nick would then just park the bakkie, light his pipe and wait; after twenty minutes of so he would hear them barking – they had cornered a pig. He would then pick up his rifle and go look for and dispatch the animal.

Of course, when my father decided that he wanted Nyangui to be primarily a cattle ranch, he did not foresee that we would be hit by these unexpected carnivore attacks – lion, hyaena and leopard. On another occasion, when we were not at home, a leopard managed to break open the gate of the locked pen in which our thirty odd sheep had been put for their protection during the night and which was situated very close to the house. First it killed the one sheep and dragged it outside. This caused the rest of the flock to panic. Alarmed by the mayhem and consternation it had caused, the leopard went into killing frenzy, slaughtering at least another ten sheep before finally departing, dragging just the one sheep with it and leaving the rest of the dead animals sprawled out in the dust.

Back to the Flying Game

When my father bought the farm he had great plans for it. He wanted to make good. He visualised a future in which the farm would prosper to the point where it could one day be divided up and each portion left to one of his sons to run in turn.

The reality turned out somewhat different for reasons which were not altogether his fault.

Although situated in a beautiful part of Rhodesia, it was not good agricultural country. The soils were mostly poor, the rainfall patchy and unreliable. We were also very far from the markets. My father had little capital to start with and soon found himself indebted to the Land bank.

The time had come to take stock. We were far from prosperous. In fact, the reverse was true. Going through the bank statements and farm books it became obvious to my father that there was no way we could get out of the slough we were in, if we continued as we were.

He needed to find more money. The most obvious way to do this was for him to return to his old job as a pilot.

In the end, this is what he opted to do.

For the next eight-years or so my father all but disappeared out of lives, working, at first, in the Persian Gulf and then, later, the Sudan and Sierra Leone. With my father gone, my mother was left to cope with the running the farm, as well as raising six (later

seven) children, as best she could. Even though it must have seemed miles away from the life she imagined when she first came out to Africa, it was a struggle she faced courageously.

During the school holidays my brothers, Paul and Pete (Pat had already left for university), helped out, dipping and dosing the cattle, putting up fences and preparing the lands for the next seasons crops. Cut off from the world and heavily involved with the farm, we never got to do the things most teenagers take for granted – date girls, go to parties, hang out with the other kids.

Because I was next to him in age I started tagging along with Pete, helping him out where I could. Even back then it was obvious to me that he was going to grow up in to one of those tough, shrewd, practical farmers who know how to make money.

Meticulous in his planning, he was nothing if not thorough. He also had a real feel for and a connection with the land – he loved it and respected it but, at the same time, he knew how to shape it and knead it and alter it to his own understanding.

I think my parents were a little worried that I might feel left out in all of this but, because I was the youngest and least practical of the brothers, they were a bit stuck on what to do with me. In the end they found a solution. As well as looking after the vineyard and orchard, they put me in charge of the chickens.

I threw myself with gusto into the job. I insisted the chickens be fed proper layers mash, not just mealies, so they would lay better. I expanded the flock. I even managed to make a bit of pocket money selling eggs to one of the teachers at the next door mission station.

I used the cash to buy myself some colourful shirts to replace the boring old school-issue khaki ones I had always worn because my ever-frugal mother did not want to waste money on unnecessary frivolities. I was on my way to becoming trendy.

The job was not without its problems. On the one morning, when I went up to feed them, I discovered a python had slithered in during the night, and gobbled up most of the chicks I had put, for their protection, in a special run. Later the python would have a go at our geese curling itself around one in the pond. The resident mongoose also had my flock firmly in his sights.

My sisters, Sally and Penny, were hardly peripheral in all of this. Besides helping out with the crops and cattle they also assisted my mother with the household chores.

In both cases I think the seeds for their future careers – Sally as a landscape and fabric artist and Penny as a Social Anthropologist with a special interest in water divinities and spirits – were laid back then.

Sally has always said her love and feel for fabrics came from picking cotton in the fields and then helping to bale it. For her part, a very young Penny made a hobby out of catching tadpoles in the streams.

It was the beginning of a lifelong fascination with water, a passion we all, in our own ways, share.

I was in my last year at boarding school, in Umtali Boys High, when my mother announced that there was going to be a new addition to the family – my youngest sister, Nicky. She was the only one of us to grow up from birth on the farm.

Like Sally – and, I suppose, myself – she inherited my mother's artistic talent and would go on to complete a Fine Arts degree at the University of Natal. No doubt her unusual upbringing played its part here too.

Woodsy, isolated, surrounded by nature and beauty, Nyanga wasn't just a place or



region for any of us. It was a space composed of images and experiences which helped shape who we were and what we became.

Paul Builds a House

His school years behind him, my elder brother, Paul, would later return to the farm and help manage it. Because he had recently got married, to Sheila, he decided to strike out for himself by building his own house further up the same ridge from where the old Ellenvale shack had once stood.

The house he built was much more finely planned than the makeshift, ever-changing, rambling structure we had all grown up in. Utilizing the beautiful white quartz from the nearby hill he opted for a circular design, raftered with timber and covered with a local thatch that sent out its own pungent fragrance when the weather changed.

Having studied the land around him he made sure that each window opened up on to a different aspect of the surrounding mountains. Immediately to the one side of the house stood a large baobab and beyond it, stretching out in all directions, a wilderness of rock and grass and tree that glittered in the sunlight.

With stunning views in every direction and well-furnished within, it was a very fine house.

Unfortunately, although Paul did his best to make a go of it, the income generated by the farm would not stretch to support two families, let alone a budding family. In the end he was forced to pull up stakes and head off to one of the better farming districts...

The Mountains All Around Us

When we were still in the process of moving out to the farm, we had often stayed in the cottage that J. Bekker, another of the original Afrikaner settlers, had built at its base. At that stage, Summershoek, the farm on which it stood, was owned by Marshall Murphree, an American missionary who would, in 1970, go on to become the Rhodesia's inaugural Professor of Race Relations. He and his family did not live there permanently but used it for holidays.

The house had been sited directly below Mt Muozi, a steep, semi-detached peak attached to the main Nyanga plateau by a narrow saddle. Looking like some great fortress and often masked by cloud, it played a pivotal role in local belief system.

In an area where every stream, knoll, rock, cranny, glade, cleft and grove seemed to have its own special spiritual connection, it was the most revered of them all, the epicentre of an important rain-making cult, a mountain whose significance extended way beyond the mere physical. It was a gateway to another dimension, a bridge between past, present and future.

To the Saunyama people, who live nearby, Muozi had always been an extremely sacred site, harbouring a protective, if somewhat touchy, deity through whom all life was cycled and who had an important influence over



Paul and Sheila's house. Muozi in the background.



**The original Summershoek house.
Mt Muozi in background.**

both their lives and their weather. Upset it and you would be punished with the curse of no rain; give it the proper respect and make the right offerings, your crops would flourish and all would be well.

When we were still on the farm a new chief was chosen for the Saunyama people and was then led by an ox up the mountain as tradition dictated. The fact that it rained, as he proceeded up its slopes, was taken as a sign that the

ancestors had given their blessing to his appointment.

My brother Paul also remembers being told about there being a big cave at the southern base of the mountains (above Mount Mellery Mission), where the chiefs were buried but he never went to look for it.

It may or may not have been coincidental that the three mission stations established in our area – St Mary's, Mount Mellary and Marist Brothers – had all been built in the long shadow cast by Muozi (or Rain God Mountain as my father liked to call it).

To the bringers of light in a great darkness, carriers of the word of God to a heathen race, such beliefs and superstitions must have provided ready proof that their presence was urgently required. Here were souls in need of salvation!

One of the taboos concerning the mountain was that ordinary tribes-people were forbidden from climbing it. Determined to prove, once and for all whose God, was the more omnipotent, a local missionary decided to lead a party of school children to its summit.

Again, it may or may not have been a coincidence, but that year the whole region experienced a devastating drought. As someone who had sat through far too many boring church sermons at boarding school, I drew a certain wry consolation from that, even though my parents were not too happy about the effect the lack of rain had on our crops and cattle.

Depending on what angle you tackle it from, it would, admittedly, have been a fairly tough climb. Vaguely volcanic in outline, although that is not how it was formed back in early geological time, the mountain has, at its top, a massive tower of square-sided, near vertical, rock. The easiest way to reach the summit would, in fact, be to double back to Nyanga and drive along the old road that runs along the top of the range and then walk over the saddle that links Muozi to the main plateau. That, however, would probably have felt like a cop-out – far better the little children suffer for their sins by making them slog their way up from the bottom!

Another legend concerning Muozi was that if there was ever a cloud in the sky, there would always be one hovering over its summit. We were constantly amazed by how often this proved to be true although I suppose a meteorologist may be able to come up with a perfectly logical and reasonable scientific explanation about precisely why this should be so. It was easy to see why Muozi should have become an object for such devotion. Although by no means the highest peak in the range (neighbouring Nyangui, for example, exceeded it in height), its magnificence consisted of something else. With its dramatic cliffs and crags it was more sharply formed and was much more



Muozi, connected by a saddle to the main Nyanga escarpment.

striking to look at than any of the other mountains in the Nyanga range

I was always fascinated by this mountain amongst whose vapours both good and bad spirits seem to have learnt how to co-exist. One moment it could seem dark and threatening, the next it was as welcoming as some benevolent old giant.

It certainly made an impact on me. At night, with its peak washed white in the moonlight and a gentle wind sighing down from the slopes, I often used to feel like I had crossed through some portal into another world, one that was both a little scary and also unimaginably beautiful – a feeling that only intensified as more stars appeared and the nightjars started calling.

Adding to its allure was the fact that there were still leopard living on it. One of them attacked old Charlie, the aged caretaker of the property, as he was out rounding up cattle and was then swiftly despatched by his equally ancient wife who brought an axe down on its skull. Displaying still more commendable fortitude, she then staggered back home with him so that my mother could attend to his wounds.

I was not the only one who felt Muozi's strange power. Our Malawian gardener, Devite, who we had bought out with us from Salisbury (now Harare), lived in such fear of the mountain – he talked about seeing white, ghostly figures going in and out of it – that after a few months he decided he had had enough. Packing his few possessions in a battered old suitcase, he caught a train and headed 'Down South' to Jo'burg, to look for a job on the gold mines.

A couple of years later – by which stage we had moved to our new house on the neighbouring Witte Kopjes farm – we were astonished to see his thin, skeletal figure hobbling up the road. For him at least, South Africa had not proved to be the land of money and opportunity. He also appeared to have had a rethink and decided he could live with the ghouls and spooks that inhabited the mountain for he carried on working for us for the rest of his remarkably long life.

The fact he lived so long did surprise me because besides living in perpetual fear of the all the evil spirits that lurked in the bush – one of which, my brother Paul recalls him mentioning, bore a single horn on its forehead (or a severed penis taken in battle) - he was a tremendous beer drinker. He often spoke about his travels and wanderings. Before he came to work for us, he twice made the foot journey from Malawi to Jo'burg to find work on the mines.

In the end he worked for us for almost forty-years.

For my part, I, too, was always fascinated by this mountain amongst whose vapours both good and bad spirits seem to have learnt how to co-exist. One moment it could seem dark and threatening, the next it was as welcoming as some benevolent old giant.

Cranky, changeable, a totem for our more fearful imaginings, it has, for me, come to symbolise an Africa that has increasingly become consigned to the world of books, banished by the rising tide of humanity and economic development. Here, something of the old magic still clings to the earth.

The other mountain that impacted heavily on my youthful mind was Nyangui, the big, bulky, colossus that marks the very end of the Nyanga range. It was the mountain from which our farm took its name and standing at 2 227 metres was Zimbabwe's third highest peak after Mt Nyangani (2 991metres) and Rukotso (2 404metres). According to TV Bulpin in his book *To the Banks of the Zambezi* its name can be translated as 'Place of Shouting' although he offers no explanation as to how it got its strange appellation.

If Muozi looked like a vessel striving to break loose of its moorings then Nyangui was the bulwark that anchored it back.

Like Muozi though, it could, when the mood took it, get quite spooky, radiating an air of almost tangible menace, especially when the skies grew sullen and arbitrary bolts of lightning started slashing through the sky. At certain times of the year the wind would grow wild and angry and come hurling down its slopes with an almost end-of-the world fury.

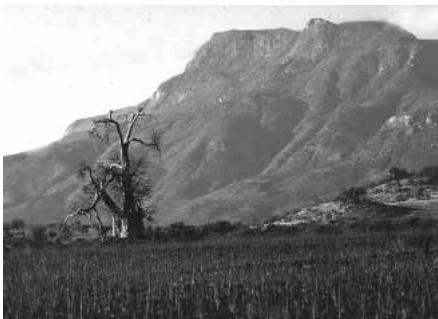
Because of its position and height it had been used as a radio relay station during the bush war for the troops operating in the area. They must have had a long, sensational unobstructed view up there on that rocky overlook although I can't imagine the weather would have always been to their liking.

Directly opposite it, running along the western side of our farm and adjoining the Zimbiti TTL, was a smaller and much lower but no less impressive range of mountains. We always referred to them simply as 'The Wheatlands mountains' since their highest point, Muchena, marked the corner beacon of that farm.

In character and aspect they were quite different to their counterparts on the other

side of the valley. For a start they were a lot rockier and there was much more vegetation growing along their flanks.

Rising out of the grassy plains like a series of clenched fists, their outline was more jagged, too, and ended abruptly in a solid wall of rock, perhaps one thousand metres high, which dropped, almost vertically, into the valley below. In summer, when the sky overhead was deeply blue and clear, the heat came



Nyangui mountain from the old lands.



shimmering off in waves from every surface.

Although, to my subsequent regret, I never got to the top of either Muozzi or Nyangui I did climb Muchena several times.

There was no discernible path leading up the mountain so you just had to pick your way along as best you could. As you climbed you kept bumping into piles of heaped boulders of every shape and size. Often, these huge granite balls lay at such acute angles on the steep slopes you felt that one gentle shove would send them tumbling down the mountain side.

Amongst this tumbled chaos of rocks and trees, there was lots of ancient terracing and several caves, most of which had been walled off with rock, suggesting they had once been used as places of refuge. Inside them we found bits of old pot and storage bins and even some badly decayed reed mats.

In a sense, it was unexplored wilderness, manifestly untamed. The bush seemed to be filled with unnameable phantoms, ghosts of ancestors, wraiths left behind by the departed people who had once taken sanctuary here. I found myself wondering – what had made them so fearful that they had taken to hiding up here?

As I hauled myself up to the crest before the final summit, it struck me with wonderment and incredulity that we were probably the first – white people anyway – to have ever laid eyes on this labyrinth of ruins and secret caves.

The top of the climb bought several hundred metres of bare, gentle sloping granite, like walking along a whale's back. Exposed to the rain and blistering sun, the rock had, in places, sloughed off its skin, peeling it off layer by layer, like an onion. Scattered across the top were little hollows where rain water had collected. Thirsty from the climb, I cupped it up in my hands and drank. It had a slightly flavoured, earthy taste but I didn't mind.

The Changing Times

During my teens, I was aware of the forces of change which were spreading through Africa but my immediate experience of them was very limited. Although we were surrounded on virtually all sides by tribal lands we never, in the early days anyway, felt we were under any particular threat and were remarkably relaxed about our personal security. The main door to our lounge did not even have a lock.

There were the odd little frictions – cattle from the Tribal Trust Lands straying over and grazing illegally on our lands, the odd bit of snaring - but generally we had a fairly peaceable relationship with the local tribes-people. Nor did we ever experience any serious labour problems. Our one worker – the self-same, Devite, who had, initially, been so spooked by the mountains – stayed with us for forty years following us in turn from Salisbury to Nyanga and eventually to Kadoma where he died.

Our local radio station and the occasional newspaper we bought did,



Muchena.

of course, give us some inkling of the ferment and tensions created by new ideas and awakened hopes but, at that stage, these “troubles” seemed to be confined mainly to the cities and urban areas. Walking on my own across the farm I never felt a moment’s uneasiness (although I did have the comfort of a gun and the farm dogs).

The fact that I would shortly be witness to a society in its last days did not really occur to me. Nor did I realise how beleaguered the farming community would soon become – with farmhouses turned into mini-fortresses, equipped with agric-alerts and surrounded by security fences, while their owners rode around heavily armed.

While the area around us was mostly populated by traditional peasant farmers whose lives were little touched by the regulations being framed in Salisbury and who were probably only dimly aware of the world beyond their villages there were the odd exceptions. Not far from the one boundary of our farm lived John and Bernard Takawira, two pioneering Shona sculptors working in local soapstone, whose work would go on to be exhibited throughout galleries in Europe and America. When my little sister Nicky was born they sent over a small but beautiful sculpture as a gift.

As the country stumbled towards its day of reckoning I continued with my explorations. During my school holidays I would walk miles and miles, from river to kopje to vlei and across the great expanses of golden grass, enjoying the sense of aloneness and perfect solitude it bought, since, for the most part, there was no one else to see.



Nicky amongst the ruins. Muchena

Normally, I would try to be up before daybreak when there was still a tang in the air and the bush was coming awake. Leaving the cultivated part of the

farm I would head off cross-country, following old paths and meandering cattle tracks, to wherever my mood took me.

I never worried about getting lost because there were so many prominent landmarks to guide me home. Nor did I bother taking water or food because the farm was criss-crossed with sparkling streams where I could quench my thirst or plunge in and have a swim if I was feeling hot. There was also plenty of wild fruit to be had if you knew the right trees.

An Abrupt End

The good years came to an abrupt end with the intensification of the Rhodesian bush war in late 1972. Remote, isolated and situated close to the Mozambique border, our farm became an obvious target for the incoming liberation forces. Our only two neighbours – Chris Ross and Mr and Mrs Mee - were killed, the roads regularly mined, the few cattle we had which had survived drought and disease were rustled and we were eventually forced to move, our farm becoming part of, in the military parlance of the day, a “frozen” area.

It was a horrible decision to have to make especially because of my mother who had invested so much of herself in Nyangui. Loyal supporting my father, she had settled on the land and tried to shape it but in the end nature and history had conspired against her and she had been forced to move on.



It had not been an easy life for her. When we brought the place, it had not been farmed for years so she had to start from, more or less, nothing. Old lands had to be cleared, new ones stumped, buildings had to be erected, paddocks created.

Whatever privations she might have suffered, though, she bore them willingly; my mother was not one to feel sorry for herself or to indulge in self-pity. Nor was she one of those controlling parents who try to shape and direct her children's lives but instead allowed us children to follow our own paths for which I have always been grateful.

After she left Nyanga she floundered and then seemed to recover. Deep down, though, I sensed her life had been irreparably altered. It was like a light had switched off inside her and nothing would ever be quite the same again.

Epilogue

It was twenty-years after the Rhodesian Bush War ended before I got to go back to the farm again, only it was no longer a farm. In the interim it had become a black resettlement area.

There was not much left to remind me of the years we had spent there. Time – and the war – had taken its toll. Of our old house little remained. At the one end, where the lounge had been, the old fireplace still stood; elsewhere our former home, once so full of life, had been reduced to the cement squares and oblongs that marked our vanished rooms.

Here and there bits of the old wall survived but it no longer supported the roof which had completely vanished. Of my mother's once extensive garden there was no trace other than the one bougainvillea which still clung stubbornly to the hillside.

Everywhere else wild nature had come back and reclaimed its own.

It felt strange walking through its empty shell thinking it was here we had all lived. A clutter of half-memories

fluttered through my mind, I had an overwhelming sense of what had been but existed no more. I remembered the wonderful sense of togetherness.

I remembered how beautiful it was in the mornings when the air was still fresh and the birds were calling. I remembered, too, the peace of the evening sitting on the verandah watching the fireflies – like little lighted fairies – hovering above the weir.

I glanced at my mother, who was with me, and wondered what she was thinking and what memories it was evoking for her? She didn't say much but I could sense a lot was going on inside her.

As I wandered around looking at all the places that had once meant so much to me I could not help but reflect on the transitory nature of things. As a young boy I had been intrigued by the ancient ruins that lay scattered across the farm; now our old house had joined them.

I found myself thinking about those early Afrikaner settlers as well. Like us, they



**Nyangui mountain from Wheatlands.
Boesman's homestead in foreground.**



My sister, Nicky, and my mother, Monica, among the ruins of our old house.

had arrived here, full of innocent optimism and hope that they could create a future and yet few if any of the families had stayed beyond one generation. Now, all that remained of their hard work and industry were a few old bricks, stones and mortar and the occasional gum tree.

The same had happened to us.

What hadn't altered were the mountains themselves. It is difficult to capture in words the feelings they engendered in me. Looking at them I realised it did not make any real difference what we did. They would live on without us, watching the next generation grow up in a place we had once called home. We had only been there for a few moments and all that mattered was that we had cherished the place and made the most of the time we had had there.

As I pulled over, onto the edge of the road, for one final look back, I realised it was not so much the fact that I had come back but rather that the farm had never left me.



The Old Dutch Settlement Road looking south towards Nyanga.

John Meikle 1892 Pioneer

by Barbara Meikle



His Road
Behold my son, the wheel-scarred road!
Be ashamed and be afraid,
For we, the first, were greater men
Than those from whom we made.
We wrought in death and hunger,
We fought the veld-we few!
Behold, this effort of our hands,
This road was built for you.
Kingsley Fairbridge

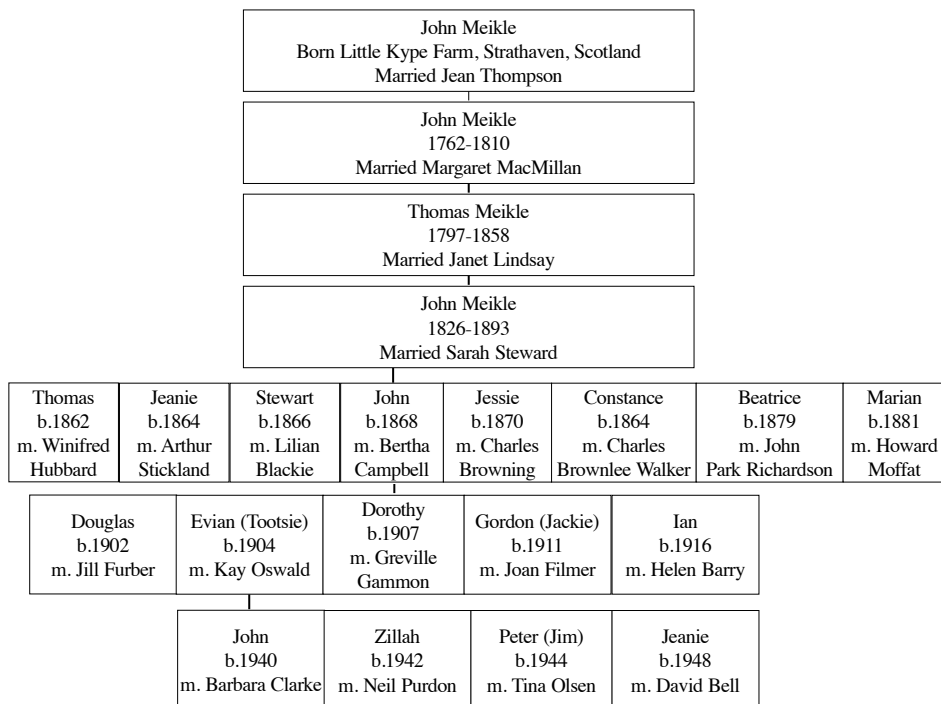
The Meikle family's origins are in Strathaven, Lanarkshire, Scotland, and can be traced back to Little Kype Farm in the mid 1700s. My dictionary tells me that a *kype* is a jutting rock outcrop, or the hook on the lower jaw of a breeding male salmon. My great-great-grandfather, Thomas Meikle, studied mathematics at Edinburgh University before becoming a Master Builder, a business carried on by his son John who was to make the momentous decision to emigrate to South Africa.

Soon came the day of the Meikles' last Christmas at Strathaven. It was a measure of the family's popularity that the townsfolk arranged a small ceremony at which John was presented with a purse of sovereigns and a silver salver inscribed:

Presented to John Meikle. Builder, Strathaven
As a parting mark of respect by his numerous friends and wellwishers,
along with 120 sovereigns on his emigrating to NATAL.
Strathaven, December 1868

The family consisted of wife Sarah and four children under seven, Tom, Jeannie, Stewart and John, my grandfather, then only nine months old. They set sail on the 366 ton barque *Umgeni* on a three month voyage, tossed and buffeted by stormy seas. With them they took two bloodhounds and a Suffolk Punch stallion, having sent money to a contact in Natal to purchase a farm. To their dismay, on landing in Natal, the money was found to have disappeared.

They leased a farm in the Greytown area, which did not provide a decent living, so their father went into partnership with Major Dartnell (later Brigadier General Sir John Dartnell) on a digging on the Kimberley diamond fields. When the bottom fell out of the diamond market, their father returned and had to go out to work, while their mother and young John ran the farm. In summer they grew maize and tobacco and in winter,



wheat and oats. In his *Reminiscences* he recalls his sister Jeannie being taken out of school to help keep the birds away. “I can imagine her now in her check shawl on a cold frosty morning and how we used to look forward to the coffee Mother sent us.”

They moved to their own farm named “Avondale” after their Mother’s home in Scotland. Most of the produce was sent to Pietermaritzburg, sixty miles away by ox wagon. From herding the cattle, John was put on to drive the plough. Before he was ten years of age, he was sent to Pietermaritzburg with two loads of forage, driving one of the wagons himself. People who met him on the road said they saw a whip stick coming along and wondered where the man was who carried it!

In those days, numbers of refugees came across from Zululand with their women. The reason for this was that they were not allowed to marry until their particular regiment had reached a certain age, usually forty. These refugees, on arrival in Natal, were indentured to Europeans. One such couple were splendid servants. He belonged to the famous Nokenka regiment. Of an evening, young John used to visit the beehive hut in which they lived and listened to the stories he had to tell, of sham fights and ones where actual killing took place, how they were made to travel long distances in a given time without food, ascending mountains at a trot. Tactics and manoeuvring were a feature of their training. He used to demonstrate the different movements of the contending forces with bubbles on the floor from his hemp or dagga pipe, smoked through a horn containing water.

Shortly after his tenth birthday, he was sent to school in Greytown. About this time trouble was brewing with the Zulus. Soldiers were being landed at Durban. Greytown was one of their bases. The boys often visited the camp to hear the band of the 24th Regiment, comprised mostly of young boys. Little did they think that none would



return. As they moved off to the border on the Tugela River, the men were laughing and made jokes about being back in no time. The youngsters believed them and hardly gave thought to a possibility of a reverse. The news of the Isandhlwana disaster, where the 24th were cut up to a man, came just as they were going to bed. John remembered well the Head coming into their dormitory and saying “Get up boys and dress, don’t get excited, we have to go into laager.”

Arriving at the Laager was all confusion—babies crying, women half frantic carrying the necessary bedding, while the walls were manned by the defending force, every able-bodied man being enrolled. To them it was all a novelty, though the Zulus were said to have crossed Rorke’s Drift. How a handful of gallant men defended Rorke’s Drift is general history.

The Barberton Goldfields

The eldest brother, Tom, trekked up to the new alluvial goldfields at Barberton and after trying his luck at mining, started transporting goods to the diggings. In 1886, John and his father joined Tom and Stewart, the second eldest, at Barberton. Crossing the Transvaal flats they witnessed a sight never seen these days. When it was light enough to see, they found themselves in a moving massed migration of Springbok and Blesbok as far as the eye could see. By ten o’clock, there was not one to be seen.

The boom was now at its height and people seemed to go mad, floating companies with large capital while the gold only existed in the imagination of the vendor and promoters. As one would expect, the boom attracted hard cases and hold-ups were almost nightly occurrences. It was not safe to go about alone without being armed. Cattle stealing was very prevalent at the time. One dark night, John was driving one wagon and Jim, a big Zulu, was driving the other, when they passed a man on horseback driving some oxen. Recognising one of the beasts as one of their own, he pursued the man to a wayside canteen, where the “thief” (now seen to be in the uniform of the Transvaal Mounted Police) drew a revolver and fired, narrowly missing John. The trooper had found some of the Meikles’ stray oxen and assumed them to have been stolen. A night followed in the cells and a fine of £5 was levied on both of them.

It is a rather curious fact that throughout the boom the Meikles never caught the mining fever. Their first big job was to contract to supply the Sheba gold mine with firewood. Tom and John then worked together transporting machinery to a mine on the Horo Concession. This was a tough job travelling along a rough track which ended in a steep climb. To move these heavy loads required good oxen and good drivers, together with strongly made wagons. John’s understanding and love of the patient ox is poignantly expressed in his own words:

“The art of driving a span of oxen is not acquired—it’s born in you. Some drivers—both black and white—though they have been at the game all their lives, can never get the best out of their oxen. One has to be on the watch all the time in heavy places, the eye constantly roaming over the whole train and taking in at a glance which ox is not doing his full duty. You will call his name, once perhaps twice, and if he does not respond quickly, the whip comes into use. You must be careful not to make the team swing, otherwise the pull is weakened. The great idea being to

keep the trek-tow of the whole team straight as a line drawn with a rope. This can only be done by mating oxen of equal keenness and strength. In every team there is usually one true outstanding" gentleman, "usually a hind bullock a monument of strength, quiet, never getting excited, going to his place himself and standing there ready for the yoke to be placed on his neck. The good driver will never use his whip on him; at the most he may lay the whip on the animal's back, a touch which would not hurt a fly, more as a benediction than to hurt. He is never lazy, steps out as if he felt pride in his work and in a tight place when an extra pound of pull makes all the difference between getting out and sticking fast, the "gentleman ox "can be depended upon to give his last ounce of strength. He seems to know instinctively that it is up to him to do it. And what is their reward for this faithful service? Worked until their old age, they die in poverty, usually in the yoke up to the last, or more mercifully when considered too old for further work, allowed to run to fatten for the butcher. Their bones lie scattered over the South African veld. May they rest in peace. I hope that after I am gone, I shall meet again some of those faithful and uncomplaining servants. I have only to close my eyes and I can see them still, still remember their names, their colour."

The foundation of the family's success, which later allowed them to prosper in Rhodesia, was the Meikles' deep understanding and love of these gentle animals. To this day, oxen are used on Mountain Home to extract the timber.

This area was the setting for *Jock of the Bushveld* by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, whom John knew, and was able to give a firsthand account of some of the incidents in the book

"The author refers to the terrible tragedy that occurred to Sam Coombs, his three teams of bullocks and most of the natives accompanying him, when they were blown up by an explosion of dynamite which was loaded on to one of the wagons. It happened about seven o'clock in the morning. I was climbing a long hill on a footpath leading from Fever Creek to Eureka City- a small mining camp close to the Sheba Mine .It was a beautifully clear morning when suddenly the stillness was broken by this great boom. Turning around and looking eastwards, there I saw a great black column ascending towards the sky. Only one native and the leading ox of one span were left alive."

A transport rider named Pettigrew opened a new road to Delagoa Bay, which later became Lourenco Marques and now Maputo, which was more direct but passed through tsetse fly country. Up to then tsetse fly was unknown in Fever Creek, but the fly followed the ox wagons. The Meikles' oxen began to sicken and die. They lost twelve spans of oxen, each span comprising sixteen animals.

John's memory may have failed him, because I can find no reference in *Jock of the Bushveld* to this incident or that of "Mad Owen", unless they are referred to in some of his other writings.

Undeterred, they bought more oxen and started transporting goods from Moveni, then the terminus of the railway from the Portuguese port later Lourenco Marques. These journeys could only be done in the dry season, and required twenty miles of fly country



to be crossed at night. They would leave at sundown and trek until eleven, tie up the oxen and make up fires because it was lion country, then inspan again at 2 am. On one trip he met “Mad Owen”, who had been attacked by a crocodile while crossing a river.

“He used to call me Springheeled Jack. We all wore Australian digger boots in those days, stiff soles studded with round headed nails. The finest boot in the world to walk in—after they were broken in. As the soles would not give when walking, one had to rise on the toes and I suppose that is how I came by the name.”

The danger and hardships the brothers endured were numerous, having to cope with wild animals, malaria, tsetse fly and swollen rivers. One such episode occurred while crossing the Komati River at Fairley’s Store when one wagon was washed down some distance below the drift. Oxen are strong swimmers and know where to make for even if the leader has let go. One of the team lost its tail, presumably from a crocodile. John had to go down to Rissano Garcia, the railway line following the river. Coming back he saw a dead and swollen horse floating down with two crocodiles perched on the top. A temporary bridge made of rails and sleepers placed on sandbag buttresses had been constructed by George Pauling, the famous contractor. Arriving there, John found the water lapping the rail. He had to decide quickly, as the bridge might go at any minute and it was the only means to get to the other side. He made up his mind and started off on all fours. Most of the sleepers had already gone and only the rails were left. The water rushing past made him giddy and once or twice he felt he would be swept away and over the falls below. Shortly afterwards, the rails were swept away and all communication with the port was lost. He admits that, of all his varied experiences, this was the tightest corner he had been placed in.

Arriving back at Barberton, John returned to Natal. By then most of his staff were suffering from malaria and the oxen were sickening from being stung by the tsetse fly. John went down with the shakes, the usual symptom of malaria. By then there were only three drivers for the five wagons free of malaria, who had to do all the work. In three days, John was delirious and no medical assistance was available.

Arriving at Ermelo, he wired for his brother Stewart to meet him. Stewart did not recognise him, he was such a wreck. The journey back to Natal was by train, post cart and on a borrowed horse for the last forty miles. In his weakened state, he managed to keep going and collapsed as he reached home. “Home, there is no place like it. We were fortunate in having a true home, a loving and capable Mother, a Father always the same to us children, treating us kindly and with the utmost consideration, bearing with our headstrong notions. It was six months before I recovered sufficiently to be of any use.”

Further notes on the Rhodesia – Mocambique Border

Mike Tucker gave the historical background explaining how the border dispute was settled in *Heritage* no. 39.

The border north of Umtali generally follows the watershed between Odzi/Sabi river systems and the Revue /Pungwe river systems initially up the Cecil Kop range bordering Imbeza Estate, then owned by the BSA Company and down to the Divide at the head

of the Penhalonga valley where Rhodes first entered Rhodesia.

Remarkably, a long stretch of the border north of the Divide defines the eastern boundary of farms owned by the Meikle family. First is Inodzi or Nyagari owned by Arthur Strickland who married Jeanie Meikle, then the B Farm or Mountain Home and Mabonda owned at that time by John Meikle. The highest point on Mabonda is Gomorenyangani at 1912 metres. From this point Epsom was owned by Arthur Strickland. I am not sure of the ownership of the next few farms Sheba, Harrisville and Lambton at that time, but they could have been owned by the BSA Company. From Lambton the border deviates from the watershed and drops dramatically down the Nyamkwarara valley and up the very impressive inselberg Mount Gurunguwe or Gorongo standing at 1885 metres, which I have climbed twice. From this high point it drops to the Nyamkwarara river at 800 metres which once had tiger fish and crocodiles, which flows north. This whole valley was called Ranch Minniglen and was owned by Arthur Strickland, but is now part of Stapleford Forest, then owned by John Meikle. In recognition of his being the pioneer of the forest industry, the John Meikle Forest research Station is situated high up overlooking this magnificent valley. From the valley floor the border rises steeply to Mount Panga at Stapleford at 1960 metres before dropping steeply to the Honde River.

The border is marked by conical concrete beacons inscribed with M for Mocambique and R on our side and numbered. At the time this would have involved carrying water, stone and cement by ox cart, donkey or on heads over the mountainous terrain as described. In about 1929, John Meikle was awarded a contract to complete this arduous task. In a tribute on his death in 1949 it was said: "At the age of 67 he cast and implanted the international border along the mountain range above Imbeza Valley to the Honde gorge, a remarkable feat when account is taken of the heights of Mount Panga and other hills in the range".

A little-known fact is that the BSA Company sold farms before the international border was finally settled. Many farms in the Penhalonga and Chipinge areas in fact straddled the eventual border in which case an option was given to swap for equivalent land in Rhodesia, or seek title from the Mocambique Company. John Meikle's the B or Mountain Home is a case in point and he opted to obtain title for the Mocambique area from the Mocambique Company, for which we held title until the Revolution in 1974 when all land was confiscated. This area was also being developed for a bauxite mine still in operation today. Remarkably in 2020 we obtained a land lease for 50 years over the same area from the Mocambique Government. A similar situation was the Farm Pioneer, half of which was owned by John Meikle and the other by Arthur Strickland, for which John Meikle got Mocambique title, now incorporated into our land lease. East of the border, John Meikle also owned Border Farm where he planted, now massive gums. We still have a plaque in our possession, commemorating the first commercial forest planted in Mocambique in 1921.

The Assumption of Legal Power from the Limpopo to the Zambesi by the British Crown, 1888–1891

by R. S. Roberts



This important subject is fraught with legal complexity aggravated by considerable inaccuracy on the part of commentators. There are, however, two useful sources, Palley and Warhurst, which will be cited;¹ but neither give a clear factual account of the steps by which the future Southern Rhodesia became British. Palley is mainly concerned with the law which is analysed according various concepts and fields of application; and consequently it is very difficult to see the chronological development. Warhurst on the other hand, is more concerned with the various pressures on the Colonial Office in London and the discussions there about what best to do in south-central Africa; again the thread to what exactly was done is not clear. And in neither of these sources is there a clear citation of the key documents and where to find them.

The idea of protectorates or countries under protection, and of areas or spheres of influence, had been given impetus by the Conference of Berlin (1884–5), but the legal niceties were not at all clear to the officials of the Colonial Office in London or in Africa; the terminology was confused and changed as colonial expansion developed, and there was the complication of the colonising powers beginning to treat the sovereignty of Africa rulers as divisible, taking control over external affairs but leaving internal affairs undisturbed.²

In southern Africa British policy was hesitant because of conflicting pressures. The main consideration was that of the Foreign Office which regarded naval control of the Cape seaways as vital to the Empire and believed that control of the interior of southern Africa was in turn vital to the maintenance of the Cape.

How the interior was to be controlled was the responsibility of the Colonial Office in London which wanted to avoid expense as far as possible, its High Commissioner in Cape Town who wanted as few complications as possible in the interior and was somewhat conflicted because as Governor of the Cape Colony he had to speak for the colonists, and finally the politicians of the Cape Colony who wanted the interior open to their trade, particularly to the north, but did not want expense or responsibility beyond their own borders. And added to this mix there was, on the one hand, the strong missionary interest in Britain which often wanted the extension of imperial influence against the wishes of both British colonists and Boer Republics, and, on the other hand, there was the Afrikaner Bond in the Cape, on whose votes British colonial politicians often depended, which resented any imperial or Cape colonial constraint on the Boer Republics, particularly the Transvaal (South African Republic), founded on the principle

¹ C. Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888–1965 with Special Reference to Imperial Control* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966). P. R. Warhurst, 'The Colonial Office and British expansion to the Zambezi, 1885–91', *Zimbabwean Hist.* (1980), XI, 1–19.

² Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia*, 11; Warhurst, 'The Colonial Office and British expansion to the Zambezi 1885–91', 16–18.

of pre-modern primitive accumulation by the continuing expansion of their people to the cost of Africans' land, cattle and labour.

As far as the future Southern Rhodesia is concerned, the first crisis to arise from this maelstrom of conflicting interests was in 1884 when missionary pressure was brought to bear on the Imperial government to defend Tswana chiefs and their people north of the Cape's border, to the west of the Transvaal border who were being attacked and expropriated by Boer trekkers. Cape politicians also saw the need to stop Boer expansion westward lest it interfere with their trade to the north, and some such as Cecil Rhodes saw the greater strategic danger of being shut off, not only by the Boers but also by the Germans in their recently acquired territory of German South West Africa, from the as yet incalculable potential of the vast interior beyond the Tswana and their dry country.

The upshot was that a reluctant imperial government organised the Warren expedition in 1884–85 to restore order in Tswana country while it planned the future government of the area. Thus as early as 27 January 1885 an Order in Council was issued, followed by proclamations by the High Commissioner by which Tswana country up to latitude 22° S was made a British protectorate with the beginnings of an administrative and legal system.³ Latitude 22° which goes through the Shashi-Macloustie area, disputed by Khama and Lobengula, and then slightly north of the Limpopo, was chosen deliberately to deny to the Transvaal access not only to Matabeleland but also to northern Bechuanaland where the Boers and Germany might link up. Lest a slight infringement of Lobengula's territory lead to trouble an official delegation from Warren's force was sent to re-assure Lobengula that Britain was not taking sides with the Tswana against the Matabele and that friendship between Britain and Lobengula should continue. This was the first official contact with the Matabele since Mzilikazi's treaty of friendship with the Cape in 1836; and it was a member of this delegation, E. A. Maund, who in 1888 was to spark off the race for a concession from Lobengula and a charter from the Crown (thus impelling Rhodes to send Rudd north to reach Gubuluwayo first).

The first move on Matabeleland, however, in 1887, came from P. D. C. J. Grobler who began allegedly successful negotiations for a treaty with Lobengula on behalf of the South African Republic. Alarmed by this Rhodes and his ally, S. G. A. Shippard, the Administrator of the Colony of British Bechuanaland and Resident-Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, had interrupted the Christmas holiday of Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner for South Africa, to persuade him to act. Consequently he immediately sent an official of the Bechuanaland administration, John Smith Moffat, son of Robert Moffat and himself formerly a missionary in Matabeleland, to Lobengula to formally reinvigorate the ties of friendship with the Matabele which had notionally existed since 1836 and re-affirmed in 1885. Thus in February 1888 Moffat obtained a treaty of friendship with Lobengula.⁴ (The wording of this treaty was copied from the British treaty seven months earlier with Queen Zambili of Amatongaland north of Zululand; and its intent and its results also were uncannily similar to the position of Matabeleland: it shut the Transvaal Republic from the sea as Moffat shut it from the north; it was made a British protectorate which was then annexed, in 1897 four years after Matabeleland was in effect.)

According to Palley this, the Moffat Treaty, in law made Matabeleland and

³ Published in *The London Gaz.*, 30 Jan. 1885. The southern part of this protectorate was later in the year separated to become the Colony of British Bechuanaland.

⁴ Published in full in *Cape Gov. Gaz.*, 25 Apr. 1888. There are several copies online. The Imperial government was surprised by this fait accompli and did consider disallowing it.



Lobengula's domains a protectorate.⁵ But only Lobengula's power to deal with foreign powers had been curtailed and Britain had obtained no authority inside his domains and had no intention of trying to impose any; consequently Matabeleland was never referred to publicly as a protectorate. But the Foreign Office which was responsible for Nyasaland was worried by Portugal's claim (in the official publication from 1885 of the *Mapa Cor-de-Rosa*,⁶) to own the whole territory between Mozambique and Angola, including Mashonaland and Matabeleland; and so it pressed the Colonial Office to strengthen Britain's position in the north.

Thus in mid-1888 the South African Republic, Portugal and, indirectly, Germany were informed that the whole area from latitude 22° S to the Zambesi (that is north of the Transvaal and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, east of the German territory of South West Africa, and west of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique) was a British Sphere of Influence.⁷ Again this was somewhat vague and its effect was external rather than internal: to keep others out rather than extend British administration.

But it did give the Colonial Office the confidence a year later to recommend that a royal charter be granted to Rhodes and a group of other British capitalists for a British South Africa Company to put into operation an exclusive mining concession obtained by C. D. Rudd from Lobengula. But this did not change the legal position: the consequent entry of the Pioneer Column into Mashonaland was nominally with Lobengula's consent (certainly he did not physically oppose it). The Company's rights were in respect of mining only: no right to give title to land and no legal jurisdiction. An addition to the Charter, not asked for by Rhodes, did give the Company power to make laws, but it seems to have been envisaged that these would apply only to Europeans and those Africans 'immediately connected with them'; and all the Ordinances and Regulations made in the years 1891–3 were of that nature. Indeed it was the financial need to start legislating in respect of Africans (a Hut Tax) that turned an incident at Fort Victoria in July 1893 into an invasion of Matabeleland to terminate Lobengula's sovereignty.⁸

Until that happened, however, there had still been the problem, often raised by the High Commissioner, of a lack of jurisdiction, particularly in respect of keeping out foreigners who would not acknowledge Company or British authority, and the lack of a judicial system to deal with crime in the country. The Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, a juridical form of imperial appropriation, were consolidated in 1890 (c.37, 53 & 54 Vict.), and discussions began in London in early 1891 about the need for the Crown to assert legal jurisdiction, a matter made more urgent by the day with rumours of Louis Adendorff's intended trek of Boers into southern Mashonaland, encouraged by the Portuguese and by Eduard Lippert in the Transvaal trying to increase the value of his land concession. Thus on 9 May 1891 there was issued an Order in Council asserting British jurisdiction from the 22° latitude S/Limpopo River to the Chobe and Zambesi Rivers and empowering the High Commissioner to appoint officials and magistrates as

⁵ Palley, *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia*, 11.

⁶ C. E. Nowell, *The Rose-Colored Map: Portugal's Attempt to Build an African Empire from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean* (Lisbon, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1982).

⁷ Warhurst, 'The Colonial Office and British expansion to the Zambezi, 1885–91', 12–13; and generally Natl Arch. of United Kingdom, Kew, (Colon. Off., Confidential Print), CO 879/ 29/358, esp. Nos. 49 and 56 (the Library Section of the Natl Arch. of Zimbabwe, Harare, has this volume, entitled, 'Proposed Extension of British Influence to the Zambesi', indexed and shelved as Africa South, 358).

⁸ This is explained in my forthcoming article, 'The many deaths of Chief Chibi'.

need be.⁹ A Proclamation by the High Commissioner followed on 10 June (with some backtracking in respect of Mashonaland in another of 27 June) to bring the Order into effect.¹⁰

Thus the whole of the north as just described was now formally a protectorate (although the term was used publicly only in respect of the extended Bechuanaland Protectorate). However, this large northern area was never treated as an entity and for administrative purposes it was regarded as three separate belts of territory stretching north to the Zambesi from 22° latitude S in the west and from the Limpopo to the east:

In the west the administration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was extended northward to its sparse and scattered population.

In the east, in Mashonaland, the British South Africa Company was bolstered in the exercise of its rights over mining from the Rudd Concession (to which were soon to be added rights over land by the Lippert Concession), and in the development of its administration in terms of its royal Charter, to which was now added a judicial system with magistrates appointed by the High Commissioner, and ultimately under his control, in terms of the Order in Council and the two Proclamations thereunder.

In the centre, between these two administrations to west and east, was Matabeleland where Lobengula's sway was left untouched for the time being, both by the British authorities and by the British South Africa Company which made no attempt to exercise its rights there under the Rudd, and soon the Lippert, Concessions.

But, whatever the differences in detail, the whole of the north to the Zambesi was now, by May–June 1891, incontestably British (north of the Zambesi was developing somewhat differently and requires separate treatment). And this was the position, south of the Zambesi, that continued until late 1893 when the Company, with British approval and help, invaded Matabeleland and drove Lobengula out. In law territory conquered by a British company/British subjects automatically belonged to the Crown and would usually have been annexed as a colony—an outcome that the High Commissioner would have preferred, as he had for Mashonaland as early as 1890. But as the Company had the Rudd and the Lippert Concessions and the Charter, the British government decided to allow it to administer Matabeleland combined with Mashonaland, soon to be called Southern Rhodesia: a protectorate, never so described, subject at any time to annexation by the Crown as a colony.

Thus when Company rule became untenable after 1918, because the Privy Council asserted the Crown's ownership of the land and the settlers asserted their right to govern themselves, Southern Rhodesia was at last annexed as a colony, but given such a surprising degree of self-government that it was soon treated as if a Dominion (Northern Rhodesia was different, because of lack of sufficient settlers and development, and so was put under Colonial Office administration as a protectorate which it had always been in law). Had the British South Africa Company given up its pre-occupation with its indifferent assets of gold and land in the south and developed the copper reserves of the north fifteen years earlier, the outcomes could have been very different.

⁹ *The Cape of Good Hope Gov. Gaz.*, 4 June 1891, High Comm. Not., 4 June: Order in Council, 9 May 1891.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12 June 1891, High Comm. Proclamation of 10 June; 3 July 1891, High Comm. Proclamation of 27 June.

The Canoe Expedition up the Zambesi (1823)

by Michael Gelfand, OBE, MD, FRCP



In 1821 the Admiralty despatched two of its ships, the *Leven* and *Barracouta*, under the command of Captain W. F. Owen, to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar. When the expedition reached Simon's Bay the *Barracouta* was ordered by Capt. Owen to convey a party of three officers to Quillimane to explore the Zambesi and other inland parts.

The three officers were: Lieut. Charles William Browne, Mr J. Forbes (botanist) and Mr George Kilpatrick, who was appointed as surgeon to *HMS Leven* on 23 April 1823. The *Barracouta* left Simon's Bay on 16 June 1823. On reaching Quillimane on 18 July the brig anchored off the river, and shortly afterwards the men were taken by an escorting party under Capt. Boteler in her largest boat and landed near the town, and went and delivered the official letter on the intended expedition to the Governor.

The Governor poured cold water on the scheme and considered the expedition to be futile. Having first seen Browne and his two companions comfortably situated, Capt. Boteler left Quillimane early the following morning and in a few hours reached the *Barracouta*.

Quillimane was thought to be founded either in 1585, when the Portuguese pushed into the interior under Francisco Barreta to Manica and Tete, or when Vasco da Gama entered the river on his way to the West Indies and found Arabs already settled there.

The town was founded on a marsh which was left undrained. It boasted of ten houses for the Portuguese officials and seven for the merchants from Goa. The total population including Africans was about 2 800. The houses were of brick, lined with tiles made from river clay. Fruit in the town was plentiful—cocoanuts, mangoes, oranges, bananas, limes, custard apples, pineapples, guavas and plantains; and vegetables included cabbages, cucumbers, lettuce, spinach, peas and beans, tomatoes, pumpkins, and grains—rice, millet, maize and wheat. These were grown mostly in the private gardens of the richer inhabitants.

Quillimane at this period owed its existence to the market for slaves on the east coast, and a dozen or so slave vessels called annually from Rio de Janeiro and took away about 6 000 slaves. At Quillimane a male or female slave cost about 25 Spanish dollars each and were sold in Rio de Janeiro for some 200 dollars.

Even as far back as 1823 Quillimane had a notorious reputation because of its deadly jungle fever caused by the "bad vapours" of its swamp. The fever was more prevalent and severe during the rains, although in 1822 many Europeans died in July, August and September, which are the dry months of the year. Despite the fever, many Portuguese had lived in the district for as many as twenty years. They were all sick and languid, with a yellowish hue and went about in a tottering manner.

For treating fever the Portuguese had little confidence in European medicines or doctors. "They condemn altogether the practice adopted by European surgeons and prefer either that pursued by the oldest inhabitants among their countrymen or the Blacks" (Boteler, 1835).

The medicines popular in the treatment of the fever were Peruvian bark, Columbo root, rhubarb and the Marcella pill, which was composed of Peruvian bark (from which quinine is derived) and rhubarb. The Portuguese too were opposed to bleeding or the administration of mercury as was recommended by many European doctors.

Acting Lieut Browne was a young man 22 years of age, of brave habits and with a bright future. Twice before in his service he had been wrecked, and Forbes and Kilpatrick were also regarded with respect and esteem, the former being an able botanist and Kilpatrick, as well as being a doctor, was something of a chemist. The party was completed by two black men who were to accompany them as servants.

The party left Quillimane on the evening of 23 July, 1823, in the accompaniment of the good wishes and cheers of the crew of the *Barracouta*. They travelled in a large canoe capable of carrying a load of up to ten tons. Passing Masawe on the 24th, they arrived at Marangane, where Forbes collected several botanical specimens. They reached Boca de Rio on the 28th, 47 miles from Quillimane, and here Forbes, assisted by Kilpatrick, added many new specimens to their collection. In order to reach the Zambesi they were carried in *machilas* a few miles overland, as this was the dry season, and reached the Zambesi on 3 August, at the point where it divides to form the Luao. They then came upon the nearby village of Marooro, where a Portuguese colonel of the militia, by name of Mariano, lived. He was extremely kind to the men, received them well and offered them his house to live in.

On the day they arrived, Forbes fell ill with fever and the next morning he was put to bed. Although he appeared to improve on the evening of the fourth day, he had a severe relapse and Kilpatrick bled him, much to the disapproval of Mariano. His treatment for jungle fever, which he insisted was often effective, was to induce at all costs profuse perspiration by drinking large quantities of rice water. He so disapproved of Kilpatrick's treatment that he begged him not to repeat the bleeding and to try the Native method instead. Mr Kilpatrick, however, dismissed Mariano's advice and continued his method, "alleging that a European constitution required far different remedies from those necessary to be adopted with persons inured to the climate." The fever was attributed to the extensive swamp from which arose the foetid vapour.

By the evening of 5 August, Forbes was still very ill, but having improved during the night, he felt better and wished to proceed with his comrades to Shapunga, where Donna Pascoe, a rich Portuguese woman who was in control of the district, lived. She was a merchant and probably the richest person in the country.

The canoe carrying Forbes was made as comfortable as possible with a canopy of rushes above and well arranged couch beneath. That evening, having travelled at the rate of 1½ miles an hour, the expedition arrived at Shapunga, where they were welcomed at the residence of Donna Pascoe, who at once gave Mr Forbes a bed.

The Donna lived in a comfortable residence and her table was covered with expensive silver. Mr Forbes continued to be ill, although at times improving a little, but then relapsing into a more serious state. Anxious that he should not hold back the expedition, and feeling better on the 11th, he insisted on accompanying the others. Two canoes were taken, one being large and made specially comfortable for the patient and the doctor.,



Before taking leave of their kind hostess, Kilpatrick presented her with various medical prescriptions which might prove of help should she ever need them in this remote place.

The next day (the twelfth), Forbes took a turn for the worse in the canoe and his friends began to regret having brought him. On the 15th they were still ascending the river and had passed the Morambula range, but Forbes had become critically ill and passed away on the 16th, when they were still a day's distance from Senna. Browne sent forward a dispatch informing the Commandant of the death of their companion and requesting a coffin and that arrangements for the funeral be made.

The following night they were attacked by myriads of mosquitoes in their canoe and got very little sleep or rest. When they arrived at Senna the next day they received a reception from the Commandant which was in contrast to that received from Donna Pascoe. He did, however, set aside a residence to accommodate the men of the expedition, and on the next day they proceeded to church and attended the funeral of Forbes, whose body was by now in a highly putrid state.

Illness was again to attack the party, for on the morning of the 27th August Lieut. Browne, who before had often suffered mild bouts, went down with a severe form of fever. The following day Adonis (one of the black servants) developed fever, and on the 1st September the doctor himself and the second steward, Antonio, became ill with malaria. By this time permission for the party to visit Tete was granted, but it was too late. Browne was on his death bed and he died on the 4th September. He must have contracted the cerebral form, for his mind wandered and his speech was incoherent. He became very restless and tried to tear away the blisters formed on his head by Kilpatrick's treatment.

Mr Kilpatrick now succumbed to fever and had to be confined to his bed, leaving the servants to make funeral arrangements. This was not easy, but after some hours the Commandant granted them a spot in Senna in which to bury the deceased. With the help of some Natives, hired with a few beads, Antonio and Adonis buried their master.

Kilpatrick was so upset by Browne's demise that he appeared to give up all idea of himself recovering, lingered on despondently and took little interest in his surroundings. His two servants packed all their belongings and beseeched Kilpatrick that they should all leave at once for Shapunga. He refused, saying that in a few days he would have breathed his last. However, he was eventually persuaded to leave Senna and they carried him to the canoe.

The remnant of the expedition then set their faces on their return journey to Shapunga, which they reached in a few days. The Donna Pascoe, on hearing of the death of the two men, expressed her regret that Kilpatrick had not tried the Native remedies. Kilpatrick, however, refused to follow her advice. He was still broken-hearted and was completely indifferent as to his future. He refused to eat and turned to spirituous liquors when he could obtain these, although he apparently never was addicted to them before. He remained in his bed and refused to speak to people. Three weeks after coming to Shapunga he stopped drinking and, greatly to the pleasure of his friends, began eating again, but some days later he again found consolation in drink. He died on the morning of 28 October. A coffin made of bamboo was prepared and the doctor was buried near the Donna's house. In the afternoon Adonis and Antonio followed by some of Donna's slaves buried Kilpatrick.

After Kilpatrick's death the two servants experienced great hardships and privations. Owing to a lack of funds they had difficulty in getting back to Quillimane. The Donna refused to house them any longer owing to an argument over the fate of the deceased's belongings, which she claimed as part of debts owed to her by the expedition. They were obliged to find accommodation and food elsewhere in Shapunga, where they remained in precarious circumstances for some 4 days. Meanwhile Adonis developed dysentery, followed by "jungle fever." When Antonio managed to find a canoe he took his sick comrade downstream to Mariano, who helped them to reach Quillimane, but on their way there, owing to a worsening of Adonis' condition, they stopped at the village of Mongalloos, where they remained for a fortnight. A Native medicine man was called in, and after Adonis had recovered they continued their journey and reached Quillimane on 2 December, where they reported the deaths of the three Europeans.

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Public Transport in the Late 1890's in Rhodesia

by R. D. Taylor



Introduction:

Any traveller wishing to visit the lands to the north of the Limpopo River up to the early 1890's had to make the journey either on foot, on horseback or by ox drawn wagon. Following the arrival of settlers in greater numbers after 1890 it became necessary to provide a faster and more regular form of public transport to cater for the needs of a small but developing community. This paper takes a look at the coach services which operated into and across the country before the construction of the rail network. Clearly the coaching business was never going to be a long term enterprise because as railways were built coach services ceased on the main routes although some coach services continued as feeder services to the railways at least until 1927. Motor cars and lorries were to provide the final blow to coach and wagon transport certainly after the First World War (1914–1918) which despite its enormous cost in men and material did give a large boost to motor vehicle design and construction. The first motor car in this country was a Clément—Gladiator, built in France and brought in by Charles Duly in 1902. (*Heritage* Number 9, 1990)

Zeederberg

The name Zeederberg became synonymous with coach and wagon transport in the early days of both the then Rhodesia and South Africa. The Zeederberg family were not the only transport operators in the region but became possibly the best known and remembered.

Roelof Abraham Zeederberg arrived in Cape Town from Sweden in 1798. It appears he was a trader dealing in products such as coffee and wine. His son Pieter Hans Zeederberg had in turn four sons, Louis, Pieter, Roelof and Christiaan (Doel) who between them founded and managed as a partnership a mail and stage coach service in South Africa. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in the 1860's and later gold



Christiaan H. (Doel) Zeederberg

on the Witwatersrand and in the North Eastern Transvaal was to be the basis of a large family owned transport business. The partnership was dissolved in 1895/7 and the youngest brother Christiaan (Doel) obtained the monopoly for mail coaches north of Pietersburg (Polokwane) and into the then Rhodesia. The last regular coach service to the Transvaal Lowveld ran in 1916.

Doel Zeederberg moved his headquarters from Johannesburg to Pietersburg and extended his Pretoria-Pietersburg route to Tuli. He also operated a service between Tuli and Mafeking. The first mail coach from Pretoria arrived at Tuli via Pietersburg in February 1891.

In 1890 Cecil John Rhodes recognized Doel Zeederberg's drive and ability and commissioned him to survey potential road links into and within Mashonaland. This reconnaissance took three years of intensive riding and walking between Tuli, Victoria, Salisbury and as far north as Broken Hill (Kabwe) in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

Family and Estate:

Christiaan Hendrik (Doel) Zeederberg was born in Pietermaritzburg on 3rd May 1860. He was married to Hendrika Maria, nee Albasini, and died in London on 26th October 1907 at the age of forty seven after a long period of ill health. According to the Deceased Estate file in the National Archives of Zimbabwe the couple had four children:-

Thelma Marie	born 9/9/1899
Voila Marjory	born 9/8/1900
Christian Hendrik	born 3/4/1903
Allan Vane	born 10/8/1905

He was awarded the 1896 Medal and Clasp for his services as a volunteer member of the Bulawayo Field Force during the Umvukela.

Doel Zeederberg left a large Estate in this country. An examination of the file held in the National Archives of Zimbabwe reference Death Register 10-215 and estate JG3/3/138 shows a considerable number of urban properties and farms. The movables included coaches valued at twenty pounds each and four 12 seater coaches valued at seventy pounds each. Included was one saloon coach valued at one hundred pounds. The saloon coach was possibly a newer vehicle. Also included were mules valued at twenty pounds each based in the following centres:-

Bulawayo	141
Selukwe	94
Belingwe	45

By the time of his death the coaching business had declined somewhat as railways became well established linking the main population centres in the country and across the borders. The size and extent of the estate shows what a large business enterprise he had built up. The estate, valued at 10 433 pounds was distributed in equal shares to his four children.

Land

As already indicated C. H. Zeederberg had considerable holdings of land in this country.

The Surveyor-General, W. J. Atherstone set out the position in a minute to the Administrator (National Archives file L 2/1/254) "Mr Zeederberg was running a coach service between Tuli and Victoria under contract with the BSA Co. After the 1893



War broke out the Company wished to alter the route Tuli-Victoria to Tuli-Bulawayo and in view of breaking the existing Contract and the construction of the new road by Mr Zeederberg the latter was granted a certain number of farm rights generally for 1 500 morgen (1 284 ha) each. Certain of Mr Zeederberg's employees were at that time also granted special rights for services rendered in connection with transport conducted under the management of Mr Zeederberg. All these farms were eventually acquired by Mr Zeederberg and Mr Hollins".

The holdings measured, Hollins block 11 824 morgen (10 127ha) and Zeederberg's block 21 000 morgen (17 987 ha). The Zeederberg Block was to the south and west of the present day town of Zvishavane.

In a letter to Dr Jameson written in June 1904 Doel Zeederberg states he got these farms in lieu of farms he had on the Tuli-Victoria coach line and also for shifting the coach service from that line and also for the volunteer recruiting business and general services rendered during the War (1896/7 Umvukela).



Zeederberg Coach Outside Meikles Store Selukwe

The Coaches

The coaches used by C. H. Zeederberg were ten or twelve seaters drawn by a team of 10 or 12 mules. Other passengers clung on to the roof among the mail bags. Mules were used to haul the coaches as it was found that they had less speed but greater endurance than horses. In good conditions a mule team could cover twelve miles in two hours of continuous running. This meant that coach stations at which the mule teams were changed needed to be established at roughly 12 mile intervals along a route.

The coaches were manufactured in Concorde New Hampshire, USA by the Abbot Downing Co. As new they cost over one thousand pounds landed in Cape Town. Over the years Zeederberg also purchased second hand coaches from other South African operators. The coaches were constructed of very solid materials hung upon thick springs by leather thongs and presented an unwieldy lumbering appearance. Two men were required to guide the team one with the reins and the other the long whip with which he could chastise all but the leading pair of mules. However they seldom actually hit the



Mail coach for Kimberley Reefs (Bindura) about to depart from Salisbury Post Office which was on the corner of Jameson Avenue and Second Street.

(Photo courtesy Claire Duxbury.)

animals but a crack of the whip near a head was enough to motivate a slacking animal. Coaches seldom lasted for more than two years, upsets were frequent and casualties not uncommon. Three times a day the wheels of the coaches had to be greased as the dust rising from the rough country quickly clogged the axles. The coaches ran day and night, dry season, wet season even when the rivers were full and in the pitch dark nights, sometimes in pouring rain or dust so thick that one could not see the hind mules. There were no inside lights and no comfortable cushions to sit on. The driver carried a horn to warn of the coaches approach. This must have been a welcome sound to those manning lonely coach stations.

Hugh Marshall Hole writing in *Old Rhodesian Days* published by Rhodesiana Reprint Books, number 8 in the Silver Series recalls his coach travels as follows:-

“It would be difficult to conceive a more odious and uncomfortable means of travel than these mail coaches, of which in after years I had ample experience. Day and night there was no rest, save a short halt at each stage while fresh teams were being inspanned, and for half-an-hour at irregular intervals for a hasty meal-called by courtesy breakfast or dinner-at some wayside store. Nine travellers were boxed up inside a space about big enough for four, while several others were balanced precariously on the mail-bags heaped on the roof, to which prudent ones usually strapped themselves for fear of being overcome by drowsiness and shot off by a sudden jolt. With the shaking and bumping, you would at first think any chance of sleep impossible, but from sheer exhaustion you generally dozed off sooner or later, with your head on your neighbour’s shoulder, for all formality broke down under the stress of the common misery.

The reins were held by a coloured boy, and the immense whip, with a lash long enough to tickle up the leaders, was wielded by a white man, called, oddly enough, the “Driver”. Both were expert at guiding the team over awkward bits of road, and upsets



were comparatively rare. Occasionally, however, a boulder or broken place in the track caused a capsized. The unhappy passengers inside were thrown into a helpless, struggling heap, while those on the roof came tumbling off in confusion accompanied by the mailbags and luggage. There comes to my memory an accident of this kind when the coach turned turtle. One of the inside passengers was a lively Frenchwoman, and when the crash came she found herself in the embarrassing position of being pinned down by the body of a stout stockbroker, who was literally sitting on her face. The latter instantly struggled to his feet with a yell of pain, but attention was turned mainly to the lady. "Did he hurt you?" asked one sympathiser. "Non, non!" she replied. "I bite 'eem!"

In fairness to the wayside innkeepers coaches often arrived late and in the middle of the night with meals having to be cooked in very primitive conditions.

One coach is preserved in the National Museum in Bulawayo. It was assembled from two coaches made for South African operator George Heys and Company. These were numbers 538 and 566 shipped from New York in September and October 1888 respectively. The Zeederberg brothers purchased the coaches second hand and put them into service in this country. (*Rhodesiana* No. 32 March 1975)

A close examination of the coach in the Museum shows just how uncomfortable a journey in such a vehicle must have been.

Pretoria–Tuli–Victoria–Salisbury:

Doel Zeederberg as already recorded undertook at the instigation of Cecil Rhodes a survey of a road from Tuli to Salisbury. On 11 March 1893 the *Herald* newspaper reported that negotiations were in progress for a through coach service between Pietersburg and Salisbury and the whole distance between Johannesburg and Salisbury should be accomplished in little less than eight days. It was expected the service would



Six Mile Hotel Salisbury Victoria Road



Typical Road Conditions (note the rocks)

commence during the first week of May 1893.

On 5 April 1893 it was announced in the *Herald* that Zeederberg and Hollins had signed a contract and the first fast coach would leave Pretoria on 15 May. The contract time to Victoria was six and a half days. Another coach operator, Mr Bezuidenhout, was to keep the section of the road from Victoria to Salisbury in his own hands until 1 August 1893. After that date he would take over the Salisbury/Umtali coaches. Mules would be employed to haul coaches between Salisbury and Pretoria. Later the date was postponed to 15 June due to the lack of grazing and the condition of cattle. At this time Zeederberg invited tenders for the supply of maize at the following coach stations: - Tuli, Umzingwani, Buby, Riet Spruit, Tokwane, Ipagi, Matibis, Lundi, Fern Spruit, Umshabelzi, Gondoque, Hartman's Farm, and Victoria.

The first fast mail coach to the north actually left Pietersburg on the evening of Friday 17 June 1893. The passengers were Messrs Borrow, Fleming, Maund, Perry, Pattison, Block-Barnes, Jenkins and Gordon. On arrival in Salisbury they reported the worst part of the journey was between Pietersburg and Tuli. It was said the driver had taken no tools. The coach was not new and as strong as it was it started to shake to pieces. The roof gave in and had to be supported by green poles. The passengers gave credit to the good balance of the coach and commented on the heavy mortality among the mules which they said were not salted (against horse sickness). They were amazed to have reached Salisbury without being tipped over or injured. The coach arrived 60 hours late.

The fare from Salisbury to Pretoria was thirty two pounds ten shillings and Victoria to Pretoria twenty five pounds. A passenger was allowed 25lbs (11.3kg) free baggage.

Prior to the introduction of this service an accelerated mail cart service was started on 17 October 1892 between Tuli and Salisbury providing for the accomplishment of the journey in 12 days. The mail carts were also available as a passenger service. Before the introduction of the mail cart service mail was carried by members of the BSA Co police riding horses between post stations on the route. These post stations were at 50



mile intervals and a weekly service was provided by police members often in the face of great hardship. The book *Men who made Rhodesia* records 24 police deaths from malaria in 1891 mostly in the period February to April.

Salisbury–Bulawayo:

Once the settler forces had occupied King Lobengula's then current capital, Bulawayo, in late 1893 it didn't take long for a coach service to be introduced between Salisbury and Bulawayo.

The first operator on the route was Herman Bezuidenhout who had provided twelve ox drawn wagons for the two columns making the invasion of Matabeleland. The establishment of Bulawayo soon led to a demand for passenger transport and Bezuidenhout was given another contract by which he undertook to provide coach transport between Salisbury and Bulawayo and to complete a one way journey in 96 hours. However there were soon complaints about the unsatisfactory vehicles provided by the contractor. They had no springs, the seats had no backs and the sides were closed in with canvas. Travelers were enveloped with dust in the dry weather and saturated with water in the rain.

After a year the Bezuidenhout contract was terminated and Doel Zeederberg introduced his American spring coaches on the route.

In 1896 the service between the two centers was as follows:-

Bulawayo–Salisbury

		English Mail		Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Bulawayo	Saturday	6am	Tuesday	6am
"	Shangani	"	4.30pm	"	4.30pm
"	Gwelo	Sunday	4am	Wednesday	4am
"	Iron Mine Hill	"	noon	"	noon
"	Inyati (Umniati)	Monday	4am	Thursday	4am
"	Charter	"	11am	"	11am
Arrives	Salisbury	Tuesday	6am	Friday	6am

Salisbury–Bulawayo

		English Mail		Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Salisbury	Friday	6pm	Tuesday	6pm
"	Charter	Saturday	11am	Wednesday	11am
"	Inyati (Umniati)	"	5pm	"	5pm
"	Iron Mine Hill	Sunday	7am	Thursday	7am
"	Gwelo	"	3pm	"	3pm
"	Shangani	Monday	5am	Friday	5am
Arrives	Bulawayo	"	6pm	"	6pm

The fare between Salisbury and Bulawayo was twelve pounds and between Gwelo and Bulawayo five pounds.

The timetable changed in 1898 with a slight speed up and the duration of the journey being advertised as three and a half days. Coaches left Bulawayo on a Monday and

Thursday at 6am and Salisbury on Tuesdays at 10pm and 6am on a Saturday arriving in Bulawayo on Friday and Tuesdays at 6pm. The fare was twelve pounds ten shillings for a single journey. Rail services between Salisbury and Gwelo commenced in June 1902 and between Bulawayo and Gwelo in December 1902 at which time the coach service would have ceased.

Bulawayo–Mafeking and Pretoria

Bulawayo was to become the hub of coach services in the country. Following the defeat of Lobengula in late 1893 and occupation of his capital the transport focus switched to Bulawayo.

Doel Zeederberg started a service between Bulawayo and Mafeking which by 1896 was running to the following time table:-

English Mail				Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Bulawayo	Tuesday	6am	Saturday	9am
"	Fig Tree	"	noon	"	3pm
"	Mangwe	"	6pm	Sunday	3am
"	Tati	Wednesday	noon	"	3pm
"	Palapye	Thursday	1pm	Tuesday	3am
"	Palla	Friday	2pm	Wednesday	8am
"	Mochudi	Saturday	9am	Thursday	3am
"	Gaborone's	"	3am	"	10am
"	Ramoutsi	"	7pm	"	2pm
Arrives Mafeking		Sunday	midnight	Friday	9am



Travel in the Wet Season



Mafeking-Bulawayo

	English Mail			Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Mafeking	Sunday	5am	Wednesday	5am
"	Ramoutsi	"	8pm	"	8pm
"	Gaberones	Monday	5am	Thursday	5am
"	Mochudi	"	10am	"	10am
"	Palla	Tuesday	4am	Friday	4am
"	Palapye	Wednesday	6am	Saturday	6am
"	Tati	Thursday	6am	Sunday	6am
"	Mangwe	"	6pm	"	6 p.m.
"	Fig Tree	Friday	7am	Monday	7am.
Arrives	Bulawayo	"	2.30pm	"	2.30pm

The single fare Mafeking to Bulawayo was twenty two pounds ten shillings.

They also ran a service between Bulawayo and Pretoria. The following is the 1896 timetable:-

Bulawayo-Pretoria

Time 5 ½ days

	Transvaal Mail			Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Bulawayo	Tuesday	6am	Friday	12 noon
Arrives	Tuli	Wednesday	6pm	Saturday	midnight
Arrives	Pietersburg	Friday	10am	Monday	4pm
Leaves	Pietersburg	Saturday	3am	Tuesday	3am
Arrives	Pretoria	Sunday	5pm	Wednesday	5pm

Pretoria-Bulawayo

	Transvaal Mail			Bi-Weekly Coach	
Leaves	Pretoria	Sunday	5am	Wednesday	5am
Arrives	Pietersburg	Monday	5pm	Thursday	5pm
Leaves	"	Tuesday	3am	Friday	2pm
	Tuli	Wednesday	6pm	Saturday	midnight
Arrives	Bulawayo	Friday	10am	Monday	4pm

The fare was twenty two pounds ten shillings with a free baggage allowance of 30lbs (13,6kg).

These services ceased when the railway from the south was opened to Bulawayo in November 1897.

Salisbury-Umtali-Chimoio

The railway line, 2 foot narrow gauge from Fontesville, 35 miles inland from Beira, reached Chimoio 119 miles from Fontesville in December 1894. The narrow gauge line reached Umtali in February 1898 and the standard gauge 3ft 6in line between Umtali and Salisbury opened in May 1899. Coach operators provided the passenger and mail service before these railways were constructed.

On 12 August 1893 Bezuidenhout and Symington advertised in the *Herald* a smart passenger and mail service between Salisbury and Umtali starting on 14 August. The first coach would leave Salisbury at 4pm that day. They claimed if mules were used it would be a two day journey to the rail terminus. This would appear to be overly optimistic as oxen hauled the coaches at that time between Umtali and Chimoio.

In 1894 the timetable was as follows:-

Leave Salisbury	Sunday 6 a.m.	)	
Arrive Umtali	Monday 6 p.m.	)	Mule drawn
Leave Umtali	Wednesday 6 a.m.	)	
Arrive Chimoio	Thursday 6 p.m.	)	Ox drawn
Leave Chimoio	Sunday 6 a.m.	)	
Arrive Umtali	Monday 6 p.m.	)	Ox drawn
Leave Umtali	Wednesday 6 a.m.	)	
Arrive Salisbury	Thursday 6 p.m.	)	Mule drawn

It was said the length of stopover in Umtali was to allow passengers to deal with any mail received by them.

The coach stations between Umtali and Salisbury were:-

	Miles	kilometres
Odzi River	10	16,1
Sugar Loaf	11	17,7
O Reilly's (Mount Zonga)	11	17,7
Reads Store Rusape River	12	19,3
Fishers	18	28,9
Lewis and Hornby's	13	20,9
Marandellas	24	38,6
Graham and Whites	22	35,4
Kerr Store (Ballyhooley)	12	19,3
Salisbury	12	19,3
	145 Miles	233 kilometres

A new timetable was produced in 1896, the elapsed times remained unchanged but the days of departure and arrival were changed. A through ticket Chimoio-Salisbury cost ten pounds ten shillings.

The coach journey was gradually shortened and finally ceased as the railway was constructed towards its ultimate destination of Salisbury which it reached in May 1899.

Bulawayo-Gwelo-Selukwe-Victoria

The original service in 1894/5 to Victoria was from Iron Mine Hill 36 miles east of Gwelo on the route between Salisbury and Bulawayo. The service was advertised as follows and it connected with the Bulawayo/ Salisbury services:-



Depart	Iron Mine Hill	Sunday	1pm
Arrive	Victoria	Monday	1pm
Leave	Victoria	Saturday	4am
Arrive	Iron Mine Hill	Sunday	4am

Selukwe became an important center of settler population due to gold mining activities in the area and a coach service ran from Bulawayo via Gwelo to Selukwe and on to Victoria.

In 1898 coaches ran from Bulawayo to Gwelo on a Sunday and Thursday taking twenty four hours to complete the journey. Passengers for Selukwe and Victoria then had another half day on the coach to cover the 23 miles to Selukwe. The Victoria traveler still had yet another day and a half to reach his destination. Only the Thursday coach out of Bulawayo went on to Victoria arriving in that town on Sunday.

Fares for a single journey were:-

Bulawayo—Gwelo	Seven Pounds ten shillings
Bulawayo—Selukwe	Nine Pounds
Bulawayo—Victoria	Thirteen Pounds ten shillings

Passengers were allowed 25 pounds (11,3kg) free luggage.



The railway to Selukwe opened in August 1903 by which time the frequency of the coach services to Selukwe had increased to three per week departing Gwelo on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. The Sunday and Thursday services continued on to Victoria.

The route between Selukwe and Victoria was a difficult one crossing as it did numerous rivers including the Umtebekwa, Tokwe and Shashi. A press report on 11 March 1905 recorded that the coach due to arrive on the Sunday only arrived on Thursday caused by rivers being flooded.

Also in 1905 Zeederberg's advertised special passenger services from Selukwe to Victoria and Great Zimbabwe and that tourist and shooting parties could be supplied with special vehicles at shortest notice and reasonable charges to all places of interest in Rhodesia.

The following is an edited extract from the book *The Guardians* by Joy Maclean published by Books of Rhodesia in 1974:-

It is a letter written by Alice Howman to her mother. Straight from England, Edward G. Howman's young bride epitomizes the high spirit of the women of the early 1900s. She wrote from the Thatched House Hotel, Victoria, on Dec. 4, 1907.

"My dearest Mother,

Here we are at Victoria and because of the heavy rains seem likely to stay here. Well to begin at the beginning... Louis (Louis Hartley, Alice's brother), saw us off from Gwelo by 9am train to Selukwe. We got there at 11.30am and Edward then took me up to Mrs Elliott's the Native Commissioner's wife. She was very nice and kept me there whilst Edward went to see about our seats in the Cape Cart and how much luggage we could take on it. We had tea and cake and then at 12.30 Edward came back to fetch me. Mr Elliott and Dr Forrester both came in to see us. Then we went to the hotel where the coach leaves.

The coach is like a large American buggy with two seats, one in front and one behind, and the large hood, two wheels and drawn by six mules. We were most fortunate being the only passengers, so Edward and I sat on the back seat and 2 drivers in front, and Edward got me some cushions so I was comfortably packed in. My cabin trunk and dressing case were all that we could take and that was 3 times more than is allowed—only 25lbs (11,3kg)—and my trunk alone weighed 60 (27,2kg). Edward also got some sandwiches and some bottles of beer, as everyone told us we should not have an easy time as there had been very heavy rains and the rivers were high and the last coach had been 12 hours late.

At 12.40am on Saturday morning we left Selukwe and started on our 85 mile coach ride. It was lovely, the country was perfectly beautiful, lovely green fields and mountains all round. Some parts looked just like an English park. About ten miles from Selukwe we drove straight through a swarm of locusts. The sky was black with them and they banged into our faces and got driven over. I never saw anything like them. For quite 2 miles we were driving through them. I wish you could have seen our driver. He was rather an old African man and he could drive! I was simply fascinated nearly all my time taken up watching him drive those mules. He made them go, and the way he handled his long whip! Everyone talks about him, for he is considered unique. He took us over ridges and places that you held your breath wondering how he would do it.

Every 15 miles we had fresh mules. You would come to some Kraals where only about two Africans lived, taking charge of these Government mules. They would outspan the old and in-span the fresh ones and off we went again. Not until 6pm did we get anything to eat. Then we came to a store. Here we got out and had a good round meal. I was jolly hungry, having had no lunch or tea. Just before we got here it began to rain, and it poured in torrents while we were eating and continued for about an hour, but we were under the hood with our mackintoshes over our knees we were very comfortable. Soon after we left there we came to our first large river. It was very wide. One of the Africans first went and tested its depth and then we had an exciting crossing. In the middle the water almost came into the cart. Oh it was amusing! Then on we went; by this time getting quite dark.

At 9pm we came to the second river on the other side of which about six miles off, was another store where we were to spend the night. Well when we got to this river the head driver took a lantern and went to investigate. We sat there in the dark. I must tell you they never have a light on the cart anywhere. They drive by instinct, it seems to me. We could see Joseph with his lantern moving about in the distance and hear the river



roaring. It sounded weird. At last he came back and said it was too high; we could not cross till daylight. When Edward told me I didn't believe him, thought he was joking, but sure enough it was true. There were we on the banks of the river, with thick bush all round, and had to spend the night there. The Africans outspanned the mules and tied them up to some trees in the wood about 100yds. off, then made a fire and settled down round it. Of course, we had to sit up and try and sleep as we could. First we had some of the sandwiches and beer, thankful we had kept them.

"Well, I didn't sleep much, it was all too exciting and new an experience for me. I just dozed off about 4 and woke at 5. Found the Africans moving about. Joseph went and inspected the river, came back and said it was too high for us to be driven in the coach, and we had to cross in the basket cradle which is slung up at one place. So then they just put me in with our cloaks and cushions and I was slung over. It was lovely. Then Edward after which the Africans piled all the mail bags and my trunk on the top of the hood of the coach and then made the mules swim across and pull the cart. It exciting watching them coming over; the water came right over the seats of the cart and the driver's middle, but the mails and luggage were safe. When we got the cart across they dried it out with sacking, put back the seats and then we got in.

It was then about 6 o'clock Sunday morning and we had still one more, big river to cross. There were numerous little ones but they were nothing, although exciting when you were in the cart. The last river, i.e. the Shashi, was about eight miles off. When we got to it we outspanned the mules. The driver then blew a bugle and from across the river came Africans who pushed a large boat or barge across, into which we, with the mails and luggage and harness, were put and pulled across, and then found a fresh cart with mules on the other side, into which we got. We were then 30 miles from Victoria, but were safely over the rivers. How I longed for some tea but there was nothing and no habitation, so we had to have sandwiches and beer for breakfast. Those last 30 miles were the worst as the road was so bumpy and hilly, but the country was even more beautiful.

About 11.30 we arrived here: I felt very tired so we rushed straight into the hotel and I had a warm bath and lay down and went to sleep and woke with Edward bringing me my dinner at 2pm"

When the railway line from Gwelo to Umvuma was opened in June 1909 the Victoria coach route was changed yet again to start from Umvuma. This route followed the watershed thereby eliminating the worst of many major river crossings which were a feature of the earlier Selukwe-Victoria route. Departure from Umvuma was in the early morning and coaches reached their destination in the evening of the same day. This service ceased when the railway to Victoria opened in July 1914.

Gwelo-Umvuma-Enkeldoorn:

The railway line reached Umvuma from Gwelo in June 1909. Prior to that a coach service carried mail and passengers from Gwelo to Umvuma, then known as Blinkwater, and on to Enkeldoorn.

In 1903 a coach left from Gwelo at 8am on a Sunday for Enkeldoorn via Blinkwater. The journey to Enkeldoorn would have taken about 48 hours. The route was via Felixburg a gold mining area with at that time a number of small workers, (*Heritage* No 14 1995). The service was still operating in 1909 running to the following timetable:-

Leave Gwelo	Sunday 8.30am
Arrive Blinkwater	Sunday 6.00pm
Arrive Felixburg	Monday 11.00am.
Arrive Enkeldoorn	Tuesday 8.30am
Leave Enkeldoorn	Wednesday 5.30pm
Arrive Felixburg	Thursday 10.00am
Arrive Blinkwater	Thursday 6.00pm
Arrive Gwelo	Friday 5.30pm

The single fares were:-

Enkeldoorn–Felixburg	Two Pounds
Enkeldoorn–Blinkwater	Three Pounds
Enkeldoorn–Gwelo	Five Pounds
Free baggage allowance 25lbs (11,3kg)	

When the railway service between Gwelo and Umvuma commenced a weekly coach service between Umvuma and Enkeldoorn remained in operation. The train from Gwelo was due to arrive in Umvuma at 12.45pm on a Saturday. This no doubt allowed passengers to have a meal before the coach departed Umvuma on a Saturday at 2 p.m. taking twenty four hours to reach Enkeldoorn via Felixburg. The return service left Enkeldoorn at noon on a Thursday arriving in Umvuma at 4.00 p.m. on Friday.

Bulawayo–Wankie–Victoria Falls, Livingstone and North Western Rhodesia.

In 1901 construction started of a railway line north from Bulawayo to Wankie and ultimately to Victoria Falls and Livingstone. The line reached Mambanje in March 1903, Wankie December 1903 and Victoria Falls April 1904. Construction of the railway line was by Pauling and Company.

In January 1903 Zeederberg advertised that an arrangement had been made between Pauling and Company and C. H. Zeederberg for all bookings for passengers, parcels and goods over the Victoria Falls Railway to be undertaken by C. H. Zeederberg.

On 28 March 1903 they advertised a trip from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls and back in 12 days. The intrepid traveler left Bulawayo by Pauling's construction train at 7am on a Monday. The train went as far as Mambanje. Passengers then carried on by a Zeederberg post cart to the Victoria Falls arriving on Friday. After a weekend at the Falls he would leave on Monday morning getting back to Bulawayo on Friday at 6pm.

As railway construction progressed so the time spent on the journey was reduced. In December 1903 one could leave Bulawayo at 6pm on a Monday arriving at the Victoria Falls on Thursday evening. Leave the Victoria Falls at 6am on Tuesday getting back to Bulawayo at 8am on Saturday.

In 1905 C. H. Zeederberg advertised that a special coach would meet all trains at Victoria Falls and convey mail and passengers to Livingstone and on to Kalomo which at that time was the capital of North Western Rhodesia. C. H. Zeederberg contracted for the whole of the Northern Copper Company's wagon transport requirements from the Zambesi to the Kafue River. This included the first copper mine in the Mumbwa district.

Bulawayo–Gwanda:

Gwanda, originally known as Johanda after a local African chief, became the center of a thriving gold mining district. It was natural therefore for Zeederberg to operate a



coaching service into the area.

In 1899 a Zeederberg coach left Bulawayo on a Tuesday morning at 6.30am. The journey took two days. This service continued on to the Geelong Mine. Geelong mine was an important mine situated south of Gwanda some 5km north of the present day Jessie Siding. The coach fare from Bulawayo to Geelong was six pounds ten shillings.

The railway reached Gwanda in August 1903 and coach services became feeders to the railway service. A coach was then scheduled to leave Gwanda on a Tuesday at 11am arriving at Geelong mine at 5pm the same day. The return left Geelong at 12 noon on Thursday arriving in Gwanda at 5pm in time to connect with the Bulawayo train which left at 6pm.

Balla Balla siding was originally known as Filabusi Road. It provided connections to Filabusi, Belingwe and Shabani. In 1905 Zeederberg's advertised a service to Belingwe which left Filabusi Road after the Bulawayo train had arrived on Thursdays and which returned from Belingwe at 10am on Sunday to connect with the Bulawayo bound train due to arrive in Bulawayo on Mondays at 5.30pm.

Salisbury–Mazowe–Bindura(Kimberley Reefs)–Shamva (Abercorn)

A twice weekly coach service operated between Salisbury and Mazowe. The service was later extended to Kimberley Reefs (Bindura) and Abercorn (Shamva). The railway arrived in Shamva in April 1913, thereby alleviating the need for a coach service. The single fare in 1909 to Mazowe was twelve shillings and six pence and to Jumbo seventeen shillings and six pence. The mail coach service was discontinued on 2 April 1912 when the railway took over the mail and passenger service. The route to Mazowe was along what is now known as the Old Mazowe Road with the first stop out of Salisbury being at Mount Hampden Farm situated on the west side of the hill of that name. A hotel was operated by the farm owners Captain William and Mrs Lucy Newman. The hotel closed in 1912 when the coach service to Jumbo and beyond ceased. The original hotel buildings were still being used as a farm workshop in the year 2000.

Branches out of Salisbury:

What could be termed branch line services also operated out of Salisbury to Hartley Hills and Arcturus. Hartley Hills the gold mining location should not be confused with the later day settlement of Hartley (Chegutu) which was established on its present site in 1901 when the Salisbury to Gwelo railway was constructed.

In 1899 a service to Hartley Hills left Salisbury on a Friday at 6am and reached its destination at 7pm. The return departed on a Monday at 6am and arrived in Salisbury at 7pm. In 1913 services between Salisbury and Arcturus, another mining center ran as follows:-

Depart Salisbury	Tuesday	11am
	Thursday	11am
	Saturday	1pm
Leave Arcturus	Wednesday	10am
	Friday	2pm
	Sunday	9am

Umtali–Melsetter–Chipinga:

Possibly the most difficult route was that between Umtali–Melsetter and Chipinga. The mountains on the Eastern Border and the rivers flowing westwards from them presented a real challenge to travelers and transport operators.

In respect of this particular route I quote some extracts from the book *The Story of Melsetter* by Shirley Sinclair.

“C. H. Zeederberg Ltd. Mail Contractors, Bulawayo, gained the contract for the post cart, carrying mails and passengers, in June 1910. Their Umtali Agents were Barry and English, and in Melsetter Meikle Bros acted for them. Complaints about the very bad state of the road flowed in from all three to the Postmaster-General, who duly handed the complaints on the Public Works Department as being responsible for the roads.

The dispute whether the roads or the vehicles were responsible for delays and breakdowns carried on steadily over the years. From the Zeederberg side came urgent complaints about the very bad state of the road; they could not guarantee punctual delivery of mails, found that their repairs account for vehicles and harness was enormous and the wear and tear on the animals was serious and some incidents are recorded as follows:-

Travelling in the dark the coach almost went over the side of a deep donga, two mules fell over and great difficulty was experienced in extricating them by cutting the harness to pieces. A vehicle broke an axle under Rutherford’s Hill and the driver had to send 15 miles to the Road Overseers camp for a scotch cart to take the mails and the lady and gentleman passengers on to Melsetter. The road at Thaba Nchu was particularly soft and troublesome and the coach turned over there. The passenger who was injured threatened to claim damages from the Government. A road inspector was immediately sent out, who reported that Mrs Cashel was again the cause of the bad state of the road and his recommendations for improvement were carried out.

In 1913 a Postal Notice called for tenders for the conveyance of mail between Umtali and Melsetter by covered cart and not less than two horses or mules from 1 July 1913. Herbert Kimpton of the Umtali Motor & Garage Company tendered successfully, planning to use mules for the first 30 miles and motorcars over the rest of the route with the journey taking twelve hours and in considering this the Postmaster General’s only doubt was the suitability of the road for motor traffic.

The sand was too deep for a car to grip the road and the wheels simply spun round; chains were useless and he had to proceed very slowly laying down canvas. The cross drains needed to be made easier as they were disgraceful even for wagons, light bridges were needed across the *spruits* for wet weather, and *vleis* needed to be macadamized or corduroyed with poles laid lengthways across the road to enable cars to cross the washed-out or swampy stretches.

Kimpton reverted to mules only although still wanting cars all the way at any rate during the dry season. The Roads Engineer thought that a cheap separate track for cars and light traffic only could be cut, but it would be difficult to prevent wagon traffic from using it. Salisbury felt that a separate road was impracticable and a sufficiently good road was needed to meet all requirements and the cost of approximately 6 000 pounds from Umtali to South Melsetter would be negligible compared with the cost of a railway.

Travellers admired the skill of the Cape Coloured drivers as they got the coaches through in all weathers. It was a work of art driving through the cuttings where full mule and donkey teams could not pass each other. If the coach met a wagon both teams



were unhitched just leaving the two wheelers, and one vehicle was steered very carefully past the other and then the teams were hitched on again. The opportunity was always taken of a chat and a cup of coffee when any two vehicles met on the road. Returning residents were usually met on Weltevrede and rode back over Pork Pie avoiding the last tedious hours in the coach.

A letter in the *Rhodesia Herald* criticized the running of the Melsetter post cart, particularly on the first 43 miles and the state of the mules. In reply Kimpton as the Mail Service Contractor welcomed the correspondence hoping that it would cause the matter to be enquired into and that there would be at least two decent-sized road parties soon on this so-called road. He went into great detail, pointing out that until a few months previously the coach had never been late and the mules had been fat and fit although they had been on the road since June 1913: the shocking state of the road now compelled him to use ten mules instead of six, as previously he had in the last four months lost 15 mules and the first 43 miles took eleven hours instead of seven.

All transport animals and operators were crying out to those in authority: the Road Engineer had recently said that to 60 miles out there was no road left and Kimpton asked if it were possible for a mule to be properly treated when it had to pull on a road that even the Engineer admitted had ceased to be worthy of the name. From Umtali to Mount Selinda 130 miles were practically impassable and the other 40 miles needed to be kept in repair. To do all this the Government allowed one white man, two carts and including drivers and cooks, twenty workers which Kimpton felt was about as much good as trying to clean out a stable with a table fork. Soon afterwards he gave up the mail contract and C. H. Zeederberg took it on again.

One recorded journey reads as follows:-

Marie, daughter of H. D. Martin (Mrs Hack), left Melsetter for school in Bulawayo. The night before they left it rained steadily, but the morning dawned fair and with servants carrying her *scoff* (food) box and tin trunk, she went to the market square to board the coach. Nearly all the villagers were there as the weekly arrival and departure of the mail-coach was a big event, not lightly to be missed. Six passengers could be carried in two rows of three facing one another with knees almost touching, but as there were only four Marie, Connie McLeod, Mr Lenthall and a Post & Telegraphs technician —they travelled in great style and comfort. Luggage and mailbags were secured to the back of the coach and covered by a tarpaulin. Final goodbyes were said. They took their places, the coachman mounted his high seat, his assistant leapt up beside him and with whip cracks, the clatter of hooves and a blast from the bugle, and they were off.

The team was fresh and the pace brisk as the coach rounded the shoulder of Pork Pie and past Rocklands. Then came the long, heavy pull up and yet up, till the nervous preferred not to look outside to the awful depths below. Rounding sharp bends and leading mules had to keep to the extreme edge of the narrow road, and clods flung up by their hooves dropped sickeningly out of sight. On and on, then down the impossibly steep pass at Komiek Nek, round to Steyn's bank and a fresh team of mules, and an opportunity of stretching legs and having tea and a bite. The new team had a long haul up and round to Rutherford's Hill and then down the valley across the Umvumvumu and on to the half way huts where they spent the night.

The mountains, with very real hazards in those wet conditions, were behind them

and ahead was comparatively uninteresting country with minor ups and downs though with large rivers to be forded. Next morning, due in Umtali that afternoon, they were wakened by the bugle to a sodden world. They found the Mpudzi River in flood, but after a short delay the water appeared to have subsided, so the coachman said that with the fresh team ready there they should be able to cross. With brakes locking the back wheels and mules struggling to keep their feet on the slippery surface, the steep slope down to the ford was negotiated. Halfway across the river disaster struck. A wall of water swept through the coach, carrying downstream nearly all their belongings and the helpless mules, hastily cut free by the quick thinking driver. One poor beast was drowned, but the others struggled to safety some distance away. There they were: four fare-paying passengers and two Zeederberg employees soaked to the skin and perched precariously on the rocking, teamless coach in midstream. Connie McLeod dressed incongruously in smart coat, new hat and brown gloves, swam back battling bravely through the waves. Africans came from the coach stables and formed a human chain from bank to coach, back along which they all struggled to safety. A fire was made and they dried themselves as well as possible. The position was not good: nearly all their belongings had gone, they had no food and learned that return to Melsetter was impossible as the road behind was cut by another stream normally a trickle but now a raging torrent. They got in touch with the Newnham family who were camped close by and soon exhausted their limited food supplies. Before the adventure was over they were eating crushed mealies kept at the coach station for the mules.

In 1927 Zeederberg's long association with Melsetter ceased when full road motor mail services started. The service was divided into two routes, with Rhodesia Railways operating directly to Chipinga and Frikkie Heyns fulfilling the postal contract to Melsetter. He ran the service with the latest model Dodge commercial vehicle aimed to do the mountain route in 12 hours and charged a flat rate of 1 pound per 100lbs. to or from Umtali. In 1928 the Railways Road Motor Service took over the twice-weekly Melsetter run and Heyns became an R.M.S. driver with the reputation of always being able to get his lorry through".

This was the last regular coach route operated in this country.

Highway Robbery:

Unlike their South African counterparts C. H. Zeederberg & Co in Rhodesia only suffered one recorded case of a highway robbery. The accused in the case was Joseph Phelan, BSA Police Force number 477 who served from 19 June 1903 until his discharge on 21 August 1906. The accused at his trial was acquitted of the robbery. However his discharge from the police force was as a result of his conduct immediately after the trial.

The following edited version of the case written by E. A. Banning is taken from the book *Blue and Old Gold* published by Howard Timmins in 1953.

"It was during the year 1906 and Trooper Joe Phelan was stationed at Filabusi. Another man there was Trooper Bertie Page. Page used to run the postal agency in the camp and was, therefore, in close touch with the Killarney Gold Mine seven miles away.

The following is mostly taken from sworn statements made by the men concerned, and which were filed away in the Charge Office afterwards. Page was approached one day by Phelan, who casually remarked to his companion that he was not looking too fit. He suggested that a holiday would do a great deal of good, with which desirable suggestion Page readily agreed. "But where are the funds to come from on five shillings



a day?" he asked. "That's where I come in," Phelan replied, and straightway put up probably the most amazing proposition ever heard in Rhodesia.

The Killarney gold, valued at many thousands of pounds, was to be taken to Bulawayo as usual in the "gold coach", as it was called, which had to pass through Filabusi on its way to Balla Balla. It had always been taken in this manner with either the mine manager or the secretary acting as escort. Phelan's suggestion to Page was that he (Phelan) should hold up the coach at a spot particularly convenient a few miles past Filabusi and rob it of its bullion.

The gold was to be hidden at a pre-arranged spot in the bush close by and was to be removed from there by a third confederate, who had a small mine near the selected scene of the hold-up. This was how the gold was to be realised. Page was particularly asked to find out the exact time the coach left the Killarney Mine and was to inform Phelan, so that he could then ride out and do the job. For this assistance and a promise to help Phelan prove an alibi in case he was arrested, he was to receive the sum of 300 pounds for the suggested holiday. "Don't give me your answer now," said Phelan. "Think it over and let me know in the morning."

The next day the conversation was resumed, but Page flatly refused to have any hand in it at all, and advised Phelan not to be foolish enough to go on with the scheme, as he would most certainly be caught, owing to his having divulged his plan. This warning, however, was completely ignored and the amazing effrontery and dare-devil nature of the man was then displayed, for he turned to Page and said: "You can please yourself what you do and as for my supposed plans, did anyone else hear me make them?" "Of course not," replied Page, "but what difference does that make?" "Just this," added Phelan, "that my word is as good as yours."

Phelan then applied for "Shooting" leave, to be spent at the Whitestone Kopjes, some 15 miles away, and the application was readily granted. Now Phelan went to the Whitestone Kopjes all right and took good care to show himself to the Africans there, which was particularly shrewd move and helped him to secure his acquittal later on.

Page evidently did not like to report to his superior officer, Yarde-Buller, what Phelan had told him and most probably thought he had forsaken the idea of holding up the coach altogether. Colour was lent to this by the fact that Phelan had sent in some venison from the Whitestone Kopjes, but the gold was due to leave Killarney that day.

When the coach arrived at Filabusi to take on the mails, everything was in order and the mine secretary, Mr Plaistowe, armed with a revolver, was in charge of the bullion. Two hours later, however, a terrified driver came rushing in to the camp and reported that a masked man had shot the leader mule dead and had stolen the gold bars! The white man in charge was babbling and sobbing and generally acting very strangely.

Troopers were immediately sent out and found the outfit to be in a terrible state of chaos. One mule was dead, two others had broken loose from their harness, while the coach itself had been pulled into the bush and was jammed in between the trees on the low side of the spruit, which afterwards bore Phelan's name. The secretary was undoubtedly out of his mind and this, incidentally, was confirmed later, for he died not long afterwards in a mental home.

No sign of the robber was to be found and the gold had disappeared. Where? The only man who could have told was now *non-compos mentis*. Close examination of the

immediate surroundings failed to yield even the smallest clue as to the identity of the highwayman or the direction he had taken on his departure from the scene of the robbery.

The coach was taken back to camp, some fresh mules inspanned and sent off again to Balla Balla under escort.

Page informed Yarde-Buller of Phelan's suggestion to him and it was decided to arrest him on suspicion. Phelan came back the next evening and exhibited a particularly nonchalant manner as he reported to the Charge Office. He was immediately arrested and removed to Bulawayo for examination. Naturally he denied all knowledge of the affair and claimed an *alibi*, stating that he had never left the Whitestone Kopjes until that morning and could prove it.

Page's statement was really unacceptable in law as he had no corroborative evidence to support it. At the trial later on several fellows, including Yarde-Buller, testified to Phelan's good record and service. Africans were brought in from the Whitestone Kopjes to help the alibi along. They all swore that Phelan only left his camp for a very few hours at a stretch in order to hunt. It was a moot point whether he could have done the double trip, accomplished his objective and returned to his camp in a time to accord with the Africans statement. In fact, this is actually what had happened. Phelan had plenty of time to do the double trip and get back to his camp without arousing the suspicions of the Africans who, in any case, have very little idea of time or distance. The bullet which killed the mule was not found, so that it could not be proved even that a .303 rifle (Phelan had used a .303) had been used in the killing. Altogether the prosecution had a very weak case and Phelan was ultimately acquitted.

Immediately after the case had ended, Phelan went looking for Page, found him and gave him a thrashing for "daring to accuse him of such a heinous crime". For this he was discharged from the Corps. Phelan's confederate, who was to have taken the gold away from where it was hidden, failed through sheer funk to remove the precious metal, which was the cause of the only highway robbery this country has ever known. One of our old Pioneers afterwards found the gold with the aid of African trackers, very close to the scene of the robbery, which place had been constantly watched in the meantime, as also had Phelan. That worthy then left the territory and joined a gang of crooks away up in which was called "No Man's Land" round about the border between German South-West Africa and Northern Rhodesia."

The 1896–1897 First Umvukela:

The first incidents took place in the Essexvale area on the night of 20 March 1896 when African policemen and bearers were murdered.

The first rumours of murders reached the small settlement of Gwelo on Tuesday 24 March. It was only on the following day when Ronald Napier rode into Gwelo from Shangani that events were suddenly taken seriously and people in outlying districts were called in and a laager formed. The telegraph line to Bulawayo was cut, surprisingly late, on 1 April, the last message received saying the Matabele were close to town, Bulawayo, and the population had gone into laager.

In the evening of Saturday 28 March a Zeederberg coach left Gwelo for Bulawayo. It had two drivers and nine men on board. The decision to leave Gwelo was inexplicable and potentially suicidal. Robert Burrett writing in *Heritage* No. 15 of 1996 suggests that it might have been made in panic following a clash between Chief Amavenis forces and a patrol north west of Gwelo which resulted in the patrol being forced to withdraw



to Gwelo or possibly dissatisfaction with conditions in the Gwelo laager. The coach reached Shangani store early the following morning where they found the body of a recently murdered settler by the name of Wood. The coach pushed on without delay. Soon they noted that they were being followed and the passengers fired continuously at their would-be assailants keeping them at bay. After another 15 miles on arrival at the looted Pongo Store they didn't even stop. The mules soon began to tire having travelled twice the normal distance. Finally the mules came to a standstill and the passengers were forced to abandon the coach and take to foot. The mules were killed and the coach burnt. Fortunately after walking some distance and as dusk was falling they were met by Colonel Napier's patrol which had set out from Bulawayo on 24 March. The coach passengers finally reached Bulawayo on 2 April. Colonel Napier's patrol brought in a total of 43 refugees.

The rinderpest outbreak meant that ox drawn transport had ceased to exist. An ox drawn wagon will carry 8 000lbs (3,6t) to 9 000lbs (4t) without any forage being required for the oxen. A mule drawn wagon will carry 4 000lbs (1,8t) to 5 000lbs (2,2t) and each mule in order to keep their condition must be fed a minimum rate of 6lbs (2,7kg) of grain per day. Therefore a mule wagon train of 14 mules should receive a minimum of 84lbs (38kg) a day or 2 520lbs (1 140kg) of grain for a 30 day journey. This was the time taken for a mule wagon to make the journey from Mafeking to Bulawayo.

Messrs Zeederberg in April 1896 signed a contract with the authorities for the running of a daily coach to Bulawayo by the Palapye and Tuli Road so that 20 000lbs (9 060kg) of food supplies and ammunition in addition to ordinary mail and passengers might be imported weekly into Bulawayo by this route. These coaches would have had to be provided with armed escorts.

Carriage of Mail:

A major interest of the British South Africa Company in the provision of coach services was in the carriage of mail matter as expeditiously and cheaply as possible. Each coach could carry up to 2 500 lbs. (1 132kg) of mail matter. The volume of mail carried by the coaches was not sufficient to cover operating costs and it was necessary for the Chartered Company to provide subsidies which in 1894 came to:-

	Pounds Sterling
Mafeking-Bulawayo	4 400
Pietersburg-Bulawayo	1 600
Salisbury-Bulawayo	3 300
Salisbury-Chimoio	2 000

These mail subsidies were reduced as rail construction progressed across the country. The eventual conveyance of mail by rail saved the Post Office considerable expenditure. Not only was rail quicker but services became more frequent providing a greatly improved postal service to the public.

Special Occasions:

On 23 April 1900 the company suspended all its mail and coach services so that its vehicles and employees could be used to convey the six guns and the members of C



Last Salisbury to Bulawayo Coach 1903. With the completion of the railwayline between Salisbury and Bulawayo in 1902 Zeederberg withdrew his coaches from the Bulawayo route and concentrated on rural routes

Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery from Marandellas to Bulawayo. The Battery commander was Major Houdin. This unit with its guns was urgently needed by Colonel H. C. O. Plumer in his campaign to relieve Mafeking in the Anglo-Boer War. The forces then at his disposal were seriously deficient in artillery.

Rhodesiana No. 40 1979 contains the following description by Jack Greenfield of the Royal Canadian Artillery of his journey through this country with the battery.

“Well we had some hot times since we left Cape Town. We had a splendid trip up the coast to Beira. Arrived there on 22 April, 1900. Disembarked the next day and immediately entrained for Marandellas. Had an enjoyable run from Beira up-country. We were accompanied by a squadron of Queenslanders. Box cars were rigged up for us, with tin roofs and seats along the sides and into these we were bundled, bag and baggage. The railroad is a narrow gauge and the travelling was very slow on it. Every hill we came to there was a stop to get up steam. After a few attempts we got started and did a few more miles. This sort of thing kept up till we reached Bamboo Creek, where we transferred to the Rhodesian line, which very soon landed us in Marandellas. Here we stayed a week, getting ready for our journey to Bulawayo. From there we were sent off in sections, one section a day, on old stage coaches, drawn by ten mules. The guns and wagons went with us, each having five span of mules. Every fifteen or twenty miles we got fresh relays, never stopping more than a couple of hours at any place. This was kept up till we reached Gwelo, where the four guns came together again. (The other two guns followed later). Remained there all day and started out in the evening. About twenty five miles from Bulawayo we got oxen to draw us, as there were no more mules. We all came into town at 10am in a way that would present a very curious view



to the people at home if they saw us drawn through the streets by oxen. The people of Bulawayo gave us a very hearty welcome”.

The Company also provided transport for the Rhodesian Field Force on the same route. This force which comprised of two Brigades of Australian and New Zealand troops. They became known as Bushmen having been drawn from rural districts in their home countries. The men travelled on horseback or foot while it is said the officers used the coaches.

In September 1905 a 300 strong party of the British Association visited Rhodesia. During the visit Professor G. Darwin who was leading the group formally opened the Victoria Falls Bridge. They also visited Worlds View in the Matopos to see Cecil John Rhodes grave. Zeederberg and Co mobilized over twenty vehicles to convey the group to the Matopos and back to Bulawayo all on the same day.

Fares and Travelers:

I think it is reasonable to assume that the majority of passengers using the coaches would have been Chartered Company officials and business persons travelling for their companies. A telegraph clerk in 1896 earned fifteen pounds a month and even in 1907 his earnings would have been in the region of thirty five pounds per month. A trooper in the police was paid five shillings a day in this first year of engagement. Earnings of this level would not have allowed for what is now known as leisure travel. Such type of travel would have been the preserve of those with substantial financial means.

Conclusion:

C. H. Zeederberg & Co provided an essential transport service in the early days of the then Rhodesia. Conditions were difficult with roads and bridges almost non-existent. They also faced the certain prospect of the business being overtaken by more modern, cheaper and faster forms of transport. They were a tough and enterprising group of people who played a significant and largely unsung part in opening up of the country.

Spare a thought too for those employees who drove the coaches. They worked in all weathers and conditions never knowing when the coach would strike an unseen obstacle and tip over. They would have been under great pressure to deliver both passengers and mail safely and on time to their destination. A special type of man who we should honour all these years later.

Finally let us remember the many animals possibly thousands mainly mules who pulled the coaches and carts. Truly beasts of burden that made an un-heralded and very significant contribution to the development of this country.

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Ms Marie de Bruijn, Harare.

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The Opening of a Bridge

by W. "Billy" Moubray



The following note was kindly shared by Stuart Beverly, one of the pioneering families of the Southeast Lowveld. He found it in old papers held by the family and we thought that it would be of interest to readers. It is a wonderful recollection of the 1935 opening of the Birchenough Bridge; a remarkable feat of engineering across the Save (Sabi) River in what was then a remote, largely undeveloped area. Through its construction, this part of the country and the neighbouring Chipinge-Chimanimani highlands were integrated into the national economy.

The bridge was built between 1934–1935, funded by the Beit Railway Trustees. The steel framework, all 1 500 tons of it, was fabricated by Dorman Long & Company, England. It was shipped to the port of Beira, before it was railed to Umtali [Mutare]. There it was offloaded and the massive sections were carried by RMS trucks to the chosen site on the Sabi River. Here the bridge was reassembled. Like the Victoria Falls and Sydney Harbour bridges, the Birchenough Bridge was erected as two arches built out from the opposing banks. These were anchored back in the initial stages by massive steel ropes. The two sections were joined on 17 June 1935. As mentioned by Moubray, the steel cables had originally been used to build the Sydney Harbour Bridge, constructed in a similar manner. After the arch was complete, the same cables were cut and adapted on site to support the suspended concrete roadway.

Named after the one time Chairman of the Beit Trust, Sir Henry Birchenough, the bridge was opened on 20 December 1935, twenty months after work on site commenced. Moubray is wrong when he seems to imply that the naming of the bridge was only after the passing of Birchenough. Sir Henry died in 1937. It was already named after him in his lifetime, a decision on the part of the government to honour his work towards the development of the country. On 2 April 1938 the ashes of both Sir Henry and Lady Mabel were installed in one of the pillars of the bridge in another, much larger and better prepared ceremony. Once again it was overseen by the Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, and Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins. Possibly it was felt that the earlier episode recalled here was just too informal and it had to be done again, better prepared three years later?

I have taken the liberty of adding several period photographs to the text, most especially a series showing the stages in building of the bridge. They are taken with permission from the collections of the National Railways of Zimbabwe Railway Museum, Bulawayo.

Rob Burrett



Fig. 1. Sir Henry Birchenough

My wife, May, and I had once met Sir Henry Birchenough¹, Fig. 1. It was when she was in the Lady Chancellor Nursing Home in Salisbury having her first infant in June 1929. Sir Henry was then Chairman of the British South African Company, and he was on one of his periodic visits to Rhodesia and had taken the opportunity of visiting and inspecting the Nursing Home. Miss Munro, the Matron of the Home, evidently regarded May as one of her star patients at the time, so one afternoon when I was up there sitting on the end of May's bed, the door suddenly opened and the Matron and Sir Henry Birchenough walked in. He stayed chatting with us for five or ten minutes and then was taken on to inspect other things.

Now Sir Henry had died, and the Beit Trustees had erected a bridge over the Sabi River and, called it the Birchenough Bridge, his ashes buried in a plinth at the east end of the bridge with a bronze plaque attached to the wall and an inscription². It is a beautiful



Fig. 2. Laying of the east bank foundations.

bridge, a single span of over a thousand feet in length. The enormous arch of steel girders rises out of the surrounding bush like some sort of rainbow, Figs 2–8. The huge steel ropes that support the roadway were used in the construction of the Sydney Bridge in Australia and then brought across the Indian Ocean to be used in the Birchenough Bridge. Mr Freeman³, who designed the bridge, once travelled with us on the Mail Ship from Cape Town to Southampton.



Fig. 3. RMS lorry transporting sections of the steel framework of the bridge from Umtali to the construction site.

The official opening of the Bridge was to take place a few days before Christmas in December of 1935 (20 December). It was not a very suitable time for the opening because the Sabi Valley at that time of year can be both hot and humid. However, all the well known residents on both sides of the river were invited to attend. May and I received

¹ Sir Henry Birchenough Bart. G.C.M.G. 1853-1937. A British businessman and politician who was on the Boards of the British South Company and various railway companies which operated in southern Africa.

² The laying of the ashes takes place at a separate event in April 1938.

³ Ralph Freeman, 1880-1950, an English structural engineer who was responsible for the design of several of the world's most impressive bridges. At the time that it was built it was the third longest suspension bridge in the world. Freeman also designed the original Beitbridge.



Fig. 4. The west bank portion of the bridge being erected outward supported by “Sydney Harbour” cables.



Fig. 5. The arch completed, 17 June 1935.



Fig. 6. Constructing the suspended roadway.



Fig. 7. Refabricating the Sydney Harbour Bridge cables to support the roadway.



THE BIRCHENOUGH BRIDGE across the Sabi River, Southern Rhodesia, which will be opened to-morrow. The third largest single-span bridge in the world, its arch rises 280 feet above the river, and it is 1,080 feet long. It was made by British contractors.

Fig. 8. Newspaper article showing the bridge complete, December 1935.

invitations and decided to go, taking Buchanan, my ranch manager, along with us. The opening was fixed for some fairly early hour of the day, I have forgotten exactly, but I think about ten or ten-thirty.

As it was a fairly long way to motor from the Ranch, and the roads not too good, we decided that we would motor over the afternoon before, camping near the bridge for the night. This we did, going by Zaka and Bikita, and then joining the main east road from Fort Victoria, Fig 9. Arrived at the bridge, we chose a camping spot in fairly dense bush a few hundred yards below the bridge on the west bank. The dense bush gave us some privacy, but it also shut out any vestige of breeze. I think it was one of the hottest and most humid nights I ever experienced in the Lowveld. One just lay and dripped. I don't think that any of us slept very much. In the early morning, May and I decided to go down to the river and see if we could find a place to bathe. We found that quite a number



Fig. 9. The main Fort Victoria road approaching Birchenough Bridge, 1936.

of other campers had had the same idea. Most of the water was shallow with a sand bottom. We splashed about and got clean and refreshed, then returned to our camp to cook breakfast. From the big sandy beach beside the river, I took some photos looking up at the new bridge. Some enterprising person had climbed to the apex of the steel arch and tied a Union Jack Flag there. I suppose it was the first, and the last time that a Union Jack ever fluttered there.

The opening ceremony was a curious



affair. Like so many of these things when planned far out in the wilds, unexpected things are apt to occur and upset arrangements. There could be no ‘dress rehearsal’ as might have taken place in a city.

Sir Herbert Stanley⁴, the Governor, was to perform the ceremony and, as far as I remember, he was to fly down and landed at an improvised landing strip just north of the bridge on the west bank. Somewhere en route, possibly aboard the plane, he changed into his white uniform and plumed hat. It was evidently at this point that it was discovered that all the Governor’s medals, ribbons and sashes had been left, behind. A fairly long debate ensued as to whether there was any way in which they could be fetched. In the end it was finally decided to proceed without them. Of course, we only heard about this afterwards.

May, Buchanan and I walked up to the bridge and across to the east end where the ceremony was to take place. We took up a strategic position facing the plaque where we could both see and hear all that went on. There were no chairs, so everyone had to stand. There was also no shelter from the hot sun. We waited and we waited and we waited, and nothing happened. Various important guests arrived but there was no one to greet them, so they just mingled with the crowd.

I think the first important guest to arrive was Sir Patrick Duncan. He may still have been plain ‘Mr’ in those days, but he was a South African Cabinet Minister and was representing the South African government. He was not very suitably dressed considering the weather—black and grey striped trousers, a morning coat, stiff white collar and stock, and on top a white solar topee helmet⁵. He looked most extraordinarily uncomfortable and hot, and no doubt was so. The next VIPs to arrive were the official party from Portuguese East Africa⁶, consisting of the Governor, his wife, ADC, and entourage. All in white, the Governor was glittering with medals, and his wife looking as if she was on the lawns at Ascot, with a big picture hat and ankle-length, flowery dress. They too, with no one to greet them, mingled with the crowd.

It was now at least an hour past the official time for the opening. We all began to get a bit tired of standing in the hot sun. Eventually, however, our Governor and his party arrived - Stanley with no medals, just his plain white uniform and plumed hat, and Laurence Holbech, his ADC, resplendent with medals. In fact, I think Holbech was Comptroller and not an ADC. So very late, the ceremony at long last got started. Sir Herbert stood with his back to the plaque on the north side of the roadway. May and I were in the front row of the crowd standing facing him on the other side of the road, about ten or twelve feet away. Our Prime Minister, Huggins (was he still ‘Mr’ or had he already become Sir Godfrey? I cannot remember⁷. He was always called ‘Huggy’) stood on Sir Herbert’s left. The Governor made a suitable speech, but unfortunately towards the end of it a strong gust of wind, precursor of a *guti* coming up later in the day, blew up the road from the east. It whistled around us, blowing off the Union Jack that covered the plaque. So when Sir Herbert reached the stage of saying, “I now have the honour of unveiling this memorial to Sir Henry Birchenough” he turned around to

⁴ Sir Herbert James Stanley, 1872-1955. Career administrator. Governor of Northern Rhodesia 1924-71 Ceylon 1928-31; Southern Rhodesia 1935-42. Was High Commissioner to South Africa 1931-35.

⁵ pith helmet
⁶ Moçambique

⁷ Sir Godfrey Huggins, later Viscount Malvern 1883-1971. Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia 1933-1953 and of the Federation until 1956. The longest serving PM in the Commonwealth.

do so but the plaque was already unveiled and the flag on the ground. It was a somewhat embarrassing moment.

Worse was to come. Someone from Fort Victoria had brought down by car a gramophone and a record of 'God save the King'. This was now played. The journey from Fort Victoria had upset the works of the gramophone, one of those old ones that one had to wind up with a handle. The record would only turn at an abnormally slow speed. The result was frightful. The National Anthem proceeded like a Funeral Dirge, swooping up and down. It was impossible to sing to it. I looked across at Huggy who was standing looking up into the sky, obviously making great efforts not to laugh. Anyway, that ended the opening ceremony.

We then all adjourned to a vast marquee made up from many railway bucksails on poles. Here a sit-down lunch had been prepared for about three hundred people. The VIPs sat at the top table, but the rest of us chose seats where we wished. May and I found seats at the west end of the tent where it was open and we could get some air. We were served with a good cold lunch. Towards the end of the lunch there were speeches. I don't know how many, or who made them. The top table was about fifty yards away and there was no loudspeaker. If one stood up one could see a distant figure, a mouth opening and shutting, but that was all. Most of the guests around us got bored and started talking amongst themselves. Smoking and conversation became general. At the end of the day we motored home in the dark in a steady wet *guti* that had blown in from the southeast.

Francis Eric Keep D.Sc, 1897-1974

Itinerant mining geologist

by Peter Fey



This text continues the series of occasional articles, begun by the writer in 1994, on the lesser known members of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, men who nevertheless made a considerable contribution to geological knowledge of the new country. As before, original place names are used in the text.

Keep had a most varied career, but remarkably little is known about him other than for the three-year period during which he served with the Geological Survey. Whilst with that organisation he initially mapped the Shabani greenstone belt and associated asbestos deposits, where his study of the latter earned him a doctoral degree. Later he undertook one of the first detailed investigations into chromite and asbestos occurrences along a portion of the Great Dyke. In addition he inspected a large variety of mines and prospects throughout the colony. Aside from his reports on each mining property visited his work is recorded in five departmental publications. Because of alterations, subsequently abrogated, to his contract Keep did not stay with the department beyond the stipulated three years. He subsequently became a consultant, living and working in several parts of the world including South Africa, where he became President of the Geological Society in 1933.

Introduction

According to the British Royal Air Force Officers' Service Records (1912–1920) Francis Eric Keep was born on 2 February 1897 and the 1901 census shows the family residing at 24 Park Road, Moseley, King's Norton. It comprised Keep's father Francis Allden, then aged 42 and engaged in constructional ironwork manufacture, his wife Eleanor, a schoolmistress 11 years his junior and children, from oldest to youngest, Dorothy, Francis Eric, Cecil Evelyn and Eleanor. The family was evidently well to do since it employed two female servants.

There is some confusion about Francis Eric's place of birth. King's Norton and Mosely, although not far



Francis Eric Keep 1897–1974

apart, are separate small centres on the southwestern outskirts of Birmingham. According to the 1901 census all the children were born at the latter place, yet when Francis Eric travelled to Canada in 1924 he recorded King's Norton as his birth place on the "Declaration of passenger". Later, an extract (Schedule 370) of the "Census of England and Wales, 1911" shows the family, now with one servant only, living at 58 Park Hill in "Moseley near Birmingham". The father was described as a constructional engineer and employer whilst mother was evidently still teaching. The eldest child was by then an art student, the others still at school. However, adding to the confusion about Francis Eric's birth place is that in this census he and his elder sister were shown as having been born in Birmingham, Warwickshire whereas the two youngest children were born in Moseley. The latter is given as lying in Worcestershire yet the 2009 edition of Philip's "Big Road Atlas of Britain" shows the centre to occur in Warwickshire as apparently does King's Norton, although it lies close to the boundary with Worcestershire.

In March 1924 Francis Eric Keep married Marie Kathleen Tomlinson, 11 years his senior, at Stratford, Gloucestershire. Shipping manifests from his later travels show that the couple had one son, Michael Eric, born in 1930 at Johannesburg.

The next insight into Keep's life comes from his letter, dated 1 May 1924, to Director H. B. Maufe (Fey, 2015 a) enquiring about a position with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey. Keep stated that he had served in the Army for a little over four years between 1914 and 1919, mostly in the Near East and, as verified by Service records, had attained the rank of Second Lieutenant in the East Yorkshire Regiment. After the war he had studied at the University of Birmingham for the degrees of B.Sc (Mining) and M.Sc (Geology), qualifying in 1921. In addition he held certificates in Metal Mining and Mine Surveying from the City and Guilds of London Institute, and professed to speak several languages although being certified only in French. His geological experience included mapping as well as several months working on tin and coal mines in England. He had recently returned from India where he had spent two years prospecting for coal in Hyderabad, completing the task begun by Ben Lightfoot (Fey, 2015 b) who had rejoined the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey in 1921. Coincidentally, on Keep's outward journey to Bombay on 6 January 1922 the P&O ship *Narkunda* carried three passengers with the surname Keep, namely Francis Eric, Miss Dorothy, a spinster aged 36 and Harry, aged 63 and possibly her father. Both the latter had the same address in Surrey, but any relationship to Francis Eric is conjectural.

Since Maufe was at the time unable offer him employment Keep, together with his new wife and £200 in cash, left Liverpool on 31 October 1924 aboard the SS *Canada* for Montreal. According to the "Declaration of passenger to Canada" form completed by him he intended to settle in the country permanently, would be working as a mining engineer and was bound for the Porcupine or Cobalt mining fields in Ontario, travelling there via Toronto.

However, he appears to have spent only some 20 months in Canada because Maufe was in due course able to offer him a position. According to the agreement subsequently made in London on 23 July 1926 between Keep and the High Commissioner for the Colony of Southern Rhodesia he was to be employed on a three-year contract at £600 *per annum*, plus subsistence allowance at the applicable rates. Armed with a letter of introduction from the High Commission Keep, accompanied by his wife, sailed from Southampton on the RMS *Balmoral Castle* on 13 August. He commenced duty as mining geologist with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey in Salisbury



on 3 September 1926 and, having omitted to do so earlier, immediately claimed the marriage allowance of £50 *per annum*.

The Geological Survey period 1926-1929

Keep's talents lay in mining geology, and he was a hard worker, responsible for five Geological Survey publications, all referenced below. Considering his short career of only three years with the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, these make him its most prolific author. In addition he published articles in several technical journals. Having tabulated Keep's mine visits Director Maufe certified on 30 April 1930 (his statement is erroneously dated 30 April 1929) that during his period of service ending 2 September 1929 the geologist had spent 119 days, each of eight hours or more, in actual underground examination of 63 mines, including gold, asbestos, copper and lead properties, in addition to further time devoted to surface investigations in the vicinity of these workings. In a departure from the norm one of his bulletins (Keep, 1928 a) comprised a collection of reports on mining properties which included the small Lone Tree gold mine, long since closed, in the Salisbury suburb of Meyrick Park.

On taking up his new post in September 1926 Keep was immediately sent into the field and, having been introduced to his project area by colleague Ben Lightfoot (Fey, 2015 b), began to survey an area of 221 square miles (573 km²) centred on Shabani,



Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey. Staff photograph 1929

B. B. Napier; L. Thornton; E. Golding; J. L. Cobbett

V. E. Horne; V. H. Woram; F. E. Keep; S. C. Morgan; L. A. N. Brooks; H. S. McVey

Miss V. Tanfield; B. Lightfoot; H. B. Maufe (Director); A. M. Macgregor; Miss R. Margolis

Absent: R. McI Tyndale-Biscoe

site of the largest occurrence of chrysotile asbestos in Southern Africa. Of this area 201 square miles (521 km²) were mapped at a scale approximating to 1:59 500, with the vicinity of the asbestos mines being surveyed at a scale of 1:19 200. During the mapping, undertaken by plane table and alidade, altitudes were obtained by means of aneroid barometer observations, and not only the geology but also the topographical details were recorded. Keep spent two seasons extending to just over ten months in the field where, in addition to geological mapping, he was required to visit and document all of the mineral deposits in the region, which hosted 27 known gold occurrences, 18 of these with a declared output. He became particularly interested in the formation of chrysotile asbestos, a topic which formed the basis of his doctoral thesis, the degree of D.Sc being awarded by his *alma mater*, Birmingham University, in 1930. Results of a later study of chrysotile genesis by D. H. Laubscher (1963), geology and geomechanics consultant to the mining company, differed in detail from those obtained by Keep, whose fieldwork is documented in Geological Survey bulletin 12 (Keep, 1929 a). Furthermore, Keep published articles on the Shabani asbestos deposits in several South African technical journals, referenced by Martin (1978, p 211), who much later remapped the region.

The Shabanie Mine complex of disconnected chrysotile bodies extends over a strike length exceeding 5 kilometres along the central footwall dunite (olivine rock) of a differentiated ultramafic sill, itself 15 kilometres long, enclosed within the Shabani Gneiss. Mining, principally quarrying undertaken by several operators, began in 1916. The firm Turner and Newall founded the African Asbestos Mining Company in 1919 and ten years later brought the various individual workings under one management. In 1964 the company's assets were transferred to the Rhodesian and General Asbestos Corporation. Modern exploitation was largely by underground methods, notably sub-level caving, and the mine was developed to depths locally approaching 1 000 metres. Fibre production to the end of 1965 from all blocks of claims then constituting the Shabanie Mine amounted to 1 777 787.8 tonnes (Martin *op. cit.*, p 150). Because of low demand for its product the mine closed in 2004.

Keep's second mapping project, completed over a period of five months between 1928 and 1929, was the investigation of approximately 144 square miles (373 km²) along that portion of the Great Dyke known as the Umvukwe Range, extending northwards from what was to become the chrome mining centre Mtoroshanga to just south of Birkdale Pass. In this study, which focused on the chromite and asbestos occurrences of the region, he built on the pioneering work undertaken on the Great Dyke by Lightfoot (Fey, 2015 b). In 1925 the latter had identified platinum near Makwiro, thereafter alternatively mapping and reconnoitring sections along the length of the intrusion, which was much later geologically surveyed in its entirety by Worst (1960). At Mtoroshanga the first chromite claims were pegged in 1917 by local farmer A. Peake, who in 1919 produced 900 tons (816 tonnes) of chromite worth £3 400. Owing to the synclinal structure of the Great Dyke the chromite seams, regarded as magmatic segregations by Keep, dip inwards towards the centre of the intrusion, as already noted by the Geological Survey's Director H. B. Maufe in his annual report for 1920. Much of the early production was from shallow workings which followed the mostly narrow seams down dip, and from the limited data then available Keep conservatively estimated chromite resources in the mapped area, to a depth of 100 feet (30.48 metres) on the inclination of the seam, to be



between two and three million tons.

With experience gained through his study of the Shabani deposits Keep also investigated the asbestos occurrences of the region, where the largest deposit is that exploited at the Ethel Mine, then belonging to the Rhodesian Chrome and Asbestos Company Limited. The claims had been pegged by A. Peake in April 1918, the mine being worked until 1932, and again between 1947 and 1967. The property changed hands several times and the last owners, believed to have been a Scandinavian company, closed the operation in 1967, apparently in protest against the Government's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in November 1965. Until 1951 mining was by opencast methods, and the flooded quarry on the site is now a destination for recreational divers. Asbestos production until 1951 was 6 170 tons (5 596 tonnes), and 7 687 tons (6 972 tonnes) between 1951 and 1958 (Worst *op. cit.*, p 185).

In the course of 1928, besides continuing geological mapping, Keep also reported on mines in such widely separated districts as, *inter alia*, Gwanda, Que Que, Shamva, Lomagundi and Umtali, examining 10 gold properties in the last region alone. These consisted principally of mines at Penhalonga and included one alluvial claim near Old Umtali. In May he undertook a 65 mile (105 kilometre) traverse along the railway line between Que Que and Somabula, extending the traverse towards Shabani in June.

Keep completed his geological and topographical survey of the outstanding 12 square miles (31 km²) of country near Mtoroshanga in 1929. A preliminary Short Report (Keep, 1928 b) on the chromite deposits was followed by Bulletin 16 (Keep, 1930) which described the local geology and examined the genesis of chromite and asbestos occurrences.

He furthermore visited several gold mines, mostly at Umsweswe, and in the middle of the year was one of the guides on excursions forming part of the XV International Geological Congress held in Pretoria, showing delegates over the route between Somabula and Shabani as well as over the asbestos deposits at the latter locality (Keep, 1929 b).

Because of changes, subsequently abrogated, to his conditions of service Keep regrettably did not remain with the Geological Survey. He completed his contract on 2nd September 1929, thereafter joining Central Mining and Investment Corporation Limited (CMICL), which at the time was the largest gold producer in South Africa. This firm, incorporated in London, had been established by Wernher Beit & Co which, with its Johannesburg associates H. Eckstein & Co., had played a major role in the development of the Witwatersrand goldfield.

Subsequent career and travels

Keep joined the Geological Society of South Africa in 1928, served on its Council from 1931 to 1935 and became its President in 1933 (Anhaeusser 1997, p 132). On the Rand he initially worked as a mining official and then, after various promotions, was appointed Underground Manager before becoming assistant consulting engineer to CMICL in London during 1934.

It is worth digressing here to record some details about this firm and Keep's connection with Australia, both documented by Clark (1983). CMICL had become part of an informal syndicate, assembled in London by Australian stockbroker and financier William Sydney Robinson. In April 1930 this syndicate was incorporated into

Melbourne-based Gold Mines of Australia Limited (GMA), formed to initiate large-scale gold exploration and mining in Australia. Principal shareholders were companies controlled by New Consolidated Goldfields Limited of South Africa, with the latter having a 60% interest in GMA. Thereafter, anticipating an increase in the price of gold should England depreciate its currency in 1931, Robinson became much more ambitious in his quest to expand the operations of GMA. He entered into negotiations with the Governments of Western Australia and Victoria, and from the first secured extensive territorial prospecting rights for three years whilst Victoria made available to GMA considerable areas of the Bendigo Goldfields. This prompted a reorganisation of the company, with GMA interests withdrawing to eastern Australia and a new entity, Western Mining Corporation Limited (WMC), being formed in March 1933 to take over and manage most of the syndicate's interests in Western Australia. The final step was the formation in London at the end of July 1934 of Gold Exploration and Finance Company of Australia Limited (GEFCA) to control the whole of Australian financing. This new company effectively owned 62% of GMA and 95% of WMC. After the war a change in the attitude of the major English shareholders, namely the South African gold mining companies, led to the voluntary winding up of GEFCA in 1949, control and management of WMC thereby passing into Australian hands.

One of the CMICL directors, Alfred Jeaffreson Brett, was also on the board of GEFCA. Between November 1935 and March 1936 Brett, accompanied by



Caricature of Dr F. E. Keep (from South African Mining and Engineering Journal, Vol. 68, Part 2).

R. A. S. Mason, his senior assistant, undertook an inspection of the Australian operations and thereafter sent out Keep, ostensibly to review the company's mining practices. However Clark (*op. cit.*, p 27), Technical Managing Director of WMC since its formation and, after 1935, Managing Director of GMA, surmised that in reality Keep had been despatched to assess the competence of the team which had been assembled to direct the Australian affairs. He stayed in Australia for the best part of one year and during that time reported favourably on WMC's fledgling operations some 200 kilometres south of Kalgoorlie on the Norseman goldfield, which was to become a major producer. Between 1935 and 1978, the Mararoa-Crown and Princess Royal reefs there yielded 122 526 kilograms (3.939 million ounces) of gold from 9 14 627 tonnes of ore at an average recovery of 13.4 grammes (almost half an ounce) per tonne (Woodall, 1990).

Keep evidently remained with CMICL



until his retirement and, in the course of his career with the firm, lived and worked in several parts of the world and hence travelled extensively. Copies of passenger manifests to hand show that in September 1934 he sailed on the Elder Dempster ship *Accra* from Liverpool to Sekondi-Takoradi on the Gold Coast (now Ghana). Later, very probably immediately after his Australian interlude during which he was latterly based in Melbourne Keep, his wife and son left Suva (Fiji) on 13 March 1937 aboard the *SS Monterey*, bound for Los Angeles. The family continued to New York, from there sailing to Southampton, which they reached on 31 May. Keep was again accompanied by his family when he left Liverpool on 14 July 1939 aboard the Canadian Pacific ship *Duchess of Bedford*, bound for Montreal. On a subsequent trip in February 1946 from Newport in Pembrokeshire to New York he travelled alone aboard the Cunard White Star ship *Sacramento*.

In 1952, when Keep was appointed Consulting Geologist to Rand Mines Limited, he and his wife departed Southampton on 20 March for South Africa aboard the Union Castle Line's *Stirling Castle*. He remained in this post until 1957, providing technical leadership for the group's asbestos mines (Anhaeusser, 1997). Then, having turned 60, he is presumed to have retired.

A thumbnail sketch of the man and his career in the South African Mining and Engineering Journal (1957, p 169) notes that he was married, with one child. A keen follower of sport, he was also a gardener and raised pigeons.

Keep died in 1974, but no details are to hand.

Addendum

During the writer's research into Francis Eric Keep a few particulars about his only brother came to light. Cecil Evelyn was born in Moseley in 1899. During World War I he served in the Liverpool Regiment and, like his brother, attained the rank of Second Lieutenant. He appears to have also studied the earth sciences since on shipping manifests he was variously described as engineer or geologist. He is on record as having travelled from England to the United States in 1926, 1928 and 1938, and to Burma in 1934. On the first three of these voyages he was accompanied by his wife Beatrice, who was a year younger than he; on the last he sailed aboard the *Queen Mary*.

Cecil Evelyn, whose domicile was given as 56 Moorgate, London EC2, died on 30 July 1947 at the Harrington Nursing Home, Harrington Street, Calcutta, India. Probate was in Birmingham on 5 November of that year to Gerald James George Botteley, solicitor and Francis Eric Keep, mining engineer, the effects totalling £12 395 13s 5p.

Acknowledgements

In addition to relevant annual reports of the Director, Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey the author has drawn on other historical material in his library. Keep's portrait is an enlargement from the 1929 Geological Survey staff photograph, sourced from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, while his caricature was copied from the South African Mining and Engineering Journal (1957), Volume 68, Part 2. The writer is particularly indebted to Ms Alida Green of the University of Pretoria Archives for researching Keep's D.Sc. degree, and to Mrs Elizabeth Gresty for unearthing information on the website *Ancestry.com* about Keep's background, family and travels.

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The End of British South Africa Company Administration in Southern Rhodesia

by Adrian de Bourbon



Introduction

1 October 2023 will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the attainment by the settlers in what is now Zimbabwe of the status of a colony within the British Empire. The new colony, called Southern Rhodesia,¹ had a large degree of responsible government, although some important powers were subject to oversight by the Colonial Office in London. This article examines the significant events that led to the grant of colonial status and the end of administration by the British South Africa Company ('the Company'). In particular the article will focus on the approach taken by the Company to protect and benefit itself when its administration ended.

Though its nuances vary, most of the modern-day literature maintains that the idea that the BSAC was successful and profitable, largely due to the company's charter, and therefore opposed the end of chartered company rule in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia with all its might to the very end.²

The view that the Company wanted to maintain its rights of administration over Southern Rhodesia is incorrect. The 1914 renewal of the Royal Charter would not have taken place if the Company had reached an agreement with the British Government on the issue of compensation and if the Great War had not started. The Company's Board and its shareholders welcomed the end of its administration and were primarily concerned with the commercial position of the Company once the administration ended.

Background

The Company was formed by Royal Charter on 29 October 1889.³ The Company had a distinguished Board of Directors and a large shareholder base, which increased over the years as further shares were issued. The Royal Charter granted the Company the right to occupy and administer lands in Central Africa for an initial period of 25 years. The right could be extended for further periods of 10 years subject to the pleasure of the Crown. The area granted to the Company was:

The principal field of the operations of the British South Africa Company (in this Our Charter referred to as "the Company") shall be the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland

¹ The use of the name 'Rhodesia' was officially authorised by Joseph Chamberlain, the then Colonial Secretary, in 1897. The prefix 'Southern' was added in the following year in the Southern Rhodesia Boundary Regulations 1898, see Claire Palley: *The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888–1965* (1966) at page 155. Section 4 of the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1898 provided that the territory subject to the Order was to be known as Southern Rhodesia.

² Klas Rönnbäck & Oskar Broberg: *From Defensive to Transformative Business Diplomacy: The British South Africa Company and the End of Chartered Company Rule in Rhodesia, 1910–1925* (2022) *Business History Review* page 7

³ There were Supplementary Charters dated 8 June 1900, 13 March 1915, 25 March 1924, 16 August 1954 and 28 June 1962.

and to the north and west of the South African Republic and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions.⁴

It is to be noted that the Royal Charter placed no northern nor north-eastern boundary on the field of the operations. This led in due course to the Company taking over the area north of the Zambezi River in what is now Zambia—a matter outside the scope of this article. The description of ‘the principal field of operations’ did not exclude Matabeleland.

To fulfil its mandate, the Company equipped an armed column to skirt round Lobengula’s territory in a north easterly direction, and to settle in the area to the north east. The Pioneer Column started its journey on 6 May 1890. Company rule was established in Mashonaland on 12 September 1890 when the flag was raised at Fort Salisbury. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the settlers the Matabele in late 1893, the Company in effect annexed Matabeleland and was then granted control and administration of the whole of the area that became known as Southern Rhodesia.⁵

Further armed conflicts with the Matabele and Shona people in 1896 and 1897, and the unsuccessful raid into the Transvaal by Dr Leander Starr Jameson⁶ and a number of Company police and settlers set the tone for the relationship thereafter between the Company, the Colonial Office and the settlers. The death of Cecil John Rhodes⁷ in March 1902 had an immediate impact on that relationship as both the shareholders and the settlers looked to him to advance their interests. The visit to Southern Rhodesia after the death of Rhodes by Dr Jameson and Alfred Beit,⁸ on behalf of the Board of the Company, highlighted to the Board the unhappiness of the settlers. These difficulties were only resolved in 1923.

The Company

There has been considerable debate as to whether the primary motive behind the formation of the Company by Rhodes and his fellow investors, and their efforts to obtain the Royal Charter, was the expansion of the Empire or whether it was merely a commercial enterprise from which a profit was expected. Historians now favour the proposition that the Company was primarily a commercial enterprise.

The prospectus issued at the formation of the Company had stated that there would be no likelihood of a profit in the first two years of operations. Notwithstanding, as early as the first annual meeting of the Company on 22 December 1891, shareholders raised the prospect of an early profit. Certainly, the absence of a profit in the first 25 years of the administration was a major factor in the events that took place up to October 1923. In this period the share price of the Company on the London Stock Exchange hit a high of £8 in 1895 and a low of less than 10s in 1915.⁹ Disgruntled shareholders raised the lack of profit at almost every annual general meeting, to the extent that the Directors did their utmost to suppress expressions of dissent.¹⁰

⁴ Royal Charter of 1899 clause 1.

⁵ Matabeleland Order in Council 1894 issued on 18 July 1894.

⁶ Sir Leander Starr Jameson (1853–1917) was Chief Magistrate of Mashonaland from 1891 to 1893, Administrator from 1894 to 1896 and Prime Minister of the Cape 1904 to 1908. The raid, planned and led by Jameson, was an armed incursion into the Transvaal to support an uprising against the Boer Government. The uprising did not take place and the insurgents were stopped and arrested near Doornkop having suffered some casualties. Jameson and others were tried in England and sentenced to imprisonment, but soon released.

⁷ Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902) was Prime Minister of the Cape from 1890 to 1896. He was a director of the Company until 1896 when he was forced to resign. He remained a shareholder.

⁸ Alfred Beit (1853–1906) was a financier who became a close colleague of Cecil Rhodes. He served as a director of the Company from its inception until he was obliged to resign following the Jameson Raid. He was later reappointed.

⁹ The face value of each share at that time was £1.

¹⁰ Kudakwashe Chirofiri: ‘When Should We Expect a Reasonable Return on Our Investment Mr Rhodes?’ The British South Africa Company Shareholders and the Profit Motive, 1890 to 1923 (2021) *Southern Journal for Contemporary History*



Right from inception, most of the BSAC shareholders saw the colony's administration as a major hindrance to the ability of the Company to make a profit and a dividend for them.¹¹

All along the Company knew that it had to bear the costs of the administration of Southern Rhodesia. To meet these costs the Company enacted mining laws which attracted considerable revenue to the Company through licences and royalties. The Company sold land as a source of income for itself, together with an annual payment known as quitrent. An extensive regime of stamp duty was imposed. Considerable tracts of land were reserved to the Company for its own commercial purposes. The Company encouraged private investment in the country and became a major shareholder in the railways built from the south and the east. Despite all these commercial enterprises, in most years the costs of administration exceeded income and no dividend could be paid by the Company before 1924.

The Company initially ran the administration through its own local officials, its decisions subject only to approval by a Resident Commissioner, later termed the Administrator. Legislative matters required the approval of the High Commissioner, resident in South Africa, and through him in many instances of the Colonial Office in London. The Company later had to recruit better qualified persons to help with the administration, which in turn increased its costs.

The Boer War of 1899–1902 impacted severely on the country. Many men volunteered for military service, and generally the country suffered from a lack of goods and investment throughout that war. While undoubtedly the sentiment of the settlers remained pro-British, disgruntlement with the Company increased, especially in relation to the costs of mining.

A Supplementary Charter was issued in June 1900 setting out the powers of supervision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies over the administrative board of the Company and setting out the need for further financial information to be supplied to the Colonial Office.¹²

Following the Jameson Raid, demand was made for the establishment of a Legislative Council both with equal number of members elected by the settlers¹³ appointed by the Company. Parity was not initially accepted by either the Company or the Colonial Office. The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of October 1898 provided for the creation of a Legislative Council consisting of four members elected by the male settlers in the country, five members nominated by the Company, the two Administrators¹⁴ and the Resident Commissioner, who had the right to speak but not to vote. The powers of the Legislative Council were limited and in particular the elected members could not raise nor question the financial administration of the country.¹⁵ Elections were held on

at pages 155–157 'The BSAC plays dirty: Attempts to silence demanding shareholders'.

¹¹ Kudakwashe Chirofiri, cited above, at page 142.

¹² Supplementary Royal Charter of 8 June 1900.

¹³ Women were enfranchised in 1919 and married women were deemed to possess the same means qualification as their husbands – Women's Enfranchisement Ordinance 1919.

¹⁴ William Henry Milton (1854–1930) was the Senior Administrator and the Administrator of Mashonaland, and Arthur Lawley (1860–1932) was the Administrator of Matabeleland. When Lawley was appointed Governor of Western Australia in February 1901, Milton assumed the role of Administrator of both Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Milton twice played rugby for England against Scotland in 1874 and 1875 and played test cricket for South Africa in that country's first two test matches against England in 1889, captaining the team in the second test match, and again as captain in the only test against England in 1892.

¹⁵ Section 40 of the 1898 Order in Council.

a regular basis.¹⁶

The membership of the Council was changed in 1903 to give both the Company and the settlers seven members each; the Administrator retained a casting vote.¹⁷ As a result of continuing dissatisfaction on the part of the settlers, the Company agreed in 1907 to withdraw two of its nominated members from the Legislative Council. This gave the elected members a majority. In 1911 this arrangement was formalised, and the Legislative Council for a time thereafter consisted of seven elected members and five members nominated by the Company with the Administrator retaining his casting vote.¹⁸ After 1911 further changes to the composition of the Legislative Council could be made by proclamation of the High Commissioner following a vote of three-quarters majority of the Legislative Council—up to a maximum of fifteen elected members. By the time of the 1920 elections, the composition of the Legislative Council had increased to thirteen elected members, together with eight appointed and ex officio members.¹⁹ The changes to the composition of the Legislative Council did not remove the friction between the elected members of the Council and those nominated by the Company, but it did give a platform for the settlers to push for change.

Despite the limitations placed on the powers of the Legislative Council, and notwithstanding the overriding powers of the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office, by 1911 there was in practice a limited form of responsible government in place in Southern Rhodesia. The elected members and the voters would use this position to obtain a far greater degree of responsible government.

The unalienated land issue

Not long after obtaining a voice in the Legislative Council the settlers raised the issue of the sale of land by the Company. As early as 1908 the elected members voted for an immediate settlement of the land question, but it was blocked by the Company representatives.

The potential consequences of this conflict were enormous for the company. As one Economist correspondent put it, “Last year (1913) Sir Starr Jameson based the whole of his case for the board as against the dissenting shareholders on the value of the land asset. It was claimed that 100 million acres would be worth a substantial sum. If, however, the land is eliminated from the company’s balance-sheet, it must be confessed that the prospect for shareholders is dismal, even in the event of the charter being renewed”.²⁰

With the changes in the composition of the Legislative Council the elected members were able on 17 April 1914 to pass the following resolutions:

(1.) That the ownership of the unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia is not vested in, and has never been acquired by, the British South Africa Company as their commercial or private property, and that such powers of taking possession of, dealing with or disposing of land in Southern Rhodesia as have been or are possessed by the British South Africa Company have been created by virtue of authority conferred by Her

¹⁶ Elections for the Legislative Council were held on 17 April 1899, 17 March 1902, 22 May 1903, 6 March 1905, 24 April 1908, 12 April 1911, 18 March 1914 and 30 April 1920.

¹⁷ Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1903.

¹⁸ Southern Rhodesia Order in Council 1911.

¹⁹ Proclamation of the High Commissioner No 20 of 1917.

²⁰ Klas Rönnbäck & Oskar Broberg, cited above, at pages 13–14, citing *Economist* 14 March 1914.



Majesty the Queen in Council and her successors upon the Company, as the governing body charged for the time being by Her Majesty in Council and her successors with the general administration of affairs within the said territory and responsible for the maintenance of law, order, and good government therein:

(2.) That if by the exercise of the said powers and the taking possession of, dealing with and disposing of the said land or by any other means, the British South Africa Company have acquired an ownership of the said land, such ownership is so vested in them as an administrative and public asset only, and the Company in their capacity other than a Government and Administration have no dominion or estate in or title to the said lands or to any moneys or revenues derived therefrom.

(3.) That on the said Company ceasing to be the Government of the said territory, and ceasing to exercise the administration of affairs therein, all such lands as may be unalienated at such time shall be and remain the property of the Government of the said territory which shall take the place of the said Company, and the possession and administration of such land shall pass to such Government as public domain.²¹

The then Colonial Secretary, Lewis Harcourt, caused the issues to be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in terms of the Judicial Committee Act 1833. The intervention of the Great War, and considerable delays by the Colonial Office, meant that the matter was only argued before the Judicial Committee in April 1916. The settlers and the Company were represented at the hearing, as were the British Government and representatives of the indigenous people of the country. The ruling of the Judicial Committee was issued in July 1918.

Despite some optimism beforehand, the ruling of the Judicial Committee was seen as a setback to the Company. The Judicial Committee held that the Company had occupied the territory in the name of the Crown, and that in dealing with land the Company was acting on behalf of the British Government. The Judicial Committee advised that land grants already made were valid, but the unalienated land did not fall within the administrative powers of the Company. In other words, the unalienated land belonged to the Crown. However, the Judicial Committee expressed the view that the Company was entitled to compensation for its administrative costs in Southern Rhodesia:

... if its administration of Southern Rhodesia should be determined by the Crown, then the right to look to the Crown to secure to it (either out of the proceeds of further sales of the lands by whomsoever made, or, if the Crown should grant away these lands or proceeds to others, from public funds) the due reimbursement of any outstanding balance of aggregated advances made by it for necessary and proper expenditure upon the administration of Southern Rhodesia.²²

The decision meant that the Company lost perhaps its most valuable income stream, which had been profitable in previous years, the sale of land being an important source of revenue. The settlers saw the decision of the Privy Council as a major victory over

²¹ Quoted in the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, see *In re Southern Rhodesia* [1919] AC 211 (JC) at pages 229–230.

²² At page 248 of the ruling of the Judicial Committee.

the Company.

In reality it is to be doubted that those in charge of the Company saw the decision of the Judicial Committee as a complete defeat. Whilst the Company had lost the right to make a substantial profit from selling the unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia, the ruling had three important consequences for the future of the Company. First, the Company could retain the funds received for the sale of land with the right to apply those funds against the costs of administration. Secondly, the Company was entitled to retain the lands that it had taken in Southern Rhodesia for itself, which amounted to over 4 million acres. Thirdly the ruling affirmed that the Company had a right to be compensated for the losses it had sustained in its administration in the country.

The Cave Commission

The Judicial Committee was unable to determine the extent of any compensation due to the Company for its administration. The Company quickly calculated that claim to be in the region of £8 million, a figure the British Government would not accept. To resolve this dispute, with the concurrence of the Company, the British Government set up a Royal Commission chaired by Viscount Cave²³ to determine what if any amount was payable by the Treasury to the Company to compensate it for administrative losses since 1890.

The Cave Commission took a considerable time to examine the evidence and to receive representations. Its report was issued in January 1921. In terms of that report, the Commission awarded the sum of £4 435 225 as at 31 March 1918 against the UK Government in favour of the Company. This figure was subject to certain deductions still to be determined. No interest was awarded, and no date of payment was stipulated.

The Company was dissatisfied with the amount calculated by the Commission and challenged the findings of the Cave Commission by way of a Petition of Right²⁴ to the King. The Petition was never determined and was withdrawn in terms of the 29 September 1923 agreement dealt with below

The options for the future

When war broke out in August 1914, the country rallied behind the King and Empire. The future constitutional position of Southern Rhodesia faded into the background.

As the dust of war settled, and as Southern Rhodesian servicemen began to make their way home,²⁵ the conversation in the colony returned naturally and quickly to the question of governance. From this conversation, three clear options emerged. The first, of course, was union with South Africa, the second amalgamation with Northern Rhodesia and the third Responsible Government.²⁶

There were potentially four routes that the country could take. First was continued administration by the Company in terms of a further extension of its Royal Charter. By that time there was little enthusiasm on the part of the shareholders for the administration to continue; they preferred obtaining a financial settlement which would be distributed

²³ George Cave (1856–1928) had been the Member of Parliament for Kingston-Upon-Thames between 1906 and 1918 and had served as Home Secretary in the wartime Cabinet of David Lloyd George. In 1918 Cave was ennobled and was appointed to be a Lord of Appeal in 1919. From 1922 to 1928 he served as the Lord Chancellor.

²⁴ Before 1947 the British Government could not be sued in contract. The only remedy available was a petition of right to the monarch, which was then referred to the courts for determination. Despite such a claim, there were no means to force the Government to pay a debt.

²⁵ 5 716 white men (about 40% of white men in the colony) served in the forces during the Great War – Wikipedia ‘Southern Rhodesia in World War I’.

²⁶ Peter Baxter: *Rhodesia A Complete History 1890–1980* (2018) Chapter 26.



by way of a dividend. The Royal Charter was extended in October 1914.²⁷ It contained a provision that if an absolute majority of the members of the Legislative Council passed a resolution asking the British Government to establish a form of responsible government together with supporting evidence to justify that, in particular regarding public finances, then the Company would accede to that resolution. In short, the Company recognised that its period of administration should be ended. Any lingering enthusiasm by the directors for the continuation of the administration ceased with the decision of the Judicial Committee in 1918.

The second option was an amalgamation of the administration by the Company of the areas both north and south of the Zambezi River. The two territories had been administered separately by the Company. The area north of the Zambezi did not have any form of legislative council, there being far fewer settlers in that area. At some stages this was the preferred course advocated by the Company and others. But it was never a practical alternative. At the time the extensive copper reserves in the north had not been discovered.

The third option was for Southern Rhodesia to join the newly created Union of South Africa as a fifth province. For a long time, this was the option favoured by the Company, especially as an attractive figure for compensation was offered to the Company by the then Prime Minister of South Africa Jan Smuts²⁸ to be paid by the South African Government. Other concessions were also offered.

Fourthly, the area south of the Zambezi would become a self-governing colony with or without a form of responsible government. The area north of the Zambezi would be a colony administered from London. It was these last two possible courses which became the centre of debate and negotiation as to the future of Southern Rhodesia.

Joining the Union

Although it never adopted an official position on the point, for a long time the Company was interested in the concept of Southern Rhodesia joining the Union of South Africa as the fifth province. Representatives from Southern Rhodesia, including Charles Coghlan,²⁹ had attended the National Convention in Durban in 1908. However, the settlers generally were distrustful of the Dutch/Afrikaner influence in South Africa. The settlers and their representatives were concerned about the language issue in the proposed Union. The Durban Convention had agreed a bi-lingual Union with English and Dutch as the official languages.³⁰ There was a fear of an influx of both white

²⁷ The Supplementary Royal Charter was published on 13 March 1915.

²⁸ Jan Christian Smuts (1870–1950) was the second Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from September 1919 to June 1924. He had fought in the Boer War against the British as a Boer Commando leader. In the First World War he served as a British General initially in East Africa and later in France. In the Second World War he was created a Field Marshal and served in the War Cabinet.

²⁹ Charles Patrick John Coghlan (1863–1927) was a prominent lawyer practising in Bulawayo. He had been knighted in 1910 for services to the country including his participation in the Durban Convention on the formation of the Union of South Africa. He was the founder of the legal practice Coghlan & Welsh in Bulawayo. He was first elected to the Legislative Council in 1908 and remained a member until his death on 28 August 1927 while serving as the first Premier of Southern Rhodesia.

³⁰ It was only in 1925 that Afrikaans was recognised by the South African Government as a distinct language, rather than simply a slang version of Dutch – see the Official Languages of the Union Act 1925. Prior to that the two official languages were English and Dutch.

and black labour into the country which would adversely affect the existing settlers.³¹ Furthermore there was no guarantee of equal use of Government resources. These and other issues were of great concern to the settlers. When the Union was formed on 31 May 1910 Southern Rhodesia was not part of it.³²

After the War, discussions took place both in London and in Cape Town on whether Southern Rhodesia should join the Union. While Louis Botha³³ was Prime Minister of South Africa those talks did not progress. Things changed after his death when Jan Smuts became Prime Minister. Many Rhodesian soldiers had been commanded by Smuts during the campaign in East Africa and had a favourable impression of him. Smuts was very keen to include Southern Rhodesia within the Union as it would give greater English-speaking representation among the voters.

Various delegations from Southern Rhodesia and from the Company visited the leaders of South Africa. Particularly after 1919 when Smuts became Prime Minister substantive talks were held, but no agreement was reached. A conference was held in Cape Town from 3 to 17 April 1922 to discuss the future of Southern Rhodesia as part of the Union.

The Company published in its Government Gazette of 31 July 1922 a detailed set of proposals under which Southern Rhodesia would become the fifth province of the Union. The document stipulated that a vote in favour of joining the Union in the forthcoming referendum would be treated as acceptance of the terms set out. A total of 10 seats in the Union House of Assembly was offered to the new province, together with four elected seats and one appointed seat in the Senate. There would be a Provincial Council in Rhodesia with the same powers as similar Councils in South Africa. English and Dutch would be official languages. Detailed provisions were set out in respect of the franchise, the judiciary, the public service and defence. Existing mining laws would continue to apply, although the colour bar used in the mining industry in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would not. Existing native reserves in Southern Rhodesia would be respected. The recruitment of native labour from Rhodesia into the rest of the Union would be prohibited. What was termed a Development Grant of £500 000 a year for the first 10 years was offered. The Government would take over the railways to be administered as part of the Union railway system. The immigration laws of the Union would apply, which meant that there would be no restrictions on the movement of Europeans between Southern Rhodesia and the Union, but restrictions on inter-provincial movement of non-Europeans would apply.³⁴

The South African proposals did not appeal to many of the potential voters in the referendum. An offer of 10 seats in the House of Assembly out of 140 was not attractive to the settlers. To get the Company on sides, Smuts eventually offered almost £7 million as compensation to the Company for its administrative deficits – a detail not set out in the Government Gazette. Except for public works and the railways, all other assets would be left in the hands of the Company.³⁵ Some directors of the Company were attracted

³¹ In 1922 less than a third of the adult African males in employment in Southern Rhodesia were indigenous persons – Paul Mosley: *The Settler Economies Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia 1900–1963* (Cambridge University Press 1983) at page 149.

³² Section 150 of the South Africa Act 1909, passed by the British Parliament, made provision for the territories administered by the British South Africa Company to join the Union at a later date.

³³ Louis Botha (1862–1919) was the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1910 until his death. Like Smuts he had fought against the British during the Boer War. He was later Prime Minister of the Transvaal after the 1907 election.

³⁴ British South Africa Company Government Gazette 31 July 1922.

³⁵ Robert Blake: *A History of Rhodesia* (1977) page 185.



by these offers. But at the end of the day, the decision on whether to become the fifth province of the Union lay in hands of the electorate in the forthcoming October 1922 referendum.

Smuts visited Southern Rhodesia in August 1922 to gauge for himself the mood of the country. He tried to sway the anti-Unionist lobby, but without success.

The referendum

On 7 March 1921, Winston Churchill, the then Colonial Secretary, appointed a Royal Commission headed by Earl Buxton,³⁶ to examine ‘when and with what limitations’ responsible government should be granted to Southern Rhodesia. The Royal Commission reported on 12 April 1921.³⁷ Its views were heavily influenced by the results of the 1920 elections for the Legislative Council; 12 of the 13 seats were won by the party advocating responsible government, led by Coghlan. The Royal Commission recommended that a scheme for responsible government should be drawn up in detail and that by means of a referendum the opinion of the electors on such a definite scheme should be ascertained. The Commission commented:

So long as the Company believed themselves to be owners of the land they were willing to spend their money liberally in carrying out the administration. But, clearly, under present circumstances, the Company would be neither willing nor able to spend their shareholders’ money on any object from which they could not be sure of reimbursement with interest or profit.³⁸

Joining the Union of South Africa as a fifth province was to be the alternative option at the referendum.

The Company position on the referendum, at least publicly, was to remain neutral. However, many officials and employees of the Company actively supported one side or the other in the debate. For a short time the Company continued to pursue discussions with Smuts but could not reach any conclusion with South Africa before the outcome of the referendum.

Two diverse political groupings contested the referendum. In 1904 the Rhodesia Agricultural Union had been founded and had thereafter played an active role in politics. Many farmers favoured colony status with responsible government. As a result, in 1917 a Responsible Government Association was formed with the object of obtaining internal government for the country. In 1919 Sir Charles Coghlan joined the Association and became in effect its President. Coghlan thought that the women voters would support responsible government because of their anti-Dutch sentiments.³⁹ He adopted the colours red and green for the campaign because they represented the letters of Responsible Government.

In 1919 the Rhodesia Unionist Association was formed. It was headed by Herbert Longden,⁴⁰ and supported in the main by the owners of the large mining companies

³⁶ Between September 1914 and November 1920 Buxton had served as the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa and High Commissioner.

³⁷ Its Report was only made public in May 1921, see Claire Palley, cited above, page 210.

³⁸ Quoted by Claire Palley, cited above, at page 206.

³⁹ L. H. Gann: *A History of Southern Rhodesia – Early Days to 1934* (1969 reprint) page 247.

⁴⁰ Herbert Thomas Longden (1867–1937) was first elected to the Legislative Council in 1905 and remained a member until the April 1924 elections. He practised law in Bulawayo with the firm of HJ Sonnenberg.

in the territory. Its primary policy was for the country to become part of the Union of South Africa.

It was these two organisations which took on the Company and the registered voters in the dispute as to the future of Southern Rhodesia. The referendum campaign took place from the end of April 1921 until October 1922.

As recommended by the Buxton Commission, to determine the views of the residents of Southern Rhodesia, a referendum was held on 27 October 1922.⁴¹ The choice put before the voters was whether Southern Rhodesia should become a colony with responsible government (not dissimilar to the Dominion status of Australia and Canada) or whether it should join the Union of South Africa as the fifth province. The result of the referendum, announced at the High Court in Bulawayo on 6 November 1922, was 8 774 votes for responsible government (59.43%) and 5 989 votes for union with South Africa (40.57%). There were 93 spoilt papers. Nearly 26% of the registered voters did not vote in the referendum.⁴² In electoral terms, it was a clear and obvious decision for the country to become a colony with responsible government. The British Government undertook to abide by the result of the referendum. The Company likewise acquiesced in the referendum result. In early 1923 the Board stated:

It will be the Board's object to work in a spirit of the most friendly co-operation with its successors in the Administration for the furtherance of the interests alike of the Company and the people of Rhodesia, which interests are fundamentally identical.⁴³

The settlement

Following the result of the referendum, the strategy of the Company was to end its administration in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia as soon as possible, dependent upon the settlement reached with the British Government on its historical claims. There was a flurry of correspondence between the Company and the Colonial Office culminating in a letter from the Colonial Office dated 10 July 1923 setting out a proposed settlement and demanding that the Company obtain the approval of its shareholders to the settlement by the end of July 1923.

The Company called an Extraordinary General Meeting for 24 July 1923. The President, Rochfort Maguire,⁴⁴ reported back on correspondence between the Company and the British Government. He outlined the terms of the proposed agreement so far as they applied to both Southern and Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia the Company was to be paid by the Crown in cash for all public works and buildings taken over at the end of the administration. Maguire put the figure at £800 000. He explained to the shareholders that the Company was entitled to be paid the amount determined by the Cave Commission which had been adjusted to £3 780 000, the Company being prepared to admit a further deduction of £370 000. The outstanding claim for interest was £869 000. However, to achieve a settlement the Company would abandon its claim

⁴¹ This was done in terms of the Referendum Ordinance 1922, passed by the Legislative Council.

⁴² 'Out of a European population of 35 000 some 20 000 were on the register. (The black population was nearly 900 000 with sixty on the register.)' – Blake, cited above, page 187.

⁴³ Directors' Report and Accounts for the years ending 31 March 1921 and 31 March 1922, to be presented to the Shareholders at the Twenty-fifth Ordinary General Meeting to be held on 1 March 1923 page 1 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell Collection). Philip Lyttleton Gell (1852–1926) was a long time director of the Company, and between 1920 and 1923 served as the President.

⁴⁴ James Rochfort Maguire (1855–1925) was a friend of Rhodes from Oxford and a Member of Parliament 1890–1895. He was involved in obtaining the Rudd Concession in October 1888. Maguire was awarded a CBE in 1918 for efforts during the War. He was President of the Company from 1922 to 1925.



based on the Cave Commission findings. The Company obviously could not pursue any claim relating to the unalienate land in view of the decision of the Judicial Committee.

Although he did not consider the terms of the conditional agreement to be generous or even just,⁴⁵ Maguire recommended them to the shareholders. The Company was to be paid the sum of £3 750 000 (which included the value of the public works and buildings) on 1 October 1923. The mineral rights throughout the whole of Southern Rhodesia would be recognised by the Crown in favour of the Company. The areas of land occupied by the Company in Southern Rhodesia, some 4 million acres, were to be secured, and no payment was to be made on the value of these areas. There was to be a substantial measure of protection for the railways and the Crown's claim for military expenditure during the Great War of £2 million was abandoned. The Petition of Right issued by the Company was to be withdrawn.

After a heated debate, the shareholders unanimously approved the conditional agreement, and effect was given to it in an agreement signed on 29 September 1923. The sum of £3 750 000 was duly paid on 1 October 1923.

On 13 July 1923 the Southern Rhodesia (Annexation) Order in Council 1923 annexed the area to be known as Southern Rhodesia as a colony.⁴⁶ On 1 September 1923 the Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent were issued. The document set out in detail the constitutional rules which were to apply in Southern Rhodesia from 1 October 1923.⁴⁷ The Letters Patent recorded that by 1 January 1924 the Government of Southern Rhodesia was to repay the British Government £2 million of the sum that the UK Treasury was paying to the Company,⁴⁸ together with repayment of two loans of £150 000 each which the British Government advanced to the Company for the costs of the administration in 1922 and 1923. The Colony was to assume liability for all credit balances due to the Company and for any liability arising out of the administration of the country.⁴⁹ This Constitution duly came into effect on 1 October 1923. Sir John Chancellor⁵⁰ was appointed as the first Governor of Southern Rhodesia, and Sir Charles Coghlan became Premier.⁵¹

Conclusion

On 12 July 1923, shortly after the British Government made known its final offer to the Company, Sir Henry Birchenough,⁵² who had been a director of the Company since 1905 and was later to become its President, wrote to Drummond Chaplin:⁵³

⁴⁵ Report of the Extraordinary General Meeting held on 24 July 1923 page 5 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell Collection).

⁴⁶ Section 3. The Order in Council was published on 30 July 1923. It was brought into operation by the High Commissioner on 12 September 1923, 33 years after the raising of the flag at Fort Salisbury.

⁴⁷ The full terms of the new Constitution were published in the Company's Government Gazette of Friday 28 September 1923.

⁴⁸ Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent section 48. Payment was to be made on 1 January 1924 and interest at 5% was due on that payment from 1 October 1923.

⁴⁹ Section 49(3).

⁵⁰ Sir John Robert Chancellor (1870–1952) was a colonial administrator and served as the Governor of several countries. He was Governor of Southern Rhodesia from 1923 to 1928. He was knighted in 1913.

⁵¹ Section 37(1) of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent 1923 required the Head of Government to be styled 'the Premier'. The title was changed in 1933 to 'Prime Minister'.

⁵² John Henry Birchenough (1853–1937) was a director of Rhodesia Railways Limited and the Mashonaland Railways. He was appointed a CMG in 1905 for services in South Africa and in 1915 he was knighted for services to Rhodesia. The Birchenough Bridge in south-east Zimbabwe is named after him. His ashes were interred in one of the pillars of the bridge.

⁵³ Sir Francis Drummond Percy Chaplin (1866–1933) had been appointed as the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia in 1914 in succession to Sir Henry Milton. In 1921 he was also appointed as the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia. He

I doubt whether any Government has ever made a shabbier bargain with a great corporation which had performed undoubted and striking services.⁵⁴

This pejorative statement does not fairly reflect the position of the Company after the referendum and the end of administration. The settlement offered by the British Government was more than fair.

As part of his report to the Extraordinary General Meeting of 24 July 1923, the President outlined the estimates of the Board as to the financial position of the Company in October 1923 as follows:

Cash on hand and on deposit, about	£150 000
Quoted investments (other than Rhodesia Railways Trust Limited Shares) at present market quotations	£2 780 000
Unquoted investments at a conservative valuation	£185 000
Debtors, less Creditors	£200 000
	£3 315 000
To which will be added—if you accept these proposals -	
on 1st October next payment from HM Government	£3 750 000
	£7 065 000
Against this the sum required to pay off our debentures is about	£1 300 000
That will leave in cash and liquid securities	£5 765 000 ⁵⁵

The President then listed the assets which the Company would possess in Southern Rhodesia after 1 October 1923 (which assets were not included in the financial position as outlined):

- Mineral rights acknowledged by the Crown—the net income from these rights for the year ending 31 March 1922 was £129 000
- About 4 million acres of land in Southern Rhodesia, see the attached map⁵⁶
- All its Township plots, buildings (other than administrative buildings), irrigation works, groves and livestock
- 1 732 055 shares (86%) in Rhodesia Railways Trust Limited, which owned all the shares in the Rhodesia and Mashonaland Railway Companies, being the companies that owned the railways in Bechuanaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and from Umtali to Beira in Portuguese East Africa. Against this shareholding, there were some remaining guarantees due between 1931 and 1955 totalling £8 800 000.

No mention was made in this list of assets of the potential value (as opposed to the income which could be generated) of the mineral rights in Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁷ It did not include the value of movable assets, such as cattle.⁵⁸ There was no mention of the stock of unused postage stamps which the Company had brought back from Southern Rhodesia to its London office with a face value of more than £190 000, which stamps

was knighted in 1917.

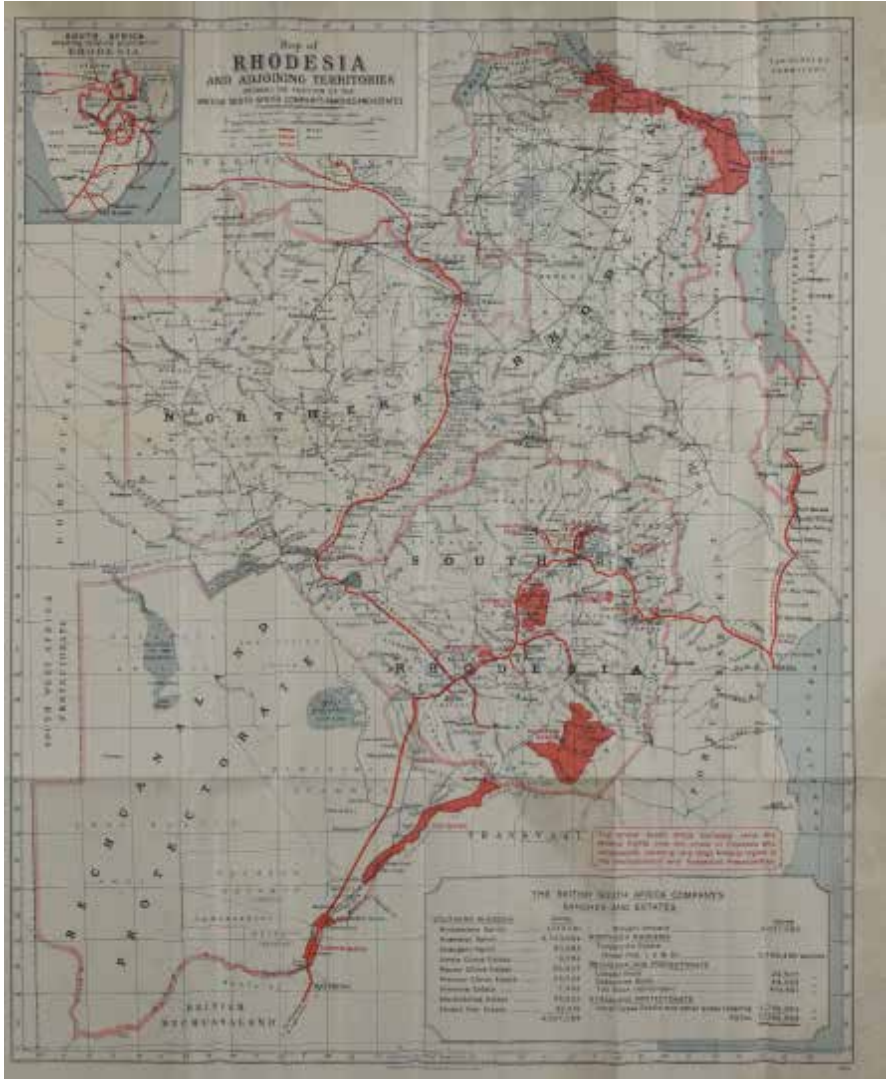
⁵⁴ Quoted by Robert Blake, cited above, at page 191.

⁵⁵ These figure and the matters in the paragraph below appear on pages 8 and 9 of the Report of an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Company held on 24 July 1923, cited above. The figures are set out in R. P. Lander: *The British South Africa Company: An Essay on its Commercial History* (1992) *Heritage of Zimbabwe* Vol 11 page 15.

⁵⁶ The map was an annexure to the Directors' Report and Accounts for the eighteen months ended 30 September 1923 presented to the Twenty-sixth Ordinary General Meeting on 24 July 1924 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell collection)

⁵⁷ These rights were bought from the Company in 1933 by the Government of Southern Rhodesia for £2 million.

⁵⁸ As at 30 September 1923, the cattle on Nuanetsi, Rhodesdale and Shangani ranches were valued at £381 673, see the Company's Directors' Report and Accounts for the eighteen months ended 30 September 1923 page 6 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell Collection).



were sold for an undisclosed sum to a leading stamp dealer.⁵⁹

In addition to the assets in Southern Rhodesia the Company was to keep its mineral rights and certain rights to land in Northern Rhodesia. The Company also had other assets in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Portuguese East Africa and London. Details are beyond the scope of this article.

In December 1923 the shareholders approved a proposal by the Board of the Company to return to the shareholders 5s in respect of each share, thereby reducing the nominal value of each share from £1 to 15s.⁶⁰ The profit of the Company for the year ending 30th September 1923 was £415 000 and on 3 November 1924 the Company

⁵⁹ Adrian de Bourbon: The Reminders – Yet Again! *Rhodesian Study Circle Journal* Issue 293 (September 2022) 342 at page 343.

⁶⁰ Report of an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Company held on 20 December 1923 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell Collection).

paid its maiden dividend of 6d per share, net of tax, on an issued share capital of 8 767 964 shares of 15s each.⁶¹ So each shareholder received in effect a 5s 6d bonus as a consequence of the settlement agreement.

Despite the grumbling of some of the directors of the Company, the final agreement constituted a fair arrangement to resolve issues between the British Government and the Company. It relieved the Company of the ongoing costs of administering Southern and Northern Rhodesia, allowing Southern Rhodesia to become a self-governing Colony within the British Empire. A refusal to accept the proposals set out on 10 July 1923 would have involved the Company in an uncertain future, with probably years of litigation to resolve its disputes with the British Government; as Rochfort Maguire put it “our offices would have become practically lawyers’ offices”.⁶² However, there was no certainty as to payment, and in the meantime the Company would have to continue to bear the expenses of administering two countries whose population no longer wished to turn to the Company for support.

The Company retained all its commercial assets and businesses in Southern Rhodesia, including for example the highly developed 57 000 acre Mazoe Citrus Estates with the newly completed Mazoe Dam⁶³ and large tracts of ranching country. No payment was to be made for that land which the Company had allocated to itself. Indeed in terms of the settlement agreement the Company was deemed to have paid the full purchase price for all the land appropriated for its commercial purposes, and the Governor in Council was directed to issue title to those properties in the name of the Company.⁶⁴ It had a steady source of income in respect of mineral rights and from the railways. Equally important, the agreement and its financial payments silenced the demands of the shareholders for the payment of a dividend. As with most compromise agreements neither side achieved all it wanted, but the balance was clearly one in the best long-term interests of the Company.

As a direct result of the attitude adopted by the Company towards obtaining an agreement with the British Government, on Monday 1 October 1923 the rights and obligations of administration of Southern Rhodesia passed smoothly to the new Government of Southern Rhodesia. Many people would not have noticed the changes, since the same staff remained doing the same jobs under the new Government.⁶⁵ With the benefit of hindsight, the Company, its directors and shareholders dealt with the end of its administration of Southern Rhodesia in a businesslike manner, obtaining what in the result was a substantial commercial and financial advantage for the Company and its shareholders.

⁶¹ Lander, cited above, at page 16. The cost to the Company was £219 199.2s.6d.

⁶² Report of the Extraordinary General Meeting of 24 July 1923, cited above, at page 5.

⁶³ Construction of the Mazoe Dam commenced in November 1918 and was completed in February 1920. By 30 September 1923 77 932 orange trees had been planted, of which 40 563 had reached bearing age, see the Company’s Directors’ Report and Accounts for the eighteen months ended 30 September 1923 page 5 (ex Derbyshire Records Office, Gell Collection).

⁶⁴ The proviso to section 49(2) of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent 1923.

⁶⁵ Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent section 56.

A Zimbabwe Veterinary History

by Dr Charles Waghorn

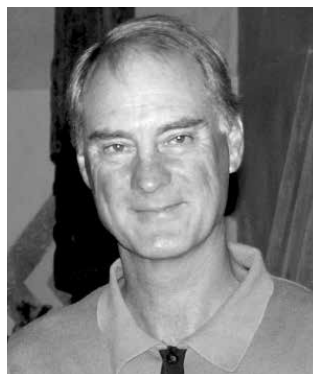


Transcript of a talk given in March 2019

When the early explorers, hunters and prospectors started arriving in this part of Africa, they soon found that there were greater hazards than predators, difficult terrain and hostile inhabitants to face; much smaller but deadlier dangers lurked, in the form of disease.

In addition to the ever-present malaria, several livestock diseases were prevalent.

All the early accounts of travel mention three main problems. The first was Horse Sickness, more correctly, African Horse Sickness, a severe viral disease affecting horses, less so mules, but not donkeys nor zebra. In those days you either rode a horse, sat on a wagon or walked, and it was a very long way.



Although not always fatal, it caused a great number of deaths. A typical quote from the day is as follows - "Only one of our horses now remained, a "salted" one. All the others died of the sickness; in fact, out of all that came up with the pioneers very few escaped this terrible disease" (and they had an extra 200 horses as spares.) A horse that had survived infection or had lived in an area for some time was known as "salted" and was a very valuable asset. However, the problem was, and still is, that a horse may have been exposed to one or more of the nine known strains, only for it to move and contract another strain. Indeed, Hans Lee, at Mangwe, traded one of his farms for a "good salted horse", only for it to die a week later. Much like malaria, the cause and transmission was unknown except that it was worse in low-lying wet areas and during the rains. It was often blamed on a stench or Miasma, or a substance in the wet grass. It was only in the 1920's that it was found to be a virus transmitted by the little *culicoides* insect, better known as the "midge" or "*muggie*" in Afrikaans. There was and still is no effective treatment although many attempts were made to save animals, mostly involving Dops of brandy or whisky. One of the early treatments was as follows - "if it is discovered early, bleeding fearlessly until the animal fairly gives way and faints under the abstraction is of the greatest use: the bleeding will be borne well, if it is judicious."

The second problem was the "fly" which of course is the Tsetse Fly. The fly transmits, as we now know, *Trypanosomiasis* better known as Sleeping Sickness or Nagana in cattle. Again, like malaria and Horse Sickness the cause was unknown, and it was assumed that the fly bite was poisonous. The organism and transmission was really only discovered in 1895 by Bruce in Zululand. (The commonest trypanosome of cattle is *Trypanosoma brucei*) (The word Tsetse is from the Sechuana or Tswana onomatopoeic

name for the fly and Nagana is derived from the Zulu word Ngana meaning weakness.)

Large areas of land were known to be fly country and travellers took great pains to avoid it altogether or travel at night when the fly is not active, or some used their own repellent. Stopping the fly biting was therefore vital and the legend of the wagon drivers with their long whips flicking flies off the oxen's ears has a modicum of truth as they and the *Voorlooper* in front and people walking alongside the span were all tasked with repelling the fly.

The third problem commonly encountered was "Lung Sickness" (a contagious virus correctly called *Bovine Pleuropneumonia*). The disease was introduced into South Africa from Holland in the 18th century and was well known to the Matabele who had encountered it on their migration from Zululand to Bulawayo. They were careful not to let oxen mix with their herds and one of the reasons that travellers had to stop at Mangwe Pass and ask permission to enter Matabeleland was to enable their cattle to be inspected. The Matabele offered the use of their own oxen if there was any suspicion of infection. That problem led the authorities (the BSA Co) to appoint an Inspector of Cattle, a Mr Palmer in 1891 with the authority to destroy infected cattle.

The following year a Mr Marriot was also appointed Inspector of Cattle in Mashonaland and a quarantine station established outside Salisbury (location unknown). Infected cattle would be destroyed and those in contact quarantined at a cost of 2 shillings per animal per month, which was not very popular. The lung sickness problem was eradicated fairly early on with these strict controls but continues to be a problem in Botswana and Western Zambia.

During this time the first veterinarians arrived in the country. In the Pioneer Column was a Lieutenant Edward O'Connell Farrell; as he was older than the rest he was affectionately known as "Daddy Farrell". He had to cope with the Horse Sickness problem and lion attacks. All the officers in the column were allocated land around the new town and Farrell named his Avondale after an estate in his native Ireland. He is also mentioned in an account of the border skirmishes with the Portuguese in 1893. However, being Irish, he preferred military action and joined the Jameson Raid, and was captured and deported back to Britain. Not an auspicious start for the profession.

Farrell returned to this country later and died in Bulawayo in 1910. There is a reference in Percy Clarke's book where he takes his sick dog to a vet in Bulawayo and it is assumed to have been Farrell. There is a listing of a Mr A. Murdock MRCVS in the Bulawayo Directory of 1895/96, but no further reference to him can be found. The next veterinarian was Charles Elias Gray. He worked in the Post Office in England before joining the British Army Signals Corps. He was with General Gordon in Khartoum but evidently escaped that fiasco, unlike Gordon himself. Gray then returned to Britain to study veterinary science at the Royal Dick School in Edinburgh. After graduation he left to seek his fortune, first in America and then in South Africa, but he could not find work.

He then came up to Rhodesia and was employed in the postal service, being appointed the first Postmaster at Fort Victoria and more of him shortly.

Ox wagon transport was of vital importance and the value of the ox wagons was reflected in the prices prevalent for transport at the time.

Mafikeng to Bulawayo – 12/6 to 17/6 per 100lb

Bulawayo to Salisbury – 13/ to 20/ per 100lbs

Then in 1896 came catastrophe – it was the Rinderpest

This was a highly contagious fatal virus of all cloven-hoofed animals. It is closely



related to the human Measles virus and Canine Distemper virus. It was named for the German word Rind (cattle) and pest (plague) and had been known for a thousand years or more, almost certainly being one of the biblical plagues of Egypt. This disease resulted in the creation of the first known veterinary school in Lyon in 1762. The disease was present in Europe for a long time, the last case in Britain being in 1877 in cattle shipped from Hamburg. The disease is thought to have been brought to Abyssinia in cattle accompanying the invading Italian soldiers. It caused widespread famine in that country where a third of the population died and then moved south to East Africa, devastating the great herds of wildebeest and buffalo as well as the Masai herds and it is known that two thirds of the Masai people perished as a result.

The disease continued south and crossed the Zambezi in early 1896 and continued sweeping inexorably towards Bulawayo, soon devastating the Matabele herds. It was recognised immediately by Charles Gray who had been called in by the authorities. He alerted the South African authorities. It continued over the Limpopo where a cordon had been established but it was soon breached. The South African authorities then made another thousand-mile cordon along the Orange River with controlled crossing points, but that was soon breached by a smuggler with infected clothing or meat and it swept on throughout South Africa.

The photos are dramatic and a poignant description was written by Kingsley Fairbridge on his way up from Beira.

“Near Massikessi we came on the first signs of Rinderpest. In a big outspan by the road stood 6 or 8 wagons. The chains and yokes were all tumbled about and the wagons were quite deserted. Their loads were gone, and there was no sign of the owners except the cold ash of the campfire. The cattle lay everywhere, some amongst the wagons and some in the middle of the road, - down at the drift they were very thick, and many lay half in the pools where they had fallen and died. The Rinderpest had come sweeping down from the north and my father, who had been out shooting on the Pungwe Flats, said that the buffalo were dying in vast numbers. During the afternoon we caught up some wagons driving composite spans; in one span I noticed bulls, cows, oxen, donkeys, a mule and a horse.”

The Rinderpest had profound consequences.

The first was political. It was almost certainly the last straw for the simmering Matabele who, already resenting the influx of whites, suddenly found their cattle dying from a plague blamed on the whites and then had their cattle shot on the authority of the aforementioned Charles Gray who, quite correctly, instituted a slaughter and quarantine policy. Well, it was too much and they arose in force in the 1896 rebellion (now known as the First Chimurenga). Gray's method worked, however, and the disease was controlled remarkably quickly, never to return.

There was an environmental impact south of the Limpopo between that river and Pretoria. The eradication of all the animals deprived the Tsetse Fly of their food and it cleared that area permanently.

It led to the appearance of two men who were to have a great impact in the veterinary world in Southern Africa. The Cape Colony appointed a German Biologist Robert Koch

to help combat the epidemic. He was a disciple of Louis Pasteur and already famous for his discovery of the causative organisms of Cholera, Tuberculosis and Anthrax. His investigation of the local farmers' method of injecting bile from dead animals into unaffected animals proved that it was an effective if crude form of vaccine. At the same time the Transvaal Republic appointed a young Swiss Veterinarian, Arnold Theiler, who was already a Government Veterinarian, to also combat the epidemic. He and a Pitchford Watkins from Natal created a vaccine at a mobile laboratory in the Marico district in just 6 weeks, which vaccine proved to be very effective and halted the disease quickly. It was the last time Boer and Brit would co-operate for some time.

The disease disappeared from Rhodesia and South Africa although it smouldered on in South West Africa and some countries to the north, but it was eventually eradicated completely in 2011 the only disease other than Smallpox to be eradicated completely from the world. Fear of another epidemic led to the formation in 1924 of the OIE (Office Internationale Des Epizootie) in Paris of which Zimbabwe is a member.

It also led to the South African authorities establishing a research centre at a farm just north of Pretoria called De Onderstepoort with Arnold Theiler as its first director.

The disease severely disrupted the transport sector in Southern Africa and costs of goods soared. Horses and mules naturally became even more valuable, but there is another problem with horse and mule transport i.e. an ox wagon can transport 8 000–9 000lbs of goods and the oxen will forage for food at each stop whereas a mule wagon will only carry 4 000–5 000lbs of goods but the animals require some 6lbs of feed per day. When Bulawayo was besieged in the rebellion a relief column from Mafeking was arranged to transport 300 000lbs of food but it also required 750 000lbs of feed for the horses and mules. The relief column from Salisbury managed to seize about 400 oxen and 900 sheep and goats in the Insiza district. New transport methods were investigated including zebra spans with wagons and camels.

The shortage of cattle led people to look further afield for replacements. South Africa had also suffered severely, and the Boer War was brewing, so cattle were imported initially from Australia, shipped through Beira, which was costly, and then from the north, mainly East Africa which had recovered sufficiently. But with these cattle came a new scourge, originally called “Texas Fever” or “Rhodesian Red Water” and finally East Coast Fever. The cause was unknown until Robert Koch was sent to Beira to investigate. It was thought to have come from Australia, but he proved that it was a new organism transmitted by ticks from East Africa. He named the new organism *Theileria* and it was to be a major problem until 1958 when it was finally eradicated. However, there is a different form of *Theileria* now causing severe disease.

Robert Koch returned to Germany and was later awarded the Nobel Prize in 1905 for his work on tuberculosis.

The appointment of Charles Gray was the beginning of a formal veterinary service soon to be strengthened by the appointment of two more veterinarians, Mr O'Neill in charge of Matabeleland and Mr Gorman in charge of Mashonaland. The first Government Veterinary Notice was No 53 of 1896 advising washing out the mouths of clean cattle with paraffin and salt to prevent further infection by Rinderpest.

In 1899 Mr J. M. Sinclair was appointed a Veterinary Officer and he went on to perform valuable service until 1934.

After the Rinderpest things settled down but East Coast Fever still caused some 15 000 deaths in 1903—a year later it was only 3 500.



The Government realized the value of dipping to control ticks, particularly for East Coast Fever, and began building dips at a rapid rate.

1911 – 215 Dips, 1914 – 450 Dips, 1918 – 1 260 Dips, 1920 more than 2 000 dips.

The first dip mixture or acaricide was arsenic adapted from the dips in the UK used to control Sheep Scab—a type of mange.

The original dips were all plunge dips as they were aimed at controlling the vector of East Coast Fever which was the Brown Ear Tick. It was necessary to force the animal to plunge into a deep dip so that its head was immersed. These dips were enormous, holding just under 19 000 litres and thus had to be situated near a water source, and required constant replenishing and occasional complete emptying and refilling which was an enormous undertaking.

Careful measurement, mixing and disposal was essential because of the toxic nature. After arsenic, DDT was used followed by Gama BHC. This progression of new dips followed the development of resistance by the various ticks. Then carbamates were used, followed by organophosphates all of which were toxic to other insects, which led to the development of synthetic pyrethroids and finally Amitraz which was the last new dip produced some 43 years ago.

In 1903 Foot and Mouth Disease appeared, not in cattle but in camels imported from the Punjab for use by Government officials and the Police. The camels were not a success and they soon disappeared but unfortunately not the foot and mouth and there is still a problem today. There is some doubt whether it was indeed, foot and mouth disease which afflicted the camels.

In 1902 Rabies was first diagnosed and various means were used for control. Muzzling of dogs was originally used then tying up orders were issued around the focus of infection as well as vaccination which Government started doing in large numbers. The disease died down for many years but once again is still very much with us.

In 1905 J. M. Sinclair succeeded Gray as CVO. Gray went to South Africa and ended up as CVO in the Transkei. Sinclair had then 3 vets and 13 cattle inspectors. About this time a new young vet appointed was Llewellyn Bevan who went on to succeed Sinclair and had a long and distinguished career in this country. The Veterinary Department originally came under the Surveyor-General's Office but was moved to the Division of Agriculture and Treasury. In 1907 three more vets were appointed.

By 1910 there were an estimated 110 000 European cattle and 260 000 native cattle in the country and their importance was recognized by the appointment of six more veterinarians to the service and eight more the following year. In 1913 the first contagious abortion (Brucellosis) cases were diagnosed in Bulawayo. This disease is important as it is a zoonosis (a disease that can also affect humans) in addition to causing abortions in cattle. In humans it is called Malta Fever or recurrent Fever, and symptoms include fever, headaches, joint pains and fatigue.

The Great War started in 1914 and the department was reduced as many men went for service. At this time wildlife was not considered important as reflected by the figures given by the Government for the number of "Vermin" destroyed in 1911. There were 1 060 baboons, 255 leopard, 109 wild dog, 88 lions, 50 cheetah, 43 crocodiles and 14 hyenas. The following year there were 177 lions. The effects of the Rinderpest had been noted and experiments in game eradication were being tried in various parts of

the country.

In 1913 Earl Gray stated “Rhodesia will undoubtedly rank as one of the foremost cattle countries of the world... It merely awaits the time when Science will discover the means whereby cattle can be rendered free from disease.”

In 1919 Lendy Estates near Marondera reported an outbreak of Quarter-Evil, a common Clostridial bacterial infection in cattle (and sometimes sheep) still prevalent but preventable by vaccine.

By the 1920's mechanisation was beginning to appear in the country as well as railway expansion and horses and mules were beginning to lose their importance and the emphasis in cattle was on meat and milk production rather than as draught animals. Ironically, it was at this time that an effective Horse Sickness vaccine was produced. Livestock numbers were beginning to rise rapidly from 1.3 million in 1919 to 2.3 million in 1928. The Johannesburg Livestock Market opened and the country sent 7 000 head down in the first year, 1923, as well as sending slaughter cattle to the Belgian Congo. The first suggestions of a freezing works were raised and in 1923, the Government with the aid of the Imperial Cold Storage Commission erected the first slaughter and refrigeration works in Bulawayo. The CSC was born. By 1925 two hundred and fifty carcasses were exported to the UK. This necessitated the formation of a meat inspection service originally under the Department of Health but was soon transferred to the Veterinary Department. The purpose of meat inspection is to prevent the infection of humans with parasites and diseases, principally human Tapeworm (“Measles” in Meat) and tuberculosis.

In May 1920, the 11 vets in the Department decided to form the Rhodesian Veterinary Association, the first President being Llewellyn Bevan. The first order of business was to lobby for improved conditions of service for Government vets (it's total unanimous membership). The new RVA was asked to amalgamate with the Northern Rhodesian Veterinary Association as well as the South African Veterinary Association but it elected to remain independent. In 1927 the RVA was accepted into the Great Britain Veterinary Medical Association (now the BVA) and a few months later sent a cheque of five pounds as a donation to the Royal College Veterinary Building Fund.

After its first scientific meeting in 1921 the RVA became rather dormant reforming again in 1949 with Bevan as president again.

In 1926 the first Rhodesian-born veterinarian and first graduate from Onderstepoort was accepted into the Veterinary Department. He was none other than Dr Dudley Lawrence (father of John Lawrence) who went on to have a distinguished career. It is interesting to note that his qualification was not initially accepted by the authorities as he was not MRCVS. Sir Arnold Theiler, who had become the first Dean at the new veterinary faculty at Onderstepoort (began in 1920), was very annoyed to learn that his faculty qualification, which he regarded as superior to the MRCVS, had not been accepted.

In 1929 Martin Kingcombe resigned from the Vet Department to become the first vet in private practice in Salisbury. He practiced for many years in North Avenue, now Josiah Tongogara. He became a respected authority and breeder of Rhodesian Ridgebacks.

By 1930 the world economic depression had obviously affected the country and the Government announced that 80% of farmers were bankrupt.

Early in 1930 Sir Arthur Conan Doyle on his Grand African Tour said “I think that in time, say a century, this will be the finest country in the Dominions, as to its future,



I see no limit!”

By now cattle numbers had reached 2,4 million but in a year 30 000 head had died of various diseases mainly East Coast Fever. In 1931 Foot and Mouth Disease reappeared at Nuanetsi Ranch. Unfortunately a wagon had already been sent to Fort Victoria and the disease rapidly spread from there. It was noticed that the disease appeared to be much milder than the European outbreaks, and after much testing three new strains of Foot and Mouth were identified. These were named Southern African Territories Strains (SAT) 1, 2 & 3 and still remain with us today. The outbreak was almost certainly due to contact with buffalo, a fact that was later proved by Dr. John Condry after experimentation on an island in Kariba.

By 1933 some 23 000 head of chilled beef had been sent to the UK. A grading scheme for better quality beef was tried in Bulawayo but soon stopped apparently because of apathy by the Bulawayo housewives who apparently cared not for quality. East Coast Fever was still prevalent and the law was changed in 1938 to pay 85% value compensation for slaughter of infected herds and a requirement to keep the farm free of cattle for 3 – 5 years. This eventually proved to be successful.

In 1938 Dudley Lawrence did the first Artificial Insemination when he inseminated an imported Red Poll Heifer, which had tested positive for TB and was quarantined at the lab, with semen from an imported bull. The resultant heifer was also later inseminated and sold back to the importer.

In 1940 the Stockowners Association sent 500 tonnes of beef to the UK as a gift. Research by Lawrence and Adamson into Foot and Mouth disease found proof of it in wild game when fluid from a dead kudu was injected into cattle and guinea pigs, producing typical symptoms. Originally vaccination was done by intranasal then by mouth but it was cumbersome until John Adamson introduced intramuscular injection, a system still in use today.

In 1948 the Department of Veterinary Services was formed with Veterinary Field and Veterinary Research Departments. (The Tsetse Department was added in 1961). The First Director was Percy Huston.

In 1950 Rabies, which had not been prominent since 1918, suddenly became widespread. 90-day tie-up orders were gazetted in many rural areas. In 1953, 80 000 dogs were vaccinated by the Department with the new improved vaccine. East Coast Fever was finally eradicated in 1958 although another form of *Theileria Parva* is currently causing widespread disease.

Tuberculosis was found in a large ranch after being found in slaughtered animals but live testing and destruction of positives rapidly reduced the infection and today it is essentially eradicated in the country which is important as it is another zoonosis.

The big Lowveld ranchers demanded eradication of the Tsetse Fly. Bush clearing was not really feasible as the fly can live in remarkably sparse vegetation. So large scale game eradication was resurrected together with fencing and localized spraying which was successful but caused a great deal of controversy. The South Africans sponsored the eradication in the Lowveld in order to prevent infection spreading down to the Kruger Park. The researchers then began to look for other methods of control.

By 1960 cattle numbered more than four million with half a million goats. The department now had 46 Veterinarians, 104 Animal Health inspectors and 19 Meat

Inspectors, Headed by Dr Holly Thornton who was a world authority in meat inspection.

In 1962 the Veterinary Surgeons Act was promulgated to ensure that all vets were registered from recognized training Institutions. It also annually inspects all veterinary establishments to ensure that they maintain the required standards. It is presently administered by the Council of Veterinary Surgeons of Zimbabwe comprising elected members and a legal representative with stringent disciplinary powers.

Prior to 1961, all medicines, including human medicines, were registered under the Poisons Act. Veterinary medicines were not considered as drugs and could be bought over the counter, even human medicines as long as they were for animal use. A Drugs Control Act was promulgated, later becoming the Medicines and Allied Substances Control Act and Regulations, and veterinary medicines now have the same restrictions as human ones which makes registration slow and expensive. Drs Ev Cock and Phillip Gilbert Green were part of a veterinary initiative to lobby for more autonomy from the controlling body—the Medicines Control Authority of Zimbabwe—who exercise rigorous control over all drugs.

The 1970's was the decade of the liberation war and diseases generally worsened as the control was disrupted. Dip tanks were destroyed so tick diseases escalated and there was a Foot and Mouth outbreak around Salisbury. The department personnel, especially the Animal Health Inspectors, often worked under perilous conditions and a number paid the ultimate price for their dedication to duty.

The first black veterinarian from Zimbabwe, Dr Dexter Chavunduka, graduated at Edinburgh University and returned to take up a post at the Research Laboratory. He was later to join the Agricultural ministry and was very involved in teaching agriculture.

The Rhodesian Veterinary Journal was launched with Dr Fritz Huchzermeyer as its editor and developed into a respected scientific journal produced quarterly. The editorship was followed by John Lawrence, Graham Hill and various others, although it has become somewhat less active.

The new Veterinary Research Laboratory was completed in 1974 and named the Bevan Building. They had occupied the complex next door which is now the Provincial Veterinary Office which had been moved from the corner of 7th Street and Samora Machel Avenue.

Veterinary Surgeons voted to be called Doctor rather than Mr, as in Britain, and Dr John Cindy was made a FRCVS Fellow for his work on Foot and Mouth disease in wildlife as mentioned earlier, as well as being awarded the prestigious Dr Med. Vet for his observations on internal parasites of elephants. Incidentally he was the first to introduce the use of a dart-gun to immobilize wildlife when capturing a recalcitrant rhino during Operation Noah.

The RVA celebrated its 50th Anniversary in this decade the President being none other than Dr Holly Thornton.

In 1980 the new decade opened with a new name for the country, a new leader and new hope for the future—Independence brought with it an influx of local veterinarians who had been studying outside the country, particularly Russia and Cuba. This created a problem for the Veterinary Council which did not recognize the degrees gained, but it was resolved initially by them being employed as “Veterinary Assistants” in the Government and sitting an exam set by the Council. Dr Ev Cock was tasked with setting this exam and invited two experienced external examiners to arbitrate. The first person to pass was none other than Dr Ushewekunze Obatulu who had graduated at Nairobi. After



that foreign graduates took an exam based on the final year exams at the new faculty.

A little bit of history was made in 1981 when a local dairy farmer of Danish origin wanted to import embryos from the Danish Red Breed, a hardy milk producer, with a view to selling crossbred bulls for use on local Mashona type cattle to produce milk.

As I had experience of embryo transfers in Canada in 1976 I was asked to implant the imported embryos. So after much preparation and co-ordination, early one morning Mr Kirk arrived on Air Zimbabwe, on time, and rushed out to the farm carefully clutching a thermos flask containing eight fresh embryos, flushed from two cows in Denmark the previous day. These were implanted and some 10 months later, five live pure Red Dane calves were born. It was a good result.

The following year we implanted frozen embryos but this was not successful and the following year two Danish vets brought more frozen embryos but the result was equally disappointing. The breed is nevertheless thriving and plays a large part in that dairy. After that several vets performed embryo transfers but only Dr Percy Sharp, originally from Beatrice, continued successfully, although he now plies his trade in New Zealand.

The next piece of history made was the opening of the UZ Veterinary Faculty in 1982. The idea of a regional veterinary faculty had been mooted for some time and both Zambia and Zimbabwe were vying for the honor with finance being offered by the EU. The EU decided that the money would go to the faculty opening first. Fortunately UZ's academic year started in January whereas the Zambians are aligned to the European September start. So UZ proceeded to enrol students without having a faculty or lecturers and so they got the money. Wisely Prof. John Lawrence was appointed Dean and he set about recruiting staff and building the faculty. They used the Medical Faculty facilities until the faculty building was completed in 1986.

Incidentally Zambia went ahead and built their faculty with funding from Japan. It is still functional although Japan has withdrawn its funding, as has the EU from this faculty.

Although the UZ has had its ups and downs the faculty is fully functional and graduates are being welcomed outside the country. The intake was always intended to be 35–40 but in 2018 it was increased to 60 although in 2019 it was back to 40.

Another facet of agriculture was emerging and that was game farming and ranching around the country. This entails the capture and translocation of wild animals and thus the use of some potent and rather dangerous drugs. In 1975 Dr John Condy had started an annual drugs course for National Parks personnel and veterinarians). The use of these drugs by some lay personnel and pressure from the BSAP Drugs Unit led the ZVA to establish the Dangerous Drugs Training Course, headed initially by Dr Chris Foggini in 1984. He had also recently established the Wildlife Unit within the Veterinary Department. The initial courses were at the Veterinary Laboratory using the donkeys and livestock in the complex at the time.

The course has become world class and is now being held at the Malilangwe Trust near Chiredzi and attracts participants from around the world. The 10-day training course is unique in that participants do practical game capture including helicopter darting using the latest available drugs. The course is now only open to veterinarians and licenses are issued for five years thus requiring regular refresher courses.

In September 1990, a historic first Pan Commonwealth Veterinary Association Conference was held in Harare. The ZVA had lobbied against Australia and Canada,

amongst others, but was awarded the conference on the strength of a lavish dinner at the old Wombles Restaurant in Borrowdale. It was a great success with 330 delegates including the patron Sir Dawda Jawara—President of Gambia and the presidents of the Commonwealth, British, Australian and Canadian Veterinary Associations.

Tsetse control took a giant leap forward with the development of targets that killed flies efficiently and at relatively low cost. This development was headed by Dr G. Vale. After the withdrawal of the EU funding the emphasis has been less on total clearance of the fly to more localized control as necessary. They discovered the attractant to the flies, which is an acetone type substance in the breath, and a dark shape which comprises material impregnated with environmentally friendly pyrethroid chemicals killed the flies. This method together with fly repellent dips has made control most effective.

Animal welfare has received more attention in the new century and the veterinary profession here has been active with two new welfare organizations being formed. The AWARE Trust (Animal and Wildlife Area Research and Rehabilitation Trust) was formed by Drs Keith Dutlow and Lisa Marabini and is involved with dehorning Rhinos in National Parks as well as various emergency wildlife situations and sterilization campaigns in mainly rural areas. They also work closely with SPANA—a UK based charity concerned solely with donkey welfare.

VAWZ—Veterinarians for Animal Welfare Zimbabwe was started by Dr Chris Foggin and Meryl Harrison formerly of SPCA to parallel the functions of the SPCA. The Government service had been advised by the OIE to give greater attention to animal welfare and their emphasis is on sterilization of animals in urban and rural areas. Many of the welfare issues are as a result of ignorance so animal welfare education in schools receives more attention advised by a committee led by Dr Helene Donahoe. They currently employ three fully qualified inspectors who cover the entire country.

The Department of Veterinary Services continues to monitor animal diseases although they are operating under severe constraints. The service comprises of 128 veterinarians (from 273), 14 glossinologists (from 15), 8 epidemiologists (16), 13 Vet Public Health Officers (20), 18 Veterinary Diagnostic Officers (32) and 1 446 paraprofessionals (1 732) and thus are woefully short of professionals. They are to be commended on the handling of the Avian Influenza outbreak in 2018.

The Veterinary Service continues to operate dips around the country but again under economic constraints. They are attempting to shift the onus of tick control onto the owners of livestock. With the emergence of pour on dips as well as individually operated sprayers, tick control on small numbers or even individual animals is feasible.

The total of vets registered in Zimbabwe is 358 of which 39 are in private practice.

The ZVA continues to encourage CPD (Continuous Professional Development) by holding regular seminars and annual congresses, and the members are looking forward to the Centenary celebration.

The story began some 130 years ago with Horse Sickness, Tsetse Fly and Lung Sickness. Now we have Horse Sickness, Tsetse Flies, Foot and Mouth Disease, Theileriosis, Red Water, Gall Sickness, Rift Valley Fever, Stiff Sickness, Brucellosis, Blue Tongue, and about 40 more diseases. Have we in fact made any progress? I think so. We have a better understanding of diseases and parasites and their control, and, given the means and the will, we may yet go some way to fulfilling the predictions of Earl Grey and Conan Doyle, and I for one am proud to be part of a profession that has contributed greatly to the development of this country.

Frank Oates and His Grave Site on the Old Westbeeche Road

by M. A. Barter and Rob. S. Burrett



The death of Francis (Frank) Oates is one of the saddest stories in the “far interior” of Southern Africa. He was neither trader nor hunter, but was an adventurer, naturalist and a traveler.

Frank Oates was born in Meanwoodside near Leeds, United Kingdom in 1840. He entered Christchurch, Oxford in 1860, but after three and a half years was forced to leave due to recurrent respiratory infections. Since he was fortunate to be “a gentleman of leisure” he was then free to follow his interests in natural history and travel. In 1871–2 he spent time in the Guatemala and the Californian Rockies, and it was at the time that he was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society.

He then determined to follow his ambition to explore Southern Africa with the aim of seeing the Victoria Falls. A gift from his mother of £600 per annum was his annual allowance, but he faced unexpected delays and seriously underestimated the cost of exploration and the fitting out of his Zambezi expedition. Many of his letters to his brother William, include pleas for additional funds and detailed accounts of his expenses.

Frank and William Oates, together with the latter’s valet, Thomas Bell, sailed from Southampton for Cape Town on the Union Company steamship the *African* on the 5th March 1873. There they caught the cargo ship *SS Zulu* to Durban. Here they joined forces with Thomas Edward Buckley, Dugald Gilchrist and Henry Gray. They equipped the expedition at Pietermaritzburg and headed



**Frank Oates FRCS. (1971 reprint
Matabeleland and the Victoria Falls).**



**The Oates Party. (Gilbert White and
Oates collections, The Wakes, Alton,
England). Back: William Oates;
Mr Gray; Mr Buckley. Front: Thomas
Bell; Frank Oates and Rail.**

north, arriving at Shoshong on 29 July. Here they received reports that water was critically short on the western route towards Lake Ngami, so the party changed their plans and opted to proceed to Victoria Falls via Tati. Once there, Frank decided to go northwards to Gubulawayo, the Ndebele capital, while William Oates, Gilchrist and Buckley opted instead to hunt along the Semokwe and Shashani Rivers. After the hunt the three returned south to Pietermaritzburg. William Oates and Gilchrist sailed from Durban on 25 January 1874, returning to England via the Cape.

Meanwhile Frank Oates set off north from Tati in August 1873 heading to Lee's homestead (Mangwe). Here he had to await King Lobengula's permission to proceed to Gubulawayo. There were further delays as he discussed his plans with the King. Finally he was given permission, but was instructed that he had to go via Mashonaland to Victoria Falls. Lobengula insisted on this out of the way route via Mashonaland as he did not want Oates to reach the Falls during the approaching fever season (malaria). The Ndebele guide provided, probably on purpose, declared that he was unable to recruit enough carriers to go all the way through, so in the end Oates could only travel to the Ingwenia River, 50 miles from Inyati.

Oates returned to Gubulawayo for the next two months. Here he met Frederick Courtenay Selous and also attended the Inxwala ceremony (a five day ritual celebrating the harvest and rain). He then needed to return south to refit for his next attempt to get to the Zambezi.

Once back in Tati, Oates went on a hunting trip to the Semokwe River with Pieter Jacobs. Later he then joined James Fairbairn, James Dawson and Selous who were going back to Shoshong. Here there were further delays because of wagon problems and Oates had to purchase two replacement wagons. Once ready he hired van Rooyen and his son Cornelius to manage his second attempt to head north to the Victoria Falls. They left Shoshong on May 20th. After leaving Tati for Gubulawayo they were turned back because of the quarantine that the King had imposed against the northward spread of redwater fever. Oates rode north on horseback to see Lobengula, seeking special permission to bring his wagons and trek oxen through. In July 1874 he was back at Tati where he discharged the van Rooyens because of the charged unfriendliness of the older man. In their place he hired Christoffel Schinderhutte ("Stoffel"), a German hunter-trader previously employed by George Westbeech of Pandamatenga, but the party had to wait on the Ramaquabane River to confirm their exemption from the Ndebele King's redwater restrictions. At this time in August, Stoffel developed a badly infected finger and had to go to the London Missionary Society mission Hope Fountain near Gubulawayo to have it amputated. Once the party set off to the Zambezi, one of the wagon wheels broke and it took two weeks to get a replacement. Again, it was decided that it was too late in the year to attempt to reach the Victoria Falls before the onset of the rains, and the party returned once more to Tati.

Meanwhile Stoffel and a trader George Dorehill decided that they would go north, at least part of the way to the Zambezi. They asked Frank Oates to join them. Initially he was undecided and remained behind. However, after some thought he left Tati on 3 November 1874 to catch them up. A short while before leaving, he had written to his family *'just setting off on a short expedition into the veldt'*. If only this was the case, for in the end he changed his mind and rashly headed for the Zambezi. On his way he met Pieter Jacobs and the elder van Rooyen who warned him of the dangers of travelling during the fever season. Ignoring their advice, he proceeded and on 1 December he met



The front of the envelope containing Frank's last letter from Pandamatenga, dated 27 December 1874. (The Patrick Flanagan Collection, with permission).

up with Selous and George Wood who were coming down from the Zambezi. They too tried to dissuade Oates from continuing. At this point Dorehill changed his mind and opted to return south with Selous. Frank therefore engaged Jan Makenna, hunter and wagon driver, and headed on to join Stoffel who was already at Pandamatenga. Here he met the Shoshong traders, James Truscott and Wilmore, who were returning to Tati from the Falls. Truscott was recovering from the fever and was still in a weak condition. They carried south Frank Oates' last letter written at Pandamatenga and dated 27 December 1874. This envelope has a transit mark of Cape Town MR 4 75 [1875], a month after he died. Letters at this time entered the existing postal services at Zeerust where stamps of the Transvaal Republic were affixed and cancelled with the circular 8 post mark. They were carried there, from the far interior, by passing Hunters and traders. The Cape of Good Hope stamps were added to cover the cost of transit from the Cape to England.

Stoffel decided to stay with Westbeeck at Pandamatenga, while Frank opted to proceed despite all warnings. He had to leave the wagons as they could be taken no further because of the tsetse fly problem. Oates, together with Jan Mackenna and Dr Benjamin Bradshaw, left Pandamatenga on 27 December. On foot, accompanied by sixteen carriers, they walked the last 60 miles to the Victoria Falls which they finally reached on New Year's Eve. They then returned to Pandamatenga where they joined Wetsbeeck who needed to go south. They trekked south on 19 January 1875. Already things were going badly, as two Kalanga servants were already seriously ill with fever, while Frank Oates was not feeling well. Instead of the usual hunting en route, the party pushed on as rapidly as they could, escorting the rapidly ailing Oates towards Tati. Unfortunately, when nearing the headwaters of the Shashe River, Frank Oates died just before sunset, another incautious victim of malaria then endemic along the banks of the Zambezi.

As the ground along the wagon road was very stony and the party had no suitable



Rail at his Master's grave. (original Matabeleland and the Victoria Falls).

digging tools, they contacted Piet Jacobs who was reported to be trading nearby. Jacobs told them of an old game pit he had encountered nearby and here Francis Oates FRGS, aged only 34 years, was buried in the lonely wilds of the African interior.

While the party headed on to Tati Frank's pointer, Rail, disappeared and some of the camp followers were sent back to look for it. They found the missing dog apparently guarding the grave, having walked back 40 miles to the site. Rail and Frank's possessions were eventually taken to Shoshong where the London Missionary Society

missionary John Mackenzie took custody.

On the very day that Frank died his brother, William, and Dugald Gilchrist sailed from England, with the aim of rejoining Frank. They reached Durban on the 15th March, but it was not until the 1st April that they heard the tragic news of Frank's death. William left immediately to return to England with the news, while Gilchrist headed north where he met up with Piet Jacobs. They proceeded to the grave, putting in place a simple headstone. Unfortunately, this later disappeared. At Shoshong Gilchrist collected Frank's remaining possessions and his pointer and returned to England. Rail died in 1880 on the 5th anniversary of his master's death, his brother Rock died three weeks later.

Of this final journey Frank Oates collected important bird and insect collections which were later taken to the United Kingdom, but sadly he left few historical documents—only two watercolours and a few pencil drawings and tragically no actual notes on the Victoria Falls which he desperately wished to see and which brought about his untimely death. His bird specimens were sent to the British Museum, and the balance of his collection to Oxford University. His letters and earlier diary entries were edited and published in 1881. These give us only partial insight into the observations made by this young man, if only more had been committed to paper. A number of Frank's letters home to his family were presented to the National Archives of Rhodesia in 1957 and 1959 by Violet, William's youngest daughter. Violet visited the Victoria Falls in 1908 and painted a watercolour of the scene from one of the vantage points her uncle Frank is said to have sat thirty-three years earlier. In November 1961 the collection of 15 covers from the Oates Museum, Selborne, United Kingdom were sold by the auctioneers Christies-Robson Lowe Ltd, London.

The precise location of Oates' lonely grave has been a matter of interest to us for some years. It is a complicated story and worthy of documentation¹. In 1934 a member of the Oates family contacted the Pioneer Society in Bulawayo enquiring about the whereabouts of the lonely grave. Although unable to help, this initiated local enquiries. It was established that the location was known to James Haskins, a prominent trader based in Francistown, Bechuanaland, who had an outlying rural store near the site. He reported that it was somewhere near the border between Southern Rhodesia and the Tati

¹ Much of the story about the grave comes from unpublished material collated by the late Ilona Somerset. Her father-in-law, Owen Somerset, was for a while President of the Pioneer Society of Rhodesia.



Concessions, Bechuanaland. He noted that the headstone was missing, but there was a mound of stones on the site. Haskins also suggested that the Pioneer Society erect an iron cross on the grave, similar to others that it had erected elsewhere in Rhodesia. After a series of lengthy debates at committee meetings, because of its location outside Rhodesia and budgetary concerns, the firm H. G. Issels of Bulawayo was asked to cast a suitable Pioneer Society plaque for the sum of 10 shillings. This, together with its iron cross, was subsequently placed on the grave site by Sergeant D. Owens of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police. At the time he wrote to the Pioneer Society, suggesting the placement of an additional iron railing to protect the grave from elephants. This was later supplied by Issels.

As World War II drew to a close, a member of the Oates family contacted the Pioneer Society requesting to visit the grave. Sir Robert Tredgold, grandson of John Smith Moffat and later Chief Justice of the Federation, agreed to assist, placing the request on his priority list for after the war. Meanwhile he called for local knowledge to establish the whereabouts of the forgotten grave. Following instructions R. R. Tapson, then Native Commissioner at Plumtree, spent the next ten years unsuccessfully searching for the grave. It appears that he was searching ten miles away near the border between Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland. His error can probably be accounted for because contemporary maps of the area all showed an unmarked “old grave” located on the Southern Rhodesian side of the Bechuanaland border. The grave appearing on the maps, was found some years ago, but it is not known who was buried there.



Frank Oates grave railings.

In 1955 a Kalanga man, Liburu, eventually took Tapson, then retired from government and farming at Marula, to the site. Overjoyed, Tapson informed Sir Robert who abandoned his judicial bench in Salisbury to join a trip to the grave site, travelling by Land Rover with Tapson, Mr S. J. (Boet) Rosenfels (also a farmer from Marula) and Liburu. Once in the area, luckily, they met an elderly Kalanga man who was living near the site. He informed the visitors that he had erected the cross and later the railing in an open area on the instruction of a policeman from Francistown [Sergeant Owens].



Frank Oates current grave plaque.

However, the old man proceeded to point out a mound of rocks 50 yards away on the nearby stream bank. He told them that the bones of the man that they sought lay under this mound and not under the railing. The question now, was which was the actual grave. Their interesting story was reported in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* on 10 December 1955.

Only later was this mystery solved when John Walsingham of Francistown reported that a few years previously, a heavy rain storm had eroded the banks of the stream where the stone mound lay, so exposing the bones hidden beneath it. Walsingham and his brothers-in-law, Jimmy and Billy Haskins, heard about it and had recovered Frank Oates remains, reinterring them to the site marked by the iron cross and railing—a secure position in the open, away from the stream and its collapsing banks.

Since then this lonely grave in the northeastern wilderness of Botswana has been rarely visited, although local historian Ilona Somerset and archaeologist Catrien van Waarden undertook extensive investigations in an effort to relocate it in the 1980s. We are indebted to their work, but even so the site is not easy to find. We relocated it, not without considerable difficulty, some years ago. Since then the Trustees of the Oates Museum, The Wakes, in Alton, Hampshire in the United Kingdom have asked to be guided to the site there, something we hope to do in the near future.

Of interest, Frank's brother William returned to Africa in 1876. He then travelled to India and the Americas before dying of typhoid in Madeira. The Antarctic explorer Lawrence Oates was William's son and nephew to Frank Oates. He was wounded during the Anglo-South African (Boer) War at Aberdeen in the Cape Colony. Later, Lawrence was selected as a member of the ill-fated Terra Nova Expedition of 1910–1913. Robert Falcon Scott's party tried to reach the South Pole before Roald Amundsen's Danish party, only to find that they had been beaten. On 17 March 1912 during the struggles that beset their return journey, Lawrence Oates contracted severe frost bite and, famously, walked out of his tent into a blinding snow storm to his death; he had no desire to be an encumbrance to the remaining party. He was 32 years of age and Scott wrote in his diary of Lawrence, 'a brave and gallant gentleman'.

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Elsa Goodwin Green

Nurse to the Injured during the Jameson Raid and the Shona Rising

by R. S. Roberts



Elsa Green was the author of Raiders and Rebels in South Africa (1898), a book describing her nursing activities in Southern Africa in 1896, that year of crisis for the British South Africa Company. It was republished in 1976 as one of the series of 60 reprints by Books of Rhodesia, but she is the only author in that series about whom nothing is known. A new Foreword was provided by W. D. Gale, but he failed to discover anything and simply assumed that she had come from England to South Africa with her husband (although there are clues in the book that they had been in Australia).¹ However, the outlines of her life can be ascertained; and although of no importance to the later development of Southern Rhodesia she came from the ranks of ordinary Britons that did not hesitate to serve in dangerous situations and on distant frontiers and so made an empire without being imperialists.

Eliza Goodwin was born in Maidstone, Kent in 1851² and became a nurse in the early years of that profession that Florence Nightingale developed in the 1860s after the horrors of the Crimean War. In 1874 Eliza married Frederick George Green who had originally come to Maidstone (whence is unknown) to serve his articles as an architect-surveyor. They were both skilled artists and this is perhaps what drew them together.³ In due course they had a family, but in 1888 they left Maidstone for Melbourne,⁴ Victoria, a city in a building boom and fast becoming one of the most prosperous in the Empire. There Frederick became known for his buildings and his pictures of the urban landscape.⁵ By 1893, however, the boom had ended and Frederick and family decided to move to the latest boom town, on the edge of but not quite in the Empire, Johannesburg. There he set up practice on his own account but teamed up with Harry A. Reid (one of three brothers who were the first architects there) and together he and Harry won the competition for the Cape Town City Hall in 1894: the greatly admired Italian-Renaissance style building that still stands. They then formed a partnership in 1895 and opened an office in Cape Town for the supervision of the building (foundation stone 1900 and completed in 1905).⁶

¹ Published in London by George Newnes with 14 illustrations (from her own sketches, 8 of them in Mashonaland), and reprinted in Bulawayo by Books of Rhodesia.

² Gen. Regist. Off., Maidstone, Births, [July–]Sept. 1851, 5 356 and 357; her father was an organ-builder, England and Wales Census, 1851 and 1861, via <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M7G6-THV>.

³ Gen. Regist. Off., Maidstone, Marriages, [July–]Sept. 1874, 2a 907; England and Wales Census, 1881, via <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q27W-D7ZB>; for his paintings see <https://www.watercolourworld.org/artist/frederick-george-green> where 24 works are illustrated; for her works see above, fn. 1, and C. Wood, *The Dictionary of Victorian Painters* (Woodbridge, Antique Collectors' Club, 1987), 187.

⁴ Green, Frederick George in <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=2010>.

⁵ He designed terrace houses in Royal Park and shops in Brunswick Street and paintings of his are in the State Library Victoria in Melbourne; see https://search.slv.vic.gov.au/primo-explore/fulldisplay?vid=MAIN&docid=SLV_VOYAGER1794828&context=L; 23 of his Melbourne water-colours were sold by auction in London in 2005, <https://www.Bonhams.com>.

⁶ Green, Frederick George, and Reid, Harry Austin at <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=2010> and 1353<, respectively.

Thus it was that Eliza's book begins with her (and perhaps their teenage sons) having recently arrived in Cape Town in late 1895 when news of the tension in the Transvaal persuaded Frederick back at the Johannesburg office that she should stay in the Cape. Then came the Jameson Raid and when Eliza (or Elsa as she seems now to be called) saw a newspaper advert asking for nurses to go to help the injured she volunteered and caught the train that very night. She went to the hospital at Krugersdorp where she tended both the Raiders and Transvaalers who had resisted them. Although the work was demanding, Elsa seems to have enjoyed it—perhaps the first time she had been fully employed in nursing since the birth of her sons. It also meant that she was nearer to her husband. When the Raiders were recovered sufficiently to travel she accompanied some of them on the train to Cape Town; and she then had to stay put because of blood poisoning. But when news came through of another medical emergency because of the rising in Matabeleland she offered her services to the Chartered Company; these were declined at first until the rising of the Mashona made such help urgent.

She was then asked in July 1896 to go to Mashonaland via Beira, and despite the dangers involved her husband agreed that she should go. Thus at the age of 45, after a life of urban comfort, Elsa ventured north to an undeveloped colonial settlement in the midst of a bloody and unpredictable insurgency. She spent some weeks in Umtali where despite some alarms she had a fairly relaxed time and met interesting people like Mrs Stockley who later became famous for her novels about Rhodesia. She was then transferred to Salisbury which was in greater need of her services and she intended to stay there through the rainy season (of late 1896 to early 1897) when fever would place an extra burden on medical services. The authorities, however, fearing food shortages, decided that women and children should leave; and so Elsa in the company of many others like Mrs Marshall Hole made her way back to Umtali and Beira *en route* to Delagoa Bay and so home to Johannesburg.

All this is described in her book in a fairly light-hearted way with considerable attention to the background of events but, of course, mainly at second hand. Unfortunately she was too modest to describe her own work in the detail that would have been of interest to today's readers. Indeed the most striking and lasting impression for today's readers is the cool matter-of-factness of a middle-aged Victorian lady in the face of turmoil. None of today's narcissistic *angst* there.

Little is known of Elsa and Frederick after this, but they remained in South Africa. Green's partnership with Reid was ended after the completion of the Cape Town City Hall in 1905 but he remained in practice in the Cape. There seems to be little record of his later work except for his own house, Hiawatha, where they lived to the end—his in 1927 and Elsa's in 1932.⁷

⁷ Built in 1922 in a much modified Cape Dutch style, it can be seen on the Pinterest site.
><https://www.familysearch.org/search/record/results?q.givenName=Frederick%20george&q.surname=green<;and ibid., eliza&q.surname=green<>.

Euen Ritchie Morrison BSc (Hons), MSc

The Geological Survey's Ninth Director 1978–1989

by Peter Fey



This is the final text in a series on the Directors of the Geological Survey in Rhodesia/ Zimbabwe. As befits the period portrayed historical place and country names have been used where appropriate.

Introduction

Euen Ritchie Morrison was born in Johannesburg on 28 November 1931 and received his schooling at St John's College, then read geology at the University of the Witwatersrand. While a student he undertook vacation work in 1952–1954 for the Anglo-Transvaal Investment Company, familiarising himself with underground sampling and surface diamond drilling in the Klerksdorp region, and with base metal exploration on the Murchison Range. After obtaining his B.Sc. (Hons.) degree *cum laude* in 1954 he travelled to Canada in order to attend McGill University in Montreal. During university vacations he was engaged by the Quebec Department of Mines to carry out detailed mapping in the vicinity of the Gaspé mine, a porphyry copper deposit in the Appalachian Fold Belt, and also undertook regional mapping in the Chibougamau mining district northwest of Quebec City. In his final year of study he was elected chairman of the McGill Graduate Students Society. His thesis, entitled "A study of Porphyry Mountain, Holland Township, Quebec", earned him a master's degree in 1955.



Exploration geologist

In 1956 Morrison, although employed by McGill University as a post-graduate student, secured part-time work in the Canadian exploration industry and joined the British Newfoundland Exploration Company as a field geologist, working for several seasons ranging in length from four and a half to six and a half months between May 1956 and September 1959. The company held a large concession in Labrador covering the principal belt of Proterozoic volcanic rocks known to host occurrences of uranium,

copper, lead, zinc and molybdenum. Mapping, aided by photogeology, of the deeply indented coastline was undertaken from a 26 ton motor vessel, and was followed by geochemical and geophysical programmes, trenching, diamond drilling and exploratory mining, Morrison leading a team of several geologists. During his first season, while he was standing on the float of a seaplane in an attempt to moor it in rough weather, a wave swept him into the propeller, fortunately then idling, leaving him with a badly lacerated leg and fractured skull. He escaped lasting injury and his subsequent work was highly regarded by his employer.

For the young Morrison, moving from academia to exploration geology in Canada proved to be a steep learning curve, exemplified by the occasion when, having been airlifted into a site some 900 kilometres from base, he had forgotten to bring tent poles. An anxious radio call to his manager brought only a terse comment along the lines of “Try looking at the trees around you”. Years later, when he himself had become a seasoned explorationist, he received a similar plea for help from a young geologist whose vehicle, having suffered a punctured tyre, was found to lack a spare wheel. Morrison’s unsympathetic reply was “Take the wheel off, fill the tyre with grass, refit it and drive back to camp” (T. J. Broderick, 2003 a, 2003 b.).

Early in 1960 Morrison left McGill University, returned to South Africa and on 1 March took up employment with African Selection Trust Exploration Pty. Ltd., exploring for base metals in the Kaokoveld of South West Africa, undertaking geophysical and geochemical studies in eastern Bechuanaland as well as examining copper and diamond prospects in the Transvaal. Until the company ceased operations in Southern Rhodesia at the close of 1962 he prospected the Beitbridge region for base metals, investigated the Novello emerald claims northeast of Fort Victoria as well as the nearby Bikita Tin Field, and explored the Holdryhill claims which later became the site of the Madziwa nickel mine north of Shamva. In March 1963 Morrison joined RST Exploration Ltd. and in due course became project geologist. He initially spent two years on an investigation of copper deposits at Matsitama west of Francistown in Bechuanaland, followed by a further two years exploring for base metals in the Lomagundi region, soon to become the locus of several new copper mines.

During this period he met his future wife Barbara in Salisbury. The couple is believed to have married in the second half of 1967 and their only child, son Murray, was born in 1970.

Geological Survey career 1967–1989

Assistant/Acting Regional Geologist 1967–1969

With Rhodesian Selection Trust about to cease its operations in Rhodesia Morrison applied to the Rhodesia Geological Survey for work and was offered a three year contract by at a fixed salary of £2 500 *per annum*, a drop of £200 *p.a.* from his previous remuneration. Commencing his new role on 28 September 1967 he was posted to the department’s Bulawayo office as Assistant Regional Geologist under Dr J. F. Wilson. When the latter resigned two months later in order to take up the post of Senior Lecturer in Geology at the University College of Rhodesia he was succeeded as Regional Geologist by R. L. A. Watson. He, however, soon suffered a series of relapses following a coronary thrombosis and Morrison was appointed Acting Regional Geologist on 11 December 1967. When Watson died on 12 April 1968 Morrison became substantive Regional Geologist and, following the Government’s latest salary revision of contract personnel,



his salary was increased to £2 616 *p.a.* for the remainder of his contract period, together with an acting allowance of £20 per month which in July 1968 was raised to £28.

During the year Morrison, besides attending to 596 visitors and enquiries, reported on 89 mining properties and in addition supervised geologist R. J. Linnell, then undertaking reconnaissance mapping near Beitbridge. While in the region he took the opportunity to go underground at the Messina copper mine across the border in South Africa where he, very much the field geologist in khaki shirt, shorts and boots first met the author. Since it was “Minerals Year” Morrison helped to organise as well as judge exhibitions for the event, and gave numerous lectures to schools as well as talks to adult audiences.

Economic Geologist 1969–1976

In February 1969 Morrison, together with geologists E. R. Sutton and R. J. Linnell, paid a second visit to the Messina mine, accompanying the Director, Dr J. W. Wiles (Fey, 2020) and Dr K. A. Viewing, at the time the Ministry of Mines’ Project Officer. On 1 March Morrison transferred to pensionable conditions of service (at a slightly reduced remuneration) and at the beginning of April F. P. Tennick became Regional Geologist in Bulawayo. Effective 1 August 1969 Morrison was promoted to the post of Economic Geologist at a salary of £3 060 per year and commenced duty in Salisbury on 1 September.

He immediately set about compiling information for a new edition of the mineral map of Rhodesia, then documented the occurrence of barium minerals in the country. In the following year, under his direction, I. D. M. Roberson spent two months collating information on mercury while V. R. C. Stockmayer investigated the bauxite potential of the Eastern Highlands. Morrison himself researched corundum occurrences, then devoted considerable time to compiling data on aluminium minerals. For this project he visited not only dozens of mining properties but also undertook a trip to the firm Vereeniging Refractories in the Transvaal in order to obtain information on trade specifications and manufacturing processes. Results of these various studies were published by Morrison (1970, 1972, 1976), and by Robertson (1972) in the Geological Survey’s Mineral Resources Series, begun in 1952 by the department’s longest-serving mineralogist N. E. Barlow in collaboration with R. McL. Tyndale-Biscoe (Ferguson, 1953) and W. H. Swift (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*).

Together with Dr J. F. Wilson Morrison compiled the guidebook for the “Granite 71” symposium, held in Salisbury by the Rhodesian Branch of the Geological Society of South Africa between the end of August and the beginning of September 1971 and attended by 226 delegates, many of them from outside the country. He was symposium secretary and in addition acted as excursion guide.

In 1975, when the Geological Survey established its Geophysical Unit this came under his control. The unit embarked on the National Gravity Survey but operated for barely two years before being disbanded because of issues with faulty equipment and manpower shortages resulting from military call-ups as well as resignations. For “Metallogenesis 76”, another symposium organised by the local branch of the Geological Society of South Africa and held between 30 August and 3 September 1976, Morrison again helped to write the guidebook.

However, most of his time and effort during the first half of the decade was devoted to

summarising mineral exploration carried out under Exclusive Prospecting Orders (EPOs). These orders, introduced by the Government in 1947, gave companies prospecting rights over large tracts of land. Any mineral discoveries had to be secured by pegging blocks which could then be investigated more thoroughly. Exploration programmes were required to be documented on a regular basis, and final reports were retained by the Geological Survey where Morrison (1974, 1975, 1978a) summarised the results of exploration undertaken on EPO numbers 1 to 500 taken out over the period 1947 to 1975. These bulletins remain an invaluable compendium of information for companies contemplating further work in previously explored terrains, and the series was continued by Oesterlen (1998a) and Nachsel-Weschke (2002).

During this period Morrison's other important task was to maintain the lawn in the two quadrangles of the Geological Survey's Maufe Building, and for this he was often to be seen in earnest conversation with, *inter alia*, Deputy Director Dr J.G. Stagman.

At an indeterminable date, believed to have been to have been at the beginning of the 1970s, Morrison joined the British South Africa Police Reserve, in which at the end of the decade he served in the Marine Division. Since annual call-ups at Kariba, amounting to four periods of 18 days each, became a serious impediment to his duties he in February 1979 applied for transfer to the Army Data Processing Unit in Salisbury, where his training would be better utilised. His request was granted only partially in that by mid-year he was still with the BSAP's Marine Division, but had been transferred to its workshop in the capital.

Directorships 1976–1989

Director J. W. Wiles retired on 29 April 1976 and was succeeded by Dr J. G. Stagman (Fey, in press), Morrison becoming Deputy Director. Stagman immediately passed most of his administrative duties on to his deputy while he himself compiled his last work, Bulletin 80, entitled "An outline of the geology of Rhodesia" (Stagman, 1978)). He retired at the age of 60 on 2 June 1978 and was succeeded by Morrison, but returned to the Geological Survey in August to fill the supernumerary post of editor left vacant by the departure in April of Dr A. E. Phaup, the department's longest-serving geologist (Fey, 2013). In view of the large backlog of unpublished material, then amounting to ten geological bulletins and so-called short reports, together with another six in various stages of preparation, Stagman's willingness to take up his new role, as well as looking after the department's lawn, was strongly supported by Morrison.

In response to a query by Mr Alan Marsh at the 329th meeting of the Mining Affairs Board Morrison (1978b) outlined the Geological Survey's current situation and state of preparedness to resume and indeed expand its former roles in the event of a political settlement. The department's primary functions comprised regional mapping and bulletin preparation, services to the public, prospectors and small mines, documentation of the country's mineral inventory, regional geophysical surveys and geochemical studies, as well as engineering geology. Since its formation in 1910 the organisation had mapped approximately 60% of the country and recorded the information in 77 geological bulletins, 44 Short Reports and seven editions of the 1:1 million scale geological map. Nineteen reports were in preparation, but many of the earlier publications were out of print. Since the end of 1977, when the deteriorating security situation led to the cessation of regional mapping, there was a 2 to 3 year backlog in bulletin and map production. Because of resignations only eleven geologists out of a complement of twenty-six were



expected to still be serving by January 1979. Nine of these individuals had military commitments ranging from seventy to one hundred and twenty days annually. Future recruitment of junior geologists was expected to present few problems but there was a shortage of experienced personnel.

The country had fallen behind neighbouring territories with respect to the acquisition of regional magnetic, radiometric, gravity and geochemical data. Subject to funding, the necessary surveys could be implemented by contractors and consultants. In particular Morrison cited the Zambezi Valley, a potential depository for uranium, coal, hydrocarbons and salt, as an early target for geophysical surveys. He proposed that, as had been done in many “third world” countries, primary exploration for new mineral deposits might well be undertaken by United Nations agencies funded by the World Bank.

In addition, the Geological Survey’s laboratories required upgrading with new instruments such as an X-ray diffraction unit and ancillary equipment.

The post-independence years 1981–1989

Hostilities ceased early in 1980 when Rhodesia became the independent Zimbabwe. Sanctions were lifted, military call-ups ended and intense foreign interest in the country’s mining industry and mineral potential resulted in a flood of enquiries about investment opportunities. From this time onwards Morrison worked tirelessly, raising international awareness about the country’s mineral potential and attracting numerous foreign aid programmes which helped to resuscitate and expand the Geological Survey, its activities severely curtailed by the bush war.

In June 1980 Morrison, although a delegate at the International Geological Congress in Paris, attended few presentations, instead meeting with senior personnel of the French *Bureau de Recherches Géologiques et Minières* (BRGM), the German *Bundesanstalt für Geowissenschaften und Rohstoffe* (BGR) and the British Geological Survey (BGS). On a visit to Canada in November he sounded out the *Canadian International Development Agency* (CIDA) about undertaking airborne geophysical surveys over Zimbabwe. His sustained efforts, summarised below, laid the groundwork for numerous technical co-operation programmes involving skilled expatriates from several countries. Under his direction most programmes were completed during the decade when their collective achievements in the fields of regional geological mapping, geochemical sampling and geophysics were to be the Geological Survey’s swansong.

The attrition of staff during the late 1970s continued into the following decade. In his annual report for 1980 Morrison recorded that, out of twenty-six geological posts, twelve were vacant. Not surprisingly, recruitment of staff was to occupy much of his time during his remaining period in office, and staff numbers remained in a state of flux. Major hurdles were the woefully tardy performance of the Public Service Commission in approving new appointments and, as a perennial problem, the ever-increasing disparity between salaries in the public and private sectors. In the second half of 1980 the Geological Survey employed its first three Zimbabwean geologists, namely D. E. H. Murangari, Dr A. N. Ncube and O. K. Bwerinofa, capable men who soon moved on and were followed by a string of recent local graduates. Of the latter few remained long before taking up posts in industry. Moreover, the influx of geologists and geophysicists connected with the various aid programmes placed considerable strain

on office, laboratory and storage space within the Geological Survey's Maufe Building in Harare. However, the departure from these premises late in 1983 of the Mining Commissioner and Regional Mining Engineer for Mashonaland freed adequate office space.

In 1981 the Geophysical Unit was resuscitated and gravity surveys were resumed in the following year. The National Remote Sensing Facility, funded by German aid, was established under A.B. Made, and the Geological Survey's regional office in Gweru, closed since mid-1971, was reopened in January 1982. Highlight of the year was "Gold 82", a symposium devoted to the geology, geochemistry and genesis of gold. Ancillary excursions, well attended by delegates from overseas, showcased Zimbabwe's mineral endowment with visits to numerous mines exploiting a variety of mineral deposits in diverse parts of the country.

Foremost among the technical co-operation programmes initiated by Morrison was that implemented by the Canadians who, over the period 1981-1983, covered one third of Zimbabwe with an airborne magnetic survey. This was combined, in certain areas, with electromagnetic surveys which were used by Canadian staff based in Gweru to train local geophysicists and technicians. Selected targets were subsequently tested by diamond drilling, the rigs then being donated to the Geological Survey and subsequently handed over to the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation. Two additional aeromagnetic surveys, undertaken in 1988 and 1991, completed coverage of the country except for the region along the Mozambique border which, in the late 1980s, came under threat from Renamo incursions.

In 1981-1983, during shorter periods of co-operation by the BRG, a team of French geologists undertook reconnaissance mapping along the Zambezi Escarpment over an area of 6 900 km² centred on Centenary and Mount Darwin (Bache *et. al.*, 2006). North Korean technical assistance was limited to the years 1982-1983, when two geologists mapped the post-Karoo Mutandahwe Complex in the southeast of the country and described its associated copper-tungsten mineralisation (Wilson *et. al.*, 1998).

British aid, valued at just over one million pounds, financed vehicles, field equipment and a team of six geologists between 1983 and 1986. Of these men one remapped terrain measuring 4 400 km² around Harare (Baldock, 1991), another revised the geology of the region around Bulawayo (Garson, 1995). The remainder of the team undertook mapping and geochemical stream sediment sampling over an area some 8 000 km² in extent in the extreme northeast of the country (Barton *et.al.*, 1991). As part of a "package deal" the bulletins and maps resulting from this work were compiled locally by British technicians, published in Great Britain during the following decade, then shipped to Zimbabwe.

Technical co-operation programmes with the Germans were multi-disciplinary and long-running, beginning in 1982-1984 with a small mapping project near Beitbridge (Resch, 2001), a sedimentological study of the Karoo Supergroup in the Mid-Zambezi Basin and an assessment of coalfields in the northwest of Zimbabwe (Palloks, 1984). A coal laboratory was subsequently established in Harare. Over five months of 1986 BGR undertook a deep magneto-telluric survey in the Lower Zambezi Valley, where a sedimentary succession up to fourteen kilometres thick overlying a magnetic basement was indicated. In a second campaign a three-man German team, assisted by K. G. Chenjerai and N. A. Mtsvanga from the Geological Survey, carried out mapping, stream sediment sampling and ground geophysical traverses, also collecting samples for age determinations in dissected terrain covering almost 5000 km² west of Guruve



(Hahn and Steiner, 2001).

Commencing at the same time and continuing into the next decade were mineral exploration programmes, each lasting three years and funded by the Japanese International Co-Operation Agency (JICA).

Morrison ensured that, concurrently with these aid programmes, the Geological Survey undertook useful work in its own right. Economic Geologist C. B. Anderson dealt with matters pertaining to international mineral exploration programmes while, under Chief Field Geologist T. J. Broderick, fieldwork was resumed in October 1980 when A. J. Fountain began work at Hope Fountain southeast of Bulawayo. Over the following two years the country around Filabusi was remapped by N. Baglow (1998). However, in light of the various foreign aid programmes undertaken over the following fourteen years the department's pre-eminence in regional mapping was never regained (Fey, 2017), and aid projects eventually took on an economic bias.

Morrison had only limited success in recruiting expatriates. These included coal geologist B. Barber (1983–1990) and Regional Geologist (never confirmed) in Harare S. P. Kalbskopf (1982–1988). Dr D. S. Bartholomew (1984–1989) mapped the last outstanding portion of the Magondi Supergroup of sediments north of Mhangura (Bartholomew, 1999), then compiled volumes 22 (base metals and industrial minerals) and 23 (gold) in the Mineral Resources Series of reports (Bartholomew, 1990a, 1990b), while the granitic terrain hosting the Shawa and Dorowa carbonatite complexes south of Wedza was mapped by Lauderdale (2018). By 1985 the department's geological compliment of twenty-six incumbents was almost full and the outstanding vacancies were expected to be filled by three Government-sponsored cadets due to graduate with B.Sc. (Hons.) degrees at the end of the year. However, of this personnel only three had been in the department for fifteen years or more, whereas most of the remainder were new graduates, some of whom were periodically assigned to aid programmes as local counterparts. Nevertheless, for a short period during the year it was possible to deploy five mapping parties.

After Dr Stagman's departure in December 1980 bulletin editing was undertaken jointly by Morrison, Anderson and Broderick, a team which held the fabric of the department together for most of the decade. At the beginning of 1986 H. Bichard temporarily filled the post of editor until replaced in July by Dr M. S. Garson, formerly with BGS but subsequently funded for two years by the United Nations organisation. The period without an editor, together with the less than optimal performance of the Government printer, was reflected in the Geological Survey's uncharacteristically low publication rate in the period 1981–1988 when only four geological bulletins, four Short Reports, three volumes in the ongoing Mineral Resources Series of reports and six compilations of data on the country's coalfields were issued. The *Annals*, a departmental journal for the early dissemination of information on mapping projects, mining geology, geophysics and mineralogy, continued to be published annually. Bulletin 80 (Stagman, 1978), was reprinted in 1981 and the accompanying 1: 1 million scale geological map was reissued in 1986, and again in 1996, without major amendments.

Throughout the 1980s several of the Geological Survey's senior staff undertook trips outside the country, principally to attend various conferences and workshops. By means of his own travels abroad Morrison kept abreast of global developments in exploration,

mining and geology, at the same time maintaining the very necessary close relationship with aid organisations in donor countries. In 1983 he was a delegate the “Proterozoic 83” symposium in Lusaka, subsequently visiting Britain and Germany in connection with foreign aid programmes. In October he attended a conference on exploration in arid terrains in Gaborone, Botswana and at the end of the year he, together with Economic Geologist C. B. Anderson, spent an exhausting month in Japan where discussions about that country’s prospecting programme at Bindura left very little time for sightseeing. In 1984 Morrison restricted his travels to one week during which he, accompanied by son Murray and the Economic Geologist, camped in the Gona-re-Zhou National Park in order to initiate a hydrological study, to be undertaken by BGR, into saline brines which might supply the country’s salt requirements for some 15 years.

In April–May 1985 he attended a symposium on prospecting in desert terrain held in Rabat, Morocco, following this with visits to BGR (Germany) and BGS (Britain). In August he and his son spent time in the Lower Zambezi Valley near Kanyemba where the German company Saarberg Interplan had recently drilled into potentially economic uranium mineralisation, visited the nearby dinosaur footprints in the Ntunbe River and paid an unofficial visit to Mozambique. He ended the year by attending the 7th Conference on African Geology in Gaborone, Botswana. In July 1986 he represented the Zimbabwe Geological Survey at the congress commemorating the centennial of the Witwatersrand Goldfield, in September–October held discussions with CIDA officials in Ottawa and subsequently, with Assistant Mineralogist Mrs E. Muchemwa, attended the “Gold 86” congress in Toronto. In September 1987 he undertook trips to BGR (Germany) and BGS (Britain), during 1988 to Australia in order to visit mining companies in Perth, to subsequently attend the “Gold 88” conference in Melbourne followed by a further visit to BGS in London. Just before his retirement Morrison and his wife were guests at the official opening, early in 1989, by former British Prime Minister Mrs. Barbara Thatcher of Cluff Minerals’ Freda Rebecca gold mine immediately outside Bindura.

During 1988 the Geological Survey was crippled by the resignations of most senior members of staff, namely C. B. Anderson (Deputy Director), T. J. Broderick (Chief Field Geologist and Acting Deputy Director), editor Dr M. S. Garson, S. Simango (Chief Economic Geologist) as well as S. P. Kalbskopf and D. Chatora (Acting Regional Geologists). Although for the first time in ten years the drawing office was able to boast a full establishment of competent cartographers the huge loss of staff was only partially mitigated by the arrival of new geologists A. Moyo, F. Both and Dr P. M. Oesterlen, the last two men being expatriates recruited through the German *Centrum für internationale Migration und Entwicklung*. Resulting from ideas expressed by Morrison at the “Gold 86” conference in Toronto and refined by Dr R. L. Johnson of the BGS the final British aid programme, an investigation of structural controls to gold mineralisation in the Zimbabwe Craton, commenced in 1989 (Campbell and Pitfield, 1994).

As a result of recent interest in the exploration potential of the Zambezi Valley both Germans were assigned to project areas in its hitherto geologically neglected lower portion. Oesterlen, a sedimentologist, erected a new stratigraphic column for Karoo Supergroup sediments in the region south of Kanyemba, where he also confirmed the occurrence of overlying post-Karoo strata (Oesterlen 1998b). Concurrently his compatriot F. Both commenced mapping the Basement gneisses of the Chewore Inliers immediately to the west, a project subsequently continued under the Australian Staffing Assistance Scheme by Goscombe *et. al.* (1994) and Fey (2018).



Furthermore, following hydrocarbon exploration in Zambia's Luangwa Valley interest was shown in the potential of the rift-related Zambezi Valley, stimulated by BGR's interpretation in 1986 of a thick sedimentary infill. Morrison, with assistance from a firm of consultants (Bunter, 1988), established hydrocarbon concession areas which, until 1994, were leased by Mobil Oil. The company carried out seismic and gravity surveys but did not take up the option to drill. Since then, in view of improved technology in geophysical interpretation, coupled with exploration successes in other African rift valley settings, the Cabora Bassa Basin has once again become a target for hydrocarbon exploration.

The completion of most aid programmes, coupled with the dire staffing position which foreshadowed the impending cessation of regional mapping by the Geological Survey, prognosticated a gloomy future for the department. No doubt exhausted by his long-sustained efforts to maintain fabric and function of the department Morrison, aged 57 years, took early retirement in April 1989, having spent over 21 years as a civil servant including almost eleven years as Director. Areas mapped during his directorship amounted to over 43 000 km², raising geological coverage of the country from approximately 60% to just over 70%.

Local graduate N. Baglow, promoted to Chief Field Geologist after Broderick's departure, acted in his place until Dr J. L. O. Orpen was confirmed as Director in January 1990. He, however, remained in the post only until July 1993 before returning to his *alma mater*, the University of Zimbabwe. From this time onwards the position was filled by a succession of black Zimbabwean geologists, the most effective being Forbes Mugumbate, who had joined the department in 1987.

Personal reminiscences

Euen Morrison is remembered as the most approachable of the three directors under whom the writer served during the period 1971–1980, and over time became a firm friend. A hard worker and capable administrator he, when Deputy Director, used to keep his finger firmly on the pulse of the department by means of his daily perambulations through Maufe Building when he would drop in on individual geologists for a chat about diverse topics.

After the author emigrated to Australia in October 1980 he began an infrequent correspondence with Morrison, who responded by means of approximately biennial, typed newsletters circulated to several of the former Geological Survey geologists who had followed the author to Australia. Each such newsletter was a concise, at times humorous account of staff and activities in the Zimbabwe Geological Survey and Ministry of Mines, as well as an overview of the local mining and exploration industries, and invariably ended with a few handwritten, more personal lines. This correspondence also afforded rare glimpses of Morrison's family life. When on infrequent business trips to Zimbabwe the author would visit Morrison at his office and, on rejoining the Geological Survey for the period 1992–1995 under an Australian aid programme, resumed social contact with him.

Holidays abroad for the Morrisons appear to have been infrequent but included the largely official trip in 1985 to Morocco, for which the family travelled through Spain and Gibraltar, subsequently visiting Switzerland, Germany and Britain. Over Christmas

of the following year there was an 8 000 kilometre trip by car to the Cape where the family visited the Stagmans, returning home via the Garden Route and Golden Gate.

The Morrison's son Murray entered St George's College at the beginning of 1983. Involved in running and rowing he was awarded full academic colours at the age of 17. At the end of 1988 he wrote and passed his "A" level examination, then in March 1989 enrolled at the University of Cape Town to read for the four year Bachelor of Business Science degree. Once he had left home the family's food bill halved (Morrison, *pers. comm.*).

Barbara Morrison's mother died in Harare in mid-1988. The duty-free inheritance, shipped from England to Zimbabwe comprised, *inter alia*, household appliances as well as various antiques, the latter a growing hobby of Barbara's besides philately. She was then still driving her recently overhauled 34-year old Morris Minor Traveller Estate, which the writer remembers from the 1970s.

Postscript

For several years after retiring Morrison, unable to live on his Government pension, divided his time between consulting for the Lonrho and Rio Tinto companies. In between he played golf at the Henry Chapman club in Harare, where he had numerous friends. As a result of his dedication to the cause of geology in Zimbabwe he was awarded Honorary Membership of the Geological Society of Zimbabwe, and addressed fellow members of the Society at the joint retirement celebration on 31 December 1996 of the University of Zimbabwe's Professor of Geology Dr J. F. Wilson and his senior lecturer, Dr L. A. Lister.

Morrison was always a heavy smoker, and declining health eventually precluded him and Barbara from moving into the cottage which his son Murray had bought for them on the coast in Gonubie, South Africa. His demise was hastened by a burglary one night at his home in Highlands when he was thrown along a passage and Barbara was tied up with electrical wire before the house was ransacked (T. J. Broderick, *pers. comm.*). Badly shaken, he survived for only a few weeks before dying on 26 September 2003, aged 71 years. There was a private burial at Greendale, and Morrison's obituary was published in the Zimbabwe Geological Society's newsletter (Broderick, November 2003a) as well as in the Geological Society of South Africa's *Geobulletin* (Broderick, December 2003b).

Barbara Morrison is believed to have subsequently moved to South Africa.

Acknowledgements

Details of Morrison's education and early career were sourced from the obituaries by T. J. Broderick, who made valuable additions to this text. A record of his service with the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe Geological Survey was distilled from Annual Reports of the Director and other material in the author's possession, elaborated by Morrison's letters as well as personal reminiscences.



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From Tin Field to Lithium Mine - the discovery and evolution of Bikita

by Peter Fey



INTRODUCTION

The Bikita Tin Field, originally known as the Victoria Tin Field, lies 65 kilometres east of Masvingo (formerly Fort Victoria) in the south of Zimbabwe and was discovered in 1909. Initially the locus of small-scale tin mining it also produced tantalite from 1931 onwards. The advent of nuclear reactors after World War II created a demand for beryllium whose principal source, the mineral beryl, was identified on the field in 1949 by the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey's R. McI. Tyndale-Biscoe. Two years later he published a paper drawing attention to the considerable lithium potential of the Bikita pegmatites. As a direct result Selection Trust Limited took out an option over part of the mining claims in 1952, registered Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited and began exploration, soon to be followed by opencast mining of what proved to be one of the world's major lithium deposits. In December 1959 the company acquired full ownership of the field which by 2018 had become the world's largest producer of petalite concentrates.

Where appropriate original place names have been used in this text.

GEOLOGICAL SETTING

The Victoria schist belt lies immediately south of Masvingo (Figure 1), strikes



Figure 1. Location and geological setting of the Bikita Tin Field. Extract from 1:1 million scale geological map of Rhodesia (1977 edition)

predominantly east-northeast and extends for approximately 120 kilometres. Unlike many other Archaean greenstone terranes it is poorly endowed with gold but instead contains large deposits of lithium minerals at its eastern extremity in what was originally known as the Victoria Tin Field. The western end of the schist belt has been intruded by the ultramafic Mashaba Igneous Complex with its extensive deposits of asbestos and chromite.

The Bikita Tin Field is situated at the eastern limit of what was until recently the block of commercial farms which extended northeastwards from Masvingo. It is centred approximately three kilometres due north of Glenclova, a small centre on the arterial road linking Masvingo with Mutare, and lies wholly within strata of the Bulawayan Group which in this part of the belt comprise dominant basalts, lesser sediments, minor mafic and ultramafic intrusives, all invaded by sheets, dykes and veins of pegmatite. These emanate from, immediately post-date and are lithologically similar to younger granites which surround and enclose the greenstones, but in addition contain lithium minerals as well as beryl, tin and tantalite. On the tin field the economic pegmatites occur in a zone just under one kilometre wide and almost four kilometres long from south to north.

At Bikita the synclinal (trough-like) structure of the greenstones is attributable to northwest-directed thrusting of the Limpopo Mobile Belt some 2 700 million years ago, followed by emplacement of the granites. Three dominant periods of tight folding have been recognised and are responsible for the east-northeasterly alignment of the belt. A final deformation, observed only east of Lake Kyle, resulted in the development of gentle flexures of wide amplitude with northwest-striking fold axes which have influenced the structure of the pegmatites.

In 1942 R. McI. Tyndale-Biscoe undertook a survey of the tin field and its surroundings. Between 1956 and 1963 the entire schist belt was geologically mapped by J. F. Wilson (1964, 1968), whose first bulletin includes a map, sections as well as detailed descriptions of the Bikita pegmatites by H. J. Martin, the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey's mineralogist from 1956 to 1963.

PEGMATITE MINERALS AND THEIR USES

Production from the Bikita Tin Field commenced in 1916 and was initially restricted to the tin oxide cassiterite (SnO_2) but after 1931 included tantalite ($(\text{Fe}, \text{Mn})(\text{Nb}, \text{Ta})_2\text{O}_6$), a black tantalum oxide, usually associated with its niobium-bearing variant columbite, and assays between 45 and 75 per cent Ta_2O_5 . Owing to its high melting point and corrosion resistance tantalum became a strategic metal during World War II. It is now widely used in electronics as well as in high-temperature applications. Related minerals described from Bikita by A. M. Macgregor (1946) are tantalite's economically insignificant alteration product microlite ($\text{Ca}_2\text{Ta}_2\text{O}_7$), also the brown mangano-tantalite wodginite and, from the Mdara mine (Figure 2), the aluminium tantalate simpsonite ($4\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 3\text{Ta}_2\text{O}_5$), named after a former mineralogist and chemist with the Geological Survey of Western Australia.

Beryl ($3\text{BeO} \cdot \text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 6\text{SiO}_2$), a beryllium aluminium silicate of vitreous to resinous lustre occurs as hexagonal prisms which may reach a considerable size. Easily confused with quartz it is the principal source of beryllium, a metal utilised in alloys with copper and nickel, in the aviation and aerospace industries as well as in nuclear reactors. Gem varieties include aquamarine (blue), heliodor (yellow),morganite (rose-coloured) and



emerald (green). The latter mineral occurs in the Novello claims approximately 20 kilometres northeast of Masvingo, and also immediately west of the tin field (A. Marsh, *pers. comm.*).

Lithium (Li), the lightest metal known, occurs in a variety of minerals such as lepidolite, a mauve-coloured mica ($(\text{OH},\text{F})_2\text{KLiAl}_2\text{Si}_3\text{O}_{10}$), in the aluminium silicates petalite ($\text{Li}_2\text{O}.\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.8\text{SiO}_2$), spodumene ($\text{Li}_2\text{O}.\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.4\text{SiO}_2$) and its alteration product eucryptite (LiAlSiO_4), as well as in the phosphate amblygonite ($\text{LiAl}(\text{F},\text{OH})\text{PO}_4$). The rare mineral bikitaite ($\text{LiAlSi}_2\text{O}_6.\text{H}_2\text{O}$), a hydrated aluminium silicate which may have resulted from the alteration of eucryptite, has been described by Hurlbut (1957). Lithium metal, or its compounds, are found in alloys such as the *Bahnmetall* utilised for wheel bearings on the German railways, in high-temperature lubricants, heat-resistant glasses, ceramics and glazes, in pyrotechnics as well as in medications for bipolar disorder, depression and schizophrenia. It is increasingly used in lithium and lithium-ion batteries.

On the tin field caesium (Cs) occurs as the alumino-silicate pollucite ($\text{H}_2\text{O}.2\text{Cs}_2\text{O}.2\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.9\text{SiO}_2$) which contains up to 25% Cs_2O . The metal, starting point for caesium chemicals, finds application in electronics, medicine and high-pressure drilling muds.

So-called gangue minerals, which constitute the greater part of a pegmatite, comprise quartz (SiO_2), the feldspars microcline ($\text{K}_2\text{O}.\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.6\text{SiO}_2$) and albite ($\text{Na}_2\text{O}.\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.6\text{SiO}_2$), together with the micas muscovite ($2\text{H}_2\text{O}.\text{K}_2\text{O}.3\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3.6\text{H}_2\text{O}$) and biotite ($\text{H}_2\text{K}(\text{Mg}, \text{Fe})_3\text{Al}(\text{SiO}_4)_3$).

THE BIKITA PEGMATITES

Emplacement and age

The Victoria greenstone belt is traversed and locally displaced by northwest–and north-trending faults of which the latter group provided conduits for the Bikita pegmatites (Dittrich *et. al.*, 2019). These are considered to have been emplaced in successive pulses which gave rise bodies of decreasing lithium content when traced to the west and north across the field. From interpretation of the geological map and sections Martin, in Wilson (1964, pp.117–118), suggested that older pegmatites were overridden and partially assimilated by progressively younger ones. Dating of lepidolite from the Bikita quarry gave an average age of 2 650 million years, marginally younger than the Bulawayan basalts (Herzog *et.al.*, 1960). More recent data quoted by Dittrich *et. al.* (*ibid.*, p. 25) records the age of pegmatite emplacement at 2 617 million years.

Genesis

Pegmatites are derived from the last and most hydrous portions of a magma to crystallise. Importantly, they contain higher concentrations than the parent magma of rare minerals rich in elements such as boron, fluorine, chlorine and lithium. Those containing lithium, caesium and tantalum minerals are known as LCT pegmatites. Of these only two, namely Bikita and the Tanco deposit in Canada, are known to contain economic quantities of pollucite (Dittrich *et. al.*, *ibid.*)

Most Rhodesian lithium pegmatites are post-Bulawayan in age and were grouped by Grubb (1973) into:

Kamativi-type pegmatites, unzoned, characterised by coarse-grained spodumene and a lack of primary petalite. They formed in a closed system, that is, without removal or addition of material. Crystallisation was initiated at 600°C and followed by slow cooling.

Bikita-type pegmatites, well zoned and primarily petalite-bearing but also containing fine-grained secondary quartz-spodumene aggregates. Often extensively albitised they originated from successive injections of pegmatite magma and residual fluids, accompanied by considerable structural movement.

From field and petrographic studies supplemented by a limited programme of experimental hydrothermal work Grubb (*op. cit.*) proposed the following sequence of events for the evolution of Bikita-type pegmatites:

Successive, forceful emplacement of pegmatitic magma at or above 600° C as largely discordant intrusions into the country rock.

Crystallisation of the magma as a muscovite-microcline wall zone followed by intermediate and core zones of coarse-grained microcline, petalite and quartz.

Structural movement within the largely solidified mass was accompanied by injection of late volatile-rich sodic magma which solidified as an albite-quartz-lepidolite pegmatite, causing extensive replacement of early-formed petalite by albite with concomitant release of dissolved lithium.

Hot, corrosive and siliceous residual fluids, released from the consolidated magma and advancing ahead of the solidifying albitic rock, resulted in extensive replacement of the inner intermediate and core zones. Depending on temperature and chemical composition of the fluid, petalite may be replaced by a quartz-spodumene intergrowth

(see SQI below) or, if lithium content was comparatively high, eucryptite could form from spodumene and/or petalite.

The lepidolite-rich core zones are commonly diversely mineralised, often containing microlite and cassiterite as well as veins or lenses of massive quartz.

Topography and configuration

The Bikita Tin Field lies in hilly terrain at elevations of between 1 100 and 1 370 metres above sea level. Its individually named pegmatite bodies, not all of which are depicted on the sketch map (Figure 2) by Tyndale-Biscoe (1951), comprise sheet-like structures and lesser dykes, trending north-northeast with gentle to moderate dips either to the west or east, with an aggregate strike length of 4.6 kilometres. Contacts with the enclosing basaltic greenstones are sharp, with little wallrock alteration.

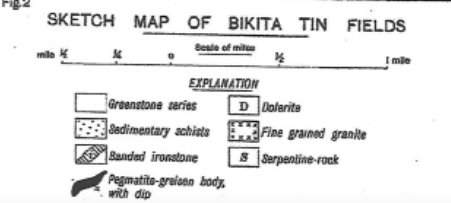
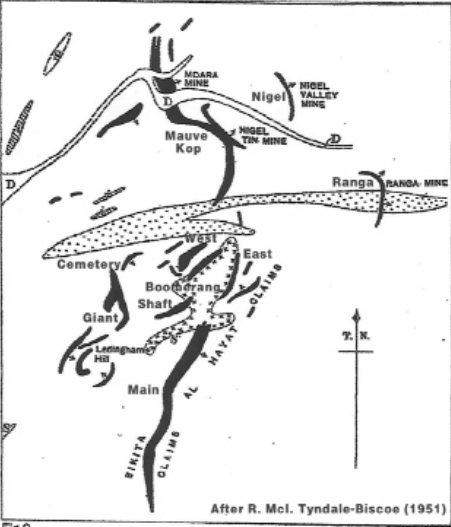


Figure 2. Sketch map of Bikita Tin Field.
After R. McI Tyndale Biscoe (1951)



Largest, with a length of 1.6 kilometres, is the east-dipping Main pegmatite. It forms a prominent ridge up to 60 metres in height, embodies the Bikita lepidolite deposit in the south, the adjacent Al Hayat petalite body to the north and continues as the East pegmatite. With its subsidiary enclosed lenses of spodumene, amblygonite and eucryptite this pegmatite originally represented an estimated 65 per cent of the field's lithium potential (Martin, in Wilson, 1964, p. 118). From underground development and drillholes Martin estimated at 5:2 the strike length to depth ratio of the Main and Spodumene pegmatites and from this inferred that the Main pegmatite would originally have had a maximum original dip length of some 610 metres, hence might extend for approximately 365 metres below the present erosion surface. Average true width, to a vertical depth of 60 metres below surface, ranges from 38 metres in the Bikita sector to 53 metres in the Al Hayat sector. In cross-section the pegmatites are believed to have originally had a blunt crest, tapering down to a sharp keel.

Next in size, with a length of 1.2 kilometres, is the Spodumene pegmatite. It dips west, abuts the western flank of the Main pegmatite and originally represented approximately 20 per cent of the field's lithium potential. Together with the two dyke-like Giant pegmatites its southwestern extremity underlies portions of Ledingham Hill, named after a 1911 prospector (Tyndale-Biscoe, *op. cit.*). What may be a separate pegmatite, or alternatively the northward continuation of Spodumene, is known as Boomerang. This overlies the East pegmatite and in the west is flanked by the trough-like, lithium-poor Shaft pegmatite, regarded by Martin (*ibid.*) as the upper-most pegmatite within the enclosing greenstones. Together with Spodumene it yielded most of the weathered tantalite ore treated between 1950 and 1960 by George Nolan (see below). The two West pegmatites, immediately north of Shaft, were formerly prolific beryl producers.

At the northern extremity of the field the three podiform Mauve Kop pegmatites, dominated by the eponymous hill, follow a curvilinear trend for a further 1.4 kilometres and are cut by two dolerite sheets at the Mdara mine. They formerly produced abundant beryl, tantalite and lesser lepidolite. Approximately 800 metres to the northeast are the two narrow Nigel pegmatites on which the discovery of tin signalled the birth of the Bikita field. Workings on the latter pegmatites are correctly marked as the Nigel Tin mine on the map by H.J. Martin whereas Tyndale-Biscoe showed this mine as lying on the Mauve Kop pegmatite (Figure 2).

The Ranga mine, in the far east of the field, has produced cassiterite and tantalite from small pegmatites intrusive into greenstones and sediments.

Internal structure

During exploration, detailed below, of the Main pegmatite from March 1952 onwards underground development in the Bikita sector provided an unparalleled insight into its structure and diverse mineralogy. D. G. Cooper (1961), the first mine geologist from 1953 to 1955 and later director of Bikita Minerals Pty. Ltd., described and photographed the three-dimensional, concentric zoning which is asymmetrical with respect to the walls. It broadly conforms to the American classification, established by Cameron *et. al.* (1949), of border, wall, intermediate and core zones of which only the latter two are productive.

In the Bikita sector, which extends for almost 430 metres along strike, the zones comprise, from the centre outwards:

A markedly asymmetric core zone with an original length on surface of just over 300 metres. Of prime economic importance it consists of:

a). Massive, fine-grained purple lepidolite averaging 3.5%-4.3% Li_2O (Martin *op. cit.*, p.123).

(b). "Near-solid" lepidolite with 30-40% quartz. Associated with the latter mineral is amblygonite, occurring as masses up to 6 metres across.

(c). A quartz-lepidolite intergrowth, forming an incomplete shell.

(a) Intermediate zones above the core consist of a variable mixture of albite and quartz, petalite, spodumene locally replaced by petalite, and pollucite. The latter mineral occurs as a generally massive, lensoid body some 200 metres long with a vertical extent of 40 metres.

(b). Intermediate zones below the core consist of an upper "cobble zone" in which boulders up to half a metre across of relatively pure lepidolite occur in an albite-lepidolite-quartz matrix, overlying a lower zone of feldspathic lepidolite.

Wall zones comprise:

a). A persistent hanging wall feldspar zone with microcline-perthite crystals approaching two metres in length.

b). A footwall zone of rhythmically banded fine-grained albite and lepidolite. It constitutes the major source of beryl, irregularly distributed as rounded crystals up to 15 centimetres in diameter. Between it and the border zone is the "spotted dog" zone of fine-grained albite and quartz with scattered books measuring over a centimetre across of mica

Border zones of albite-quartz-muscovite selvage.

In the Al Hayat sector, 670 metres in length, weathering extends to a depth of 2 meters, hence outcrops are rare. The zoning is simpler than in the Bikita sector and comprises:

A hanging wall border zone of fine-grained albite with muscovite and stringers of quartz, overlying

A wall zone in which a persistent band of coarse-grained mica (muscovite or zinnwaldite) is followed by a unit in which microcline crystals up to 1.5 metres long occur in a quartz-mica matrix. The equivalent zone in the footwall consists predominantly of fine-grained quartz, albite and muscovite.

Intermediate zones take the place of a true core zone and constitute the only productive portion of the Main pegmatite in this sector. Largest is the—

a) Petalite-feldspar zone, with a strike length of 600 metres, which in places occupies the entire space between the wall zones. In it crystals of grey petalite up to 1.8 metres long and 0.45 metres thick are oriented primarily towards the walls, decreasing in size and abundance towards the footwall. Although it encloses long, narrow lenses of white microcline the petalite is clean, requires little sorting and constitutes from 25 to 75 per cent of the zone's bulk.

b) There are lesser, locally mixed zones consisting of intergrowths between lepidolite and quartz-albite, also between spodumene and quartz. The latter, colloquially termed "SQI", has an overall composition approximating to that of petalite (Marsh, 1982). Pollucite, eucryptite and bikitaite occur in minor amounts.

A footwall feldspar zone nine metres thick is composed predominantly of fine-grained quartz, albite and muscovite.

There is no footwall border zone.



Discovery and exploration

1909-1941

The Bikita Tin field was discovered in 1909 by transport rider and prospector Heinrich (Henry) Koestlich, a German, and predates by two years the discovery of tin in the Enterprise district (Maufe, 1920) immediately east of Salisbury. It received a mention from mining engineer R. H. Cooke (1911) in the *Rhodesia Mining Review* and its geological setting, together with the smaller and economically insignificant Rurgwe field some sixteen kilometres to the southwest, was described in the second annual report of the recently established Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey by its first director (Maufe, 1912). In May 1911 Koestlich and his brother pegged the Squenula (later renamed Nigel) claims, then offered the Willoughby Consolidated Company Ltd. an option to develop their find. The company sank five shafts to a depth of 23 metres, encountered no economic mineralisation and relinquished the option. At the outbreak of the first world war the Koestlichs were interned and never returned to work on the field which soon attracted a succession of other smallworkers, the first tin production being recorded in 1916 (Wilson, 1964). In 1926 petalite was identified in the Main pegmatite by the Geological Survey's A. M. Macgregor (Fey, 2018) who described its transition southwards into the large mass of lepidolite, then already being worked for cassiterite, recognised the microlite-bearing greisens on the Al Hayat A claims (Martin, in Wilson 1964, p. 115) and investigated the occurrence of alluvial tantalite.

During the course of 1928 members of the Nolan family from South Africa arrived at Bikita to inspect 13 blocks being touted by V. S. Welsford, an unscrupulous prospector who claimed that they contained abundant eluvial tin. The family patriarch, Herbert Gladstone Nolan Snr., a well-to do landholder and businessman from the western Transvaal with interests in alluvial diamond mining at Grasfontein, was soon persuaded to part with £10 000 for these blocks. He immediately formed a company, Al Hayat and Boomerang Tins Limited and nominated his eldest son, Joseph John, to work the gravels, which turned out to be considerably less well mineralised than had been claimed. Furthermore, much of the recovered cassiterite was mixed with tantalite and at the time could not be extracted from the concentrate. Not surprisingly, the company ceased production before the end of 1929. There followed an unsuccessful attempt by Nolan Snr. to recoup his losses by earning an interest in the nearby Beardmore scheelite deposit. However, these two mining ventures bankrupted him and hastened his premature death in January 1931.

Another of his several sons, George Henry, then barely 25 years old, moved to Bikita in August 1934, living on and producing tin from the claims held by



Plate 1. George Henry Nolan. Photograph from *Road to Lithium Lodge*, (2013)

his father's company. Apart from periodical absences during the following five years Nolan spent over twenty-five years on the field and the interesting history of his time there is documented in his posthumous autobiography (Nolan, 2013). One of his prized possessions was a book on mineralogy which was to prove invaluable in his quest to find and develop a viable deposit. Very determined, and with a lively intellect, he displayed considerable innovation and skill in designing and constructing the basic machinery required to work and treat the several minerals which he mined over the years.

During 1937 he became involved in development of the Hippo scheelite prospect in the lower Sabi Valley, then made two attempts at gold mining south of Bikita. In 1938 Scottish prospector Douglas Lawrie arrived on the tin field, pegged the Mdara claims and also took a three-year tribute on the Al Hayat and Boomerang Tins Ltd. claims from Nolan, who in the meantime attempted to improve his financial position by working as a carpenter on the several Air Force training bases then being built near Gwelo. Thereafter the two men, who from the beginning had an uneasy relationship, led a hand to mouth existence at Bikita, periodically shipping small batches of cassiterite and tantalite, later joined by beryl. Only after the field's lithium potential had been recognised at the beginning of the 1950s did they "strike it rich", the only Bikita prospectors to do so.

1942-1951

During the second half of 1942 Ronald McIver Tyndale Biscoe (Fey, 2017), a Government geologist then newly released from war service in Malta, spent three months on an unpublished topographical and geological survey of an area measuring approximately 200 km² which included the Bikita Tin Field as well as the by then dormant Rurgwe field. Since he did not have the benefit of air photographs (Wilson 1964, p. 4) Tyndale-Biscoe is presumed to have used a plane-table during the fieldwork, on which he identified petalite at Al Hayat. He subsequently mapped an area measuring 2.6 km² in greater detail and drew attention to the field's tantalite potential. As a result Lawrie and Nolan were persuaded to tribute their claims to the Ministry of Mines which then undertook a detailed sampling programme. This extended over several weeks, was supervised by Chief Government Mining Engineer W. Elliott but failed to identify a tantalite resource. However, since resampling by Nolan produced far better results the Ministry of Mines challenged him to substantiate his tantalite grades by producing 600 pounds per month of concentrates over a period of six months, and offered to subsidise him to the tune of £500. Nolan accepted the challenge and went on to deliver almost two tons of concentrate, well in excess of the stipulated amount, thereby demonstrating that the gravels averaged some three to four times the grades indicated by the Ministry's sampling programme. Inexplicably, in spite of these excellent results large scale tantalite mining at Bikita was once again deemed to be uneconomic and the tribute over the claims was relinquished (Nolan, *op. cit.*).

Several years later, approximately in 1947, the Ministry of Mines arranged for a beacon inspector to undertake a survey of all registered blocks and claims at Bikita. However, the person turned out to be unqualified and omitted to record that certain beacons had been either incorrectly positioned or moved from their original position, a matter which some three years later led to a lawsuit between Nolan and Lawrie.

In October 1949 three members of the Strategic Minerals Group, an arm of the Economic Co-operation Administration (E.C.A.), a United States government agency established in 1948 to administer the Marshall plan which was intended to assist the



**Plate II. View just west of north over Bikita quarry, with Al Hayat pit in background.
Photograph: A. Martin**

post-World War II recovery of West European nations, visited Southern Rhodesia. Accompanied by R. Tyndale-Biscoe they inspected chromitite mines in the Umvukwe Range and at Selukwe, as well as the Siverside copper mine north of Sinoia. Chief Government Mining Engineer W. Ralston subsequently took two of the Americans to Bikita and introduced them to Douglas Lawrie. Of these two E.C.A. representatives one, geologist L. W. Ferguson (Ferguson 1951, p. 2), had recently worked on tin occurrences in Nigeria, was familiar with beryl and noticed a large crystal of this mineral utilised by Lawrie as a doorstep at his cottage. Since beryl was then much in demand as a source of beryllium he asked Lawrie if it occurred in any quantity on the claims, to which the prospector replied that he did not know. The specimen had come from the Mdara quarry, but extent of the mineralisation was unknown since beryl had hitherto been regarded as an unsaleable commodity. The visitors promptly investigated the site, established that beryl was much in evidence, but did not have the time afterwards to meet George Nolan.

Lawrie's subsequent search for beryl on his claims was eminently successful and, when Tyndale-Biscoe returned to Bikita late in November, the prospector was accumulating the first parcel of beryl for export, in December 1949 shipping of 25 tons (23 tonnes) derived from irregular pockets in pegmatite at the Mdara mine. Subsequent output came from dump retreatment and from eluvial deposits at the southern end of the Main pegmatite. By 1961 the Bikita Tin Field had become Southern Rhodesia's largest beryl producer, contributing 33% to total production (Martin, in Wilson, 1964.).

By 1950 the majority of the claims on the tin field had been grouped into two holdings, Nolan working the northern pegmatites and adjacent gravels on the Al Hayat sector, Lawrie busy on the two claims on the southern or Bikita sector which he tributed from old-time prospector A. J. Miller (Symons, 1961). Following depletion of the beryl resource at the Mdara workings Lawrie began to mine the lithium minerals amblygonite, lepidolite and petalite, dispatching 200 tons (181 tonnes) in June 1950 (Martin *ibid.*, p. 115). Meanwhile Nolan had discovered and begun to extract beryl from gravels on his

Boom D claims, producing approximately 18 tonnes per month. In addition, he sank two shafts on the Al Hayat block, established that the petalite extended to a depth of at least 24 meters, and through trenching exposed a mineralised strike length of some 320 meter. He sent a sample of petalite for assay to the Geological Survey, whose chemist seriously under-reported the lithia content with a figure half of that determined from check samples analysed in Britain and North America. Nonetheless Nolan, in anticipation of future orders, bought mining equipment which enabled him to strip the overburden and begin quarrying petalite.

In the course of 1950 Tyndale-Biscoe paid four visits to Bikita, on two of which he accompanied L. W. Ferguson who at the time was investigating the prospects for large-scale production of columbite and alluvial tin. By then Tyndale-Biscoe had established that, besides the lepidolite which gives rise to the strikingly coloured “Mauve Kop” at the Mdara mine and also outcrops on the Al Hayat claims, lithium mineralisation occurred throughout the field since much of the material which he had earlier regarded as feldspar was actually petalite. In July, at a joint meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science and the Rhodesia Scientific Association in Salisbury, he read a paper (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1951) on the geology of Bikita and drew attention to the field’s hitherto unrecognised lithium potential by estimating a resource of approximately 350 000 tons (315 000 tonnes) to a depth of 20 feet (6 metres) for the petalite body on the Al Hayat claims.

Early in the year a bitter dispute arose between Nolan and Lawrie over the boundary between the former’s Boom claim and the latter’s Bikita block, Lawrie alleging that Nolan was mining on blocks which were not rightfully his. Although Nolan was able to demonstrate that this boundary had never been correctly surveyed and that, moreover, certain claim beacons had patently been moved from their original position, allegedly by prospector V. S. Wrexford before Nolan Snr. acquired the Bikita claims from him in 1928, his claim was not recognised by the Ministry of Mines which barred him from working the contested claims and selling his stockpiled beryl. As a result Nolan was obliged to transfer operations to the nearby Boom claims.

The dispute dragged on for two years, he took legal advice and the matter went to the High Court, which sat in Fort Victoria during June 1952. Appearing as witnesses for Nolan were “Justice” Koestlin, one of Bikita’s two discoverers, and W. Goelst who had assisted him with the pegging forty-one years earlier. Although judgement was given in favour of Lawrie, with costs, the judge exonerated Nolan from any stigma that might have been connected with this case. The proceedings proved expensive for both contestants and, as often happens, the legal fraternity gained the largest financial benefit (Nolan, 2013).

Meanwhile Tyndale-Biscoe’s paper had attracted the attention of Selection Trust Limited which, in view of the growing interest in new applications for beryllium and lithium, had been investigating other pegmatites in Southern Africa. One of the company’s geologists, D.G. Cooper, visited Bikita in October 1950 and, without disclosing who he represented asked Nolan for an option on his “mine”, which was not granted. Undeterred, Cooper returned to the field in January 1951, this time accompanied by the general managers from Selection Trust Limited’s London and Johannesburg offices, but the parties could not agree on a price for Nolan’s claims. Undeterred by this impasse the company persuaded a reluctant Douglas Lawrie to grant it a two year option over the Bikita and Nigel blocks. Later in the year it registered Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited,



Plate III. View west over Al Hayat pit, 1960s. Bucyrus shovel with Aveling Barford 15 tonne truck (partially obscured). Photograph: Plate I in Wilson (1964)

an entity in which Selection Trust and the American Metal Company, later to become American Metal Climax Inc., had a majority interest (Martin, in Wilson, 1964, p. 115), soon to be joined by the American Potash and Chemical Corporation. In November 1953 the option was exercised, Lawrie receiving a total of £150 000 for two Bikita and five Nigel blocks, with an additional £50 000 for his Mdara claims (Nolan, *ibid.*). He is believed to have left the field soon afterwards.

1952-1959

G. H. Nolan

Tyndale-Biscoe returned to Bikita twice during 1953, and in December of the following year paid his last official visit to the mine when he accompanied the Geological Survey's photographer, H. J. Cottrell, who took what in the department's annual report was described as "an interesting set of photographs".

Meanwhile, although major North American firms had begun to express an interest in the Al Hyat petalite deposit, Nolan was receiving only periodical small orders for petalite and lepidolite through his agent in Britain, G. A. Watson and Co., a firm his father had formerly dealt with. Early in 1953, a year in which Nolan discovered eucryptite at Al Hayat, the company provided him with an unsolicited loan of £10 000 on condition that he assign it the sole marketing rights for five years. Utilising these funds to develop his petalite mine Nolan began to produce and export increasing tonnages of lithium ores so that, when he established Geo. H. Nolan 1954 (Pvt.) Ltd., the quarry had reached a depth of 60 feet (18 meters) and a washing plant for the tantalite-bearing gravels was nearing completion. Moreover, he planned to erect a roasting plant to treat microlite

from the Ranga mine where, with increasing depth, this mineral was associated with arsenopyrite. In 1954 American academic C. H. Hurlbut visited the mine and was shown another unknown mineral which Nolan had found at in the large petalite body on the Al Hayat claims and had tentatively called “nolanite. It was subsequently also found in the Bikita sector and identified as the new lithium mineral bikitaite (Hurlbut, 1957).

At about this time, no doubt tired of living rough and with a growing family, Nolan purchased Petalite, a subdivision of Pastures farm located immediately east of the tin field. In 1956 he began to build a grandiose mansion there which he modeled on North America’s “White House” and named “Lithium Lodge”, filling it with replicas of Louis XIV furniture and *objets d’art* (Lapham, 2009).

In December 1957 Nolan entered into an option agreement with Rand Mines Limited of Johannesburg for the purchase of his claims. The company carried out limited exploration, including drilling, and proved large reserves of lithium ore but, in view of the declining market, the option was not taken up (Martin, in Wilson, *op. cit.*). In May 1959 he granted Union Corporation a 3-month option to buy the 48 Al Hyat blocks for £250 000 cash, but the deal was not consummated. Just at the time when his Liverpool brokers were demanding prompt repayment of their earlier loan Nolan was once again approached by Selection Trust Ltd. whom he offered a 3-month option for £15 000. He subsequently negotiated a purchase price of £350 000 for his 50 blocks, with an additional £50 000 for machinery, and the deal was finalised in December 1959. Under the sales contract Nolan was barred from undertaking further mining at Bikita.

As a result of this transaction the tin field, originally comprising 3 889 base metal claims covering 32.5 square kilometres, was consolidated into a single mining lease (Symons, 1961).

After 1953

Bikita Minerals Pty. Ltd.

With the Lawrie option secured in November 1953 the company, managed by R. Irvine until he was succeeded in 1955 by R. Symons, embarked on a programme to establish the lithium potential of the Main pegmatite, dividing it along strike, from north to south, into the Al Hayat, Bikita and Southeastern sectors. Exploration, geology, mining and beneficiation of the deposit were described in 1959 and 1960 by Symons whose last paper (Symons, *ibid.*) was presented for discussion at the Symposium on Pegmatites, held in November 1962 at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury. Meanwhile underground development on the Bikita sector, providing unique insights into mineralogy, zoning and structure of the pegmatite, was documented as well as photographed by the first mine geologist, D. G. Cooper (1961).

The company initially devoted three months to a surface survey, the construction of access roads, erection of temporary buildings including a sample treatment plant, and the pegging of protective blocks of claims. This was followed by an evaluation of the lepidolite body which outcrops intermittently over a strike length of almost 300 metres on the Bikita sector, and by less detailed exploration of the Southeastern sector.

Bikita (central) sector

This sector lies on the former Glen Clova farm. A base line, bearing N 32° E and parallel to an arbitrary strike direction, was laid out and at regular intervals along it section lines were established at right angles, the zero line marking the approximate



Plate IV. View northeast over Al Hyat pit. Photograph: A. Martin 19.7.2018

centre of the lepidolite mineralisation. Pits as well as 12 parallel trenches 30 metres apart subsequently served to expose the hanging (upper) and footwall (lower) contacts of the pegmatite. Three of the several existing, shallow excavations were deepened to 30 metres and pegmatite contacts were again established from crosscuts. In addition five shallow winzes were sunk to a depth of six metres in the beryl zone whose footwall was exposed in five crosscuts. Mapping at a scale of 1:100, later reduced to 1:200, was undertaken on the surface and underground, as was diamond drilling. Results from this exploration programme, which extended over 17 months, outlined sufficient lithium ore to warrant exercising the Lawrie option in November 1953. During the year pollucite was found in association with spodumene.

In mid-1953 Bikita Minerals Pty. Ltd. began underground development by collaring, on the western or footwall side of the pegmatite, the Shallow Adit level on the 1 000 foot (mine datum) level at 3 885 feet (1184 metres) above sea level. This adit connected with the exploratory crosscut which was driven through the main lens of lepidolite on the 2N section line, and from it drives were turned off north and south parallel to the strike of the pegmatite. At intervals of approximately 200 feet (61 metres) crosscuts were then driven right across the pegmatite. By 1956 the Deep Adit level, 100 feet (30 metres) below the Shallow Adit level, had been completed and became the main haulage as well as drainage level (Martin, in Wilson 1964, p. 121). By December 1960 the workings had exposed almost 500 metres of mineralised strike on the Shallow Adit level, 365 metres on the Deep Adit as well as on the one intermediate level. These excavations included ore passes, extended over 4 535 linear metres and amounted to 7 727 cubic metres (Symons, *op. cit.*).

Southeastern sector

This extends over a curved strike length of distance of 460 metres and is largely covered by rubble believed to overlie deeply weathered zones, hence exploration had to be undertaken principally by trenching and diamond drilling, with limited underground development on the Shallow Adit level (Cooper, *op. cit.*). The Main pegmatite, here still zoned, is structurally complex with rapid changes in strike and dip. It is associated with three offshoot dykes, two of which diverge from it at an acute angle. Mineralisation comprising lepidolite and beryl appears to be of lower grade than in the northern sectors and, at the time of writing (2021), is believed to remain unexploited.

Al Hayat (northern) sector

The Al Hayat sector includes the eponymous petalite quarry, originally lay on Crown land and was explored after Bikita Minerals Pty. Ltd. took a three month option over Nolan's blocks during 1959. The company embarked on an intensive exploration programme, drilling approximately 30 vertical holes collared on lines 100 metres apart, establishing a single crosscut 73 metres long and mounting a sampling programme before exercising the option in December.

In in December 1955 the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority established an office in Salisbury in order to investigate Southern Rhodesia's uranium potential. Its geologists subsequently visited most of the country's major beryl deposits and reported on 35 pegmatites occurring northeast of the Rurgwe tin field. During 1961 they undertook trenching which assisted in the delineation of two petalite bodies regarded as the northward extensions of the Main pegmatite at Bikita. Believed to date from that time is the discovery of weak radioactivity in both the petalite core and in tantalite occurring in the footwall feldspar zone of the Bikita sector (Symons, *op. cit.*).

As at 31 December 1960 ore reserves for the lepidolite, petalite and mixed-lithium orebodies were reported as 5 984 394 tons (5 429 000 tonnes) grading 2.90 % LiO_2 (Symons, *op. cit.*, p. 64). Twenty years later a tabulation by subsequent mine manager J.E. Wegener (1981) of pegmatite reserves in the western world ranked Bikita fourth with a quarry reserve of 10.8 million tonnes at 1.4% LiO_2 , a grade equalled only by reserves in Namibia.

Mining and production

1916-1950

Mining on the Bikita Tin Field began in 1916 and a small, steady output of cassiterite and metallic tin was maintained until 1959. Most of the production was derived from widely distributed eluvial gravels in the north of the field which reportedly graded between 2 and 7 lb per ton (0.79 to 2.79 kg per tonne) of cassiterite. The mineral, which may occur in lumps weighing over one hundred kilogrammes, was subsequently also found in coarse-grained quartz-albite-muscovite or in finer-grained quartz-albite pegmatites at the Nigel mine as well as in the Main and Boomerang pegmatites. According to Tyndale-Biscoe (1951) tin production from the field to 1950 amounted to 221.44 tons (200.88 tonnes). However, tin mining alone proved unprofitable and the Bikita field, although in 1961 ranking second in output after Kamativi, never became a big producer. From the total production Martin (in Wilson 1964, p. 128) estimated average ore grade to have been 2.5 lb. per ton (1 kg/t) at 70% tin content. At the time Bikita's output of combined columbite-tantalite amounted to some 38 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's



Plate V. Bikita reduction plant. Photograph: A. M. Marsh

total production.

Although tantalite was discovered in 1911 at the Ebonite claims 6.5 kilometres southwest of the tin field, at Bikita the bulk of tantalite mining occurred in 1931-1959 (Bartholomew, 1990), initial output coming from the Mauve Kop pegmatite which to 1950 had yielded 95.74 tons (86.88 tonnes) of tantalum minerals (Tyndale-Biscoe, *op. cit.*). Small-scale production was resumed by Bikita Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd. in 2016.

1951-1959 (G. H. Nolan)

During his final decade of production George Nolan mined petalite and lesser amounts of lepidolite from the Al Hyat quarry. In addition he treated weathered, low grade tantalite averaging approximately 45% Ta_2O_5 from the Spodumene and Shaft pegmatites. He also produced microlite occurring on the Al Hayat claims, in pegmatite south of the old Ranga mill and at the Nigel mine (Figure 2).

With increasing demand for lithium ores Nolan received enquiries from several large North American companies. However, his efforts to enter the developing market were thwarted by corporate politics and delayed expanding his petalite mining for three years. Watson Geach and Co., the North American affiliate of his Liverpool agent, was curiously beholden to Corning Glass. The latter, intending to make its principal business the manufacture lithium chemicals for which it would require large tonnages of ore, demanded a monopoly on Nolan's production yet prevaricated about placing a firm order with him. Because of the influence Corning Glass exerted over H. A. Watson Nolan shortsightedly turned down an order for 5 000 tons (4 500 tonnes) of petalite *per annum* from the Foote Mineral Co. The impasse was resolved only on his mid-1953 visit to H. A. Watson and Co. in Liverpool, after which Corning agreed to take 7 500 tons of petalite from him by the end of the year.

In September 1954 Nolan left on a marketing trip which was to last two and a half

months, visiting Europe, Britain and North America. By this time the Corning Glass Co. had shelved plans for a proposed chemical plant and its lithia requirements dropped to a mere 500 tons (4 50 tonnes) per month. Fortunately Nolan was able to re-establish relations with both Foote Mineral Co. and Lithium Corporation of America, organisations which collectively took several thousand tonnes of petalite and lesser lepidolite. It is not known if Nolan sold any petalite destined for the North American market to Bikita Minerals (Pvt) Ltd.

On his return to Bikita at the end of the year Nolan’s accountant presented him with his newly established company’s balance sheet which made sobering reading. Freight on board costs to Beira amounted to £4 per tonne, with an additional 30 shillings (or 17.6%) per tonne for brokerage on lithium minerals, increased from the 2.5% Nolan had been paying when he accepted the £10 000 loan from Watson and Co. in 1953. This brokerage cost was subsequently reduced to one pound Sterling per tonne but nevertheless still amounted to 11.8% in comparison to the 2.5% levied on his beryl and tantalite, forcing stringent financial measures to be applied to all of Geo. H. Nolan 1954 (Pvt.) Limited’s operations (Nolan, 2013).

Of the production from the field between 1952 and 1960 (Table I) the lepidolite tonnage is largely attributable to Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited, the petalite and other lesser minerals being derived from Nolan’s operations on and around Al Hyat, which the company acquired only at the end of 1959.

Table I. Tonnages recovered from the Bikita pegmatite
1952-1960 After Symons (1961)

Product	Tonnes	Grade
Lepidolite	356 520	3.5-4.3% Li ₂ O
Petalite	160 570	3.6-4.7% Li ₂ O
Spodumene	21 770	4.0-4.7% Li ₂ O
Amblygonite	4 536	7.5-9.5% Li ₂ O
Eucryptite	1 814	5.5-6.5% Li ₂ O
Beryl	512	10-12% BeO
Tantalite	26	
Microlite	8	
Cassiterite	5	70% Sn

1953-1980 (Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited)

When the company began large-scale production at the end of 1953 the lepidolite body was still untouched and had to be developed from outcrop by means of several transverse slots 7.5 metres wide in order to establish working faces at right angles to strike. Haul roads provided access to the pit in which the orebody was divided into benches 15 metres high, corresponding to the interval between development levels in the Bikita sector. These benches were then subdivided into working faces 7.5 metres in height. Gardner-Denver wagon drills were used for the blast holes, drilled either subhorizontally into the face or vertically from the top of the bench. Secondary breaking, where required, was used



judiciously so as to minimise production of unsaleable fines. Broken material comprised ore and overburden in the approximate ratio 1:1, the overburden consisting of weathered, poorly mineralised pegmatite together with greenstone. This material was trucked out of the quarry, greenstone waste being dumped separately from the low-grade material which was stockpiled for future treatment.

Ore from the Bikita quarry was delivered to the nearest ore pass connecting with boxes on the Deep Adit level, from where it was railed over a distance of approximately 2.2 kilometres to the processing plant, located southwest of the mine. Each train consisted of ten 4-ton side-discharge hoppers hauled on a two foot six inch gauge track by a 9-ton Simplex diesel locomotive (Symons 1961, p. 66).

According to a memorandum (Bikita Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd., 2019) lepidolite mining ceased and the Bikita quarry closed in 1957. However, this date is believed to refer to the cessation of ore haulage by train since such pit closure would have left the company without a source of lithium ore until its acquisition of George Nolan's Al Hyat blocks in December 1959.

Ore reduction and beneficiation

The beneficiation process has been recorded in great detail by Symons (*op. cit.*) and by J. E. Wegener (1981), the latter a successor to Symons and the mine's manager until mid-1982 (A. M. Marsh, *pers. comm.*).

The Bikita processing plant operated on a batch system, depending on the demand for either spodumene or petalite. Appropriate crusher openings and screen apertures were used to produce the two sizes of end product required. Glassmakers required a higher grade of ore, delivered as large fragments, whereas friable material of lower grade since it contained some waste was acceptable to the chemical industry. At the plant ore was passed through an Allis-Chalmers jaw crusher, its aperture set at 5 inches (127 millimetres), an electromagnet removing tramp iron before the feed underwent three stages of screening and hand sorting on conveyor belts. The latter process depends to a great degree on the skill of the African pickers to visually identify and separate the various lithium minerals from waste consisting principally of quartz and feldspar.

Primary sorting

Oversize material from the primary screen was washed before feldspar and spodumene sized >75 mm were removed and sent to storage bins.

Petalite of size >75mm was taken off for use as pebbles in the dry grinding plant (see below).

"Chats" ie: fragments >75 mm across of mixed ore and waste rock, were sent to the secondary crusher.

Material not amenable to enrichment by sorting was sent to the petalite rejects stockpile.

Secondary sorting

Spodumene and feldspar sized 40-75mm was sent to storage bins, whereas

Petalite lumps sized 40-75mm were transferred to the petalite stockpile.

Petalite chats were sorted, those in the above size range being transferred to the petalite rejects stockpile.

Eucriptite, difficult to distinguish from quartz in ordinary light, was picked off at

the end of the belt in a light-proof tent equipped with ultra-violet lamps, under which the mineral glows salmon-pink (Symons 1961, p. 68).

Tertiary sorting followed the same path as the secondary function except that it dealt with material sized 10-40mm comprising petalite, spodumene, feldspar and chats.

This sorting process was applicable only to high grade petalite ore; for low grade material secondary and tertiary sorting functions were reversed. Minor constituents were hand sorted, leaving major constituents on the sorting belts. Throughout the beneficiation process quality control was maintained by regular sampling at specific intervals, with product sizes and grades being determined at control points. Each day's production was segregated until assay results for Li_2O , K_2O , Na_2O and Fe_2O_3 were to hand.

In 1973 a concentrator was built and, using flotation, treated some 1 800 tonnes per month of material from the separate stockpiles of spodumene and lepidolite rejects. The feed was subjected to sorting, crushing and flotation to produce approximately 700 tonnes of high grade lepidolite and spodumene concentrates. In the latter, derived from the spodumene-quartz intergrowth colloquially termed SQI (Marsh, 1982) which was hand-sorted before being sent to the concentrator, the lithia content was increased from some 4% to around 7%, the quartz component being discarded. Any iron collected in the concentrate during flotation was removed by magnetic separation.

Production at the time comprised predominantly petalite, lesser spodumene, lepidolite and pollucite, with recovery of lithium ore from the Al Hyat pit averaging 42% (Wegener, *op.cit.*).

All of Bikita's minerals were originally marketed in lump form until the Rhodesian Government banned the export of lump ore in 1978. Accordingly, the company commissioned a "dry" grinding plant and processed 2 000 tonnes of petalite per month derived from the sorting plant, milling it to sizes between 75μ and 300μ as demanded by customers. The mill, intended to be fully autogenous by utilising lump petalite as grinding agent, nevertheless required the addition of an additional grinding medium, in this case steel balls. The latter introduced unintended iron contamination which, as in the concentrator, was removed by a magnetic separator before the end product was bagged for export (A.M. Marsh (*pers. comm.*)).

Thereafter saleable products comprised (Wegener, *op.cit.*):

Petalite (Li_2O typically 4.10%), hand-picked and dry milled

Spodumene (Li_2O typically 7.10%), concentrate, fine-grained

Lepidolite (Li_2O 4.10%), concentrate, fine-grained, micaceous

Pollucite (Cs_2O typically 25.0%), hand-picked, crushed or dry milled

Beryl filled infrequent export orders whereas lesser feldspar was periodically sold to local glass manufacturers.

In 1980 ore loading in the Al Hayat pit was still undertaken by means of an ancient Bucyrus shovel (Plate IV), which was soon afterwards replaced by a new JCB front-end loader. Transport from quarry to processing plant was effected by a small fleet of long-serving Aveling-Barford 15 tonne trucks (A.M. Marsh, *pers. comm.*).



Table II. Total production from the Bikita Tin Field for the period 1916-1984
(Bartholomew, 1990)

Product	Tonnes	Period
Petalite	628 728	1950-1984
Lepidolite	493 051	1950-1984
Spodumene	76 869	1950-1984
Eucryptite	12 199	1950-1984
Feldspar	9 217	1969-1984
Amblygonite	5 624	1950-1984
Beryl	3 020.4	1950-1969
Pollucite	2 179.5	1959-1984
Cassiterite	188.02	1916-1959
Tantalite	140.63	1931-1959
Microilite	8.64	1931-1959
Columbite	7.67	1953-1955

Developments post-1980

In 1987 a sophisticated dense-medium separator was installed at Bikita, enabling the profitable retreatment of its rejects dump and recovering 30 000 tonnes of petalite concentrate from 100 000 tonnes of feedstock. By the following year the mine became the world's foremost producer of this mineral with 7.6% of total output (Hollaway, 2019).

After 2014 evaluation of the lepidolite dumps revealed significant amounts of tantalite, a pilot plant was erected in 2016 and small-scale production of this mineral was resumed. At the same time the spodumene resource was being re-evaluated for possible upgrading to produce lithium concentrate.

By 2020 increasing depth of the Al Hayat pit was adversely affecting operations, the *Corona* virus pandemic resulted in reduced demand for Bikita's products and the rate of mining was scaled back accordingly. Meanwhile a new petalite quarry was planned and additional resources of spodumene as well as lepidolite were being sought. (A. Mamuse, *pers. comm.*).

Marketing

Experimental work undertaken in the early 1950s by the North American Foote Mineral Company showed that lead oxide could be replaced by lithia in the manufacture of glass, the company passing that knowledge on to the Corning Glass Company on condition the latter purchased its lithia requirements from them. Corning Glass subsequently began to manufacture tubes for black and white television sets, utilising both lepidolite and petalite, and later also made tubes for colour television for which lepidolite was not suitable. In 1953 the company invented Pyroceram, a product containing a significant amount of petalite and marketed principally in the form of "Corningware" kitchen utensils. From mid-1953 Corning Glass began to purchase petalite from George Nolan,

soon to be followed by Foote Mineral Co. and the Lithium Corporation

In 1954 American Lithium Chemicals Inc. was established to manufacture lithium hydroxide in Texas, U.S.A. from lepidolite, and may well have taken all of Bikita Minerals' output in 1956-1957 (Bikita Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd., 2019). Another company, San Antonio Chemicals, Inc., was formed in 1956 to treat end-liquors from the American Lithium Chemical plant in order to produce carbonates of caesium, rubidium and potassium (Symons, 1961).

With Rhodesia subjected to international sanctions after declaring independence from Great Britain in November 1965 North America banned the importation of petalite from Bikita, but the mine continued to ship its product to Europe and to several East Asian countries.

In 1982 the Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ) was established and became the country's sole marketing authority for all minerals destined for export. Subsequently, after negotiations lasting four years the Corning Glass Co. again purchased Bikita petalite and an initial 1 000 tonnes were shipped from Durban, followed by a further 2 000 tonnes exported through Beira (R. Biegel, *pers. comm.*).

Export routes

Dating from the inception of bulk mining in the mid-1950s virtually all of Bikita Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd.'s output of lithium ores was exported, high transport costs notwithstanding. From the plant the ore was hauled to the company's private siding at Fort Victoria by Rhodesia Railways' Road Motor Services in 20-ton truck-trailer combinations, then railed to Beira via Salisbury, a distance of some 1 100 kilometres as compared to the great circle distance of only 354 kilometres (Martin, in Wilson, 1964, p. 114).

With the decline of Zimbabwe National Railways the bulk of the mine's production is currently believed to be exported by road through Beitbridge.

Recent company history

In 1980 the parent company Selection Trust Limited was absorbed by British Petroleum p.l.c. (BP) and renamed BP Minerals International Limited, which became part of the Rio Tinto Group in 1989. The mine's operating company was taken over by Foundation Trust in 1991, and in 2014 African Metals Management Services Ltd. acquired a majority interest. As a private company it publishes little information about its operations

Epilogue

In recognition of his pioneering work on the tin field R. McI. Tyndale-Biscoe, was invited to attend an open day in 1977 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Bikita Minerals (Private) Limited. He and his wife were flown from Salisbury to Fort Victoria and, since the bush war was in progress, were thence driven to Bikita with an armed escort (Fey, 2017).

George Nolan, having sold his mining interests in 1959, continued to live at Lithium Lodge until it was demolished by freedom fighters in 1979. Broken in spirit Nolan died in the Fort Victoria hospital in February 1980, aged 71 years (Lapham, 2009).

Acknowledgements

In addition to the material referenced below the writer has drawn on numerous annual reports of the Director, Geological Survey. Colleague T. J. Broderick provided contact



details for Anthony Marsh, mine geologist from 1980 to 1983, who kindly forwarded relevant literature together with details of mining and processing operations during his time. Figure 1 is an extract from the 1:1 million scale map of Rhodesia (1977); Figure 2 was modified from Tyndale-Biscoe (1951). Richard Biegel, marketing manager for Bikita Minerals (Pvt.) Ltd. from 1978 until 1986, provided insights into his specialised *metier* and furthermore lent the writer his copy of Nolan's autobiography. Photographic plates have been individually acknowledged.

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Sixty-Six of the Best

The Frenchman who became a Rhodesian: Part II

compiled by Noeline Barry,
further edited by Fraser Edkins



Family Life and Romance

I met my wife, Bertha Gaborit, whilst I was working at the Ethel Mine. Her step-father, Monsieur Hemmerle, was at that time growing tobacco for George Peake, on Umvukwe Ranch. He had trained as a tobacco grower and farmer, on the BSA Company's Central Settlement Farm, at Marandellas, under H. K. Scorrer. He subsequently hired his own farm, "Laurel", in the Wedza District, from the BSA Company. When war broke out, in 1914, Hemmerle went over to France to enlist and was taken prisoner by the Germans. He suffered cruel treatment in the prison-camp, beatings, starvation and exposure to the snow. After the war he was released and returned to Rhodesia with his family. He was bitterly disappointed to discover that in his absence "Laurel" had been ransacked; there was nothing left of his buildings, his cattle, or any of his property. It was at that time that I met him, and I was able to introduce him to George Peake, who was pleased to employ him at Umvukwe Ranch.

Bertha was educated at the Salisbury Convent, and had not long left it when I first met her. I would see her and her family at Mass, on those occasions when a Catholic Priest was able to visit Sinoia, and hold a service for his widely-scattered flock. I particularly remember Father Bernard Lickerish, who used to travel from Salisbury to Sinoia on his bicycle. I served for him at many a Mass, and always regarded him with the greatest respect and affection. Later on he taught English at St George's College and instructed my son, Tony.

When Bertha was twenty years old, in 1931, we were married at the Roman Catholic Cathedral, in Salisbury. Father Graham took the service, and Noll Colborne was our best man. We had decided to spend our honeymoon in France and in England, and we travelled up the East Coast, from Beira to Suez, on the *Klipfontein*.

We were to meet my best friend, Jack Merry, at Fontmel Magna, in Dorset, and here we picked up a car, a Morris 6 Saloon, in which Bertha and I travelled to Scotland. On our return journey we stopped at Banbury, not because I wanted a bun, but because I had run out of cigarettes. We pulled in at a little shop, and I asked for a packet of 'Rhodian', the cigarettes made by Lambert and Butler, of Rhodesian tobacco. The shop-keeper stared at me and remarked, 'What a co-incidence! We don't sell many Rhodians as a rule, but you are the second person to ask for them, this morning. Are you a Rhodesian?'

I assured him that I was, and he then told me that Captain Lattey, a Rhodesian farmer from the Banket area was at present staying with his father, the local doctor! This information made me suddenly home-sick and if we had not been pressed for time, we would have called upon the Latteys.

Bertha and I were not impressed by the crowds and the noise of Europe, after the

peace and space of Rhodesia, and after three months we were very happy to return home. We bought a house in Bates Street, (in Milton Park) a fairly central position, and both our children were born in Salisbury.

Radio Ltd: NDNI

In the year 1927, I sold my farming interests, and became the Resident Engineer at the Ethel Asbestos Mine, Mtoroshanga, still in my much-loved Lomagundi area. I was offered the job by my good friend, Jack Merry, who was at that time Secretary on the mine. Jack, the son of a clergyman, had previously worked as a Secretary on a mission station in Syria, before he came to Rhodesia. I first got to know him in 1913 when he was stationed at Banket, as a Sergeant. He built his first pole and dagga quarters with such a low pitch that with the coming of the rains he was nearly drowned. Being a resourceful man he put up a bell-tent, inside his dwelling, under the thatched roof, and after that remained dry!

Jack was as keen on hunting as I was, and together we enjoyed many an exciting trip. However, when we moved to the Chrome area at my suggestion we abandoned the pleasures of the chase, and, instead, spent our week-ends and spare time pegging Chrome.

In 1928, the pair of us bought a trading-store near the mine, from the estate of a Jewish man who had died of Black-water fever. Here I met and became friendly with Abe Robinson, the son of an old friend of mine, Sam Robinson, who had been a commercial traveller in the early days. Abe and Jack were already friends, as they both served in East Africa with the legendary Murray's Column, in the 1914–1918 war.

Abe was born in New York, and came to Rhodesia with his family in 1910, as a school-boy, attending first St George's College, then in Bulawayo, and later on the Salisbury Boys High School, now known as Prince Edward School. He worked as a clerk in a solicitor's office until the war broke out, and then bluffed his age – he was only seventeen – so as to join the Army.

He always enjoyed being where the action was! After the war he joined the firm of Landau brothers, as their Commercial Traveller, and so it was that he came to us at the Ethel Mine Store and began an association that was to enrich all three of us. When the Landau brothers imported the first shipment of radios into Rhodesia, Abe got really excited about it. He discussed with Jack and me the possibility of opening a business on our own, to deal exclusively with radio and electrical merchandise. Let me remind you that at this time there was no broad-casting station in Rhodesia, and the only reception was available from Daventry, and from Chelmsford, a diversity station in England. Nevertheless we decided to take the plunge, and in 1931 the firm of Radio Ltd came into being, the first exclusive radio and electrical shop in Rhodesia.

Our original capital was £7 500, which represented the benefit from the sale of our Chrome claims. I did not embark upon the venture without trepidation, believe me, for it was in 1931 that I took another very important step – getting married, and going overseas on a three months honeymoon. It was fortunate, indeed, for me that I had such good associates, and that our partnership prospered so well.

We discovered that the Philips 2802 Radio set was the only one suitable for Rhodesia. It worked only on the short wave, and off a Milne's Unit battery of glass cells. It was nickel-plated, containing a caustic-potash solution, and had, of course, to be charged.

Abe Robinson persuaded W. H. Batey, who had worked for Philips in Johannesburg and Durban, to join Radio Ltd, and he brought us a dozen Kit-type radios, which



were, unfortunately, a dead loss, as we were never able to get them to work at all! Nevertheless Batey, as our engineer, did much good work for the firm, and eventually became a Managing Director. Our original firm consisted of the three pioneer partners, Jack Merry, Abe Robinson, and myself, Batey acting as engineer and Mr Barney Bloom, Abe's brother-in-law, helping as our traveller.

I did not envy Barney his job of selling the radios, operated off car-batteries, direct to farmers and the rural districts. Nevertheless, despite the primitive quality of the machines, and their screechy tones, and the poor reception from overseas, Barney did very well indeed. In fact, so much so, that in 1937 we opened a branch of Radio Ltd in Bulawayo and made Barney the Resident Director. He eventually became a Managing Director of the Company.

We sold the first Philips 2802 sets, with speaker attached, for the sum of £42.10s.

If you came too near the set it would squeal at you, and would also echo the sound of your steps, on the cement or wooden floors. You had to place the speaker at just the right distance from the set. These speakers were made of brittle bakelite, the fore-runner of plastic, and needed careful handling. Crystal-sets became popular, especially with young people, as they were much cheaper, and eager experimenters were investigating the whole problem of transmission and the reception of radio waves.

Our first month's turn-over was only £400. Jack, Abe, Batey and Barney and myself allowed ourselves £45 a month each, as salary, and so, for a time, we were forced to live on our capital. I bought a $\frac{3}{4}$ ton Commercial Van for Barney's use, and I was extremely annoyed with him when he turned it over, in a black *vlei* near Hartley, and I had to go and haul him out!

We began to sell car-batteries, and started a charging plant, which gave us a much-needed source of extra income. Jack did all the book-keeping and correspondence, Abe was our salesman, and I was in charge of the Battery Department, for which we acquired the Lucas Agency. Even so, the going was extremely tough at first. The population of Salisbury, remember, at that time could be counted in hundreds, rather than thousands, and not many people could afford the luxury of a radio-set. Moreover the tobacco slump of 1929, and the poor prices for maize and cattle, kept the farming fraternity very short of cash.

In 1932 I decided to relieve the pressure on the firm and, rather than drawing my salary, took a job as engineer on the Darwendale Chrome Mines, leaving the worries of Radio Ltd to Jack and Abe for the time-being. Naturally, I retained my interest and came back to Salisbury for the week-end, whenever I could. I was making less use of my bicycle now, and driving a $\frac{1}{2}$ ton Ford Truck. 1932 was a hard year for Rhodesians, and I was not the only man looking for a job. Many tobacco growers and farmers left the country, and those who stayed took on any work they could find. Many a well-educated man was happy to turn his hand to road-building or whatever employment offered. The first strips of concrete along the Beatrice Road were laid by Europeans.

By 1935 business had revived sufficiently for me to be able to return to Salisbury and to Radio Ltd. We now began to import more up-to-date radios and, when the Second World-War started, the firm indulged in a new venture. We took over the Caledonian Society's Hall and ran the Victory Cinema there. We leased the Hall for £50 a month, and ran it for ten years, eventually leasing it to the Schlezinger group. We imported our

films from Johannesburg and charged 3/6d for the best seats. Our manager was Andy McPherson, who had two little Yorkshire terriers which accompanied him everywhere and became a familiar part of the Salisbury scene. Later on the chief of the Caledonian Society, William Monroe, urged us to buy the property for £16 500. It was fortunate for us that we did so, as we eventually re-sold for £75 000 to Shim Lakovski, who, in his turn, made a still greater profit by selling again, for £175 000, to Pearl Insurance.

We re-invested our capital in Radio Ltd and also in buying more property. We bought three empty stands, where Robinson House and the Royal Cinema stand today, for the sum of £12 000 and five years later re-sold all three stands for £50 000. The years between 1953 and 1963 were excellent ones for land-speculators, as property boomed during the time of the Federation and the fresh injection of capital. Abe Robinson, a born speculator, was a brilliant financier, and the instigator of all our commercial ventures.

To return to the story of radio – it is interesting to recall that it was not until 1933 that a broad-casting service operated in Rhodesia, and even in 1941 we only had two and a half hours of broad-cast programmes a day, consisting mostly of records. The fact that there was any radio programme at all was due to the energy, enterprise and enthusiasm of three Post Office engineers, Ernest Jephcoat, Angus Munroe and A. Simonsen. Wireless “hams” themselves, they cast envious eyes at the transmitter which Imperial Airways had installed at Belvedere, to give weather reports and radio guidance to their planes, using the England to South Africa route two or three times a week. Ernest Jephcoat’s father was Chief Engineer to the Post-Office, and he was prevailed upon to get permission to use the transmitter as a public service broad-casting aid. It is rumoured that Jephcoat Senior, a local musician of renown, exacted in return a promise from the broadcasters to feature the Gilbert and Sullivan operas whenever possible! The three young engineers started the first broad-casting service largely out of their own funds and equipment, even paying their own announcer, for the sheer love of the experiment.

The first studios were a room at the Masonic Hall, and then three rooms in the Jameson Avenue “stables” – and on several occasions, when the lights failed, the news was read either by candle-light or by the shining head-lights of a car, near the open door! In the early days of the war, in 1940, studios were especially constructed in the old Post-Office building, in Manica Road, and Rhodesia had its first Broadcasting House. The old hitching-post, dating back to the days when the mail was carried by mule-waggon, may still be seen at the entrance to this building. (Editor’s note: and there is another such post outside Cecil House at 2, Central Avenue).

In 1941 an Advisory Board was set up, and John Parry was engaged as the first full-time professional broad-caster. This brilliant and versatile man worked so hard and so well that by 1947 there were six hours of broad-casting daily and the first programmes for schools were being put out. In those days there was no University in Rhodesia, no concert hall, ballet, or even regular theatre, so that radio was literally the only means of fostering the arts. Eventually the Government provided money for extra broad-casting staff, but not enough for a really powerful transmitter, one such costing in the region of £30 000. Today we are fortunate, and powerful transmitters operate from Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo, smaller transmitters from Umtali, Gatooma, Que Que and Fort Victoria, and you can listen in from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. every day of the week except Sunday, when programmes start a little later and close a little earlier.

The first music shops in Salisbury were owned by Mark Friend, and Lawrence and Cope, who sold out to E. T. Potter. They loaned records, in exchange for a free



advertisement over the air. Later on deals were made with over-seas firms, who supplied the latest records cheaply, and we at Radio Ltd supplied our records at cost price.

John Parry had an excellent feminine counterpart in Helen Kelly, the first Rhodesian born member of the broadcasting staff, and a most gifted woman. She and John together produced endless scripts, plays and discussions.

Eventually Rhodesian broadcasters and script-writers won international fame by winning three overseas awards. John Parry, for a Nativity play, his daughter, Jann, for a words-and-music play, and Beryl Salt for an adaptation from *Crime and Punishment*.

Other radio personalities I still remember with pleasure were the talented musician Gwen Radford, the charming actress, June Tobin, and Edward Harben, who assisted John Parry as a cricket commentator.

Extra capital, provided by Federation, allowed more ambitious radio programmes and then, on 15 November 1960, television made its debut in Salisbury. In 1960 there were about 6 000 television sets in the area; by 1962 there were 20 000. Radio Ltd naturally played its part, and still does, in the selling and hiring of television sets, as well as radios.

During Federal days the Central African Broadcasting Service had its head-quarters at Lusaka, which had established its first studio in a shack on the air-field in 1941, during the war.

Africans began to buy their own radios at the time of the Federation. They had to buy battery sets as few had access to the luxury of electricity. They favoured the simple “sauce-pan” type of radio, a single-band dry battery receiver in a circular or sauce-pan shaped metal container. These cost them about £5 for a receiver and £1.5s for the battery. Nowadays Africans prefer the cheap portable transistor radios and few families are without this highly-prized source of entertainment. Today Africans buy on average about 500 sets a week which are being sold mainly in the Tribal Trust lands. Licenses were sold to Africans in the year 1969, at the lower-income concessionary rate of one dollar a year.

The first building in Rhodesia designed specifically for broadcasting was erected for the African Harare Studios in September 1958. Under the direction of Mr Bernard Gilbert this was built up into a very fine organisation. Largely staffed by Africans, it caters for the African taste, providing first-class news reportage in Shona, Ndebele and English and also every type of educational and entertainment material.

As far back as 1945 Radio Ltd bought a store on the corner of Union Avenue and First Street for £22 500. The extra space allowed us to extend our activities to the selling of pianos, furniture and, later on, photographic equipment. In 1952 we opened a branch in Umtali and appointed Mr D. H. Hume, who is still there, as our Resident-Director.

In 1955 Abe Robinson died, and so Barney Bloom and Batey became Managing Directors and Harry Robinson took Jack Merry’s place as Chairman. The company continued to expand, opening up branches in Northern Rhodesia at Kitwe and Ndola in 1960, when television was introduced there. After the dissolution of Federation we sold our interests up north, retaining only our whole-sale activities at Ndola. In the same year, 1960, we sold our Union Avenue/First Street premises to the African Life Assurance Company, for £475 000, not a bad profit on our original out-lay of £22 500! Four years later, in 1964, we purchased our present and, I expect, permanent home, at the corner of Angwa Street and Baker Avenue, and are very happily settled.

People often ask me what it is that makes a commercial venture a success. I think that the most important thing to remember is that the customer is always right. First of all, study your customer's needs, and then, study his pocket! Early on, we introduced a scheme which has worked very well. The total purchase price was divided into twelve payments, and every payment was treated as cash. Today the Radio Ltd slogan is well-known – N.D.N.I. – No Deposit, and No Interest.

The Second World War and Aviation.

By 1939 the firm of Radio Ltd had got over its teething troubles and was settling down so satisfactorily that I was able to give up my job on the Darwendale Chrome Mines, and return to Salisbury.

Our first city home was in a fairly central position at No. 1 Bates Street, and I paid £3 000 for the quarter of an acre stand. It seemed dear to me, at the time, but I eventually sold it for £4 500, and we bought three acres of ground in Avondale, for £11 500. In 1968 I was able to sell one acre for £2 500. We have established a pleasant garden, green lawns and an orchard, and our three bed-roomed house has every modern comfort and convenience, being well-supplied of course by Radio Ltd Salisbury, the city of flowering trees and rose-gardens, abounds in attractive homes, and is, I should say, one of the world's loveliest dwelling-places.

When war broke out in 1939, although I was over fifty years of age, I decided to "do my bit" and so, on 19 August 1940, I joined the Southern Rhodesian Air-Force Reserve. I shall never forget my introduction to life as a member of this Force. Colonel Robins, of the 1st Battalion, the Royal Rhodesian Regiment, took us on manoeuvres for four days. We journeyed to Ruwa on the first day, to Marandellas on the second, and then headed towards Enkeldoorn. A band of several hundred men, we were all provided with Government transport. I travelled in a truck filled with necessities for the road. The late Geoff Fountain, a splendid fellow, and a personal friend, was our Quarter-Master Sergeant. He asked me if I would take over as cook. Colonel Robins gave me a "protective stripe" and the title of Flight Sergeant. Soon afterwards I was promoted to Flying Officer, and served as full-time messing-officer for the Force, at that time stationed at Belvedere. Sir Robert Tredgold, then Minister for Defence, signed my commission. I little realised at the time that this was to be my life for the next five years! I was paid on Fridays, the princely sum of £6.10s. for the week. At least there were no Income Tax worries attached!

Our barracks were wood and iron buildings, standing in the present Salisbury Showgrounds. I was in charge of all the cooks and butchers. We had a messing committee which met once a week to discuss the menu for the following week. Despite the war, there was no shortage of food nor of liquor, and no rationing. I was even able to help my good friends, the Jesuit priests, at Campion House, by supplying them with a monthly case of whisky, from the Air-Men's Mess.

The men had simple tastes, and it was easy to keep them contented. I believe they would have lived happily forever on a diet of eggs, and bread fried in bacon fat! On Sundays I spoiled them with a good dinner of roast meat and fresh vegetables, followed by ice-cream and fruit salad.

Most of the men came from Great Britain, and new recruits were constantly arriving. We eventually moved from the rather cramped first training depot at Belvedere to better quarters at Cranborne. More space was needed to cope with the over-flow when batches



of two hundred or more recruits began arriving at monthly intervals.

Our Commanding Officer was an Englishman, Wing-Commander Macauley. He gave me blazes because, at the end of the first month's catering, I had £600 in credit! He thought I must be starving the troops! The surplus cash was put back into the Public Fund, and in future I gave the lads more luxury goods, and more fresh fruit. Everything was bought wholesale, through the Government Stores, and I sent out daily orders for the meat, vegetables and fruit. Although it seemed that I was not required to economise, my in-born French frugality prevented me from wastefulness. For example, I never completely filled the enormous pint-sized tea-mugs, because I soon found out that when I did they were never drained!

The lads were well-treated and had a good time. The general public was very kind to them, especially the farming community, which entertained them, right royally, over the week-ends. Many of these young men fell in love with Rhodesia, and returned here, as settlers, after the war. They were provided with every sporting facility; cricket, rugger, soccer, swimming, athletics and boxing tournaments were all encouraged.

During the war Rhodesia was selected as a training-ground for the Empire Training Scheme, and when the Air-Training Group closed down the Rhodesian Air-Force took over. The Queen graciously granted them the title Royal, and the khaki uniforms were replaced by Royal Air-Force Blue.

There has been much progress since those days and our modern Royal Rhodesian Air-Force is a well-balanced Force, equipped with all modern needs, from helicopters to jets

After nearly three years of service I was transferred to Norton, where I spent the best part of another year, and then I was sent to Kumalo, near Bulawayo. I was not at all happy to be separated from my family, my friends and my interests, but I did manage to get a lift up to Salisbury, in a Harvard 'plane, most week-ends.

I had learned to fly a plane, years before, and had my pilot's licence, for I have always been interested in 'planes and enjoy the exhilaration of flight. Rhodesia, with its clear, sunny skies, for most of the year, is an ideal country for flying.

I had my first instruction under Pat Judson, flying a Puss-Moth. Pat was the son of Colonel Dan Judson of Mazoe Patrol fame. During the 1896 Mashona Rebellion, Dan led the first party from Salisbury, to go to the rescue of the besieged at the Alice Mine.

The Development of Salisbury

Salisbury, which achieved the dignity of City in 1935, began its history with the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890. Following the Victorian custom of naming a new town after some important personage, Salisbury was christened in honour of Lord Salisbury, at that time Prime Minister of Great Britain. The armorial bearings were granted to the City Council by the College of Heralds, in 1939, the design having been originally prepared by W. E. Fairbridge, the first Mayor of Salisbury, assisted by Mr C. Watson, and guided by Cecil John Rhodes himself.

Our present Kingsway Town House was built in the 1930's on a site which was once a swamp, frequented by wild duck, which provided our early residents with good sport and a welcome change of diet. The first town house, which was demolished, was Victorian in style, and built in 1902 at a cost of £6 000. Our present building cost

£50 000 and was designed by William D'Arcy Cathcart, who also designed our present Government House at Highlands, which was completed in 1929 at a cost of £11 552.

If we look back at early copies of the *Mashonaland Herald*, we find that in 1891 Salisbury's population numbered between 230–250 people, and 176 voters elected the first Town Management Board. In 1897 the BSA Company created the Municipality of Salisbury, which by then registered a population of 380.

Salisbury is fortunate in its central position, more or less half-way between Umtali of Manicaland and Bulawayo of Matabeleland.

To-day we have a population of 390 000 in Salisbury. The creation of the Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland gave a tremendous boost to the entire territory, but no doubt Salisbury, which served as both Federal and Territorial capital, benefited most. It was at this time that Salisbury won for herself the rather unkind name of “Bamba Zonke” or – “The one who grabs all”!

Let us shake the Kaleidoscope again, and look at the pattern, as seen in 1898. A young woman, Mrs Mary Blackwood, is writing a letter to describe a dance at Government House. She writes, “A friend of mine rode in with a dress of hers tied to the saddle, a distance of twenty miles. Going home in the early morning she noticed a rustle in the tall grass at the side of the road. Luckily the wind was blowing away from her horse or it might have stamped.”

Social occasions were not without hazard in those days! The Government House Mary referred to was the original building in Montagu Avenue, opposite Greenwood Park, and was built by George Pauling, of railway fame.

Apart from the comparative splendour of the first Government House the early homes of Salisbury were primitive constructions of pole and *dagga* (mud), which served only as a protection from the elements. However, by the time I came to Salisbury in 1904, wooden houses were being built, roofed with corrugated iron. These gave way to houses built with brick and, by 1940, well-built double-storeyed homes were gracing the scene.

After the Second World War our soldiers returned and with them a flood of immigrants, so that there was a great up-surge in the building trade. In fact the population swelled so greatly and so fast that *pise-de-terre* and pre-fab houses were also put up in a hurry. New shops, office-buildings and flats, built of steel and concrete, began to mushroom, and soon very few of the old single-storey and bungalow-type buildings remained in the centre of Salisbury. Land-values soared, and the old-timers who had managed to retain their properties were very fortunate. I recall some old friends of ours, the Krahners, who, in the 1930 slump, were compelled to sell their two plots in Avondale to Lockie, the blacksmith, for a scotch-cart, valued at £55. This land is worth a fortune to-day.

Personally, I regret that so many of our early buildings and links with the past have been flattened to make way for flats, offices and factories. I admire the young man at present living in the old Masonic Hotel, Manica Road, who is trying to preserve this old building, in its historic entirety. Unless he can raise the necessary \$50 000 – fifty thousand dollars – it will be pulled down to make way for a furniture factory.

Salisbury's basic lay-out benefited from the fact that the Pioneers needed wide, straight streets for their ox-waggons. Roads leading out of town were for a long time very bad indeed, red dust and pot-holes in the dry season, rivers of mud when the rains came. Since the early 1930's we have been fortunate in having better roads, beginning with concrete strip roads, followed by bitumen strips, and finally by tarmac. The first



strip roads were from Salisbury to the Hunyani Hotel, from Bulawayo to the Matopos and from Gwelo to Selukwe. The strip-road from Salisbury to the Hunyani Hotel was completed in 1923, and built entirely by European labour, men who had been hard-hit by the recession.

Rhodesia owes a great debt to Alfred Beit, friend of Cecil Rhodes, who left the country the sum of £1 200 000 to develop its railways, roads and bridges, and also its educational facilities. Many of our school halls, scholarships and bridges carry his name, but we are inclined to forget that it is his money which improved not only our land communications but also our airways, for it was the Beit Trust which subsidised the first Southern Rhodesian Air Services.

Our first schools were provided by the Church, the Dominican Sisters opening the first European school in Salisbury, in October, 1892. Children were admitted, irrespective of creed, and other schools, sponsored by various churches, opened in other centres. By 1899 a Government Education Department was established, and the State became largely responsible for most children. The widely scattered population led to the building of boarding schools and, in 1930, to the first correspondence school, based on the Australian model and relying a great deal on lessons over the air. To-day Salisbury boasts many schools, and is still building them, catering for African and for Asian as well as for European children. During 1970 Rhodesia built 30 primary schools, two academic secondary and 10 junior secondary schools for African students. There were already 3,272 primary schools, 90 senior secondary schools, and 21 teacher training colleges provided for Africans, altogether costing the Government over £8 000 000 annually. Goromonzi was the first secondary school for Africans, and it was opened as long ago as 1946.

The multi-racial University of Rhodesia is still growing, and at present houses nearly a thousand students, one third of whom are African. 474 acres in extent, the University stands on the upper slopes of Mount Pleasant, Salisbury. The site was donated by Salisbury City Council, and J. F. Kapnek made it a generous gift of £20 000. The first president was Queen Elizabeth, the Queen-Mother, who laid the Foundation-Stone on 13 July 1953. Until Rhodesia became a Republic, the University enjoyed a special relationship with the Universities of London and Birmingham, but from now on it will be granting its own degrees.

Our hospitals have come a long way since the days when our sick Pioneers, many of whom died of fever, were housed in pole and *dagga* huts, tents or a marquee. Glass, in 1890, was unobtainable, so windows were stuffed with canvas and beds were made from rough poles and strips of msasa bark. Our first physician was Dr Rand who had been in Jamaica and so was acquainted with tropical diseases. He had a standard remedy for malaria which came to be known as 'Rand's Kickers', and no wonder, it was composed of a dose of Epsom Salts followed by tablets of quinine. Snakes slithered across the mud floors of the huts, white ants devoured papers and even shoes and swarms of mosquitoes drove the patients to wear their hats in bed. During 1890 there was also a plague of great rats, which became so audacious that patients were given sticks with which to defend themselves. Even so, one unfortunate man had to have his thumb amputated as a result of a rat-bite. Operations, often performed by Dr Jameson, were conducted on top of a rough wooden table.

In 1891 Mother Patrick, still loved and revered by all Rhodesians, brought up a band of Dominican Nursing Sisters, who did much to improve conditions. They brought supplies of blankets, sheets and pillows with them from South Africa, and they saw to it that their patients had the most nourishing food available. To-day Salisbury is planning to build a fifteen million dollar central hospital and medical school. The Harari African Hospital is the largest and best equipped hospital in Central Africa, and here more than 7 000 African babies are born each year. At least a thousand out-patients are seen each day, and there are nine hundred and fifty beds for in-patients. It is the Teaching Hospital for the University Medical Faculty at present, and Dr Madeline Nyamwanza has just graduated, the first African woman to do so.

Many times during the writing of this book I have refreshed my memory at the National Archives, a splendid modern building on the Borrowdale Road. Here is housed the history of our country, available for anyone interested.

Early copies of the *Rhodesia Herald* are here preserved on micro-film. The first *Mashonaland Herald and Zambesi Times* appeared on 27 June 1891. It was produced by W. E. Fairbridge, Salisbury's first mayor. He used an empty German sausage tin for a roller, boiled hides for glue, used paraffin lamp soot mixed with linseed-oil for ink, and a stylo-pen. He did the whole job himself, and when paper ran out he used old account books. The last cyclo-styled paper gave way to a four-page printed paper on 8 September 1892. It was called simply, *News and Advertisements*, and was backed by the Argus Company. The Managing Director, F. J. Dormer coined the name, "Rhodesia" and used it as the title of the first issue of the *Rhodesia Herald*, which appeared on 29 October 1892. It was at first a weekly, published on a Saturday, and still produced by Fairbridge, who worked in a mud hut, mostly at night, with the dim help of a paraffin lamp. As coinage was short in those days his payment was mostly in kind; candles, or tins of jam, which he accepted gratefully.

Since 1964 the *Rhodesia Herald* was operated from imposing head-quarters on Second Street, Salisbury. I am sure that Fairbridge would have been proud of them. They stand on the former site of the old Empire Hotel, which he knew so well.

The first Queen Victoria Memorial Library was opened in 1902, and shared its home with our first Museum. Our new Library and the new Museum now stand separately in the Civic Centre, and are up-to-date in every respect, being deservedly popular with both residents and visitors.

Salisbury was without an Art Gallery until 1956, when the Salisbury City Council presented a suitable site in the Central Park, and Frank McEwan, himself a painter and a critic, became the first Director. As far back as 1943 Sir James MacDonald, friend and biographer of Cecil Rhodes, left money in his will for the establishment of the Gallery, but at that time there was little art in Rhodesia because most of its people were too busy earning a living as miners, farmers or traders to have time for cultural pursuits. In 1952, however, a move was made by the Government, which appointed a Board, and Sir Stephen Courtauld, a leading benefactor, became its Chairman.

The Gallery was officially opened by the Queen Mother on 16 July 1957, and the first Federal Art Exhibition was held a year later. Mr McEwan is anxious to promote African Art and encourages the talents of our indigenous people in a school, attached to the Gallery. To-day Rhodesian African carvings, in wood, sand-stone, soap-stone and granite, are famous all over the world.

For many years the only cinema in Salisbury was the Electroceum, in Manica Road.



It was run by the owners, Frank Rixom and Finn Johnsen – the latter was a friend of mine and a very fine character. Those were the days of silent films, and most of them were Westerns. To the end of his days Finn enjoyed a good Western film, with plenty of feuding and action. I suppose they appealed to his Viking instincts. The Electroceum stood opposite the Posada Bar, and it was all lit-up with brilliant naked bulbs so that Manica Road was often jokingly referred to as the Broadway of Rhodesia. To-day Salisbury boasts several up-to-date cinemas, and also two theatres. Our Repertory Players, of the premier theatre club in Salisbury, founded in 1931, have gone from strength to strength and, to my mind, many of their productions are even better than those to be seen in West-End theatres.

The Rhodesia Institute of Allied Arts has been an active body since the 1930's and has done much to foster and encourage our actors, poets, play-wrights, musicians, dancers and artists.

Despite sanctions, the business world of Salisbury has forged ahead. All kinds of new industries and factories have come into being. Diversification in agriculture has prevented us from staggering under the blow dealt us when Harold Wilson banned our tobacco from Great Britain. The development of the cotton industry has created new employment for thousands. Vast new irrigation schemes in the Lowveld produce burley tobacco, wheat, cotton, citrus, maize and sugar from what was formerly arid and undeveloped land. Mining has boomed, and the building of new roads, bridges, and dams goes on steadily. If there is any danger in our present situation it lies in our shortage of foreign currency, but I hope this is a matter that may be adjusted before too long.

Undoubtedly, there are still many cases of hardship, particularly in the African townships, where there are apt to be too many people crowded together, living on very little because there is probably only one wage-earner in the house. In the last seven years, the African urban population has increased by 200 000 and this is largely due to the influx from the Tribal Trust lands. The young men come in to the towns looking for further education and for more interesting and better paid employment than is to be found in the rural areas. Unfortunately there is as yet not enough work available. The answer would seem to be to establish new towns in the tribal trust areas, but there must, of course, first be some incentive to attract commerce and industry before any town develops.

At present Heinrich's Chibuku Breweries are moving themselves, lock, stock and particularly barrel, to the Seke Tribal Trust Land area, in the Goromonzi district. They are building houses for their African staff and will provide employment and a better standard of living for the whole area.

One of the most interesting developments in the past twenty years has been the emergence of an African Middle-Class, and a moneyed Upper Class, as apart from the traditional rulers, the chiefs and the head-men, in the African townships of Salisbury, Harari and Highfield, one finds all the amenities, such as shops, banks, Government offices, schools, hospitals, clinics, churches, and places of entertainment, including swimming pools, sports stadia and football fields. In an area such as Marimba Park you will find African businessmen living in luxury homes valued from \$30 000 - \$40 000, standing in one to two acre plots.

The advancement of the African is very much to the advantage of the European,

and, indeed, there will be no true progress unless we do co-operate.

Two months ago Radio Ltd floated a new company known as Gala Credit Stores. We have done so well that we are now making arrangements to start branches in Que-Que, and also in Bindura.

We have also started an industry in the Beverley Industrial Area, known as Norbel Potteries, employing a staff of five Europeans and sixty Africans.

We have had our difficulties here, mainly in getting a consistent supply of clay, from the Wankie area. There is nothing suitable locally, so we have to import it. We also had to import a 3½ ton electric oven from Johannesburg. This oven has shifting shelves to accommodate different sized pots, and is bigger than all the previous five ovens we had, put together.

My other business interests include the Chairmanship of Benians and Purdy, gunsmiths and dealers in fishing tackle, and the Mineral Exploration Society, known as Mitton Exploration (Pvt) Ltd, which has not yet proved itself. My life is still a full and a busy one, and I hope to die in harness. Boredom is an unlisted disease which kills many people as they grow older, and so I never intend to retire. I am, indeed, a fortunate being, in as much as I have already had sixty-six years of the best, enjoying to the full my life in this wonderful country of ours.

Lake Shipping Company (Private) Limited: From Incorporation to Liquidation by Christopher Halse



The story of the owner of the vessels Seaflight, Seahorse and Sea Lion when operating on Lake Kariba in the 1970s.

A sequel to 'From Messina, Italy, to Andora, Rhodesia'.

Introduction

Heritage of Zimbabwe publication number 40 contained my article entitled *From Messina, Italy to Andora, Rhodesia* being the story of how, in 1972, the then soon to be well-known hydrofoil *Seaflight* was physically brought from Italy to be launched on Lake Kariba. This current article now deals with the wider history of the owning company and the vessels it owned during its short existence. Three main individual 'players' were involved in the company and, as will be seen, their initial meetings were all rather by chance.

Lake Kariba

Lake Kariba had started forming in 1958 when the dam wall that was being built across the Zambezi River at Kariba Gorge¹, had reached the stage of closing off the flow of the river. Construction had started in 1956 and the dam was officially opened by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother on 16 May 1960. The lake took five years to fill and when full Lake Kariba started to develop into a popular tourist area.

It is approximately 225 kilometres long, reaches a width of 40 kilometres and has a surface area of between 5 000 and 6 000 square kilometres, depending on seasonal flows into the lake. The shore on the then Southern Rhodesian side largely comprised remote national park areas containing large herds of elephant, buffalo and other game animals. The lake soon became stocked with a variety of fish, particularly kapenta, bream and tiger fish. There is spectacular scenery. All this, together with hotels that were being built at Kariba town and on the lake shore or islands, soon made the Lake a popular tourist destination. Tourism was fast developing at the end of the 1960s.

¹ In the mid-1950s the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia & Nyasaland had approved a huge scheme to dam the Zambezi River at Kariba Gorge for the purposes of creating hydro-electric power. It was this dam that was to create what was then the largest man made lake in the world. The boundary between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia was to follow the original water course of the river.

The road network

Roads on both sides of the lake were set back a long way from the lake, and the southern shore road, not being tarred, was not passable other than by 4x4 vehicles. Motoring holidaymakers could not visit both Kariba and the Victoria Falls without having to double back and do several hundred extra kilometres, Kariba to Victoria Falls by main road then being about 1 250 kilometres.

The Portman family

Dudley Portman, a medical general practitioner, had immigrated with his wife Mary to Southern Rhodesia in 1953, and started tobacco farming in the Karoi area.² He had a rondavel in the grounds of the farmhouse and used to treat patients there in between farming activities. Perhaps farming was either not successful or not his *forte* for after some years he gave it up and reverted to being a GP, opening a surgery in Karoi town. In about 1969 he moved to Southerton, Salisbury where he soon had a popular and busy practice. Later it seems that he had a medical practice in Medicom Building in Mabelreign.

Dudley's first wife had died young. They had two sons, the youngest being Bev³, who served an engineering apprenticeship at Rolls-Royce Aero Division, and thereafter obtained a Master of Science, Mechanical Engineering degree from Manchester University. After three more years, as a designer at Rolls-Royce, Bev, and his wife Audrey, commenced running a very successful boating business based on the Bridgewater Canal near Altrincham in England. After eight years of this, the family, in 1967, left England to travel the world.⁴ Dudley had encouraged Bev to immigrate to Rhodesia and in 1969 Bev and his wife Audrey and their children arrived and settled in Salisbury. He was then employed by Government as the Planning Engineer at Central Mechanical Equipment Department's Head Office in Salisbury.⁵

Bev Portman's idea

Bev Portman had soon realised the tourism potential of the lake and by October, 1970 he had drawn up a 'Feasibility Study for the Introduction of a High Speed Passenger Service on Lake Kariba.' This proposed the introduction of a service running the full navigable length of the lake on the basis of down the lake from Kariba to Msuna Mouth at the western end one day, returning the next, to a set timetable, and with operations being based in Kariba. Stops would be made at intermediate points such as Bumi Hills and Binga. The concept would be that of a regular scheduled passenger service aimed

² Edward Dudley Portman (c.1906–August 1974) farmed on Lot 1 of Chelvern Estate (830 acres), which he owned from September 1954 to February 1964. In England he had been interested in boating. Around 1928 he had operated a converted lifeboat on the Norfolk Broads, and later had bought a converted barge to cruise the narrow canals near Leeds and Liverpool. He had served in the Royal Army Medical Corps in the Second World War. When he died he was completing the building of a 20 tonne cabin cruiser in his Ruwa garden, for use on Lake Kariba.

³ James Beverley Portman (30 October, 1936–18 March, 2021). A portrait photograph of him appeared in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication number 40.

⁴ Bev had purchased and renovated a Fairmile (an ex submarine chaser) called *Diahla* (sic) and had decided to sail / travel the world. With his wife and three young children they set sail for the Mediterranean Sea, which they explored. The plan was then to go through the Suez Canal but political events meant it was closed in 1967. He opted to stay in Majorca, Balearic Islands. There for 18 months he made a living repairing engines for other people's boats. In 1969 they moved to the Canary Islands but having got caught in the aftermath of a hurricane where a three hour journey took three days in fierce seas, Audrey put her foot down, saying she was not going another inch in the boat. They then sold the boat, and caught the S. A. *Vaal* to Cape Town. From there it was a car journey to Salisbury.

⁵ Bev was never employed by Zambesi Coachworks, a Lonrho company, as has been mentioned in a recently published book. [Note: The river's name is spelt geographically as *Zambezi* i.e. using a second 'z', whereas in the company name it is with an 's']. The acronym CMED was used for the Government department, which was then often jocularly referred to as the Crashed Mercedes Exchange Department.



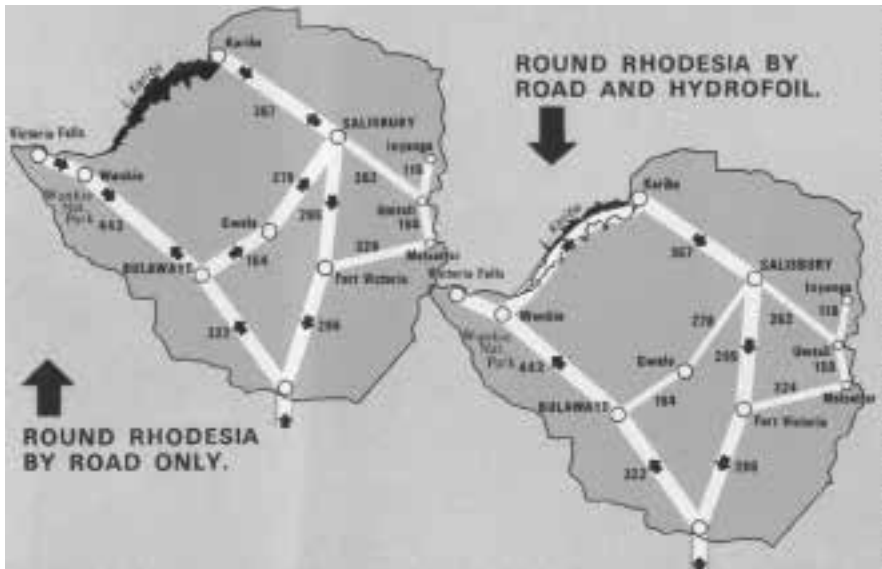
principally at tourists and using a hydrofoil vessel. The Study included a proposed Service Yard in Andora Harbour, Kariba.

A large amount of data on tourist arrivals in Rhodesia was given in the Study, analysed by methods of arrival, length of stay, etc, the information coming from the Government's Central Statistical Office and the Rhodesia National Tourist Board (RNTB). The following table shows holidaymaker arrivals 1966 to 1969 (actuals) and 1970 to 1975 (RNTB projections, per their 1969 Annual Report):

1966	163 222	1971	322 000
1967	193 707	1972	362 000
1968	217 542	1973	407 000
1969	254 441	1974	460 000
1970	286 000	1975	515 000

These figures became central to Bev's scheme. His idea principally envisaged that passengers arriving by air would incorporate a trip on the hydrofoil, possibly as an extension of a Flame Lily Holiday marketed by Air Rhodesia. It was indicated that United Touring Company would be prepared to provide ground transport services at both ends of the Lake so that passengers would be met and then taken from the western end to either Wankie Game Reserve or Victoria Falls, or at the eastern end to lakeside resorts.

It must be remembered when considering these statistics, particularly the potential



Of this pair of maps the one on the left shows, with arrows going both ways on certain sectors, the large amount of extra car travel involved for tourists from South Africa who wanted to enjoy both Kariba and the Victoria Falls, and would have to double back to do so. The map on the right shows the savings in road travel by tourists using the hydrofoil and car ferry service.

Source: *Rhodesia Calls*

growth in arrivals, that in 1970 and 1971 the war that would ultimately destroy the tourist industry later in the 1970s was not dreamt of.

Future development ideas included a car ferry transport service. Bev had approached various parties who might have been interested in the idea and had got support for it. United Touring Company and Rhodesian Breweries were two organisations who were interested. Bev had canvassed tour operators, hoteliers, the Flame Lily Tours division of the national airline and the Tourist Board with his plan and it had met with a lot of enthusiasm.

Clive Halse

Clive⁶ and his wife Georgette (known as ‘Penny’) had settled in Rhodesia in 1955. Clive was a commercial pilot and had been Chief Pilot for Hunting-Clan African Airways, Rhodesian Air Services and Air Trans Africa. Those airlines had opened up both Kariba and Vilanculos (for Paradise Island) to tourists. He had been a champion of flights into Kariba having made several hundred trips there. In 1970 Clive had gone for his usual six-monthly flying medical at the New Sarum air base to be told that his flying days were over due to the advent of diabetes. A few months after this devastating news Penny had gone to their doctor, who was Dudley Portman. In chatting, Dudley asked about Clive and what he was now doing. Penny replied that her husband was looking for work, possibly in the tourism sector as he had carried and met thousands of tourists during his flying days. Dudley suggested that it might be an idea if Clive had a meeting with his son, Bev.

Bev and Clive duly met. Clive liked the idea that Bev had and they were both enthusiastic about the potential for tourism increasing, and were keen to proceed.

Claude Dumée-Duval

Clive had previously owned a BP service station, Lochinvar Service Station, and his manager there was Ron Edwards. The Edwards family subsequently became neighbours of the Halses in Meyrick Park, Salisbury and one day Clive and Penny were invited



to a cocktail party at the Edwards. There they met one of the other guests, Claude Dumée-Duval⁷ (pictured). Claude was Mauritian by birth but had settled in Rhodesia and was a businessman in Salisbury. Clive and Claude got chatting and Clive told him about the idea of operating a hydrofoil on Lake Kariba. Claude was immediately interested and suggested a meeting with Bev Portman. This also duly happened, and Claude was sold on the idea. Both Bev and Clive were prepared to put their savings into the venture but this was far from enough for what was envisaged. Claude

agreed to put money in, and believed he could raise the further capital required for the venture, possibly from Italian investors.

⁶ Clive Halse (1917–1993). Educated at Kingswood College, Grahamstown, South Africa and, for flying training, at Air Service Training (the ‘University of the Air’), Hamble, England. A portrait photograph of Clive appeared in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication number 40.

⁷ His full name was Marie Joseph Claude de Chasteigner Dumée-Duval, and he was married to Audrey Dawn Dumée-Duval. He was known as Claude Duval. The writer believes that Claude was the owner of Industrial Rubber, a company supplying items like automotive belts, but has been unable to confirm this. With a partner he developed Rokari Game Lodge on the shore of Lake Kariba.



The political picture

Before going further with the story, the political scene in Rhodesia must be recalled. Rhodesia had become a pariah state after its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 and no country recognised it. In 1968 the United Nations imposed total mandatory economic sanctions on the country, and this led to 'sanctions busting' by Rhodesians. Only Portugal (and thus its colony, Mozambique) and South Africa, maintained friendly relations with the country. Against this background Bev Portman was envisaging a hydrofoil to be used on Kariba and such boats could only be obtained from Europe.

On the face of things Rhodesia in the years 1970–1972 was peaceful. Businessmen were circumventing sanctions and tourists were aplenty. The peaceful scene was only first disturbed by the attacks on two farms, in December, 1972⁸.

Putting the idea into practice

Lake Shipping Company (Private) Limited was formed in June, 1971⁹ under the Chairmanship of Claude Duval. The next month Bev Portman went to Italy to examine the various types of hydrofoils available. A major manufacturer of hydrofoils was a company in Messina, Sicily, Seaflight S.p.A.¹⁰, and it was decided to order one of their model H57 boats. This alone was to cost in the region of R\$230 000¹¹, the equivalent of approximately US\$350 000 at the official exchange rate at the end of December 1971, the Rhodesian dollar at that time being a stronger currency than the United States dollar.

Duval in the meantime was able to interest an Italian businessman, Dr Federici¹², in the scheme, and who agreed to put money in, both as share and loan capital, this being done later in the year through a Swiss company *Schweizerische und Ausländische Beteiligungs A.G.*¹³

The principal shareholders in the company became the Swiss company (39 000 shares), Claude Duval (37 500 shares), Clive Halse (19 000 shares) and Bev Portman (18 000 shares) making a total of 113 500 shares. Four other shareholders¹⁴ made the eventual total share capital R\$145 750.

The Board of Directors comprised the afore-mentioned C. Duval as Chairman, Clive Halse and J. B. Portman as Executive Directors, together with Bruno Lattanzi representing the Italian interests and, until the end of 1972, Christopher Halse¹⁵. Dr E. D. Portman had been an initial director but resigned soon after the company's formation

⁸ This can be taken to be 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. Author's note: The words 'terrorist' has in places been used as being a word in use at the time of the events, but such a person is now more correctly termed a 'guerilla', which word has also been used in places.

⁹ Lake Shipping Company (Private) Limited was registered in Rhodesia on 21 June 1971 with an authorised share capital of R\$50 000, being 50 000 ordinary shares of R\$1 each. In October, 1971 a further 70 000 shares were authorised making the authorised capital R\$120 000. In December, 1972 it was further increased to R\$150 000. The company's stated main purpose was to own and operate boats on Lake Kariba for the carriage of passengers and vehicles.

¹⁰ S.p.A. stands for 'company with shares', in Italian.

¹¹ R\$ has been used throughout this article being the currency symbol for the Rhodesian dollar, which was the country's currency for the years 1970 to 1980.

¹² Two Italians, Dr Federici and Mr Lattanzi are names that have occurred during research for this article. Dr Federici, a businessman and entrepreneur, was the principal, but the author has not been able to establish the role of Mr Lattanzi.

¹³ A translation from the German would be Swiss and Foreign Participation Joint Stock Company.

¹⁴ These included an Italian resident, Giuseppe Fiadini; and the author of this article.

¹⁵ Christopher Halse resigned in pursuance of his professional career as he was soon to be admitted as a partner in a chartered accountants' practice.



SEAFLIGHT S.P.A.

CANTIERE NAVALE
Viale S. Maria, 4 - 98021 Messina - Tel. 090/210000
Fax 090/210001 - Telex 320000 - Telegrafico 320000
98100 MESSINA

REPORT ON TESTS AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE "SEAFLIGHT" HYDROFOIL CONSTRUCTION N° 18 OF SEAFLIGHT SHIPYARD.

For LAKE SHIPPING COMPANY (P.t.v.) LTD:

Mr. CLIVE HALSE director

For SEAFLIGHT S.p.A. :

Mr. Emanuele MIDOLO

For Registro Italiano Navale:

Ing. Giuseppe BIRIACO and

Ispr. Francesco Paolo MONCADA.

The Hydrofoil completed in all its parts was at full load (54 passengers + 4 crew members).

The following trials have been carried out:

- 1) Board equipment functioning
- 2) Speed
- 3) Manoeuvrability
- 4) Take-off and stops

The speed trials have been carried out along the CHIESA DI GROTTA - BOA DI PARADISO base, along the sicilian coast, for a length of m. 2130, run in both directions at 1350 r.p.m.

1st run N - S (time 1' 50" 5/10) V = 65,82 Km/h

2nd run S - N (time 2' 04 ") V = 61,84 Km/h

Average speed V = 63,83 Km/h.

The functioning of the engines and of the auxiliary equipment of the Hydrofoil has been satisfactory for the RINA representatives and LAKE SHIPPING representative for the duration of the trials.

In cognizance of above the Hydrofoil "SEAFLIGHT" has been accepted without reserve by LAKE SHIPPING Company.

Messina, 23 NOV. 1971


For LAKE SHIPPING CO.


For SEAFLIGHT S.p.A.

Report issued by the manufacturers on the sea trials of *Seaflight*, and its acceptance by Lake Shipping Company.



as he was not to be involved in it, and Jack Malloch¹⁶ joined the Board in 1973. Allan & Harsant were appointed the company's auditors.

Acquisition of boats

Claude Duval and Clive Halse then went to Italy, the latter being away from 23 October to 14 December 1971. Claude went to arrange the finance for the boat and the consequential Italian investment in the company, whilst Clive went to finalise with the boat's manufacturers the specifications for the hydrofoil (for example, unusually, the vessel would have a cocktail bar put in at the expense of a few seats, for the long voyages it would be doing), and to learn about all aspects of the boat. At the boat-builders yard in Sicily he then worked with their staff to learn all he could about the hydrofoil, in particular how to assemble its various components (this was needed as the boat would come to Rhodesia with parts disassembled) and to operate it. He studied and was taught all operational aspects; and then attended a course on the boat's diesel engines¹⁷ at the AIFO¹⁸ factory in Milan. Clive had no Italian but this appears not to have been a major problem either in Messina or Milan.

Sea trials of the boat being purchased took place in the Mediterranean Sea on 23 November 1971, under the auspices of the Italian marine authority, and were successful. Relationships with the manufacturers were, throughout Clive's visit, cordial and they agreed that their first boat destined for Africa could be named *Seafight*, being the company's name.

Meanwhile Claude had left Italy after a short while, with the financial and legal details not fully complete. Italian bureaucracy had come in to play and Clive was left to also run with meetings with lawyers and the financiers on behalf of his Board. Luckily he had packed a suit! There were many meetings, some of which were also attended by management of *Seafight S.p.A.* who were becoming increasingly tense as monies for the boat had not been transferred to them. Clive wrote to Claude Duval at great length from Rome on 1 December, 1971 explaining what was happening or perhaps really what was not happening. That letter clearly showed his frustration at events and how his patience was being tested. One paragraph reads 'We all (Fiadini, Andrea Marzotto – Sales Manager of *Seafight S.p.A.* – and myself) went to a meeting with the (Federici's) lawyer. They talked solidly for 1 hr. 15 mins. in Italian. I finally asked Marzotto 'what gives'? In one minute he told me 'The lawyer had hardly any idea what it (the contract) was about'. Another paragraph starts 'However, I can only be patient and tactful for all our sakes...' About the shipbuilders *Seafight S.p.A.*, he reported positively: 'They couldn't have been more helpful and cooperative, and haven't quibbled over anything.'

It must be remembered that Rhodesian Exchange Control and United Nations sanctions were both in place. The latter meant that Clive's regular communications with his Board back home were in code. Being in the days before email and mobile phones, telex and telegrams were the methods of communication used. A lot of these were routed via Jack Malloch's Air Trans Africa, which company was a noted sanctions breaker. Clearly the existence of UN sanctions made the Italians nervous and, of concern to them

¹⁶ Jack Malloch was a well known aviator. His biography by Alan Brough, *Jack Malloch, Legend of the African Skies* was published in 2020.

¹⁷ The boat would have two 650 horse-power engines giving it a top speed on its foils of 72 kilometres per hour.

¹⁸ AIFO [Applicazioni Industriali Fiat OM S.p.A.], part of the FIAT group, were based in Milan. They were the manufacturer of the Carraro engines used by the hydrofoil.

was how would they get a return of their funds to Italy were Lake Shipping Company to fail. Interestingly it took a year for two notarial bonds aggregating R\$146 300, to be registered in favour of ‘two European banks... as security for financing of vessels operated by Lake Shipping Company’¹⁹.

Eventually all was resolved and the hydrofoil, *Seafight*, left Sicily, probably about mid-January, as deck cargo on a freighter. It arrived in Beira, Mozambique on 10 April, 1972. Then the difficult land journey to Kariba took place. This is another story which has already been written²⁰. Suffice to say that the Rhodesian press had declared the import as ‘a spectacular anti-sanctions success’.

Fairly soon after the company’s formation the Board discussed the need for a car ferry to supplement the operations of the hydrofoil that they were about to purchase. They realised that there was a growing need for a ferry, as more and more future passengers showing interest in the hydrofoil journey, were motorists. They decided to go ahead and order a ferry and Bev Portman, the engineer, was tasked with doing the design work. This vessel was to be named *Seahorse* and it was to be built locally, by Zambesi Coachworks Limited, a Lonrho group company. The ferry’s specifications are set out later in this article. The normal maximum load would be 9 cars but could be 2 tourist buses with 2 cars. The cost would be about R\$30 000 and this was to be financed by a lease-hire agreement with UDC Rhodesia Limited.



M.V. *Seahorse* [KF 2] with full load

Two boats were thus on their way, eventually to the launching site that had been obtained in Andora Harbour, Kariba. The story of getting the hydrofoil to Kariba has already been referred to. The ferry was transported by road from Salisbury by Thorntons’ Transportation, a three day journey of which the most difficult part was the descent down the hairpin bends from Makuti to the

‘Valley’ floor. Both boats duly arrived at the company’s site in the last week of April, 1972.

During the waiting period of the first four months of the year work continued at the company’s harbour site. Ground levelling was done and embankments made. A major task was the building of a slipway. For this soundings were taken of the lake floor, rails were put down and pushed into the lake by bulldozer and a cradle to run on them was designed by Bev and built by him, Clive and a gang of labourers. The cradle would be used to launch the boats into the water and then take the boats in and out of the water for maintenance²¹. Fuel storage tanks were erected and Mobil became the fuel supplier to the company.

At the very beginning of the harbour development Clive and Bev used a caravan as a base. Soon afterwards the company took lease of a house in Muchirara Crescent on Kariba Heights, and that was to become the base for them and their wives during the company’s life. A small office cum storage facility was erected at the harbour site and in Salisbury a sales office was opened, this being in the arcade where the well known

¹⁹ As reported in the December, 1972 edition of *Property & Finance*. The bonds had been signed by a Salisbury attorney on behalf of Lake Shipping Company six months earlier.

²⁰ See *From Messina, Italy to Andora, Rhodesia* by the writer, which was published in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication number 40.

²¹ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication number 40 contains photographs showing the slipway and the cradle.



Tom Manson's Garden Shop was. Publicity started and arrangements were made to take bookings in Johannesburg as well as in Salisbury and Kariba.



The access road to the virgin bush site in September, 1971.



Taken early in 1972, showing the slipway under construction, the prefabricated office cum stores building and the staff caravan.

Early in May all was ready for the commencement of operations, both the *Seafight* and *Seahorse* having had their lake trials. The day after *Seafight's* first test run on 7 May members of the cast of the 'Four Jacks and a Jill Supershow '72',²² who had performed at The Cutty Sark Hotel in Kariba that weekend, had a complementary trip and were thus the hydrofoil's first passengers. On 11 May 1972 members of the media and some local Kariba residents were taken down the Sanyati Gorge. The hydrofoil did its first commercial trip the next day.

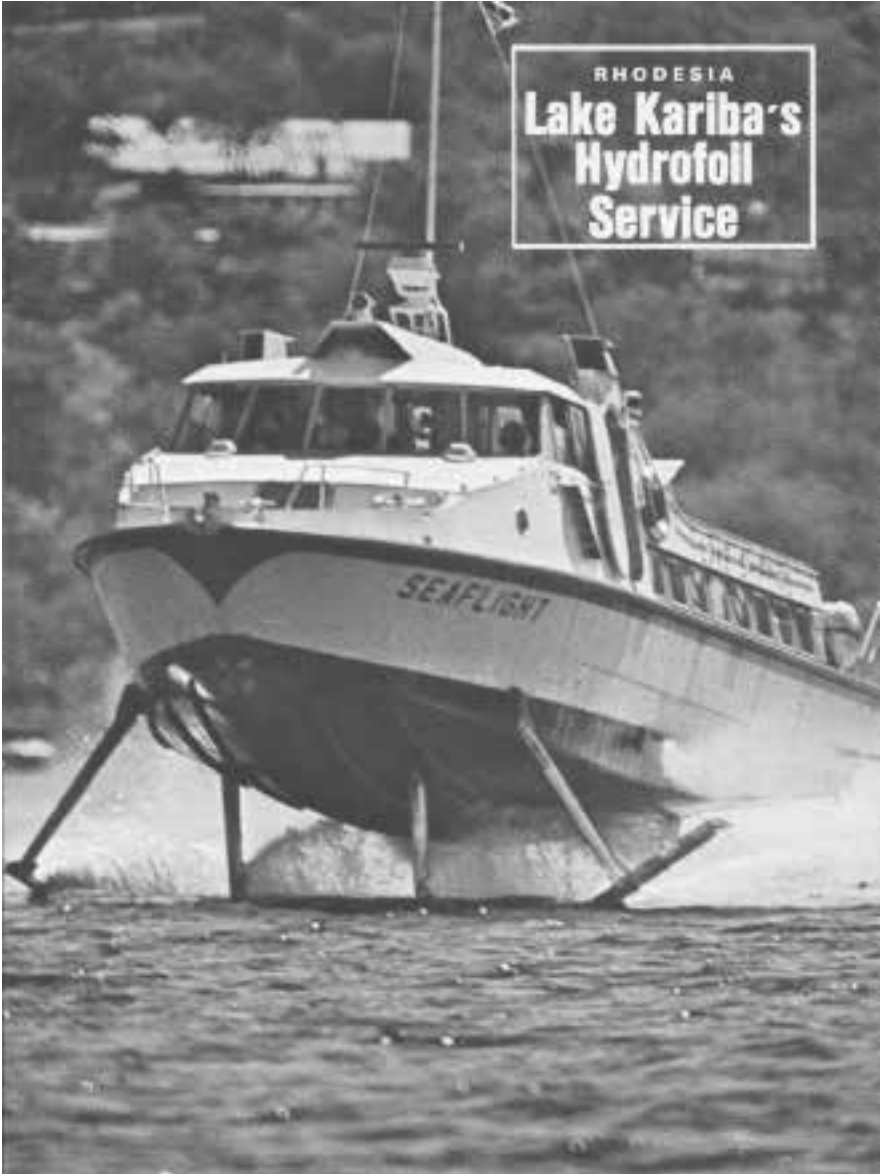
²² The show comprised the well-known South African musical group, *The Four Jacks and a Jill*, two New Zealand groups, *Double Vision* and *The Greenstones* and Dennis McLean, a comedian.

Government support

At this point it is worth considering the support given to the venture. Without doubt the new lake service was seen by Government as an important event, particularly remembering that sanctions were in place and that there was a great need to earn the tourist Rand or US dollar.

Support came in tangible ways as well as intangible. The following are examples:

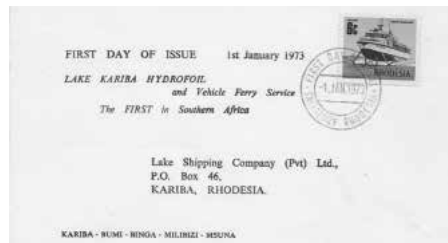
- The Sales Tax regulations were amended so that vessels above a certain weight or longer than a certain length were now exempt sales tax. The figures used in the regulations made all the company's vessels exempt the tax.
- A Kariba site (Stand 131) was made available in a new harbour area.





- Legislation had been introduced in 1970 dealing with safety equipment, licensing, registration of boats, mariners' certificates, etc. The registration letters KF1, KF2 and KF3 were not initially used as they were reserved for Lake Shipping Company. Upon acquisition of the boats they were applied to *Seafight*, *Seahorse* and eventually *Sea Lion*, respectively.
- One month's photograph in the popular Tourist Board desk calendar for 1973 featured *Seafight*.
- The Government's fortnightly propaganda publication *Rhodesian Commentary*²³ covered the company's activities.
- A Government Minister undertook the dry launching of the *Sea Lion*.
- When five additional value definitive postage stamps were issued on 1 January, 1973 for the new postal rates, one featured *Seafight* under the theme Water Transport. This appears to be the only time a privately owned asset has featured on a Rhodesian (or Zimbabwean) stamp²⁴.
- The Rhodesia National Tourist Board (RNTB) magazine *Rhodesia Calls* gave prominence to the company, in particular it had a full colour supplement entitled 'Lake Kariba's Hydrofoil Service' in its July/August, 1972 issue. It soon reprinted this and distributed it as part of the country's drive to attract tourists.

An iconic picture of M.V. *Seafight* (KF 1) left, used by the RNTB and Lake Shipping for promotional purposes, and which formed the basis of a new stamp issue. The company's burgee (see picture on this article's title page) is just visible at the top of the iconic picture opposite.



Commencement of services

May 21 marked the first commercial full lake length scheduled service of the company, this being from Kariba to Msuna in the narrows of the Zambezi, a distance of 255km. The initial timetable was for a twice weekly day service with stops at Bumi Hills, Sinamwenda, Binga and Mlibizi, the full trip taking 7,5 hours. The car ferry operating in conjunction with *Seafight* took 27,5 hours and travelled throughout the night.²⁵ Passengers travelling without cars were transported from Victoria Falls or Wankie and from Kariba hotels, to the relevant boarding places, by United Touring Company.

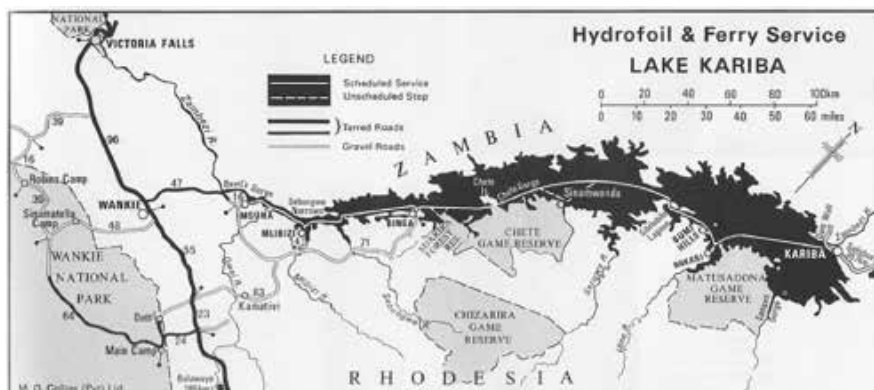
The hydrofoil service was apparently the longest in the world, and *Seafight* was hailed as being the first hydrofoil operating in Africa.²⁶ Newspaper and magazine articles soon featured the company's activities. Southern Africa News Agency produced an

²³ Published by the Ministry of Information, Immigration and Tourism in 5 languages (Afrikaans, French, German, Italian and Portuguese) in addition to English, and distributed locally and abroad.

²⁴ No official first day cover was issued by the postal authority and only Bulawayo and Salisbury main post offices were open for a short time as, strangely, the new stamps were issued on New Year's Day, a public holiday. Lake Shipping took the initiative of printing their own covers and Penny Halse was at the Salisbury post office well before it opened to collect 500 franked covers bearing the *Seafight* stamp. A short article, written by Christopher Halse, appeared in the journal of the Rhodesian Study Circle (RSC), a philatelic society, in June 2019. [Vol. 69 No. 3, pgs 181/2]. The article was written at the request of the RSC, to give the background to the 1973 6c 'Water Transport' stamp.

²⁵ For the trip Kariba/Msuna a single fare was R\$20, and a car was R\$23 or R\$28 depending on its size.

²⁶ There are reports of a Russian made hydrofoil operating on the Nile, but the author has been unable to determine whether this was before *Seafight* took to Lake Kariba.



Map illustrating the service Kariba to Msuna via Rokari, Bumi Hills, Sinamwenda, Binga and Mlibizi

18 minute documentary film entitled *Wings on Kariba*²⁷ to be shown to travel agents and tour operators overseas.

The hydrofoil concept gave passengers a smooth ride once the vessel was riding on its foils after leaving harbour. There were thus no waves felt as one is perhaps used to in other boats on Lake Kariba. The boat travelled at 65 km/hr and had full safety equipment (including water tight bulkheads) and navigational aids. It accommodated 54 passengers and there was a bar service, and tray lunches²⁸ were provided. Clive was the initial 'skipper' of *Seaflyght* and soon the company was appointing additional crew members. Alec Gibson and George Cock were appointed captains.

A gimmick introduced from 23 August was to have 'maritime mail' whereby philatelists could get a Rhodesian franked (in Kariba) envelope which would bear the standard postage 3½ cents stamp, and the hydrofoil's cachet of the day before, signed by the captain, to signify the envelope was 'posted' on board.²⁹

Bookings were good and there was a lot of interest in the company's activities. The car ferry was often full and plans for a second, larger one were being made.

The first problem was encountered in August, 1972.

Kariba weed

In July Kariba weed (*Salvinia molesta*) had started to appear in large quantities, particularly floating in the Devil's Gorge where by the end of the month its concentration covered a length of 8km. Both *Seaflyght* and *Seahorse* were being severely hampered in getting to Msuna and were taking far longer than normal. The company was then forced to terminate services at Mlibizi from 15 August. For future passengers the change would add nearly 60 km of gravel road to their road trip but they did not seem to be too worried. However it was a blow to Lake Shipping as revenue dropped due to lower fares as the travel distance was reduced. The tourist facility of 'Msuna by-the-lake' was also to suffer as it was a very popular fishing camp with South African fishermen.

At the time, National Parks and Wildlife Management stated that although experimental preventive work to control the weed had been undertaken after the

²⁷ The film was shot by Geoff Laws of Eagle Films and produced and directed by Reg Shay and Frances Louw of SANA.

²⁸ Prepared by Cutty Sark Hotel in Kariba and, presumably, Mlibizi hotel for the opposite journey.

²⁹ *SA Philatelist* magazine, October and December, 1972 issues.



formation of Lake Kariba, it had been stopped as the weed threat was deemed not to be serious to the lake as a whole. The weed had been declared a 'noxious weed' in terms of law. The University of Rhodesia's Sinamwenda Research Station was, however, experimenting with the introduction of *Paulinia Acuminata* grasshoppers to eat the weed but at the time a spokesman said that it was too early to see if this would be an effective control. Lake Shipping was not to return to Msuna.

Notwithstanding that future passengers would have to do the extra distance on gravel roads with the terminal point changing from Msuna to Mlibizi, bookings continued to come in at a good rate as tourists wanted to experience the novelty of the hydrofoil/car ferry journey and see the attractions at both ends of the lake.

Another problem

Towards the end of the next month, September, the *Seahorse* broke down in the middle of the lake and had to be towed back to Kariba by the hydrofoil. During one particularly bad storm on the lake *Seahorse* lost its bow ramp which was ripped off by 15ft waves, and that had to be replaced. These incidents obviously disrupted schedules. Operating costs were escalating and it was found necessary to increase fares by about 20% in November of 1972.

Operations continued without too many disruptions for the next few months, but it was evident that the company was under capitalised and beginning to struggle. The Board was strengthened when Jack Malloch of Air Trans Africa joined it.

... and another vessel

The company had realised that the car ferry did not have the required capacity to meet demand, and also that it could not depend on just one ferry. It thus placed an order for a larger ferry, to be called *Sea Lion*, from Zambesi Coachworks, which was again designed by Bev Portman. The specifications, compared to those of the smaller *Seahorse*, were:

	<i>Sea Lion</i>	<i>Seahorse</i>
Length	31,0 metres	18,6 metres
Width	6,5metres	6,0 metres
Weight	45 tonne	29 tonne
Load	50,0 tonne	22,8 tonne
Load-number of cars	15	9
Engines (marine)	2 General Motors 146 HP	1 General Motors 146 HP
Speed-estimated	21 km/hour	16 km/hour
Nautical speed-estimated	11½ knots	8½ knots

In all respects the new vessel would be significantly larger than *Seahorse*. It would cost R\$85 000 and be financed by a hire purchase arrangement with Zambesi Coachworks. Unfortunately it could not be built 'overnight' and was expected to take 8 months to build, and would thus only come into service in August 1973. It was to be the biggest item of equipment to have ever been made in Rhodesia.

6

'Terrorism' and the tourist industry

On 21 December, 1972 Zimbabwe National Liberation Army guerrillas attacked Altena Farm in the Centenary district, and two days later made an attack on the nearby Whistlefield Farm. These attacks signified the start of the Bush War and were widely reported in South Africa, the lucrative tourist market for Lake Shipping. Although a long way from Lake Kariba they, and future reported incursions, began to make South Africans feel unsafe in Rhodesia. In March, 1973 the Chairman of the Kariba Publicity Association, Mr Gordon Bunney, reported on a visit he had made to South Africa and said 'Everywhere we went there was a fear of terrorists. One person thought that the hydrofoil had been stopped because it had been shot at'. This was not true.

Because of the importance of tourists to the country, tourism was featured largely in the Rhodesian pavilion at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg in March/April, 1973. The exhibits included a feature by the Kariba Publicity Association and largely showed the activities of Lake Shipping.



Display at the Rand Easter Show, 1973.

The Rhodesian pavilion won the Gold Medal for International Pavilions and the Gold Medal for Best Design went to its designer, Mr John Barton.

Large models of the company's boats were displayed, and Clive and Penny Halse were in attendance during the Show to promote the company. The Minister of Information, Immigration and Tourism, Mr P. K. van der Byl visited the stand and gave a private cocktail party.

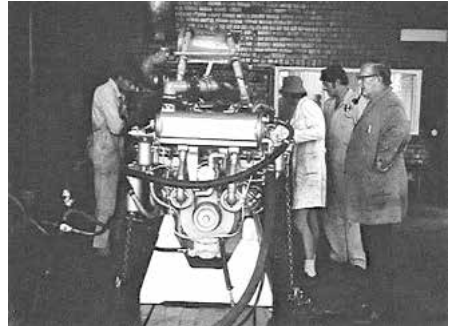
Development magazine reported that within the first two days of the Show there had been demand for Air Rhodesia's Flame Lily Tours, a rush for accommodation at major tourist localities and that Lake Shipping Company had taken firm bookings for every month up to Christmas. Things were looking up.

A month later tourism was struck a huge blow when in May, 1973 two Canadian tourists were shot at and killed by rifle fire from the north bank of the Zambezi whilst exploring the gorges at Victoria Falls. Tourism was to collapse with annual arrivals reducing significantly thereafter. Lake Shipping started to get cancellations of bookings.



First mechanical problem with *Seaflight*

In June 1973 a bearing failed in one of the hydrofoil's two engines and the vessel was out of service for over three weeks. This cost the company lost revenue from bookings that could not be fulfilled, as well as direct costs in doing the repairs including Clive flying to Milan to get the urgently needed spares. The company's financial position was becoming an increasingly worrying one for its Board and they started to look around for new investors or finance.



The enormity of the problem.
One of *Seaflight*'s engines just after overhaul. Looking on, at the right, is Clive Halse (with pipe).

A short period of euphoria

31 July, 1973 was the day of the 'Dry Launching' of the second car ferry, *Sea Lion*, registered with the number KF3. The Dry Launching was a formal ceremony and took place at the builder's Salisbury yard. Present were a corps of Sea Cadets, the directors and spouses of Zambesi Coachworks and of Lake Shipping Company, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Public Services (Mr Jack Howman) and of Mines (Mr Ian Dillon), the Army Chief of Staff, the Mayor and Mayoress of Salisbury, the Portuguese Deputy Consul-General and other invited guests.

Mrs Howman (wife of the Minister) released the traditional bottle of champagne and christened the vessel '*Sea Lion*' during the ceremony, and then everybody was taken on board for a tour of the vessel, welcomed by Captain Christie.



Dry launching: MV *Sea Lion* before the ceremony, and Minister Howman addressing the guests.

The new boat was soon off by road to Kariba, arriving there, after a 4 day trip, on 10 August. Transportation (again by Thorntons' Transportation) was another huge exercise, particularly because the 6.5 metre width of the boat covered the whole width of the main road from Salisbury to Kariba. In addition, negotiating the sharp hairpin bends along the 3 km stretch of the road going down the Zambezi escarpment from Makuti to

the 'Valley' floor was difficult and time consuming. For the journey an independently steered dolly was brought up from Thorntons' South Africa. This was essential for the sharp bends of the escarpment road as it could be independently steered around them which would have been impossible with an ordinary fixed steering dolly. All roadside bollards were removed and at times on the escarpment the ferry was often overhanging its precipitous slopes.

Planning for the move started in February 1973. It was no ordinary task and would be the largest and most awkward load ever undertaken by Thorntons'. Initially the whole route was surveyed by Thorntons' and Zambesi Coachworks' staff. During the move of the vessel the flow of traffic could not be disrupted for too long at any one time or place. Co-operation took place with the City of Salisbury Engineers, Electricity and Traffic Departments, the Police, the Central African Power Board, Ministry of Roads and Road Traffic, Electricity Supply Commission, Post and Telecommunications Corporation, Karoi and Sinoia Rural Councils, and Rhodesia Railways. Not only were there physical obstacles there were legal issues to contemplate, in particular the transporter's wheel loading had to be carefully assessed for road conditions and regulations – not just the weight of the load but the all-in weight of the transporter and its load on the 42 wheels which supported the ferry. With regard to height, the boat's bridge had to be taken off for the journey to Kariba.

On the day the principal members of the Thorntons' team entrusted with the huge task were Frank Lobb, their Field Supervisor, driver Caleb Nyemba and his lorry mate, Mashawa. Foni Matambudziko was the escort and reserve driver.³⁰

Clive and Bev accompanied their precious boat on the most arduous parts of the journey: leaving Harare, going down the escarpment, and into Kariba to its final destination in Andora Harbour where they supervised its transfer from the transporter to the dolly on the harbour slipway. Going into Andora Harbour there was exciting drama when, on the gravel road, driver Caleb found he could not negotiate the first of two steep hills. Two more transporters were linked up (making 79 wheels and nearly 1 000 horsepower and the climb again attempted. It again failed, and then Frank Lobb ordered a final assault from the start of the ascent and the trio of vehicles simultaneously charged, at a signal, up the hill and as the first vehicle got to the top it gave traction to the second, and finally *Sea Lion* made it. *The Rhodesia Herald* 'Comment' of 10 August stated that the moving of *Sea Lion* brought great credit to her transporter's crew and concluded on driver Caleb Nyemba 'He deserved every one of the plaudits he got at journey's end'.

There was further drama when transferring the ferry from its road transporter to the slipway cradle when the main axle of the transporter broke with the boat over the slipway rails. This overcome, the new ferry was soon in the water and had its trials on 9 August, 1973. In traditional manner the ship (and all who sailed in her) was blessed by a priest before her first commercial voyage on 16 August. *Sea Lion* would be 6 hours quicker than *Seahorse* for the Kariba/Mlibizi run.

These two events, the dry launching and then the journey to Kariba gave Lake Shipping a period of euphoria. There was huge publicity, nearly all of it free, and large crowds to watch the journey. Even a few motorists who were held up begrudgingly took note of the event.

³⁰ Frank had a Diploma in Engineering and Management from England. He and Foni had been responsible for the transport of both *Seafight* and *Seahorse* to Kariba. Photographs of Frank Lobb and Foni Matambudziko appear in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* number 40. Caleb was the driver always chosen by Thorntons' for their most difficult loads and was known as a capable heavy haulage operator throughout Southern Africa having brought loads from as far afield as Cape Town.



Sea Lion on its way down the escarpment. [Note: The top part of the boat's bridge had been removed in order to get under overhead objects en route].

The lull before the storm

The next three to four months saw operations continuing with not too much trouble, but various problems started to beset the tourist industry in the latter part of 1973, and tourism numbers began to slump due to the start of guerilla activities, and a fuel crisis. South Africans, in particular, became scared of visiting their northern neighbour. The editor of the South African magazine of the Automobile Association of South Africa, *The Motorist*, toured the country in August, with his wife, as guests of the RNTB. He left Rhodesia determined to put into perspective views that South African motorists had of motoring conditions in this country. He said that many South Africans thought that roads in Rhodesia were still 'strips' and that petrol filling stations were isolated. Hydrofoil bookings were beginning to fall because of the general malaise.

Lake Shipping on its part had Clive and his wife, Penny, go on a sales promotion trip to South Africa in September 1973. They went by car with a trailer carrying a lot of promotional material and the large models of both *Seaflight* and *Sea Lion*, and visited numerous travel agents in many towns from the border to Cape Town and then back along the coast to Durban. Apart from discussions with travel agents they also showed a film of the hydrofoil in several of the hotels they stayed in. The month before, the company had been well represented at the Salisbury Agricultural Show.

Further mechanical problems with *Seaflight*

In October a main bearing failed in the starboard engine of *Seaflight*, this being at an unexpectedly early stage of the engine's normal life.³¹ This put the vessel out of service for a few weeks. The financial implications were severe: lost revenue, chartering a DC3 aircraft to carry booked passengers, repair costs, hotel bills for stranded passengers, etc. Repairs done, the boat returned to service.

On 19 December the hydrofoil was returning to Kariba from Mlibizi when the oil temperature gauge gave overheating warning signals and the captain decided to shut the engine down, and to proceed on one engine as a precautionary measure. This meant that the boat was no longer on its foils, these being submerged. Heading for the Sobilobilo Lagoon to take shelter from a large storm that was brewing in the late afternoon the

³¹ The bearings failed after 1 280 hours whereas the normal life expectancy per bearing should have been 8 000 to 9 000 hours.



The crippled and dirty Seaflight, out of the water, with its foils removed.

The arrow indicates where there was damage to the hull.

were then flown in a chartered DC3 aircraft to their next destinations i.e. Kariba, Bumi, Binga and Mlibizi. Although the water level in Lake Kariba had been dropping due to poor rains the navigation charts showed the water depth where the craft hit the rock to be 33,5 metres. The Government Shipping Adviser, Commander Stan Trethowan, later said that lake maps were 'hopelessly out' in places because they were drawn up by surveyors before the lake was formed.

The hydrofoil was put under guard and some three weeks later was brought back to Kariba, aided by the two car ferries.

Financial crisis

The company now faced its biggest financial crisis. It estimated that it needed funding of a further R\$75 000 to bring the company back on to an even keel. Operations ceased and staff were dismissed. The Directors were taken off the payroll.

The tourist industry in the country and particularly at Kariba, had suffered various set backs in 1973 and the plight of Lake Shipping was the latest. Strong recommendations were being made to Government from an extremely worried Kariba for financial assistance. Lake Shipping itself made a plea to Government but no funds were forthcoming to this private sector company. The public appeared divided about whether Government should give financial support and letters to the Editor of *The Rhodesia Herald* on the subject started. Examples of their headings on either side were 'No Sympathy for Lake Shipping Co.' and 'Mistake not to Aid Lake Shipping'.

In response to one particular letter to the newspaper the Chairman, Claude Duval, on 10 January, 1974 wrote a long letter to *The Rhodesia Herald* setting out the problems the company had faced since it started its services and why he thought there were grounds for Government assistance. Elsewhere he appealed for 100 investors to come forth with R\$1 000 each.

The company was clearly in dire financial straits. The Chairman and a colleague, Mr Desmond Tomes³² were prepared to put R\$40 000 into the company provided creditors agreed to a 12 month moratorium. Most agreed, but two major creditors would not, and thus the required 75% by value which was needed for the legal process of a moratorium could not be reached.

Liquidation

The result of the failure to agree a moratorium was that on 14 February, 1974 the

³² A minority shareholder. The author noticed that Mr Tomes was a surety, along with the company's directors, to a bill of exchange in favour of Aromex (Private) Limited due on 21 February, 1974. The sureties all met their obligations. Aromex had been providing finance to the company for some time.



Chairman petitioned the High Court for the company to be placed under liquidation. The petition cited that the company owed creditors in excess of R\$330 000 which included Zambesi Coachworks Limited and Mobil Oil Rhodesia (Private) Limited who were owed R\$77 430 and R\$24 411 respectively. Reasons given in the petition for Lake Shipping experiencing difficulty in operating its hydrofoil and car ferry services were:

- a) The choking of the Devil's Gorge section of the Lake with Kariba weed two months after starting operations, thus reducing revenue by 16%.
- b) A reduction in tourism caused by terrorist activity and the closing of the border between Rhodesia and Zambia.
- c) The failure of bearings after only 1 280 hours of running, whereas normal life expectancy of the bearings should have been 8 000 to 9 000 hours.

The petition was granted and Mr W. A. Pringle-Wood became the liquidator. Original Rhodesian investors, including the executive directors, were thus to lose their money. The reasons in the petition were succinct but there were others, such as:

- a) the fact that the company was under-capitalised from the start. There was a lack of enough working capital to cope with the engine repairs and all the related costs that resulted from the disruption of services. It was difficult to cope with normal monthly administration and operating costs without the extra funds needed when there was an engine failure.
- b) in all three cases the lead times between placing orders for a vessel and its arrival/entering into service were too long. These periods produced no revenue from each particular vessel but overhead costs had to be borne. *Sea Lion*, with its greater capacity than *Seahorse*, was needed earlier than August, 1973. The mix of customers changed quite quickly from a large anticipated number of 'all-in' tourists like those on Air Rhodesia Flame Lily trips and coach tour excursions to Rhodesia, to a bigger than expected number using their own cars, and that meant a need for the larger ferry capacity.

The feasibility study was done in late 1970 and the company was formed in mid-1971. Orders for the first two vessels were placed towards the end of 1971 and it was mid 1972 when operations started. The period 1970 to 1972 were years where continual tourist growth was expected and there was relative peace in Rhodesia. This was to change rapidly and the press was, in 1973³³, reporting terrorist incursions from time to time, often in the Zambezi Valley, and also landmine explosions. No doubt the South African media carried these reports as well. The point being made is that Lake Shipping started at the wrong time. The concept was well received by tourists who looked forward to a new holiday 'adventure'. Initial bookings for passengers and cars were good and there was clearly a great interest in this new venture, for holidays, but it came about too late and operations were starting at a time that largely coincided with the start of the increased guerilla activities.

Debunking myths/other issues

Comment has been made elsewhere that the company had a bloated management team and 'too many chiefs and not enough Indians'. These comments do not ring true

³³ 1973 saw the start of *Operation Hurricane* in the north-east of Rhodesia, the formation of the notorious Selous Scouts, the closure of the border posts with Zambia in January, and the start of 'call ups' of young white men already in military or police reserves (the 'territorials') to provide additional strength to the regular forces.

as Lake Shipping's management was entirely the two executive directors (Bev Portman and Clive Halse) who were answerable to Claude Duval, an executive chairman. Other Board members were directors who had no involvement in the day to day running of the company. Any other persons involved with the company, including skippers of the vessels, were paid employees of the company.

It has been claimed that *Seafight* was not the new vessel that Clive Halse did sea trials with in the Mediterranean, and that the manufacturers swapped it for a used one which was then shipped out to Beira. This beggars belief as there were specific modifications for Lake Shipping made during the boat's building and as Clive was totally familiar with the boat having spent weeks at the yard of Seafight S. p. A. with it. There was also no evidence either that the engines had been swapped prior to *Seafight* leaving Italy.

Reasons for the failure of the bearings at an early stage in their life remain unresolved. It is probable that the engines were not properly inhibited (and air intakes were not blocked off) for storage as open deck cargo for shipment to Beira, and salt water and the sea air affected them. Many years later Bev Portman told the writer that he had given the bearings issue a lot of thought over the years. He had concluded that the Carraro engines as fitted as standard engines to the boat manufacturer's H57 model were not suited to the needs of a hydrofoil for full throttle when going up on its foils. He made comparison to aero engines being designed for the power needed at take-off whereas those in the hydrofoil could not handle, when rising on its foils, a full load especially when cold. In Italy the type of Carraro engine in question was used for shunting locomotives where the power requirements are for a gentle application of throttle.

Liquidation proceedings

Immediately prior to the final liquidation order of 14 March 1974 a buyer was found for the two ferries. A new company, Kariba Ferries (Private) Limited was formed by Mr Reg Harris (owner of a large motor firm in Salisbury), Mr Mike Johnson and his wife Christine (owners of Mlibizi Boatel) and Mr Tony Malakou (a partner of Mr Reg Harris). Mr Harris' company immediately took over the debt owing to UDC Rhodesia for R\$13 000 and thus acquired the *Seahorse*. They then negotiated the purchase of *Sea Lion* from Zambesi Coachworks Limited, apparently for R\$ 120 000³⁴. Both companies that were owed money had a *lien* over the vessels, hence they could decide how to act.

The Liquidator was then faced with the sale of the hydrofoil, which he did by a tender process. He employed Clive Halse as a consultant to, firstly, give him a report as to the boat's condition and, secondly, to be present at the slipway on the viewing days of 20/21 May, 1974. On the second day the auctioneering firm of Polwarth's, auctioned off miscellaneous movable assets.

The closing time for submission of tenders was noon on 24 May and on 6 June Mr Pringle-Wood announced that the hydrofoil had been sold for R\$26 500 (about one-tenth of its original cost). *The Business Herald* of 13 June 1974 revealed that the buyer was a local businessman, Mr Ian Fikuart³⁵, and that the operating company would be Kariba Mississippi Lines. Mr S. Karner of Engineering Enterprises, who were to undertake the boat's repair, was also a director of this new company.

³⁴ *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication number 29, pg. 42.

³⁵ It was reported that Mr Fikuart was managing director of a lease hire firm, Rhodesian Financial Trust. He was 35 years old and is understood to have represented the well-known Dale Carnegie courses in Rhodesia. Dale Carnegie was well known world-wide for the book *How to Win Friends and Influence People*.



**LAKE SHIPPING COMPANY (PVT.) LTD.,
(In Liquidation).**

TENDERS

**FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE HYDROFOIL
NAMED "SEAFLIGHT"**

TENDERS, closing at 12 noon on Friday, the 24th May 1974, are invited from interested parties for the acquisition of:—

1. THE MOVABLE ASSETS, consisting of:
 - (a) The Hydrofoil named "Seaflight". This craft is presently on the slipway on Stand 131 Kariba in a damaged condition;
 - (b) The assortment of Spare Parts, loose Tools, Stock-in-trade and Equipment at Kariba.

and/or

2. THE IMMOVABLE ASSETS, namely:
 - (a) The permanent Improvements on Stand No. 131, Kariba, comprising the Office and Storeroom Buildings, the Slipway and the Heavy Duty Winch.

The Conditions of the Tender will include, inter alia, the following provisions:—

- (a) The assets will be sold free of any express or implied warranties (i.e. "voetstoots");
- (b) The tender will be divisible at the option of the Liquidator.

It is recommended that a personal inspection is undertaken by interested parties and the following dates have been fixed for viewing:—

MONDAY, 20th MAY, 1974,
TUESDAY, 21st MAY 1974.

Persons who inspect the craft and site will do so at their entire risk.

Applications for the relevant Tender Forms should be made to the undersigned:—

**LAKE SHIPPING COMPANY (PVT.) LTD.,
(In Liquidation)**

W. A. PRINGLE-WOOD, Liquidator.

Telephones:
Salisbury 60303/60838.

Address:
213 Linqwenda House,
Baker Avenue,
P.O. Box 561, Salisbury.

70197-Y-12/44562-c-17

The liquidator was then left to finalise his liquidation and then prepare liquidation and distribution accounts for submission to the Master of the High Court. The secured creditors would have been paid off, and the three directors got nothing for their claims in view of the preference that the financiers held.

Liquidation then ends the story of Lake Shipping Company (Private) Limited. To conclude my article I will go a little further on a 'what happened next' basis, briefly dealing with three key personnel and then the three vessels.

oooo

Bev Portman

Both Clive Halse and Bev Portman had poured virtually all their life's savings into the venture and had to start out again. Bev, as an engineer, soon found a job – this was with NEI – Cochrane Engineering (now named just Cochrane Engineering). He worked with them on a variety of projects, one of which was the design of machinery to manufacture razor wire, and another was on items needed by the Rhodesian Air Force³⁶. In January 1979 he emigrated to South Africa where he continued to work for the Cochrane's group. After some years he left Cochrane's and set up a company called PBN, with Peter Petter-Bowyer (ex RhAF³⁷), Bill Brown (ex RhAF) and Norman Nieuwenhuysen (ex Cochrane's), and where he was the company's Technical Director. Later on he had an auto-electrical business with Bill Brown, and then finally went into business with his son, James, as a Mechanical Design Engineer in a laser technology company based in Johannesburg, where he made the transition to Computer Aided Design (CAD) work.

He kept his love of boats and in the mid-1990s decided to buy a barge in England and for about 8 years, he and his wife spent the English summers there.

I record my thanks to him, and after his death to his daughter, Diana, for answering several questions whilst this article was being formulated.

Clive Halse

Clive accepted an employment offer from Mr Fikuart, the new owner of *Seafight* and continued with him until mid-1975. A vacancy had by then arisen with the Cochrane's group and Bev introduced Clive to them. He started work there on 1 July, 1975 as a Production Supervisor and on 1 July, 1976 became Operations Manager of a newly formed subsidiary, Greenock Gas and Coke Company (Private) Limited, that supplied and maintained gas producers at large industrial concerns. He retired from the group in 1988 after becoming a director of NEI Cochrane Engineering (Private) Limited.

Claude Dumée-Duval

At the start of this article I mentioned there being three 'players'. The third was, of course, Claude Duval. It can be assumed that his other business interests cushioned him from the loss he will have incurred on both his share investment in, and his loan account with, Lake Shipping. Little is known about his post hydrofoil activities except that he contested the 31 August 1977 Rhodesian general election and also a 1978 bye-election, both on behalf of the Rhodesian Action Party (RAP)³⁸. His constituency was Highlands North and on both occasions he was heavily defeated. It appears that he must have left Rhodesia/Zimbabwe at some time, his death being recorded in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa on 14 November, 2007 when he was aged 77.

Seahorse and Sea Lion

As mentioned, both boats were acquired by Kariba Ferries (Private) Limited. *Sea Lion* was then modified by the addition of a superstructure over the gunwale so that it could carry passengers in addition to cars. By mid-1974 it was back in service to Mlibizi. The subsequent story of the two ferries, which are still owned and operated by Kariba

³⁶ As mentioned in *Winds of Destruction* by P. J. H. Petter-Bowyer, pgs. 274-276.

³⁷ Rhodesian Air Force.

³⁸ The RAP was formed in 1977 by a group of MPs from the Rhodesian Front (RF) who were dissatisfied by the leadership of Ian Smith and his attempts to negotiate an 'internal settlement' with African nationalists.



Ferries (Private) Limited, was told by Allan Harris in a talk to members of the *History Society of Zimbabwe* in May 2010.³⁹

Seafight – its remaining Lake Kariba life

When Ian Fikuart bought the hydrofoil it was reported that he said that damage to the hull was minor and ‘I could not get my fist through the hole.’ The vessel was to be brought back to Salisbury for repair, renovations and repainting at a cost estimated to be R\$26 000. This was in June, 1974. The vessel having duly been back to the Ardbennie, Salisbury workshops of Engineering Enterprises, Mr Karner, in July, said it would take two months to overhaul the engines. In March 1975 it was reported that it was hoped to have *Seafight* back on the Lake in time for the April, 1975 school holidays. That did not happen either and mid-April it was reported that the hydrofoil would be out of order for ‘several more weeks, and that the owners were spending more than R\$60 000 on the reconditioning and renovations. Clearly the time frame and the costs involved had both been originally under-estimated.

The boat was duly relaunched in Kariba early in July, 1975 when the cost of repairs was put at R\$80 000 of which repairs to the two engines was some R\$20 000. By now it appears that the boat was operated by another company, Kariba Hydrofoil (Private) Limited⁴⁰, which was a company under Mr Fikuart. There were more problems as the boat had to be taken out of the water again before entering service. The new skipper ‘Jet’ Baker told *The Rhodesia Herald* ‘We’ve had a series of silly little things going wrong. These included a rivet in the hull which ‘popped out’.⁴¹ It was announced that the hydrofoil would initially run between Andora Harbour and Bumi Hills and do 100 minute around the Eastern Basin islands trips. Ian Fikuart said that the boat would be ready by 1 August, 1975. Indeed it was and champagne was served to the first passengers, whilst travelling to Sanyati Gorge. By now the costs had escalated to R\$100 000 for a ‘rivet-by-rivet’ refit⁴².

It seems that between September, 1975 and February, 1977 *Seafight* operated on and off with one engine. Kariba Hydrofoil (Private) Limited was in financial difficulties as evidenced by a creditors meeting held on 20 October, 1976 which was chaired by a lawyer, Mr Roger Chadwick, and attended by three directors⁴³ and representatives of 18 creditors. The Chairman advised that the sole assets, the hydrofoil and slipping gear were owned by General Finance Company and Rhodesian Financial Trust respectively. A year’s moratorium was agreed to with certain provisos, and the Committee of Creditors was increased from 3 to 4 members.

Rob Fynn who operated a safari camp on the Matusadona side of Lake Kariba was one of those creditors. He recorded how their business welcomed the return of the hydrofoil and Mr Fikuart himself. Rob, on hearing that the hydrofoil had broken

³⁹ The text of the talk is recorded in *Heritage of Zimbabwe* publication 29. Mr Harris is a director and shareholder of Kariba Ferries (Private) Limited.

⁴⁰ Maybe Kariba Mississippi Lines had simply changed its name.

⁴¹ Interestingly Bev Portman said many years later: “with regard to remarks about the hydrofoil being held together with pop rivets that is totally untrue. It is my guess that when the hull was repaired after the accident, pop rivets may have been used. This is strictly a guess.”

⁴² Costs as per Mr Fikuart and reported in *The Rhodesia Herald* of 4 August, 1975. Perhaps ‘rivet-by-rivet’ was an unfortunate phrase to use, in view of what is said in the previous footnote.

⁴³ The minutes indicate that the director attendees were I. R. Fikuart, A. T. Fikuart and P. A. Dolleymore. Mr S. Karner, a director, was absent.

down again, crossed the lake to go to Fikuart's office where, pinned on the door, was a 'Gone on Police Reserve' notice. Whilst going on duty was a common occurrence at the time Rob, himself a police reservist, had never seen Fikuart on such duties. Fearing the worst he checked at the Police Camp to have his fears confirmed. An investigation at the office found that 'everything was cleaned out, all gone'. Rob also records that Fikuart had been operating the hydrofoil as a cash business but had not paid a single bill for 'refurbishing, fuel, engineers, anybody'.⁴⁴ It is difficult to date the event but it seems as if it would be sometime during 1976.

In February, 1977 *Seafight* was towed to Anchorage Marina, Kariba for General Finance Company who had repossessed the boat in view of monies owed. At some stage in the interim Mr Fikuart had done a bunk and left Rhodesia owing money to various creditors.

***Seafight* - post Lake Kariba**

In early September, 1977 *Seafight* was again brought back to Salisbury, this time never to return to Kariba. It was then for sale and it appears that Dougie de Sousa, through his company D C de Sousa (Private) Limited⁴⁵, was possibly a buyer, although it was reported in *The Rhodesia Herald* that General Finance Company were about to conclude a R\$35 000 sale agreement for the boat with R. J. Southey and Co, marine engineers, of Durban. After spending two months in the de Sousa's Salisbury workshop, the boat was back on a road transporter and left for its new owners in South Africa. At the time of acquiring the boat the Natal area manager of the Southey company said that there were no plans to make *Seafight* a commercial venture and that the boat would be purely for the company's use. He said 'It will make a superb venue for our Christmas party'.

In Durban a lot more money was spent on repairs but for various reasons the boat hardly ever took to the open sea. After many years sitting at Maydon Wharf the South African owners, in 1986, sold and shipped⁴⁶ the boat to a buyer in Baltimore, Maryland, United States of America. What happened thereafter is unknown, but apparently the Durban sellers ended up with a bad debt. The story of *Seafight* after leaving Rhodesia is told by Jonathan Waters in his book '*Kariba – legacy of a vision*'⁴⁷.

The ill-fated career of the boat in Africa ended when it left Durban. None of the owners of *Seafight* mentioned in this article came out making money from it – perhaps it was only the Italian manufacturers that did.

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.

⁴⁴ Rob Fynn's comments are made in his book *Angel in a Thorn Bush*. Pgs. 98-102. Published 2012.

⁴⁵ Dougie was keen on boats and boating. D C de Sousa (Private) Limited was a well-known welding and steel fabrication company, and their yard often had boats in various stages of construction or repair. The company is still in business and still owned by the de Sousa family in January, 2022, when this article was written.

⁴⁶ As with its original journey from Italy to Beira it was transported as deck cargo on a freighter, but this time the foils were not removed.

⁴⁷ Published in 2020 to mark the 60th anniversary of the opening of the Kariba Hydro-Electric Undertaking in May 1960. See pg. 243.

Jonas Christian (Chris) Andersen

14 December 1935 – 12 July 2017

by Anne Andersen



Chris was born in Johannesburg on 14 December 1935 into a family that, on his father's side, was of Norwegian descent.

His paternal grandfather, Finn Andersen, was born in 1875 and grew up on the south-eastern coast of Norway, (one of four brothers and two sisters). The family were involved in whaling and at one time owned at least five whaling ships, each captained by a son and his father. When Finn was in his early twenties things were difficult economically in Norway so he emigrated to the United States where he studied engineering at Barts University, Pennsylvania.

His studies were cut short by an accident when his arm was caught in a conveyor belt. After many months in hospital, he was left with an almost totally useless arm. Other family members had emigrated to South Africa, so Finn sailed on a family boat to Cape Town to seek his fortune on the gold mines in Jagersfontein in the Orange Free State and later on the Crown Mines in Johannesburg.

He fought for the British in the Anglo Boer War of 1899–1902.

Chris' grandmother Alma was also Norwegian and had known her future husband since childhood. She was one of seven daughters. Her mother died suddenly when Alma



Grandfather Finn Andersen seated centre

was only seven and her father, Captain Abrahamsen, gave up the sea and brought up his family with the help of their grandmother. Alma sailed on the first *Windsor Castle* in 1903 and met and married Finn in Cape Town. Chris' father, also called Christian, was born in Jagersfontein in 1909. He had an older sister and twin younger brothers. Christian attended Parktown Boys High School in Johannesburg where he was a school prefect and an accomplished athlete and cricketer. He gained employment as a Learner Surveyor on the Crown Mines.

Chris' mother Alice was born in Kimberley in 1911. She was the second of seven daughters, born to Helen Budden a schoolteacher and Colin Baines a Captain in the South African Police. Captain Baines later became a magistrate in the Aliwal North area of South Africa. Alice trained at the Grahamstown Teachers' Training College and became an accomplished infant teacher. She met Christian at a church meeting in Johannesburg. Her father thought she was too young at twenty-two to be married and persuaded her to wait a year. She spent that year teaching in Windhoek. The separation stood the test and they were married in Johannesburg in 1934.

Christian heard that Rhodesia had much to offer in the mining field. They moved in 1938 and his first job was on the Jo Jo Mine in Que Que.

Chris

Chris was born in 1935 in Johannesburg while his father was still on the Crown Mines. He was the eldest of five children, three boys and two girls.

They moved frequently around Rhodesia. It was very fortunate that his mother was such an excellent teacher and taught them all by the correspondence method called 'School on the Air' through the radio. The first school Chris attended was at the Thistle Etna mine in Gatooma in 1946. His early grounding at home was a great advantage. In 1947 he went to Hartley Junior School. It was the year of the Royal Visit and he remembers the boarders were given flags to wave at the railway station where the Royal Train stopped briefly. From 1948–53 he attended Prince Edward senior school as a boarder in Selous House. He relished the absence of frequent moves and made many friends. The mines had provided good sporting facilities which also stood him in good stead at senior school.

He did well academically and enjoyed athletics, squash and tennis. He boxed for the school – he was quick and courageous but disliked it intensely. He won the Mashonaland



Chris perusing the Law Reports?

Squash Championships in 1953 and played in the school 1st tennis team. In his last year he was a House Prefect.

He had the distinction of being a fairy in 'Iolanthe', one of the Gilbert and Sullivan plays that Prince Edward put on yearly.

On leaving school, Chris was awarded a Government Grant of £60 towards his tuition expenses at Rhodes University where he was accepted to do a BA. LLB. Rhodes was Chris' first taste of freedom



Prince Edward First Team 1953

Chris is seated second from right in the back row

after six years of boarding school. He enjoyed the social side so much he failed his first term's exams. The shock was profound and thereafter he excelled.

It took three days to get to Rhodes by train from Zimbabwe. It was a very enjoyable experience and filled with many parties. Politics was one of his BA subjects and he gained a distinction – perhaps it kindled his future interest. He continued squash, his main sport, at Rhodes. They played on open air, cement floored courts then. He was Rhodes champion for two years and Eastern Province champion in his last year. He recalled running clean through a new pair of Bata *tackies* at the end of one final. (No Nike trainers in those days!). He captained the Rhodes Squash team for three years. He also played in the Combined Universities Squash team and captained it in his last year 1958. Being penniless students they often hitchhiked to tournaments in the different centres during their 10-day vacations.

He ran cross-country with enthusiasm and some success.

He augmented his meagre funds by





The Law Graduate



Wedding Bells 1964

writing for a Grahamstown newspaper as a sports reporter which he thoroughly enjoyed. In his final two years he was Senior Student and Councillor in Smuts Hall. He had found his degree challenging and stimulating and his years at Rhodes had been very happy. The University had infused him with its fine values of discipline and hard work. In 1959 Chris returned to Harare and the real world.

He joined the Attorney-General's office and was appointed a Public Prosecutor for the next three years. The early 1960's were seeing political unrest and he had some interesting cases. It was the practice for the Attorney-General's office to visit the major towns and for Chris as a Prosecutor to appear in cases before the Judges there on those circuit courts. Visiting and working in Bulawayo, Masvingo and Mutare was one of the highlights of the year. Chris joined Advocates Chambers in 1962 and had the privilege of gaining experience from many fine Advocates who were already established there. As a family we often said we understood how the witness felt under cross-examination as, be assured, Chris' formidable talents were practiced at home on each of us.

In 1974 he became a Senior Counsel (a Silk), the youngest at the time. He was 38.

Chris practiced at the Bar from 1962 to 2010. This period was broken by two spells as a Cabinet Minister in the Interim (Bishop Muzorewa) Government and in Mr Mugabe's government.

We were married in 1964 and, though it was not included in our marriage

contract, the understanding was that squash trips to South Africa, golf tournaments and men's fishing trips were not to be contested! We are blessed with three fine children. We have Karen, a Horticulturalist, Hugh, an Engineer and Dave, a Chartered Accountant in our family, however no lawyers. Our children have all inherited Chris' ethos of integrity, hard work and sport to balance their lives.

Once life at the Bar became busier Chris found squash a great asset. Not only



was it quick, intense exercise but an excellent stress reliever. He was a member of Harare Sports Club for over 50 years and Chairman of the squash section several times. He was involved with the building of additional courts; (there had initially only been two) and eventually a court with a glass backed wall and a large gallery. Top squash players from Australia and Britain who visited Zimbabwe appreciated the beautiful country and its hospitality and many new friends came with squash in Harare. One was Guy Hensman, a fine sportsman who was involved in the tobacco world. They were to play a 'friendly/unfriendly' game every week for over twenty years. Chris had won the Federal Squash Tournament in 1959 which was played in Zambia and was awarded his Rhodesia Colours in 1960. The Jarvis Cup was an Inter-Provincial Tournament held yearly in different provinces in South Africa. Rhodesia was included as an extra province. It was eagerly looked forward to and the Rhodesian teams held their own.

Chris was invited to join the Jesters Club whose patron was Prince Philip. It is an international association of players who have contributed to the game. He toured twice internationally with the Jesters, to America and Canada. He played in the World Squash Tournament in Auckland, New Zealand in 1993. He was President of the Zimbabwe Squash Association until 2009.

Chris stood for Parliament in the election of 1974 as a member of the Rhodesian Front party. His opponent was Muriel Rosin, a



Government Minister and Silk



The Family Man

much-respected former member of the Federal Parliament. He won this election. He had been persuaded by a remark made by Ian Smith. 'If you care for your country get involved.' He did care greatly and felt it was the right time to do so. Chris continued his law practice with squash to keep the balance. In 1978 he was appointed Minister of Justice and later Co-Minister in the interim Government with Francis Zindoga. In 1979 he was part of the team at the Lancaster House Conference, a stressful and distressing time. Following Lancaster House and Independence in 1980 Chris returned to the Bar.

The following year Chris resigned from the Rhodesia Front (RF) party feeling he could no longer support its policies and that the time for white political parties was over. He was surprised that others resigned at about that time and these members became the Independents of Zimbabwe Group which was not a party but a grouping. Later this group became a political party before the next election. Chris did not remain with this group, feeling the need to be an independent MP and not a member of a white party.

In 1982 Chris was asked by Robert Mugabe to join his Government and became Minister of the Public Service. Independence was still in its early days and Chris felt, if he could be a bridge between the races, it would be a positive contribution. He did not join ZANU PF. In 1990 he was appointed Minister of Mines, a post he thoroughly enjoyed with his mining background.

Chris returned to the Bar in 1993 where some previous colleagues remained, and many new ones had arrived. He retired in 2010. He felt very privileged to have been successful in a career that he had enjoyed so much. Chris would have considered his finest achievement to be his three children who brought him so much pleasure.

In 1980 before the end of the war we bought a small stone cottage on one of the lakes at Connemara, Nyanga. It was small and unpretentious and had no electricity. Chris was happy about that and felt it was good for all of us to get back to basics. We painted it throughout and, over the years, made small improvements, eventually adding



Connemara, Nyanga

electricity. For Chris especially, it was a magical spot. On arrival there he would help unpack, pick up his fishing rod and put all his priorities back in the right order. It became a family paradise and is filled with happy memories.

Chris was one of the most uncompromisingly honest men I have been privileged to know. His life was filled with much success and fulfilment and many challenges in an evolving country that he dearly loved.

He lived life to the full.

A Note from Richard Wood

It did not take long for Chris Andersen to establish a reputation at the Bar as an excellent junior Advocate with great forensic ability, particularly in defending people facing criminal charges. It would be beyond the scope of this article to describe his many achievements in detail and therefore only a few of them will be mentioned hereunder.

Here is a chronological outline of his legal and political career.

He graduated from Rhodes University Grahamstown with a law degree (B.A.LLB) at the end of 1958.

In 1959 he entered the legal profession by joining the Civil Service and being

appointed a Public Prosecutor in the Magistrates Court in Salisbury. There he very quickly established a considerable reputation as a highly effective courtroom lawyer. Indeed Harry Duncan, an experienced and long serving Regional Magistrate of that era, expressed the view that Andersen was “the best Prosecutor he had ever encountered”.

In 1961 he was moved up to the Attorney-General’s Office in Vincent Building and remained there for about a year. He found the working environment there to be to his taste, as well as the enjoyable circuits around the country when he accompanied the circuit court judges in prosecuting serious criminal cases, mostly murders, in centres such as Umtali, Fort Victoria and Bulawayo.

In 1962 he resigned from Government service and joined the Bar to practice as an Advocate. The advantage of this step was that one became independent and answered to no-one except the client. The disadvantage of this is that one was not allowed to enter into a partnership with other Advocates and there was no fall-back situation if one was unable to work through illness or wish to go on holiday. Also, one was not allowed to accept work from the street and could only act on Briefs sent by Attorneys. These restrictions were much later lifted by legislation which created a new category of lawyer called a Legal Practitioner who could appear in all courts in the land and did not have to be briefed by Attorneys to secure work. Despite this change in the law there were those who preferred to work as Advocates, voluntarily submitting to the restrictions that had previously existed and the private Bar continued to run and still does.

Andersen’s entry into politics in 1974 was unexpected. He had not previously established any great interest in political matters. He stood as the Rhodesia Front candidate against Muriel Rosin to win the Mount Pleasant constituency. His message to the voters was that to secure a successful future it was necessary for the races in the country to settle their differences and this required each race to respect and make allowance for the hopes and aspirations of the others and this in turn required each race to demonstrate the advantages which formed their respective skills and talents. In more basic terms what he was saying to white voters was that they had to contribute positively to society if they wished to continue living a comfortable life in Rhodesia. He won this election by securing one thousand and forty-five votes against the six hundred and forty-eight votes obtained by Mrs Rosin. He continued to represent this constituency in June 1985, after Independence. Standing as an independent he beat P. K. van der Byl by a margin of 1 017 to 544 votes, this despite the fact that the successor to the RF, the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe, was represented by van der Byl and still won three quarters of the 20 seats then reserved for white voters.

Mugabe was angry and disappointed at the large support the successor to the RF received from the white electorate in the 1985 elections and showed his anger by dropping Denis Norman from his cabinet but he re-appointed Chris Andersen as Minister of the Public Services, this even though Chris had never become a member of Zanu PF. This was not lost upon the Government Workers’ Association which in a letter to Chris made the following comment “Honourable Minister, accept our congratulations on your historic appointment, historic in that you are the only non-ZANU (PF) Cabinet Minister. This is not only an indication of the trust the leadership has in you, but in our view, evidence of your success in the field of Employer/Employee relations”.

Although Chris was originally elected to parliament on the RF ticket, he never showed any tendency to believe in white supremacy or privilege. He said that he did not wish to be seen as a representative only of the white community and in his manifesto



for the 1985 general elections he said “If re-elected I will negotiate for independent representation... for minority interests and groups other than on racial lines”. What he envisaged was the provision of nominated seats for the elected representatives of sectors such as agriculture, commerce, industry mining, the profession and trade unions. In contrast the grouping calling itself the Independent Zimbabwe Group advertised for support in the 1985 election by stressing that they sought election as representatives of the white community, vide “We, the white voices, go to the polls on Thursday to decide more than the next five years. We go to decide our future.”

Andersen’s discomfort with politics divided on racial grounds was exhibited in the debate on 2 March 1977 when the house was considering the Land Tenure Bill. As I understand the position then, the main object of the Bill was to remove racial restrictions on the ownership of land but as presented, the Bill did not include prohibition against the reservation of urban land for white use. Chris voted for the Act to be passed but wished to express his disappointment that the reservation of urban land for wholesale ownership was retained. He started by reminding the House that the Prime Minister and the then Minister of Foreign Affairs P. K. van der Byl had made statements to the effect that all racial discrimination had to be removed and he stated that statements of intention were not enough “because anyone can say things and anyone can make promises...one is judged not by one says but by what one does”. This obviously upset the Speaker of the House who interrupted him by saying that he had given Andersen a great deal of latitude and had to insist he debate the principles of the Bill. Then followed a bad-tempered interchange of comments between the Speaker and Andersen. This interchange is an example of the gap between the then RF philosophy and Andersen and led later to Andersen resigning from the party and continuing to sit as an Independent. Meanwhile his reputation as an able Advocate continued to grow and he was involved in many high-profile cases. In 1977 he appeared for the Prime Minister Ian Smith in a successful claim for defamation damages against the newspaper Property and Finance for suggesting that Smith was personally involved in the abduction and disappearance of Dr Edson Sithole, a leading African nationalist politician.

Another of the cases he handled was the defence of Morgan Tsvangirai. In this case he worked with George Bizos a Johannesburg Advocate well-known for defending political activists. Bizos was one of those Advocates who left no stone unturned even when it was obvious that turning of the stone could have no effect on the outcome and his cross-examination of the State witnesses was tedious and seemed interminable. Fortunately, Bizos left cross-examination of the main State witness, an Israeli former Mossad operator, to Andersen and in a short time he exposed his evidence as unreliable. The difference between the two styles of cross-examination was clear and showed that Andersen was a better cross-examiner than Bizos. The latter died recently in South Africa and there were numerous tributes to him as an outstanding defender of the cause.

Space does not permit me to go through the numerous cases that Andersen appeared in over the years, and I will end this by describing a case where I briefed him to defend a game scout in the Lowveld. The accused had been on duty at night with another scout who had a higher calibrated rifle than the accused. As they were stalking up to a fire lit by poachers, they were heard, and the poachers scattered. Both scouts fired their rifles and when they arrived at the site of the campfire, they found the dead body of one of

the poachers. Neither of them knew whose shot had killed the poacher. A post-mortem of the body revealed that the fatal shot had drilled a neat hole in the deceased's rib. The police then discovered that the bullet size from the companion's rifle was too big to fit whereas the accused's bullet passed through the hole. It was assumed that this was proof that the accused had fired the fatal shot, and he was charged with Culpable Homicide. The State led evidence to this effect and in cross-examination Chris Andersen put it to the State witness that living bones had a degree of malleability and were flexible. The expert agreed with him. To illustrate the point Chris suggested that if one pierced a piece of lard with a knife or other sharp instrument one then expands the same, but the hole left in the lard would shrink and possibly in the course of time disappear. The expert witness, who now saw the drift of the questioning, reluctantly agreed. Did he agree that the hole could have shrunk in diameter after the death and that before this happened was big enough to have been made by the accused's companion's rifle? The expert agreed that this was possible and with that the State case fell apart and the accused was discharged. This illustrates the clarity of Andersen's mind. The use of the simile of the lard pierced by a knife was so much more effective than a scientific argument about the malleability of living bone. He was a great advocate and a brilliant cross-examiner and these talents were equally useful in his political career.

He died on 12 July 2017 at the age of eighty-one.

An annotated bibliography of the Journals of the Zimbabwe Prehistory Society, 1959-2012

by Paul Hubbard



Introduction

The Salisbury Prehistoric Society was founded on 30 May 1958 to encourage the study of archaeology and prehistory in central Africa. It changed its name to Mashonaland Prehistory Society in 1965, then to the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia in 1970 and became the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe in 1980.

At the time of writing, I am possibly one of the only people to have a complete set of the journal as well as the newsletter from the founding of the society to the most recent issue. There is a set in the Prehistory Society library collection, now housed at Arrupe College, Harare and partial sets are found at the National Archives, Harare, the Museum of Human Sciences in Harare, the Bulawayo Public Library Collection and the Natural History Museum, Bulawayo.

Owing to the difficulty of accessing this important publication, I decided it was time to create a bibliography of the 31 issues of the journal, produced over a period of sixty years. I will produce a separate bibliography for the newsletter, not least because this publication hosted many valuable articles on archaeological work done on many sites not published elsewhere.

History of the Journal

The first issue of the journal in 1959, was cyclostyled, typewritten and stapled between thin blue card covers. It was named *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society*. In an editorial, J.R. Crawford said the journal was the first published in the country to exclusively deal with prehistoric matters and aimed “to try to interest people in the subject and to teach them something about it.” Funding did not permit the publication of a second volume and instead a newsletter was produced from 1964, giving details of society activities, outings, library acquisitions and short notes on new publications.

The society’s logo, colloquially known as “the crouched man”, was chosen from a panel of rock art on Rakodze Farm, Marondera area. It is a reversed image modified from a tracing done by Elizabeth Goodall, published in *Prehistoric Rock Art of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. It was used from 1966 on all official society stationery.

The journal next appeared with a new name, *Rhodesian Prehistory*, restarted at Number 1 in February 1969, under the editorship of John Ford. Six issues regularly appeared between 1969 to 1971. The journal was meant to replace the newsletter and numbers 1-8 have a great deal of information about the activities of the society and its members in addition to the more academic articles and reviews. From Number 7, pictures were used to enhance the cover but the appearance of issues became much more infrequent, mostly owing to rising printing costs and parlous society finances.

The society often relied on advertisers to fund its publications — notable supporters including Rhodesian Industries Co., National Breweries (later Delta Corporation), Anglo-American, National Foods, ZimPapers and SIDA. From Number 24, the society largely paid for the production of the journal out of its own funds, generally raised by member subscription, although Jonathan Waters contributed personal funds to the publication fund for two later issues.

Originally only numbered, a volume and number system was introduced from June 1974 (6-13) when the aim was to create issues on bi-annual basis. Articles in the journal were placed in chronological order. In December 1978, after only four issues, the appearance of Number 16 saw the abandoning of volume numbering when professional archaeologist Thomas Huffman left as editor. A sequential sequence of numbering, without any volume attribution, was re-adopted and followed to the present day.

The production of the journal became extremely erratic and several years could pass between issues being published. The longest gap was between number 20 in December 1988 and number 21 in February 1994. The most recent issue, number 30, appeared in December 2012, and should another issue ever be produced, this will become the longest gap on record at nine years and counting. The newsletter was restarted in late 1974, beginning with Number 1 and currently ending at 154, issued in November 2015.

The early articles are more “chatty” aiming to relate information for the interested reader with little referencing to sources. To make it more accessible, the society would always welcome contributions from all sectors of the public, as long as basic quality criteria were met; a great strength for nurturing talent and interest in the distant past. From number 12, the tone become gradually much more academic as more professional archaeologists begin to use the journal as an outlet for publishing their research. As a consequence, several seminal articles appear in the journal, although most Zimbabweanist archaeologists rarely reference them, if ever. This may be consequence of the difficulty of finding copies of earlier issues or it may be a reluctance to engage with work published in the colonial era that highlighted many issues only just now being taken seriously. As an example, many of Peggy Izzett’s short notes were decades ahead of their time in their concern for conducting archaeological impact assessments, developing accurate recording of rock art, sharing of results and interpretations with the general public in all languages, and the professionalism inherent in publishing data.

Journal Number	Editor
1-10	C. John Ford
11	Jane Lashbrook
12-15	Thomas Huffman
16-17	Carolyn Thorp
18-19	C.L. Gale (assisted by Carolyn Thorp)
20	Charlotte Tagart
21	Robert Soper, Robert Burrett, J.F. MacRobert
22-24	Robert Burrett
25-26	Robert Soper
27	Paul Hubbard, Robert Burrett
28	Paul Hubbard, Shadreck Chirikure
29	Paul Hubbard, Robert Soper, Adele Hamilton-Ritchie
30	Robert Soper, Adele Hamilton-Ritchie



What this exercise has revealed is that there is a pressing need to publish a detailed history of the Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe, especially in light of the fact that it would appear to be completely moribund at the time of writing. During its sixty year existence the society led and participated on many valuable archaeological surveys and excavations, promoted the interest in the archaeology of the country and fostered many students who went on to impressive archaeological careers. Its publication record, although sporadic, is excellent. Many students, now professionals at all levels of the discipline, started their careers with a paper or two in the journal, receiving good editorial advice and guidance that has stood the test of time; a look at the list of authors easily confirms the journal's importance in fostering talent.

Finally, *Zimbabwean Prehistory* needs to be revived, and published on a regular basis. As the bibliography shows, it was a valuable place to publish the results of new research, impact assessment reports and brief notes of archaeological interest to a local audience. With so much focus on the past in Zimbabwe, it is only necessary and right that the Prehistory Society and its journal need a future.

Arrangement of the Bibliography

The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by author-date. Short details about each article are provided, highlighting the essential finds or theories presented in each. To avoid confusion, the full entry for each article is quoted owing to the various name changes of the journal.

Modern names have been used in the annotations as the name changes after Independence should be well-known to readers by now.

Items excluded from this bibliography are the sections dealing with lists of new members, new publications, notices of meetings, and additions to the library of the Prehistory Society which appeared in many of the earlier numbers of the journal. Except where they significantly add new analysis or information, book reviews are merely listed by author name and title of the book under review.

Abbreviations

AIA — Archaeological Impact Assessment

EIA — Early Iron Age

ESA — Early Stone Age

LIA — Later Iron Age

LSA — Late Stone Age

MIA — Middle Iron Age

MSA — Middle Stone Age

A

1. Anonymous. 1971. Useful information for Prehistory Society Field Excursions. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 11–12.

Summary of expected behaviour by those on a field trip, including not taking anything from the site, avoiding excavated areas, not to publish anything without the consent of the excavator, keeping location of all sites confidential, and respecting land owner rights as to access of sites.

2. Anonymous. 1972. Obituary: Elizabeth Amanda Margarethe Goodall. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 10–11.
A brief obituary on one of Zimbabwe's finest rock art researchers. 2 figures.
3. Anonymous. 1979. Editorial: Looking Forward. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 1.
Notes first use of newsprint for production of the journal and the difficulties in publication owing to a dearth of contributions and unsettled conditions caused by the liberation war.
4. Anonymous. 1979. Obituary: Franz Richard Schweitzer. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17:1–2.
Note on the life of Frank Schweitzer, a long-standing member of the society, who was head of the Archaeology Department of the South African Museum.

B

5. Bannerman, J. 2012. Serra Zembe Gondola District, Mozambique – Zimbabwe sites of the ruler of Tewe – history, location and linkages with contemporary traditional leaders. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 8–17.
Extensive investigation of the archaeology and history of Zembe, one of the best known *zimbabwe* sites in Mozambique, revealing its links with Great Zimbabwe and later Portuguese traders. Its importance to the local community is discussed. 7 figures.
6. Barnes, J. 1977. Survey of a Ruin in Tanda Purchase Area, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 19–20.
Useful description of a survey done by schoolchildren on a small loopholed ruin, made of concentric circular stone walls. Part of the Nyanga Tradition, the ruin was recorded as having spiritual significance to the local people at the time of the survey. 2 figures.
7. Beach, D. N. 1973. Great Zimbabwe as a Mwari-cult centre. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 11–13.
Excellent but brief review of the notion that Great Zimbabwe once served as a centre for the traditional religion, the Mwari Cult. Concludes that there is no evidence to connect Shona religious cults to the stone buildings but that there is no evidence to suggest that it could not have been a Mwari or Chaminuka centre. Astute observation that more work was required to link archaeological evidence to what was known about Shona societies at the time to avoid overly-speculative theorisation.
8. Beach, D. N. 1983. Oral history and archaeology in Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 19: 8–11.
Critique of the often uncritical use of historical data – documents and oral traditions – to support archaeological interpretation. Good, yet often unheeded advice on how to interview informants when seeking sites, naming sites and cautiously using oral traditions to explore the potential history and ethnic identity of a site or region.
9. Beach, D. N. 1988. 'Refuge' archaeology, trade and gold mining in nineteenth-century Zimbabwe: Izidoro Correia Pereira's list of 1857. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 20: 3–8.
Calls for a re-thinking of the idea of a Refuge Tradition in Zimbabwean archaeology, dating to within the last two centuries. Usefully discusses the different trade networks and the potential for using the various goods from each to refine historical



dating of such sites. Half the article discusses the usefulness of Pereira's published list as an example of historical documents informing on archaeological research and identification of sites. 1 figure.

10. Bennett, M. 1959. Meeting Miss Baker. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 18–24.

The author, a novice, accompanied the 1955 Cambridge University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica in Libya and writes an amusing account of the arduous journey there, as well as the methods employed to excavate Haua Fteah cave in the Jebel mountain range. Miss Baker was the name given to a lower mandible, now known to be from *Homo sapiens*.

11. Bond, G. 1983. The Stone Age in the Middle Zambezi Valley. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 2–6.

Chatty account of research done in the 1950s and 1960s in the Middle Zambezi, including the now-flooded Kariba basin, examining ESA and other sites in the region. Interesting discussion of the effects of geological upheavals, climate change and hydrological action on transforming a landscape with an effect on human settlement and activity.

12. Bordini, M. A. 1974. Excavations of two graves in a cemetery near Bonda Mission. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 15–16.

Rare report of an excavation of an historical graveyard. Of 19 graves, two graves were excavated and researchers concluded it was a child who may have died from an animal attack. The other, an adults, may have died from influenza. 4 figures.

13. Bordini, M. A. 1974. The Umtali Altar site: A Preliminary Report. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 7–8.

A very short report revisiting a site first excavated in 1905, where 134 soapstone figurines were recovered and then donated to the British Museum. Mentions new excavations done to resolve the stratigraphy and chronology of the site. 3 figures.

14. Bordini, M. A. 1983. Umtali Altar site excavation 1905: Further comments on and references to the original field notes of M.E. Andrews. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 23–25.

Discussion of the field notes of Andrews' excavation in 1905. Includes a chronology and bibliography of research at the site. 2 figures.

15. Braddock, B. J. 1999. Theodore and Mabel Bent: A Discussion on the work in Great Zimbabwe of this 19th Century Couple. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 38–44. Compelling reappraisal of the work of Theodore and Mabel Bent at Great Zimbabwe in 1891. Places his work in its contemporary context and describes how his interpretations skewed to Phoenician and Arab authorship for the ruins and affiliated culture. Rightly places his wife back into the record, noting her own academic achievements in the study of Great Zimbabwe and indeed the couple's travels and work elsewhere.

16. Brown, E. J. 1973. Early iron production. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 3–7.

Review and comparison of pre-industrial iron-smelting techniques from Mediterranean culture, Romans, Sweden and Zimbabwe. Discusses furnace found on Senale Farm, Shurugwi. Usefully includes a picture of a forge. 6 figures.

17. Burrett, R. S. 1997. Peggy Izzett: In Memoriam. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 22: 3–5.
Personal tribute to the matriarch of Zimbabwean archaeology, Margaret Izzett. Good detail on her long involvement with the Prehistory Society. 1 figure.
18. Burrett, R. S. 1997. An Archaeological Impact Assessment along the Angwa River near Lion's Den. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 42–47.
One of the first fully published AIAs in Zimbabwe. Small, fragmented and rather insignificant Stone Age, Iron Age and mixed sites were discovered and recorded ahead of construction of two dams. Environmental factors proposed as a theory to explain dearth of human settlement in the area. 2 figures.
19. Burrett, R. S. 1999. Vulture Point and other sites near Chirundu. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 28–37.
A rare look at an Early Iron Age site in the Middle-Zambezi Valley linking a site at Rifa with Naba, itself dated to between 550–1 000 AD. Calls for more practical fieldwork work to be done in the entire area to resolve questions of cultural sequence and dating of the Iron Age. 3 figures. 1 table.
20. Burrett, R. S. 2005. Pfupi: a reassessment of a Later Stone Age industry. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 2–8.
Summary of the author's thesis, seeing Pfupi as a complex, diverse LSA tradition needing much more primary research to adequately understand. Usefully critiques earlier studies, highlighting operational and interpretive biases and errors. 3 figures. 1 table.
21. Burrett, R. S. 2006. Forager ceramics in Mashonaland? *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 39–41.
Speculative note theorising the manufacture and use of ceramics by forager communities in northern Zimbabwe and calls for more work to be done to better recognise them. 1 figure.
22. Burrett, R. S. 2007. Beyond the pots and bones: subtle changes in the archaeological record of Bambata Cave. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 31–39.
Intriguing re-examination of the fragmented evidence for pastoralism in the archaeological record of the Matobo Hills, using Bambata Cave as a case study. Author sees no Neolithic revolution but instead a gradual modification of a forager society to include keeping domestic animals. 2 figures. 1 table.
23. Burrett, R. S. 2011. Book Review: Changing material culture of the AmaNdebele. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 78–79.
24. Burrett, R. S. 2012. A probable Banya at DhloDhlo National Monument, Insiza, Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 18–24.
Reinterprets a large circular structure discovered during fieldwork at Danan'ombe as a banya — a special building reserved for ritual and spiritual activities. Needs excavation to confirm certain features but convincing theory. 6 figures.
25. Burrett, R. S. & Olša, Jr, J. 2006. Emil Holub and the Tati and Vukwe Ruins, 1876. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 2–12.
Re-evaluation of two *zimbabwe* ruins in eastern Botswana visited by Emil Holub in 1876. Both Vukwe and Tati Ruins are probably dated to the time of the Butua State. Interesting historical detective work to identify the structures and viewpoints over a century apart. 14 figures.
26. Bvocho, G. 2008. Heritage, Multimedia and the Internet: an examination of the potential of multimedia and the internet as tools for dissemination of heritage



information in Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 59-67.

Explores the theory and practice of communication in museums, including early use of multimedia in Zimbabwe to improve outreach and distribution of information. 6 figures.

C

27. Cooke, C. K. 1969. Zombepata Cave: a preliminary report on excavations carried out in the Stone Age deposit. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 3: 2-5.
Brief discussion of the results of two excavations done in the cave, placing finds in the MSA chronology of the country. Discusses the rockfall separating Bambata from Tshangula industries here and at other sites. Brief mention of the rock art at the site. 3 figures.
28. Cooke, C. K. 1969. Radiocarbon dates for the Rhodesian Stone Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 3: 6-8.
A chronological table of all radiocarbon dates for the Stone Age of Zimbabwe as at November 1969. Excludes bone samples owing to anomalies recorded during processing. 1 table.
29. Cooke, C. K. 1971. The possibilities of Stone Age sites in the Hunyani area and the types of implements likely to be seen. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7: 3-7.
Discusses potential for locating Stone Age sites of various kinds and time periods in the area of the survey. Well illustrated with type tools likely to be encountered. 7 figures.
30. Cooke, C. K. 1972. An Early Stone Age Assemblage from the Sabi/Lundi Confluence, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 11-15.
After an excursion to locate mythical dhow moorings near river confluence, several Stone Age sites were located. Several tools made from river pebbles of Cretaceous Age, were discovered in an erosion channel, along with many flakes, all from the ESA. 2 figures.
31. Copland, E. 1999. Foreword. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 2.
Introduces contributors to the journal. Brief mention of the activities of the society since the previous journal.
32. Crane, E. 1999. The Rock Art of Honey Hunters. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 45-49.
Brief note noting appearance of honey bees in rock art around the world. Claims 363 sites of interest in 127 countries. Suggests formlings are bee hives, built by the Tropical African Honey Bee. 1 figure. 2 tables.
33. Crawford, J. R. 1959. Editorial. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 1.
Inaugural editorial of the journal celebrating its publication and asking for contributions.
34. Crawford, J. R. 1959. Stone Implements. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 28-34.
An exploration of the Stone Age in Africa, with brief comparisons with Europe. Discusses the manufacturing techniques of different tools in southern Africa.

E

35. Eastwood, E. B. 2007. Body Language: groups, postures, body decoration and the accoutrements of the shaman in the San rock paintings of Central Limpopo Basin. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 40-51.
Detailed article exploring fragments of the trance dance portrayed in the rock art of the Shashi-Limpopo basin seeing certain postures and accessories in the paintings as evidence for trancing. Figures from there are compared with the famous “White Lady” painting of the Brandberg, Namibia, to suggest it is actually a male shaman. 8 figures.
36. Eastwood E. B. & Murray, B.G. 2001. The Strength of Sweetness: Identifying an Idiosyncratic Image in the San Rock Art of the Limpopo-Shashe Confluence area. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 24: 2-13.
In-depth analysis of a single painted site in the Shashi-Limpopo confluence area, interpreted as a group of shamans emerging from the supernatural realm led by a senior who used the potency of honey as an anchor and guide in that fearful realm. Makes extensive use of ethnography and modern interviews to substantiate views. 4 figures.
37. Ellert, H. 1983. Kwe Kwe Ruin. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 58-60.
Short description of a small stone-built ruin near Kwe Kwe that may belong to Torwa/Rozvi period. Potential graves recorded nearby. 5 figures.
38. Erwee, D. 1999. Survey of Rock Art sites North of Bindura. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 57-61.
Reports results of a short survey of 28 rock art sites in Bindura and compares them to sites in the Matobo Hills. Notes a restricted variety of motifs in Bindura compared to the Matobo Hills. Short discussion of interpretation of the art using the shamanism hypothesis. 3 figures. 3 tables.

F

39. Ford, C. J. 1969. Editorial: Meeting the Challenge. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 1: 1.
The inaugural editorial celebrating the launch of the journal, noting the challenge of producing a journal for a narrow following in a specialised field.
40. Ford, C. J. 1969. Editorial: A Kind of Madness. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 2: 1.
Calls for encouragement to be given to younger members of the society, especially to participate in surveys and explorations.
41. Ford, C. J. 1969. Tribute: Irving Sutherland Matthew. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 3: 1.
A brief tribute to a Life Member, who had also served on Council and as Secretary of the Society.
42. Ford, C. J. 1970. Editorial: Wider Horizons. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 4: 1.
Explains the change of name from Mashonaland Prehistory Society to the Prehistory Society of Rhodesia to encourage the growth of the society beyond the capital.
43. Ford, C. J. 1970. Our Prehistoric Penumbra. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 1.
Mention of the genesis of the Hunyani Dam survey to be done by the Society and a call for members to get involved in the field work.
44. Ford, C. J. 1970. Weekend meander to Mrewa and Mtoko 17-18 October, 1970. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 13-14.
Description of a visit to rock art near Musame Mission in Murewa district. Followed by a visit to Ruchera Cave, Mutoko Ruins and Charewa Cave.



45. Ford, C. J. 1971. Editorial: Let's get our hands dirty. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 1.
Mentions formation of a sub-committee of the Prehistory Society in Bulawayo as an example of the organisation growing.
46. Ford, C. J. 1971. Extracts from the Chairman's Report. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 9-10.
Mentions the departure of Peter Garlake, the various excursions held during the year, the growth of the society library, and Hunyani Dam Survey. Notes increase of membership from 69 in 1967 to 102 members in 1970.
47. Ford, C. J. 1972. Editorial: Togetherness. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 2.
Short appeal to combine outings and other activities with relevant societies to expand educational and entertainment benefits for all involved.
48. Ford, C. J. 1972. A tribute to Elizabeth Goodall, M.B.E., F.R.A.I. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 10.
A personal tribute to the character and life of Elizabeth Goodall, mentioning her great eye for detail in rock art, and passion for helping others to discover and enjoy archaeological knowledge.
49. Ford, C. J. 1972. Obituary: John Tweedie. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 11.
A brief note on the life of John Tweedie, a member of long-standing who assisted on the Hunyani Surveys among other work for the Society.
50. Ford, C. J. 1972. Editorial: The Old Order Changeth. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 2.
Brief discussion of the National Museums and Monuments Act, and the role of the amateur archaeologist being preserved in the legislation at the time.
51. Ford, C. J. 1973. Editorial: The Generation Gaps. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 2.
Mentions first example of excavation of an historical site — a rubbish dump in Harare.

G

52. Gale, C. L. 1980. Editorial. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 18: 1.
Short note apologising for delay in producing the journal and anticipating a better record of publication as the country began a new era. 1 figure.
53. Gale, C. L. 1980. Vukutu. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 18: 10-12, Inside Back Cover.
Pictorial on a series of sites in the Nyanga highlands, north of Mutare, with walling, grain bins and pottery. Possibly a Refuge period occupation. 8 figures.
54. Gale, C. L. 1983. Editorial. *Zimbabwean Prehistory*: 1-2.
Mentions that owing to production difficulties, content for three issues was combined into one and owing to delays not all name changes were possible. Brief biographies on the contributors, noting many had left the country after Independence.
55. Gale, W. D. 1969. Thomas Baines. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 1: 3-11.
A summary of the life and accomplishments of artist-explorer Thomas Baines, with good detail of his later life and speculation on his potential role in the politics of the region had he been able to follow through on his concession of 1871 from King Lobengula.
56. Garlake, P. S. 1969. Radiocarbon dates for the Rhodesian Iron Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 2: 5-9.
A chronological table, arranged geographically, of all radiocarbon dates from sites

in Zimbabwe up to April 1969. References to the main dated sites are discussed. 1 table.

57. Garlake, P. S. 1969. New Rhodesian radiocarbon dates. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 3: 8. A list of new radiocarbon dates for Iron Age sites from a ruin in Bikita, tentatively placing it in the early 16th century.

58. Garlake, P. S. 1970. The dating of the Zimbabwe Ruins. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 3-5.

Seminal popular article on the dating of Great Zimbabwe focusing on combining a comparison of data derived from imports, radiocarbon dating and locally-made artefacts. Firmly placed the site within medieval times.

59. Garlake, P. S. 1970. The decline of Zimbabwe in the fifteenth century. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 6-8.

Creatively explores various internal and external factors behind the decline of Great Zimbabwe, examining aspects of changes in economic, trade, political, environmental and demographic components. Ends without a definite answer but does mention the links between the decline of Great Zimbabwe with the founding of the Mutapa Empire.

60. Garlake, P. S. 1988. Approaches to the study of rock paintings in Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 20: 9-13.

Review and critique of the South African shamanism hypothesis for interpreting the rock art of Zimbabwe. Noteworthy is the focus on interrogating the application of structuralist theory and usefulness of San ethnography. Ends by calling for researchers to analyse the iconography of the sites to establish meanings, using culture as a web of significance to explore complicated concepts.

61. Genge, P. 1983. Murder in the Matopos? *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 20-22.

Description of three rock art sites in the Matobo Hills with human figures apparently impaled with arrows or spears. Speculates that the image may be a warning or have some larger spiritual purpose. 4 figures.

62. Gutu, C. 2011. An analysis of prehistoric pottery from the site of DhloDhlo, southwest central Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 2-11.

The first published analysis of pottery from Danan'gombe from excavations in 2005, and earlier, comparing it to the Khami assemblage using Soper's multidimensional lists procedure. Concludes that pottery from Danan'gombe is a continuation of Khami, with little change in decoration and shape between 1680 to the 1800s. 8 figures. 4 tables.

H

63. Harper, S. H. 1970. Book Review: Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and adjacent territories. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 15-16.

64. Harrison, N. M. 1973. Geology of the Mwenji Dam Spillway, Glendale, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 12-13.

Brief discussion on the geology of the area, namely granite with pegmatite dykes and veins, sitting atop the Shamvaian Group of sediments, part of the Greenstone Belt. Many alluvial sediments cover the rock, which was only exposed as part of the dam construction.

65. Haynes, G. & Klimowicz, J. 2007. Two ESA sites in northwestern Zimbabwe, and thoughts on the nature of mid-Pleistocene hominin dispersal into the region.



Zimbabwean Prehistory 27: 3-17.

Overdue overview of ESA research in the country, including report on surface collections from Hwange National Park. Authors theorise about the movements of early humans through the area, stating the environment would have prompted constant migration of peoples to more habitable regions to the north and south. 9 figures. 3 tables.

66. Haynes, G. Makuvaza, S. & Wriston, T. 2011. The Bumbusi Engravings and Paintings in Hwange National Park, Zimbabwe: Preliminary results of recordings and rockshelter excavations. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 12-25.

Detailed article describing and analysing the engravings at Bumbusi in Hwange National Park and briefly reporting on excavations done in 2008. Rock-shelters near the ruins were occupied between 2300 to 3600 years ago. Cloven-hoofed animals dominated the spoor engravings, followed by zebra and impala. Suggests some engravings were added and/or retouched by farming communities. 11 figures. 1 table.

67. Hitzeroth, L. 1973. Results of a Stone Age excavation at Duncombe Farm, Concession. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 14-18

Initial report on excavation of a small rock shelter with MSA (Bambata), Tshangula and LSA (Wilton) materials. Large rockfall separating the levels from the two eras. Mention of the rock art at the site, which includes various animals, human hunters, a formling, bulbs, roots, and faded fragments. A grain bin, a few sherds of pottery and slag were also discovered. 2 figures. 6 tables.

68. Hobley, P. F. 1972. 1971 Ranche House School of Archaeology. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 8.

A report on the Fourth School of Archaeology organised by the Principal of Ranche House College, Ken Mew, in conjunction with the Historical Monuments Commission. Participants worked for a week at Great Zimbabwe under Tom Huffman, followed by a week of lectures at the college. 1 figure.

69. Horne, J. 1977. A Zimbabwe Ruin on Palm River Ranch. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 15-16.

Short description of a small ruin in the Triangle area. Excavations left it undated with no finds to suggest its place in the Zimbabwe Culture. 2 figures.

70. Houser, T. 1975. A Survey of Chipukuswi Ruin, Matibi No. 1., Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 25 and Back Cover.

Map and short description of a stone-built ruin near the Lundi River ridge in Nuanetsi District. 3 figures.

71. Hubbard, P. 2006. Metal-working remains in the Matopos, south-western Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 26-30.

Note on five metal-working furnaces located in the Matobo Hills theorised to be iron-smelting sites used by the BaNyubi in the 19th century. Unusual granite slabs noted on either side of the clay structure perhaps as heat shielding. 4 figures.

72. Hubbard, P. 2008. Book Review: Dame Kathleen Kenyon. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 68-69.

73. Hubbard, P. & Burrett, R.S. 2007. Editorial. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 2.

Marks the first inclusion of a heritage management article in the journal as well

as extended coverage of new Stone Age research in the country.

74. Hubbard, P. & Chirikure, S. 2008. Editorial. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 2.
Introduces the papers in the journal edition dedicated to archaeologist and university lecturer Robert Soper.
75. Hubbard, P. & Chirikure, S. 2008. Scientific approaches to the archaeology of Zimbabwe: a review. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 10-20.
Useful historical overview of the use of radiocarbon dating, computer-based spatial analysis and materials analysis in the archaeology of Zimbabwe.
76. Hubbard, P. & Haynes, G. 2012. Mtoa Ruins, Hwange National Park, Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 25-33.
First published map and thorough description of Mtoa Ruins in Hwange. Includes a review of Nambya history in the area. 8 figures.
77. Huffman, T. N. 1971. The possible prehistory of the proposed Hunyani Dam in the Iron Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7: 8-16.
Outline of the ceramics of the area around Harare, from the Early Iron Age to the Portuguese and Refuge period. Well illustrated with different kinds of pottery likely to be found by surveyors as well as useful table showing the ceramic sequence for the area. 7 figures.
78. Huffman, T. N. 1972. The Early Iron Age of the Urungwe district, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 12-16.
First report on excavations at NaBa and Lanlory sites in Karoi district. 2,000 individual vessels were recovered at NaBa with six human burials. A few vessels were found at Lanlory as well as three burials as well as hut remains and food waste. Carbonised cow-peas were the first food remains from the EIA found in Zimbabwe. The excavations allowed the Chinhoyi tradition to be placed in its own category. Some pottery was recovered from Chinhoyi Caves by divers. 2 figures.
79. Huffman, T. N. 1973. Radiocarbon dates and bibliography of the Rhodesian Iron Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 3-8.
A major reorganisation of the phonology of the Iron Age of Zimbabwe based on scores of radiocarbon dates, Crucially omits several dates owing to their suspect nature. Extensive, useful bibliography arranged by Tradition and era.
80. Huffman, T. N. 1973. Book Review: The origin of the Zimbabwean Civilisation. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 15-16.
Good review engaging with this fringe publication and systematically disproving the outlandish claims made by the author with use of solid archaeological data.
81. Huffman, T. N. 1974. Editorial. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 1.
Introduces new policy of journal numbering by including volume numbers and that articles would appear in chronological order.
82. Huffman, T. N. 1975. Book Review: Stone Age Myth and Magic. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 1.
83. Huffman, T. N. 1975. Solomon, Sheba and Zimbabwe. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 21-24.
Sober and thorough evaluation of the mythology of a connection between Great Zimbabwe and the Biblical stories of Solomon, Sheba and Ophir. Dispels them with reference to modern archaeological research and data. 4 figures.
84. Huffman, T. N. 1977. Zimbabwe: southern Africa's first town. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 9-14.



In a way, this excellent popular article is perhaps the true genesis of many of Huffman's later contested theories regarding the use of space, religion, rulership, economy and daily life at Great Zimbabwe. His explanations for the complexities of the culture and application of Shona history and ethnography to archaeological interpretation. First discussions of population and housing density there based on his excavations at the time. 2 figures.

85. Huwiler, K. 1972. More light on rock paintings. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 3-6. Excellent article on the manufacture of rock art, exploring the experimental practicalities of making paint using only prehistoric methods. The author made a few paintings and observed their survival in the elements, measuring different combinations of ingredients. 1 table.

I

86. Izzett, M. R. 1969. Zimbabwe and beyond. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 3: 9-10. Report on a Prehistory Society field trip to Great Zimbabwe, Majiri Ruins, Mdada Cave, Mapuwire Cave, Lundi Ruins, Chamavara Cave, and Chenga Ruins. Little detail on the sites themselves.
87. Izzett, M. R. 1970. Book Review: Rock Art of Southern Africa. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 4: 9.
88. Izzett, M. R. 1970. The need for allied interests. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 2. A call for people with different occupations and interests to join the Society owing to the broad range of interests across prehistory.
89. Izzett, M. R. 1970. Mapungubwe: 15th to 18th May, 1970. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 11-13. Report on a Society visit to Mapungubwe and K2 in May 1970, with good descriptions of the area, the archaeology and history of its study.
90. Izzett, M. R. 1970. May Day. Dam May Day! *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 15. Brief note on the proposed survey of the area to be flooded by Hunyani Dam.
91. Izzett, M. R. 1971. Progress on the Hunyani Dam Survey. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 8. Mentions that Tom Huffman, then of the Historical Monuments Commission, has joined the survey team as Director. Highlights the practical difficulties of archaeological survey but anticipates a useful and interesting task ahead.
92. Izzett, M. R. 1972. Archaeological Rescue Operations. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 2. Discusses the work done by the Hunyani Survey team in 16 trips over five and a half months. Compares the work done to that of Rescue in the UK and highlights the need for similar structures in Zimbabwe to prevent the careless loss and destruction of sites.
93. Izzett, M. R. 1972. The Hunyani Archaeological Survey to Date. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 2. Discusses the second season of fieldwork, covering more than two thirds of the area to be flooded by the dam. All work had been on the north side of the Hunyani River, with brief diversions elsewhere to check on interesting sites. Stone Age and Iron Age artefacts were discovered in profusion. A dig was held at an Iron Age site on Lazy River Farm.

94. Izzett, M. R. 1972. Book Review: Ancient ruins and vanished civilisations of southern Africa. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 10.
95. Izzett, M. R. 1973. Type Sites. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 7.
Very brief mention of location of Type Sites of Chitope, Coronation Park, Gokomere, Harare, Ingombe Ilede, Leopard's Kopje and Maxton.
96. Izzett, M. R. 1973. Looking Forward on the Hunyani Survey. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 8.
Mention of the survey and excavation plans for 1973 in the Hunyani Dam basin. 1 figure.
97. Izzett, M. R. 1973. Type Sites 2. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 3.
Very brief mention of the location of Type Sites of Bambandynalo, Mambo, Mapungubwe, Musengezi, Woolandale, Zhizo, and Ziwa.
98. Izzett, M. R. 1973. Visit to Mozambique Island. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 8-10.
Describes a holiday visit to Mozambique Island by nine members of the society. Useful summary of much of the history of the island, the fort and chapels. 1 figure.
99. Izzett, M. R. 1973. The Hunyani Archaeological Survey. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 13-14.
Survey now completed and discusses the next step of the project involving excavation and analysis of results. Mentions some of the incidents during the survey, most amusing.
100. Izzett, M. R. 1973. Going on a dig. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 15.
Discusses what essential equipment, clothing and personal items to bring on an excavation.
101. Izzett, M. R. 1974. Report on the Archaeological survey of the new Darwendale Dam basin. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 2-6.
Thorough report on the multi-year survey of the Hunyani-Darwendale Dam Basin. Very possibly one of the first AIAs ever done in the country. Located 50 sites, including ESA, Rock Art, Coronation, Maxton, Harare and Refuge sites. Four sites were chosen for excavation and results to be reported elsewhere. 1 figure.
102. Izzett, M. R. 1974. Obituary: Major Leslie Goodall. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 9.
Short but heartfelt obituary on Goodall, a policeman and husband to Elizabeth.
103. Izzett, M. R. 1977. Excavation on Crebilly Farm, Norton. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 2-5.
Short report on the excavation of an Iron Age site of the Coronation facies in the area of the Hunyani-Darwendale Dam. The site was dated to between the 8th and 9th centuries AD. Hut dhaka, metal fragments, 1471 potsherds, a single figurine, bone fragments and several LSA flakes were recovered. 2 figures. 2 tables.
104. Izzett, M. R. 1977. Excavations on Lowlands Farm, Norton. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 6-8.
A Maxton-era village site was excavated as part of the Hunyani Dam survey. Dated to the 10th century AD. A single figurine, tuyeres, slag, iron ore, grinding stones, 875 pottery sherds and two snapped cane beads were discovered. 3 figures. 1 table.
105. Izzett, M. R. 1980. Cattle in Zimbabwean Rock Paintings. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 18: 5-6.
Short note detailing five sites with clear depictions of cattle in the rock art close to Harare. 2 figures.



106. Izzett, M. R. 1980. Preliminary report of Excavation on Crowborough Farm, Salisbury District. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 18: 7-9.
Very short article on excavation of a LIA site of the Refuge Period in the Warren Hills area, Harare, which overlies a Maxton EIA site. 3 figures. See also pictures in Number 17 (1979): 16-17.
107. Izzett, M. R. 1994. Iron Age sites on the Warren Hills, Harare. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 15-20.
Describes a group of six stone-walled enclosures at Warren Hills, Harare. Further walling was discovered below one of the enclosures. 4 figures.

J

108. Jenkins, E. R. 1972. The 1972 School. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 9-10.
Good summary of the workings of the two week course of the Ranche House School of Archaeology. The aims to give a crash course in every aspect of doing an excavation, linked with an overview of Zimbabwean archaeology; past members were often granted provisional permits to lead their own excavations to assist professionals.

K

109. Katsamudanga, S. & Pwiti, G. Preliminary report on excavations at Kamukombe, a farming community village set in the mid-Zambezi Valley. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 19-25.
Report on excavations done at the multi-level Iron Age site of Kamukombe in the Zambezi Valley. Data supported assumption that Musengezi was an autochthonous development from the earlier Kadzi Tradition. Almost exact copy of an article published in 2006 in *The African Archaeology Network: Research in Progress*, Volume 5 of Studies in the African Past, edited by John and Jill Kinahan. 3 figures.
110. Kelly, L. 1994. Foreword. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 2.
Introduces contributors to the journal. Mentions the society is working with the Museum of Human Sciences to map Domboshava Hill to assist with the interpretive centre.
111. Kirkpatrick, I. M. 1973. Report on a visit to the Hunyani-Darwendale Dam Basin. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 2.
Very short note on the geology of the area, focusing on gravel deposits, opened by the contractors for construction purposes. Four deposits visited. The main deposit had pyroxenite bedrock. Two had first a preponderance of silicified serpentine. Another near the Gwebi confluence was sandy with large serpentine pebbles embedded.
112. Knopf, E. 1970. Feeling the Past. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 5: 9-10.
A report on a visit to the site of Dambarare with a professional dowser, Jim Scott-Elliot, visiting from the UK. They surveyed an unexcavated area, potentially identifying three buildings, but further research is needed to confirm this idea.
113. Knopf, E. 1974. A Guide to the Novice Excavator. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 8-10.
A good introduction to the techniques of excavating at an archaeological site with

many useful do's and don'ts. 5 figures.

114. Knopf, E. 1975. Excavations on Hunyani Estate, Norton, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 12-15.
Beacon Hill site excavated as part of Hunyani-Darwendale Dam survey. Hut dhaka, 2759 EIA pottery sherds from Maxton facies, with an unusual soapstone cylinder and fragments of metal found. Possibly from a small, tangent settlement. 4 figures.
115. Knopf, S. 1971. Prehistory's fading beauty. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 12-13.
Brief report on survey and recording of rock art sites by Peterhouse School Archaeological Society in the Marondera area.

L

116. Larsson, L. 2007. The Middle Stone Age of Northern Zimbabwe. Perspectives from the excavations of two sites. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 18-30.
Examination of the transition from the MSA to the LSA, based on results from excavations at Zombepata and Ruchera Caves in northern Zimbabwe. Some question about the dates at Zombepata Cave at the time of transition, dated to 20 000 BP. Large gap in sequence between MSA and LSA at Ruchera. 7 figures.
117. Lashbrook, J. 1973. Editorial. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 11: 1.
Change in editor as John Ford retired from the position. Mentions aim to make the journal appear twice a year, April and August and appeals for contributions from members.

M

118. Macamo, S., Risberg, J. & Ekblom, A. 2011. The archaeology of Afro-Portuguese Settlements and site formation processes in the Zambezi Valley, Mozambique. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 38-53.
Useful summary of settlement history in the Zambezi Valley during the historical Portuguese era (1500-1900 AD), comparing evidence for interactions between various cultures, including Mutapa, Torwa, and the Afro-Portuguese. Interesting use of micro-fossils to investigate and interpret site stratigraphy proving little mixing of the deposit and thus confidence in arrangement of cultural materials. 7 figures. 5 tables.
119. Machiridza, L. 2008. Developing the Rozvi archaeological identity in southwestern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 21-31.
Review of the archaeological material culture attributed to the Rozvi culture. The author questions the usefulness of minor distinctions in appearance of architecture, tools, weapons and pottery as a way to distinguish between the Rozvi and Butua cultures. Sees continuity in their appearance and manufacture for commoners but minor changes for the use of elites. 9 figures. 1 table.
120. MacKenzie, J. 1974. Furnace and bellows types in Iron Age archaeology. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 21-22.
Somewhat speculative article on the types of bellows used in prehistory in Zimbabwe using furnace and tuyere types with comparison to research elsewhere in Africa for clues. No definitive answer but an important contribution to a little-studied topic.
121. Makuvaza, S. 2007. The colonial legacy in Zimbabwe: Community Involvement in Heritage Management and Preservation and some Social and Economic



- Implications. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 59-68.
Review of how communities were alienated from their heritage in the country in the colonial period, via legislation and land alienation, and the few changes introduced after Independence. Brief mention of several projects after Independence aiming to reconnect communities with archaeological and historical sites around the country.
122. Makuvaza, S. 2008. Revisiting Bumbusi, a Khami-type site located in Hwange National Park, north-western Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 32-40.
First publication of maps of Bumbusi Ruins along with an in-depth discussion of the archaeology and history of this important cultural site.
 123. Makuvaza, S. & Hubbard, P. 2012. Obituary: Edward Sibindi. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 2-7.
A heartfelt, rare look at the career of a technical assistant in archaeological practice in Zimbabwe with good detail on his life and career in service of the changing discipline.
 124. Manyanga, M. 2005. The archaeology of the Shashi-Limpopo basin: summary of excavations conducted near the Shashi-Limpopo confluence, southern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 27-33.
Summary of excavations after a decade of research in the area to confirm an Iron Age cultural sequence of Zhizo, K2 and Mapungubwe phases, similar to the South African side of the river. The settlements largely conformed to the Central Cattle Pattern but had extremely mixed stratigraphy. A Khami-period site was also investigated. 3 figures. 1 table.
 125. Mataga, J. & Chabata, F.M. 2008. Preservation of spiritual heritage in Zimbabwe: the case of Gomba/Mazowe landscape. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 50-58.
Evaluation of the importance of Nehanda in the history of the Mazowe Valley. The veneration of Charwe and other spirit mediums is explored as one of the ways Zanu-PF has attempted to legitimise its misrule. One of the first articles to explore the significance of intangible cultural heritage in Zimbabwe. 1 figure.
 126. Matenga, E. 1994. A report on a cairn burial at Nyakambiri Dam, Marondera, Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 21: 38-42.
Report on excavation of a cairn burial exposed during dam construction near Marondera. An adult female skeleton was exposed at 1.5 metres below the surface in a con tracked position. Grave goods included iron beads, other iron objects and glass beads. One red-on-translucent green glass bead was dated to 18th-19th centuries. Author suggests cairn burials may a tradition associated with Harare and later Refuge periods in the area east of Harare. 3 figures.
 127. Matenga, E. 1997. Restoration of wooden lintels at the Western Entrance to the Great Enclosure, Great Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 6-13.
Seminal article on a landmark restoration and conservation of the western entrance to the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe, a model project of its kind. Describes the long process, including the incorrect reconstructions in 1911-1914, the experimental wall, ethical considerations in changing a National Monument and World Heritage Site, and the final restoration completed in October 1995. 5 figures.
 128. Mazarire, G.C. 2005. Defence consciousness as way of life: 'the Refuge Period' and Karanga defence strategies in the 19th century. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25:19-26.

- Proposes the identification of the Nhare Tradition among the pre-colonial Karanga in the Chibi area, as an expression of the mentality of the people living there during the unsettled times of the 19th century. Good critique of the “Refuge” Tradition.
129. McDonald, P.F. 1979. The excavation of Boggie’s Hill, Gwelo. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 2-7.
Thorough report on excavations on the summit of the hill, in the midst of a series of stone walls. Three burials were discovered along with a figure fragment, pottery, hut dhaka, iron slag, animal bones and a worked bone piece. Two distinct occupations were noted: an EIA Gumanye period, which included the burials, and an LIA Refuge period. 6 figures. 1 table.
 130. Morley, D.S. 1969. The First Decade. Mashonaland Prehistory Society. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 1: 2.
A very brief history of the Prehistory Society including a list of past Chairpersons.
 131. Morley, D.S. 1969. Khoisan and Negroes at Knossos. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 2: 9-10.
The author uses Schapera’s work in the San hunter-gatherers to compare with work by Evans on the island of Crete to strangely suggest that these people were resident at Knossos some 3,500 years ago. Not a credible idea; recent genetic research has shown a western European origin for Minoans/Cretans.
 132. Morley, D.S. 1973. The Hottentots of Rhodesia and adjacent territories. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 10: 9-12.
Confused discussion of the origins of “Hottentots”, now known as Khoi people, pastoralists of the Cape, South Africa. Relies on discredited research using cranial analysis for racial differentiation and argues for their presence in Zimbabwe on this shaky basis. 2 tables.
 133. Mtetwa, R.M.G. 1979. Labour supplies for the construction of the Zimbabwe and their implications. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 8-10.
Important, if dated article discussing the labour requirements necessary to build the stone walls of Great Zimbabwe, from quarrying to transporting to building in stone. Interesting discussion on the oral traditions relating to migrations of leaders and groups once thought to be associated with the site. Mistaken assertion that the site collapsed and the population migrated to Khami.
 134. Mupira, P. 1994. Another possible Bambata sherd from Nyanga, Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 43-44.
Speculative article describing a rim-sherd found during excavation of a foundation tentatively ascribed to the Bambata Tradition. If confirmed this would be very far to the east of its currently accepted distribution to the west of Zimbabwe and across much of Botswana. 1 figure.
 135. Mupira, P. 2001. Local Histories, Oral Traditions and the Archaeological Landscape in Nyanga District, Northeast Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 24: 14-21.
Important article investigating the weak links between the VaNyama people and the terracing and other archaeological remains in Nyanga. Notes oral traditions are meagre and mixed, especially compared to other data sources.
 136. Musonda, F.B. 1994. The search for early man in the Victoria Falls area, Zambia/Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 3-6.
History of archaeological research in the Victoria Falls area. Project to search for early human remains began in 1987 surveying an area of 10 sq. km. along the



gorges of the Zambezi River finding several sites.

N

137. Ndoro, W. 1994. Natural draught furnaces south of the Zambezi River. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 29-32.
Results of a survey near Great Zimbabwe revealed 21 sites, of which seven were furnaces argued to be natural draft type, previously unrecognised in the country. Identified thanks to diagnostic features of tuyere type and large diameter base. 2 figures. 1 table.
138. Nhamo, A. 2006. Then and Now: a look at Lionel Cripps' collection of Zimbabwean Rock Art from the 1930s and 1940s. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 13-18.
Discussion of the contents of the Lionel Cripps collection of rock art copies and related documents. Brief highlights of his ideas on interpretation. 8 figures.
139. Nhamo, A. & Katsamudanga, S. 2011. Patterns on the Landscape: clusters of rock art sites and motifs in the rock art of Zimunya, eastern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 26-37.
Attempt at a landscape approach to rock art studies in Zimunya using 86 sites discovered during surveys from sample of 186. Spatial analysis revealed that motifs and themes in the art may be localised, correlated to specific environmental parameters such as water, elevation and geology. Smaller sites clustered around larger sites, perhaps on a contemporary basis. 7 figures.

P

140. Palmer, E. D. 1974. The National Historical Association of Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 15.
Introduces the formation of the Association and issues a call for interested persons to assist with locating documents and reminiscences from ordinary people to be studied, recorded and perhaps housed at the National Archives.
141. Parry, E. 1997. Potency and Power: The Painted Snakes of the Matobo. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 21-25.
Tentative interpretation of motif of large snakes in the rock art of the Matobo Hills as a mythological creature associated with concepts of immortality. Accepts trance as a possible explanation of elongated figures as "shamans" transforming to journey to the spirit world for various purposes. 3 figures.
142. Parry, E. 1999. Recording of Zimbabwe Rock Art: The Past, Present and Future. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 50-56.
Strongly argues that any recording of rock art must not involve contact with the art or the rock surface at all. Advocates using a qualified artist creating a copy by comparison with the original image in situ, followed by a tracing taken from a projected image using a scale. Effectiveness of method favourably illustrated by comparison to copies made by previous researchers. 4 figures.
143. Parry, E. 2001. The Potency of Bees and Honey in the Rock Paintings of the Matopo Hills. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 24: 36-48.
First part of article highlights potential of different sources of information for interpreting the art and argues against trying to assign only one interpretation

to any image or panel. Rest of article showcases serval sites the author feels are indicative of honey collecting and use in the rock art. 10 figures.

144. Parry, E. 2007. Bushman arrow poisons in the Matopos. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 27: 52-58.
ntriguing review of 12 different species of plants that may have been used for arrow and other poisons by prehistoric forager communities in the Matobo Hills. 1 figure.
145. Payne, C. B. 2005. Some personal reminiscences relating to archaeology, mostly in Nyanga. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 44-47.
Chatty account about many early characters and discoveries in the archaeology of the Nyanga area
146. Petie, H. P. 1969. Two outstanding mythological figures from the Mtoko district. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 1: 11-12.
Discusses two feline therianthropes, one from Charewa Cave, the other from Manemba Cave. Based on appearance alone, argues the figures were painted by the same artist. 1 figure.
147. Petie, H. P. 1969. Man v. woman in unusual rock art. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 2: 12.
Discusses images at two sites of apparent conflict between male and female human figures in rock art sites at Ngomakurira and one in the Zambezi Valley. 1 figure.
148. Petie, H. P. 1970. Birds and trees in rock paintings. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 4: 8.
Discusses a painted site near Bindura showing a tree with birds sitting in the branches. Compares to similar sites seen in the Mvurwi and Concession areas. 1 figure.
149. Petie, H. P. 1971. The man from Diana's Vow and his brothers. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6: 3-7.
Compares the large human figure at Diana's Vow with similar paintings from Manemba, Concession, Ruchera, and several other sites. Considers that these are all male figures with mythological connotations. 1 table.
150. Petie, H. P. 1974. Bees or Birds? *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 2-3.
Article initially discusses possibility of formlings as bee hives and concludes that this is unlikely based on the sites the author had personally seen. Argues figures at these sites are more likely birds. 2 figures.
151. Petie, H. P. 1975. Mucheka Cave. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 2-6.
An in-depth examination of the paintings in Mucheka Cave, with an intriguing but ultimately flawed attempt to date them by style and appearance. 3 figures.
152. Popiel, V. The mysterious spherical rock holes of Zimbabwe: an engineers perspective. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 31-38.
Creative examination of different classes of grinding holes associated with metal-working and mining remains. Author notes certain precisely-made spherical holes defy conventional explanations and suggests machinery was used in grinding ore.
153. Prendergast, M. D. 1975. A new furnace type from the Darwendale dam basin. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 16-20.
Two fairly well-preserved furnaces were excavated as part of the Hunyani-Darwendale Dam survey. Unusual design to handle the harder magnetite ore found in the area. Large hole suggest that multiple tuyeres were used during smelting process. Includes drawing of hypothetical reconstruction of one of the different furnaces. 5 figures.



154. Prendergast, M. D. 1977. Stone-reinforced furnaces from Masembura Tribal Trust Land, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (15): 17-18.
Investigation of a group of five unusual stone-reinforced iron-smelting furnaces from near Chisvingo Ruin, dating to the late 17th century. Concludes they were bellows operated with at least four tuyere holes. 5 figures.
155. Prendergast, M. D. 1978. Two nineteenth-century metallurgical sites in the Wedza and Gwelo districts, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 16: 11-17.
Exemplary report on excavation and study of two furnace sites 180km apart sharing similarities in design and purpose. Author argues the ones near Wedza may be linked to Njanja iron-workers and the Gweru site to the unsettled times of the 19th century. 11 figures.
156. Prendergast, M. D. 1979. A note on magnetite ore found in sites in Darwendale area during the Hunyani Survey, 1972-1975. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 7.
Note on the source of unusual iron ore discovered at several sites in the Darwendale fault zone of the Great Dyke. Ore was likely collected on the surface as there are many fractured pieces.
157. Prendergast, M. D. 1979. Cornucopia: Phase 1 Zimbabwe stone buildings associated with an Iron Age tin mine? *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 11-16.
Report on a site near Rusape with many dolly holes, evidence for mining (including a broken ingot mould) and stone buildings. Author suggests tin mining might have been done here on a small scale to support bronze production at Great Zimbabwe and related sites as well as tin working at Khami and Dana'ngombe. A tin ingot found at Great Zimbabwe fitted exactly into the mould from this site. 3 figures.
158. Pwiti, G. 1988. Editorial. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 20: 2.
Notes gap in production of the journal. Highlights increasing dominance of Iron Age studies at expense of other aspects of archaeology. Increase in student membership after an archaeology degree was introduced at the University of Zimbabwe in 1986.
159. Pwiti, G. 1994. Prehistoric farming communities of the Mid-Zambezi valley, northern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 7-14.
Summary of results of archaeological research in the Zambezi Valley including surveys as well as excavations at Kadzi, an EIA village, and Kasekete, a LIA *zimbabwe* site. Research showed the apparently inhospitable area was occupied by early farmers for over 1500 years. 3 figures. 1 table.

R

160. Raath, M. 1970. Review of Dinosaur Studies in Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 4: 3-6.
Discussion of the evolution of paleontological studies in Zimbabwe from the first finds in 1903. Mentions several fossil locales, evolutionary history of several species including thecodonts, prosauropods, *Massospondylus* and the then-new discovery of *Vulcanodon karibiensis*.

S

161. Saddington, D. B. 1983. The Exploration of Africa in Roman Times. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 7-8.

Concise article on the exploration of north Africa in Roman times and the allusions to it in Classical literature which have survived.

162. Shenjere, P. 2012. Results of archaeological surveys in northern Nyanga and the Save Basin, eastern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 50-62.
Report on surveys in two previously unresearched areas cataloguing 110 new sites, ranging from the ESA to LIA. 6 figures. 2 tables.
163. Sinamai, A. 2008. The Harare Tradition and its relationship with other Late Farming Community Traditions in northern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 41-49.
A re-evaluation of the ill-defined Harare Tradition in northern Zimbabwe, concluding after typological analyses that it is likely to be a regional variant of the Musengezi Tradition. 10 figures. 6 tables.
164. Singer, R. 1959. The Boskop "Race" Problem. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 25-27.
A skull was found in 1913 at Potchefstroom, SA which was initially determined to be a new race of people. The author argues against this and places the find firmly in *Homo sapiens*, specifically of the San people. A summary of a longer article published in *Man* 58: 173-178.
165. Soper, R. C. 1988. Mount Fura and Iron Age hierarchies. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 20: 14-15.
Short note critiquing Huffman's misidentification of the layout and extent of Mutapa-era stone-built structures on Mount Fura. Shows the sites are in a linear pattern and cover a greater extent than previously reported. 1 figure.
166. Soper, R. C. 1994. Stone enclosures on Mount Fura, northern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 23-28.
Expansion of earlier publication on the description, dating, extent and importance of 15 stone enclosures at Mount Fura. Some may date to 16th century, while the loop-holed structures may be from the 17th and 18th centuries. Little evidence for a link between these and the Great Zimbabwe era.
167. Soper, R. C. 1999. Water furrows in the Nyanga National Park. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 3-14.
Description and recording of several furrows in the area adjacent to Nyanga National Park, with one in Troutbeck, with some augering to check for artefacts. Suggests classification of furrows into five categories based on location, design and construction details. Dating uncertain but many likely from the 19th century. 3 figures.
168. Soper, R. C. 2001. The role of cattle and manure in the agricultural systems of the Nyanga terrace complex. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 24: 22-30.
Detailed argument for the role of cattle in the Nyanga agricultural complex using mixture of historical and archaeological information. Sees manure being collected in the livestock pens of the pit structures, sluiced out as slurry to fertilise the fields. Suggests estimates of number of cattle and manure production in comparison to modern animals and agricultural practices. 4 figures.
169. Soper, R. C. 2005. Later Stone Age assemblages from Zimunya, Manicaland, eastern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 34-37.
Typological analysis of LSA assemblages from three rock shelters excavated in the eastern highlands. Similar to the Mtetwa assemblage excavated in the 1950s but no dating or more detailed studies were done making for a tenuous connection. 4



- tables.
170. Soper, R. C. 2005. Pit-structures with associated walls in Nyanga National Park. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 38-40.
Description of a unique group of pit-structures in Nyanga with walls on their upper sides, forming enclosures that may have once contained gardens. May date to late 18th our early 19th century. 1 figure.
 171. Soper, R. C. 2006. Some fresh perspectives on archaeology and prehistory. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 26: 42-43.
Humorous collection of misspellings and misconceptions in prehistory from students at the University of Zimbabwe over three decades of teaching.
 172. Soper, R. C. 2008. Retrospective. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 28: 3-9.
A personal review of a 44-year career spent in African archaeology by one of Zimbabwe's leading lights. Several seminal research projects were conceived and executed by Soper in East, West and Central Africa. Article ends with a bibliography of his published works.
 173. Soper, R. C. & Chirawu, S. 1997. Ruins on Mount Muozi, Nyanga District. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 14-20.
Survey, description and test pit excavation of the stone-walled ruin complex on the top of Mount Muozi after a bush fire swept the area clear. Dated to 16th or early 17th centuries. Discussion of the sacred nature of the hill and archaeological remains there by the VaNyama people. 4 figures.
 174. Soper, R. C. & Pwiti, G. 1988. Preliminary report on excavations at Wazi Hill, Centenary, northern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 20: 16-20.
Excavations formed part of the Centenary Archaeological Project, run from the University of Zimbabwe. Wazi Hill is a Musengezi village, occupied for several centuries. House remains on the hilltop fell within the known plan of Great Zimbabwe-type homes. Several figurine fragments, glass beads and animal bones were recovered. 2 figures.
 175. Soper, R. C. & Tagart C. 1994. A stone enclosure of the Great Zimbabwe tradition on Maine farm, Lake Chivero. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 21-22.
Short description of a small *zimbabwe* with sparse finds of graphite burnish ware of Great Zimbabwe type. 1 figure.
 176. Storry, J. G. 1974. Chitungwiza revisited. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 10-13.
Describes a visit to Chitungwiza Stronghold, associated with Chief Mutasa (Tendayi) from the 19th Century. The small structure was much ruined, with the earthen walls having slumped and many features from a 1930 visit unrecognisable. Useful summary of the history of the area. 3 figures.
 177. Storry, J. G. 1974. Pungwe pit-structure: a preliminary report. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 10-13.
Workmanlike but descriptive article of the investigation of a pit structure in the Pungwe area. At least four enclosures, with a tunnel leading to the pit. Evidence of a structure on top of the pit because roof beams were found. Sees drains as necessary for diverting water from heavy rains in the area. 4 figures.
 178. Sutton, J. E. G. 1983. A new look at the Nyanga terraces. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 19: 12-19.

An important article revisiting the terraces of Nyanga, with the aim of exploring their potential function, with speculations about their dating and relationship with water furrows. 2 figures.

179. Sutton, J. E. G. 1988. More on the cultivation terraces of Nyanga: the case for cattle manure. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 20: 21-24.
Argues for understanding the Nyanga terraces as part of an intensive, specialised agricultural system. Sees the pit structures as livestock pens *contra* earlier work and theorises dung could have been collected as fertiliser. Suggests several avenues for future research, later taken up by Soper.
180. Swan, L. 1997. Foreword. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 2.
Describes the activities of the society in discovering new sites around Harare and notes the improving frequency in the appearance of the journal.
181. Swan, L. 1997. Archaeological Survey of Domboshava Hill, Chinamora, northern Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 26-33.
Report on a survey done by the Society and Museum around Domboshava, revealing 62 sites in total in an area some 1.5km wide and 2km long. Ten new rock art panels were recorded, while Maxton and LIA ceramics were found in addition to grain bins and several potential burials in small overhangs. 6 figures. 1 table.
182. Swan, L. 1999. Description of a Surface Collection at Murwi Hill, Mazowe. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 15- 27.
Collection of artefacts from a disturbed site on Murwi Hill, including pottery sherds, dhaka, tuyeres, bone and teeth fragments and a glass bead. Grindstones and anvils were recorded but not collected. No assignation to a pottery tradition, but sherds with elements of Maxton, Musengezi, Harare, Gokomere/Ziwa and Chinhoyi noted. Different activity areas noted based on density of different finds, including a living site with an iron smelting area adjacent. 13 figures. 1 table.
183. Swan, L. 2001. Early Salt Extraction from sites in Chizarira: a preliminary assessment. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 24: 31-35.
Report on pottery finds from middens at two salt spring sites in Chizarira National Park. Suggests pottery collected is similar to that recovered at Kapula Vlei in Hwange, tentatively suggesting a date of nearly 1000 years for extraction there. 3 figures.
184. Swan, L. 2005. Archaeology around Rifa Educational Camp, Chirundu. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 41-43.
General review of the archaeological record in the area from the MSA to the LIA. Short section on imported glass beads. 4 figures.

T

185. Tagart, C. 1988. The cairnfield at Castle Kopje, Wedza District. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 20: 25-28.
Discussion of survey of an extensive archaeological site within Imire Game Park, revealing 211 cairns and five complexes of the same, for a total of 235 cairns of various kinds. Stone piles interpreted as graves from the Iron Age, with other domestic and smelting activity taking place at other times. 2 figures.
186. Thornycroft, C. E. 1974. Women carrying children in Rock Art. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (12): 4-7.



- Good article on five small sites showing women carrying children on their backs; no analysis of the importance but does highlight the rarity of children in rock art generally. Good copies of the figures under review. 5 figures.
187. Thornycroft, C. E. 1974. Test excavations on Sheffield Farm. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 6 (13): 14-20.
Excavation done to investigate potential purpose of rock heaps assumed to be graves. Discovered a shallow pit with a body interred during the "Refuge" period. 8 figures.
 188. Thornycroft, C. E. 1975. An Early Iron Age site in the Wedza district, Rhodesia. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7 (14): 7-11.
Detailed report on excavation of Merryhill Farm site which had Gokomere pottery and iron and slag remains. No radiocarbon dating done. Interestingly rare remains of figurines and an EIA hut floor discovered. 6 figures. 1 table.
 189. Thornycroft, C. E. 1978. Mythical Animals in the Marandellas district. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 16: 8-10.
Discussion of four pictures from three sites of heavy-bodied animals with antelope heads, standing on two legs. Tentatively interpreted using ethnography as the change of a bird into an animal, or vice-versa, to represent rain. 3 figures.
 190. Thornycroft, C. E. 1988. Excavations at Castle Kopje, Wedza. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 20: 29-36.
Excavation to initially investigate a stone-walled Refuge Period site with subsequent discovery of Harare and Zimbabwe Class 4 pottery and a burial with gold ornaments. Burial theorised to be from the time of Great Zimbabwe and affiliated to gold-working activity in the area. 8 figures. 1 table.
 191. Thorp, C. 1978. Book Review: The later prehistory of eastern and southern Africa. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 16: 10-11.
 192. Thorp, C. 1979. Book Review: Myths and Legends of Southern Africa. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 11.
 193. Thorp, C. 1997. A Preliminary report on Surface Collections from Hunters Road Mine. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 22: 34-41.
Report on collections of Stone Age artefacts near Gweru during an AIA. One of the first systematic collections of ESA and MSA open-air assemblages in the country. 3 figures. 8 tables.
 194. Thorp, C. 2005. The prehistory of the south-eastern lowveld, Zimbabwe: an assessment of old museum collections. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 25: 9-18.
A preliminary archaeological sequence for the south-eastern Lowveld is proposed. Highlights where research had been done and lists various collections in the Museum of Human Sciences that contribute to the understanding of the cultural sequence. 4 figures.
 195. Tucker, M. R. & Baird, R. C. 1983. The Trelawney/Darwendale Rock Art Survey. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 19: 26-58.
One of the finest reports on a rock art survey and analysis of results yet published in Zimbabwe. Comprehensive discussion on the various motifs and themes observed in the 79 sites discovered with a comparison to work done at Giant's Castle, South Africa. 40 figures. 14 tables.

V

196. van Waarden, C. 2011. The origins of Zimbabwe Tradition walling. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 29: 54-77.

Provocative, important article challenging the conventional narrative of Mapungubwe as the catalyst for the early development of the Zimbabwe Culture. Using research at several walled sites in Botswana, it is suggested that the technology of building stone walls developed in several places with by diffusion or direct control, with trading resources as a stimulus. Critiques the cognitive approach to interpreting the use of space at such sites. 12 figures. 3 tables.

W

197. Walker, N. J. 1972. Matabeleland Excursion, Part I: The Stone Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8: 7-9.

Summary of a Prehistory Society outing to Matabeleland, visiting six rock art sites in the Matobo Hills, summarising the state of archaeological knowledge about Bambata, Nswatugi and Pomongwe Caves.

198. Walker, N. J. 1972. Matabeleland Excursion, Part II: Late Iron Age. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 9: 3-7.

Summary of a Prehistory Society outing to Matabeleland and the Midlands. Mentions the archaeology of Naletale, Dhlo Dhlo and Khami Ruins.

199. Walker, N. J. 1978. The Later Stone Age of the Matopos. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 16: 2-8.

Detailed article on the author's seminal research project on the LSA of the Matobo Hills, reporting on early results from excavations at Nswatugi and Tshangula Caves and Shashabugwa Shelter. Mentions recording at least 180 rock art sites in the area with tentative insights into rock art provinces. 4 figures.

200. Walker, N. J. 1979. Obituary: Peter F. McDonald: in memory. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 17: 7.

Short personal tribute to the memory of Peter McDonald, a promising young archaeologist killed in service to his country.

201. Walker, N. J. 1980. Stone Age Bored Stones. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 18: 2-4.

Review and preliminary classification of the various discoveries of bored stones comparing pendants, beads, rings, club heads, trap weights, discs and digging stick weights. Interesting note on the apparent geographic restriction of finds of certain of these types. 3 figures.

202. Walker, N. J. 1988. A preliminary analysis of pigments from the Later Stone Age of the Matopos, Zimbabwe. *Zimbabwe Prehistory* 20: 37-40.

Report on scanning of specimens of apparent pigment under a scanning electron microscope contrasted with rock art samples from nine sites. Concludes that reds, oranges and yellows were ochre paint but white derived from titanium-based compound and black from charcoal. 3 figures.

203. Walker, N. J. 2012. Majande Ruins: Test Excavations at a Late Khami-Type *dzimhahwe* with Moloko-type pottery in eastern Botswana. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 34-49.

Report on excavations at this extensive, important stone-walled site which revealed Moloko pottery and a revised occupation period between 1640 AD to the early 18th century. Shows a dynamic history including trade with foragers until recent



- times. 10 figures. 1 table.
204. Walker, N. J. & Sibindi, E. 2012. A note on the fruit remains at Pomongwe Cave, Matopos. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 30: 63-66.
Publication of a table of plant remains recovered from excavations at Pomongwe Cave, Matobo Hills. Excellent window into past diets of foragers in the area during the LSA. 1 table.
 205. Walker, P. J. & Dickens, J.G. 1994. The assessment of a non-destructive technique for dating stone walls. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 21: 33-37.
Explanation of results of testing weathering of granite blocks in walls at Great Zimbabwe using the schmidt hammer as a method of dating. Several difficulties experienced in the field giving inconsistent results yet the authors conclude that there was no significant variation in the hardness of the rock leaving the technique worthless as a dating technique. 1 figure. 4 tables.
 206. Weinrich, A. K. H. 1970. The role of ritual in the traditional political system. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 4: 6-7.
A brief summary of a lecture to the Society on Shona ritual in traditional, national politics, from God (Mwari) to the guardians of various shrines and ceremonies conducted.
 207. Westbury, D. 1959. Impressions of the Ruined Cities of Ceylon. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 12-17.
A travelogue summarising the author's visit to Sri Lanka in 1958, visiting several ruins connected to Sinhalese culture.
 208. Whitty, A. 1959. Some Notes on the Iron Age in Southern Rhodesia. *Journal of the Salisbury Prehistoric Society* 1: 2-11.
A decent summary of the state of knowledge of the Iron Age in the country in 1959. Uses the work of Caton-Thompson, Schofield and Summers for his summary which is of historical interest as it is one of the last published before the C14 revolution refined chronologies.
 209. Woodhouse, H. C. 1969. Pilgrimage to the Past in Lesotho. *Rhodesian Prehistory* 2: 3-5.
Description of a trip to Medikane rock shelter in eastern Lesotho, previously visited by early researchers, including Francis Orpen and his San guide, Qing, in 1873. Discusses a few of the paintings in detail and challenges the interpretation of Qing of the identification of several motifs. The art has now much discussed by rock art researchers in South Africa.
 210. Woodhouse, H. C. 1999. Two Elusive Rock Painting Sites. *Zimbabwean Prehistory* 23: 62-64.
Short note on two rock art sites, one in Odzi, the other in the Matobo Hills previously published by the author. Startling mention of a suggestion that "Bushmen" were known to come and retouch paintings in Odzi area. Discusses the Cheetah Hunt painting in Matobo Hills, made famous by Neville Jones. 3 figures.

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Mashonaland Branch Chairman's Annual Report presented to the 50th AGM



PREAMBLE

Because of Covid 19 the past year has been a particularly difficult period with respect to the holding of talks this being the main function of the Mashonaland Branch of the History Society of Zimbabwe: This has been partly due to the loss of our traditional venue in recent years, St Georges College, and secondly due to Ministry of Health regulations regarding gatherings.

When we HAVE held talks, attendances have been relatively low compared to the pre-Covid period. This probably due to the following factors:

At first, the total ban on gatherings.

Then the restriction on the numbers attending gatherings.

Followed by a reluctance of some of our members to attend gatherings even when vaccinated due to their wanting to avoid exposure to the disease.

And finally, in more recent time, due to the government requirement for people attending gatherings to be in possession of a vaccination certificate.

Furthermore some members are reluctant to attend talks that are at a venue that is not as central as St Georges College.

TALKS

However, despite these problems, we were able to hold 4 talks in the past year. Thankfully The Mukuvisi Woodlands permitted us to undertake talks in their Boma. Attendees have enjoyed this venue to the extent that some have asked us to continue there even after Covid. Although we are very grateful for the use of their facilities, if numbers attending our talks increase, we will have to either return to St Georges or find another larger venue.

In his on-line Annual Report for the 50th AGM Robin Taylor covered the period from 15 March 2020 up to 30 September 2021. As this report for the 51st AGM covers the period April 2021 to March 2022 I am herewith repeating Robin's coverage of the talks from April 2021 to September 2021 together with what presentations have been given after 1 October, when I took over the chairmanship, up until now. Paul Hubbard spoke to us on 9 May 2021 on the subject "Rhodes Still Lives: 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 26 September 2021 we had a presentation at the Mukuvisi Woodlands Boma by Mr Cosmas Nyamutsa entitled "Great Zimbabwe: who built it and why". It was regrettably poorly attended by only 45 members as it was a very stimulating talk. Cosmos



Nyamutswa concluded that Great Zimbabwe was built by the Mwenye, Lemba people in the 1300s or 1400s as a place of initiation which included male and female circumcision. Mr Nyamutswa has written a book in support of his views.

The next presentation was on Sunday 23 January at the Mukuvisi Woodlands Boma when John Reid-Rowlands gave a talk entitled “The Golden Age: Long Haul Flying to Africa in the 1930s”. The talk was about the first flight down Africa in 1920, followed by an account of the Imperial Airways scheduled flights from London to Cape Town in the early 1930s - the routes they took, where they landed and night-stopped and the aircraft used. Seventy members and guests of the flying club attended the meeting and greatly enjoyed the photographs of the commercial planes of that era as well as some film clips

The final talk for the year was delivered on 27 February at the Mukuvisi Woodlands by Dr Tony Martin who gave an excellent Power Point presentation entitled “Carl Gottlieb Mauch (1837 – 1875) African Explorer Extraordinaire”. The Society is deeply indebted to Dr Martin for stepping in with less than one month notice due to a cancellation of the talk on Seedco that had been planned for that day. Tony Martin’s talk was exceptional as he had only a month to research the topic and prepare the well-illustrated presentation.

Mauch’s passion to fill the blank spaces in the mid-19th century maps of Southern Africa led to the production of maps of the interior and journals, filled with geological, botanical and ethnographic information which provided a unique record of Zimbabwe 150 years ago.

FUTURE TALKS

The Society already has planned a full itinerary of talks (Covid permitting) for the rest of this year.

In May, after the April school holidays, we will have Dilip Chouhan talking on the History of the Hindu Community in Zimbabwe.

This should be followed by a talk on the BSAP by David Young in June.

Near the end of July will be a talk entitled “The Rhodesian Ridgeback, Zimbabwe’s Lion Hound” by Drs Charles Waghorn and Ant Fynn, the renowned Wildlife Artist.

In early September we hope to have J.J. Odendaal or an alternative speaker talking about the history of Gwebi Agricultural College.

In October it is hoped that the Society will have its annual lunch with a speaker. This is normally arranged by the National Executive.

This will be followed in November by John Reid-Rowland giving a second talk; this time on civil aviation post-1935 in this country.

Finally, if time permits in December, Benny Leon is keen to give us Part II of the History of Cinema in Zimbabwe.

In addition to all this Jeremy Lewis is keen to give a talk on the Reform club and the American involvement in the Boer War.

It is also my hope that within the next year we will resume History Society outings as I feel that these have in the past been such an important part of the Society’s activities.

CHATLINE

In order to partly make up for the fewer talks your society has tried to keep up your interest by expanding the use of the Chatline. Between mid-March 2021 and now we have put out 55 Chatline messages varying from offers from members to either buy or sell various books, inquiries about various people and historical events, notices about

meetings and a variety of articles of historical interest. Just to mention a few:

‘Mayor’ Schultz of Enkeldoorn.

The Great ‘Caine’ Robbery (in 4 Parts).

The Flying Mapmakers.

A three part series on ‘Skebanga’.

Boarding School 60 years ago.

Shangaan Poison.

Shadrek the Poacher.

A Cup of Tea saved Salisbury.

Evelyn Dawn Connor’s Reminiscences (In several parts).

The Eventful Life of William Hurrell.

We are greatly indebted to Doug McClymont who worked very hard to source and edit most of these articles. We are also very grateful to Dave Gray of the Pioneer Society who passed on some of their interesting papers. I like to call some of what we sent out ‘History Lite’ due to its lighter hearted nature. Judging by the feedback we have received from many members it does, however, seemed to have gone down very well despite the history purists feeling that some was not up to the standard of articles published in Heritage.

Regretfully some of you have been having trouble receiving our Chatlines. In most cases it appears that it is your servers that are blocking our mail, in particular Mweb, Mango and Zol. The only remedy for this would be for those having problems to set up a gmail address. Members using gmail do not seem to suffer these problems.

MEMBERSHIP

Between mid-March 2021 and now we have recruited 50 new members. Twenty five members died during the past few years and have been removed from the membership list so in the past year we have had a net gain of 25. The current membership stands at 935. It has transpired that our website has attracted interest in the Society and some of the new members have applied to join from around the world.

OUTREACH

Regretfully our Outreach Programme that we ran from Pleasantways for their elderly residents that were not able to attend our talks has been in abeyance since the commencement of the Covid Lockdown. Even when it became possible to have gatherings again we thought it prudent not to expose elderly people to Covid. I hope the repeats of our talks will resume later this year as they were popular not only for the residents of Pleasantways but also for HSZ members who had missed the original talks.

THANKS

We are indebted to the wonderful support that all of the Mashonaland Branch Committee has given to both Robin Taylor, who was Chairman for the first half of the year, and me for the second half. It gives me pleasure to mention in particular Doug McClymont for all the articles he sourced and prepared for the Chatline, John McCarthy for his sterling work behind the scenes with the audio-visual equipment at our talks, Stan Fynes-Clinton for his collection of donations at talks and keeping the books and Anne Campbell for



taking on the job of honorary Minute Secretary.

We give great thanks to you our members for your support, attendance at meetings and great generosity with respect to donations. It is because of your generosity that we have been able to keep our heads above water financially despite fewer meetings and lower attendances as well as being able to give US\$500 to the National Executive towards the publication of *Heritage*.

Furthermore we give thanks to Makuvisi Woodlands for not only the beautiful venue for our talks in the past year but also for the audio-visual equipment that they supply.

Your committee embarked on a campaign to recruit new blood to the committee and I am pleased to say that Dorothy Wells-Kaschula and Robin Bottomley have joined. We are very grateful to them.

Ben Kaschula and John McCarthy are stepping down at the end of this meeting. We are disappointed to see them leave but are extremely grateful for the large amount of time and effort they have put into the running of the Mashonaland Branch over many years especially John McCarthy who has been Chairman and in recent years single-handedly ran the audio visual equipment at our talks at St Georges and Mukuvisi Woodlands.

Finally I give thanks to my wife Lesley for the help she gives proof reading some of the *Chatlines* and the great moral support she gives, especially during the endless problems with the Telone ADSL wifi when I am trying to send out the *Chatline* messages.

CONCLUSION

At past AGMs some members have suggested that the Mashonaland Branch should merge with the National Executive. Due to the large overlap of many committee members who sit on both the committees, two treasurers, two chairmen, and the fact that it is unlikely that the Bulawayo and Mutare branches are likely to be resurrected, the majority of the Mashonaland Branch committee concur with this view. The issue is under review at the National Executive.

I will end by saying that I feel very privileged to have again been able to serve the Society as Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch and look forward to continuing to contribute under a new chairman in 2022/2023

Charles Castelin

The National Chairman's Annual Report for 2021-2022



The world appears to be returning to normal after the last couple of years of Covid scares and restrictions and the Society has managed to carry on despite these difficulties. We hope and pray that the conflict in Europe can be resolved and does not erupt into another global issue which will impact on us all.

The committee was not able to meet in 2020, the 2021 AGM was postponed and the annual luncheon was cancelled. Despite the restrictions on gatherings the committee did manage to get back on course in March 2021. The main topic of discussion, apart from the financial oversight and Heritage matters, revolved around the placing of Heritage on line. The original intention was to allow a much wider readership of Heritage but unfortunately the publication, whether virtual or in hard copy, attracts costs. The Society has been most fortunate in receiving some very generous donations from members to assist with the publication but a consistent and reliable source of income is needed for the longer term sustainability of Heritage. Fraser Edkins continues to edit and oversee the publishing of this world class journal. Ray Roberts has scanned a large proportion of Heritage journals (and all copies of Rhodesiana) and these are ready to be uploaded and released. Doug McClymont was invited to join the committee to share his ideas as he has had experience in on line publishing. A sub committee was formed and tasked with investigating the mysteries of such a venture.

Charles Castelin brought the Society into the digital age after much hard work ironing out the glitches with the service providers. The innovative 'Chatline' kept members in touch with the Society and proved incredibly popular. Membership increased to over 900 and this could be attributed to the readership of the most interesting Chatline articles.

I am most grateful for the very wise and thoughtful counsel given by the dedicated and long serving members of the National Committee who also include John McCarthy, Tim Tanser (who has kindly hosted all our meetings) and Robin Taylor. The committee members are prepared to stand for re-election but all feel that there is an urgent need for new faces and ideas to attract younger members and to keep the objectives of the Society relevant. There are no pre-requisites for members to serve on the committee, which meets about 3 times a year and deals with broader matters than the Branches (sadly only Mashonaland remains) which are the "face" of the Society and arrange for the meetings and outings we have come to appreciate. I wish to commend Robin Taylor , and latterly Charles Castelin, for keeping the Mashonaland Branch alive and vibrant despite the numerous challenges they faced.

Thank you all for your support of the History Society of Zimbabwe during my tenure at the helm.

Kevin Atkinson. March 2022.