The Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Southern Rhodesia,1891-1945

by

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Abstract.

This thesis covers the history of the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia from 1891 to 1945. Several aspects of Rhodesian Methodism are discussed, including the religious, educational, literary, and medical aspects, and the role of the missionaries in African Welfare. Before examining the work of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia, the traditional religion of the two major African peoples in Southern Rhodesia, the Shona and Ndebele, is discussed in order to provide the framework within which the missionaries worked when they arrived in the country. The background to Rhodesian Methodism; the establishment of the first Methodist missions in Mashonaland from the time the missionaries arrived up to the outbreak of the Matabele war of 1893; the Matabele war itself and its results from the missionaries' standpoint; the establishment of Methodist missions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland from the end of the Matabele war until the outbreak of the Ndebele and Shona risings in March and June of 1896, are also discussed. The causes of the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7 against the regime of the British South Africa Company and the results of the two risings on the country as a whole and on the Methodist missions in particular, form another important theme of this thesis.

Several aspects of the work of the Methodist missions from the supression of the Ndebele and Shona risings in 1897 up to the end of the First World War in 1918, are studied in detail. These include the establishment of more Methodist mission stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland; the African response to Christianity and the literary and medical work carried out during this period. One of the most important contributions of the Methodists in Southern Rhodesia was in

the field of African education. The major Methodist educational institutions established between 1898 and 1918 and between 1919 and 1945 are studied in detail and their contribution to African education is assessed.

Several aspects of the work of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia between 1918 and 1945 are also discussed. These include, first, the expansion of the Methodist Church through four movements, the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement, the Girls' Christian Union, the Men's Christian Union and the Boys' Christian Union; second, the rules and regulations governing the membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia and the problems encountered in enforcing these rules and regulations; third, the literary work carried out during this period; fourth, the phenomenon of independency, and in particular, the secession of the Rev. E.T.J. Nemapare from the Methodist Church to form his own African Methodist Church; and fifth, an assessment of the achievements of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia during this period.

An examination is made of the role played by the missionaries generally and by the Methodists in particular in African welfare between 1914 and 1945, especially on the land and franchise questions and the role played by the Methodist missionary, the Rev. Percy Ibbotson, in African welfare, particularly in his capacity as Organising Secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia. Finally, the significance of Christian missions generally and the Methodist missions in particular in the history of Southern Rhodesia, is assessed.

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Abbreviations.

APS	Aborigines Protection Society.
B/C/A/B.	Biographical Central Africa Box.
BSAC	British South Africa Company.
C.O.	Colonial Office.
C/M/B.	Correspondence Mashonaland Box.
C/T/B.	Correspondence Transvaal Box.
C/R/B.	Correspondence Rhodesia Box.
C/S/R/B.	Correspondence Southern Rhodesia Box.
RHO.	Rhodes House Oxford.
parag.	paragraph.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
S/M/S/A/B.	Synod Minutes South Africa Box.
S/M/R/B.	Synod Minutes Rhodesia Box.
S/M/S/R/B.	Synod Minutes Southern Rhodesia Box.
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

Preface.

As far as I am aware, there have been only two studies made on the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia. The first was by Messrs. Findlay and Holdsworth in their five volume study on the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. In their fourth volume which was published in 1922, Findlay and Holdsworth devoted two chapters to the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia. These two gentlemen were primarily concerned with the expansion of Methodism to various parts of the world and for this reason could not have paid adequate attention to the growth and expansion of Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia. The second study was the Rev. C. Thorpe, a Methodist missionary who worked in Southern Rhodesia for several years. His study which was published in 1951, however, was intended more to publicise the work of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia than as a detailed and scholarly work on the subject.

Furthermore, unlike in West and South Africa, very few detailed studies have been made on missionary enterprise in Southern Rhodesia in general and on the Methodist missions in particular. The time has come when such studies should be made. In this respect, Dr. Bhebe in his study on Christian missions in Matabeleland and Dr. Rennie in his study on colonialism, Christianity and nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, have contributed a great deal to this aspect of Rhodesia's history and it is to be hoped that similar studies will be made in the not too distant future. This thesis covers the history of the work of one missionary body that has profoundly influenced the lives of many Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1891 and 1945. I hope it will make some contribution to this aspect of Rhodesia's history.

A Note on Sources.

The material for this work has been based primarily on four sources: The Methodist Missionary Society archives in London; The Public Record Office, London; the British Museum, London, where I had the opportunity to study various United Kingdom Government documents on Southern Rhodesia; and Rhodes' House, Oxford. For various reasons, I was unable to go for field work in Rhodesia. I believe some valuable material is to be found there. It is very much regretted that I have not been able to make use of this material. Whatever limitations this work may have, must, therefore, be understood in this context.

Table of Contents

Abstract I

Acknowledgements III

Abbreviations IV

Preface V

A Note on Sources VI

Introduction 1

Chapter 1: Shona and Ndebele Traditional Religion ... 12

Chapter 2: The Background to Rhodesian Methodism 34

Chapter 3: The Establishment of the First Methodist Missions in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, 1891-1896 52

Chapter 4: The Ndebele and Shona Risings,1896-7 81

Chapter 5: The Establishment of Methodist Missions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the African Response to Christianity,1897-1918. 115

Chapter 6: The Growth and Expansion of Methodist Educational Institutions,1897-1918 167

Chapter 7: The Expansion of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia,1918-1945 190

Chapter 8: The Expansion of Methodist Educational Institutions, 1919-1945 236

Chapter 9: The Missionaries and African Welfare, Part 1, 1914-1945 282

Chapter 10:The Missionaries and African Welfare, Part 2, 1940-1945 376

Summary and Conclusion 406

Bibliography 413

Maps ..... End Pocket

Introduction

The founder of Methodism, John Wesley, died in 1791 and a century after his death, the first Methodist missions were established in Southern Rhodesia. This expansion of Methodism to Southern Rhodesia was not an isolated event; it was part of the expansion of Methodism, before and after Wesley's death, to various parts of the world, to North America, Europe, Asia and Africa. On the African continent, the first Methodist missions were begun in West Africa.

In Sierra Leone, Methodism was first introduced by Negro Methodist converts from Nova Scotia in 1792. On their arrival in the new settlement of Sierra Leone, they formed religious classes among themselves, erected a temporary place of worship, a few of them acting as local preachers and a few others as class leaders. It was in this wise and by these Negro converts that Methodism found its way to Sierra Leone.[1] It was, however, not until November 12, 1811, that the first Methodist missionaries, under the leadership of George Warren, arrived in Sierra Leone.

The Methodists next established themselves in South Africa. On April 14, 1816, the Rev. Barnabas Shaw and his wife landed at Cape Town, and with their arrival, the Methodist mission to South Africa began.[2] Meanwhile, the work already begun in West Africa was expanded. In Gambia, the first Methodist missions were begun by the Revs. John Morgan and John Baker in 1820.[3]

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1. Charles Marke, Origin of Wesleyan Methodism in Sierra Leone, London, 1913,p.5; G.G.Findlay and W.W.Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 5 vols. Vol.IV,London, 1922, pp.73-117.
2. Findlay and Holdsworth,op.cit,pp237-377;J.du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Cape Town,1911, Chapters XVIII and XXIX; J.Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, London, 1906
3. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit.pp.118-146.

In the Gold Coast, the first Methodist missions were begun by Mr. Joseph Dunwell when he arrived at Cape Coast Castle in 1834. The missions begun by Dunwell were expanded by his successors, among whom the most important were Thomas Birch Freeman and William West.[1] It was also Freeman who introduced Methodism to modern Nigeria when he established the first Methodist Mission among the Yoruba on September 24, 1842.[2]

In Southern Rhodesia, the first Methodist missions were begun by Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin when they arrived at Fort Salisbury on September 29, 1891. The expansion of Methodism to Southern Rhodesia must be seen within the context of Christian missionary enterprise as a whole. In the nineteenth century, the pioneers of Christian missions in Southern Rhodesia were the members of the London Missionary Society. It was the LMS which pioneered missionary enterprise in Matabeleland under the leadership of Robert Moffat. After protracted negotiations with Mzilikazi, the Ndebele king, the missionaries were granted a mission farm on which they established their first mission at Inyati in 1859. In 1870, Mzilikazi's successor, Lobengula, granted the missionaries a site for a second mission at Hope Fountain.

During the first three decades, the missionaries found the work exceedingly difficult and the prospects uninspiring. This was largely because the Ndebele military system proved a powerful hindrance to Christian teaching. In addition, the gospel made little headway among the Ndebele because it "inculcated peace, and enjoined monogamy;

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1. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit, pp.147-201; F.L.Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, Cambridge University Press, 1965; Dennis Kemp, Nine Years at the Gold Coast, London, 1898.
2. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit, pp.202-233.

both were abhorrent to the Matabele chiefs".[1] For thirty years, the missionaries worked among the Ndebele, but did not win a single convert.[2]

It was only after the establishment of the British South Africa Company regime that the LMS began to make significant progress when additional land was granted to the missionaries for mission purposes. This made the missionaries holders of considerable property in land. The Inyati mission covered some 8,000 acres and the Hope Fountain mission over 6,000 acres. The largest holding, however, was the 24,000-acre mission farm which the Company ceded to the Society at Dombodema in 1895.[3]

The LMS were followed by the Jesuits. In 1879 the Jesuits under the leadership of Father Depelchin, arrived at Lobengula's capital at Bulawayo. It was one of the members of this group, Father Peter Prestage, who was responsible for the establishment of the first Catholic mission in Matabeleland. After protracted negotiations with Lobengula, Prestage was informed by the Ndebele king on January 20, 1885, that he could open his mission. In March, 1885, Prestage chose a site for his mission at Empandeni. The king granted him full liberty to teach religion although at first he attempted to avoid the issue of religious instruction. Prestage insisted, however, that unless religious instruction was given, the Jesuits would not teach at all, whereupon the king agreed although he would not "guarantee that the boys would attend the school".[4] In 1887, the mission was moved from Bulawayo and in 1888 the Empandeni school was opened. The experience

1. Richard Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, 2 vols, Vol.1, Oxford, 1899, p.625.
2. W.F.Rea, "The Missionary Factor in Southern Rhodesia," Historical Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Local Series, No.7, Salisbury, 1962, p.7
3. Norman Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945, Oxford, 1954, p.264.
4. Michael Gelfand, (ed), Gubulawayo and Beyond, Letters and Journals of early Jesuit Missionaries to Zambesia, 1879-1887, London, 1968, p.429; 459-460.

of the Jesuits was similar to that of the LMS. Inspite of all their efforts, they did not win a single convert.[1]

Towards the end of 1889, the Jesuits, because of the unsettled state of Matabeleland, withdrew from Empandeni and left the country. They returned, however, in the wake of the occupation of Mashonaland by the forces of the British South Africa Company in 1890. Father Hartman became Chaplain to the pioneer column marching on Mashonaland. Father Prestage followed later with Mother Patrick's band of Dominican sisters who had volunteered to bring relief to the sick and wounded. They arrived at Fort Salisbury on July 27, 1891. A hospital was at once established in the Salisbury laager, followed by a convent chapel and school in 1892.[2] Also in 1892, the Jesuits opened an important mission at Chishawasha.

The Jesuits were followed by the members of the Church of England. In 1888, Bishop Knight Bruce of the see of Bloemfontein, arrived in what became Southern Rhodesia to explore the possibilities of opening an Anglican mission in Mashonaland. But no journey to Mashonaland was possible without the prior consent of Lobengula. Knight Bruce, therefore, sought Lobengula's permission to do so. Lobengula at first refused. "Apparently his fear that subject tribes, whom he raids upon, should be taught", Knight Bruce wrote, "makes him put aside all other considerations".[3] After protracted negotiations with Lobengula, Knight Bruce was finally allowed to visit Mashonaland.

From his experiences in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, Knight Bruce drew two conclusions. First, that the only hope, "humanly

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1. Rea, op.cit,p.9
2. E.Verwimp,Thirty Years in the African Wilds,London,1938,p.182
3. C.E.Fripp and V.W.Hiller,(eds)Gold and the Gospel in Mashonaland, London,1949,p.17.

speaking" he could see for the Ndebele nation was the establishment of an English Protectorate so that "the better element, if there be any, in the people may be allowed to have some influence.[1] Second, with respect to the Shona, Knight Bruce concluded that they were a degraded nation which greatly needed Christian teaching. "To have seen these people, and to have had dealings with them - to have seen fallen humanity untouched by the regenerating influence of Christianity", he wrote, "is an argument for the necessity of Missions such as nothing else could provide, should the Command to Christianize all nations not carry sufficient force".[2] Knight Bruce, however, decided against establishing missions in Mashonaland for the time being because Lobengula would not allow this.He felt that though the breaking of Ndebele power would "probably ensure their entrance, the probable evils resulting from that at present would be greater than the benefits."[3]

With the occupation of Mashonaland by the forces of the BSAC in 1890, Knight Bruce saw new opportunities and resigned from the see of Bloemfontein to become the first Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland in 1891. The Anglicans established several missions in Mashonaland. The most important of these during the early period was the St. Augustine's mission at Penhalonga which was begun in 1891. Progress was made at this mission in 1897 when the Bishop Knight Bruce Memorial College was founded as an industrial mission for African boys, under the Rev. Pelly. Work was begun in earnest in 1898 and the College was dedicated in January, 1899. There were twelve boarding pupils in

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1. Ibid, p.109
2. Fripp and Hiller,op.cit,p.57
3. Ibid,p.130

November,1900 when the Rev.E.H.Etheridge arrived as Principal.[1] After the fall of the Ndebele state in the war of 1893, Anglican missions were extended to Matabeleland as well.

Another missionary body which entered Southern Rhodesia during this period was that of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. The pioneer group led by the Rev. A.A.Louw, established its first mission at Morgenster in 1891. Louw was later joined by Dr.J.T. Helm and several other missionaries including Messrs. Hofmeyr, Hugo and Jackson. The increase in missionary ranks made it possible to found two new mission stations to the east and north-east of Morgenster.[2]

Thus, when the pioneer Methodist missionaries, Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin, reached Fort Salisbury on September 29, 1891, several Christian missions had already been established in Southern Rhodesia by the LMS, the Catholics, the Anglicans and by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. The Methodists were followed by several other missionary groups. One of these was the group representing the Salvation Army. The pioneer group, led by Staff Captain Pascoe, reached Fort Salisbury on November 18,1891 and shortly afterwards, several mission stations were opened among the Africans of the Mazoe Valley.

Four American missionary groups also entered the country during this period. The first was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which established two important mission stations in Mashonaland, the first, at Mt Silinda in 1893 and the second at

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1. C.F.Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the SPG London,1901,p.366(1).
2. J.du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Cape Town, 1911,p.290.

Chikore in 1895. The second group was that of the Seventh Day Adventists which established an important mission station at Solusi in Matabeleland in 1894. The third group was that of the American Methodist Episcopal Church under the leadership of Bishop Hartzell. This missionary group began its first mission station at Old Umtali in 1897. The fourth group was that of the Brethern in Christ Church which established the Matopo mission in Matabeleland in 1898.[1]

Another missionary group which entered Southern Rhodesia during this period was that of the South African General Mission which began an important mission at Rusitu in 1897. After 1898, several missionary groups entered Southern Rhodesia, including those representing the Church of Christ; the Presbyterian Church of South Africa; the Church of Sweden; the Swedish Free Church Mission; the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland; the Free Methodist Church and the South African Baptist Missionary Society.

Two things were significant about missionary enterprise in Southern Rhodesia between 1859 and 1898. First, from the experience of the LMS in Matabeleland, the missionaries were convinced that missionary enterprise in the new country had little chance of success until Ndebele power was broken, and that this could only be done by force. For this reason, the missionaries welcomed the arrival of the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland in 1890.[2] This was true of missionaries generally and of the Jesuits in particular. The Jesuits, as we have already noted, abandoned their mission at

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1. K.S.Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 Vols, Vol.V, London, 1943, p.385.
2. T.O.Ranger, "The Nineteenth Century in Southern Rhodesia", T.O.Ranger, (ed), Aspects of Central African History, London, 1968, p.140.

Empandeni in 1889 because of the unsettled state of Matabeleland. We also noted that the Jesuits returned in 1890 and that Father Hartman was appointed military chaplain to the forces of the British South Africa Company. The missionaries, therefore, entered Mashonaland with the white settlers and as their allies. The Jesuits turned to the Shona "only after they had established themselves as preachers and nurses and teachers to the white community; to the Shona they were completely identified with the other whites".[1]

Second, the missionaries were indebted to Rhodes for grants of land on which they built their missions. It was the generous attitude of Rhodes that made possible "a situation to which no other territory in Africa could offer a parallel".[2] As officially reported in 1925, a total of 325,730 acres of land was granted by the BSA Company to various missionary bodies for mission purposes.[3] In addition, the missionaries purchased a total of 71,085 acres,[4] and by the end of 1925, the various missionary bodies held a total of 406,200 acres of land.[5]

Having surveyed the beginnings of missionary enterprise in Southern Rhodesia between 1859 and 1898, we should now make a few preliminary remarks on the establishment of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia between 1891 and 1945. Several aspects of Rhodesian Methodism will be discussed, including the religious, educational, literary, medical and the role of the missionaries in

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1. Ibid,p.141
2. C.P.Groves,The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 1878-1914,Vol. III,London,1955,pp.103-104.
3. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the matter of Native Education in all its bearings in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, Government Printer,Salisbury,1925,parag.525,p.79.
4. Ibid,p.80
5. Report of the Land Commission, 1925,Government Printer,Salisbury, 1925,parag.206

African welfare, especially on the twin problems of the land and the franchise.

During the early period, the missionaries made very few converts among the Shona and Ndebele. This was because they did not appreciate, and greatly underestimated, the importance of traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele. We shall discuss several aspects of Shona and Ndebele traditional religion, first, in order to dispel the eroneous belief held by the missionaries that the Shona and Ndebele had no religion deserving the name; and second, in order to provide the religious framework within which the missionaries worked when they arrived in Southern Rhodesia.

Because the missionaries did not understand the importance of traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele, they had great difficulty in making converts among the Shona and Ndebele during the early period. This became evident when the missionaries set about establishing new mission stations. We shall discuss several of the new missions established during the early period: that is, between 1891 and 1896.

Between 1891 and 1896, the missionaries made some converts among the Shona and Ndebele but whatever success they had achieved in converting the Shona and Ndebele to Christianity during this period, was ruined by the Ndebele and Shona risings which broke out against the regime of the British South Africa Company in March and June of 1896. We shall discuss the causes of these two risings both from the non-missionary literature extant as well as from the point of view of the missionaries. The results of the two risings on the country as a whole and on the Methodist missions in particular will also be discussed.

The educational institutions established by the Methodists between 1897 and 1918 as well as the main features of missionary education during this period, will also be discussed. While education was considered of great importance by the missionaries, the religious aspect of their enterprise was kept constantly in view. Between 1918 and 1945 the missionaries not only consolidated the ground gained during the pioneer period- they also vigorously expanded the work of the Church through four movements, the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement, the Girls' Christian Union, the Men's Christian Union and the Boys' Christian Union.

More literary work was carried out by the Methodists between 1918 and 1945. This made it possible to provide more religious literature in the vernacular. Furthermore, as the Methodist Church expanded, it became necessary to have stricter rules and regulations for the admission of members. We shall discuss the rules and regulations governing membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia during this period and the problems encountered in enforcing these rules and regulations. The phenomenon of independency and in particular the secession of the Rev. E.T.J. Nemapare from the Methodist Church to form his own African Methodist Church, was another important development during this period. We shall discuss the career of Nemapare and the reasons for his secession.

Between 1918 and 1945 a great expansion of the Methodist educational institutions which had been established between 1897 and 1918, was made. This expansion took place at the two training institutions at Waddilove and Tegwani as well as the central primary boarding schools at Kwenda, Marshall Hartley, Pakame, Sandringham and at Mzinyati.

The role of the missionaries in African welfare especially on the question of the land and the franchise and the role played by the Methodist missionary, the Rev. Percy Ibbotson, in his capacity as Organising Secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia will be discussed and an assessment will be made on the success of the missionaries in this regard.

Although the Methodists ministered to both the European and African communities, it was primarily to the Africans to whom they came to evangelise. This work, therefore, will cover the history of the Wesleyan Methodist missions among the Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1891 and 1945.

Chapter 1: Shona and Ndebele Traditional Religion.

"It is customary to speak of the Bantu as a heathen people", the Methodist missionary to Southern Rhodesia, the Rev. H.J.Baker wrote in 1917, "but is perhaps well to qualify the term so used. If by 'heathen' we signify those who do not believe in the true God, or whose knowledge of Him is most elementary or confused, then the Bantu may be included in the term, but they are NOT heathen in the sense of their having neither 'the fear nor the knowledge of God'. They undoubtedly have a religion and moreover they believe in it more intensely and live out its implications more regularly, than do many so-called Christians the tenets of our faith. In this part of Africa no temples are to be seen, no idols form part of the household equipment, and even fetishes such as are found in West Africa are not to be seen among the people. They have been able to maintain their religion without these aids. It was this absence of temples and idols and the outward signs of worship that led some of the early settlers to imagine that the people had little or no religion".[1]

"The Bantu people", another Methodist missionary to Southern Rhodesia, the Rev. S. Douglas Gray, wrote in 1917, "have a religion that profoundly affects the whole of their lives..We say: God is everywhere: God knoweth all, seeth all, but what proportion of our race lives that belief? All natives in their natural state live this belief".[2]

These two statements were made about a quarter of a century after the Methodists had established themselves in Southern Rhodesia. Initially, most missionaries did not believe that the Africans of Southern Rhodesia had a religion worthy of the name. We should therefore begin with a discussion of the traditional religion of the two major African

1. B/C/A/B.10,H.J.Baker,Chimanza and Kwenda Circuits Report, 1917
2. B/C/A/B.10,S.Douglas Gray,"The Message of Christianity to Primitive People", 1917

peoples in Southern Rhodesia, the Shona and Ndebele. Any serious attempt to understand the influence of the Methodists, and indeed of all missionary societies on the life of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1891 and 1945 must begin with a survey of the Traditional religion of these two African communities. This becomes all the more important because when the missionaries arrived in Southern Rhodesia and began the task of converting the Shona and Ndebele to Christianity, they eroneously believed that they were ministering to people who were entirely without a religion.

During the early period, the missionaries made very few converts among the Shona and Ndebele. This was because the Shona and Ndebele had a religion of their own to which they were deeply attached. It is therefore appropriate at this juncture to give a survey of Shona and Ndebele traditional religion before considering the impact of Christianity on the lives of the Shona and Ndebele between 1891 and 1945. We will begin with Shona traditional religion.[1]

Shona traditional religion is a complicated affair and no attempt will be made in this chapter to delve deeply into a full-scale analysis of this religion and only a general picture will suffice for our purposes. Any discussion of Shona traditional religion must begin with the Mwari cult. The Shona believed in a Supreme Being, Creator or God whom they called Mwari. They believed that it was Mwari who made the earth, created all humanity, the animal, insect and vegetable worlds, the mountains, the sky, the moon, in a word, everything that exists or moves on the face of the earth.[2] Furthermore, Mwari created not only the tribal but also the ancestral spirits. He was not approached

1. In this chapter, I make no claim to originality; the section on Shona religion is based largely on the writings of Professor Gelfand.
2. Michael Gelfand, Shona Ritual, Cape Town, 1959,p.13.

directly but only through Chaminuka,his great messenger and link between him and the people. Mwari was considered to be indifferent to man and not concerned with individuals or their problems for he was considered to be too far removed.[1] Mwari, however, could be consulted on matters of communal import such as rain in times of drought and advice on the course of action to be taken in times of national crisis.[2] It was also believed that Mwari punished acts, such as incest which were considered contrary to nature and the perpetuation of the tribe, with pestilence and famine.[3]

Below Mwari in the spiritual hierarchy was the Chaminuka spirit. The identity of Chaminuka is uncertain. In some accounts, his spirit is said to have emanated from God.[4] In other accounts, he is depicted both as a historical personage and as spirit. From his studies among the Shona, Mr. D.P. Abraham found a tradition widely held among the Rozvi to the effect that the cult of Mwari was brought in by the Mbire from their homeland, also called Mbire in the vicinity of Lake Tanganyika and that the spirit of Chaminuka came south of the Zambesi with this group of Shona immigrants in tutelary function.[5] It is further said that before the spirit of Chaminuka first selected a man as its medium, "it revealed itself to the people as a voice which emanated from the trees telling them of its presence. This spirit of Chaminuka was the voice of a Shona spirit under Mwari or Musikavanhu the Creator".[6]

1.Gelfand,Medicine and Magic of the Mashona,Cape Town,1957,p.13; Charles Bullock,The Mashona,Cape Town,1927,p.123
2.M.L.Daneel,The God of the Matopo Hills,Leiden,1970,p.15
3.H.Kuper,A.J.B.Hughes and J.van Velsen,The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia,London,1954,p.32
4.Gelfand,Shona Ritual,op.cit,p.14
5.D.P.Abraham,"The Roles of 'Chaminuka' and the Mhondoro Cults in Shona Political History",E.Stokes and R.Brown,(eds),The Zambesian Past, Manchester University Press,1966,p.34
6.Gelfand, Shona Religion,Cape Town,1962,p.51.

Below the Chaminuka spirit were the tribal spirits called the mhondoro spirits. Gelfand likens these to "provincial or regional spirits", in the sense that they were said to look after the large regions or provinces of Mashonaland. He says that these spirits may be either male or female, although most of them appear to be male and that they may possess mediums of either sex. Further, when a community seeks advice it consults its local tribal mhondoro spirit but if the matter is considered serious, the help of the provincial mhondoro is sought and it is believed that this spirit discusses the matter with Chaminuka and then passes on his reply to the spirit of the medium consulted. In less important matters, however, the mhondoro answers immediately, but "it is implied that Chaminuka's opinion has been sought".[1]

The duties of the tribal mhondoro, according to Gelfand, are manifold. "He is primarily a prophet, since he foresees the future and his advice in almost every matter is highly prized. There is no subject upon which he is not considered an authority. Being able to foresee events he knows best how to avoid misfortune and sickness..He knows whether rain will fall or why it is being withheld, and if annoyed he can withhold it. Moreover it goes further, for this spirit controls not only rain but also the fertility of the soil. Seeds blessed by him produce rich and plentiful crops. This spirit may be called upon to choose the chief's successor and guide him in his duties. A disgraceful or anti-social act, such as incest, annoys the tribal spirit and is followed by drought or some other catastrophe".[2]

1.Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, p.16
2.Ibid, pp.5-6

Below the tribal "provincial" mhondoro are the lesser mhondoro spirits of the districts who guard the interests of the smaller areas. Last of all in this spiritual hierarchy are the spirits representing each family group. The lowest of these spirits is known to the Shona as the mudzimu mudiki wapamusha. The duties of this spirit are similar to those of most of the other mhondoro except that it operates on a lesser plane. It concerns itself largely with the welfare of the family groups or clans as distinct from one family unit and the problems affecting them, such as sickness affecting the whole family group.

In this regard, Gelfand draws the important distinction between the spirit of the family group or clan and the spirit of one individual family. It is believed that after death the mudzimu of every married person is concerned with the living members of the family left on earth. This spirit is interested only in its "immediate dependants. Thus the spirit of the deceased mother and father hover round their own children and grandchildren protecting them and showing a constant concern with their welfare and with what they say and do. The spirits of the grandparents are usually considered more important than those of the parents. First in order of importance comes the grandfather, then the grandmother, followed by the father and last of all by the mother".[1] Thus the religious life of the individual is closely bound up with these four vadzimu spirits which unlike the tribal mhondoro are demanding and expect to beremembered and can cause illness in one of their dependants if neglected.

1.Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit,p.74.

These four vadzimu spirits of the individual family are highly esteemed by the parents, children and grandchildren of that family unit. They are loved because they protect the family from the evil machinations of witches, but they are also feared because of their ability to cause sickness or some other misfortune if a member of the family commits an offence against another. It is widely believed among the Shona that should one of these four vadzimu be offended, it withdraws its protecting power fromthe family, thus allowing an evil force to cause catastrophe.[1] The mudzimu reveals itself to the family through a medium or svikiro who may be any member of the family, old or young, male or female.

The picture of the Shona spirit world presented thus far, can be summarised as follows: at the apex of the spiritual hierarchy is Mwari; below him is the Chaminuka spirit, the link between Mwari and the people; below the Chaminuka spirit are several tribal mhondoro spirits, which can be divided into the 'greater', 'provincial' or ' 'regional' mhondoro in charge of the 'provinces' or 'regions' of the Shona community, and the 'lesser' or 'local' mhondoro in charge of the 'districts' or smaller areas; lastly, the spirits of the family groups or clans (vadzimu vadiki vapamusha)asdistinct from the four vadzimu spirits of the individual family What remains to be discussed are five other aspects of Shona religion involving the shave,[2] and the ngozi spirits; the roles of the Shona nganga or doctor; the roles of the Shona muroi or witch; and finally, the procedures to be followed in the event of death striking a community. We will discuss each of these in turn.

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1. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, p.4; M.L.Daneel, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, Leiden, 1971, pp.94-95.
2. Spelt shavi among the Southern Shona.

The shave, according to the Shona, is a wandering or alien spirit, usually of a foreigner who has died in the country and was not given a proper burial. These mashave spirits, "arose from foreign men or women who died in Mashonaland and whose spirits were restless because their bodies were buried in a strange land. These spirits, it is believed, wander round the country searching for suitable mediums or hosts to possess".[1]

Once it has chosen a particular person as its medium, the shave is believed to "confer a particular talent on its host. It is thus regarded as a helpful spirit, and in most instances the host is happy to be possessed and anxious to please the spirit. Talents conferred on their owners by alien spirits vary widely. A very popular shave is the one that confers the ability to hunt well and kill many animals. Well liked too is the shave which bestows healing powers on its host, who when possessed is able to divine or to prescribe the correct medicines. Another popular shave is the one that causes its owner to dance well when he is possessed".[2] When a shave first selects its medium, it is believed that it reveals its choice by making the person ill. When its presence is recognised and accepted by the medium, "the latter recovers and the medium and the spirit operate together in harmony as long as the spirit host fulfils the requirements of this spirit".[3]

1. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, p.12; M.W. Murphree, Christianity and the Shona, London, 1969, p.51
2. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, p.122; Daneel says of this spirit that before selecting its host, the shave must get permission from the family ancestors of the person concerned and these 'open the door' to the alien spirit to enter a prospective host's homestead, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, op.cit. p.130
3. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, pp.10-11.

The shave must be praised once or twice a year with a dance and beer. He requires of the host when possessed to wear certain clothes and eat certain foods and if the host promises to fulfil these requirements, "he will enjoy good health and the spirit will confer its special virtues on him when these are required. But if he neglects to carry out these obligations he will not obtain any of the benefits the spirit is able to confer on him.[1] Although most of the mashave confer beneficial gifts to the medium, there is one that causes its female medium to become a very dangerous witch when she is possessed.[2] Such were the origins and scope of the shave spirit.

The ngozi is different from the shave in that it is an aggrieved spirit of a dead person. It is believed among the Shona that "if a wrong to an individual is not righted while he is still alive or if a person is murdered, after death his angered spirit returns to avenge itself on the person or family of the one who wronged him. This spirit is an unforgiving one and is said to produce a serious sickness in one member of the family until the matter is righted. Often sickness or death spreads through the family of the guilty person until finally the cause is recognised by a diviner".[3]

In this respect, Gelfand distinguishes between four types of ngozi. "One is the spirit of a person who was murdered. The second is the spirit of a servant, who, during his lifetime, wasnot paid by his master for his services, or it may be the spirit of a person from whom something was taken or borrowed during his life but not returned again". Gelfand describes the third type of ngozi as a sort of marital spirit which comes about when a husband or wife dies unhappy about a

1.Gelfand, Shona Ritual,op.cit,p.123.
2.Ibid,p.11.
3.Ibid,p.10.

matter of deep concern to him (or her). A wife may leave her sick husband, but when he dies, his spirit seeks revenge. The same applies to a woman who died deserted by her husband and left without protection and care". Gelfand identifies the fourth type of ngozi as one that comes about as a result of a child's unkindness to or ill-treatment of his parents, and gives as an example, the fact that if a son hits his mother, when she dies her spirit visits him as a ngozi but its appearance may be delayed until after he is grown up and married. One of his children may contract an illness that does not respond to treatment. The family consult many diviners until one discovers that the illness was caused by the paternal grandmother whose spirit complaints that her son hit her when she was alive. After the cause of the illness has been recognised, the treatment consists of making amends to the spirit.[1] Such, then, are the origins and operations of the ngozi spirit.

The role of the diviner is divining the cause of an illness caused by a ngozi brings us to a discussion of the role of a person of crucial importance in Shona religion, namely the nganga or doctor. It is important to understand the role of the nganga in Shona society because he was frequently confused with the witch by the missionaries.

The services that a nganga performs in Shona society are numerous and diverse. "He may be called upon for the diagnosis and treatment of unexplained or mysterious diseases, to provide preventive magic against witchcraft, or to predict events in the future. Some are thought to have the power to force such evil doers as thieves to redress the crimes that they have done. They are called in to interpret dreams, to determine the authenticity of claims to spirit possession, and

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1. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit,p.153

above all to determine the cause of death".[1]

There is more to the nganga than the picture of him thus presented. His function is not "merely that of a magician or herbalist", but also "contacts the spiritual world of one's dead relations to learn the cause of an illness. He is also the medium or priest through whom the individual may approach his dead relations (vadzimu). Through his own spirit he is able to contact the spirit world of his patient and so learn whether one of them is annoyed, who it is and what recompense is necessary to set matters right".[2]

Indeed, the position of the nganga is unique in Shona society. This position was aptly described by Gelfand when he wrote: "European society has no one quite like the nganga, an individual to whom people can turn in every kind of difficulty. He is a doctor in sickness, a priest in religious matters, a lawyer in legal issues, a policeman in the detection and prevention of crime, a possessor of magical preparations which can increase crops and instil special skills and talents into his clients. He fills a great need in African society, his presence gives assurance in the whole community".[3] There are several ways by which a nganga qualifies for his profession. "He may learn directly from another nganga by becoming apprenticed to him and thus receiving instruction on roots and divination", but more often he "inherits his art from a dead relation usually from his father, grandfather or mother".[4]

1. Murphree, Christianity and the Shona, op.cit, pp.53-54.
2. Gelfand, Shona Ritual, op.cit, p.3
3. Gelfand, Witch Doctor, Traditional Medicine Man in Rhodesia, London, 1964, p.55
4. Gelfand, Medicine and Magic of the Mashona, op.cit, pp.96-7; for details on how a nganga qualifies, see Gelfand, Witch Doctor, op.cit, pp.56-64.

Thus the nganga who inherits his skill through the spirit of an ancestor who was also a nganga during his life, is called a mudzimu nganga; likewise a nganga who learns his skill through a healing shave is called a shave nganga. There are basically two types of nganga considered from a functional standpoint, the diviner and the herbalist. The former divines the cause of an illness; this done, he sends the patient to the herbalist to get the necessary medicines. More frequently, however, the skills of both diviner and herbalist are vested in the same person. From these two basic types, there are numerous varieties of nganga. Among these are specialists in the cure of sterility; madness and epilepsy; sores and venereal disease; leprosy and pains in the chest, abdomen and limbs.[1]

But just as the nganga is the protector of society, there is also the enemy of society: the witch or muroi.[2] The muroi, according to the Shona, is a person possessed with an evil spirit wishing to harm others. The essential characteristic of a muroi "is not the intention to make someone ill but to kill him".[3] In this connection, Gelfand distinguishes between two classes of varoi. In the first group, he says "is the person who is born with a hard heart and always wishes to harm others, often for no real reason". Such a person gets his poison (uroi) from a practising muroi. The latter also reveals to his client the antidote to his poison, "so that the poisoned person can be saved from death if so desired. Thus a muroi who is able to

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1. For details on these and other types of nganga, see Gelfand, Medicine and Magic of the Mashona, op.cit, pp.95-109
2. Sometimes spelt muroyi.
3. Gelfand, Medicine and Magic of the Mashona, op.cit, p.52

poison a person also knows the antidote, in case it is necessary for him to undo the spell".[1] In the second group is the witch who is possessed by the spirit (mudzimu)of a relation who was herself a witch.[2]

The distinction between a nganga and a muroi is important because it was frequently confused by missionaries. In missionary usage, the nganga and muroi were considered as one and the same person. Gelfand admits that some nganga could also practise as varoi but only when requested to do so by clients who wanted to get rid of their enemies. These are the varoi whom Gelfand classifies as 'black nganga'. Generally, as we have noted, the nganga practised his craft for the benefit of the society. The muroi, properly so-called, was held in universal detestation by the whole Shona community and in the old days, if one was convicted as a muroi, he was either ostracised from society or otherwise killed. Such was the role of the muroi in Shona society.

The role of the muroi in causing death, brings us to a discussion of the final aspect of Shona religion, namely the procedures to be followed when death occurs inthe community. These procedures have been adequately dealt with by Gelfand,[3] and no further elaboration of them is necessary except to say that in the event of death taking place in the community, the services of the diviner were in great demand,for it was he who was asked by the relatives of the deceased to divine the cause of death. The diviner then proceeded to inform the relatives of the cause of death and gave them instructions necessary in order to prevent future tragedies. If death was due to natural causes, the

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1. Gelfand,Shona Ritual,op.cit,p.162
2. Ibid,p.162;for details on various types of varoi,see Gelfand,Medicine and Magic of the Mashona op.cit,pp 52-77;Gelfand,The African Witch,London, 1967,pp.23-48
3. For details,see Gelfand,Shona Ritual,op.cit,pp.184-206;Gelfand Shona Religion op.cit,pp.120-135.

procedures to be followed were straightforward, but if the diviner ascribed the cause of death to a family spirit, the diviner arranged for the appeasement of the spirit.

Such then, was the spiritual world of the Shona which we may summarise again as follows: at the apex of the spiritual hierarchy was Mwari, followed by the Chaminuka spirit. Below the Chaminuka spirit were a number of spirits- the greater and lesser tribal mhondoro, followed by the spirits of the family groups or clans, and lastly, the mudzimu of the individual family. In addition to these were the shave and ngozi spirits whose causes were divined by the nganga, the protector of society in contradistinction to the muroi, the menace of Shona society, who brought about death and all manner of misfortune on the society. Before drawing the necessary conclusions from the picture of the Shona spirit world thus presented, we must turn to a discussion of Ndebele traditional religion.

Any discussion of Ndebele traditional religion, must begin with the Zulu traditional religion. As the Ndebele are a branch of the Zulus, their religion - though modified later when they came to Southern Rhodesia - was anchored in Zulu traditional religion. What, then, was the Zulu traditional religion?

The Zulus recognised the existence of a Creator or First Cause, whom they called Unkulunkulu. He it was who created all men, all wild animals, cattle and game, snakes and birds, water and mountains, the sun and the moon. The word Unkulunkulu was also used to denote an original ancestor - the founder of a house, the first ancestor of a family. This Unkulunkulu, however, is not worshipped, "for he is said to have died too long ago that no one knows his praises, and as he has no progeny, no one can worship him. Unkulunkulu is thus remote and plays little part in the every day life of the Zulus".[1]

1. Eileen Jensen Krige, The Social System of the Zulus, London, 1936, pp280-1

Since Unkulunkulu was not worshipped, the real vital force in Zulu religion centred around ancestor worship. The ancestors, it was believed, "take a real interest in their progeny; they guard them from danger and attend to their needs, but in return they require to be sacrificed to. All propperity is ascribed to the favour of the ancestors, misfortune to their anger".[1]

An ancestral spirit among the Zulus is known as idlozi (pl. amadlozi). The amadlozi, it was believed, "live underground and occupy the same relative position as they did while alive: an important man has little or no power after death; the head of the family, on the other hand, is the spirit that is invoked for help and that provides for his descendants, while the spirit of a chief has the welfare of the whole tribe at heart and is of far greater importance than any other spirit.[2]

What is of interest in Zulu religion in contrast to the Shona is the absence of an equivalent of a Chaminuka spirit. Another interesting aspect was the Zulu belief in spirit snakes. When an idlozi wishes to revisit the world of the living, it is said, "it does so in the form of a snake. It does not enter the body of an existing snake, but materialises into one, and there are certain distinct and well known kinds of snakes that are definitely regarded as spirits. Other snakes are mere beasts and can never become men, nor can those that are spirits ever be mere beasts".[3]

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1. Krige, The Social System of the Zulus, op.cit, p.283
2. Ibid, p.284
3. Ibid, p.285

Furthermore, the spirit snake, it is said, "is usually known by the resemblance it bears to the man whom it represents; a lame man is known by the lameness of the snake; anyone with only one eye will turn into a snake with one eye; while most snakes are recognised by the marks of injuries which they bear, injuries that they received when alive on earth".[1]

There are several ways in which the spirits reveal themselves or their desires to men. One of these is through dreams. It is believed that the spirits warn people in dreams against enemies or against coming dangers. These dreams which are sent by the ancestors differ from ordinary dreams and can always be recognised because they mostly come with a definite message from the dead.

Another way by which the ancestors reveal themselves to the living is through omens warning people of coming dangers. The third method by which the ancestors reveal themselves to the living is "by seizing on some part of the body and causing illness, and when the ancestors cause anyone to be ill in this way, it is a sure sign that they wish a bullock or goat to be slaughtered for them as a propitiatory sacrifice. When, therefore, anyone is ill, the first thing to do is to consult a diviner to discover what is the cause of the illness. Then if it is the ancestors, and not some other cause, the diviner will give his instructions as to which beast would most please the ancestor".[2]

The role of the diviner in discovering the cause of an illness, brings us to a discussion of the Zulu doctor whose role is very similar to the Shona nganga. The Zulu doctor, like his Shona counter-

1. Krige, The Social System of the Zulus, op.cit, p.286
2. Ibid, pp.286-9

part, is the link between th e ancestors and the living, for he "is the only man with power to make known the will of the spirits and to interpret their messages..This power is, in the case of a diviner, derived from the ancestors themselves who in various ways, by possessing a man or woman, or by speaking directly through him, or merely by revealing to him certain medicines in a dream, endow him with knowledge otherwise inaccessible to man".[1]

The Zulu doctor like the Shona nganga, is more than a link between the spirits and descendants; he is the protector of society . "He it is who can smell out the evil men who have acquired power to work evil on their neighbours and bring disaster on the community. Hence the doctor is one of the pivots upon which the welfare of the society rests, and he is for this reason most highly respected".[2]

In this regard, Krige distinguishes between two types of doctors among the Zulus, considered from a functional standpoint. There is the herbalist or inyanga who treats disease because of his knowledge of roots and herbs. The most highly esteemed of the Zulu doctors, however, are the diviners, or izangoma (sing.isangoma). Unlike that of the herbalist, the profession of diviner is not hereditary; the spirits "simply possess anyone whom they wish to be doctor, and he becomes ill until he has undergone a lengthy initiation under the guidance of some other doctor, usually pointed out by the spirits possessing him". For this reason, the diviner is the man in the greatest demand among the Zulus. "When disease breaks out, cattle are lost, when omens appear, or a wizard is suspected of having caused things to go wrong, the man who is consulted is the diviner.

1.Krige, The Social System of the Zulus,op.cit,p.297
2.Ibid,pp 297-8.

He will discover the cause and prescribe what steps are to be taken to set things right again".[1]

In the same way in which the doctor is the protector of the society inter alia because he cures illness and averts evil omens, so the wizard or umthakathi is the enemy of the society. The umthakathi plays the same role as the Shona muroi. The umthakathi, it is said, "is the man or woman who uses the power of the universe which he has learnt to employ by means of magic, for anti-social ends. The umthakathi uses his power for evil against the welfare of society; he injures people's health, destroys life, prevents rain, occasions lightning, makes the cows become dry, and is the cause of all manner of misfortune. Once he has been discovered, he is shown no mercy, but is got rid of as speedily as possible."[2]

Since the umthakathi by his evil machinations, brings about death to the community, this brings us to the final aspect of Zulu religion: the procedures to be followed in the event of death striking the community. These procedures have been sufficiently dealt with by Krige[3], and no elaboration of these is necessary. Death is thought of by the Zulus to be due to some unnatural force, such as witchcraft, except in senile decay when the person is "deemed to be a spirit already and is not mourned".[4] From this, it would appear that the services of a diviner are required to determine the cause of death, and that the diviner will instruct the bereaved relatives against future tragedies.

It should be clear from the above description of Zulu traditional religion, that it was very remarkably similar to Shona religion,

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1.Ibid,p.299
2.Krige,The Social System of the Zulus,op.cit,pp.320-1
3.Ibid,pp.159-175.
4.Ibid,p.160

with the following important differences: there is no equivalent of the Chaminuka spirit; there are no shave or ngozi spirits and there is no belief in spirit snakes among the Shona.

When the Ndebele arrived in what later became Southern Rhodesia,[1] and established themselves in the western part of the country and began to build their state around modern Bulawayo, they brought the religion of the parent Zulus with them.

In the process of buildingtheir state, the Ndebele subdued many of the Shona in the vicinity of their new homeland and incorporated many of the Shona into the new state. In addition, the Ndebele carried out periodic raids against those Shona whom they could reach. The story of these raids is well known.[2] What was significant, however, was the Ndebele adoption of certain aspects of the religion of the conquered, especially the Mwari or Mlimo cult as practised by the Kalanga (western Shona).

There appear to have been two reasons for this. Bullock has suggested that this may have been partly brought about by the influence of the Enhla[3] incorporated in Mzilikazi's impis on their way from the south, but the chief cause, he suggested, was the unexpressed Ndebele recognition that "the Mashona tribes, whom they had partly subdued, maintained the spiritual association with the

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1. For details on the history of Mzilikazi and Ndebele migrations from Zululand, until they reached Southern Rhodesia, see Peter Becker, Path of Blood, The rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa, London,1962; J.D.Omer Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath, London, 1966, pp. 129-155.
2. For details on the Ndebele State and its relation with the Shona, see Dr. N.M.B. Bhebe, "Christian Missions in Matabeleland,1859-1923", Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, University of London, 1972, Chapter 1; Dr. D.N. Beach, "The Rising in South-Western Mashonaland,1896-7", Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis, University of London,1971, chapters 3 and 4.
3. The Enhla group among the Ndebele were those Sotho-Tswana who were conquered and incorporated into Mzilikazi's impis as he marched from Zululand northwards. They are contrasted with the Zansi, the original group which left Zululand with Mzilikazi.

land...The sepulchres of the Matabele were not in this country (Rhodesia), and their ancestral spirits could therefore have no connection with it".[1]

Secondly, whereas in Zululand the Zulu kings did not encourage rain-doctors in their kingdom because they said that they themselves controlled the heavens and hence rain-doctors were subject to a certain amount of persecution,[2] the situation of the Ndebele was very different in the new country. Here the climatic factor was of crucial significance.

In this regard, Dr. Bhebe has argued that since Matabeleland was notorious for its frequent droughts, the services of the rain-makers were in constant demand. Since Mzilikazi and his Zansi advisers "could not meet these climatic exigencies he had no alternative but to turn to the indigenous religious authorities. The Shona did not only have the advantage over their invaders of being profoundly conversant with the natural and environmental possibilities of Matabeleland, but they had a far better developed concept of super-natural relationships than the Ndebele"; for this reason the Ndebele "adopted the Mwari beliefs and practices by superimposing them on their own traditional systems and that this superstructure was employed as an additional means of divination and rain-making purposes".[3] However, during the time of Mzilikazi, the majority of the Zansi and Enhla did not believe in Mlimo but during the regime of Lobengula, the cult was widely believed in and Lobengula himself

1.Charles Bullock,The Mashona and Matabele,Cape Town,1950,p.143
2.Krige,The Social System of the Zulus,op.cit,p.320.
3.N.M.B. Bhebe "Christian Missions in Matabeleland,1859-1923",op.cit, pp.29-31

was said to have been an official of the cult.[1]

The officials of the Mlimo cult were known as the 'children of Mlimo'(abantwana baka Mlimo)or people of Mlimo(abantu baka Mlimo). There were also other officials of the cult called amawosana(sing. iwosana). These were officials who did not live at the shrines themselves but were agents of the cult in various parts of Matabele-land.[2] Such were the main features of Ndebele traditional religion.

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter the main features of Shona and Ndebele traditional religion. Aspects of traditional Shona religion discussed include the Mwari, Chaminuka and mhondoro cults; the mudzimu, shave and ngozi spirits and the role of the nganga or doctor as distinct from the witch or muroi in Shona society. We have also discussed several aspects of Ndebele traditional religion including the belief in Unkulunkulu; the amadlozi; the role of the diviner or isangoma and the herbalist or inyanga as distinct from the umthakathi or witch; and the role of the Mlimo cult among the Ndebele.

From the picture of Shona and Ndebele traditional religion thus presented, three observations should be made. First, the Shona and Ndebele were deeply attached to their traditional religion; so long as this religion continuedto satisfy their spiritual needs, there was little incentive on their part in accepting Christianity. For those among the Shona and Ndebele who accepted the new religion without difficulty, the reason for so doing was that Christianity appeared to satisfy certain spiritual needs which the traditional religion did not. It was to this group to whom Christianity strongly appealed.

1. A.J.B. Hughes and J.van Velsen,"The Ndebele",Kuper,Hughes and van Velsen,The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,p.104.
2. Ibid, p.104.

Second, whenthe missionaries arrived in Southern Rhodesia, they did not believe that the Shona and Ndebele had religious beliefs deserving of the name; they regarded all Shona and Ndebele religious beliefs as mere superstition or witchcraft. This was because they confused the Shona nganga with the muroi and the Ndebele isangoma and inyanga with the umthakathi. Because the missionaries underestimated the importance of traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele, they had great difficulty in making converts among the Shona and Ndebele during the early period.

Third, although Christianity influenced the Shona and Ndebele very profoundly in the later period, it must not be assumed that the belief in traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele disappeared pari passu with the advance of Christianity. In point of fact, this was not the case. Daneel in his studies among the southern Shona, for example, found that the belief in the destructive as well as protective powers of the ancestors still persists to this day inspite of the far-reaching impact of Christianity. This was especially the case with respect to the mudzimu spirits. From his studies, Daneel concludedthat the belief in the destructive as well as protective powers ofthe ancestors, "is still a dominant reality in the lives of most of the Shona people". The persistence of this belief seemed all the more remarkable because an overwhelming majority of the total adult community in the Chingombe chiefdom in the Gutu district of southern Mashonaland which he studied in detail, claimed to be nominally if not actively affiliated to one of the Mission or Independent Churches.[1] Furthermore, in his study of the

1.Daneel,Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches,op.cit, pp.95-96.

Mwari cult at its shrines in the Matopo Hills near Bulawayo, Daneel has found that at present the religious activities of the cult would seem to indicate its revival,[1] inspite of the far-reaching impact of Christianity on the Shona. If this is the position today, it is not surprising that the task facing the missionaries when they arrived, was indeed formidable.

1.Daneel,The God of the Matopo Hills,op.cit,p.19

Chapter 2:The Background to Rhodesian Methodism,1890-1891.

The roots of Rhodesian Methodism lay in South African Methodism. On April 14, 1816,the Rev. Barnabas Shaw and his wife landed at Cape Town, and with their arrival, the Methodist mission to South Africa began. It was from Cape Town that Methodism expanded to the rest of South Africa. The story of this growth and expansion has been well studied,[1] and no elaboration of this is necessary. What is important for our purposes, however, was the expansion of Methodism into the Transvaal because it was from there that the Church expanded into Southern Rhodesia.

In the 1860's, several Methodist mission stations were begun in the Transvaal. In 1865, Potchefstroom was founded as a mission station and in 1867, the first Methodist minister (the Rev.J.Thorne) was stationed there. The mission at Pretoria was begun in 1873 and in 1874 a third mission was begun at Kronstadt.

The expansion of Methodism in the Transvaal was largely due to the work of the Rev.Owen Watkins. Watkins was born of Welsh Methodist parents near Manchester in 1842. In 1863 he offered himself as a candidate for the ministry with a preference for work overseas. He was accepted as a missionary candidate and was sent to Richmond for training. Here, however, his health broke down and at the end of one year at the Institution, he was sent into circuit work in the west of England. For twelve years he worked in this field during which time he was Secretary of the Portsmouth and Bath Districts, and had a place on several important Connexional Committees, including the great Committee of Lay Representation of which he was the youngest member.

1.For details,see G.G.Findlay and W.W.Holdsworth,The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,5 vols,Vol.IV,London,1922,pp. 237-377;J.du Plessis,A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Cape Town,1911,Chapters XVIII and XXIX;J.Whiteside,History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa,London,1906.

Then after a year in Bath, the humid climate of which damaged his health greatly, he offered himself afresh for five years for the work overseas and was sent to South Africa for his health's sake.[1] In 1876 he was appointed to Pietermaritzburg where he served for four years. When the third Triennial Conference of the South African Districts was held in 1880, the Natal District took the lead in urging the vigorous prosecution of the work in the Transvaal. In the same year Watkins was appointed the first Chairman and General Superintendent of the Transvaal and Swaziland Mission. But as late as November, 1881, the new Chairman was still at Pietermaritzburg. In January, 1882, however, he succeeded in getting to Pretoria and the first Synod of the new District was convened.[2]

It was during the Chairmanship of Watkins that the work in the Transvaal was not only strengthened, but new missions were also begun. In 1884 the Kilnerton mission was founded; in 1885 another mission was begun in the Northern Transvaal at Zoutpansberg and the work begun at Mafeking was also strengthened. Watkins continued to work in this capacity until 1891 when the Missionary Committee in London took the decision to send him and a young minister, Isaac Shimmin, to pioneer the first Methodist missions in Mashonaland. This was largely because in the wake of the occupation of Mashonaland by the forces of the British South Africa Company in 1890, several missionary groups had established themselves in the new country.

The success of the proposed missions to Mashonaland depended on Rhodes' good will since it was his Company that occupied the new

1. The Methodist Recorder, August 4, 1892
2. Findlay and Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Vol IV, op.cit, p.333.

country in the name of the British Crown. For this reason, Shimmin held his first interview with Rhodes on November 20,1890. At this interview, Rhodes gave Shimmin "a distinct promise of substantial practical help" if one of the Methodist missionaries were sent to Mashonaland. Rhodes suggested that Watkins as Chairman of the Transvaal District, should make a formal application to him stating his probable intentions. Shimmin urged Watkins to make the application at once while the subject was still fresh in Rhodes' mind.[1]

Watkins made the necessary application to Rhodes on November 25, 1890. The Secretary of the British South Africa Company, Rutherford Harris, was instructed by Rhodes to reply on his behalf and to inform Watkins that he was "prepared on behalf of the British South Africa Company to contribute the sum of £100(one hundred pounds sterling) annually, towards the expenses the Mission may incur in sending one or more of its Ministers into Mashonaland, but that pending a land settlement being arrived at he cannot give your Mission any promise of land".[2]

The missionaries, however, found this reply unsatisfactory for they wanted some sort of guarantee that if they went to Mashonaland, they would be certain to be given land for their mission. For this reason, Watkins wrote another letter to Rhodes on December 15, 1890 on this question. Harris replied and informed Watkins that he might "confidently count on receiving from Mr. Rhodes and the Company, on behalf of the Wesleyan Society, as regards an allotment of land in Mashonaland, as soon as a land settlement in that country is arrived at".[3]

1.B/C/A/B.6,Microfilm copies,Papers of Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin, 1890-1892,Isaac Shimmin to Owen Watkins, November 21,1890.
2.B/C/A/B.6,Rutherford Harris to Owen Watkins,December 9,1890.
3.B/C/A/B.6,Rutherford Harris to Owen Watkins,January 8,1891.

Meanwhile, it occured to Watkins that since Rhodes was going to be in England by the end of January, 1891, it might be in order to urge the Missionary Committee in London if it desired to enter Mashonaland, to seek an interview with Rhodes because he believed that a better offer than £100 a year might be obtained from him.[1] It is not clear whether or not the Missionary Committee interviewed Rhodes for an additional grant. What is clear is that Rhodes did not increase his grant.

In the meanwhile, with the promise of £100 and land from Rhodes, Watkins and Shimmin met in Johannesburg in February, 1891 and had a long conversation on the subject of the proposed mission to Mashonaland. Shimmin said that he was ready to offer himself for the work in Mashonaland and would try to supplement the £100 from Rhodes with local sources. Watkins, however, was of the view that such a plan was not practicable and that it was better to wait for instructions from the Missionary Committee.

Meanwhile, Shimmin wrote to Marshall Hartley urging strongly for the commencement of the mission to Mashonaland. He stressed that such a mission need not be a costly one and that Mashonaland should first be explored before operations on a large scale were entered upon. He believed that there would be a source of income from the white population already in Mashonaland but that this would be uncertain for the first few years.

In the same letter, Shimmin pleaded most strongly to be chosen as one of the first missionaries to Mashonaland. He stressed that his interest in this new mission was not a sudden whim, but was the

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M. Hartley,January 29,1891.

result of years of thought and prayer. When in Richmond, he continued, he longed for that sort of work and during the five years he had been in the Transvaal, he had made a special study of Mashonaland and got all the information he needed from travellers and others who had gone up there. "Whatever leader you send", he pleaded with Marshall Hartley, "let me be one of the party and I shall go up feeling that I am going to the work for which I have prayed so long. If you send word out in reply to this I shall be ready to start at once and we can then go up with the great multitude who are now waiting for the end of the rainy season".[1]

The second missionary to offer himself for the work in Mashonaland was the Rev. Robert F. Appelbe of Johannesburg. His plan was for him and a companion to go northwards, "one to remain in Mashonaland as Chaplain, and so receive Mr. Rhodes' grant; and the other to go further and explore the land north of the Zambesi; and having found a good opening to return quickly and after due preparation to go up again, with a well equipped mission, say of two Europeans and two Native Preachers and then to stay up as long as they had health".

Appelbe gave as his qualifications for pioneer work in Mashonaland the fact that he was personally acquainted with Mr. J.S.Moffat, the British Resident in Matabeleland and with all missionaries along the route to Mashonaland as well as with some of Dr. Coillard's men who were working among the Barotse people north of the Zambesi. He said he was willing to go north without any salary as long as the Missionary Committee in London would meet all the expenses. So

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,February 14,1891.

convinced was he of the importance of this work that with a glad heart he would have been prepared to pay for the trip himself if he had the money. He then urged Watkins if he had the power "to beg of the Committee not to send up new and untried men; such a step means disaster. The difficulties of such a mission are manifold, and only men who know similar lands can have any idea of the strain mentally and physically upon the pioneers".[1]

Watkins as Chairman of the Transvaal District, referred Appelbe's offer to Marshall Hartley, the Secretary at the Mission House in London. So far as Watkins was concerned, the best man in his opinion, to lead and direct the new mission to Mashonaland, was the Rev. George Weavind, whose "large experience in this portion of Africa, his unfailing energy and entire devotion to Christ, fits him in a special manner, for leading and founding this new mission".

In the event that Weavind was not available to undertake pioneer work is Mashonaland, Watkins was of the view that Mr. Appelbe was the best man to go to Zambesia. He gave as Appelbe's qualifications for this job the fact that he had had "several years experience in native work in Bechuanaland, where he proved himself an able missionary, and showed unusual zeal and energy. He knows and is highly esteemed by the London Society and the French missionaries who labour in Zambesia".

Watkins felt that Appelbe's offer was a noble one since he was prepared to go without salary as long as the Missionary Committee was prepared to pay the expenses of the journey. But he felt at the same time that the offer of service without salary should not

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Robert F.Appelbe to Owen Watkins,February 19,1891.

be accepted from someone who was without private fortune.

Watkins then dealt with Shimmin's offer to pioneer the work in Mashonaland. He felt that Shimmin was an "earnest Christian and a devoted worker. He is very popular amongst white men, and would do well for the Chaplain to white men. As a leader of a mission, he would fail, being easily cast down and turned back in his work by difficulties. Acting by himself he will soon get discouraged and request to be removed".[1] This underestimation of Shimmin's capabilities by Watkins was later proved wrong when Shimmin was finally appointed pioneer of the mission to Mashonaland where he proved himself a most capable missionary.

Meanwhile, the Rev. George Weavind of the Transvaal District on whom Watkins had pinned his hopes as pioneer of the mission to Mashonaland, said that it was impossible for him to volunteer to go to Mashonaland before the end of 1891 because of family problems.[2] This was a great disappointment to Watkins but Watkins never gave up hope that in time Weavind would change his mind.

The Missionary Committee in London had by this time decided on commencing missionary operations in Mashonaland and on March 13, 1891, Marshall Hartley cabled Watkins to the effect that Shimmin

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1.C/T/B.1891-1896, Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,February 25,1891.
2.C/T/B.1891-1896, George Weavind to M.Hartley, April 18, 1891.

had been chosen to pioneer the work in Mashonaland.

At this point, Watkins registered his views against Shimmin's going to Mashonaland alone, in the strongest possible manner. "I consider it worse than useless", he wrote to Marshall Hartley, "to send Mr. Shimmin alone to start a new mission. If he is only to go in advance of the real head of the mission, then I think the action unwise. In order to prevent mistakes, which will involve difficulty afterwards, the head of the mission ought to be there from the very first".[1]

The missionaries in the Transvaal wanted to make sure that the Mission House would take their views into account regarding the mission to Mashonaland. To this end, on 17th April,1891, Watkins consulted with Shimmin and two other missionaries, Mr. Appelbe and Mr. Briscoe. Watkins afterwards reported the outcome of the meeting to Marshall Hartley. "Each of these brethren", he wrote on April 18, "are of the opinion that Bro. Shimmin should not go alone, but that someone of age, position and experience should go with him to introduce him into this new and important field of labour. They asked me if under these special circumstances, I would be willing to go with him.. and arrange matters for him, -until the head of the new mission arrives and goes up next year.. My interest in this new mission is so great, and I am so anxious we should begin right, that I am willing, if the Committee desires it, to take Bro. Shimmin to Mashonaland and establish him there. In the meantime, I will make every preparation for Mr. Shimmin to advance, and everything will be ready for him to start by the first week in June. If I do not hear from you, I will send him

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1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to Marshall Hartley,March 21,1891.

forward according to your instructions. If I am to go, my preparations will not take twenty-four hours".[1]

The information sent from the Mission House was to the effect that Shimmin was going to make a tour of inspection of Mashonaland before any definite line of action was decided upon. At this point, the opposition against Shimmin's going alone began to crystallise. Mr. Fred Briscoe, one of the missionaries in the Transvaal, in a long letter to Marshall Hartley, gave several reasons against Shimmin's going alone, "Mr. Appelbe, Shimmin and myself", he wrote, "have talked over the matter of his appointment and are unanimous in our opinion that the Committee are not well advised in sending up so young a man as pioneer and to make inspection and much less in sending him up alone".

In this connection, Briscoe felt that the Methodists should follow the example of the other Churches which were sending several missionaries to Mashonaland. As he put it, "We alone of the churches are contemplating sending up an advance party which includes only one European. Other churches are sending up a party of two or three Europeans and, in the case of some the party is to be conducted by European traders well conversant with the country. Even traders and hunters travel in company at least two going together. If such as these men well acquainted with the country and trained to endurance by years of travelling and rough living find it necessary to travel in bands is it advisable to send a man strange to the country alone?".

Although Shimmin's going alone was the greatest objection by missionaries in the Transvaal, Briscoe gave other reasons. "Even if there were no objections on this score - that of his going alone -",

1.C/T/B.1891-1896, Owen Watkins to Marshall Hartley, April 18, 1891.

he continued, "Mr. Shimmin has neither the age, experience nor prestige which are necessary for a work of this kind. The English Church party are to be pioneered by Knight Bruce and the Dutch Church tour of inspection has been undertaken by Andrew Murray and we are sending out a junior minister whose name is known only in the localities where he has laboured. We are of the opinion that if our mission is to stand well in the eyes of the people, both European and Native and the visit of inspection to be a success it should be undertaken by some man whose name and standing would enable him to speak as one having authority".[1]

At this point, Appelbe joined again in the opposition to Shimmin's going to pioneer the work in Mashonaland, and this time, on three grounds: the difficulties to be encountered on the journey if Shimmin went alone; Shimmin's mental and physical unfitness as pioneer of the proposed mission, and the prestige to be gained if a man of greater experience were sent instead. As he put it in a letter to Marshall Hartley, "My colleague brother Shimmin is a good man and will go up alone as you instruct him but I must say it is not just to Mr. Shimmin to send him up alone. It means a thousand miles in a wagon with the many dangers incident to entering a new country; breakdowns; crossing rivers; sickness among the cattle; trouble with servants, and with the certainty of fever attacks. Why should our Society be singular in its mode of advance into a new country and set aside all the wisdom gained by the experience of years? By sending up Mr. Shimmin alone we court disaster; but if this in the providence of God is averted, we at best make a weak and sickly beginning. By years and mental ability Mr. Shimmin falls

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Fred Briscoe to M.Hartley,April 18,1891

far below the agents being sent up by every other church. I would have rejoiced if Mr. Weavind losing claims arising from family connection from a sense of duty would have obeyed the call of his church and had taken up the position as pioneer of this mission; seeing he cannot do so I have in the interests of our Church and this work a suggestion to make. The Chairman of the District the Rev. Owen Watkins has for many years past advocated this advance. Why not send him up accompanied by Mr. Shimmin? The same wagon could convey them both. His experience and power as a correspondent would be valuable in arousing the interest of our people at home. He would see Bro.. Shimmin safely planted at Mount Hampden (Fort Salisbury). His going up would show the officers of the B.S.Africa Co. that behind Shimmin's appointment there was a large church and much interest. As soon as Mr.Watkins had rested and looked about, he could then take coach from Mt Hampden to Port Pungwe(Beira) and steam to Natal. If this plan be adopted Mr. Watkins could be apprised of your wish by cable. He need not occupy more than six months by this journey and the additional expense would be trifling whilst the gain to the Mission would be incalculable..If it can in any possible way be avoided do not send up Mr. Shimmin alone".[1]

Meanwhile, the representatives of other churches were already on their way to Mashonaland and Watkins was anxious that his Church should not be the last to go. To this end, he wrote Hartley on April 24 to the effect that his fellow missionaries were "most anxious that the advance northward should be agreat success, and are of one mind that Mr. Shimmin ought not to go alone, in the first

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Robert F.Appelbe to M.Hartley,April 18,1891

instance, but that in the absence of Mr. Weavind, I ought to go with him and arrange matters for him..My supreme desire is to see the work of God spread in Africa; and as so much depends upon the character of our advance into Mashonaland, I am willing to do anything in my power to assist it. I am willing and satisfied to go or stay as God and the Committee may direct".[1]

The opposition to Shimmin's going alone to Mashonaland persisted. Although Watkins said he would loyally accept the decision of the Missionary Committee in London in appointing Shimmin and would spare no pains to make his appointment a success, he felt that it was nothing short of a great calamity to the new mission if Shimmin were sent alone to Mashonaland. Watkins was glad, however, that the Missionary Committee had decided that the advance to Mashonaland should be made during that year because the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Roman Catholics and the Salvation Army were all preparing to make an immediate advance and it would never do for the Methodists to wait another year.

Now that the decision had been made that Shimmin would be the pioneer of the work in Mashonaland, Watkins requested Hartley for information on two points. He wanted to know if Shimmin was simply to make a journey of observation and inspection and then return or if he was to get to Fort Salisbury and work and wait there until the middle of 1892 when another missionary party would go up to Mashonaland. Second, he wanted to know what he was to do if Shimmin was stricken with fever, or got into grave difficulties on the way. "Am I to go to his help, making the best arrangements, in the meantime, for my own District?", he asked. Although he was willing and anxious

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,April 24,1891

to do anything and everything to make the new mission a great success, Watkins did not conceal his anxiety "at a young man like Mr. Shimmin going alone into such a country"[1]

By the beginning of May, 1891, it had become evident to the Missionary Committee in London that it would be a mistake to send Shimmin alone to Mashonaland, It was equally evident that Watkins was very anxious to go with him. In order to allay the anxieties of Shimmin's fellow missionaries, the Missionary Committee sent a cable to Watkins to the effect that he was to go to Mashonaland with Shimmin but that he should wait for a letter of instructions.[2]

Meanwhile, towards the end of May, Shimmin began to make preparations to start from Pretoria for Mashonaland. He hoped to get away by the first of June and Watkins would follow two or three weeks later.[3] On 2nd of June, 1891, Shimmin began the long-awaited journey from Pretoria. He left with a large wagon, well packed, a strong span of sixteen oxen, a good driver and leader and a Native Teacher who was eager to bring the glad tidings to the nations of the interior.[4]

According to the arrangements which had been made with Watkins, Shimmin was to proceed to Pietersburg, the most northern town of the Transvaal, some two hundred miles from Pretoria. After receiving the necessary instructions from the Mission House in London, Watkins was to proceed by coach and join Shimmin at Pietersburg. Meanwhile, Watkins secured the services of a very able African evangelist, Michael Bowen, who had been employed by the Methodist Church for

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1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,April 16,1891
2.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,May 2,1891
3.C/T/B.1891-1896,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,May 23,1891
4.C/T/B.1891-1896,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,June 3,1891

some years in the Potchefstroom Circuit.[1]

Watkins made preparations to leave Pretoria on June 23 to join Shimmin at Pietersburg, but before he left, he made all the necessary arrangements for his own District by appointing the Rev. Robert F. Appelbe of Johannesburg to be Acting Chairman of the Transvaal District while he was away.[2] He joined Shimmin at Pietersburg and the two travelled together to Mashonaland. On July 14, 1891, Watkins and Shimmin crossed the Limpopo River and on July 20, they reached Fort Tuli.[3] They were in good health and had lost only three oxen, "a very small number compared with other travellers".[4] They left Fort Tuli the following day and reached the Umzingwani River on Saturday, July 25. On the northern bank of the River, they met members of the Telegraph Company, consisting of "a dozen white men and four hundred natives".

As the missionaries progressed on their journey, they soon had evidence that "we were now in the country of large game. Buffalo, kudu, wild boar, water-buck and other antelopes were brought into camp, the tracks of lions, giraffe etc., were seen in the neighbourhood". On Sunday, July 26, the missionaries had a refreshing day on the northern bank of the Umzingwani River. In the morning, they gathered four hundred Africans for the service and in the afternoon, they had another service for the Africans in the camp. In the evening, they had a service for white men.

On Thursday, August 6, they crossed the Nuanetsi River by a very rocky drift which took them about an hour to get through. They

1.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,June 10,1891
2.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,June 22,1891
3.C/T/B.1891-1896,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,July 20,1891
4.C/T/B.1891-1896,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,July 20,1891

found the scenery all round to be very wild and it was reported that many lions were in the neighbourhood.

On August 11, the missionaries crossed the Lunde River. Here they found "many melancholy proofs" in the neighbourhood,"of the hardships through which the Pioneers had to pass a year ago". They found forty nine graves near the River and many more scattered along the roadside. Many of these Pioneers had died of fever during the rainy season on their way to Mashonaland.

The missionaries continued to make steady progress and on August 18, they reached the Tokwe River and the next day they entered the Providential Pass, "a name given to it by the Pioneers last year", and on August 20, they reached the town of Fort Victoria.

They found Fort Victoria, "a very small place and much inferior to Fort Tuli", Here they found about forty men stationed under the command of Captain Turner and he and other officials received the missionaries very cordially. While resting at Fort Victoria, the missionaries thought it a good opportunity to pay a visit to the famous Ruins of Zimbabwe lying about fifteen miles to the East". Watkins remained in the town and the first party to go consisted of Shirmin and a white friend, the evangelist, Michael Bowen, a guide and two other Africans. They set off on August 22. After "a most enjoyable march..through grand and varied scenery", they reached the Zimbabwe Ruins soon after dark. The next day, they examined "the wonderful ruins" as thoroughly as their limited time could permit, and returned to the town.

On August 26, Watkins and his party set off for the Ruins and returned on August 28. While at Zimbabwe, he heard of a rock

that was covered with spoors or foot-prints which "the natives were jealously guarding from the knowledge of the white men"." As we had never seen anything so wonderful as footsteps in granite, and as our guide.. had come from a village close to the reputed marvel and knew the spot", Shimmin later wrote, "we resolved upon making another expedition on foot. It was no use attempting to resume our journey to Fort Salisbury until the oxen had been sufficiently rested and we thought it better to see the country than to remain waiting about the wagon". So on August 29, Watkins and Shimmin and their helpers left for "The Mount of Footprints". For about ten miles they kept on the road to the Zimbabwe Ruins and then turned off more to the south. The scenery on the way was grand and striking and they completed their journey of twenty miles about an hour before sunset and made their camp for the night under some trees near a small stream. The next morning, they were up early in order tohave enough time to inspect "the wonderful spoors,which according to the natives, had never as yet been seen by white men".

They ascended the eastern'slope of a long valley about a mile wide and soon came to a succession of large rounded rocks, one of which was pointed out to them as the "Hill of Footprints". There they saw a large number of deep impressions in the granite which looked very much like the footsteps of human beings and the spoors of various animals. Within a space of thirty yards square they saw hundreds of tracks of lions, jackals, wolves, antelopes as well as the tracks of various other animals. Some of the indentations were clear and distinct but the majority were overlapped and crowded together. Human footsteps varied from five to twelve inches in length and the best Shimmin found measured four inches across thetoes and was eight inches long. About two hundred yards to the north, there were also a few

spoors but there was nothing whatever on the rocks further south, except the ordinary marks left by the shaling away of the surface flakes. As to how the footprints were made, Shimmin said it looked as though the animals had walked over the rock when the granite was in a semi-fluid state and then a hardening process had suddenly taken place.

From the top of the hill, Shimmin and Watkins had a magnificent view of the beautiful landscape stretching away some five hundred feet beneath them and the cluster of African huts on one of the lower crags added to the picturesqueness of the scene. As soon as they had finished their inspection they began their homeward journey. Following a winding mountain path, they soon came to their guide's village where they saw the chief and had a short rest. Before sunset they got to another village, "romantically situated on the lower part of a hill". They made their camp a few hundred yards away and in a very short time they were surrounded by many of the villagers who brought eggs, milk and meal for barter. The villagers refused money when trading and asked for salt, handkerchiefs, blankets, beads or calico. They also found that the villagers were very ingenious and made knives, spears, hatchets, baskets and bowls. They also saw for the first time a sample of African gunpowder.

Watkins and Shimmin started early the next morning and in a couple of hours after noon, they got back into the township of Fort Victoria. While in Fort Victoria, they met the Revs. Stegman and Hofmeyer of the Dutch Reformed Church who were on their way to Cape Town. They had been sent up by their Church in Cape Colony to report on the country. Associated with the missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church was a very influential lay deputation sent up to judge the possibilities of Mashonaland for agricultural purposes.

They told Watkins and Shimmin that they had been very favourably impressed with all they had seen and spoke most hopefully "of the future of this part of South Africa".[1] After staying in Fort Victoria for a few more days, Watkins and Shimmin resumed their journey on September 1 and on September 29, 1891, they reached Fort Salisbury.[2]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin, Journal of the Mashonaland Mission, September 7, 1891.
2.C/M/B. 1891-1899,Owen Watkins to M. Hartley, October 5, 1891.

EX BIBL UNIV. EDINBURGEN

Chapter 3: The Establishment of the First Methodist Missions in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, 1891-1896.

In the last chapter we considered the background to Rhodesian Methodism including the journey of Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin from Pretoria in June until they arrived at Fort Salisbury on September 29, 1891. In this chapter, we will consider three things: the establishment of the first Methodist missions in Mashonaland from the time the missionaries arrived until the beginning of the Matabele war of 1893; the Matabele war itself and its results from the missionaries' standpoint; third, the establishment of new Methodist missions in Mashonaland and Matabeleland from the end of the Matabele war until the outbreak of the Ndebele rising in March of 1696.

As soon as the missionaries arrived, they began their work with enthusiasm. As Shimmin put it shortly after his arrival in Mashonaland, "The more I see of the natives, the more do I rejoice at the possibilities before us. They are in most deplorable ignorance of all true religion, but judging from their present attitude, they are most willing to learn and judging from appearances, they are likely to make sound and intelligent Christian believers".[1]

Upon arrival, the missionaries had an interview with Rhodes about the grants of land on which to build their missions and which Rhodes had promised them. The latter honoured his promise and in October, Watkins obtained from Rhodes five stands in the township of Salisbury; four stands in the township of Umtali; a promise in writing that the British South Africa Company would make ample provision of

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1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,September 7, 1891.

land for the Methodists in every township which might be laid out in Mashonaland; three farms three thousand acres each for mission stations, one to be the district of Umtali, the second in the district of Salisbury, and the third in Lomagundi's country to the north of Salisbury. Watkins was also given a promise in writing that should the Methodists require more land for mission stations, their application would receive from Rhodes, 'every favourable consideration'.[1]

Having received the grants of land, Watkins felt that his mission was accomplished and after a brief tour of the country, he proceeded to Beira from where intended to sail for Durban. When he arrived at Beira he was delayed for ten days waiting for a steamer. At this time of the year, Beira was a "fever trap" and Watkins was laid down with fever and dysentry. When he eventually left and arrived at Durban on November 28, 1891, the fever was so serious that it almost brought him to death's door.[2] He managed, however, even in his weak state, to get to Pretoria. His illness lasted for several weeks and when he miraculously recovered, he returned to England.

Meanwhile, Shimmin was anxious to tour the country and assess its potential for evangelism. On December 1, 1891, he proposed to visit Chief Lomagundi and to 'peg out' the farm which had been given to his society by Rhodes. But just as he was about to start off, news reached Salisbury to the effect that Chief Lomagundi had been killed by the Matabele. He saw Dr. Jameson in order to verify the story and was told that Lobengula had sent up a party of thirty men to demand the usual tribute from Lomagundi; the latter refused to pay

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,October 22,1891
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Owen Watkins to M.Hartley,November 30,1891.

and the result was that he and three of his men were killed.[1] Shimmin, however, believed that the trouble was only local and on December 2, 1891, he proceeded to Lomagundi's country, accompanied by the evangelist, Michael Bowen. They travelled through 'fine country', and two days after leaving Salisbury, they reached the Umvukwe Mountains, some forty miles to the north-west and a few days later they reached the River Hunyani, 70 miles from Salisbury.

Before leaving Salisbury, Shimmin had consulted the famous hunter, Frederick Selous, as to the best place to 'peg out' a mission farm in Lomagundi's country. Selous recommended a farm at the kraal of Chief Zvimba, between the Umvukwe Range and the River Hunyani and to this area, Shimmin and his companion proceeded. On the way they passed through the Sinoia caves. On Friday, December 11, they travelled back south-east for a few miles and the following day they arrived at Chief Zvimba's kraal. They found the Chief "a very pleasant old fellow, and he and Michael soon became fast friends".

The following day was spent in exploring the area and the result of their investigation was "highly satisfactory". On Tuesday, December 15, they marked out and "beaconed" the new mission farm which they named "Hartleyton" in honour of Marshall Hartley, the Secretary at the Mission House in London.[2]

The founding of the Hartleyton station filled Shimmin with great joy, so much so that he could not help "feeling rather proud of the task. Here I was near the centre of Africa than any other Wesleyan minister had ever been before - within ninety miles of the great river Zambesi - the first to carry the gospel into these wild regions;

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,December 1,1891;Stafford Glass, The Matabele War,London,1968,p.49;J.Whiteside,History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa,London,1906,p.463

2.For the establishment of this and subsequent missions in Rhodesia see Findlay and Holdsworth,The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,Vol.IV,op.cit,pp.378-413.

hundreds of miles of unoccupied Territory behind me, and in front an open door to millions of heathen".

Shimmin was also proud of the fact that since June, 1891, "our Church in South Africa has moved forward nearly seven hundred miles beyond Good Hope, our most northerly mission station in the Transvaal". With patriotic fervour, Shimmin felt that "surely the fact that our flag is now waving within a few days' journey of the river Zambesi is sufficient to intensify the enthusiasm of every earnest worker in the kingdom of Christ. Our flag is there and we must never desert it, rather will we fight up to it and beyond it until we cross the Zambesi and join hands with the other great churches in penetrating the darkest parts of the heart of this great continent".

Meanwhile, Chief Zvimba was delighted to hear that the missionaries intended sending a Christian teacher to live with him and Shimmin promised to give the Chief "both protection and assistance". He also hoped to make Hartleyton "an active centre from which our missionary operations will radiate in all directions amongst the benighted heathen kraals".[1]

With the Hartleyton mission established, Shimmin returned to Salisbury and arrived on 23 December, 1891. As the year 1892 began, Shimmin found it necessary to build a house for himself in Salisbury. His parsonage was "the first Wesleyan Building in Mashonaland", and was built of poles and mud with a thatched roof. The simplicity of the structure was best described by Shimmin himself. "As the thatch was not sufficient to keep out the heavy rain we had to cover it with the wagon sail, a common expedient in this part of the world....

1.C/N/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,The Mashonaland Mission, January 16, 1892.

Including the luxury of one door and three windows (no glass) the building cost about thirty pounds".

This done, Shimmin proposed the building of the first Methodist church in Salisbury. Since September, 1891, the Methodists had no church building of their own and were making use of empty stores in which to hold the services and for the first three Sundays of February, 1892, they were holding services in the dining room of the Masonic Hotel, kindly put at their disposal by its owner, a Jew, who allowed them to use it both rent free and light free.

The Methodists felt that this was an unsatisfactory procedure and at the beginning of February, 1892, Shimmin sent round a subscription list in order to raise funds for the building of the church. He had hoped that by hard work he might be able to raise fifty pounds and thus be able to put up a wattle and daub building to start with. Happily, through generous subscriptions, a sum of £125 had been raised towards the end of February and Shimmin hoped soon to have sufficient money to erect a brick church capable of seating one hundred and fifty persons.[1]

By March, 1892, sufficient money had been collected for the building of the church in Salisbury and Shimmin requested the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, to lay the foundation stone. This request was met with "a prompt and hearty compliance". The foundation stone laying ceremony took place on Saturday, March 26. The event was best described by Shimmin himself. "Most of the principal inhabitants of Salisbury", he wrote,"witnessed the historic event, the singing-led by the Salvation Army Band - was bright and lively and the collection

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin, The Mashonaland Mission,February 26, 1892.

was very satisfactory. Before laying the stone Dr. Jameson made an excellent speech in which he referred to the good work being done by the various denominations and especially complimented the Wesleyans in having taken the leading place by building the first permanent Church in the country".[1] The church cost over £300,[2] and was opened, free of debt on Sunday, June 5, 1892.[3]

With the Salisbury church completed, Shimmin turned his attention to the business of founding new mission stations. In February, 1892, he had interviewed Mr. Duncan, the Surveyor-General with respect to the granting of more mission farms to the Methodists. Mr. Duncan promised to be very generous in the granting of such farms. Shimmin was very pleased with the results of this interview. "Instead of granting me three or even six farms", he wrote to Hartley on February 26, 1892, "he said he would willingly give thirty or sixty if I wanted them. His idea is briefly this. Wherever we find native towns or villages of any importance we can there mark out a farm including those towns and such farms will be registered and handed over to us for Missionary work. We are to put a native teacher there and to have oversight of the place". "The desire of the Company", Shimmin continued, "is that our Church and the Episcopal Church should co-operate with them in the development of the country. It is our part to look after the material and spiritual interests of the natives and instead of grudging us Mission Stations as other governments have done, they allow us a free hand to select and occupy as many as we please".[4]

With this promise of generous treatment so far as land grants

1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, The Mashonaland Mission, April, 13, 1892
2. S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899, Mashonaland District Minutes, 1892
3. Isaac Shimmin, "Opening of the New Wesleyan Church at Fort Salisbury, Mashonaland", The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January, 1893, p.7
4. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, February 26, 1892.

were concerned, Shimmin set about opening new mission stations. In May, 1892, he secured on behalf of his Church, four stands in the township of Fort Victoria.[1] In July, he inspected a farm some eight miles from Salisbury which his Church had been granted by the BSAC. He called the new mission Epworth. He registered the farm at the Surveyor-General's office shortly afterwards. He considered the acquisition of this mission of great importance. "The principal importance of this farm", he wrote Hartley on July 25, 1892, "lies in its proximity to town. What Kilnerton is to Pretoria I expect Epworth will be to Salisbury".[2] The Epworth farm consisted of nearly 3,000 acres.[3] In addition, two more mission stations were opened in 1892 at Nengubo and at Kwenda.

We have already seen that Shimmin established the Hartleyton mission in December, 1891. In 1892 he decided to return to that mission to strengthen the work there and in the Logamundi district as a whole. He was very pleased on arrival there with the reception he got from the people.

The people in Lomagundi, he wrote, "listened to our story with deep attention; told us we were the first messengers of the Gospel they had seen; assured us they were all eager to learn the white man's faith, but that they could not act in the matter until the consent of their great prophetess had been obtained. This was the first time for me to hear of this mysterious personage and in answer to further questioning they gave the following information which will show how wide is her range of power".

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, May 31, 1892
2. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, July 25, 1892.
3. S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899, Mashonaland District Minutes, 1892.

The prophetess, Shimmin was told, lived about a day's journey from the chief's place and that a visit to her stronghold was never undertaken without the fortifying influence of various gifts of a "specific and particular nature". The mother of the then occupant of the office, he was told, was also a prophetess and as such was acknowledged by Mzilikazi, the first Matabele king. The reigning prophetess came to office after Mzilikazi's death and his successor, Lobengula, had always been largely governed by her prophecies and advice.

"It is said among the natives", Shimmin wrote, "that two years ago when the forces of the Chartered Company marched into Mashonaland it was chiefly owing to the counsel that she then gave Lobengula that the expedition was permitted to enter and occupy the new country without bloodshed. Had she spoken otherwise there is no doubt that a long and fierce struggle would have taken place between the English and the Matabele".

"Among the heathen", Shimmin continued,"her name is invested with great mystery, and their fears and superstitions clothe her with authority almost divine. They say she can make rain, govern the harvests, avert sickness or bring punishment... In her hand is the power of life and death and to disobey her voice means destruction for the present and the future". "As no white man is allowed to consult her in person", Shimmin continued, "I agreed to the suggestion of the chief, that he should send a special messenger who would explain the situation and request her permission to have the new teaching established amongst them".

After waiting for three days, the messenger returned with the reply from the prophetess. "To our great satisfaction", Shimmin

wrote,"it was entirely in our favour as far as she was concerned, but she felt that in a matter of this sort she had better consult with Lobengula and would at once send a native deputation to Bulawayo. This means a two months' journey, so I decided to leave the teachers where they were for the present. If the reply of the Matabele king if favourable", he concluded, "they will go in at once and possess the good land in the name of the Lord, but if the answer should be against us they will return to Hartleyton".[1]

It is not clear from subsequent accounts what reply Lobengula gave, if any. But it is very unlikely that he would have agreed to the missio nary occupation of the area which he claimed to rule. Meanwhile, Shimmin continued his tour of the Lomagundi area and was very interested in the customs of the people. "The natives at Lomagondi's", he wrote, "differ very considerably in many ways from those who live in the eastern portions of the country. They appear to have a keen sense of self-respect and appreciate the advantage of a more extensive wardrobe than generally prevails among the natives".

"A curious custom among the female part of the population",he continued,"is the perforation of the middle of the upper lip and the insertion of the stem of an ornamental stud. At a distance it looks something like a bright sixpence fastened on the lip, but so highly do they value this article of primitive jewellery that no woman who makes any pretension to be considered fashionable can possibly afford to do without it. The young girls wear pieces of wire or wood in the lip until such time as they are sufficiently rich to procure the more costly metal ornament. The men show quite

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,The Mashonaland Mission,"Journey to Lomagundi", September,1892.

as much vanity as the women in decorating themselves. Their hair is a wonder to behold, sometimes piled up like a mop on the top of the head, at other times shaped in ridges of small curls from the neck to the crown, or hanging in black, sticky profusion to the shoulders, but all embellished with an artistic arrangement of small beads. The sterner sex also sport large numbers of ear-rings and 'drops' principally made of brass wire".[1]

At one of the villages, Shimmin had an opportunity to see an African weaver at work and was greatly impressed with his skill. "Everything", he later wrote, "was of the crudest description. The frame upon which the warp was stretched was only about three feet long and two wide the shuttle was carefully put through by hand and every new thread was pressed down by a long stick. It would take the weaver several days to make a yard of stuff. But time is of no consideration to these people, the wild cotton bushes grow about their huts and they have only to clean the cotton, spin it into thread, and patiently manufacture it into cloth which when finished is much superior to the flimsy 'limbo' of barter. I got a piece that would not have disgraced a Manchester warehouse, it was beautifully made and had three or four ornamental stripes running through the whole length. I merely mention this to show the natural ingenuity of the people and their future possibilities".

Interesting as the customs of these people were, Shimmin was more interested in the religious possibilities of the area. Here he had his first encounter with Shona religion as then practised. "The religious notions of the Mashonas in these parts", he wrote, "are very vague. When a person dies he is interred just outside the kraal and over his grave a low hut is built and this becomes the place of

1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, The Mashonaland Mission, "Journey to Lomagundi", September, 1892.

prayer for the friends and relatives of the deceased. At certain seasons of the year they bring beer and meal as an offering to the spirit of the departed and hope by this means to gain his favour and help in their daily life. But religion as a controlling power-giving comfort in sorrow, victory over sin and hope for the future - of all this they are totally ignorant and only the light of the gospel can disperse their darkness".

Shimmin was, however, much interested to find that the people "believe in a Supreme Being whom they call Mwari(or Mwali) but to Him they dare not pray. Their intercessor is the mother of God- Banamarumbe. This may be a corruption of the Jesuit faith, and may have slowly percolated down from the old mission stations on the Zambesi. Mwari is not unlike Mary or Maria, and the transposition of terms and persons is a common thing amongst such people, and especially in relation to such an abstract subject. I offer no opinion, but wait for further knowledge".[1]

Two observations need to be made from this account. First, the Jesuit faith mentioned by Shimmin referred to the first attempt to introduce Christianity to the Shona by the Portugeuse Jesuit missionary, Father Gonzalo da Silveira at the court of the Mutapa dynasty until he was murdered as a result of court intrigues in 1561. After his death, the Portuguese made alliances with the dynasty and in this way kept alive the influence of the Church at the Mutapa's court, with the result that several of the Mutapas, some of their chiefs and many of their people were baptised.[2] Later, however, the Jesuits withdrew from the Zambesi area in 1667.

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin, The Mashonaland Mission,"Journey to Lomagundi", September, 1892.

2.Murphree,Christianity and the Shona,op.cit,p.6;W.F.Rea,The Missionary Factor in Southern Rhodesia,Historical Ass.of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Local Series, No.7,1962,p.2

Secondly, the religious notions of the Shona as those of other Bantu peoples, were far from vague. This had been recognised by Livingstone when he was working among the Kwena of modern Botswana, for example. Writing of the Kwena, he said that there was no necessity "for beginning to tell even the most degraded of these people of the existence of a God, or of a future state, the facts being universally admitted. Everything that cannot be accounted for by common causes is ascribed to the Deity, as creation, sudden death, etc."."On questioning intelligent men"among the Kwena "as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God, and the future state", Livingstone continued, "they have scouted the idea of any of them ever having been without a tolerably clear conception on all these subjects. Respecting their sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, except the statement that it was wrong to have more wives than one; and they declare that they spoke in the same way of the direct influence exercised by God in giving rain in answer to prayers of the rain-makers, and in granting deliverance in times of danger, as they do now, before they ever heard of white men".[1] Shimmin did not realise this and made the common missionary assumption that the Shona had no religion deserving the name.

After his tour of the Lomagundi area, Shimmin returned to Salisbury. Meanwhile, his work was reinforced by the arrival of a second missionary, Mr. George Eva and eight African evangelists and teachers from the Transvaal and Cape Colony in August,1892.[2] Two more evangelists followed shortly after, making a total of ten.

1.David Livingstone,Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, London,1857,p.158
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,September 1,1892.

Three of the ten were Basutos: Josiah Ramushu, Mutsualo and Molimile Molele; the other seven were Xhosas from Cape Colony: Samuel Tutani, Wellington Hogana Belisi, Mutyuali, Mulau, Fokasi and James Anta. Of the ten, five returned home in due course; Molele and Anta, as we shall later see, were killed in the Shona rising of 1896; the remaining three - Ramushu, Belisi and Tutani- stayed and made Rhodesia their home.

In addition, the missionaries also recruited five Tongas from the Zambesi Valley. Four of them - Lewanika; Simemeza, Chiyoka and Sibenzo- joined the Church as members after one year, and were probably the first African indigenous members of the Church in Rhodesia. The fifth man - Mafare Muzambgwa, a son of Chief Siansari by his fourth wife - joined the other four a few years later.[1]

Shimmin attached great importance to these evangelists not only because they reinforced his work, but also because of the view he held that the evangelisation of Africa would best be done by Africans witnessing to fellow Africans. As he put it, "That Africa is to be saved by Africans themselves is a favourite theory of most Christian workers out here (in Mashonaland), and in this new mission we are proceeding on these lines. Under the careful and constant supervision of the minister, the native evangelist can become the most effective missionary, and especially is this the case in a country like Mashonaland".[2]

When the African teachers and evangelists arrived from Cape Colony, they were sent to assist in the work at the newly-founded mission stations. Their work at Epworth was greatly appreciated

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1.C.Thorpe,Limpopo to Zambesi,Cargate Press,London,1951,pp.54;62.
3.W.M.M.S.,The Seventy-Nineth Report,1893,p.91

by Shimmin. When he visited this mission during the course of his tour of Mashonaland, he was "very much surprised at the great improvement that had taken place amongst the people since the arrival of the teachers only two months before".

Shimmin had a very hectic schedule during the early period. On Sundays he not only held services but also taught the people the elements of Western education. "At seven in the morning", he wrote of his visit to Epworth one Sunday, "we had our first service, at which fully a hundred and twenty men, women and children were present, and the manner in which they sang and listened was most gratifying. After breakfast forty or fifty adults and children sat down in groups to study the mysteries of the Alphabet. They all appeared eager to learn and plodded patiently along the thorny path, both men and women good-humouredly conning over the strange signs and no doubt looking forward to the happy time when the book would speak to them as it did to the white man.. Later on another small party, including the chief, came from a village some miles away to get a share of the good things they had heard about and soon they too were grinding away at their lesson as if working for an examination". Shimmin was very much encouraged by the response of the people. "To me", he later wrote," it was a scene full of the most absorbing interest. A few weeks ago these people were like the heathen around them, now they are diligently learning the first steps in the way of righteousness".

It was, however, one thing for the people at Epworth to be curious and willing to learn the elements of Western education; it was quite another, to accept the teachings of the Gospel. There were two major difficulties in reaching the people as Shimmin saw

them. "It was no use beginning here with the profound truths of theology, for in the first place, the teachers are not yet sufficiently strong in the language to venture beyond the most simple instruction. And secondly, these people with centuries of barbarism behind them, and with the bias of their moral nature so set against godliness, are at first incapable of comprehending even those plain religious facts which appear so self-evident to every Christian child".

Under the circumstances, Shimmin adopted what he called a "wise plan" to suit the people's capacity to understand. "Homely conversation, simple illustration, and above all, lively and attractive singing", he wrote, "will help in many ways to make known the charms of the 'old, old story'. In a case of this sort adaptability is everything, and our end is securely gained -

'When truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors' ".[1]

Shimmin's failure to make converts among the Shona deserves comment. The problem was not so much that the evangelists - whom as we have seen were of South African origin- had not yet sufficiently mastered the local language although if they had done so it would have been of immense help but the fact that the people were deeply attached to their traditional religion. Shimmin's problem was basically that he did not realise that the traditional religion appealed very strongly to the ordinary Shona.

If adaptability was everything, Shimmin did not put his own theory into practice. For this reason he encountered the same difficulty in making converts among the people of Chief Gambiza

1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, The Mashonaland Mission, September, 1892.

as he had experienced at Epworth during his tour of Mashonaland in 1893.

"On Sunday, June 11th", Shimmin wrote, "we had the largest congregation of Mashonas that I have ever seen, and I could not have wished for a more attentive audience. Men, women and children listened eagerly to the strange gospel, but the simple truths of the Bible were utterly beyond them. I had clever interpreters and as clearly as I could, I told them the 'old old story' of redemption but even this was above their grasp. I spoke of sin, repentance and forgiveness; they only smiled and looked puzzled. They knew that this religion must be very good, for it was the creed of the superior strangers, but they complained that it was all very difficult to understand... On several other occasions I tried the same experiment with an honest desire to succeed, but failed every time".

Shimmin was almost driven to despair at his own failure to make converts among the people of Chief Gambiza. He ascribed his failure to the dullness and barbarism of the people. "These people", he wrote,"are so dense that nothing seems to make an impression and they must be taught slowly,'line by line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little'. Their centuries of inherited barbarism must not be forgotten". Shimmin was consoled, however, to find that the people had "faint conceptions of an over-ruling Providence, they can distinguish right from wrong - here then is something to work upon, and from the truths that are known to go to the unknown".[1]

From Gambiza's kraal, Shimmin continued on his tour of Mashonaland. He reached Mount Wedza. He found that the mountain was full of good iron ore and that the people from the surrounding districts

1.C/M/B. 1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,The Mashonaland Mission, July 7, 1893.

came to the mountain to take as much of the iron ore as they liked. "Every village we saw", he later wrote, "had several forges and it was very refreshing to hear the sound of the hammer and see the workmen busy making hoes, hatchets, knives and spears. It naturally increases one's respect for a Mashona to find that he has genuine mechanical skill and that he stands upon a much higher platform than a common field-labourer".

From Mount Wedza, Shimmin returned to Gambiza's country. At one of the villages where he stopped to rest, he found the village smith at work, repairing and making several articles. He had an opportunity to test the skill of the smith when part of his wagon broke and requested the smith to repair it.

"The smith", Shimmin later wrote,"had never before attempted anything of the sort but after I had made a pattern out of an old newspaper and given a few unprofessional hints, he accepted the commission and soon had his establishment working at very high pressure. Early in the afternoon he brought me the finished article, and considering it was the first thing of the kind he had made, the work was very creditable indeed. It proved that they could both weld and make bolt-holes, which cannot be done by the more primitive workers".

The significance of this incident for Shimmin was not simply that it proved that the Shona "could both weld and make bolt-holes", but that people with such skills were worth training and educating and that the establishment of an industrial school combined with Christian teaching, would be "one of the best means of lifting them to a higher level and developing to the fullest their mechanical aptitude".[1]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,The Mashonaland Mission,July 7,1893.

Meanwhile, the progress of the missionaries in Mashonaland was being shadowed by the constant friction between the British South Africa Company and the Ndebele which eventually led to the war of 1893. The causes of the Matabele war of 1893 and the campaign which followed and which resulted in the destruction of the Ndebele state, have been well studied,[1] and no further elaboration of them is necessary except to say that in this war, the Company was strongly supported by the missionaries operating both in Matabeleland,[2] and Mashonaland. This was largely because from the experience of the missionaries in Matabeleland, the missionaries as a whole were convinced that Christianity had little chance of success in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland until Ndebele power was broken and the Ndebele raiding system in Mashonaland was stopped.

The fall of the Ndebele state was welcomed by the Methodists because they had long contemplated establishing missions in Matabeleland but had been unable to do so as long as Ndebele power remained unbroken. The fall of the Ndebele state provided the Methodists with the opportunity they had long waited for. In fact, while the war was still in progress, Shimmin took the opportunity to interview Rhodes in October, 1893, to get his views regarding the projected Methodist missions in Matabeland as soon as the war ended.

Rhodes received Shimmin cordially and expressed his willingness to help him in this regard. Shimmin asked Rhodes whether he was willing in the event that the Methodists decided to commence missionary operations in Matabeleland, to grant him on behalf of his Society stands in the townships of Matabeleland for church purposes; farms for mission work, and an additional grant of one hundred pounds per

1. Stafford Glass, The Matabele War, London, 1968, S. Samkange, Origins of Rhodesia, London, 1968; Philip Mason, The Birth of a Dilemma, Oxford, 1958.
2. N.M.B. Bhebe "Christian Missions in Matabeleland 1859-1923", op.cit, pp.171-203.

annum for five years. "To all this", Shimmin wrote to Hartley on October 31,1893,"he immediately agreed and promised to send me a formal letter from Victoria. He went on to say that he made this promise willingly and with great pleasure as he regarded mission work as one of the best means for opening up and civilising a country and that he had already received convincing proofs of the good accomplished by the Wesleyan Church in Mashonaland".[1]

Rhodes honoured his promise and in March, 1894, he instructed the Secretary of the BSAC, Rutherford Harris, to inform Shimmin in writing that the BASC "will grant your Society for its new Mission in Matabeleland an annual subsidy of £100 for five years and also such land as may be required for the purposes of the Mission work, - the amount to be left to the discretion of the Administrator - further, the Company will grant your Society four stands, free, in the new Bulawayo township, or in any other township that may hereafter be established in Matabeleland. Mr. Rhodes desires me to add our expression of the consistent and steady support you have accorded the Company in its endeavour toopen the country to all comers irrespective of nationality".[2]

Meanwhile, the Methodists were anxious to resume their work in Mashonaland which had been continually disrupted by the Ndebele raids into Mashonaland. This was all the more important because between 1891 and 1893, the Methodists had made very little progress in Mashonaland,as shown by the fact that by the end of 1893, the Church had only 8 catechists 5 full members, 3 members on trial and 870 children in its day schools.[3]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,October 31,1893.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,F.Rutherford Harris to Isaac Shimmin,March,13,1894.
3.S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899,Mashonaland District Report for 1893.

The missionaries were partly to blame for their failure to make much headway in Mashonaland. In some cases, the missionaries were tactless in their dealing with the people. This was best illustrated by George Eva. In June, 1894, during the course of his tour of mission stations, Eva reached the Nengubo mission which, as we have already seen, was founded in 1892. When he arrived at Nengubo, Eva by his own admission, spoke "very roughly to the chief" because he refused to let the children come to school. He thereupon lectured the chief; told him he must build a church, and told the teacher, James Anta, to see to it that the chief followed and carried out these instructions. Resuming his tour, Eva left Nengubo and arrived at a large village not far away. The incident that ensued was the clearest example of missionary intimidation and tactlessness in dealing with the people.

At this particular village, Eva and his companion saw a number of goats and cattle. They asked some of the men who were sitting around a camp fire to sell them a goat for food. The villagers were unwilling to do so and left them. Later, Eva's companion called to a man who was passing by and asked him if he and his fellow villagers would bring the goat they had asked for. The man did not reply, whereupon the teacher told him to tell his chief "to be on the look-out this evening, we are missionaries and our white chief is with us, he asks you for a goat and you refuse although he wants to pay for it, tonight we shall come with our guns and take one and not pay". In less than an hour, the chief came down with a goat and a pot of beer as a present to the white missionary; the latter refused to take it, much to the teacher's chagrin.

When Eva left this village and came to another mission station

called Ranga, he used the same methods to intimidate the chief as he had used at Nengubo. Chief Ranga, Eva wrote, "had been giving the teacher some trouble by not sending the children to school, so I had to speak very sternly to him and threaten to take the teacher away if he continued in his attitude towards him". The chief, Eva wrote, "was very much cut up at my remarks and replied saying that he would not at any cost part with his teacher, and that he would see that everything I desired was done to the building of a decent hut for the teacher and a church".[1]

Eva seems to have realised that his mode of operation was offensive to the chiefs and people and thereafter, he became more tactful. One of the problems encountered by the missionaries during this early period was that in some parts of Mashonaland, the people were living in scattered villages. The missionaries felt that under such circumstances, if they were to make any headway at all in their work, it was necessary to gather together as many of the isolated villages as possible and form one large community at the mission stations. This was the procedure followed by Eva in 1894.

In August, 1894, Eva accompanied by the teacher, James Anta set off to visit a number of chiefs in the neighbourhood of Hartleyton. They were out on the journey for eight days and travelled for eighty or ninety miles and saw thirteen chiefs before whom they set forth their scheme of bringing all their villages together on one mission station. The chiefs agreed to the scheme and by the middle of August, they were busy constructing their huts on the Hartleyton mission.[2]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva to M.Hartley,June 24,1894.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva to M.Hartley,August 13,1894.

By this time, the missionaries were making small, but steady progress as shown by the fact that by the end of 1894, the Church had 5 Sunday School teachers teaching in 8 Sunday Schools with 662 Sunday School pupils, 1 local preacher; 17 full members; 13 members on trial for membership and 7 day schools with 665 day school pupils.[1]

Meanwhile, the work of visiting the various stations continued, By this time the missionaries had learnt to be more tactful in dealing with the people. One good example of this was when the Rev. John White visited several mission stations in 1895.

On his way back to Salisbury, White stopped at one of the villages. As the rain threatened, he decided to ask the villagers for a hut in which to spend the night. The men clearly indicated that they were not willing to help. White also asked if he could buy some food. The villagers said they had nothing. "I knew", he later wrote,"they were telling me lies. With Mashonas it is worse than useless to get out of temper, so I sat down and asked to see the chief. In a few minutes there emerged from the royal residence a thin, sickly-looking fellow about twenty-five years of age. I could see he was very unwell".

White asked the chief if he could give him some medicine. "The idea", he wrote, "delighted him. One dose of the white man's medicine changed the attitude of the whole 'kraal'. At once a hut was prepared, mealies, milk, a fowl and other Mashona delicacies were brought. My carriers and I fed sumptuously".[2] By such tact, the missionaries were able to make progress among the people and in

1.S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899,Minutes of the Mashonaland District,1894
2.John White,"Visiting the Native Stations in Mashonaland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,September,1895,p.395

August,1895, the Methodists established themselves at Gwelo where Shimmin had selected four stands in the new township for church purposes.

Meanwhile, the Methodists held their first Synod in Mashonaland in 1895. It was conducted by the Rev. George Weavind, Chairman of the Transvaal District. The missionaries met together on September 26 and 27 to talk over their work and to make all necessary arrangements for the coming year. Attending the Synod were three European missionaries and eight African evangelists.

They discussed the progress that had been made in Mashonaland since 1891. They were satisfied that at the mission stations that had been longest occupied, quite a transformation had taken place among the people. They noted that infanticide, "once so common, is now a rare occurence"; that shave and other "superstitious practices are disappearing; the women taught by the evangelists' wives, are beginning to clothe themselves in civilised dress; the people attend regularly our services; when possible 'wattle and daub' churches are being built, and in some places definite conversions have taken place". It was also noted that 3,000 people "regularly listen to our preaching of the Gospel; 700 children meet in schools"[1].

The success noted at the Synod were folowed up during the remainder of 1895. In Salisbury, the Methodists built a small brick church in the African location, in charge of a married evangelist. In addition, a night school was being held for the Africans who worked in the town during the day and there were two Society classes with 14 full members and 8 on trial.

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1. John White, "Our First District Synod in Mashonaland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, January, 1895, pp.20-21.

At Hartleyton, the old mission station having proved inconvenient owing to mining operations that had begun near the mission, the Company gave the Methodists a grant of ten thousand acres a few miles further south from the old mission and in a most suitable locality.

The Epworth mission was the most successful of all mission stations. It was noted that on Sundays the congregation numbered about two hundred, and forty children regularly attended school. It was noted that during the year five adults, after remaining the usual period on trial, were baptised and received into Christian fellowship. "All heathen customs and practices", it was noted, "have been entirely abandoned and the whole aspect of the place has been changed".

Similar progress was being made at Kwenda station where about 70 children were attending school and a hundred people were coming to the services each Sunday. The only exception to the success noted, was at the mission called Ranga where the chief was reported to be "both crafty and unscrupulous" and prevented his people from hearing the gospel.

The success made by the missionaries was shown by the fact that by the end of 1895, the Church had 9 catechists, 10 Sunday School teachers, 10 Sunday Schools, 3 local preachers, 46 full members, 44 members on trial, 545 Sunday School pupils, 9 day schools with 490 pupils and an average of 3,280 people were attending public worship weekly.[1]

In 1896, the work of visiting the mission stations and establishing new ones was continued. One of the stations opened in February was one near the kraal of Chief Zvimba by the Rev. John White. In

1. S/M/S/A/3. 1889-1899, The Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Minutes, 1895.

opening this mission, White again proved his tactfulness in dealing with the people. The first thing he did on arrival was to gain, if possible, the sympathy of the Chief and his surbodinate chiefs, and this was by no means easy.

Soon after his arrival, White called the Chief and his surbodinates to his hut, "explained to them the object of our mission, and by way of demonstrating our good will gave each a present of a blanket. This by no means won any very warm regard for us or our work; they looked upon us with suspicion and distrust".

Under the circumstances, White thought of a way of winning the hearts of the chiefs. He told them that he wished to build a brick house but required their help. If from each kraal he could have two men, when the work was finished, he would pay them. The chiefs agreed to this request and sent the necessary men. In about five weeks they turned out 18,000 bricks. Meanwhile, White did not lose sight of the real object of his mission. On the first Sunday after his arrival, he held services at two of the villages. Many of the people, he wrote, "were at work when we arrived, but willingly left it for a time to come and listen to us. It was the first time many of them had heard the Gospel message. Judging from the look of wonder on their faces, the news must have sounded strange in their ears. He then told the people that if they would come to his hut the following Sunday, he would tell them more of "the wonderful story". This the people did and he again preached to them "the Word of Eternal Life".

Slowly, the attitude of the people began to change. "Before many weeks had passed", White wrote,"I noticed a marked change in their attitude to us. In one or two little things we were able to serve them and thus gained their confidence. It became known that I had

some medicine with me. After service on Sunday mornings", he continued, "my hut assumed the appearance of a dispensary. In some of their simpler complaints I was able to afford them much relief. A lion prowling around had so terrified them they scarcely dared to work in the fields. By means of poisoned meat we were able to rid them of the pest. So by helping them in these and other ways we were glad to note the suspicion anddistruct giving place to confidence".[1] This, then, was the progress made by the Methodists in Mashonaland up to February, 1896.

Meanwhile, the projected Methodist missions to Matabeleland had been begun by the Rev. G.Weavind who preached the first Protestant service in Bulawayo in October, 1894. The service was held in a hotel kindly put at his disposal by the proprietors. The hotel was "but an iron building without a ceiling or floor", but the service was nevertheless a success. Shortly after, Weavind had an interview with Captain Heyman, the Magistrate, and was given on behalf of his Church, two building plots for church purposes.[2]

Without a church building of their own, the Methodists for the period up to June 1895, held services in the Bulawayo Courthouse kindly put at their disposal by Captain Heyman, free of charge.[3] Meanwhile, the Methodists decided that the two plots alloted to them in Bulawayo in 1894 were "hardly suitable for church purposes" as they were too far from the bulk of the people. The Methodist Church Committee there decided to buy a good stand near the centre of the town for the sum of £900[4] and when Dr. Jameson passed through

1. John White,"Latest Advance in Mashonaland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field, February, 1896,p.79
2. C/M/B.1891-1899,George Weavind to M.Hartley,October 26,1894
3. C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,June 27,1895
4. J.W.Stanlake,"Beginnings at Bulawayo", The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, November,1895,pp.166-7

the town, Shimmin applied to him for a suburban stand he had selected for the parsonage. This Jameson granted "without demur". The price for the stand was £150.[1]

In October, 1895, the Methodists had the satisfaction of having completed the building of their church in Bulawayo, and were able to open the small building - furnished with seats, organ etc. - quite free of debt. This little church was eventually replaced with a much bigger church which was erected in 1898. The new church cost about £6,000 and had a seating accommodation for 600 people.[2]

So far the Methodists had confined their work to Bulawayo. In July, 1895, however, they decided to extent their operations to the rest of Matabeleland, but they wanted to make sure that their operations would not collide with those of the LMS. For this reason, Shimmin paid a visit to the representatives of the LMS at Hope Fountain. He had a long conversation with Rev. Helm, the Superintendant, on the projected Methodist missions in Matabeleland.[3] No specific agreement appears to have been reached by the two Societies at this time.

Meanwhile, in August of 1895, Shimmin had an interview with Dr. Jameson and requested the grant of a mission farm

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, June 29, 1895.
2. H.Oswald Brigg, "Progress at Bulawayo", The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January, 1898, p.1
3. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, July 5, 1895.

for an industrial institution at Tegwani. Jameson agreed to this request provided the Methodists would station a European minister there and not leave the work "entirely to native teachers". [1] The Tegwani farm consisted of ten thousand acres and was situated near the Tegwani River about 70 miles south-west of Bulawayo. In time, the Tegwani mission became not only the centre of the Tegwani Circuit consisting of numerous churches and primary schools but also the most important Methodist mission in Matebeleland. Meanwhile, due to shortage of staff and the fact that the Ndebele rising of 1896 intervened, the work at Tegwani was not commenced until 1897.

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter the establishment of the first Methodist missions in Mashonaland from the time the missionaries arrived in 1891 until the out-break of the Matabele war of 1893 and the establishment of Methodist missions in Matabeleland from the end of the Matabele war until the out-break of the Ndebele rising in March of 1896.

Between 1891 and 1896, the Methodists made some converts among the Shona and Ndebele but whatever success the missionaries had made in converting the Shona and Ndebele to Christianity during this early period, was ruined by the Ndebele and Shona risings which broke out against the regime of the British South Africa Company in March and June of 1896.

1.C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M. Hartley, August 26, 1895.

The Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896 were a disaster for the missionaries. Not only were several of the leading African evangelists killed: several of the mission stations were also destroyed. The causes of these two risings and their results on the country as a whole and on the Methodist missions in particular, form the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Ndebele and Shona Risings, 1896-7

The work of the Methodists and indeed of most missionary Societies operating in Southern Rhodesia in the 1890's suffered a severe set-back as a result of the Ndebele and Shona risings which broke out against the Administration of the BSAC in March and June, respectively, 1896.

The effect of the Shona rising on the Methodist missions was summed up in the annual report of 1897. "We regret to report", the Report of that year stated, "that all our Mission work at the various stations has been completely paralyzed since the outbreak of the rebellion last June and, therefore, a detailed account of our progress for the year cannot at present be furnished".[1]

This chapter seeks to inquire into how it was that the Ndebele who appeared to have reconciled themselves to European rule after their defeat in the war of 1893, and the Shona who were widely believed to have welcomed European rule as a protection from Ndebele raids, rebelled against the Administration of the BSAC. This will be done in two parts: first, a brief discussion of the causes of the two risings in the light of non-missionary literature presently available, and second, in the light of the material now available in the Methodist archives. The course of the two risings until their suppression as well as their effects on the country generally and on the Methodist missions in particular, will also be discussed. We will begin with the Ndebele rising.

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1. W.M.M.S., The Eighty-Third Report, 1897, p.110.

The various accounts extant on the causes of the Ndebele rising are unanimous on three points: first, that cattle played an important part in the life of the Ndebele as a source of food, clothing and bride-price, and that the wholesale seizure of Ndebele cattle by officials of the BSAC and by individual whites in the wake of the Ndebele defeat in the war of 1893, was a major source of grievance for the Ndebele. [1] Second, that the labour question and the manner in which it was handled, particularly through the use of the Matabeleland Native Police who used this opportunity to humiliate and actively oppress the people, was greatly resented by the Ndebele. [2] Third, that the wholesale alienation of Ndebele land by the officials of the BSAC and by individual whites, was deeply felt by the Ndebele and played an important part in causing them to revolt.

With respect of the Shona rising, four important grievances caused the Shona to revolt: first, the use of punitive police expeditions in the settlement of disputes between white farmers and prospectors on the one hand and the Shona on the other. Second, the brutality of the Native Police in the administration of Mashonaland. Third, the universal opposition to the payment of the hut tax, and lastly, the universal Shona opposition to forced labour.

In this connection, two important studies have been made on these two risings, the first by Professor Ranger in 1967 which dealt with the Ndebele and Shona risings on a nation-wide scale, and the second, a localised study of the Shona rising in South-Western Mashonaland, by Dr. Beach in 1971. [3] Since these two studies do not differ fundamentally in their interpretation of the causes of the

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1. Marshall Hole, The Making of Rhodesia, London,1926,pp.336 and 354; Philip Mason,The Birth of A Dilemma,Oxford,1958,p.189;L.H.Gann, A History of Southern Rhodesia, London,1965,p125.
2. Marshall Hole, The Making of Rhodesia,op.cit,pp 349 and 354;Philip Mason, The Birth of a Dilemma,op.cit,p.193.
3. D.N.Beach,"The Rising in South-Western Mashonaland,1896-7",op.cit, chapters 5 and 6.

Shona rising, I will take Professor Ranger's analysis since it deals with both the Shona and Ndebele risings.

In his book, Professor Ranger demonstrated at length how the administration of Matabeleland between the end of the war of 1893 and the beginning of the Ndebele rising in March 1896, was geared for the most part to the seizure and collection of Ndebele cattle by the officials of the Company and by individual whites. He also demonstrated in what way the land question was of crucial importance in causing the Ndebele to revolt. "Literally the whole of the Ndebele home area", he wrote, "had been given away in the few months which followed the conquest". [1] Furthermore, not only was most of Matabeleland alienated to the whites; the Reserves allocated to the Ndebele, the Shangani and Gwaai Reserves, were profoundly unsuitable, both on account of lack of water and the barenness of the soil. For this reason, most of the Ndebele refused to move into these two Reserves: as a result "they found themselves living on private farms and therefore subject to rental charges, eviction, and so on". [2]

On the labour question, Professor Ranger has shown that forced labour was used on a large scale, that the Matabeleland Native Police were especially active in the recruitment of labour, and that given the same sort of authority as the Native Police in Mashonaland, the Matabeleland Native Police became the tyrants of the countryside; for this reason, they were universally hated by the Ndebele.

With regards to the Shona rising, Professor Ranger discussed in detail several factors which led to that rising. One of these was the use by the BSA Company officials, of punitive police expeditions in the settlement of disputes between the white farmers and prospectors on the one hand and the Shona on the other; in many of these police

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1. T.O.Ranger, Revolt in Southern Rhodesia,1896-7,London,1967,p.102
2. Ibid,p.105;for details on the administration of Matabeleland between 1893 and 1896, see Ibid, chapter 3.

raids, many Africans lost their lives.

A second Shona grievance which led to the rising of 1896 was the universal Shona opposition to the payment of the hut tax. Few Shona paramount chiefs, Professor Ranger wrote,"recognised the right of the Company administration to demand tribute from them or accepted the argument that they were under the Company's protection".[1] A third cause of the Shona rising, Professor Ranger pointed out, was the question of forced labour. In the absence of a properly established Native Department, he argued, the use of forced labour by individual whites which the Native Department tried to prevent, continued, and as a result of these and other grievances, the Shona rebelled. The aim of this chapter is to expand on some of these points in the light of the material available in the Methodist archives.

We have already noted that one of the causes of the Shona rising was the use by the Company administration of punitive police expeditions in the settlement of disputes between the white farmers and prospectors on the one hand and the Shona on the other. One of these police expeditions was sent out to the Lomagundi district in 1894 to punish a chief called Mazimbagupa for the murder of a police trooper called Cooper under circumstances which remained unknown. The police having failed to apprehend the murderer of Cooper, arrived at the Methodist mission station at Hartleyton where the local missionary, the Rev. G.H.Eva, was in charge. Eva, in a long report to his Society's headquarters in London, described what happened.

1.T.O.Ranger,Revolt in Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,p.77;for details on the administration of Mashonaland between 1890 and 1896,see ibid,chapter 2.

He was at the mission station near Chief Zvimba's kraal. He had arrived there from the Civil Commissioner's Camp. He had succeeded after much persuasion and a good deal of trouble in getting most of the people in that area to come together on the mission station. Those who had arrived numbered about five hundred to six hundred souls and seven chiefs. He had gathered them together for the Sunday service. All had come up to the service with the exception of one woman who had a sick child. He was just finishing his address when James Anta, the teacher, saw a policeman following the woman who had the sick child who was rushing as fast as possible for the service. Eva turned round and saw James go and saw the policeman and immediately broke off his address and went to meet the man, but as soon as the latter saw him, he went off and instructed a Native constable to keep watch.

Eva then instructed the teacher to prepare to close the service and to gather the children together to sing the closing hymns. They were in the midst of doing this when a sub-Inspector called Hopper arrived with a Mr. Arthur Eyer, a Mr. Kenny and three policemen. Mr. Hopper at once demanded to see the chiefs; the latter all stepped out. They were then told by Hopper that the Government required them to go with the police to look for Mazimbagupa, the murderer of trooper Cooper of the Lomagundi district.

Eva went on to say that after the flogging of two boys for having run away from their masters' employ, the sub-inspector turned to the police and told them that the chiefs were prisoners and as such should be guarded. Meanwhile, Hopper asked Eva to get him some boys for a job he wanted to get done. When Eva was going to get the required boys, he heard a rifle shot and he had scarcely finished

speaking when he heard further shots. He ran to where the police were encamped and when he arrived, he found only three of the seven chiefs remaining. He saw sub-inspector Hopper and demanded an explanation.

Hopper said that three of the chiefs had run away and had been shot; he said he was very sorry for what had happened but that there was no alternative. "These chiefs",Eva later wrote to Hartley,"were absolutely innocent of Cooper's death, to this I am prepared to take my oath; for when it occured I was amongst them speaking to them about coming together on our station and several of them had not heard of the murder until I told them".[1]

Shortly after, the Rev. John White accompanied by Eva visited the scene of the incident and what they saw shocked them. "As Eva and I examined the scene of the crimes, saw the slain men's gore and heard again the stories about it", White later wrote, "I could not but feel that it is one of the most dastardly deeds civilised men could be found guilty of". The Chartered Company, he continued,"seem inclined to let the thing slide after the most flimsy enquiry. The person in charge instead of being in any way reprimanded has been raised from sub-inspector to Inspector of Police".[2]

White blamed the Company for what had happened. "It seems to me the whole explanation of the matter", he wrote, "is in the inefficiency of the agents of the Chartered Company acting in that district..Unworthy or inefficient fellows are sent out there, they do practically what they like..In this matter something ought to be done. The Chartered Company ought to be held responsible for the action of their servants; some of these fellows think less of shooting a Mashona than they do of shooting their dog. The burning of huts, stealing meal and raping of

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva,"Report of Police Visit on Hartleyton",1894
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,November 10,1894.

their women are common occurences. Our protest here is simply ignored. We are now waiting to see what will be done to these policemen who have been engaged in this last expedition before we take further action".[1]

When no action was taken by the officials of the Company, the Rev. George Weavind who was Acting Chairman at this time during the absence of Shimmin, in a letter to the Acting Administrator,reminded the latter of the outrage at Hartleyton and hoped that the Acting Administrator would order an inquiry to be made into the incident.[2] When the Acting Administrator did nothing about the incident, Mr. Weavind and Mr. Eva called officially on the Acting Administrator, one Mr. Duncan.

In a long interview with Mr. Duncan, Mr. Weavind told him respectfully that "it would be impossible to suffer such an outrage on common humanity to pass without notice and I should be glad if he would furnish us with justification or explanation of the transaction". Mr. Duncan in reply said that several white men had been murdered by the Shona in different parts of the country, the last being trooper Cooper of the Lomagundi district police; that it was impossible to capture the murderer or murderers because they always fled and were hidden by the people and that the Shona were beginning to think they could take the lives of white men with impunity. "The white men on the other hand", he continued,"would inevitably take the law into their own hands and shoot the natives wherever they saw them. The authorities were therefore compelled to do something".

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,September 1,1894.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,G.Weavind to Acting Administrator,September 27,1894.

Mr. Duncan thereupon ordered the arrest of thechiefs referred to in Mr. Eva's letter. They were to be sent to Salisbury and kept there as hostages until the murderer of Cooper had been found. The chiefs were informed of this and were warned that if they attempted to escape, they would be shot. The chiefs attempted to escape and were consequently shot.

Mr. Weavind pointed out that the chiefs in question were entirely innocent of any crime, which Mr. Duncan admitted, and that "it was an unheard of thing to shoot men down for merely attempting to escape, especially as the arrest was not justifiable, that in any other country it would be called murder". Mr. Duncan said in reply that it was absolutely necessary to establish law and to maintain order, and to protect the lives of the white men and this was the only way this could be done. With Mr. Duncan's permission, Weavind reported the whole incident to his Society. "There does not appear", he wrote,"to be the smallest justification for the arrests, still less for the shooting".[1]

The Hartleyton incident has been enlarged upon for two reasons. Firstly, it was typical of the many instances of police brutality which were practised in many parts of Mashonaland and which caused the Shona to revolt. Secondly, when the Shona rising broke out in June,1896, the people of the Lomagundi district were in forefront of that rising. Inspite of the protests of the missionaries, these and other acts of police brutality continued. Another instance of official injustice which made the Shona revolt, took place in 1895.

During Mr. White's stay at Hartleyton, he made a complaint against the Native Commissioner of that area. The latter had come to a kraal

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,George Weavind to M.Hartley,October 27,1894.

near Mr. White's hut and by means of threats to the effect that he would burn the village and thrash the chief if his demands were not met, he obtained the chief's daughter and seduced her. The people were very upset by what had happened and the chief went to Mr. White and complained. White took down the chief's statement as well as that of the girl against whom the offence had been committed and got other evidence.

White then went to Salisbury and reported the case to the Acting Administrator. The latter sent the statement to the Native Commissioner involved. The latter flatly denied everything and demanded from White a written apology. An inquiry was then made and White brought all his evidence. All the evidence and cross-questioning was taken down and submitted to Judge Vintcent who had meanwhile taken over the duties of Acting Administrator. After hearing both sides of the case, the Native Commissioner was found guilty and dismissed forthwith and left the country.[1]

When the Shona rising broke out in June, 1896, White was in the forefront of the critics of the Company Administration. He was in no doubt that the rising was the direct result of African oppression by the officials of the Company. "There can be no doubt", he wrote shortly after the Shona rising had broken out, "but that the misgovernment of the British South Africa Company is in some measure responsible for the Native rising. In their eagerness to make money they have neglected their duties as governors especially towards the native population of Rhodesia. We are now reaping the fruits of their maladministration".[2]

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1. C/M/B. 1891-1899, John White to M. Hartley, November 22, 1895.
2. C/M/B. 1891-1899, John White to M. Hartley, June 16, 1896.

Although White felt strongly about the murders of so many white people including many of his friends, he nevertheless argued that the rebels had very severe provocation. He reminded Hartley of the charge of assault committed against the chief's daughter in the Lomagundi district by the Native Commissioner the previous year; that the accused had been found guilty and had left the country. Yet so trivial seemed the offence that at the outbreak of the Shona rising, the same man appeared and was at once appointed Captain of a force sent to punish the rebels.

White persisted in his opposition to this man and the latter was again dismissed. The result was that some of the friends of the dismissed man informed White that if ever the opportunity presented itself, they would take his life.[1] White, however, treated such threats as bluff and took no notice of them and persisted in his contention that but for African oppression by the officials of the Company, the Shona rebellion would not have taken place.

He cited as one of the causes of the Shona rising the unjust manner in which the hut tax was collected. In the collection of this tax, he argued, rarely any attempt was made to levy the charge equitably. This had the tendency to make the Shona discontented and the hut tax hated. He did not advocate that the collection of the hut tax should be discontinued; he thought, however, that some just and less repulsive method of collecting the tax should have been devised.[2]

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899, John White to M.Hartley, September 30, 1896
2. C.F.Andrews, John White of Mashonaland, London, 1935, pp.52-53.

White also cited as one of the causes of the Shona rising the brutality of the Native Police. Previously, he argued, these fellows were arrant cowards, but once they were mounted with a little authority and a rifle, they developed into tyrants. Not only were the Native Police actively oppressing the people, but they were also in the habit of raping women. The result of these and other acts was that "so evil had become the reputation of these representatives of official justice that their arrival at a kraal was the occasion of the worst alarms".[1]

The Chairman, Isaac Shimmin, supported many of the charges made by White. He cited inter alia Shona grievances over the hut tax and the mistreatment of the people by the officials of the Company. Shimmin argued that although the majority of white people were good fellows, there was a small section of the white community who had taken the law into their own hands and whose treatment of the Africans was to be strongly condemned. The Company officials, he argued, should have taken steps to punish these men when they were found to be wrong. When the most flagrant cases of injustice were brought to the officials, however, the latter "only moved with the greatest reluctance, and nothing was more likely to forefeit their good will than the exhibition of the slightest sympathy with the native".

"An inquiry into a native outrage", he argued,"often became a public scandal owing to the manner in which it was conducted. On these points I have abundant evidence. I have protested against the native policy of the Chartered Company for nearly five years,

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1. Ibid, pp.53-4
2. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, "The Mashona Rebellion", 1896.

and in my opinion, and in the opinion of a large number of people, the incapacity and misgovernment of the Company had had a great deal to do with the rebellion". "We talk of the Transvaal, but I am certain",he added,"that some of the acts of the officials of the Charterad Company would more than equal the worst enormities of the Boer government".

Although he did not want to speculate on the future native policy of the Company, Shimmin was certain of one thing, that there was a strong and wide-spread feeling that the time had come "when the men in this country cease to be puppets of the London Stock Exchange", and that if the Imperial Government took over control of the affairs of the country,"the change would be welcomed by a large majority, although those in the inner circle of speculation would give it their strong opposition".[1]

With respect to the causes of the Ndebele rising, Shimmin pointed out inter alia the cattle question and the unjust manner in which it was handled. Much irritation had been caused among the Ndebele, he argued, by the unjust manner in which the cattle question had been dealt with. If the Company regarded all Ndebele cattle as loot after the Ndebele defeat in the war of 1893, then it would have been better to take the plunder of war at once and that there was no doubt that the Ndebele resented the continued taking of their cattle subsequent to the first confiscation. Generosity on the part of the conquerors concerning the "wealth of the native, which is his cattle would have been a wise policy". This feeling of irritation on the part of the Ndebele, he argued, was "intensified by some incompetent officials sent to deal with native affairs". Although, he conceded

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1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",1896.

that many of the Native Commissioners were men of justice and principle, he argued that "a few of them were utterly incompetent".[1]

Having said this, Shimmin was of the view that the Ndebele rising was the result of long preparation. Since their defeat in 1893, he argued, the Ndebele warriors had been quietly waiting for an opportunity to recover their country. The authorities in Bulawayo were warned several months before the outbreak but they took no notice. In addition to long preparation, he argued, the Ndebele rebelled because of the witch-doctors who "worked upon the superstition of the people, and kept them in a state of expectancy".

As for the Shona rising, Shimmin was convinced that it was planned by the Ndebele and also that the witch-doctors had a great deal to do with influencing the people to rebel." Here we have", he wrote with reference to the Shona, "a scattered and disunited people, who from a fighting point of view were contemptible, combining with a single purpose to attack and exterminate the white men. They must have had strong reasons for despising the so-called protection of the superior race, and it was an incomprehensible miracle when they joined hands with their hereditary oppressors - from whom the whites sought to protect them. Of course we must remember that we are speaking of a savage people, a nation as naturally averse to work as other uncivilised tribes, and who were all too ready to listen to the powerful Matebele when they were assured that they might soon have their country out of the grasp of the conquering whites. The gods and witch-doctors of the people had spoken, and all the English would seen be destroyed. The Mashonas knew the brutual strength of the Matabele by bitter experience, and when

1. C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",1896.

they were told that the village that did not join in the rebellion would be exterminated all their scruples vanished - if they ever had any. The white man would be killed, their country would be their own, and now the Matabele had promised to be their friends. No more work for the future, but a savage Paradise of perpetual laziness. And had not the gods assured them that they would be successful? And thus, like a thief in the night, the Mashonas sprang upon their helpless victims. North and South and East and West the word was given and this nation of fragments became united and struck down the innocent white man and his wife and child".[1]

Shimmin was not alone in believing that the Shona were incapable of military resistance to the whites and that although they had genuine grievances against the misgovernement of the BSAC, they finally rebelled because of the Ndebele threat that if they did not participate in the rising, in the event of a Ndebele victory, they would be wiped out by the Ndebele. One of the missionaries who believed this was the Rev. George Eva.

"The reason for the Mashonas rising", he wrote from Bulawayo in July, 1896, "is most difficult to ascertain; some think it is because the Matabele rebellion has hung on so long, others think that a number of Matabele have gone up and told the Mashonas that they have wiped out the white man here and that if they do not assist them to do it in Mashonaland, then they will wipe them (the Mashonas) out. This it seems to me I must confess the more likely for in all my experience of natives I never met such a cowardly race as the Mashonas. To my mind they seem to be essentially a pastoral race with here and there mechanics such as iron-workers and

1.C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, "The Mashona Rebellion", op.cit, 1896

weavers".[1]

This view that the Shona were goaded to revolt by Ndebele threats, was widely shared by many whites. Baden Powell and Frederick Selous were certainly of this opinion. The former in attempting to explain the cause of the Shona rising said that bands of Matabele rebels "had made their way to Mashonaland, after the first defeats near Bulawayo. They spread reports among Mashonas that the whites had all been killed in Matabeleland, and that nowwas the time to rise and similarly put an end to their rule in Mashonaland; and they threatened that, in the event of the Mashonas not rising, the whole of the Matabele nation under Lobengula redivivus would shortly be down on them".[2] Selous was of a similar view.[3] As we shall later see, such an estimate of the Shona was quite mistaken.

While many of the missionaries conceded that the Shona had genuine grievances over the misgovernment of the Company, some of them felt that the Ndebele did not have serious grievances against the rule of the Company. At any rate, judging from the history of the Ndebele since they arrived in the country, many of the missionaries felt that they would not be safe until the Ndebele were thoroughly defeated.

One of the missionaries who held this view was the Rev.C.H. Eva. A month after the Ndebele rising had broken out, there were rumours that the Ndebele were tired of fighting and wanted to negotiate. Eva hoped that such rumours were not true, arguing that unless the Ndebele were thoroughly crushed, it would not be

1. C/M/B.1891-1899,C.H.Eva to M.Hartley,July 3,1896.
2. R.S.S.Baden Powell,The Matabele Campaign,London,1896,p.77
3. F.C.Selous,Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia,London,1896,p.236

safe for anyone to go out into the countryside. "In the last war", he argued, the Ndebele "were not beaten, the only real victory was at Bembesi, the first Shangani battle was more or less a draw and the second was a decided defeat for our forces which were totally inadequate to cope with them, so that the Matabele had never been thoroughly beaten by the white man", and that "until we give them a thrashing we may expect periodical outbreaks such as this and many of us will lose our lives".[1]

Another missionary, the Rev. J.W.Stanlake, was of the same opinion. "The Matabili", he wrote in May, 1896,"have of course brought this war upon themselves but they have been hardly dealt with, and now the only way to put down the rising is by the help of the sword or our own lives would be in great danger, force is the only power they have any respect for".[2]

The first news of the Shona rising was received by Shimmin about the middle of June,1896. "We have just heard", he wrote to Hartley on June 17, "that the Mashonas are very disaffected and have murdered several white men but I think the reports are exaggerated and the trouble is local. However we shall take good care of ourselves and avoid unnecessary risks".[3]

When the Shona rising broke out, Shimmin was travelling from Fort Victoria to Charter by wagon but owing to cattle sickness, the journey took twelve days instead of seven. He met White at Charter and the two travelled together to Salisbury where they arrived on June 14. While on the journey, they had had a narrow

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva to M.Hartley,April 29,1896.
2. C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,May 19,1896
3. C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,June 17,1896.

escape. "We afterwards found", Shimmin later wrote,"that whilst we had been quietly tramping alongside the donkey cart containing our baggage, the rebellion had actually broken out, and several cruel murders had been committed not very far from the road. Had we been a day or two later, nothing could have saved us, for the Colonial boys at the different stables were soon afterwards killed, and we should have walked into a trap. On the other hand, had the oxen not suffered from rinderpest on the road from Victoria we should have been at Salisbury five days earlier and thus would have got to Lomagundi at the worst time. Very few escaped from that district alive. And further, had I remained at Victoria, Mr. White would have continued working at Nungubo's instead of coming to meet me and as all the white men in that locality, as well as our own native teacher, were surprised and killed, I hardly think that he would have escaped".[1]

When Shimmin and White arrived in Salisbury on June 14, they had intended starting on their journey to Lomagundi, but as Shimmin later explained,"there were so many unpleasant rumours flying about that we thought it best to wait. That very night (June 17) the alarm became so acute that a company of volunteer pickets was promptly organised and we all took part in guarding the town. We expected an attack and were thankful when day light came to relieve our anxiety".

In the first five weeks of the Shona rising, the situation in Salisbury was so acute that martial law was declared and all whites including missionaries, took part in the defence of the town. Mr. Stanlake was appointed to the Commissariat; White

1. C/M/b.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",op.cit,1896

joined the ambulance staff, and Shimmin was appointed Wesleyan Garrison Chaplain.

By this time, the Shona rising was becoming general. The only friendly chief, according to Shimmin, was the old Chief Chiremba who lived at the Methodist mission station at Epworth. When the Shona rising broke out, two teachers at Epworth sent in a request for extra guns and ammunition as they had been told that Chiremba was to be attacked by the rebels because it was well-known that he and his people "had received the new religion and that he was friendly with the whites, and therefore he was to be wiped out".

Under the circumstances, Shimmin consulted the Acting Administrator, Judge Vintcent, and immediately sent for the Chief and his people to come into Salisbury since to have left them out in the countryside would have meant their certain death. At first, however, the Government was uneasy about trusting any Shona or bringing any of them into town even if they were loyal. "The feeling in town against all Mashonas", Shimmin wrote, "was at that time so strong that at first the Government hesitated, and whilst they were debating the matter I sent out on my own account and got the people in. I pointed out to the officials that they were bound to protect those natives who were friendly, and who were willing, if necessary, to fight for the Company, and at length they gave us their consent".[1]

It is not our purpose to trace in detail the course of the Ndebele and Shona risings, or of the role of the religious authorities in those risings. These have been well studied by

1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin, "The Mashona Rebellion", op.cit, 1896

Professor Ranger.[1] It will suffice to say that the important role played by religious authorities in the two risings was acknowledged by many whites[2], including missionaries.[3]

With regard to the Ndebele rising, it will suffice to say that beginning in March, the rising spread rapidly through most of Matabeleland. The seriousness of the situation brought about by the Ndebele rising during the first few months was noted by G.H.Eva. "For the past fortnight or three weeks", he wrote from Bulawayo on April 29, 1896, "we have been literally besieged by the rebels. Thousands of them have been within two or three miles of town arranging as it has been supposed an attack upon the town and every man who has arms has been called upon in one way or another to bear his part in defending the women and children and the town".[4] The Ndebele, however, failed to take the town.

This failure of the Ndebele to over-run Bulawayo by May, was probably the turning point in that rising. Certainly Shimmin thought so. "Had the Matabele combined for a united attack on Bulawayo in the early days of the rebellion", he wrote from Fort Victoria on May 18, "the consequences would have been disastrous, now, however, we are reinforced on every side and the issue of the struggle means a certain victory for the white man".[5]

1. T.O.Ranger, "The Role of Ndebele and Shona Religious Authorities in the Rebellions of 1896 and 1897", E.Stokes and R.Brown, (eds) The Zambesian Past, Manchester University Press, 1966
2. e.g.F.C.Selous, Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia, op.cit, pp.15-16; Baden Powell, The Matabele Campaign, op.cit, p.15
3. e.g.C.H.Temple, "Some Matabele Notes", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, October, 1896, p.428
4. C/M/B.1891-1899, G.H.Eva to M.Hartley, April 29, 1896
5. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, May 18, 1896

By the beginning of October,1896, the Ndebele had come to the conclusion that outright victory against the whites was no longer possible. They therefore retreated into the Matopos which were strongly fortified and from which they were not likely to be dislodged without great loss of life to both sides. Rhodes too, had come to the same conclusion. A long drawn-out war would not only be expensive for the Company but would also lead to great loss of life for the Company forces as well as those of the Crown. Both sides were therefore willing to negotiate. In October, there began the first of the indabas between Rhodes and the Ndebele military leaders.

Some of the missionaries who advocated a fight to the finish, were disappointed that Rhodes was negotiating too soon before the Ndebele were thoroughly crushed. Eva was certainly of this opinion. He had no faith, he said,in the negotiations taking place in the Matopos; it looked "too much like the white man capitulating to the savage; for the Matabele have not yet been thoroughly thrashed. War is horrible thing especially in these parts and with savages, but when the thing has been taken up it should be carried through to the bitter end for anything like mercy or leniency is interpreted by them as cowardice or weakness, and in their own minds they consider that they have conquered us and not that we have conquered them".[1]

We have already stated that the Ndebele had failed to over-run Bulawayo by May, 1896. Although they had failed to capture this important objective, the Ndebele rising received an extra boost when the Shona rising broke out in June. We have also noted that when the Shona rising broke out, Shimmin thought that the trouble was only local.

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva to M.Hartley,October 1,1896.

That the rising was not local but a general uprising throughout most of Mashonaland, became clear by the beginning of July, "Since my last letter to you and indeed during the past fortnight", Eva wrote Hartley on July 3, "things have become complicated in that the Mashonas have risen and many white men and womenhave been killed. The reports from my Chairman and from the newspapers are to the effect that the Mashonas are fighting remarkably well, our men having been defeated practically and have had to retire with a fair amount of loss...Of course the rising of the Mashonas makes it most difficult to quell the rebellion as a whole, in as much as it covers such large extent of territory and territory which abounds with mountains, hills, caves and forests".[1]

By September, 1896, the Shona had suffered some serious reverses but they continued to fight well. "The Mashonas", John White wrote to Hartley on September 30,"have surprised everybody"." That they should have risen at all is a big wonder, but, that they should fight with such determination after reverses they have had is even a bigger surprise".[2]

We have already noted that in October, 1896, Rhodes and the Ndebele military leaders began the first of the four indabas in the Matopo Hills which eventually led the Ndebele to sue for peace. By December, 1896, the Ndebele rising had come to an end. Meanwhile, the Shona rising continued and was proving very expensive to the Company. In order to calm the fears of the stock-holders of the Company in London, Rhodes was circulating reports that the Shona rising was about to come to an end.

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,G.H.Eva to M.Hartley,July 3,1896.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,September 30,1896

The missionaries, of course, were anxious to counter such propaganda by showing that the contrary was the case. "The Mashona Rebellion",J.W. Stanlake wrote to Hartley on August 28,1896,"is by no means over, in fact it is not going too far to say that providing the food of the Mashonas holds out, it will need a force of 5,000 men to crush them, and the loss of life on our side, would be very heavy". [1]

By December, 1896, Stanlake was even more convinced that the Shona rising was unlikely to end in the near future. "We are supposed to be at 'peace' with the natives", he wrote on December 2, "I sincerely hope it may prove so and that steps will be taken to prevent the recurrence of the events of the last few months...Personally I fail to see in what way we are at peace. No one can go six miles off the main road (from Salisbury) without being fired on from behind rocks, and the natives have refused to lay down their arms and as far as I can see unless the natives are willing to leave their caves and live in the open in locations I am afraid we shall have serious difficulties after the rains. In some cases, they are afraid to lay down their arms as from experience of the past the word of the white men cannot be trusted."[2]

The Rev. John White was of the same opinion, "Many of the reports you may read about the country being peaceful", he wrote Hartley from Salisbury on January 9,1897,"are false. The Chartered Company for financial reasons would like the outside world to believe this is the case. During the last fortnight the rebels have been coming into town during the night and stealing cattle quite close to the houses. The majority of them refuse to lay down their arms and leave their

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1.C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,August 28,1896.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,December 2,1896.

caves in the mountains..From what I can gather from the natives themselves they are very tired of fighting and only refuse the Government's offer of clemency because they do not trust their word. Whatever may be the case the fact remains that people have no confidence in this so-called peace".[1]

By March, 1897, the military authorities having failed to put down the Shona rising, came to the conclusion that the quickest way to bring that rising to an end was to starve the Shona into submission by destroying their crops before they ripened. The military authorities therefore began going round the countryside burning down the standing crop of maize.[2]

The burning down of their crops, however, did not make the Shona submit, at any rate, immediately. It was at this point that John White decided to intervene. He intervened for two reasons. First, he feared that an indefinite continuation of the war would lead to great loss of life. Second, from the conversations he had had with some of the rebel chiefs, he was convinced that the latter wanted to sue for peace but did not trust the Government.

"Sometime ago at the request of one of the officials", he wrote Hartley on April 30,1897, "I went up to one of the strongholds and had a talk with some of the chiefs. Ifound them very tired of the war but entirely without confidence in the white man's word". I felt sure if the Government would give me a free hand I would get them out of their caves".[3] White's efforts, however, were unsuccessful and the rebellion continued.

Having failed to starve the Shona into submission, the military

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1.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,January 9,1897
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,March 7,1897
3.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,April 30,1897

authorities adopted harsher measures. These measures were described by White in a letter to M.Hartley. "Within the last few weeks", he wrote on August 12,"the military people have resorted to much severer measures. The strongholds have been attacked, the rebels driven into their caves, an opportunity offered them of coming out, failing this the caves were blown up by dynamite. It is a terrible business: hundreds of men, women and children have been blown to pieces. I know the necessity of such a course could be contended for, still it seems more than sad that a nation of our civilisation and standing should be engaged in such work. The blame in my opinion is not with those who have done the dynamiting but with those who have rendered such means necessary".

We have already noted that White's first attempt at mediation between the rebels and the Government was not successful. He did not give up, however, and in August, 1897, he made a second attempt to mediate and this time he was successful in persuading the people of Chief Nengubo to surrender to the Government. He sent messengers to the former occupants of the Nengubo mission to meet him so that he would accompany them to the Government representative to whom they would surrender. They replied saying if he would meet them at the deserted mission station at Nengubo they would meet him there. He replied and said he would come.

Shortly after his arrival at Nengubo, true to their promise, a number of Nengubo's men turned up. "They seemed", White wrote "very frightened and doubtful as to the kind of reception they would have.. Next day we walked across country to the Native Commissioner to whom they formally surrendered themselves...After questioning them, he bade them go back, gather their people together and return to the

Mission Station. Two days afterwards a number of them, with wives, children and impedimenta arrived. They looked miserable and disconsolate..Right glad were they to be back home again. Today (August 12) a number of head-men of other kraals came to my place bringing their guns with them".[1]

White's successful mediation between the people of Nengubo and the Government, however, did not mean the end of the rising in other parts of Mashonaland. In point of fact, the rising continued in other parts of Mashonaland but by the end of December, 1897, the Shona rising had effectively come to an end. It is therefore appropriate at this juncture to consider the results of the Ndebele and Shona risings on the Methodist missions in particular and the country as a whole.

For the Methodists, the results of the two risings on their missions particularly in Mashonaland, were disastrous for it was in Mashonaland that two of their most prominent African evangelists, James Anta at Hartleyton and Molimile Molele at Nengubo mission, were killed. It is therefore appropriate to give in some detail the background of these two men and the events leading to their deaths. This becomes all the more important because in missionary circles they became the celebrated martyrs of the Shona rising. We will begin with James Anta.

James Anta was a Xhosa from Cape Colony. He had come up as one of the eight evangelists who had been brought in in 1892 to strengthen the work in Mashonaland. After some time he was sent to the Methodist mission at Hartleyton in the Lomagundi district where, as we saw earlier, he was helping the Rev. G.H.Eva at the mission at the time

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,John White to M.Hartley,August 12,1897.

of the police expedition to that district in 1894. It was while he was working there that the Shona rising broke out.

The events leading to James Anta's death at Hartleyton were given by the Rev. J.W.Stanlake. According to the report he had received from the Chief of Anta's kraal, Anta had been holding a week-day service in the church at which the Chief was present. After the service, the Chief returned to the kraal while Anta remained conversing with young people. As they sat round a camp fire, they were suddenly surrounded by what afterwards appeared to be the impi of Mashayingombe, one of the prominent rebel leaders. The impi fired a volley into the party, shooting Anta in the back and one of the girls through the foot. The whole of Mashayingombe's men managed to get away and the people dispersed to their kraal. "After some time", Stanlake was told, "one of the girls stole away to the place where Anta was shot and found him asleep in death. The Chief came and buried him".[1]

In addition to the death of Anta, there came also the news that all the men at his station, because they refused to give him up and join in the rebellion, were also killed.[2] Such, then, was the background and the events leading to James Anta's death. The most celebrated martyr of the Shona rising so far as the Methodists were concerned, however, was another evangelist, Molimile Molele at Nengubo. To this story we must now turn.

The background to the life of Molele and the events leading to his death, were well described by Shimmin in his account of the Shona rising already cited. Molimile Molele, Shimmin wrote, "was one of our most successful evangelists...He came up from Good Hope with the first

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,September 21,1897
2.John White,"Reoccupying Vacated Stations",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,April,1897,p.150;J.Whiteside,History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa,London,1906,p.470

lot of Teachers in 1892, and in the following year he was stationed at Nungubo's..He at once became a great favourite; the children came willingly to school and both among the young and old his influence was healthy and beneficial. The following year his wife came up from the Transvaal and greatly added to his usefulness for she taught the women and children how to live and dress like the natives at Good Hope. The eldest daughter was also a great help in the school. Molele believed in practical Christianity and by precept and example showed the Mashonas the joys and blessings of the Gospel of Christ. He built a comfortable dwelling house and laid out a large garden, and thus by striking object lessons he tried to induce them to build better homes and live on a higher scale of civilisation".[1]

The events leading to the death of Molele were related by Shimmin as well as by Molele's widow. It wasthree weeks after the outbreak of the Shona rising that the news of Molele's death reached Shimmin.

What had happened was that on Friday evening, June 19, Shimmin sent a note to the teachers at Epworth to convey to Molele at his station at Nengubo, telling him of the unsettled state of the country near Salisbury. On June 20, Molele made a small laager not far away from his house, although at that time he did not think that the situation was serious. He noted, however, that Chief Nengubo's brothers had arrived at the mission with a lot of strangers, and he suspected that Nengubo and his friends were likely to join the rebels. They assured Molele, however, that they would remain faithful to him.

On Sunday, June 21, Molele was told that the Shona had murdered a local farmer, Mr. James White, who lived about three miles from

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",op.cit,1896.

Nengubo. "Molele" Shimmin wrote,"set out at once to go and investigate the matter, although his wife tried to dissuade him as the natives had already threatened to take his life, and if he had anything to do with a white man it would probably exasperate them. But he was determined and off he set". He found the farmer very badly wounded and quite helpless; another white man in the house who had been suffering from fever had been killed outright. As the local Africans had taken all the oxen from the place, Molele at first hardly knew what to do, although he was determined to save his wounded friend. So he went back to Nengubo mission and got a couple of his own oxen, for Mr. James White had a small cart. "His wife", Shimmin wrote, "again warned him of the risk he was running and his reply was worthy of the man. 'I am a Christian Teacher and I must do what is right at all costs". When he got to the farm he inspanned the cart and with the assistance of a boy, carefully lifted the sufferer into the humble conveyance and again set off homewards".[1]

The events that followed were related to Shimmin by Molele's widow. "On that awful Sunday (June 21)..I was standing near the church anxiously looking out for the return of my husband and at last I saw him coming with the oxcart. When he got within two hundred yards of where I was standing, four strange Mashonas suddenly ran down towards him and I saw them shoot my husband and also the man in the cart..Meanwhile the men had crowded round me and began to beat me with their knob-kerries..and I fell down and soon after I lost consciousnes. But before I became insensible I saw them kill my three children and also a child that was staying with us belonging to Josias (another teacher). After they had killed us, as they

1. C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",op.cit,1896

supposed, they must all have gone away for when I came to myself I found that I was alone and lying near the church".[1]

"I was suffering great pain and was very weak", she continued, "but I managed to crawl over to the dead children and brought them one by one into the church. It was night-time and nobody saw me. After some time I saw that one of the children (Paulina, about 12) was still living and when she had sufficiently recovered she went out to seek her eldest sister Eva who had escaped to the hill, being befriended by the Mashona girls. When she came we went to our house, leaving two dead children in the church. The third was still breathing and I hoped it might recover. I lay down with the child in my arms for I was very faint; Eva and Paulina hid under the bed. Soon after the people crowded in and stole many of our things but they did not beat me again. When they were gone I escaped with the others to the laager on the hill".

"The next day", she continued, "the injured child died and I buried it among the stones..we lay hid for a week and lived on pumpkins which we got from the garden..We then decided to come into Salisbury..We were seven days and eight nights on the road. The first three days we lived on some vegetables we had brought, but after that we had no food whatever. We lay hid during the day and only travelled by night and wandered very much until we saw the telegraph wire and by following that we at last got safely into town".[2]

In addition to the deaths of Anta and Molele, John Moketsi who came from Bechuanaland and who became the driver of John White's travelling wagon, was also killed and several of the mission stations were

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion",op.cit,1896.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin,"The Mashona Rebellion"op.cit,1896

destroyed. Such were the results of the Shona rising on the Methodist missions.

Other Churches suffered a similar fate. Among the four hundred or so whites who were killed throughout the country, were some missionaries. Mr.Cass, for example, who was killed in the Mazoe area, was a Salvation Army missionary. The Church of England lost the now celebrated martyr, Bernard Mizeki.[1] The Jesuit Fathers had the buildings on one of their mission farms greatly damaged. A second result of the Ndebele and Shona risings which affected the country as a whole, was the great famine which followed the devastation of large areas of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The devastation which followed the risings in their wake, involved the destruction of crops of the Shona and Ndebele during the fighting.[2] The famine which followed the risings was graphically described by missionaries.

In Mashonaland, the famine which followed the Shona rising was described by J.W.Stanlake, during the course of his visit to mission stations near the Zambesi Valley in January, 1898. During the course of his tour, Stanlake reached one of the villages and what he saw appalled him. "The people", he wrote,"were in a wretched condition, a state of semi-starvation living chiefly on berries and roots. I have never seen more miserable specimens of humanity". Continuing the tour, Stanlake and his companions arrived at some of the villages. "In all the kraals", he wrote, "we found the people in a deplorable condition, and most of them needed medical treatment".[3]

In Matabeleland, the famine which followed the Ndebele rising, was graphically described by the Rev. C.H. Temple after his tour of

1.See Jean Farrant,Mashonaland Martyr,Cape Town,1966
2.T.O.Ranger,The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,1898-1930,London 1970,p.1;26.
3.J.W.Stanlake,"Travelling in Mashonaland since the War",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,January,1898,p.14

Matabeleland in September, 1897. During the course of his tour, Temple arrived at the Seventh Day Adventist mission station at Solusi. At this mission there were two or three married men, beside a medical missionary, Dr. Carmichael. "The doctor told me", Temple wrote, "that an active missionary propaganda is at present impossible because of the starving condition of the people, but they have got hold of between twenty and thirty children - some are orphans, others have been left at the station by their parents - whom they feed and clothe, and try to teach".

Continuing on his tour, Temple was appalled by the starvation which was prevalent in large areas of Matabeleland. "My impressions of the country and people", he wrote, "were favourable. But I could not help being painfully struck with the poverty of the people consequent upon the famine of last year. The friendly Matabele have suffered terribly. Their large herds of cattle have been swept away by the rinderpest; their grain has been raided both by rebels and white men, and as a consequence they have suffered exceedingly. The Government have tried to supply their needs somewhat liberally - the Native Commissioner is constantly besieged by hungry claimants for food-but naturally many have suffered, hundreds have died of starvation, while the general physique of the remainder has been considerably reduced".[1] The third and much more enduring legacy of the two risings was the hatred of the Shona and the Ndebele by the majority of the whites in the country at that time as typified by two men who played an important part in the suppression of the Ndebele and Shona risings - F.C.Selous and R.S.S.Baden Powell.

1. C.H.Temple, "A Ride Through Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, September, 1897, p.388

Selous, after describing the murder of two white men-Messrs Ivers and Ottens-by two trusted Ndebele servants who had worked for them for eighteen months prior to the Ndebele rising, felt that such acts,"coupled with the indiscriminate murder of women and children, produce a conviction that beings who are capable of such deeds, who can lick your hand and fawn upon you for eighteen months and then one day turn upon you, and afterwards perhaps mutilate your senseless corpse, are not men and brothers, but monsters in human shape, that ought to be shot down mercilessly like wild dogs or hyaenas, until they are reduced to a state of abject submission to the white man's rule".[1]

Baden Powell in his account of the Matabele campaign described one of the battles that had taken place between the whites and the Ndebele at which more than two hundred Ndebele were killed. "Of course", he wrote,"this was a very one-sided fight, and it sounds rather brutal to anyone reading in cold blood how we hunted them without giving them a chance-but it must be remembered we were but 250 against 1200".

After describing the successful conclusion of one of these battles with the Ndebele, Baden Powell said that he did not at that time "fully realise the extraordinary bloodthirsty rage of some of our men when they got hand to hand with the Kafirs, but I not only understood it, but felt it to the full later on, when I too had seen those English girls lying horribly mutilated, and the little white children with the life smashed and beaten out of them by laughing black fiends, who knew no mercy".[2]

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1. Selous, Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia, op.cit,p.88
2. Baden Powell, The Matabele Campaign, op.cit,pp23-24

Such sentiments were shared by some of the missionaries, though perhaps to a lesser degree. Two examples will suffice. The Rev. C.H. Temple, in describing the effects of the Ndebele rising, spoke of "heartless murders and mutilations" of the whites by the Ndebele.[1] The Rev. J.W.Stanlake went much further. He spoke on the one hand of "many thrilling stories" of the "pluck and heroism of Englishmen" during the campaign against the Shona, and on the other hand spoke of the "horrible things connected with the rebellion which shows how cruel the Mashonas can be. Some of their deeds remind one of the Red Indians. They delight in torture, and many of the mutilated bodies show how much our poor fellows must have suffered before the angel of death gave the tortured body rest".[2]

This attitude of the missionaries against the Shona and Ndebele is surprising when one considers that even a man like Selous who played an important part in the suppression of both the Ndebele and Shona risings and who was certainly not sympathetic to the Ndebele and Shona frankly admitted that atrocities had been committed by both sides during the fighting. "No quarter", he wrote describing one of the battles which took place between the whites and the Ndebele, "was either given or asked for, nor was any more mercy shown than had been lately granted by the Kafirs to the white women and children who had fallen into their power. This realistic picture may seem very horrible to all who believe themselves to be superior beings to the cruel colonists of Rhodesia, but let them not forget the terrible provocation. I cannot dispute the horror of the picture; but I must confess that had I been with Captain Grey that day, I should have done my utmost to kill as many Kafirs as

1.C.H.Temple,"A Bulawayo Sunday in Laagar",The Methodist Recorder, July 2, 1896.
2.J.W.Stanlake,"Two Stories of the Mashona Rising",The Methodist Recorder,November 5,1896.

possible..."[1] These, then, were the results of the Ndebele and Shona risings of 1896-7.

It should be clear from the above that in the light of the lives lost; the destruction of the mission stations; the devastation of large areas of Mashonaland and Matabeleland and the famine which followed, the task facing the missionaries after the suppression of the two risings, was indeed formidable. The missionaries had first to rebuild the destroyed stations and then to open new ones. This forms the subject for the following chapter.

1. Selous, Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia, op.cit, pp.192-193.

Chapter 5: The Establishment of Methodist Missions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the African Response to Christianity, 1897-1918.

In the previous chapter we discussed the causes and results of the Ndebele and Shona risings from the non-missionary literature extant as well as from the point of view of the missionaries. After the suppression of the two risings, the missionaries not only rebuilt the destroyed mission stations but also tried to regain the confidence of the people. In addition, the missionaries opened new mission stations.

In this chapter, we will consider several aspects of the work of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia between 1897 and 1918. We shall discuss, first, the establishment of new Methodist missions in Matabeleland and Mashonaland; second, the African response to Christianity. This will be considered on two levels, that of the chiefs and of the ordinary people. Third, the literary work carried out during this period. The missionaries realised that if the gospel were to make much headway among the people, it was essential to translate the scriptures into their language so that the people could read the scriptures for themselves. It was for this reason that literary work was begun. We shall consider the literary work which was carried out during this period. Fourth, the medical work carried out by the Methodists between 1897 and 1918 will also be considered. We shall also consider the phenomenon of independency and in particular the establishment of the Original Church of the White Bird by Matthew Zvimba in the Zvimba Reserve of Mashonaland in 1915. We will begin with the establishment of Methodist missions in Matabeleland.

We noted in Chapter 3 that the first Methodist Mission in Matabeleland was begun when the Rev. G.Weavind preached the first Protestant service in Bulawayo in October,1894. In July of 1895 the Methodists decided to extend their operations to the rest of Matabeleland. But before any operations were begun, Shimmin interviewed the representatives of the LMS at Hope Fountain and discussed with them the projected Methodist Missions in Matabeleland in order to avoid a collision with the latter Society. In August of the same year, Shimmin interviewed Dr. Jameson and applied for a grant of ten thousand acres for a mission farm at what later developed into the Tegwani mission.

Due to shortage of staff and the fact that the Ndebele rising intervened, the work at Tegwani was not taken up. After the suppression of the Ndebele rising, the Methodists expanded their missions in Matabeleland when they opened the Tegwani mission in 1897.[1] In the same year, they opened a new mission at the kraal of Chief Gambo. The Gambo mission was opened on a very suitable farm where the soil was good and the water abundant. At the beginning of August 1897, the missionaries built at this mission three huts and made arrangements for the building of a church and a house for the minister. Towards the end of August, Mr. C.H.Temple was sent to take charge of this new mission.[2]

It was this 'intrusion' into an area which the LMS regarded as falling within its sphere of influence which brought about a conflict between the two Societies. We have seen that the LMS pioneered missionary enterprise in Matabeleland under the leadership of Robert Moffat. The LMS opened its first mission in Matabeleland

1.C.P.Groves,The Planting of Christianity in Africa,1878-1914,Vol.3, London, 1955,p.101.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,August 26,1897.

at Inyati in 1859 and a second mission at Hope Fountain in 1870. We noted the difficulties encountered by the LMS in converting the Ndebele to Christianity during the first three decades.

It was only after the establishment of the regime of the British South Africa Company and in particular, after the fall of the Ndebele state in the war of 1893 that the LMS began to make significant progress when additional land was ceded to the Society by the Company. During the Ndebele rising of 1896 a number of LMS mission stations were destroyed. The missionaries rebuilt the destroyed stations after the suppression of the Ndebele rising.

Up to 1897, the LMS monopolised the Kalanga area of Matabeleland with little competition from other missionary societies. The LMS missionaries hoped to maintain this position. The Methodists, however, could not accept the view that this area of Matabeleland should remain a monopoly of the LMS. This was forcefully stated by the new Chairman of the Methodist Synod, the Rev. Alfred Sharp, in a letter to Mr. Perkins on January 28,1899. "I think you must point out to the LMS", he wrote to Mr. Perkins, "that the time has come when they can no longer expect to lay claim to the whole of Matabeleland as their field and that they must learn to rejoice in the work which others are doing".

Meanwhile, the two Societies attempted to reach a settlement. In February 1898, the representative of the LMS in Rhodesia, the Rev. W.Thompson, and the Methodist Chairman, Isaac Shimmin, met and discussed the matter of spheres of influence between the two Societies. A final agreement was reached whereby the LMS agreed to Methodist operations in Matabeleland provided that the new Methodist missions were established north of the Tegwani river.

This agreement did not work out well in practice and another attempt was made to reach a settlement. Early in January 1899, Mr. Sharp had an interview with two of the representatives of the LMS - Messrs. Helm and Reed. In a letter to Mr. Perkins on January 28,1899, Mr. Sharp reported the results of this interview. The LMS, Mr. Sharp wrote, had two objections to Methodist operations in the Tegwani River area.

The principal objection of the LMS as Sharp understood it. was that the Methodists had broken their agreement by moving from north to the south of the Tegwani River. "My answer to this", he wrote, "is that it does not affect the question; inasmuch as we have removed due south and are not now in any closer proximity to the LMS stations than we were before. Our mission premises have not been removed more than a few hundred yards from where they were at first". The only possible LMS objection that could be raised, according to him, was that the Methodists had taken in a small village occupied by a chief who was under the influence of the LMS. "But in this case", Sharp wrote,"when I visited this village some time ago, the chief told me that he did not know the LMS missionary. So far as I understand we are carrying out to the letter the agreement arrived at between Mr. Thompson and Mr. Shimmin and our removal to the south of the river has not affected the matter in the least".

"The second objection raised by Messrs. Helm and Reed in our interview", he wrote, "was that our position on the Tegwani River prevented them from developing their work in the time to come and confined them to too small an area", Mr. Sharp hoped that with this report of the situation, Mr. Perkins would be able to reach a satisfactory agreement with the Secretary of the LMS. "The

consequences of our withdrawal", he emphasised, "would be disastrous in every way and it cannot, I think,be entertained for a moment.. I am confident", he concluded, "that if we leave the work the LMS will not do it".[1]

Some of the Methodist missionaries violently attacked the LMS for objecting to Methodist operations in Matabeleland. One of these was the Rev. J.W.Stanlake who was the Methodist missionary at the Tegwani mission. "From your letter to Mr. Sharp", he wrote to Perkins on February 1,1899,"the LMS have protested against our action in Matabeleland. I am sorry they have done so, as I am sure of one fact, if their subscribers knew what actual work has been accomplished in the last five years they would withdraw every penny..In five months we have brought more natives under our influence,than they have in five years".[2]

The Methodists, however realised that continued denunciation of the LMS would make an agreement between themselves and the latter Society more difficult to arrive at. The Chairman, Mr. Sharp, therefore decided to have another conference with the representatives of the LMS in Bulawayo in March,1899. This conference was a success.

After Mr. Sharp had explained the work of the Methodists in the Tegwani River area in relation to that of the LMS, the latter formally withdrew all their objections. "I do not think", Mr. Sharp wrote of the outcome of the conference, "there is any possibility of further friction or disagreement between us. There

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1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Alfred S.Sharp to Mr. Perkins, January 28,1899.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,J.W.Stanlake to Mr. Perkins,February 1,1899.

is a good understanding between us as to our present position and the lines on which further development of the work shall proceed. Mr. Helm informed me that he would convey this information to the Secretary of the Society in London".[1]

With the differences between the two Societies amicably settled, the Methodists were now free to open new mission stations. In 1898 two new mission stations were opened at Majila and Mpini.[2] The work at Gambo mission was strengthened when a teacher was sent there early in 1899.[3] In the same year, another mission was opened near the Gwaai River and was effectively occupied in 1902.[4]

New mission stations were opened in 1901. One of these was at Bembesi. Here, a tract of land situated twenty-five miles north of Bulawayo had been granted to the Fingo emigrants from Cape Colony. It was at this settlement that the Methodists were granted in 1901 a plot of land on lease for ten years with the option of renewal for the purpose of mission work. In the same year, a new mission station was opened at Nyamandhlovu where a plot of land was leased to the Methodists for ninety-nine years by Messrs Green Brothers.[5]

In 1905, a new mission station was opened at Tshankwa, situated in the same direction as Mpini. It was begun by an African youth, Johannes, who had on his own account started a school there and had gone round the villages preaching Sunday by Sunday. The new mission was begun with two full church members and thirteen on trial.[6]

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1. C/M/B.1891-1899, Alfred S. Sharp to Mr. Perkins, March 17, 1899.
2. J.W. Stanlake, "Native Work in Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, December, 1898, p.494
3. Alfred S. Sharp, "Tegwani River Mission, Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, March 1899, p.100
4. Alfred S. Sharp, "A Journey to the Gwaai River, Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, April, 1902, p.151
5. S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Minutes, 1901.
6. H. Oswald Brigg, "As Time Flies in Rhodesia, Tegwani Report for 1905", The Foreign Field of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, (hereafter The Foreign Field), No.20, April, 1906, p.300

Finally, in 1906, a new mission station was opened at Zizoomba where the Administrator, Sir William Milton, had granted a farm which the Rev. J.W.Stanlake had applied for on behalf of his Society. The farm consisted of 4,264 acres[1] and was effectively occupied in 1909. With these mission stations established in Matabeleland, the Methodists turned their attention to Mashonaland. It was while they were consolidating their work at the old mission stations there that they came into conflict with the American Methodists.

The American Methodist Episcopal Church began active missionary operations in Africa with the appointment in 1884, of Bishop William Taylor as Missionary Bishop of all Africa. Taylor commenced the new work on the West African coast with St Paul de Loanda as a base, and attempted to establish a self-supporting mission in the Congo. Nothing came out of this mission. Taylor died in 1896 and was succeeeded by Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell.[2] It was Hartzell who was responsible inter alia for the establishment of the Old Umtali mission in 1897.

From the Old Umtali mission, Hartzell proposed to commence missionary operations in the New Umtali township and in April,1898, he visited the new township and appealed to his Church for men and money in order to begin missions both at New Umtali and at Beira. It was this move into the new Umtali township that brought the American Methodists into conflict with the W.M.M.S. which, as we saw earlier, began missionary operations there in 1891 when Owen Watkins was given on behalf of his Society, four stands for mission

1.C/R/B.1905-1917,J.W.Stanlake to M.Hartley,September 28,1906
2.J.Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa,op. cit,pp.390-1.

work.

The W.M.M.S. objected to the establishment of missions in Umtali by the American Methodists on two grounds; first, that Umtali was too small a place for two Methodist Churches and second, that they had been first in the field. "In my opinion to introduce a Second Methodist Church into a small place like Umtali", Shimmin wrote to Hartley on April 15, 1898,"would be a serious mistake and might lead to future complications". Since 1891, he pointed out, "we have had stands in Umtali and for a long time we have contemplated commencing operations but many things have hindered us". He considered the matter urgent and strongly advised Hartley to write to Bishop Hartzell "at once pointing out the results likely to ensue if he persists in his intention".[1]

Hartley wrote to the Bishop hinting that his Society might withdraw from Umtali and leave the field to him. Shimmin,however, would not accept this as he was certain that if the Bishop commenced work in Umtali he would "not only interfere with our Church but will probably come into conflict with other missions". He utterly failed to see why "we should now retire from Umtali. We have had stands there since 1891 and on which we have paid rates regularly every year. Our mission stations between that town and Salisbury are numerous and important and we naturally hoped to make Umtali our third centre for both English and native work." He warned that if the Bishop persisted in his intention to occupy Umtali,"then I and many others will look upon his pretensions in quite another light. The presence of the M.E.Church in Rhodesia is bound to lead to future complications".[2]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,April 15,1898.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley,April 27,1898.

Bishop Hartzell, however, was determined to establish a mission for his Church in Umtali. This persistence puzzled Sharp. "I am astonished", he wrote Mr. Perkins on February 17,1899,"that Bishop Hartzell still persists in his intention to occupy Umtali. He must be a most unreasonable man..there is not a shadow of a chance of their doing anything there, if we retire. If we retire from Umtali we must have some better reason to give the Umtali people than that the American Episcopal Methodists have a prior claim upon the field. Such a reason would lay us open to reproach".[1]

The representative of the W.M.M.S. in Umtali, the Rev. Avon Walton, said the two Churches should not fight over Umtali. "With reference to Bishop Hartzell's request that we leave this station to him", he wrote to the Secretaries of his Society in London on March 25, 1899,"I should say: do not fight the Bishop very hard over Umtali. At present the place is not worth fighting about". He pointed out that if Bishop Hartzell "feels that it is necessary for him to have an agent here at the railway and urges this strongly, then I should say leave Umtali to him..Either I must clear out bag and baggage or he must. There is certainly not room for both of us.. One Methodist Church here is abundance".[2]

In the event, the work of the W.M.M.S. in Umtali proved unsuccessful and the Society decided to give it up. The new Chairman Mr. Sharp, came to the same conclusion. "Umtali", he wrote to Hartley on July 28, 1899, "is an impossible sphere for us and I think we have done the right thing in giving it up..The stands which we have at Umtali will now be of no more use to us; and I propose that we sell them as soon as possible".[3]

1.C/M/B.1891-1899,Alfred S.Sharp to Mr.Perkins,February 17,1899.
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Avon Walton to the Secretaries of the W.M.M.S., March 25, 1899.
3.C/R/B.1899-1904,Alfred S.Sharp to M.Hartley,July 28,1899.

On August 9, 1899, Bishop Harzell formally wrote to Hartley requesting that the four stands belonging to the W.M.M.S. in Umtali should be transferred to him on the same terms as those on which the Society had received them from the BSAC and that whatever expenses the Society had paid on the stands, he would gladly repay.[1] The Bishop appears not have communicated this information to the Chairman, Mr. Sharp. For this reason, the latter wrote to Bishop Hartzell on August 15,1899, regretting that he could not recommend to the Missionary Committee in London that the stands in Umtali should be transferred to him on the ground that the W.M.M.S. had spent "a large sum of money in opening our work at Umtali to no purpose and I think it only right that if possible this money should be returned to the Society. These stands are the only asset we have against this large outlay".[2]

In order to clear the matter up, the Bishop went to Bulawayo to see Mr. Sharp. "I told him", Sharp wrote of this meeting to Hartley on November 8, 1899, "that I should be glad to recommend to the Committee that we let him have our stands at Umtali on the terms you have named in your letter..I agreed to include in the sphere of the M.E.C. a small district on south named Melsetter. With this difference, the settlement of the matter is as I advised".[3]

Bishop Hartzell was glad to know that the Umtali stands would at last be transferred to him. "Your proposition to transfer your stands to us if we repay you the money you have paid out on them", he wrote to Hartley on January 9,1900,"is fair. I talked the matter with Mr. Sharp. He stated and also wrote to me that £150 would recoup you for what you had paid out on the stands".[4]

1.C/R/B.1899-1904,J.C.Hartzell to M.Hartley,August 9,1899.
2. C/R/B.1899-1904,Alfred S.Sharp to Bishop Hartzell,August 15,1899
3. C/R/B.1899-1904,Alfred S.Sharp to M.Hartley,November 8,1899
4. C/R/B.1899-1904,J.C.Hartzell to M.Hartley,January 9,1900.

By April, 1900, Sharp was anxious that the Umtali stands should be sold to the Bishop as soon as possible. He wrote to Hartley on April 12, asking him "if possible to correspond with Bishop Hartzell and ask him if he will take the stands as offered to him or not. If he does not intend to take them, my suggestion would be that we dispose of at least four of them as soon as an opportunity offers". "I suggested to Bishop Hartzell", he wrote, " "that not less than £300 would repay what we had spent in Umtali.. If you could find out what the Bishop is prepared to do and settle with him one way or the other we should then have a free hand".[1] In the event, Mr. Sharp sold three of the stands in Umtali for £120.[2]

The Umtali dispute having been settled, there remained the question of settling the division of spheres of influence between the two Churches in other parts of Mashonaland. Bishop Hartzell proposed to Mr. Sharp that the territory of the American Methodists in Mashonaland "be the Districts of Umtali, Makoni, Mangwende and Mazoe.. and that the line dividing us between ..Umtali and Salisbury District be the Rail-Road. This gives us the North East section of Mashonaland.[3]

Mr. Sharp immediately rejected this proposal. "The difference between your suggestion and mine", he wrote to the Bishop on August 15,1899,"is of the greatest importance to us. My plan excludes the 'Mazoe district' from your sphere and gives you the right of way only through this district, in passing up to the Zambesi. I am sorry I cannot agree to relinquish the right to

1. C/R/B.1899-1904, Alfred S.Sharp to M.Hartley,April 12,1900
2. C/R/B.1899,1904,John White to M.Hartley,February 22,1902
3. C/R/B.1899-1904,J.C.Hartzell to Alfred S.Sharp,August 9,1899.

establish our work in this district".

Mr. Sharp gave two reasons for rejecting the Bishop's proposal. Firstly, that if the W.M.M.S. gave the American Methodists the Mazoe district, "we are practically confined to our present sphere. In giving you this with Umtali, Makoni and Mangwende we practically give you the whole of Mashonaland unoccupied by us at present". Secondly, that the Lomagundi district was sparcely populated and "if we are at any time to extend our work to the Zambesi, the Mazoe district is the only route possible to us".

Mr. Sharp's proposal was that the American Methodists should have only the 'right of way' through the Mazoe district but not to take the Mazoe district itself. With respect to the other areas of Mashonaland, his plan was that the line of thirty-two degrees longitude should be the dividing line between the two Churches, but he was quite agreeable that "the division be marked by the railway line from Salisbury to Umtali with the understanding that we take the Mazoe district in North-West".[1]

After consultations with Mr. Sharp, the Bishop agreed to the latter's proposal and communicated this to Hartley who had earlier agreed that the Mazoe district must not be given up. " I entirely agree with you", the Bishop wrote to Hartley on January 9,1900,"that you should have Mazoe (district) because of its relation to the extension of your work northward. This relation I did not understand until Mr. Sharp explained".[2]

In the event, the W.M.M.S. did establish some missions in the Zambesi Valley and some missions in the Mazoe district although most of the

1.C/R/B.1899-1904,Alfred S.Sharp to Bishop Hartzell,August 15,1899.
2.C/R/B.1899-1904,J.C.Hartzell to M.Hartley,January 9,1900.

district was virtually monopolised by the Salvation Army, while the American Methodists occupied the north-east of Mashonaland where they established missions in the Mrewa and Mtoko districts. The conflict between the two churches having been settled, the W.M.M.S missionaries were now free to open new missions in Mashonaland. To this subject, we must now turn.

In 1899, two new mission stations were opened at Samuriwo and at Altona. In 1902, the Methodists established themselves at Gwelo and Selukwe. At Gwelo, the Rev. John White found that an African local preacher from Cape Colony had begun work among the Africans who worked in the town. The people there had received help from no one but had succeeded inbuilding a little church. They requested Mr. White to give them ministerial oversight and recognition as belonging to the Methodist Church. A similar situation obtained at Selukwe where the local Africans built up a church on their own initiative.[1]

In 1904, two new stations were opened at Marondera and at Mponda. In 1905, the Glenwood farm consisting of 2,360 acres adjoining the Epworth station was purchased at a cost of £449.4.10. It was proposed to raise this amount by charging all male adult Africans on the Epworth farm £1 rent per annum.[2] In 1908, a third farm called Adelaide adjoining the Epworth farm and consisting of nearly 4,000 acres, was bought for £500.[3] This farm formed with the other two farms a compact triangular block of 9,000 acres.

Also in 1908 a new mission was opened at Chimanza by the Rev.

1.John White,"Reminscences of Travel in Rhodesia", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, December 1902,pp.498-99.
2.S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Minutes,1905.
3.S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911,Rhodesia District Minutes,1909

H.J.Baker. The mission was founded as a result of a visit there by the Rev. John White and Mr. Baker in May. Later in the month Mr. Baker sent two boys to Chimanza to cut poles and begin building a hut for the missionary and his family; Mr. Baker followed afterwards to put in the door frames and windows. On July 22, Mr. Baker and wife and baby started off from Nengubo Training Institution to take possesion of his new home and work.[1] The new mission was about twenty miles from Kwenda and consisted of 1,500 acres. It was offered by the Government to the missionaries at a cost of nine pence per acre; the missionaries were given five years in which to pay for the farm. In 1909 a new mission was opened at the kraal of Chief Zvimba, with the Chief's son, Matthew, as teacher.[2]

In May, 1910, the Methodists established themselves at Gatooma. They were the first Church to have a resident minister. There being no church building, services were held in the Government School, and at the principal mining camps, billiard rooms and boarding-houses served as places of worship.[3] As mining operations increased in Gatooma many Europeans flocked there. Among new comers to the town were a number of loyal Methodists, who, when the idea of having a Methodist church built was mooted, set to work with a will, and to such good purpose that a handsome and substantial edifice was soon erected and opened, for public worship, by His Honour the Administrator, Sir William Milton. Simultaneously with this development, provision was also made for the large African population in the

1. H.J.Baker, "How We Unfurled the Flag at Chimanza", The Foreign Field, No. 58, June, 1909
2. S/M /S/A/B. 1906-1911, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1910.
3. William Garner, "Advance in Rhodesia", The Foreign Field, No. 84, August, 1911, p.365.

Gatooma district, by the opening of four school-churches for teaching and worship, each station being under the charge of a trained evangelist.[1]

In 1913, the Methodists opened a new station at Sandringham. The background to the opening of this mission went back to 1911 when the Rev. John White toured the Hartley Native Reserve. "Six months ago", White wrote to Mr. Lamplough on December 23,1911,"at the very urgent request of a number of Mashona, I made a tour of the Hartley Native Reserve, between forty and fifty miles from my present station (Epworth). So far no Missionary Society had touched this portion of the territory. The people, especially the young, were very wishful to have our ministrations..The natives who have recently come under our influence have repeatedly requested that I would try and secure land on which they would settle and obtain a permanent home.. Pondering the problem on my way back", he continued,"I met a friend of mine, Mr. Meikle, who offered to sell his estate, Sandringham, 6,566 acres, adjoining the Reserve almost for the sum of £1,000". White felt that the Sandringham farm was just what the Methodists needed and that if the Church secured the farm, "it will not only give us a strong central station, but put us in a splendid position to reach the large heathen population on the adjoining reserves".[2] Mr. Hartley, convinced of the importance of Sandringham, cabled Mr. White on March 30, 1912, to buy the farm and assured him that the Missionary Committee would raise £500 for the purpose.[3] The farm was bought and added to the property of the Society in 1913.[4]

1. Frederick Conquer,"A Rhodesian Circuit", The Foreign Field, November,1913,pp.78-79.
2. C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to Mr. Lamplough,December 23,1911
3. C/R/B.1905-1917,M.Hartley to John White,March 30,1912
4. W.M.M.S.The Ninety-Nineth Report,1913,p.153

Another new mission was begun at Marshall Hartley in 1914. The background tothis mission was that the Methodists having found the work at the old mission station at Hartleyton uninspiring, decided to withdraw from the area and asked the Government to exchange Hartleyton with a new mission farm in Makwiro. The Government agreed and early in 1914, the Lands Department asked the Rev. Avon Walton to suggest a name for the new farm. Walton referred the matter to the Synod." It was the unanimous wish of the Synod", he wrote to Hartley on February 6,1914, "to retain your name permanently in connection with some of the property of this mission, and I have therefore asked them (the Lands Department) to call the new place 'Marshall Hartley Estate' ".[1]

To summarise the position thus far, we have discussed the conflict between the W.M.M.S and the LMS in Matabeleland and the conflict between the W.M.M.S and the American Methodists in Mashonaland on the question of the division of spheres of influence between them. We saw how these conflicts were settled. We have also discussed the establishment of new Methodist mission stations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland between 1897 and 1918. We should now turn to a discussion of the African response to Christianity.

The African response to Christianity can be best understood by considering it at two levels - that of the chiefs and people generally, and at the level of the individual. We will begin with the response of the chiefs and people in Mashonaland.

In Mashonaland, many of the chiefs were strongly opposed to Christianity. One example of this was at the Nengubo mission station

1. C/R/B.1905-1917,Avon Walton to M.Hartley,February 6,1914.

where Chief Nengubo led the struggle against the new teaching. "The old chief and most of his people", the report of 1898 stated, "have left this Station, finding the new religion was becoming inconvenient they requested the Government to give them permission to remove; this has been granted and they have settled about twelve miles away..The best of the people have however remained with us and are very regular in their attendance at church and school. We had the joy of baptising the first convert there during the year".[1]

Chief Nengubo's opposition to Christianity was widely shared in the Nengubo Circuit. The vast majority of the people in that Circuit, the report of 1905 stated, "have no present intention of renouncing their heathen practices and will not even allow their children to be instructed. They are bound by the strongest ties to the past. Witchcraft, superstition, polygamy and dirt abound among them and influence their whole life for evil. In moments of despondency we often feel that the present generation will die as it has lived, without good and without hope. Were it not for the wonderful examples of changed lives we have seen amongst the older people we should be inclined to leave them and devote our whole energy to the children".[2]

The chiefs' opposition to Christianity was also manifest at the Kwenda mission. "Here we have been hindered the whole year", the report of 1898 stated, "by the Chief who has forbidden his people to attend our services. But we have not forsaken our post, and inspite of all a number of youths are regular in their attendance at school and church. We have done our best to conciliate the chief

1.S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899,Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1898.
2.S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1905,"Nengubo Circuit Report,1905".

and so put an end to his opposition and we hope that we may shortly succeed".[1]

This optimism proved unfounded. One of the reasons for this was the chief's personal animus against the Rev. John White. White, the Rev.H. Oswald Brigg explained, had taken a stand against the chief who "was forcing his daughter to marry a wrinkled old wretch against her will. The chief has never forgiven him, and hitherto has done all in his power to hinder us".[2]

The Chief persisted in his opposition. "Here", the Kwenda mission report of 1900 stated, "we have had uphill work. The Chief, perceiving now the effects of the new faith, is strongly opposed to us. After trying unsuccessfully to drive us away, he has decided to move himself. A large number of people, however, have remained and now, free from his intimidation, are showing themselves friendly".[3]

A similar situation obtained at the Ranga mission in 1902. "The outlook here", the report for that year stated, "is anything but bright. We have continued this work for years in the face of the secret opposition of a wily and powerful chief..At both church and school the attendance is small. But away from his immediate influence the people are more ready to hear us".[4]

Chief Ranga persisted in his opposition to Christianity. "Here for years", the Rev. John White wrote in 1904, "we have fought a hard battle against organised heathenism, prejudice and superstition. The Chief, Ranga, rules supreme in a large district, and has great

1.S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899, Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1898.
2.H.Oswald Brigg,"Ups and Downs in an Ox-Wagon in Mashonaland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field, June, 1899,p.233.
3.W.M.M.S.,The Eighty-Sixth Report, 1900,p.126
4.W.M.M.S.,The Eighty-Eighth Report,1902,p.103.

power over his people. Many of his followers are kindly disposed toward our work, but are afraid to express their friendliness because of his known enmity. Many dare not attend our services. When I speak to him, he always denies any opposition; but immediately I am gone, he frustrates the work in every possible way".

After White had tried on several occasions to persuade the chief to stop his opposition, he felt that he had reached the limit of his patience. Having had information that some of the people were willing to hear the gospel, he called them together and told them that he had given the chief ample opportunity to change his mind and that by his continued opposition he had clearly shown that he did not want to hear the gospel. A few miles away, he told them, there were people who desired to hear the gospel and to them he would go; if any of them had a similar desire, they could follow him and build their houses there. Several of the people said they would gladly follow the missionary. "Ranga", White wrote, "was very angry, but we paid no heed to him".[1]

The opposition of the chiefs to the new teaching was also noted at the old mission at Hartleyton. The work at this mission, the Rev. Avon Walton wrote to Hartley on December 28, 1900, "is being carried on in the face of great difficulties and discouragements. Only one petty chief is really favourable to us. Zimba, the paramount Chief, while professing friendliness is I fear opposed to us at heart, and of course his vassals follow suit".[2]

This opposition was wide-spread among the people of the Lomagundi district. "The natives of Lomagundi", the Rev. W.T.Grantham reported

1.John White,"Snapshots in Rhodesia,"Work and Workers in the Mission Field, January, 1904,p.23
2.C/R/B.1899-1904,Avon Walton to M.Hartley,December, 28,1900.

in 1908,"are recognised by all who have worked amongst them to be uncompromising in their attitude against Christianity, and though a few have identified themselves with us, yet our progress of late years has been so small as to make us consider the advisability of withdrawing from the district." [1] From what has been discussed above, it is clear that the common belief held in some quarters that once the Ndebele and Shona risings had been suppressed, spiritual resistance among the Ndebele and Shona "collapsed like its miliary equivalent", and that "traditional institutions tended to fall into some disrepute amongst Africans, especially in Mashonaland where so many chiefs and spirit mediums were compromised by the Rebellion",[2] is quite eroneous.

At the Epworth mission, the old chief Chiremba, was the exception to the rule, for he not only embraced Christianity but also became an examplary Christian.[3] The problem, here, however, was how to persuade the people to abandon the old life. As the Rev. J.W. Stanlake graphically put it, "The daily tribunal of the missionary brings home the fact to him, at least, that the old order will not pass away without a struggle. The wonder to me is, not that these people fail to realise, and to enter into full privileges of, the Christian life, but that they show the least desire for these things. There is not even the incentive of the loaves and fishes. The people have everything to lose. Polygamy must go. Witchcraft must go. The orgies of beer-drinking must go. These things have deep roots. To

1. S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1909, W.T. Grantham, Hartleyton Circuit Report,1908.
2. L.H.Gann,A History of Southern Rhodesia, London, 1965,p.204
3. C/R/B.1899-1904 Avon Walton to M.Hartley,December 28,1900.

speak to the people of the freedom and joy of the Christian life, to present the Christ to them, whose minds have no power to conceive of what is pure and of good report, is a task before which many a man has paused".[1]

Having considered the response of the chiefs and their people to Christianity in Mashonaland, we should now turn to Matabeleland. The response of the chiefs to Christianity in Matabeleland can perhaps be best understood by taking two examples, that of Chief Gambo and of Chief Majila. Gambo was by all accounts not only a leading induna of Lobengula; he was also one of the most powerful chiefs in Matabeleland before and after the fall of the Ndebele state. He was in charge of one of the Ndebele impis in the campaign against the whites. He appears to have come out of this war convinced that it was useless to continue the struggle against the whites because they were too strong. This explains his loyalty to the Government in the Ndebele rising of 1896. The Government valued his loyalty and rewarded him with large herds of cattle after the Ndebele rising had been crushed.

Gambo's response to Christianity was conditioned by his view of the whites as a superior race. This was clearly brought out in an interview he had with the missionary, the Rev. J.W.Stanlake, in November,1899. Sitting by the fire one evening, he related the story of Major Wilson's patrol in the war of 1893. Gambo was in charge of the impi which overwhelmed Wilson's patrol at the Shangani River in 1893. Although Wilson's patrol was eventually overwhelmed, it had put up a good fight and had died fighting.

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1. J.W.Stanlake,"A Visit to Epworth Mission Station", The Foreign Field, No.55, March, 1909,p.208

"From what Gambo saw that day", Stanlake wrote later, "he has never doubted that the whites are brave people, and how hopeless it is for his nation ever to think of conquest". The Government went to great lengths to impress him with the power of the whites. On Stanlake's second visit, Gambo had just returned from a visit to Cape Town to see Lobengula's sons who were being educated by Rhodes. This visit greatly impressed him. "He was very proud", Stanlake wrote, "to show me the Martini rifle which had been presented to him by Sir Alfred Milner. Gambo was greatly impressed by the High Commissioner, and the interest he took in his people, and their troubles with the locusts and rinderpest. Gambo's astonishment at the railway engine was overcome by the still greater wonder of a British "man of war". I asked what he thought of it, and then, making a series of sounds expressing his utter astonishment, he said, 'it is a great and wonderful thing; it could not be made by man - it made itself..' This visit has done much to impress him with the power of the white man".

Further, Gambo came to Stanlake personally and requested to have a teacher at his kraal. "He was quite convinced", Stanlake wrote,"that his nation was in the dark, and was desirous that his children should come to the schools. From Gambo we are expecting great things".[1] Clearly, then, Gambo had reconciled himself to white rule. According to the missionary, the Rev. C.H.Temple, Gambo had accepted the advent of the English "philosophically, and clearly sees the futility of attemping to arrest the march of civilisation. This philosophical spirit he has also endeavoured to spread among the other chiefs of the country".[2]

1.J.W.Stanlake,"Mission Work in Matabeleland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,November,1899,pp.479-480.
2.C.H.Temple,"A Ride Through Matabeleland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field, September, 1897,p.385

But while Gambo was prepared to live at peace with the whites and shrewedly recognised the importance of missionary education for his children - he had two of his sons at Tegwani and wanted his heir to be highly educated - he did not embrace Christianity. He said he was growing old and could not change his ways. "Can you," he asked the missionary, the Rev. H. Oswald Brigg, in his own metaphorical way, "change the growth of the horns of an ox when he is already old-can the horns which have grown backwards for many years be suddenly changed to grow forwards?".[1] Thus while Gambo believed that Christianity was good for the young, he did not embrace it himself.

Other chiefs in Matabeleland, however, embraced Christianity. One example of this was that of Majila, a Kalanga chief. According to the missionary, the Rev. J.W.Stanlake, Majila had "from the beginning shown a great desire to come under the influence of our mission. On several occasions he came to me and begged to have a teacher sent to him. I stipulated that I would send a teacher on the station on one condition, that condition I should take as a test of his sincerity namely, that he should build a church and a house for the teacher. When this was completed he was to come again, and we would see what then could be done. Majila wasted no time. His people immediately set to work, and in a remarkably short time..he returned and said the church and house were built. Having proved himself in a few weeks our mission there was established, and the success which has followed proves that Majila was earnest".[2]

Another chief who accepted Christianity and did a great deal to advance its cause was Chief Abednego Sinondo of the Gwanda district.

1.H.Oswald Brigg,"Light and Shade in Rhodesia",The Bulletin of the W.M.M.S,No.63,December,1909

2.J.W.Stanlake,"Native Work in Matabeleland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,September,1899,p.394.

He not only helped the missionaries to establish themselves in the area, but also became a local preacher.[1]

So far, we have discussed the response of the chiefs to Christianity in Matabeleland. The missionaries, however, were concerned not only with the chiefs, but also with the people as a whole. They found that whereas the young people were eager to embrace the new faith, the old people actively opposed Christianity.

"We find", the Rev. J.W.Stanlake wrote in 1903,"that the old people are less inclined than ever to attend the services. They are conservative and very suspicious, the latter arising from the spell which witchcraft exercises over them. They fear lest the spirit of the white man should take possession of them, and change them into a new being, thereby causing them to be outcasts from their kraals".[2]

This opposition to Christianity appears to have been widely shared by old people in many areas of Matabeleland. One of the discouraging features of Christianity in Matabeleland, the Rev. H.Oswald Brigg wrote in 1906,"is found in the obstinate opposition of some of the old people, who refuse to listen to us or to let their children attend church or school, whilst others who do allow their children to learn the New Way will not hear us themselves and, moreover, are determined that the young shall keep to the old revolting customs inspite of what they learn from us. Especially is this the case among the Makalanga, and also at Gambo's, where the powerful chief lends his aid to support the old customs, particularly during his very frequent drinking bouts".[3]

One of the factors which made the Ndebele reluctant to embrace

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1.B/C/A/B.8,John White,Bulawayo Native Circuit Report,1918.
2.J.W.Stanlake,"Missionary Meetings in Matabeleland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field,February,1903,p.64
3.H.Oswald Brigg,"As Time Flies in Rhodesia,Tegwani Report for 1905", The Foreign Field,No.20,April,1906,p.299

Christianity was the missionaries' insistence on monogamy as a condition for membership of the Church. The missionaries, unaware of the social importance of polygamy, condemned the practice outright. This was clearly brought out by the Rev. J.W.Stanlake during the course of a visit to some of the villages near the Tegwani mission. After the service, a discussion ensued between the people and the teacher who had accompanied Mr. Stanlake on this visit. The latter told the people that in order to become Christians, they must give up all their wives except one. "To them", Stanlake later wrote, "this is a very serious aspect of the new teaching; it cuts right at the roots of their domestic economy". Stanlake said it was the women who did all the work in the home while the men did nothing and that men contracted polygamous marriages for this reason. "A man's ambition", he wrote, "is to get as many oxen, sheep or goats as will enable him to buy three or four or more wives. That done, he enters the ranks of the leisured class. 'Only have one wife! why that means we shall have to work ourselves'. No wonder some of them went away with rueful faces. Such a thing as that means the reversal of all the conditions of life".[1]

Some ofthe difficulties encountered by the missionaries in Matabeleland were not of the people's own making. One of these was the confusion created in the African mind due to the preaching of so many Christian sects. The Africans, the Rev. J.W.Stanlake wrote in 1900,"do not understand our position. Their contact with the Roman and Seventh Day Adventist missionaries leaves their mind somewhat perplexed, so much so, that an old chief speaking to a native commissioner said,'We

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1.J.W.Stanlake,"The Mission Stations of Matabeleland",Work and Workers in the Mission Field, January,1898,pp.26-27.

do not know who to believe, one says one thing and the other another; we are better as we are, why don't they go and leave us alone?' Is there any wonder the native is indifferent?"[1]

In spite of these difficulties, some very remarkable conversions took place especially among the young. This can best be illustrated by three examples, those of Samuel Kona, Peter Mantiziba and Andria Kumalo Mtshede. We will begin with the story of Samuel Kona as related by Mrs. Baker, wife of the missionary, the Rev. H.J.Baker.

Samuel Kona was born at Battleworth in the Transkei in Cape Colony. His father was a Fingo chief. When a boy of fourteen years he attended a school presided over by a European missionary who often pleaded with him to become a Christian, but apparently without result. On leaving school, however, the preaching of an African evangelist was the means of bringing him to Christ. After his conversion, Samuel lived at home quietly without engaging in any Christian work. But God had designs for him, for he was continually hearing a voice calling upon him to preach the gospel. For four years he wrestled with God, and then finally yielded all he had, to be used by God where and how He willed. He was accepted as a preacher and for a time worked among his own people.

He then heard that Rhodes had granted a piece of land for the Fingos to settle in Rhodesia. Samuel came to Rhodesia with a number of his fellow Fingos and settled at Bembesi. Here he was delighted to find many tribes who had never heard the gospel, and he began to work among them with earnestness. When he was told that there were many unevangelised Africans beyond Bembesi, he decided to set out on a missionary tour, and finally settled at the Tebekwe Mine in the

1. J.W.Stanlake, "Letter from Tegwani River, Matabeleland", The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, December,1900,p.362

Selukwe district where he preached successfully for four years.

One day while in Bulawayo, he saw an advertisement in a newspaper saying an African evangelist was needed by the Methodist Church. He answered this advertisement, was accepted and sent back to work at the Tebekwe Mine under Methodist auspices.

In 1899, Samuel built a little church in the centre of the compound of the Tebekwe Mine. The work was progressing splendidly until it received a rude shock which threatened to hinder its onward march. The occasion was when one day he was ordered to pull down the little church because it was too close to some workings connected with the Mine. It was no use remonstrating and pleading with the Mine officials; the church had to come down and at once. Perplexed, Samuel went to Mrs. Baker to seek her advice. There was only one course open- to build another church. Samuel was ready to begin at once, and soon found five or six boys to help him. The church was built in about six weeks with the money that had been raised locally. The church was opened by the Chairman of the Rhodesia District, the Rev. John White "amid enthusiastic rejoicing".[1] Such was the story of Samuel Kona.

The second and more dramatic case of conversion to Christianity was that of Peter Benki Mantiziba as related by the Rev.S.Douglas Gray. Peter Mantiziba, according to Gray, was of an "ecclesiastical ancestry". His father was the chief priest and his mother the chief priestess of the Mlimo among the Kalanga. In addition to his priestly duties, the elder Mantiziba was a man of parts. He was a worker in iron; he wrought knives, axes and spears. To Lobengula he made presents of hoes for which, and the fact that he was valiant in war, he was held in high regard.

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1. Mrs. Herbert Baker, "Native Work in Matabeleland", The Foreign Field, No.34, June, 1907, pp.371-374.

For fifteenyears or thereabouts, Peter lived in the village of his birth knowing no other manner of life than that of the prevailing custom. During these years, he saw only one white man, a trader, with whom cloth and beads were exchanged for goats,sheep and oxen. The village was Peter's home; the people's custom, his law; his father's district, his world.

In the Ndebele rising of 1896, Peter fought with his people, the Kalanga, against the whites. He was thought too young to wield and throw the spear, so he was employed as a spy. When the Ndebele rising was crushed, Peter's father was among those who surrendered their arms to the victors. The elder Mantiziba then went to live with his family near Selukwe. Peter found work as a 'kitchen boy' in the local mining compound, and was later a cook of a party of bachelors.

It was while working at this compound that Peter met Samuel Kona for the first time. One night when Samuel was preaching from St John 3:3 about the necessity of a 'New Birth',Peter made the great decision to follow Christ and received Samuel's counsel and help. Samuel, however, was cautious and 'tested' Peter for three weeks before putting his name among the members on trial. Peter managed to attend Samuel's evening classes for an hour each night and thus learned to read and write.

In 1903, Peter left his culinary duties to work in a store at another Mine near by. High wages enabled him to buy books. Later he bought a New Testament in Zulu for 3/6 and he gave every spare moment to reading it. The story of the Crucifixion about which Samuel had so vividly told, fascinated him. Once established in his new job as store keeper, he wrote to Samuel and urged him to pay periodic visits to the Mine where he worked; Samuel came every alternate Sunday.

Peter's intense desire to live according to the Christian law led him to leave the Mine Compound. The temptations there were too many and too continuous. He sought refuge at a Mission Station of the Seventh Day Adventists where he attended the day school. A letter from his sick brother, however, called him to his home which was now in a village in the Vungwi district in Selukwe to which his father - on the death of an elder brother - had moved, becoming the headman.

Peter began to preach to the people of his village about the great experiences he had had. As a result of his preaching, many people began to repent. Peter asked his father for a hut in which to hold the services and to teach the children. A temporary building was provided until such time as the new converts could cut sufficient poles and grass to build a church. Peter provided the hymn books, spelling books and New Testaments for the school out of his own savings.

While the church was being built, Peter sent for Samuel Kona. The latter came, and to his surprise found a singing and praying congregation seeking to know more of the experiences about which Peter had told them. When the church was nearing completion, Samuel and Peter went to the Selukwe missionary, the Rev.H.J.Baker, to ask for windows, door-frames and tables. Mr. Baker was delighted to hear of the strong cause that had sprung up unknown to him and provided the necessary woodwork and furniture at a cost of £12. The missionary himself went to open the church in December, 1905.

Peter's only trouble at this time was that while others were seeking entrance into the Kingdom of God, his wife, Hanna, remained indifferent. Peter lost no opportunity of commending his Saviour

to her. But the new faith made too great a demand upon her, for among other things "it meant sobriety, and she cared too much for the beer-pot".

Peter, however, did not give up and his wife was eventually converted. At the church opening, Mr. Baker gave Peter the Catechism to study, and in March, 1906, he was baptised. As a full member of the Church, he worked in his father's village of Vungwi as a teacher and evangelist, gathering about him "a band of earnest inquirers".

In 1907, the Chairman of the District, the Rev. John White, came to open the newly-built church at Selukwe. Mr. Baker commended Peter to Mr. White as "a man of exceptional promise". The Chairman asked Peter if he was willing to be sent to the Nengubo Institution for training. Peter said that if his father's permission could be obtained, he would gladly go. The father readily agreed. The new way, he said was a good way and his son should walk in it; as for himself, he felt he was too old to change. Thus the elder Mantiziba died "a devotee of native custom, but sympathetic to the missionaries and the better way they taught".

Before proceeding to the Nengubo Training Institution, Peter spent another six months as an untrained evangelist at his father's village. Then he went to the Institution. While there, he was instrumental in getting his mother and sister to follow Christ. He preached to them by letters which he sent through Samuel Kona who read them to his mother and sister. His mother and sister responded to Peter's pleadings and acknowledging Jesus as their Saviour, they broke with their past, casting to the flames the ceremonial robes that had marked their family as belonging to the priestly office for the Mlimo. In time, both mother and sister were baptised.

After leaving the Nengubo Training Institution, Peter worked zealously as a trained evangelist for a number of years until he was called to Northern Rhodesia in 1913 where he worked as an evangelist for five years doing outstanding work.

Peter returned to the Nengubo Training Institution for a further term to increase his efficiency. He then returned to Northern Rhodesia and worked as an Assistant African Minister in the Broken Hill Circuit where he proclaimed with confidence the things he had felt and seen.[1] Such, was the truly remarkable story of Peter Mantiziba.[2]

Undoubtedly the most dramatic of all, was the story of Andria Kumalo Mtshede as related by the Rev. Oliver Roebuck. According to Roebuck, Andria was a Ndebele born at Bulawayo. At the time of his birth, his people had met only two white men - Dr. Livingstone and the hunter, F.C.Selous. The elder Mtshede was one of the two sons of Mzilikazi and was born of a wife chosen by Mzilikazi himself. The younger son, Lobengula, was born of Mzilikazi's royal wife - a wife chosen for him by the people. After the death of Mzilikazi in 1870, Lobengula, the younger son, succeeded Mzilikazi.

Although Mtshede had lost the kingship to Lobengula, the latter made him the second in command and Prime Minister. Mtshede,Roebuck was told, was a good man. He was the equal of Lobengula in ability but he was kinder; mercy tempered his justice and his clemency "stood in marked contrast to the severity and cruelty of the chief (Lobengula). So it was that the people in increasing numbers preferred to have their differences judged by Mtshede. More and more went to him.

1.B/C/A/B.10,S.Douglas Gray,"Peter and Andria",1917

2.For a brief account of Peter Mantiziba's life and conversion, see also H.J.Baker,"The Story of Mantiziba",The Foreign Field,No. 34 June,1907,p.362.

Less and less they submitted their cases to the chief (Lobengula)".

The sub-chiefs-so the story went-urged Lobengula to sit in council and consider the popularity of his brother. "They argued", Roebuck was told, "that Mtshede was always the champion of those that did wrong..He was too lenient to be in authority. Only one course was open. Lobengula replied that he could not kill the son of the same father..but he would be banished from the big village and made to live apart. Thus the people would not report to Mtshede at all, and yet he could be at hand for the inducting of the chiefs".

So Mtshede was made to live apart. He called the son born to him, Kutshwa,'the one thrust out'. But the people still honoured him and in his seclusion they sought his advice. When Lobengula sent for Mtshede and said that the purpose of his banishment was not being realised, Mtshede had always the same answer: he did not encourage or invite the people; they came on their own.

Once again the chiefs met in council and told Lobengula that only he should rule and all appeals should be made to him and to no one else; this could not be done while Mtshede lived. Lobengula was at first reluctant but was prevailed upon to sanction the slaying of his brother. Mtshede was told of his fate and was taken forthwith from the council to Indabazinduna,"a height reserved for the execution of condemned headmen", and was speared to death.

Mtshede's village, according to the story, was destroyed by fire and its occupants were killed; none was spared but the wife and

children of the ill-fated Prime Minister. The wife and daughters of Mtshede were given into the care of a sub-chief. Kutshwa was taken into Lobengula's own house, and there lived the life of a prince.[1]

When Lobengula was defeated by the white forces in the war of 1893, he and many of his people - Andria among them -fled to the north-west. As Lobengula continued on his flight, many of his people became tired of following him and they (including Andria) returned. After the war, Lobengula's sons were sent by Rhodes to Cape Town to be educated. Andria, however, had no wish to go to Cape Town since he was only the nephew, not the son of Lobengula. So he was taken to Salisbury and thus commenced a new era in his life.

In Salisbury, Andria got a regular job cleaning the government offices. Later he became not only a soldier but also a messenger of Rhodes. When the Shona rising broke out in 1896, Andria, with the rank of corporal, fought with the whites against the rebels. He was surrounded during one engagement by a detachment of the Shona and was speared twice; it was by feigning death that he escaped with his life. The Shona rising quelled, Andria returned to Salisbury and continued his services with the Native Police Force.

Andria's conversion was brought about by Daniel, an African evangelist and teacher. He had heard Daniel preach and after the service one Sunday, he spoke to Daniel. He asked him if he could come regularly to the school and to the services. Daniel readily agreed and for three nights a week, Andria attended the school

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1. If this story is true, it is suprising that there is no mention of Mtshede at all in Richard Brown's account of the Ndebele succession crisis following Mzilikazi's death in 1868,see Richard Brown," "The Ndebele Succession Crisis,1868-1877",The Central Africa Historical Association,Local Series,No.5,Salisbury,1966.Summers and Pagden give a similar account of the Ndebele Succession Crisis following Mzilikazi's death and as in Brown's account, no mention at all of Mtshede is made in the struggle for power that ensued between Lobengula and his rivals,see Roger Summers and C.W.Pagden, The Warriors,Cape Town,1970,Chapter 7.

and learned something of the mysteries of reading and writing. On Sundays, he was an eager listener, He was finally converted during one night watch service towards the end of 1897.

Meanwhile, Andria was made a court interpreter because he spoke twelve Bantu languages. After remaining on trial for some years, he was baptised and received into full membership of the Methodist Church. He dropped at baptism his name Kutshwa and took the name of Andria.

In 1903, Andria became a Class Leader and Local Preacher. He had been a Local Preacher for nine years when the Chairman, the Rev. John White, preached on "Missionary Sunday" at the African church in Salisbury. The Chairman told of the great new work that was being opened in Northern Rhodesia in the prosecution of which evangelists were needed.

For a month, Andria thought about the matter and then served three months' notice at the Court. He proceeded to Northern Rhodesia where he commenced his work as an evangelist. For eight years he served in this capacity until he was recommended for the ministry. As Assistant African Minister, he served in the Luano Valley of Northern Rhodesia.[1]

The three stories we have related - those of Samuel Kona, Peter Mantiziba and Andria Mtshede - illustrate better than most, the impact of Christianity on the young. It was out of men such as these that the Methodist Church in Southern and Northern Rhodesia owed its expansion.

But even with the help of such as these, the work of converting large sections of the Shona and Ndebele to Christianity was by no means

1. Oliver Roebuck, "From Matabele Warrior to Methodist Minister", The Foreign Field, May, 1929.

easy. The conversion of the heathen, the Rev. J.W.Stanlake explained, "is a slow process. True, I have witnessed strange scenes; natives prostrate in seemingly uncontrollable grief; but this I would not call conversion, for it may have been the first service attended by them, and moreover, their future conduct shows that whatever may have been the cause of such demonstrations, it was not from a sense of sin as would naturally lead to a desire for a better life..A sense of sin and the need of a Saviour can only be to the native mind a gradual awakening, hence conversational methods are likely to lead to more definite results than what is generally understood by preaching. Our work is similar to the sub-marine engineer; it is out of sight. We are undermining. Sometimes the unexpected happens. Our work is put back, and we must start drilling again; but we do not despair".[1]

Several problems remained to be tackled before the missionaries were satisfied that their converts had truly abandoned the old life. One of the problems was how to persuade the people to refrain from beer drinking. "The great hinderance to our work on the out-stations", the Bulawayo Native Circuit report of 1908 stated, "is the use or misuse of the Native Beer. Among the old people this Beer is regarded as a food, and in many cases the task therefore of its suppression is not an easy one, but in the interests of the moral welfare of the natives its total prohibition is their only safeguard. To many of them it is a real sacrifice, and that this sacrifice is cheerfully made is a test as to the sincerity of their motives and an important step in the building up of strong and reliable characters".[2.]

1.J.W.Stanlake,"Progress and Promise of Pioneer Work in Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, March, 1902,p.102.
2.S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1908,"Report of the Bulawayo and Tegwani Circuits,1907".

That the missionaries regarded the suppression of beer-drinking as important if their work was to succeed, was expressed by the Rev. Avon Walton. Beer drinking and dancing in Mashonaland, Walton wrote in 1910,"are among the worst enemies of the people, and they are the greatest hindrance to the work of the missionary".[1]

Another problem which made the evangelisation of the Africans difficult, was the unenlightened attitude of the European settlers against the work of missionaries among Africans. This problem was well stated by the Rev. Avon Walton. "The natives", he wrote to the Secretaries of the W.M.M.S. on March 25, 1899, "have an idea that all white men are Christians, and naturally conclude that the iniquities practised by the whites are permissible. Again nine out of every ten white men here have a hateful prejudice against the uplifting and saving of the blacks: the natives are so many beasts of burden and ought never to be thought of as anything else. Now until the white population is filled with the spirit of Christ I fear the work of evangelising the heathen in Africa will necessarily be a slow and tedious one".[2]

The missionaries tackled these problems in several ways. First, they attempted to persuade the European settlers to take a much more sympathetic attitude towards missionary work among Africans. Secondly, they used the mission farms as places where they could control their converts. The importance of these farms was well stated by the Rev. J.W.Stanlake. "From the Mission point of view", he wrote in 1912,"these Mission centres are of great value. Here we have a central control, discipline can be maintained and the general tone of our work

1.Avon Walton,"Stumbling on a Beer Drink",The Foreign Field,No. 70, June,1910,p.292
2.C/M/B.1891-1899,Avon Walton to the Secretaries of the W.M.M.S., March 25,1899.

advanced. It also gives a permanency to the work".[1]

The type of control exercised by the missionaries at the mission stations was explained by the Rev. John White in 1917. Among the regulations enforced at the mission farms, he wrote Hartley on July 24,1917, were that no strong drink was to be brewed or drunk on the farm; no African tenant was permitted to contract a polygamous marriage; and all the tenants were required to observe Sunday as a day of rest.[2]

Thirdly, the missionaries established model villages where they isolated their converts from what they regarded as "heathen practices' of the people in the neighbourhood. This was clearly stated by the Rev. Alfred S.Sharp in 1900. "Our object", he wrote, "is to establish a missio n village on each of the farms which we occupy, where the English missionary resides, and to work the surrounding villages from these centres. To these centres we seek to gather the best of our people, the majority of them being our own converts. These villages will be essentially Christian villages, where we make our own civic laws and social rules. They will thus present a striking object lesson to the surrounding heathen. Epworth is a signal success on these lines. Since our brother Brigg took up his residence there..a transformation has been effected. In the place of a few dilapidated Mashona huts, we have now a well-laid out village, with wide streets, sanitary lanes, and neat gardens..Our rule is that every inhabitant must build a square house, or at least a house as near square as possible to a native, and already the village presents a very pleasing view; a model of a missionary settlement".[3]

1.J.W.Stanlake,"Progress and Promise in Rhodesia",The Foreign Field, October,1912,p.64
2.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to M.Hartley,July 24,1917
3.Alfred Sharp, "A Chairman's Tour,Rhodesia District",Work and Workers in the Mission Field, January,1900,pp.19-20.

The same procedure was followed at a village near the Altona mission station in the Kwenda Circuit. "At the kraal itself", the missionary in charge of Altona Mr. George Kerr, wrote on September 2,1902,"quite a Mission Colony has been formed. The Christian people live by themselves on a small plot of land adjoining the heathen portion of the kraal. They have made quite a model village, where they live almost like one large family".[1]

Fourthly, the missionaries converted some of the chiefs with the view that the chiefs thus converted would influence their people to follow the gospel. We saw how the missionaries succeeded in this regard with respect of Chief Majila of the Tegwani Circuit and Chief Abednego Sinondo of the Gwanda district. A third example was that of Chief Chiremba of Epworth who, with his wife, their son and daughter were baptised at the mission in 1900. Chiremba was the first Shona chief to be baptised.[2]

Fifthly, the missionaries realised that if the gospel were to make much headway among the people, it was essential to translate the scriptures into their language so that the people would be able to read the scriptures for themselves. It was for this reason that literary work was begun. The missionaries also realised that it was not enough to preach to and teach the people; it was also important to attend to them in times of illness. It was for this reason that medical missions were established. To these two important subjects we must now turn. We will begin with literary work.

Among the Methodists, the first translations of portions of the Bible into Shona were made by the Rev. John White in 1897.

1.C/R/B.1899-1904,George Kerr to M.Hartley,September 2,1902.
2.W.M.M.S.,The Eighty-Sixth Report,1900,p.126

According to White, this was rendered possible by "a wonderful Providential circumstance". A young man, Jonas Chiota, the son of a Shona chief, was converted at one of the Methodist missions. Having to work in company with some Xhosas who had come into the country, he soon learned their language and before long taught himself to read their Bible. He then entered John White's employ as a driver of an ox-wagon. It was Jonas's presence and invaluable help which made the work possible.

John White began the translation of St. Mark's Gospel into Shona in 1897. How this was done was best explained by White himself. "At that time", he wrote, "I was without any settled abode, and spent most of my time in travelling from place to place, superintending the work of our evangelists. Whilst the oxen rested.. we sought shelter from the burning sun, and, under some friendly tree or under our wagon, rendered St. Mark's Gospel into the Shona language. After revising and re-revising, the Bible Society was approached on the question, and gladly undertook to publish it for us."[1] The translated copies of St. Mark's Gospel reached Mashonaland in April, 1898 and were selling well among the people.[2] At that time a number of young men were able to read and so made use of this translated version of St. Mark's Gospel.

White continued his work of translation and towards the end of May, 1900, he completed the translation of St. Matthew's Gospel and forwarded it to Marshall Hartley, requesting the latter to assist in its publication through the Bible Society.[3]

By February, 1901, White was busy translating St. John's Gospel

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1. John White, "Translatio n Work in Mashonaland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, October, 1901, pp.421-422.
2. C/M/B.1891-1899, Isaac Shimmin to M.Hartley, April 1, 1898.
3. C/R/B.1899-1904, White to M.Hartley, May 30, 1900.

into Shona.[1] He completed this in October, 1902, and forwarded it to Hartley for publication. In the same year, White brought out the first Catechism in Shona.[2] In addition, in 1903, White and Walton completed the first Shona hymn-book and requested Hartley to assist in its publicatio n through the Bible Society. The hymn-book contained aboutsixty hymns which they either translated or composed. The importance of publishing the hymn-book was emphasised by White. "The necessity for the book", he wrote Hartley on April 21,1903,"is beyond question. At present all we can do is to teach our people a fewhymns by rote; we have no hymn-book. Its publication will fill a long and deeply-felt want".[3]

White continued with his work of translation; by 1905 he had most of the New Testament translated and hoped during his furlough in England in 1906 to publish the New Testament in Shona.[4] The New Shona Testament was published in 1907 and copies reached Epworth in June of the same year.[5] Meanwhile, the Methodist Shona hymn-book which White and Walton completed in 1903 was published by the Bible Society and copies reached Mashonaland in March of 1908.[6] In addition, Genesiswas translated by the Rev. Avon Walton in 1906 and Mr. White translated Isaiah in 1922 in collaboration with eight Africans.[7] Such was the literary work which was carried out by the Methodists in Southern Rhodesia between 1897 and 1918. These translations proved invaluable not only during the services but also in enabling the Shona converts to appreciate more fully than

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1.C/R/B.1899-1904, John White to M.Hartley,February 23,1901.
2.C/R/B.1899-1904,John White to M.Hartley, October 5,1902.
3.C/R/B.1899-1904,John White to M.Hartley,April 21,1903
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to M.Hartley,September 1,1905
5.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to M.Hartley,June 20,1907
6.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to M.Hartley,March 19,1908
7.E.W.Smith,The Way of the White Fields in Rhodesia,London,1928,p.101

hitherto, the teachings of the gospel.

Having now considered the literary work carried out by the Methodists between 1897 and 1918, we should now turn to the medical missions established by the Methodists during this period. The missionaries always considered the ministry of the Church as three-fold, that of preaching, teaching and healing; all missionaries in Rhodesia used these three methods simultaneously.[1] We have already considered the ministry of preaching and teaching; we should now turn to the ministry of healing. But before doing so, we should first consider in some detail, the rationale for the establishment of medical missions.

In answer to the question, "Why Should Medical Missions Exist?" the Methodist medical missionary, Dr. Leonard G.Parsons, discussed four reasons which justified the establishment of medical missions on the part of the missionary. In the first place, he argued in 1910, medical missions formed "an antidote for quackery, ignorance and cruelty". Much of the neglect and malpraxis which obtained in heathen lands, he argued, were "too awful to contemplate", and called "loudly on purely humanitarian grounds for the work of the medical missionary". A belief in demons, he argued, was characteristic of the majority of the non-Christian religions, and any visitation of sickness was regarded as the work of evil spirits whose aid might have been invoked by a real or supposed enemy of the sick man. It was therefore regarded as necessary in all cases of illness to get rid of, or appease the wrath of these evil spirits. In Africa, he argued, the medicine man, in a case of illness, by performing various ceremonies, pretended to be able to find the

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1. W.R.Peaden, Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture,1890-1923,The Central Africa Historical Association,1970,p.8

person bewitching the sick man, and the suspect suffered accordingly. "It is obvious what an opportunity for cruelty and blackmail is afforded by this belief in demons".

Secondly, as a pioneer agency, as a means of overcoming the prejudice and pride of caste, medical missions had over and over again proved their efficiency, enabling the Gospel to reach places which it could not have hoped to reach by other means for many years. He cited the example of the CMS which had tried to enter Kashmir on three occasions but each time had been unsuccessful. On the fourth occasion, they sent one Dr. Elmslie as a medical missionary. By his work as a doctor, Parsons wrote, "he gradually overcame the prejudice of the people, and established what is now one of the finest medical missions which that Society has".

Thirdly, medical missions constituted "an object lesson in Christianity, presenting it in a form which is easily understood by the people amongst whom they are situated. If by skilful treatment a sick native is relieved of pain or cured of his disease, he must wonder why it has been done, and is far more prepared to receive and respond to the gospel message than if this is presented to him with his pain unrelieved". Fourthly, the establishment of medical missions was in obedience to Jesus' command to his disciples to preach and heal the sick.[1]

These sentiments were widely shared by missionaries in other parts of Africa. One example of this was in Northern Rhodesia where Dr.Walter Fisher of the Plymouth Brethren believed that "he could wean Africans from superstition and the worship of ancestors

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1.Dr.L.G.Parsons, "Medical Missions", The Bulletin of the W.M.M.S., No. 65, February, 1910.

and eventually bring about lasting conversions by a demonstration of the power of the white man's medicine. By improving their lot physically, he assumed that he could increase African receptivity to the Christian message".[1] A second example was in East Africa, where both medical and educational work came to be viewed, "no longer as rather dubious auxiliaries of evangelism, but as means of consolidating the Christian life among those who had already been baptised".[2]

These sentiments were widely shared by the missionaries in Rhodesia. The Rev. H. Oswald Brigg, for example, justified the establishment of medical missions on four grounds. Firstly, that the people among whom the missionary worked, suffered from the same ills as the missionary himself and equally needed help. The people soon learned that the missionary had medicines for himself and so would beg for the same when they were ill. "It is impossible", he wrote, "to refuse without seriously injuring one's usefulness and being open, from the native point of view, to an irrefutable charge of selfishness or callousness. And, indeed, the charge might be well sustained from a Christian standpoint too; for the man would have to be very hard-hearted who could stand by and see suffering that might be alleviated by poultice or ointment or warm water, and yet refuse to give any help".

Secondly, that "native methods are so crude and cruel that any hesitancy one has as to one's competency is quickly overcome by the confidence that we can do better than they". Third, that the Gospel stories that "naturally fill the largest place in the reading and preaching among primitive peoples, are so full of compassion of Jesus

1.R.I.Rotberg, Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880-1924,Princeton,1965,pp.93-94.
2.Roland Oliver,The Missionary Factor in East Africa,London,1952,p.210

for the sick and afflicted that all who are there as the representatives of Christ find they cannot witness for him better than by letting their pity overflow towards those who come day by day with their unwashed sores and their dirty diseases". Fourthly, that the ministry of healing was not only necessary "for the sake of those who have no one but the missionary to help them, but it is necessary for this reason also - that until we can change the native's idea of medicine we can never make him a real Christian. Half his heathenism is summed up in that one word 'medicine'. So every case we cure and every pain stayed without magic, means not only relief to the sufferer, but the most powerful sermon against witchcraft and superstition".[1]

It was for these reasons that Brigg opened a small dispensary at Tegwani mission. The surgery at Tegwani was in the open air, the drugs and equipment were of the simplest kind, but the cures wrought were marvellous, "at any rate in the eyes of the Africans". "When a wound that has been festering for weeks, or perhaps for months -when every native remedy has been tried and has failed - and they make their journey to the nearest mission station, and then, after thorough washing and poulticing, it begins to heal", Briggs wrote, "they are greatly amazed, and, what is better, generally very grateful".[2]

That the prevalence of disease among the people made a strong appeal to the missionary, was also echoed by other missionaries in Rhodesia during this period. The Rev. J.Butler of the Chimanza mission said that although his station was not a medical mission,

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1.S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1910, H.Oswald Brigg,Tegwani Circuit Report,1909.
2.H.Oswald Brigg, "The Missionary as an Amateur Doctor", The Foreign Field, July, 1918,pp.147-8

the call for help in sickness was strong and constant, so much so, that "Sunday might almost be called 'Medicine Day'. The sickness and disease in the Native Reserve is deep and wide-spread".[1] These sentiments were also shared by another missionary, the Rev. H.J.Baker of the Kwenda Circuit. He said that when a missionary went on a tour of mission stations, the most important equipment he should carry with him was not the Bible or the hymn-book but dental forceps for pulling teeth. As he graphically put it,"When a missionary goes touring in his large, expansive circuit he may forget his sermon, Bible, books, wife,food-anything- but if he forgets his forceps he will not be easily forgiven".[2]

With these preliminary remarks, we should now consider the medical work of the Methodists in Southern Rhodesia during this period. We have already noted in Chapter 3 the arrival of the Rev. John White at one of the villages during the course of his tour of mission stations in Mashonaland in February, 1896; how he asked the villagers if he could buy some food and was told that there wasn't any and then asked to see the chief who happened to be very ill and then gave him some medicine and how "one dose of the white man's medicine changed the attitude of the whole 'kraal'". It was from episodes such as this that the missionaries realised the importance of medicine in winning the confidence of the people.

The second example was when the Rev. John White toured the area near the Zambesi Valley in 1902. White had carried some medicine with him on this trip and gave this to the people of one of the villages through which he passed. "The assistance we were

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1.B/C/A/B.8 J.Butler, Chimanza Circuit Report,1912
2.B/C/A/B.10,H.J.Baker, Kwenda Circuit Report,1917.

able to give them", he wrote, "helped to win their confidence. At one place, near the river, we found the children suffering from a most malignant form of opthalmia. We stayed there some days; they greatly mourned our departure, and begged us to stay longer".[1]

A third example was when the Rev. Alfred S.Sharp with a fellow missionary arrived at one of the mission stations in 1911. It was known that the missionaries would arrive at the mission in the morning. "My fellow traveller", Sharp wrote, "had won a great reputation in the land as a skilled dentist. On our arrival we found some twenty women waiting for him, desiring assistance.. so they were requested to kneel in a row before the little mission house, and my friend went from the beginning of the row to the end, dealing as carefully as a dentist can with each one of them. When the last refractory tooth was in the hand of the grateful patient, I suggested that we should sing the doxology. This could not be done, but every patient went away pouring blessings on the head of the dentist, and all were ready to hear him when shortly afterwards we commenced our service in the little church on the mission station".[2]

It was out of considerations such as these that the Methodists proposed to open their first hospital in Southern Rhodesia in 1913. The Governement offered £200 towards the cost of building such a hospital.[3] The Rev. John White wanted the proposed hospital to be built at Chimanza and suggested that the missionaries should propose this to the Government. He requested Mr. Brigg to cable Mr. Hartley to this effect.[4] Mr. Brigg, however, doubted that the Medical

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1.John White "Zambesi At Last!" Work and Workers in the Mission Field,January,1902,p.7
2.Alfred Sharp,"Mashonaland",The Foreign Field,No.86,October,1911,p.60
3.C/R/B.1905-1917,H.Oswald Brigg to M.Hartley,February 22,1913
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,H.Oswald Brigg to M.Hartley,March 20,1913.

Director of Rhodesia would agree to this proposal as there was already a District surgeon in the Marandellas District.[1]

On April 10,1913, Mr. Brigg received a cable from Hartley stating that the Rhodesian Government would on no account consent that the proposed hospital should be built at Chimanza. The Government insisted that it should be built at Kwenda or nowhere else. In reply, Mr. Hartley said that the Missionary Society in London consented to this condition and communicated with Mr. White who had suggested Chimanza, that his proposal could not be entertained.[2]

Towards the end of April,1913, Mr. Brigg received a Government draft for £250 towards the cost of building the proposed hospital and was also informed that the Government would commence paying the doctor's salary as soon as the doctor arrived at Kwenda.[3] A medical missionary, Dr. Sidney Osborn, was appointed there in May, 1913.[4]

According to the terms of agreement reached between the Rhodesian Government and the representatives of the W.M.M.S. in Rhodesia, the former agreed to defray the cost of drugs, surgical instruments and general equipment.[5] The new hospital was completed some time during the year and had accommodatio n for eighteen in-patients; there was also a dispensary attached to it.[6] The new hospital rendered very useful service; by the end of the year, 128 total treatments were made.[7]

The first few years of the Kwenda hospital were difficult and Dr. Osborn encountered several problems. The first was what he

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917,H.Oswald Brigg to M.Hartley,March 22,1913.
2.C/R/B.1905-1917,M.Hartley to H.Oswald Brigg,April 10,1913
3.C/R/B.1905-1917,H.Oswald Brigg to M.Hartley,April 26,1913
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,M.Hartley to H.Oswald Brigg,May 2,1913.
5.C/R/B.1905-1917,M.Hartley to H.Oswald Brigg,June 6,1913.
6.W.M.M.S.,The One Hundredth Report,1914,p.150
7.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Appendix J,Numerical Return of Medical Agencies on the Kwenda Station, Rhodesia,December 15,1913.

called "the procrastination" of the Shona people. "Either from a distrust of the white doctor and the fear of his knife, or else from indifference to sickness, they repeatedly put off calling for medical assistance until the disease has become so chronic that it requires months to effect a cure, or until it has such a hold on them that all one can do is to ease the last few hours of the patient's life. Although time is absolutely no object with the Shona, he has not patience to undergo any continued treatment for the relief of sickness. He comes to the Hospital with his trouble, and expects to get immediate cure from the first dose of medicine we administer. If this does not happen, he frequently goes back home disappointed and firmly convinced that we are no good as doctors".

The second problem was how to make the patients and their friends realise that "if any benefit is to accrue from the treatment they are undergoing, they must obey implicitly the doctor's instructions. Again and again I find that bandages and dressings have been removed - to show admiring friends how a sore place is healing-and replaced in such a way as to render them quite useless. Or a man will come with a bad cut on his foot, and, after having it dressed and being told to come back next day, I will lose sight of him for may be a week- and the state of his wound can better be imagined than described! When questioned, he will excuse himself by saying he was busy in the garden, or he felt cold, or had friends staying with him!"[1] Another problem was that the people were reluctant to risk the anger of the witchdoctor by trying the "unknown magic of the white man".[2]

1.Dr. Sidney Osborn, "A Doctor in Difficulties", The Foreign Field, September, 1915,p.304
2.Michael Gelfand, Tropical Victory, Cape Town,1953,pp.151-152.

After three years the situation had still not changed. As Osborn put it in a letter to Dr. Henry Haigh on April 29,1916,"I am sorry that the Medical work here still seems to hang fire. I get only a few outpatients daily and very, very seldom an in-patient at all. In fact so few are these latter that I am at present using our largest ward as a day school for the children. Somehow, these people do not appreciate European treatment, they seem to be almost indifferent to the advantages of it".[1] By June,1916, the situation had still not improved. "The work here", Osborn wrote Dr. Haigh from the Kwenda hospital on June 3,1916,"goes quietly on, the Natives still reluctant to come for medical attention; so much so that I am often tempted to wonder if my sphere at present is not at the Front in Europe. But I feel that at any rate a start has been made here and that if we left just now it might be all to do over again, and so hitherto I have taken no steps to get permission to go where I must confess my inclination strongly leads me".[2]

Under the circumstances, the Rhodesian Government felt that there was not much point in continuing to support the services of Dr.Osborn at Kwenda and it withdrew its grant to the hospital.[3] Dr. and Mrs. Osborn therefore terminated their services at the Kwenda hospital in March,1917 and left the country at the beginning of May. The missionaries who remained at the Kwenda mission, however, continued to offer medical services to the people as best they could and during the period from the middle of April until the end of September,1917, over 500 out-patients and 3 in-patients were treated.[4] The Kwenda hospital was formally closed at the end of 1917. The closing of

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917,Sidney Osborn to Dr. Henry Haigh,April 29,1916.
2.C/R/B.1905-1917,Sidney Osborn to Dr. Henry Haigh,June 3,1916.
3.The Foreign Field, December,1917,p.39
4.E/C/A/B.8,Chimanza Circuit Report,1917

the hospital and the departure of Dr. Osborn, however, did not mean that the Methodists abandoned the ministry of healing. This became all the more important when an influenza epidemic broke out in the country in 1918.

When the influenza epidemic swept Southern Rhodesia in 1918, the Revs. G.H.B.Sketchley and Loveless were requested by Government officials to assist in preventing it from spreading among the people. Sketchley received a message from the Government Medical Department advising precautionary measures. Immediately the teachers were sent to get the people out of their huts into the veldt. Fortunately the rains had not yet started, and so the people were able to live in open air shelters. Medicine was obtained from Salisbury and with the assistance of an African evangelist, Mr. Gazi, the missionaries were able to keep the epidemic under control at Epworth. Sketchley then proceeded to the Zvimba Reserve where the epidemic was raging and where the Methodists had ten mission stations. After dispensing medicine to the people there, he proceeded to the Marshall Hartley mission. Upon arrival he was distressed to find the Rev. Josiah Ramusha in a dying condition. He did what he could to save him but he died shortly after. His death was a great loss to the District.[1] After some time, the epidemic in the Zvimba Reserve was brought under control.[2] From here Sketchley and Loveless were called upon to help in the control of the epidemic in the Wedza Reserve.[3] This they did gladly and consequently, many lives were saved.

Another important development during this period was the secession

1.E/C/A/B.8,S.D.Gray, Report of Work in the Rhodesia District,1918
2.G.H.B. Sketchley,"Fighting Influenza Among the Mashona",The Foreign Field,June,1919,pp.135-136.
3.The Wesleyan Methodist Church (Rhodesia),The Monthly Messenger,No.8, January,1919.

of Matthew Zvimba from the Methodist Church to form his own Church. This was the Church of Shiri Chena, the Original Church of the White Bird which Matthew founded in the Zvimba Reserve in 1915. Matthew was the son of Paramount Chief Zvimba. He had been to a Methodist school and became a catechist and teacher and established the first Methodist school in the Zvimba Reserve.[1] Matthew's main reason for secession appears to have been his dislike for working under white missionary supervision especially when he was transferred to Gatooma where he was forced to work under the supervision of an unsympathetic white missionary. Growing friction with the missionaries led to his dismissal as teacher and catechist. He returned to Zvimba to preach on his own account and in 1915, he took the decision to form his own Church. He drove out the local Methodist teacher and catechist from the school which he had helped in establishing. In August, 1915, he wrote to the Administrator in Salisbury announcing his decision to form the Original White Bird mission. He drew up a list of the names of those in the Zvimba Reserve who had been killed in the Shona rising of 1896-7 and made them the saints and martyrs of his Church.

The Administrator, however, refused to grant recognition of Matthew's Church and all the inhabitants of Zvimba Reserve were warned not to attend Matthew's Church and school. Matthew himself was warned not to preach or teach except under white supervision. When he paid no heed to this warning, the Government took stronger measures. When the Government discovered the list of rebel martyrs, he was sent to prison for sedition although he was finally released.[2]

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1. S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1910.
2. T.O.Ranger, "The Early History of Independency in Southern Rhodesia", Religion in Africa, Edinburgh, 1964, pp.54-56: T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930, London, 1970, pp.20-25.

Matthew's secession produced little repercussion within the Methodist ranks, and his Church gradually died out. His brother, Mishaek, remained within the fold of the Methodist Church. He became not only an Assistant African Minister but was also reported in 1922 to be doing good work for the Church at the Pakame mission. At this mission, Mishaek not only did excellent work in helping to superintend the Mission Farm Church and school but also in doing "a vast amount of invaluable visitation and supervising of stations in that vicinity and all over the Selukwe Reserve".[1]

To sum up, we have discussed in this chapter the establishment of Methodist missions in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland between 1897 and 1918. The African response to Christianity, the literary and medical work of the Methodists during this period, have also been discussed. The success made by the missionaries in converting the Shona and Ndebele between 1897 and 1918 can best be judged by examining the membership returns during this period. The membership of the Methodist Church (full and on trial and including European members) increased from 236 in 1898,[2] to 1,368 in 1904,[3] and from 2,736 in 1915 to a total adult Christian community of 9,134 in 1918.[4] These figures by no means showed an unqualified success but considering the difficulties encountered by the missionaries during this period, it portended well for the future.

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1. S/C/L/B.8, Holman Brown, Selukwe Native Circuit Report, 1922
2. S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899, Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1898
3. S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1905, Tabular View of the Mashonaland and Rhodesia District, 1904
4. S/M/R/B.1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1919, Statistical Returns, 1918.

Chapter 6: The Growth and Expansion of Methodist Educational Institutions, 1897-1918.

In the previous chapter, we noted that the missionaries regarded the traditional ministry of the Church as three-fold, that of preaching, healing and teaching, and that in Rhodesia all churches used the three methods simultaneously. We saw how through preaching and healing the missionaries were able to win converts for Christ.

In this chapter, we shall consider the third objective of missionary enterprise, that of teaching. But before we consider the growth and expansion of Methodist educational institutions, we should first consider in detail the raison d'etre for the establishment of educational institutions.

To begin with, the main objective of missionary education was religious. In order to strengthen the faith of the converts it was felt necessary that they should be able to read the Bible and the church's instructions about its faith. It was largely for this reason that instruction in reading was begun.[1]

That the objective of missionary education initially was to win converts, was emphasised again and again during this period. "The schools may be a problem", the report of 1930 stated, "but they certainly give us one of our very finest opportunities. It is almost impossible to present the Christian Message to raw Africans apart from some measure of education. Moreover, education is a most important factor in undermining their old belief in witchcraft; and it is the only practical method of opening up to these people the opportunities which we believe should be given to every man to live the fuller life that God purposes for him. Again, our schools give us our opportunity because of the religious instruction we

1. Peaden, Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture, op.cit, pp.8-9

are able to give through them - to old as well as young".[1]

The importance of education in relation to evangelism and the winning of converts was again emphasised in 1935. "The people of Africa", the report for that year stated,"are clamouring for education in the belief that that is the key to progress for themselves and their children. In almost every area where there is no school the people would welcome one. In Rhodesia they are not asking for the Gospel for itself alone; they want schools. This gives a tremendous opportunity, for a school means a foothold inthe kraal and a prestige that is of very great value for evangelistic purposes. In the overwhelming number of cases the school is the forerunner of the Church, and it is often found that if a school is closed in a village the Church dies out".[2]

This objective of education as a vehicle for evangelism was also emphasised in 1939. "There is always the danger in our work", the report for that year stated, "of making a distinct division between evangelism in winning converts for Christ and what is sometimes regarded as the work of education. But the division is not as distinct as some think. The humblest kraal school in the hands of a Christian teacher is an opportunity for the presenting of the Gospel story in many ways".[3] Such sentiments were not confined to Rhodesia; they were echoed in other parts of Africa as well.

In the Gold Coast, for example, William West, Chairman of the Methodist Synod in that country between 1858 and 1871, was compelled to defend the boarding schools which Freeman had started at Cape Coast and elsewhere. To the Missionary Committee in London, such schools

1. W.M.M.S.,The Report for 1930,pp.63-64.
2. W.M.M.S.,Annual Report,1935,p.76
3. W.M.M.S.,Annual Report,1939,p.43

did not justify the expense involved. In defence of such schools, West stated most emphatically that the Methodist Churches in the Gold Coast with but one or two exceptions, were the fruits of the schools. He was certain that "if the schools were closed and the teachers withdrawn, the Churches in many places would fade away. As places for teaching English and formal school subjects, these schools were ineffective; but as centres for moral and religious teaching they were irreplaceable".[1]

A similar situation obtained around the coast of Nigeria where the missionaries welcomed the demand for education by the people of the coastal states in the nineteenth century because the missionaries saw in schools " 'the nursery of the infant Church', the principal hope for the success of their work. If most of the adults were too much wedded to the ideas of their fathers, the children, whose minds were as yet un-hardened, should provide more fruitful ground for the sowing of the seed of the new religion".[2] What applied to the coastal area of Nigeria also applied to Nigeria as a whole. As in other parts of Africa, the main object of missionary education initially was religious instruction, "especially of the young children who could be weaned easily from the 'pagan' ideas and prejudices of their unyielding parents". To this extent, the elementary day schools were "an evangelistic agency of the highest importance".[3]

This belief that schools were not only an effective missionary agency but also a major instrument of moral education and a major source of recruitment for the church, was widely shared by missionaries in Rhodesia. The members of the American Board of Commissioners for

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1. F.L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, Cambridge, U.Press, 1965, p.89
2. J.F.Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891, Longmans, London, 1965, p.134
3. E.A.Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, London, 1966, p.285.

Foreign Missions working among the Ndau of eastern Southern Rhodesia, for example, held this view.[1] These sentiments were widely shared among the Methodists. The Rev. J. Butler, for example, stated that missionaries believed in schools because they offered the opportunity of "instilling the words of Jesus, and the Christian truth, into the hearts and minds of these African boys and girls, the rising generation. Win the children for Jesus and you win the world for Him".[2]

In addition, missionaries believed in schools for several other reasons. Peaden has suggested four factors which loomed large in missionary calculations in establishing schools. Firstly, missionaries believed that education would banish superstition, especially in relation to ancestor worship and witchcraft. The missionaries, Peaden wrote, thought that "these beliefs were due to ignorance of true causality and that if ignorance were removed the beliefs would also disappear". Secondly, polygamy was a custom which missionaries wished to destroy. It was considered that education would help to weaken the practice in three ways. Firstly, "by taking and educating boys while still young it would be possible to instil in them a higher conception of morality which was not possible in those who were older and set in their ways".

Secondly, by educating the girls, it was believed that it would give them increased independence of mind and strengthen them to refuse to be married by older polygamists. Thirdly, by increasing the horizon of the boys, it was believed that education would encourage them to seek fulfilment in other ways. The missionaries, Peaden argued, "shared with the European population in general the

1. L.J.K.Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, North-Western University, 1973, p.313
2. J.Butler, "Anvil Strokes", The Foreign Field, September, 1921, p.245

eroneous idea that African men were incorrigibly lazy and that they contracted polygynous marriages mainly in order to have more women to work for them and prevent the necessity of working themselves. Education with its industrial bias was thought to increase the sense of material needs, to encourage industriousness and so to move him to seek employment. This would cause a reorganisation of social life in a way detrimental to polygyny". Thus in these and other ways, the missionaries hoped to destroy polygamy through education. Thirdly, it was considered that education "would lead to an improvement in the social status of women generally by opening the way for them to obtain employment and later to enter the professions such as teaching and nursing". Fourthly, some missionaries considered that education would produce "a necessary change from a social morality based on tribal custom to one based on the Christian faith".[1]

With these preliminary remarks, we should now consider the introduction of missionary education among the Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1897 and 1918. In educating the Africans, the difficulties encountered by the missionaries were legion. One of these was the problem of educating the girls.

One of the reasons for this was the system of 'lobola' or bride-price which was widely practised by Africans not only in Southern Rhodesia but also in other parts of Africa. This problem was well explained by the Rev. J.W.Stanlake. "The system of 'lobola'",he wrote in 1902,"is the great hindrance. A father knows that when his girl has been to school she soon resents marriage to an old man, for whom she has no love, but rather a feeling of repugnance. This enlightenment often leads to trouble..The father is not anxious to return the 'lobola', which generally consists of oxen or goats, and the anger of the patriarchal lover admits of no concessions, and he turns a deaf ear to all interests but his own". The plan adopted by

1.Peaden,Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture,op.cited,pp.10-11

Stanlake in such a situation was simple and in most cases, effective. The girl in question generally had a young suitor with whom she was willing to cast in her lot. The suitor was asked to pay the 'lobola' which had been paid to the girl's father and in most cases he readily agreed, so that all was amicably settled. Where no suitor was available and the demands for the return of 'lobola' were pressed, the missionaries arranged to return the 'lobola' rather than"allow such iniquity to flourish". Fortunately, Stanlake wrote, suitors were numerous and the school was often the recruiting ground for the church.[1]

The second problem was how to persuade the parents to send their children to school. This was well explained by Mr. H. Oswald Brigg in charge of the Tegwani Circuit in 1909. "The excuses given by the parents", he wrote, "are almost bewildering in their ingenuity and cunning. Whereas if the truth were told there is only one real reason namely that the parents don't want the little ones to come to school. A favourite excuse is that the child is sick -this reason was given on a recent visit to a kraal..We stayed and chatted awhile with the people and presently through the trees there came several little girls carrying large loads of firewood on their heads. The largest and heaviest load was carried by the girl who was 'too sick' to come to school. Another favourite reason is that the child refuses to come to school inspite of the pleadings of the parents..but this excuse when probed has often resulted in the discovery that the children had been shut up in the grain bins and so detained by force. Again, they say the mother is sick and the child must do her work..

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1. J.W.Stanlake,"Progress and Promise of Pioneer Mission Work in Matabeleland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field,March, 1902, p.98.

Sometimes they will go so far as to say that they have no children, but a surprise visit to the kraal just about sundown discloses a wealth of young life".[1]

In time, as the advantages of education for the young became apparent to the parents, however, this problem was eventually overcome. This was clearly demonstrated at a meeting held between Mr. Alfred S. Sharp and a number of chiefs in Mashonaland in 1911. "In this gathering", he wrote, "the old men spoke with feeling of the wonderful change that had come over their land with the coming of the white man, but declared that this did not matter to them as their day was gone, they were only dead men; but, they said, our children are here, they have to live with the white man. We see that the things the white man brings are good, and we want some to teach them..and to show them how to live in this new light and in this better time. We pray you leave the missionary with us, for we see that it is only by his help that our children will be able to take their place in this new world".[2]

It was out of considerations such as these which prompted the Methodists to expand their educational institutions during this period. The most important of these between 1898 and 1918 was the Nengubo Training Institution which was founded by the Rev. John White in 1898.

We have seen that in early period, African teachers and evangelists were imported from the Transvaal and Cape Colony. Many of these were good men but the work was greatly restricted by their imperfect training. "If our work is to be the success we desire", White wrote

1.S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1910,H.Oswald Brigg, Tegwani Circuit Report,1909.
2.Alfred S.Sharp,"Mashonaland",The Foreign Field, No. 86,October,1911, p.59.

to Hartley on August 14,1899,"we must have better educated men. Besides, eventually it will be a great financial advantage to us. Our Colonial Teachers receive £6 per month: I am quite sure a Mashona could live on half that amount. Mr. Sharp..feels as I do the great importance of this work".[1]

That the need to train local Africans as evangelists and teachers was becoming apparent, was emphasised at the Synod of 1898 at which all missionaries unanimously agreed that a training institution was urgentlyneededif the work among Africans was to be carried on satisfactorily. The Synod asked the Missionary Committee in London that if it had no objections, Mr. White would be delegated to collect funds during his furlough in England for the purpose of establishing a training institution in Mashonaland.[2]

At the Synod of 1899, the missionaries resolved that "the attention of the Committee be again called to the desirability of inaugrating some scheme,whereby Native Agents may be trained in this District and that towards the initial cost of this work a grant of £800 be requested from the Twentieth Century Fund".

It was proposed at the Synod to commence a training institution in 1900 and provision was made for the maintenance of students for one year from the ordinary grant. The Synod also unanimously agreed to ask the Missionary Committee in London to make a grant of £100 for the purpose in the estimates for 1901.[3] The Nengubo Training Institution was begun in 1900. In January, six young men were accepted as candidates for training as evangelists and teachers. It was proposed to give these students two or three years' training in

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1.C/R/B.1899-1904,John White to M.Hartley,August 14,1899.
2.S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899,Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1898.
3. S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1899.

subjects most directly connected with the work they would do. After training, they were to be sent to various villages to preach and teach the children under the superintendence of a European minister.

Of the six students, two came from a large tribe living in the Zambesi valley. The younger, James Kamira, was converted at the Methodist African Location Church in Salisbury. Mr. White had first met him when he was employed as a servant of Mr.J.W.Stanlake. The third student was Jonas Chiota, the son of Chief Chiremba of Epworth. Jonas, as we noted earlier, played an important part in helping Mr. White in the translation of portions of the Bible into Shona. The other student came from Barotseland; he had come to Rhodesia to seek employment and became converted.[1] By the end of 1900, two of the students had left so that in 1901, only four remained. These were Jonas Chiota, Petros Lewanika, Silas Memeza and Philip Mukasa.[2] Also in 1901, the Synod repeated its application to the Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund for £400 for the building of the Nengubo Training Institution and £600 for the plant necessary for establishing an industrial department of the Institution.

In 1903 the work of training evangelists and teachers was beginning to produce results. During the year three of the students were sent out to undertake work in various parts of the country and were reported to be doing excellent work. At the Institution itself, the timetable included scholastic work in the mornings and work on the farm in the afternoons. By their work on the farm, the cost of the maintenance of the students was considerably reduced.[3]

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1. John White, "The Nungubo Training Institution, Mashonaland", Work and Workers in the Mission Field, July, 1900, pp.270-272.
2. S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Minutes, 1901, Governor's Report, Nengubo Training Institution, 1901; for details on other students who were trained at Nengubo between 1900 and 1911, see W.R.Peaden, "Nenguwo Training Institution and the First Shona Teachers", J.A. Dachs, (ed), Christianity South of the Zambesi, Mambo Press, Gwelo Rhodesia, 1973, pp.71-82.
3. S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1904, Nengubo Training Institution, Governor's Report, 1903

In 1904, it was decided that in addition to students admitted for training as evangelists and teachers, the sons of African ministers and teachers should also be admitted. In addition, it was also decided to admit other paying students who were required to pay £8 per annum for their education. By November of the same year, there were eleven students, five of whom were being trained as evangelists and teachers, free of charge.[1]

The work at the Institution continued to expand slowly but steadily. In 1905 there were fourteen students at the beginning of the year. Four of these left during the year through lack of means with which to pay for their tuition. Another student was sent out as a trained evangelist, but four new scholars were received, all intended to be trained as teachers and evangelists. At the end of the year, there were eleven boys and two girls, of whom three were paying students. Three of the married boys were being paid £1 per month each for the upkeep of their wives and families, and five others were given board, lodging and tuition free because they were being trained for the work of the Church.[2]

The students at the Institution in 1905 represented five classes from the alphabet stage to the fourth Standard. The subjects taught during the year were Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Dictation, Poetry. Geography, Scripture Knowledge and Tonic Solfa.[3]

The number of students at the Institution increased steadily. In 1906 there were 22 pupils - 9Ndebele, 9 Shona, 4 Fingos and 1 from Bechuanaland -18 of whom were boys and 4 were girls. At the

1.C/R/B.1899-1904, Avon Walton to M.Hartley,November 9,1904
2.S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905,Rhodesia District Minutes,1906,Nengubo Training Institution,Governor's Report for the Year 1905.
3.S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905,Rhodesia District Minutes,1906, Examiner's Report on the Nengubo Training Institution,1905.

end of the year there were 12 boys in training as evangelists and teachers, 7 of whom came from Matabeleland and 5 from Mashonaland.[1]

In 1908, twenty-three students were enrolled at the Institution. Of these, three were sent out and employed as teachers in Mashonaland; two others took up employment in Government offices; one went to work in the mines, and another was sent to assist Mr. Baker at Chimanza. The year closed with sixteen pupils, eleven of whom were being trained for the work of the Church and four were children of the African teachers. These paid their own fees and in addition, there was one other paying student.[2]

In 1909, seventeen students were being trained at the Institution. Of these, three were sent out as trained evangelists and teachers and two more were sent out at the end of the year, but more new applications were received than could be met. Inspite of this small enrolment, the work being done at Nengubo was greatly appreciated. "It is not too much to say", the report of 1909 stated, "that without Nengubo our evangelistic work in the country would come to a stand-still".[3]

The main objects of the Nengubo Training Institution as stated in the report of 1910 were, first, to give the students such Biblical and theological knowledge as would fit them for the work of preachers and pastors, and second, such education and training in teaching as would qualify them to become efficient school-masters.[4] In the same year, it was decided to reduce the fees from £8 to £3 per annum because it had been found that many students were finding it difficult to raise the required £8.

1. S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1907, Governor's Report, Nengubo Training Institution, 1906.
2. S/M/S/A/B.1906-1911, Rhodesia District Minutes, 1909, Governor's Report, Nengubo Training Institution, 1908.
3. W.M.M.S., The Ninety-Fifth Report, 1909, p.120.
4. W.M.M.S., The Ninety-Sixth Report, 1910, p.163

In 1911 the number of students increased to 26. Industrial work consisted of ploughing and general farm work and brick-making. The year ended with 21 students, 8 of whom were accepted for training as evangelists and teachers. In addition to literary subjects and industrial work, moral subjects occupied a leading place in the curriculum. Lectures on preaching and sermon-making were given and practical experience of evangelistic work was gained in the surrounding villages. "Whatever their future may be", the report of 1911 stated, "there is every reason to believe that all the students will exercise a definite spiritual influence when they leave the Institution".[1]

In 1911 also, it was decided to employ stricter regulations for the students accepted for training as evangelists and teachers and for the other boarders at the Institution. It was stated that the selection of candidates for training as evangelists or school teachers would be made at the Synod, on the nominationof the superintendant of the circuits from which they came.

Several regulations were also made with respect to the boy-boarders at the Institution. It was stated that the boarders to be admitted at the Institution were to be nominated at the Synod and others might be admitted during the year at the discretion of the Governor. It was further stated that no candidate would be admitted who was not nominated by the superintendent of the circuit where he resided. In the selection of such candidates, great importance was attached to the use the candidates had made of the educational facilities within their reach at the school they had attended.

Four other regulations concerning the boarders admitted to the

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1. W.M.M.S., The Ninety-Seventh Report, 1911, p.154

Institution were, first, that students for whom better living accommodation was made and who were given better food were to pay £8 per annum; second, that students who received only housing accommodation and 'Native' food, would pay £3 per annum; third, that all students would be required to do manual work in the afternoon under the Governor's instructions; and finally, that unless in very exceptional cases to be determined by the Governor, all students were required to spend at least three years in the Institution.[1]

Meanwhile, it was felt that there was an urgent need for some institution in the country for the training of African girls. There were three reasons for this. The first was that at the time, with the exception of a very small number who were taken as servants in the missionaries' houses, there was no provision "for that increasing number of girls who will marry our native agents and other boys trained in our Nengubo Institution and elsewhere. It is obviously impossible", the Synod of 1912 emphasised, "for our evangelists and teachers to do satisfactory work if they are married to girls who are ignorant of all except heathen, family life".

The Joint Committee of the Synod of 1912, therefore, recommended that boarding schools for girls should be established in Rhodesia and suggested that such schools should be established at Epworth and Tegwani.[2]

The second reason, as explained by the Rev. John White to Hartley on April 20,1912, was that for the two and half years that he and Mrs. White had spent at Epworth, Mrs. White took over the management of the day school there. The result was that "the number of pupils rapidly increased, and the Natives around appreciated so highly

1. Wesleyan Methodist Church, Directory of the Rhodesia District, Argus Printing and Publishing Company, Salisbury,1911,p.4
2. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1912.

the improved education and discipline that they sent along their girls who boarded with us, or where they could find a home. A home for such was becoming an urgent necessity". White therefore suggested that two lady missionaries should be sent from England to begin the training of African girls at Epworth and Tegwani. He also requested for assistance in providing boarding accommodation for, say, fifty girls.[1]

The third reason was that by this time the European settlers in Rhodesia were beginning to appreciate the work of the missionaries among Africans and the importance of training African girls was becoming apparent to the Government. This was clearly stated in the Report of Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910-1911. The Committee of Inquiry was convinced "of the wisdom of encouraging to the utmost possible extent reliable institutions for the training of girls for domestic service". The employment of girls, the Report emphasised, "would not only release a large number of able-bodied men, who might be of considerable use elsewhere, but would bring about a change in the ordinary European household of great benefit to the community".[2]

The Committee of Inquiry, of course, thought of education for African girls in terms of their usefulness as servants in European homes. Nevertheless, the importance of training Africans girls was recognised. It was for these and other reasons that the missionaries speeded up the training of African girls.

Meanwhile, steady progress at the Nengubo Training Institution

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917, John White to M. Hartley, April 20, 1912.
2.Report of Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry,1910-1911, Government Printer, Salisbury, 1911,p.18.

was being made. In 1912, there were thirty-one students enrolled at the beginning of the year. Of these, five left during the year, two of them for the work of the Church as teachers and evangelists. Twenty-six boys remained in the Institution at the end of the year. Of these, twelve were being trained for the work of the Church as teachers and evangelists. The religious aspect of the training of the students was kept constantly in view. Constant Bible Study in the Old and New Testaments and especially in St. John's Gospel was taught to the students during the year.[1]

In 1913, forty-seven students were enrolled at the Institution. Of these, twenty-three students were being trained for the work of the Church as evangelists and teachers, free of charge; the rest were paying students. During the year, five students were thoroughly examined in the subjects of Standard Five and were awarded certificates which enabled them to obtain 'Exemption Travelling Passes' from the Government; one pupil was being trained for the First Pupil Teachers' Examination; two passed in the work of Standard Six; seven students were doing excellent work in Standard Four and with but few exceptions, all the rest were making good progress in their studies and gave hope of great promise.

Religious and moral instruction was also given to the students at the Institution in 1913. The students were taken through courses in Bible study and scripture history. The books of Genesis, Ruth, Matthew and John were systematically and carefully studied by the different clases.[2] Also in 1913, an artisan missionary, Mr.Hodgson joined the staff. The missionary in charge of Nengubo, Mr. H.Oswald Brigg, interviewed the Director of Education and was promised a grant

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1.W.M.M.S, The Ninety-Eighth Report,1912,pp.159-160
2.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1914,H.J.Baker, Nengubo Training Institution Report,1913

of £60 per annum towards Mr. Hodgson's salary as long as his work satisfied the Department.[1]

In 1914, fifty-five students were enrolled at Nengubo. In Standard Five there were three students, all of whom passed the inspector's examination in Standard Four work and were given Government certificates; in Standard Four there were nine students all making excellent progress; in Standard Three there were eleven students most of whom were doing very well in their work; the rest of the students were in or below Standard Two. In the industrial department, eighteen students received instruction in saddlery and twenty students received instruction in carpentry and building.[2] In 1914, also, the Government was requested to help in the payment of the teachers' salaries. The Government agreed to pay half the salary of certificated English teachers, half the salary of the industrial instructor, these up to £120 each. The Government also gave £1 per head for all pupils who made one hundred and twenty attendances at the institution during the year.[3]

In order to expand the Institution further, the missionaries decided to interest a wealthy Methodist, one Josiah Waddilove of Southport in the work which was being done at Nengubo. In October, 1914, the Rev. John White submitted to the Missionary Committee in London plans for the proposed new buildings. He was told by one or two friends of Mr. Waddilove that he was prepared to support the work at Nengubo if a business-like proposal were submitted to him.[4]

In November, 1914, Hartley wrote to Mr. Waddilove about the Nengubo Training Institution. He was, however, not sure that any

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917,H.Oswald Brigg to M.Hartley,February,8,1913
2.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1915,H.J.Baker, Nengubo Training Institution, Report for the Year 1914.
3.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to Mr. Goudie, August 4,1914.
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to Dr. Henry Haigh, October 28,1914.

help could be forthcoming from that quarter. He found Mr. Waddilove, "strong on the Second Coming" and really believed that the 1914-18 war was the signal for the end of the world and that after the war the Lord would appear. He said therefore that there was not much use in putting up substantial buildings at Nengubo and that the money could be better spent in widely preaching the Gospel.[1]

In the event, the world did not come to an end after the war and Mr. Waddilove changed his mind and said that he was prepared to support the work at Nengubo. In February, 1915, therefore, he offered a cheque for £1,500 towards the work at Nengubo. The Missionary Committee decided to ear-mark another £1,500 from the Centenary Fund so as to complete the £3,000 which Mr. White had estimated would be needed.[2] In order that this gift from Mr. Waddilove might be borne in grateful memory, it was decided to name the Nengubo Training Institution the Waddilove Training Institution.[3]

With the generous grant from Mr. Waddilove was well as from the Missionary Committee, it was proposed to go ahead with the new buildings at the Institution. It was proposed to provide accommodation for one hundred male and one hundred female students. An assembly hall was also to be erected to seat two hundred students, with six class-rooms at the sides.[4] Mr. White therefore requested for permission from the Missionary Committee to go ahead with the proposed buildings. In June, 1915, the Missionary Committee agreed to Dr. Haigh's cabling Mr. White such consent as soon as the plans which Mr. White had forwarded to the Missionary Committee had been received

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917,M.Hartley to John White, November 27,1914.
2.C/R/B.1905-1917,Dr. Henry Haigh to John White, February 19,1915.
3.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to Dr. Henry Haigh, March 16,1915.
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to Dr. Henry Haigh, April 6,1915.

and approved.[1]

By August,1915, the Institution had a comprehensive programme. The Institution was still primarily for the training of African evangelists, but as the evangelists were also school teachers, they received special training in teaching whilst at the Institution. To this extent, it was therefore an evangelists' training college and a teacher training school combined.

Further, in order to comply with the demands of the Rhodesia Education Department, industrial work was also carried on under Mr. Hodgson. Furthermore, since Nengubo had a rich farm, the students were taught farming and at the same time grew a large proportion of their own food. Also, a day school was held in connection with the Institution for the village children and formed a valuable practising school for the teachers in training. Finally, since the African ministers and evangelists had their own children to educate, it was decided that something should be done for them rather than send them to Cape Colony for such education. For this reason, it was decided to extend the capacity of the Institution by making it a boarding school.[2]

Meanwhile, the need to train girls was not forgotten. It was proposed to give girls literary education similar to that which was being given to the boys. It was also proposed to teach the girls a bit of housework, sewing and land cultivation. "Our object", White wrote to Hartley on August, 31, 1915, "is to fit a few of our girls to be suitable wives for the men who are getting this better

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1. C/R/B. 1905-1917, Dr. Henry Haigh to John White, June 4, 1915.
2. C/R/B. 1905-1917, H. Oswald Brigg to M. Hartley, August 2, 1915.

education. At present the girls are far behind. If something is not done by us we will lose our hold on them- many may go to places where they can get this under conditions far from desirable". It was this need to train girls which prompted the Women's Auxiliary to donate £100 per annum towards the work of the girls' department.[1]

In order to meet the needs of the girls' department, the missionaries advertised for a European female teacher who would take over the teaching in the girls' school. The Government agreed to pay half her stipend up to £120.[2] Miss Lilian Burnet who had for nine years been at Kilnerton, applied for the post and in January, 1916, she was appointed.[3]

Meanwhile, the construction of new buildings was begun in earnest. By the end of 1915, two blocks of the Institution buildings were nearing completion. One was the central hall with class-rooms on each side; the other was the girls' block consisting of dormitories, bath-rooms and dining-room. Under the same roof was accommodation for the European mistress. Also undertaken was the building of a portion of the boys' block. The African brick-layer in charge had by the end of the year completed the boys' dining-room and kitchen and also two large rooms for the African teachers under the same roof.[4]

With these buildings completed, the work at Waddilove went ahead. By October, 1915, there were fifty students in residence, half of whom paid for their education and the others were being trained for the work of the Church as teachers and evangelists, free of charge.[5] Also in 1915, the Government made a grant of £145 to the Institution.

1.C/R/B.1905-1917, John White to M.Hartley, August 31, 1915
2.C/R/B.1905-1917, John White to Dr. Henry Haigh, November 30, 1915
3.C/R/B.1905-1917, John White to Dr. Henry Haigh, January 18, 1916
4.C/R/B.1905-1917, J.W.Stanlake, Waddilove Training Institution, Report for the Year ending, December, 1915.
5.C/R/B.1905-1917, J.W.Stanlake to Dr. Henry Haigh, October 15, 1915.

In 1916, three developments took place at the Institution. First, the admission of students into the Institution as evangelists in training, was tightened. The Synod of 1916 resolved that in admitting students to the Institution as evangelists in training, the following principles were to apply: first, only members of the Church were admitted as candidates; second, all candidates were required to have had some experience in preaching and only in exceptional cases was this rule to be set aside; third, where circumstances permitted, the fitness of the candidates was to be tested by their taking a mission station for six months or a year; fourth, cognisance was to be taken of the way in which a candidate had taken advantage of the educational facilities within his reach; finally, if a candidate had been guilty of immorality, the circumstances were to be reported to the Synod.[1]

The second development of 1916 was that the Government increased its grant to the Institution to £285.[2] The third development was the visit by the Inspector of Schools, Mr. J.Condy, to the Institution in October. He found the carpentry and leather-work classes of the industrial department in full swing. Both classes were held simultaneously in adjoining rooms;there were morning and afternoon classes, each lasting two hours. Ten boys were taken in the morning and ten in the afternoon -five in carpentry and five in leather-work. The products of the leather-work shop, the Inspector found, "were very interesting and well finished". In addition, a needlework class was held for the girls and wives of the evangelists. Miss Burnett instructed the girls and Mrs. Stanlake, the women.[3]

Meanwhile, a chief instructor for the teacher training department was urgently needed at the Institution. The Government agreed

1.Directory of the Rhodesia District, Bulawayo,1916,pp.5-6
2.C/R/B.1917-1923,J.W.Stanlake to Mr.Lamplough,November 23,1917
3.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1917,J.Condy, Inspection Report:Nengubo Native School, October,5,1916.

to pay half his stipend up to £120 per annum if such an instructor was found. The total salary of such an instructor was estimated at £300 per annum and the Government asked the missionaries to find the balance of £180 per annum. Once again the missionaries appealed to Mr. Waddilove. The latter responded favourably by offering a sum of £180 per annum for five years towards the balance of the instructor's salary as soon as he was appointed.[1] This instructor was found in the person of Mr. J.J.Llewellyn of Emfundisweni,Pondoland.[2]

Several developments took place at Waddilove in 1917. First, the number of students increased sharply to 97, of whom 50 were paying students, 29 were evangelist students and 18 were girls. The industrial work, under the new instructor, Mr. R.J.Ablett, produced good results. In the carpentry shop, the students showed a keen interest in their work and many useful articles of school furniture were made. Mr. Johnson Dabengwa who was himself trained at the Institution, was in charge of the leather-work shop.

The second development was the visit of Dr. Haigh in March to open the new block of buildings erected by the generosity of Mr. Waddilove and a generous grant from the Centenary Fund. During Mr. Haigh's visit, many schemes for the future were discussed, and as a result of his representations to Mr. Waddilove, the latter generously supplimented his former gift by an additional £1,220,[3] and in June 1917 John White received a cable from Hartley to this effect.[4]

The third development of 1917 was the visit of the Inspector of schools to the Institution on October 26 and 27. The Inspector

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1.C/R/B.1905-1917,J.K.Waddilove to W.M.M.S.,March 27,1916
2.C/R/B.1917-1923,John White to M.Hartley,December 10,1917
3.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Minutes,1918,J.W.Stanlake,Report of Waddilove Training Institution for the Year ending December 31, 1917.
4.C/R/B.1905-1917,John White to M.Hartley,June 15,1917.

examined students in the Normal School, the Junior School and the Industrial Department. In the Normal School the Inspector examined students individually, especially in Reading, Dictation, Composition and Arithmetic. He found that Dictation and Arithmetic were "easily up to the European Standard", and that although Reading and Composition were not so good, judged "on the Native standard both were excellent". So satisfied was the Inspector with the work of the students in the Normal School that he had no hesitation in saying,"This is the best school of its kind I have seen in Rhodesia".

In the Junior School, the Inspector found the Department in a "thoroughly sound condition". The Normal Students, he wrote, "receive abundant practice here under supervision. The scheme of work and notes of lessons which the Normal Students prepare are put into operation in the different grades in this School".

In the Industrial Department, the Inspector found twenty pupils on the roll; five attended the carpentry class and another five the leather-work class in the morning, while the same arrangement held for the other ten in the afternoon. Improvement in leather work was noticeable in sewing. Most of the work consisted of repairing boots. Sawing, planing and other aspects of carpentry were systematically taught in the wood-work room. The Inspector also found that most of the practical carpentry required at the Institution and on the farm was done by the students under Mr. Ablett's supervision".[1]

That the work at Waddilove was making significant progress during this period, was noted by the Inspector of Schools when he visited the Institution in 1918. In the written tests in English, Dictation and Arithmetic which he set for the students in the Normal School, the results showed that the standard of efficiency was

1.S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1918,J.Condy, Waddilove Training Institution Report,October 26 and 27,1917.

particularly high. "All the written work", the Inspector wrote, "was exceptionally neat and methodically arranged".[1]

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter the growth and expansion of Methodist educational institutions, particularly Waddilove, between 1897 and 1918. Although Waddilove was the most important educational institution during this period, the missionaries did not neglect the work at the smaller missions.

In this respect, the educational contribution of the Methodists can best be judged by examining the increase in the number of day schools established and the increase in the number of pupils enrolled in these schools during this period.

The number of Methodist day schools increased from 9 with 520 pupils in 1898[2] to 18 with 992 pupils in 1904[3] and from 86 with 4,731 pupils in 1916[4] to 110 with 5,558 pupils in 1918.[5] These figures clearly indicate that the Methodist contribution to African education was indeed great, especially when this is considered in the light of the limited financial resources at the disposal of the missionaries during this period.

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1. Directory of the Rhodesia District,1919,Waddilove Training Institution, Government Inspector's Report,1918,p.17
2. S/M/S/A/B.1889-1899 Mashonaland and Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1898
3. S/M/S/A/B.1900-1905, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1905, Tabular View of the Mashonaland and Rhodesia District,1904.
4. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1917,Statistical Returns, 1916
5. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1919,Statistical Returns, 1918.

Chapter 7: The Expansion of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia,1918-1945.

In the previous chapter, we noted that the raison d'etre for the establishment of Christian missions by the Wesleyan Methodists in Southern Rhodesia was evangelism and the winning of converts to Christianity. We noted that the establishment of primary schools, training institutions and medical missions, was initially directed to that end. We also noted that initially the chiefs and people generally were strongly opposed to Christianity. We showed how this opposition was gradually overcome through preaching, healing and the establishment of educational institutions. Between 1918 and 1945 the missionaries not only consolidated the ground gained during the pioneer period- they also vigorously expanded the work of the Church.

In this chapter, we will discuss several aspects of the work of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia between 1918 and 1945. First, the expansion of the Methodist Church through four movements, the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement, the Girls' Christian Union, the Men's Christian Union and the Boys' Christian Union; second, the rules and regulations governing the membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia during this period and the problems encountered in enforcing these rules and regulations; third, the literary work carried out during this period; fourth, the phenomenon of independency and in particular the secession of the Rev. E.T.J. Nemapare from the Methodist Church to form his own African Methodist Church; finally, an assessment of the achievements of the Methodist Church on the religious front during this period. We will begin with the witness to African women through the Ruwadzano/Manyano

movement. But before doing that, we will make a few preliminary remarks.

The Methodists realised ab initio that if their work among Africans were to be successful, great emphasis should be placed on the importance of Africans witnessing to fellow Africans. In this they were being practical. They realised that they themselves were few and far between; if the gospel were to be carried successfully into African villages, clearly a much larger staff was needed. This realisation, first born of necessity, grew into a conviction that Africans were best fitted to carry the gospel to their fellow Africans. This policy was emphasised in the Gold Coast, for example, in the 19th century, with regard to the need to develop the African ministry. "The life of the consistent native Christian", it was emphasised, "is a greater testimony to the power of the Gospel than the life of the European ever can be. The life of the devoted white man is in danger of being misunderstood. By the native he is placed on a pedestal far above the poor black man. The native ascribes to superior nature and to propitious environment, that which ought to be ascribed to the transforming power of the Gospel of Christ. But the consistent life of the man of colour appeals to his fellow-countrymen. He is skin of their skin; his life is known from his youth upward; he is trained under conditions known to them, and similar to theirs. In his case his associates can but attribute to the Gospel the changed life he lives. He is a standing advertisement to the Gospel he preaches, and his message gains cogency from the fact of his life. When a man can get up and say, 'You know me and my former life; you witness the life I now live. This life I live, not of

myself, but through the power of the Christ whom I proclaim' - the effect is conviction".[1] It was for this and other reasons that in Southern Rhodesia, eight African evangelists and teachers were brought in from the Transvaal and Cape Colony in September, 1892. It was for this reason also that the missionaries recruited five Tongas from the Zambesi Valley.

The importance of Africans Witnessing to Africans was emphasised in the annual report for 1923. "Our missionaries in Rhodesia tell us", the report of that year stated, "that they find the most effective method of presenting the Gospel is by Africans witnessing to Africans. The European can never get at the back of the native mind, though his particular appeal does not lack effectiveness".[2] The same note was struck in the report of 1926. "The African worker", the report for that year stated, "is the key to the situation; his character, training and equipment for his task are vital to the growing Church. No effort is too great", it concluded,"to fit such men for service".[3]

The African evangelist, however, was only one of the instruments of Methodist evangelisation. By 1919, the Methodist Church was well established in Southern Rhodesia; it therefore became important to consolidate the ground gained during the pioneer period as well as to expand the work of the Church still further. The most potent force in that evangelisation was the witness to the women through the Rudzano/manyano movement. This movement had no parallel else-

1.Dennis Kemp, Nine Years at the Gold Coast,London,1898,pp.145-146.
2.W.M.M.S.,The One Hundred and Tenth Report,1923,p.74
3.W.M.M.S.,The One Hundred and Thirteenth Report,1926,p.83

where outside Rhodesia and South Africa.[1]

In order to bring the African women to the forefront of Methodist evangelisation and to inspire some es prit de corps in them, a movement called the 'African Women's Prayer Union' was launched in the Transvaal by one Mrs. Amos Burnet. Its success there led to its expansion into Southern Rhodesia in 1920 where it became known locally as the Ruwadzano[2] in Mashonaland and the Manyano in Matabeleland. The members of this movement were also referred to as the 'Red Blouse Women' on account of the red blouse which formed part of their uniform.

The movement was organised on district, circuit and local branch levels and each branch had its Chairwoman and Secretary. Mrs. John White became its first President and Mrs. Herbert Carter, its first Secretary.[3] Its activities included prayer meetings, visiting the sick at home and in hospitals and Sunday School teaching. The most important event in the life of the Ruwadzano/Manyano was the holding of annual 'conventions' in each circuit at which new members were 'bloused' or received into full membership of the movement.

The movement began to expand in 1921. At the Epworth mission, for example, the attendance at meetings sometimes reached as many as one hundred women.[4] In the Bulawayo Circuit in 1921 the first annual convention was held in Bulawayo at which members from the Bulawayo and Tegwani Circuits enjoyed two days of fellowship; about sixty women attended.[5]

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1. W.J.Noble, "For the Women of Africa", The Foreign Field, July, 1930, p.236
2. From Kuwadzana, meaning 'to come together'
3. C.Thorpe, Limpopo to Zambesi, London, 1951, p.110
4. S/M/R/B.1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1922, L.P.Hardaker, Epworth Circuit Report, 1921
5. S/M/R/B.1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1922, H.Carter, Bulawayo Circuit Report, 1921.

That the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement was making a strong appeal to the women was observed in the report for 1921. "The future is bright with hope", the report for that year observed, "when it holds movements of this kind among the women, who, in Africa, are proverbially hard to win".[1] The impact which the movement was making on the life of the African women was also noted in the report of 1922. "In Rhodesia", the report for that year observed, "the Women's Prayer Union is in its infancy, but already the outcome is not only an uplifting of the women themselves, but also an opening for definite service for Christ. The work they did last year has been productive of much blessing. One circuit speaks of a revival due to the fine work of the Red Blouse women, who have carried the Word of God to many heathen kraals".[2]

The Ruwadzano/Manyano movement continued to gather strength. In the Chimanza Circuit in 1924, for example, about 143 women were meeting every week for reading and prayer. In the same year, the Epworth Circuit reported 89 fully registered members who had taken their cards of membership, while over 250 women were meeting regularly in the various villages. Annual conventions during the year were held in the Nengubo and Epworth Circuits. The convention at Epworth lasted for two days, with over 150 women attending and representing all parts of the Circuit. Talks on hygiene, care of children, home life, treatment of simple ailments, as well as Bible classs and devotional meetings were conducted by Mrs. Hardarker. At the evening service, a spontaneous revival broke out when 13 women were enrolled as members 'on trial'. There is no doubt",

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1.W.M.M.S., The One Hundred and Eighth Report, 1921, p.77
2.W.M.M.S., The One Hundred and Nineth Report, 1922, p.73

the 1924 report for Mashonaland stated, "of the immense possibilities of this movement. It is evident that wherever encouragement is given, the women are most anxious to improve their condition both spiritually and socially".[1]

The expansion of the Ruwadzano during this period was illustrated in some of the individual circuits. In 1928, for example, a successful annual convention for the Epworth Circuit was held at Epworth when over a hundred women gathered from all parts of the Circuit and spent a couple of days in praise and prayer and in helpful social intercourse.[2] This expansion of the movement in the Epworth Circuit was also noted in 1933 at the annual convention held at Epworth at which about two hundred women attended.[3] The importance of the movement in the country as a whole was noted in the report for 1933. "In most circuits", the report for that year stated,"the Ruwadzano or Manyano..has become a recognised part of our work, and in many places the active leadership of the 'Red Blouse Women', as they are called, has saved the situation".[4]

That the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement was expanding rapidly was shown by the fact that in 1935 it had a total of 225 branches throughout the country with a total membership of over 3,000.[5] In 1937, the number of branches increased to 254 and the total member-

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1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1925,H.M. Hardaker, Report of the Ruwadzano for Mashonaland,1924.
2. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1929,D.Muriel Pratten, Epworth Circuit Report,1928.
3. S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1934, D.Muriel Pratten, Epworth Circuit Report,1933.
4. W.M.M.S., Report for the Year 1933,p.112
5. S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1936, Ruwadzano/Manyano Report,1935.

ship to 3,879.[1]

This increase was maintained in 1941 when the returns for the year showed a total membership of 4,043 and 287 women were bloused during the year.[2] In the Pakame Circuit, the Ruwadzano continued to be a tower of strength among the women and girls and 8 girls were bloused at the convention held during the year.[3] In the Mzinyati Circuit in 1941, the Manyano continued its active help in the Circuit and a successful convention was held during the year. The effective witness of the women was most helpful in the life of the Church.[4]

Further progress was made in the work of the Ruwadzano in 1942 when the returns for the year showed a total of 4,798 members and 364 women bloused during the year.[5] The Epworth Circuit led the others in expansion; the returns for the year showed a total membership of 600 women on the Ruwadzano roll. The training course for the Chairwomen and the annual convention which over 300 women attended, the report for that year stated, "revealed more plainly than ever the need for more definite help for these women".[6] Two other Manyano conventions were held in 1942. One was held in the Bulawayo Circuit when some 130 women gathered for a long week-end.[7] The other

1. S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1938, Ruwadzano/Manyano Report,1937.
2. S/M/S/R/B.1940,1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942 Various Reports presented to Synod,1942,Ruwadzano/Manyano District Report,December,1941
3. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942, Various Reports presented to Synod,1942,T.D.Samkange,Pakame Circuit and Mission Farm Annual Report,1941
4. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1942,R. Forshaw,Mzinyati Circuit Report,1941
5. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,S.S. Carter,Ruwadzano/Manyano Report,1942
6. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943, D.M.Pratten,Epworth Circuit Report,1942
7. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,R. Forshaw,Bulawayo African Circuit Report,1942.

was held in the Mzinyati Circuit. The convention held was a small one as members from distant stations could not find the means to travel. But the fifty or so who attended,"felt it to be atime of great blessing".[1] In 1943, although the number of branches increased to 281, the total membership decreased to 4,770 and 417 were bloused during the year. Of the received members, 18 were bloused at the convention held in the Salisbury African Circuit. "The Ruwadzano members", the report for that Circuit stated,"continue to be a source of strength in their Church and their gifts to the work of God are appreciated".[2] Of the received members also, 21 women were bloused at an annual convention held in the Shabani Circuit.[3] The Epworth Circuit again led all the others, the returns for 1943 showing a total of over 700 women distributed among 17 branches.[4] Also in 1943, the wish to be of real practical help was becoming stronger among the women and while the usual ministrations of visiting the sick at home and in hospitals, prayer meetings, Sunday School teaching and the beautifying of churches continued, some branches were finding fresh outlets for their energies. In the Tegwani Circuit, help was being given in the payment of school fees for pupils in cases where parents were too poor to do so. The Kwenda Circuit gave a sum amounting to £25 to different building schemes in the Circuit. The Makwiro

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1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943, G.B.Fish, Mzinyati Circuit Report,1942.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1944, H.Carter and John M.Chimbadzwa,Salisbury African Circuit Report, 1943.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944, James Stewart, Shabani Circuit Report,1943.
4.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944, D.M.Pratten,Women's Work Report, Epworth Circuit, 1943

Circuit Ruwadzano gave £10 to the new church at Marshall Hartley mission.[1] The fine work of the Ruwadzano in 1943 was best summed up in the report of the Mzinyati Circuit. "Perhaps the most gratifying feature of our work this year", the report for that year stated, "is the work that has been done by the Women's Manyano. It would be difficult indeed to speak too highly of this, and of the contribution they have made to the general life of the Circuit".[2]

Further advance in the work of the Ruwadzano was made in 1944 when the returns for the year showed a total of 294 branches with a total membership of 5,819 and 541 women were bloused during the year.[3] Of these, the Salisbury African Circuit had 3 branches with a total membership of 183.[4] The need to be of real practical service was also felt by the women in 1944, One example of this was in the Chibero Circuit where the Circuit Ruwadzano voted £10 towards the cost of the new girls' dormitory at Sandringham. Another example was in the Selukwe Circuit where the women of the Ruwadzano voted £10 towards the installation of electric light in the Selukwe Church.

In addition to the conventions held annually in each circuit, an important development took place in 1944 when a decision was made to start Bible Schools not only in order to instruct the women so that they would understand the teachings of the Bible more thoroughly than hitherto, but also to instruct the Chairwomen in their duties as leaders of the Ruwadzano in the various circuits.

1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1944, S.S.Carter, Ruwadzano/Manyano District Report, 1943.
2. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1944, G.B.Fish, Mzinyati Circuit Report, 1943.
3. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1945, S.S.Carter, Ruwadzano/Manyano Report, 1944.
4. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1945, H.Carter, Salisbury African Circuit Report, 1944.

The first Bible School of 1944 was held at Tegwani in March and lasted for six days. The 24 'students' who attended were drawn from five circuits in Matabeleland. The second Bible School was held at Epworth in June and lasted for ten days. It was attended by 34 women representing eleven Mashonaland circuits. The third Bible School for 1944 was held in the Pakame Circuit in September.

At these Bible Schools, talks were given on: The Land of the Bible; The Old Testament; The New Testament-Its Contents and Writers; The Teachings of Christ-His Parables and Miracles;Bible Stories and How to Tell Them;Church Membership;Sunday School Work;Little Children's Prayers;Ruwadzano aims and methods and practical lessons on Home Nursing and Laundry. These became the standard topics at subsequent Bible schools. These Bible Schools became very popular with the women. "There is a general conviction", the report for 1944 stated,"that this work ought to go on and many women are already looking forward to the privilege of attending the Bible Schools in 1945".[1]

Further progress of the work of the Ruwadzano was made in 1945, when the returns showed a total of 302 branches with a total membership of 6,585 and 489 women were bloused during the year.[2] In the same year, about 700 women attended the annual convention of the Epworth and Salisbury Circuits in September. At a great gathering, 75 women were bloused.[3]

In addition to conventions held during the year, several Bible Schools were held in 1945. The first was held in Bulawayo. There were 26 students from the five circuits in Matabeleland and these

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1945,D.M.Pratten,Women's Work Report,1944.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1946,S.S.Carter,Ruwadzano/ Manyano Report,1945.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1946,D.M.Pratten,Women's Work,Report,1945.

were augmented by the Bulawayo women who came as day students,bringing the total number up to 40. The second Bible School was held in the Pakame Circuit and was attended by 31 students from the Selukwe Pakame,Gatooma and Shabani Circuits. The third Bible School for 1945 was held at Epworth at the end of August. There were 38 visiting students but day students and helpers brought the daily attendance to 50. The topics discussed were the same as those discussed at the Bible Schools for 1944.

These, then, were the origins and activities of the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement between 1920 and 1945. We should in conclusion, assess the importance of the movement in the country as a whole. That the Ruwadzano/Manyano had become a powerful force in Methodist evangelisation was noted by competent observers of the movement during this period.

The Rev. C. Thorpe in a brief chapter on the work of the Methodists in Southern Rhodesia commented on the importance of this movement on the spiritual life of the women. "It is no exaggeration to say" he wrote,"that the strength of some of our country circuits lies in this women's movement".[1]

The good work of the Ruwadzano/Manyano was best summed up by the General Secretary for Africa, the Rev. F.W.Dodds during his visit to Southern Rhodesia in 1945. "Wherever I went", he later wrote, "the members of the Women's Christian Association, known as the Manyano in Matabeleland and as the Ruwadzano in Mashonaland, were conspicuous in their bright red blouses, black skirts and white headdresses". "The Manyano-Ruwadzano", he continued, "is

1. C.Thorpe,"The Methodist Church (U.K.)", in Paul S.King,(ed), Missions in Southern Rhodesia , Cape Town,1959,pp.32-33

really a guild of Christian matrons, devoting themselves to prayer, evangelism, devotional exercises, and all good works..Their rules of admission are exceedingly strict. Only after careful examination is the red blouse draped on any aspiring applicant for membership, and then with impressive ceremony. A loosely attached or non-zealous member is a rarity. It is incalculable what this organisation has meant for both the expansion of the Gospel, and for the purity of the life of the Church".[1]

Associated with the work of the Ruwadzano was the establishment of a movement among the young girls called the Junior Ruwadzano or the Girls' Christian Union (GCU). The Synod sanctioned the formation of this movement as a branch of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia in 1943.[2] In the same year, a total of 35 branches of the movement were formed throughout the country.[3]

In 1945, the Synod drew up a constitution for the GCU. According to this constitution, the aims of the movement were five: first, to cultivate the devotional life, and to develop Christian character; second, to emphasise "purity of life and conduct, and the establishment of the Christian home"; third, to give "definite Bible study"; fourth, to"train girls to be Leaders in Church work, and to accept and carry responsibility", and fifth, to teach service and helpfulness to others.

On membership, it was stated that any girl wishing to join had to be approximately fifteen years or over. Girls who were not 'on trial' members of the Church might attend the meetings of the move-

1.F.W.Dodds,Report of a Visit to Kenya,Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, December 28,1945 to March 24,1946, Hazell,Watson and Viney, London, July 1946,p.50
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944,S.S.Carter, Ruwadzano/ Manyano District Report,1943.

ment but were not allowed to become full members until they had become 'on trial' members of the Church. Furthermore, membership of this movement was for girls up to the time of their marriage, and girls already bloused in the Ruwadzano might transfer their membership if they so desired.

The officers of the GCU consisted of the District President who was the same person as the Ruwadzano District President; the Circuit President, who was the same person as the Ruwadzano Circuit President, the Branch Leader who was to be chosen by the members of each branch, the name to be submitted to the Quarterly Meeting for approval; and the Branch Secretary who was to be chosen by the members of each branch.

The GCU had three rules: a minimum subscription of three pence was to be made by each girl per year and this money was to be kept in the Circuit of which the girl was a member; second, on joining the movement, each girl was to buy a membership card; third, a promise was to be made by each girl to make a "faithful attempt to follow out the aims of the movement".

There was to be an annual convention held under the supervision of the Circuit President. There were also to be weekly meetings. The style of such meetings was to be as varied as possible but the following suggestions were made: the holding of a devotional meeting with an address followed by a discussion; Bible Study; Prayer Meetings; some definite form of social service, such as visiting the sick, knitting or sewing for some special purpose; talks on mothercraft or heath; the study of some periodical, and training in preparation for Sunday School teaching.

Further, according to the constitution of the GCU, there was to be a special uniform for members; this consisted of a white blouse with short sleeves, red collar and belt, black skirt, and a white cotton hat; in boarding schools, school uniform might be worn. The constitution also provided for the holding of a simple symbolic initiation service around the subject 'Light' which was to be held when girls were initiated as full members of the movement; Leaders of branches were to be initiated by the Circuit President, while the rest of the girls were to be initiated by the Branch Leader who was to conduct the service. Finally, there was to be a District Committee of the GCU consisting of the District President, the District Organising Secretary, members of the Ruwadzano District Committee with the addition of GCU representatives from three circuits each year in rotation.[1]

With this constitution, the GCU was set on a sound footing as each girl knew or was supposed to know, her responsibilities as a member of the movement. In subsequent years, the GCU proved itself to be an important evangelical arm of the Church among the girls. The importance of this movement in the life of the girls was best summed up in the report for 1945. "The importance of the Junior Ruwadzano", the report for that year emphasised,"cannot be exaggerated. The perils and temptations which face the young people of these days are beyond measure, and it is our bounden duty to do our utmost to show our girls through our Church 'a more excellent Way' than is offered by the World".[2]

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945
2.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, S.S.Carter,Ruwadzano/Manyano Report,1945.

In addition to evangelisation among the women and girls, the Methodists also carried out evangelistic work among the men. The instrument for this evangelisation was the Men's Christian Union (MCU), which was organised on the same lines as the Ruwadzano.

The MCU expanded raidly and in 1941 it had a total of 47 branches with a total membership of 549 and 105 members were badged during the year. In the Tegwani Circuit two highly successful conventions were held when 46 people were brought to Christ. "With enthusiastic evangelists", the report for this Circuit concluded, "the future is distinctly hopeful". In the Selukwe Circuit, increased activity of the MCU in Mine Compounds and aerodromes was reported, resulting in the formation of new Society Classes. "The MCU", the Superintendent of the Selukwe Circuit stated, "has been the greatest aid to our churches in the urban areas".[1]

The importance of the MCU was also noted in the Makwiro Circuit. "Our band of men is still small", the report for 1941 stated,"but they are trying their best. Without them the Gospel would not have been heard by many kraals as it has been heard".[2] The same note was struck in the Bulawayo Circuit report for 1941. "It is pleasing to report", the report for that year stated, "increasing activity by the MCU in various parts of the Circuit. This movement is rapidly increasing in power and influence. At the convention this year special revival services were held and over 40 men expressed a desire to be trained for Church membership".[3]

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1942,A.W.Heath, Men's Christian Union District Report,1941.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1942, M.J.Rusike,Makwiro Circuit Report,1941.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1942, Percy Ibbotson,Bulawayo Native Circuit Report,1941.

Further progress in the work of the MCU was witnessed in 1942 when the returns showed a total of 83 branches throughout the country with a total membership of 587 and 60 men badged during the year.[1] In the Makwiro Circuit the MCU members during the winter, gave up their daily occupations for ten days going round the Circuit preaching the 'Good News'. As a result of this effort, 51 new members were added to the Church membership roll.[2] In the Pakame Circuit an annual convention was held, attended by fifty members and delegates. Revival services "were conducted during the Convention and twenty-two souls were brought to the Master".[3]

As the MCU expanded, it attracted new members and in 1943 the movement had a total of 129 branches with a total membership of 1,274 and 167 members were badged during the year.[4] In the Shabani Circuit, the MCU badging service was held when the Chairman of the District, was present and was a memorable occassion when 17 men were badged.[5] In the Nengubo Circuit, 18 men were badged during the convention of that year. The importance of the MCU in that Circuit was noted by the Superintendent, Mr. E.H.Bowen. "Though this movement is still small, with only two branches", he wrote, "it has done extraordinarily good work in spreading the Gospel message in every corner of the Reserve..Many have been brought to the knowledge of Christ".[6] In the Salisbury African Circuit, 17 new members joined the MCU and 9 members were badged.[7]

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,A.W. Heath, Men's Christian Union District Report,1942.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,Makwiro Circuit Report,1942
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,T.D. Samkange,Pakame Circuit Report,1942.
4.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, Men's Christian Union District Report,1943.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, James Stewart,Shabani Circuit Report,1943.
6.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, E.H.Bowen,Nengubo Circuit Report,1943.
7.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944, H.Carter and John M.Chimbadzwa,Salisbury African Circuit Report,1943.

Further advance in the work of the MCU was witnessed in 1944 when the returns showed a total membership of 1,306 and 213 members badged during the year.[1] In the Nengubo Circuit, the number of branches increased from two to four and during the convention, 28 men were badged.[2]

The largest increase in the membership of the MCU took place in 1945 when the returns showed a total membership of 1,820 and 237 men badged during the year.[3] In the Nengubo Circuit, the convention conducted by the Rev. E.H.Bowen resulted in 15 members being badged.[4] Such were the activities of the MCU between 1941 and 1945.

In addition to evangelisation among the men, the Methodists also took a keen interest in the advancement of the spiritual life of the young men. The instrument for this evangelisation was the Boys' Christian Union (BCU). The synod sanctioned the formation of this movement in 1944 and agreed to the appointment of a committee to consider the constitution of the movement and to prepare a draft statement which would be sent to the Quarterly Meetings for their consideration and to submit recommendations to the Synod of 1945. The Secretary of the MCU, Mr. A.W.Heath and the Rev. M.J.Rusike together with Mr. Aaron Kawonza and Mr. Moses Samkange were chosen as members of the committee; the Rev. M.J.Rusike was to be the Convener.[5] The prepared constitution of the BCU was presented to the Synod of 1945.

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1945,A.W.Heath, Men's Christian Union District Report,1944.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1945, S.J.Chihota,Nengubo Circuit Report,1944.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, Men's Christian Union District Report,1945.
4.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1946,S.J. Chihota,Nengubo Circuit Report,1945.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945.

According to this constitution, the following officers were to be appointed for the BCU: a District President who was the same person as the Chairman of the Synod; a Circuit President who was the same person as the Circuit Superintendent; a Circuit Vice-President who was the African Minister appointed to the Circuit; a District Secretary who was to be elected by the Synod; an Assistant District Secretary who was also to be elected by the Synod and a Circuit Chairman who was to be elected annually by the Quarterly Meeting on nomination by the branches or at the convention.

On Synod representation, it was stated that the Assistant District Secretary would be the BCU representative to the Synod; the Assistant District Secretary was to present BCU business to the Superintendents' Committee. No subscriptions were to be asked from the members but each member was to buy a membership card costing three pence. The membership was to be open to all boys between the ages of thirteen and eighteen years.

Members were to be received at a reception meeting after six months' probation. The requirements of probation and membership were to be printed as a preamble to the form of service for the reception of members. The members were also to have a special badge; this was to consist of a red armlet endorsed with the initials 'BCU'; the armlet was to remain the property of the BCU. The Synod also requested Miss D.Warwick to prepare a suitable design for the membership card of the BCU.

Further, the Synod agreed to appoint the Rev. A.W.Heath as the District Secretary and the Rev. E.M.Musa as the Assistant District Secretary of the BCU. The Synod also agreed that the aim of the BCU was to "attract African boys to Christ and to prepare them for

Christian life and service. The movement should particularly be directed towards the boys who are in our Churches and Schools".

The meetings of the BCU were to be held weekly. The type of such meetings would vary in different groups but was to include religious teaching, cultivation of Christian virtues, instruction in other useful knowledge,games indoor and outdoor, and such church and community service as may be within the compass of the boys". Finally, there was to be a training course for the leaders of the BCU. The Synod directed that a short training course should be held at Marshall Hartley school during the winter holidays for the training of the leaders. The Chairman of the Synod, with the Revs. A.W.Heath, M.J.Rusike,J.M.Chimbadzwa and E.Musa were directed to arrange for this course.[1]

With this constitution, the BCU was set on a sound footing and the movement began to expand steadily. By the end of 1945 there were 17 branches formed with 476 unbadged members.[2] In addition, a training course for the leaders of the BCU was held at Marshall Hartley school and was attended by 33 young men from different circuits. The Chairman of the Synod, the Rev. Herbert Carter, with the Revs A.W.Heath, M.J.Rusike, E.M.Muza and J.M.Chimbadzwa were the chief organisers and speakers at this course. The programme which was carefully arranged, included a wide variety of subjects. Among these were talks on the aims of the BCU; the constitution of the movement; religious teaching and moral instruction; games and physical culture;Christian service;the Red Cross;conditions of membership of the movement and of the Church; community service; cultural and

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1946,E.M. Musa, Boys' Christian Union Annual Report,1945.

handiwork discussions. These then were the constitution and the activities of the BCU in 1945. In subsequent years, the movement played an important part in the spiritual life of the boys.

It should be clear from the above that it was to the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement, the GCU, the MCU and the BCU that the Methodist Church owed its expansion and influence among the Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1918 and 1945. We should now turn to the literary work carried out during this period.

We have already seen how the Revs. John White and Avon Walton with the assistance of Jonas Chiota and others, translated portions of the Bible into Shona between 1897 and 1918. Much remained to be done and in 1941 literary work was resumed. In that year, the following literary work was carried out: the Sindebele Catechism was reprinted; a new Rule Book, a pamphlet on 'Sabath Observance' and a Zezuru School Hymn-Book were published. Arrangements were also made to publish during the remainder of the year the following literature: religious pamphlets in the vernacular, a Zezuru Catechism and a hand-book of instructions for Africans preparing for baptism.[1] The Synod also agreed that some of the Zulu hymns should be translated into Shona by the Rev. T.D. Samkange for those sections in which the existing range in Shona was small. The Synod also agreed that the Rev. T.D. Samkange should revise the translation of the existing edition of the Shona Catechism and that the revised edition should be printed in the new orthography.

In 1943 the Synod made several resolutions on the literary work to be carried out during the year. The Synod resolved, first, that a revision of the Shona hymn-book with Prayers and Services

1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1941

should be made. It decided that the old hymns should be republished in the new orthography. Second, that the collected children's hymns should be used in the revised hymn-book and should be added to the existing small Shona Hymn-Book. Third, that a reprint of the Zulu Hymn-book should be made. The Rev. Robert Forshaw was requested to obtain quotations of prices for inclusion of the Service for Reception of Full Members and that a reprint of two thousand copies should be ordered by the Book-Room with that Service in mind.

Fourthly, that a reprint of the small Shona Hymn-book should be made. The Synod decided that a reprint of five thousand of such hymn-books should be ordered and that some of the new hymns for children should be added to make a total of about one hundred hymns. Finally, the Synod resolved that the Book-Room Steward should be asked to obtain quotation of prices from Lovedale for the edition of five thousand copies of the Shona Catechism in the new orthography and to refer to the Book-Room sub-committee before ordering.[1]

As a result of these resolutions of the Synod, by the end of 1943 the following publications were made: a Shona School Hymn-Book; a Sindebele Rule-Book; a Zezuru Catechism and a pamphlet entitled 'The Christian Way'. In addition, the Synod recommended that the following publications should be made for the coming year: 'Sunday School Notes' by Miss Edna Garton; a Jubilee Handbook, and a pamphlet entitled 'Preparation for Holy Communion' by the Rev. E.G.Nightingale.[2]

Further literary work was carried out in 1944. The Synod of that year directed that a Zezuru translation of the Rule-Book should be printed in the old orthography; that the 'Sunday School Notes'

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944.

by Miss Garton should be translated and published in the vernacular; that Rev. E.G.Nightingale's pamphlet on 'Preparation for Holy Communion' should be completed and that permission should be sought from the Methodist Book Depot in Cape Town to reprint its edition of the Zulu Hymn-Book in Southern Rhodesia.

The Synod also appointed the following Committee to revise and prepare for publication the script of the Shona Church Hymn-Book and Service-Book: the Revs. S.J.Chihota, E.Musa,A.Ndhlela and Mr.M.Hove. The Synod also decided that a Jubilee Handbook should be published and appointed the Rev. Frank Mussell to edit it in conjunction with the Northern Rhodesia representatives.[1] During the course of the year, however, a recommendation was made by the Book-Room Committee to the Synod that the Jubilee Handbook should not be published but that the material should be used as a series of monthly articles in the 'Rhodesian Methodist' Magazine and the Rev. E.H. Bowen was requested to edit these. Finally, a completed script on 'Preparation for Holy Communion' by the Rev. E.G.Nightingale was received.

Further literary work was proposed to be carried out in 1945. The Synod held in January agreed that the following work in translation and publication should be undertaken during the year: a Pamphlet on Prayer to be translated into Shona by Rev. N.S.Chiyoka and revised by Mr. Mano and to be translated into Sindebele by the Rev. G.L. Malusalila and revised by the Chairman, the Rev. H. Carter; a pamphlet on 'Christian Marriage' by the Chairman was to be translated into Shona by Rev. A.M.Ndhlela and revised by Rev. S.J.Chihota and to be translated into Sindebele by Rev. S.Zwana and revised by Rev. G.L. Malusalila; finally, a pamphlet on the 'Christian Home' was to

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, Journal of the Synod,1944.

be prepared by the Chairman and to be translated into Shona by Rev.N.S.Chiyoka and revised by Rev. M.J. Rusike. This pamphlet was also to be translated into Sindebele by Mr. C.Manyoba and revised by Rev. E.T.J.Nemapare.[1] Such was the literary work carried out between 1941 and 1945.

In addition to literary work, it was also decided in 1942 to establish 'The Rhodesia District Methodist Sunday School Council'. The aim of this Council was to promote Sunday School work in the Rhodesia District of the Methodist Church, including the Sunday Schools of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. This Council was to review European, Indian, Coloured and African Sunday School work and to assist it as far as possible. It was stated that all circuits with Sunday Schools would be eligible to elect members to this Council. The membership of the Council was to consist of the Chairman of the Synod who was to be an ex-officio member; the Bulawayo and Salisbury English Circuits were to send four delegates each; all other circuits were to send two representatives each.

The Council was also to have a Secretary and a Treasurer. The Secretary was to be elected annually and could be either a minister or a layman. An annual subscription was to be made to the Council; this was to be five shillings each for European schools and one shilling each for African schools; the funds so derived were to be used for the purpose of assisting needy schools to purchase literature for the benefit of their work. Finally, the Synod of 1942 elected Miss Elizabeth Ndebele and Mr. F. Munjoma to be the African

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945

representatives from the District Sunday School Council to the Synod of 1943.[1]

Thus far, we have discussed the activities of the Ruwadzano/Manyano, the GCU, the MCU, the BCU; the literary work carried out during this period and the establishment of a Sunday School Council, have also been discussed. It was through a combination of all these that the Methodists influenced very profoundly the Africans of Southern Rhodesia during this period.

Some of the earlier problems, however, remained to be solved. Among these were what the missionaries called the 'evils of polygamy, beer-drinking and the fear of witchcraft'. The problem of polygamy was encountered by all missionaries in Africa. Missionaries in most areas of Africa, Barrett argued, made the fundamental mistake on this issue by "attempting to force African society to abandon polygamy too rapidly, instead of allowing the indigenous Christian conscience to evolve its own solution".[2] This is precisely what the missionaries did in Rhodesia. In 1917, for example, it was reported that one of the principal members and local preachers of the Church had been put out of membership and off the mission farm because they had contracted polygamous marriages earlier in the year.[3]

The problem of polygamy was highlighted in the report for 1924. "When we talk with the men about becoming Christians", the report for Rhodesia for that year stated, "we find that the difficulty lies in our rule that all the people who have just been married by native custom only must, before baptism, be married by Christian

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942
2.David B.Barrett,Schism and Renewal in Africa, Oxford,1968,pp117-8.
3.B/C/A/B.8,S.D.Gray,Report of Work in the Rhodesia District for 1917.

rite. This the men refuse to consider! They show a manifest dislike to the idea of Christian marriage". The missionaries attributed the reluctance of the men to abandon polygamy the fact that at that time divorce was "very easy for them, and they fear the finality of the Christian marriage in the Church.. However, patiently and carefully we talked to them of the true meaning of Christian marriage till their fears began to disappear, and a number are now preparing for baptism".[1] The missionaries of course were mistaken in believing that in traditional African marriage divorce was very easy to obtain; in point of fact, the very opposite was the case. Furthermore, there was nothing final about Christian marriage as divorce among Christian couples was a common practice. At any rate, the optimism of the missionaries that polygamy would shortly disappear was not justified by events.

That polygamy was still a force to be reckoned with was highlighted in the report of 1922. "The evils of polygamy, immorality, beer-drinking, and fear of witchcraft", the report for that year stated, "are deeply rooted in the African kraal, and only too often these things linger in the hearts and lives of those who become Christians. New converts do not easily break from them, and sometimes a Christian of years' standing falls under their spell. Occassionally even an evangelist or teacher in an unguarded hour yields to a sudden temptation or to the insistent voice of an old recurring one".[2]

We have already mentioned beer-drinking as one of the problems which was considered by the missionaries a hindrance to the gospel. The missionaries associated beer-drinking with the old customs

1.W.M.M.S., Report for 1924, pp.77-8
2.W.M.M.S., The One Hundred and Nineth Report, 1922, p.71

which a truly converted African was not supposed to indulge in. The difficulty which this problem posed was highlighted in some of the circuits. "This year, following abundance of crops", the Tegwani Circuit report for 1917 stated, "the difficulties have been increased by universal beer-drinking and dancing. Seven full members and thirty-three on trial have either ceased to meet or have been expelled for immorality and drunkeness, and the attendance at the Sunday services and class has been much interfered with".[1]

The same situation obtained in the Selukwe Circuit in 1921 where it was reported that one of the problems facing the members, causing some to fall away from the Church was beer-drinking.[2] The missionaries, however, stood firm that polygamy and beer-drinking should not be allowed for Church members. The result was that some of the people in order to escape from these rules and regulations, moved away from the mission farms. This was the case at the Tegwani mission farm where it was reported in 1922 that a large number of mission farm tenants left the farm because of the stringent rules made at the Synod of 1921 on the subjects of polygamy and beer-drinking. Polygamy and beer-drinking, the missionary in charge of Tegwani, Mr. Howard Young wrote in 1922, "proved to be a great stumbling block in the minds of the people, and there are now very few tenants on the Farm".[3]

Some progress, however, was made in 1923 when the African members of the Church began "to wage war against one of the great curses that beset native life - the abuse of Kafir beer". In Rhodesia, the report continued, "Church membership now stands for

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1.B/C/A/B.8,H.Carter,Tegwani Circuit Report,1917
2.B/C/A/B.8,Holman Brown, Selukwe Native Circuit Report,1912
3.B/C/A/B.8,Howard T.P.Young,Tegwani Native Circuit Report,1922.

total abstinence, and that because of the demand of the African members themselves".[1] This notwithstanding, some of the members continued to drink.

We have already mentioned that witchcraft was one of the problems which the missionaries regarded as retarding the progress of the Church. This problem was highlighted in the Tegwani Circuit in 1919. "At Tegwani", the missionary in charge, the Rev. H.Carter, wrote, "witchcraft resulting in death was alleged against a woman member by another woman member, and the husbands and relatives joining in, the affair has assumed fairly serious proportions. The evidence presented to me pointed more to folly than evil intent, but the quarrel is still alive. In the outlying new stations among the heathen people we expect to find relapses of this sort, but this is on the Mission farm and the husbands of these women are both local preachers. The occurrence"Carter continued, "emphasises the hold which these practices with their disgusting obscenities have on our members..In every place immorality and drunkenness have drawn members away, and indeed very few members have the insight and backbone to accept loyally and abide by our rules, especially in respect of beer drinks for ploughing and kindred purposes".[2]

It was in order to deal with some of the above problems that the Synod in 1919 made rules and regulations governing membership of the Church. These rules and regulations are worth dealing with in detail as they provided a test for those who claimed to be truly converted.

It was stated that all those who wished to join the Methodist

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1.W.M.M.S.,Report for 1923,p.77

2.B/C/A/B.8,H.Carter,Tegwani Circuit Report,1919.

Church would be placed 'on trial'; when they had satisfied the superintendent of their circuit as to their sincerity and knowledge of the gospel, they would be received into full membership. The length of probation would be decided by the Superintendent in conjunction with the Leaders' Meeting who would take account of the fitness of each candidate; the minimum period on trial was two years.

It was further stated that should a person on trial, after sufficient time had elapsed, say four or five years, showed no inclination to fulfil the conditions required, for example in regard to marriage, entitling him to baptism and full membership, it would be deemed prudent, after due warning and exhortation, to remove such a person from the Church membership roll. The question of the degree of knowledge of Christian truth incumbent on a candidate for baptism could not be defined precisely, but in the classes for instruction, care was to betaken that all members had some appreciation of the Gospel method of salvation. The committing to memory of a few of "the great doctrinal passages of scriptures", was advocated; in the case of young persons, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, were to be learnt by heart.

Further, attendance at Class Meetings was insisted upon. It was also stated that members who habitually absented themselves without sufficient cause voluntarily cut themselves off from the fellowship of the Church and their names were to be removed from the list of members. There was also the question of contribution of 'Ticket' money. It was stated that some contribution in the form of ticket money was expected from all Church members except in cases of extreme poverty.

In such cases, the ministers, in consultation with either the Leaders' Meeting or the Quarterly Meeting, were to determine what was a fair contribution for members under given circumstances and in different areas. Any members who persistently refused, after their obligation had been pointed out to them, to contribute something to the work of the Church in this way, would be deemed unworthy to continue in membership of the Church and their names would be removed from the Class Book.

Another important requirement for Church membership was the attendance at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Attendance at the Sacrament was to be regarded not only as a privilege but as an obligation on all the members. The superintendents of circuits were asked to arrange that all members had the opportunity of attending at least four or more times in the year at the Lord's Supper.

With regard to Class Meetings, it was stated that "the spiritual character of the meeting should be kept constantly before the members. The practice of introducing personal disputes and controversial disciplinary matters should not be allowed; the case of a defaulting member should not be discussed there".

On the important question of marriage, it was stated that the solemnisation of marriage according to Christian rite was obligatory on all members, except in those cases where a previous polygamist arrangement made this impossible. In the case of persons desiring to marry who had been found guilty of fornication, the ministers were to discourage all ostentation at the ceremony and the marriage was to be conducted quietly in some building other than the Church. It was also stated that the ministers should impress on the contracting parties, before the marriage ceremony took place, the meaning

of this sacred agreement. The ministers were also asked to impress on the Christian community, by practice and precept, the necessity of simplifying all the arrangements at the marriage. "The worldly show and excessive expenditure which characterises some of these ceremonies is to be strongly deprecated".

On the question of 'lobola', it was stated that although the Church could not place the practice "in the same class as the distinctly immoral customs of the heathen people", it was "very detrimental to the growth of the Christian character and the development of the people in civilisation and personal liberty". In the case of a man desiring to marry the daughter of heathen parents, it was suggested that the payment of 'lobola' should not disqualify him from membership of the Church. In order to avoid complications later, it was urged that the whole of the 'lobola' should be paid before the marriage was solemnised. Further, it was pointed out that the practice of Christian parents receiving 'lobola' and "excessive courtship fees for their daughters" was one which the Church thoroughly disapproved of.

On beer-drinking, the Synod dealt with this issue in a very strong and straightforward manner. It was stated that no habitual drinker or brewer of strong beer, who by his conduct was bringing disgrace on the Church, would be retained as a member; all members were strongly urged to follow"the Christian duty of total abstinence". It was further pointed out that the practice of attending beer parties,"if only as spectators"was very injurious to the religious life of the people and that if a member, after being warned, continued to attend such parties and to drink thereat, he would be removed from the list of members. The smoking of Indian hemp

was also forbidden for all Church members".[1]

The above rules and regulations were elaborated upon in 1940. On the question of marriage, it was stated that no person could be a member of the Methodist Church who did not accept the Christian view of marriage. All persons converted to the Christian faith who desired to marry were to take the Christian vows of marriage, except in the case of a first wife of a non-Christian who might be received on probation and for instruction and afterwards be baptised and received into full membership if her husband refused, or was not eligible to be married by Christian rites. It was also stated that no Christian marriage could be performed between Christian and non-Christian partners until the meaning and implication of Christian marriage had been explained to and accepted by both partners.

On the question of polygamy, it was stated that a male polygamist or the second or subsequent wife of a polygamist might be received as a Catechumen and become a member 'on trial' but might not be received as a full member as long as the polygamous marriage continued. On the question of 'lobola', it was stated that the Methodist Church, while "recognising that Lobola is an integral part of the Bantu social custom, considers that its true purpose should be to act as a token and pledge of care and conduct. It therefore urges its members to accept only a nominal amount and to oppose strongly the present practice of excessive lobola payments".

On baptism, it was stated that it was the duty of evangelists to instruct candidates for baptism in the knowledge of the Gospel

1. The Directory of the Rhodesia District, 1919, Art Printing Works, Salisbury, 1919, pp.18-20.

and in the Rules of the Methodist Church. The careful study of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, Matthew, 5,1-17 and other scriptures which might be chosen from time to time was recommended. In every case, candidates were to be examined by the minister before baptism. Every candidate was required to promise to refrain from drinking, buying or selling strong beer, attendance at beer drinks and 'immoral dances', employing witchcraft and consulting witchdoctors.

The question of Church contributions was again emphasised. It was stated that some quarterly contribution for the work of God was expected from all members, except in cases of extreme poverty. In such cases, the superintendent of the circuit, after consultation with the Class Leader might reduce the amount of contribution expected or excuse the member from making a contribution. The Synod was to decide the amount to be contributed by members in different areas. The status of a member who had not made any contribution for four quarters was to be investigated; where a Leaders' Meeting existed, his status was to be considered at this meeting and a decision made regarding the continuance or termination of his membership. Where there was no Leaders' Meeting, the minister and leaders would decide. All members were asked to make some contribution towards the Annual Missionary Collection, known as the District Extension Fund and other special collections authorised by the Minister.

On the question of discipline, it was stated that the practice of 'runaway marriages' was strongly condemned and those persons guilty of participating in this custom would be immediately removed from membership of the Church. The following broad basis for Church discipline was laid down for guidance of members: first, a full member guilty of a minor offence would remain in the fellowship of the Church but would be reduced to a member 'on trial'for a second time-;second,a full member guilty of

a serious offence would be removed from membership and re-admitted as a member 'on trial' when there were "definite signs of reformation, and repentance"; third, a member 'on trial' guilty of a minor offence would be "talked with lovingly and yet firmly", and if the minister deemed it necessary, the period 'on trial' for membership might be extended.

Further, a member 'on trial' guilty of a serious offence was to be removed from membership and might not be re-admitted until there were "definite signs of repentance and reformation". Finally, it was stated that no Class Leader had power to discipline a member; all cases involving discipline were to be brought to the notice of the minister or the Leaders' Meeting".[1]

Two comments deserve to be made about the above rules and regulations, one relating to lobola on which the Church urged its members "to accept only a nominal amount and to oppose strongly the present practice of excessive lobola payments", and the other relating to the requirement that a candidate for baptism should promise, inter alia, to refrain from employing witchcraft and consulting witchdoctors.

On lobola, Peaden has argued that the Churches' opinions appear to have been "totally ignored. Christians as well as non-Christians continued to take lobola for their daughters; and as time went on and the lobola demands soared there is no reason to suppose that Christians did not raise their demands in the same proportion as their non-Christian neighbours. African ministers in the churches which demanded that they should promise not to take lobola for their daughters, did so with their tongues in their cheeks and took lobola in spite of

1. C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Rules and Regulations of the Methodist Church in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, 1940.

their promises".[1] The missionaries must have been aware of this but felt that this custom was too strong to eradicate and reconciled themselves to its extistence even among Christians.

On the requirement that a'candidate for baptism should promise to refrain from, inter alia, employing witchcraft and consulting witch-doctors, it would appear that the truly converted refrained from practising witchcraft, but not from consulting the 'witchdoctors', nganga and ancestral spirits. As Gelfand put it, Most Africans today, whether Christian or otherwise and in whatever social sphere, still enjoy contact with the spirits of their deceased relatives. This contact often appears in the form of friendly guidance and approval in some problem. The adoption of Christianity for the African does not represent as vast a change as might be imagined... Because of his belief in ancestral spirits he is able to accept the concept of Christ as being another spirit of a dead person".[2]

Furthermore, Daneel in his study of independent African churches among the southern Shona found that the belief in the curative powers of the nganga is still very strong even among Christians. "The impression one gets from occasional observations of nganga treatment", he wrote,"is that the majority of vaShona, both Christian and non-Christian, visit the traditional doctors, especially during family crises", and that Mission Church members who consult the nganga "often state that they only obtain medicine..and that they ignore such parts of the prescription as necessitate 'ancestor worship'. Such statements, convincing though they may sound, do not necessarily imply the exclusion of all forms of traditional religious practices because, having been prescribed by the spiritual advisor par excellence and religious

1. Peaden, Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture,op.cit,p.35
2. Gelfand, African Crucible, Cape Town,1968,p.146

expert, few of the nganga's solutions are totally free from traditional religious implications. A Christian will perhaps refrain from full participation in a traditional ritual prescribed by the nganga, but he may very well make provision for the ceremony to be conducted by non-Christian relatives, and make use of such magical medicaments as will render him immune to the attack of angry midzimu or evil alien spirits".[1]

The missionaries were no doubt aware of these practices among African Christians,. The above rules and regulations were neverthless important in making their converts constantly aware of the implications of Christianity to those who claimed to be truly converted.

Having discussed the rules and regulations governing the membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia between 1918 and 1945 and the problems encountered in enforcing them, we should now turn to a final theme of this chapter, namely the rise of independent African churches.

In this regard, Barrett has shown that the causes for the rise of these churches were complex and involved historical, political, economic, sociological, ethnic, non-religious as well as religious factors. No single factor, he argued, "can be considered as the cause either of independency in any given case, or of the whole phenomenon of independency in Africa. None of the causes considered is present in all cases across the continent; and cases of separatism exist in both the presence and absence of any we care to propose".[2] It is not our purpose to go into the whole question of the causes for the rise of these churches. A few, however, will be mentioned. Polygamy was an important social custom in many African societies. The missionaries' insistence on monomgamy as a condition for admission into Christian

1. Daneel, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, op.cit, pp.146-7
2. Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, op.cit, p.97

fellowship, was an important factor leading to secession from the established churches.[1] Further, even those African Christians who did not secede on the monogamy issue, were not convinced of the virtues of monogamy. They argued that monogamy was a "European tradition rather than a Christian requirement".[2]

In other cases, the cause for secession appears to have been the desire to restore tribal unity in opposition to the authority of various European churches. Moreover, the principle of 'Africa for Africans'in opposition to the authority of the European churches,played a large part in almost all secessions.[3] Another factor leading to secession was that the Western intellectual approach to evangelism in Africa perhaps did not reach the deeper hidden recesses of the African soul;the independent Churches with their myths and rituals were more appealing to certain groups than the somewhat sombre Western approach.[4]

With these preliminary remarks,we should now turn to the rise of independent churches in Southern Rhodesia. Two types of independent churches,'Zionist' and 'Ethiopian'entered Southern Rhodesia from South Africa in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[5] The appearance of these churches was regarded by both the Government and the missionaries as a danger to the established order.[6] The rise of the Zionist Churches among the Southern Shona has been well studied by Daneel.[7] What is important for our purposes was the rise of independent African churches classified as 'Ethiopian' by Sundkler.

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1. International Review of Missions, Vol. 21,1932,p.223
2. C.P.Groves,The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 1914-1954,Vol.IV, London,1958,p.345.
3. Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa,London,1956,p.100
4. B.G.M.Sundkler,"What is at Stake?",V.E.W.Hayward,(ed),African Independent Church Movements,Edinburgh,1963,p.31
5. T.O.Ranger,"The Early History of Independency in Southern Rhodesia", Religion in Africa, Edinburgh, 1964,pp.58-62.
6. International Review of Missions, Vol. 12,1923,p.237.
7. Daneel,Zionism and Faith-Healing in Rhodesia, Leiden,1970;Daneel,Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, op.cit,pp.287-315.

In this regard, Professor Shepperson has pointed out that the European observers of the Ethiopian movement "did not, in the main, notice the complexities of causation of these independent African Churches. They remarked only on the threat which they seemed to offer to European rule in Africa, particularly in the South and Central regions."[1] Although the causes for the rise of these churches were complex, Sundkler has classified as 'Ethiopian' those Bantu Churches which seceded from the White Mission Churches chiefly on racial grounds.[2] In this respect, the chief factor leading to secession was the colour bar practised in the European Churches especially in South Africa.[3]

The Ethiopian movement expanded rapidly in Southern Rhodesia in the 1940's. The rise of the Ethiopian Churches among the Southern Shona has been well studied by Daneel and by Sister Mary Aquina,[4] and no elaboration of their rise and expansion is therefore necessary.

Among the Methodists, the Ethiopian movement led to the establishment of the African Methodist Church by the Rev. E.T.J.Nemapare in 1947. To this important subject we must now turn. But before we consider the reasons which led to this secession, we should first give a brief background of Nemapare's life. The background of the Rev.E.T.J. Nemapare is rather sketchy. What we know about it is as follows: he was born around 1902 for when he was first received as a candidate for the Ministry in 1928, his age was given as 26.[5] In 1930 he was sent to the Chipembi Circuit in Northern Rhodesia where he served as an Assistant African Minister under the supervision of the Rev. S. Douglas

1.G.Shepperson,"Ethiopianism:Past and Present",C.G.Baeta,(ed)Christianity in Tropical Africa,Oxford,1968,p.251
2.B.G.M.Sundkler,Bantu Prophets in South Africa,Oxford,1961,p.53
3.Ibid,p.37
4.Sister Mary Aquina,"Christianity in a Rhodesian Tribal Trust Land", African Social Research,University of Zambia,No.1,June,1966,pp.1-39
5.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1928

Gray.[1]

In 1931 Nemapare was received into the Waddilove Theological Institution for training for the ministry.[2] By 1932 he had been a preacher on trial for four years.[3] In 1934 he completed his six years' training for the ministry at Waddilove and during the year was sent out into circuit work as a preacher on trial.[4] His work in the Shabani Circuit was greatly appreciated by the Superintendent of that Circuit, the Rev. A.W. Heath. "Mr. Nemapare", Mr. Heath wrote in his report to the Synod of 1935, "has been my colleague in the Shabani Circuit for the past year, and has acquitted himself well in the work of the Circuit. He has devoted a good deal of time and energy to the establishment of the Y.M.C.U. (Young Men's Christian Union) in our Reserve stations, a movement that has proved a means of grace in many places. His visitation of the places under his care has been systematic and in preaching and pastoral oversight he has done excellent service, and his continued presence in the Circuit should add greatly to the strength of our work in the Selukwe and Chibi Reserves. He has also rendered good service in the supervision of the Pakame Mission Farm".[5]

It was because of the good work he had done in the Shabani Circuit in 1934 that when he completed his seven years' training for the ministry in 1935, the Synod of that year unanimously recommended that he should be received into Full Connexion with the Methodist Conference.[6] In 1938, Nemapare was appointed one of the two African representatives on the Waddilove Theological Department Committee.[7] In 1941 the Synod

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1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1930
2.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1931
3.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1932
4.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1934.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1935,A.W. Heath,Report on the Character and Work of Rev.Esau Nemapare,1935
6.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1935
7.S/M/S/R/B1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1938

agreed that an application should be made to the Department of Native Education for Nemapare to become a superintendent of schools.[1] It appears that this application was not accepted by the Department. In 1942, therefore, Nemapare continued to work in the Shabani Circuit and also superintended the Methodist schools in the Shabani Circuit, the European Superintendent acting as his supervisor in accordance with Government regulations.[2]

Nemapare, however, was dissatisfied with this arrangement and made this known to the Chairman of the Synod, the Rev. Herbert Carter. "I have received from Mr. Nemapare", Mr. Carter wrote to the Rev. F.W. Dodds on October 27,1943,"a request which will go to the next Synod to be allowed to begin a Methodist African Mission in some area undefined where we have no work at present, which shall aim at self-support, being governed by the rules of our Church and operated by Methodist workers transferred to it by the Synod and with the usual relationship to the Synod and the Chairman. The only difference I see between this proposal and our existing practice for African work under the care of an African Minister", Carter observed, "is that it would be free from the control of a European Superintendent".[3] The Synod refused to grant this request.

The request for permission to start a Methodist African Mission which would aim at self-support having been refused by the Synod, Nemapare decided to work within the existing framework of the Church as he had done in the past. Between 1943 and 1944 he worked in the Bulawayo African Circuit and in 1945 was appointed to the Gwaai Circuit where there were fifteen Methodist schools. In 1946 he was

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1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1941
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942
3.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,H.Carter to F.W.Dodds,October 27,1943.

the only African Minister in that Circuit in charge of twenty-one teachers with about 896 day pupils.[1]

Nemapare, however, was dissatisfied with this surbordination to a European superintendent and in 1946 was removed from his superintendence of the Gwaai Circuit and was replaced by Rev. Nehemiah Chiyoka who was appointed to work in that Circuit under the supervision of a European superintendent, Mr. Robert Forshaw.[2]

In 1947 Nemapare decided to make a complete break with the Methodist Church and in March of that year he tendered his resignation to the Chairman, Rev. H. Carter. The latter attributed Nemapare's resignation to his maladministration of the funds of the Gwaai Circuit. This was clearly brought out in a letter from Mr. Carter to the Secretary for the African Field, Rev. F.W.Dodds. "You will be sorry to know", Carter wrote to Dodds on March 28,1947, "that this African Minister has tendered his resignation following a close financial inquiry which revealed shockingly unsatisfactory Circuit administration particularly on the financial side. The special Auditors who were the Rev. Percy Ibbotson and the Rev. R. Forshaw have expressed the view that the records cannot be depended upon and the primary evidence of Teachers' Cash books showing income or receipts for expenditure are for the most part missing. In tendering his resignation Mr. Nemapare does not state his reasons beyond the phrase 'for personal reasons' and my letter of inquiry drew no further information". The majority of the members of the Standing Committee consulted by post agreed to recommend the acceptance of Nemapare's resignation, but Carter felt that such a step should not be taken until the financial situation of the Gwaai

1.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946.
E.T.J.Nemapare, Gwaai Circuit Work, Memorandum for Rev. F.W.Dodds, March 4,1946.
2.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,H.Carter to F.W.Dodds,February 7,1947.

Circuit had been cleared up. Instead he suggested that a Pastoral Committee of the Synod should be first convened before accepting Nemapare's resignation. Carter added,however, that information which had recently reached him indicated the possibility of an intention on Nemapare's part "to found a separatist Church".[1]

In May 1947, Nemapare launched his Church and the Rev. H.Carter informed Mr. Dodds to this effect. "I regret to inform you"Mr. Carter wrote to Mr. Dodds on May 22,1947, "that Nemapare has launched a Separatist African Methodist Church in the Eastern Districts round Fort Victoria and Gutu and claims to have gathered already four hundred members. He has also applied to the Government for recognition of the Church and to be allowed to undertake schools. I presume that on the principle of religious freedom he cannot be prevented from religious work but it is doubtful whether on his record, the Government will allow him to open schools. I expect to hear that a number of our people at the far end of the Shabani Circuit have attached themselves to him together with disciplined members and those who have lapsed owing to the refusal to accept transfer to the Dutch Reformed and other Missions working in that area. You will realise this is his way of overcoming the Synod's refusal to embark upon the semi-independent Mission in the Eastern Districts which Nemapare proposed some years ago".[2]

The Standing Committee of the Synod decided in August,1947, not to recognise Nemapare's African Methodist Church or to enter into an agreement with regard to members or boundaries.[3] Nemapare's launching of his Church was denounced by some of the missionaries. This was

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1.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,H.Carter to F.WDodds,March 28,1947
2.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,H.Carter to F.W.Dodds,May 22,1947
3.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,H.Carter to F.W.Dodds,August 27,1947.

clearly brought out in the Shabani Circuit report for 1947. Mr. Nemapare, the report said, "revealed his fifth column" by launching his "long planned blitz" in the Fort Victoria section of the Methodist Church. "Many of the people who were lured away by the false thought of a purely Black Church", this hostile report continued, "have come to realise the meaning of the badge which many Africans wear —the black and white notes of the piano. Dr. Aggrey was right when he said that the best music can be produced by the employment of both white and black. Our Church at Rasa which went entirely over to the black conception, is reported to have forbidden Nemapare to come again".[1]

Nemapare was also attacked by Rev. Percy Ibbotson who, as we have already noted, had been one of the two ministers appointed to investigate Nemapare's handling of the funds of the Gwaai Circuit in 1946. After commenting on Nemapare's mishandling of the funds of that Circuit as well as his decision to resign, Ibbotson said it was "a mistake to push Africans forward into positions of considerable responsibility" until they were ready.[2]

This hostility towards Nemapare was shared by a considerable number of missionaries. Nemapare was seriously accused of 'breaking the body of Christ' by forming a separatist Church. In his own defence he stated that no Protestant had any right to accuse him of breaking the body of Christ; that it was his Protestant right to protest and he did not see what was wrong with exercising his birthright. He remained unmoved and went ahead with his Church.[3]

In spite of these denunciations, Nemapare had no ill-feeling

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1948, Walter Howarth and Aaron Kawonza, Shabani African Circuit Report, 1947.
2. C/S/R/B.1945-1948, Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds, March 14, 1947.
3. Ndabaningi Sithole, African Nationalism, Oxford, 1968, p.91

towards the leaders of his former Church. In 1950 it was reported that a request had been received from Nemapare requesting the Synod of that year "to agree to the transfer of members and workers on a parity basis between his Church and ours". It was further reported that Nemapare "desired the re-establishment of fraternal relations between himself and the Synod, and suggested that some interchange of pulpits might be possible". After much discussion, a resolution was passed to the effect that while the members of the Synod were prepared personally and individually to offer friendship to Mr. Nemapare, it was the general feeling of the Synod that the time had not yet come to agree to the free transfer of members and workers.[1]

Although we do not have Nemapare's side of the story, it is possible to make several remarks regarding the causes for his secession. As we have already seen, it was said that Nemapare's mishandling of the funds of the Gwaai Circuit was the immediate cause of his resignation. This could very well have been the case but it is more likely that other factors played a role in the situation.

First, as we have already seen from Mr. A.W.Heath's report to the Synod of 1935 regarding Nemapare's work in the Shabani Circuit in 1934, it was evident that Nemapare was an affective preacher and a man of great talent. It seems that he felt his talents had no sufficient outlets as long as he was supervised by a white missionary. We have seen that it was the Synod's refusal to allow him to start an African mission which would aim at self-support which finally led him to secede. Had the Synod granted his request and thereby given him enough scope for his talents, it is possible that he would have remained within the fold of the Church. It seems, therefore,

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1949-1953,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1950.

that an important factor which led to Nemapare's secession, was thwarted ambition.

Second, we have noted that in spite of missionary denunciation of him for establishing a separatist Church, Nemapare had no ill feelings towards the leaders of his former Church. It seems that there were two reasons which made the missionaries denounce Nemapare for establishing a separatist Church. One was that the missionaries resented the idea of an African establishing a church of his own. Secondly, in refusing to recognise his Church, the missionaries feared to establish a precedent which might have led to more secessions.

In this regard, Professor Shepperson has pointed out that one of the characteristics of the Ethiopian movement was its revolutionary overtones particularly in the first three decades of the twentieth century and that although after this period it did not "altogether lose its revolutionary overtones", it came to be regarded "more as a danger to Christian unity than to civil peace in Africa".[1] This seems to be the reason why the Synod refused to recognise Nemapare's Church in August, 1947.

The missionaries, by denouncing Nemapare for establishing a separatist Church, did not help their own cause. The Ethiopian movement as we have already seen from Daneel's study of the Ethiopian Churches among the southern Shona, had come to stay. The best the missionaries could have done was to reconcile themselves to this fact. The missionaries, of course, hoped that the

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1. G. Shepperson, "Ethiopianism: Past and Present" in C.G.Baeta, (ed) Christianity in Tropical Africa, op.cit,p.256.

Government would not allow Nemapare to open his own schools. In the event, the Government allowed him to open his own schools and eventually Nemapare's Church became a member of the Christian Council of Rhodesia.[1]

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter the activities of the Ruwadzano/Manyano, the GCU, the MCU and the BCU and the role these movements played in the expansion of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia between 1918 and 1945. The rules and regulations governing the membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia and the problems encountered in enforcing these rules and regulations; the formation of the Methodist Sunday School Council and the secession of Nemapare from the Mother Church, have also been discussed.

In spite of Nemapare's secession, the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia expanded rapidly between 1918 and 1945. This can best be shown by examining the membership returns (including Europeans) during this period. These show that the total Methodist community increased from 5,254 in 1919,[2] to 15,115 in 1929,[3] and from 17,975 in 1942,[4] to 23,917 in 1945.[5] Furthermore, it is not simply a question of numbers one should look to in judging the expansion of the Methodist Church in Southern

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1. Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, op.cit,p.298
2. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1920,Statistical Returns, 1919.
3. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1930,Statistical Returns, 1929.
4. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943, Statistical Returns, 1942.
5. S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, Statistical Returns,1945.

Rhodesia during this period. As we have seen, the rules and regulations governing membership of the Church were very strict. It is to the Kuwadzano and kindred movements that one must look for the very profound way in which the Methodist Church influenced the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Judged in this light, it is evident that the Methodist Church was a great success in Southern Rhodesia. Certainly this success was undreamed of when Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin established the first Methodist mission in Salisbury in 1891.

Chapter 8: The Expansion of Methodist Educational Institutions, 1919-1945.

In Chapter 6, we discussed the growth and development of Methodist educational institutions in Southern Rhodesia between 1897 and 1918 and noted that the most important educational institution during this period was the Waddilove Training Institution Although Waddilove was begun initially as a training institution for African evangelists and teachers, as it expanded, the curriculum was broadened and included industrial and literary education for non-evangelist students. We traced the major developments at Waddilove between 1897 and 1918.

In this chapter, we will discuss the expansion of Methodist educational institutions in Southern Rhodesia between 1919 and 1945. The major educational institutions during this period were the two training institutions at Waddilove and Tegwani. We will begin with the Waddilove Training Institution.

We saw that considerable progress was made at Waddilove in 1917 when the new block of buildings erected through the generosity of Mr. Waddilove was opened. We also saw the progress made at the Institution as reported by the Inspector of Schools in 1918. This progress was maintained in 1919 . In that year, the enrolment increased to 74 boarders and 20 non-boarders in the Practising School. Of these, 25 were evangelist students and of this number, 3 were sent out into circuit work during the year. In the industrial department, several students received systematic instruction in carpentry. In the leather-work shop, 8 students were taught repair-work. The wives of the evangelist students received instruction in sewing and other domestic matters from Mrs. White.

There were several staff changes in 1919. Miss Burnet who had

served for three years as Chief instructor in the girls' department, resigned on account of ill-health and was replaced by Mr. T.H.Bentley. Mr. Garnett Magawu, a certified African teacher from Cape Colony, was added to the staff during the year. There was some dislocation in the industrial department when Mr. Ablett, the chief instructor, resigned to take up farming on his own account near by.[1] In spite of these staff changes, the work at Waddilove continued to make progress as was shown by the report of the Inspector of Schools when he visited the Institution during the year.

The Inspector said that the work he saw at the Institution was of "good character throughout". This was especially the case in the Normal School where he found that the English medium was well-established and that formal reading was not only satisfactory but also that the subject matter was on the whole well understood, especially in the higher classes. The Arithmetic, he found, was of "special excellence" and was done throughout on "well understood methods", and was certainly "among the best" he had seen in Mission schools in the country.

The Inspector also found that intelligent work in History and Geography was being done by the class of more advanced pupils in the Normal School. Of these pupils, six were presented for the Standard IV Certificate examination and passed successfully. There was also "abundant evidence of good work being done in the form of scholastic teaching, in the training of teachers, in carpentry, in General Manual Labour, in the dissemination of education in the outlying parts of the district, and in general in all the ways in which the Natives coming within the sphere of interest of the Mission may be helped to

1. B/C/A/B.8, John White, Report of the Waddilove Training Institution, 1919.

attain a better way of living".[1]

In 1920, a total of 142 students were enrolled at Waddilove, of these, 3 were candidates for the ministry and 33 were being trained as evangelists.[2] During the year, the Inspector of Schools also paid a visit to the Institution. He found that the scholastic side of the Institution continued to maintain "a high standard of efficiency"; the standard classes were examined individually in Arithmetic, Recitation and Dictation and over 90% of the pupils passed. The pupils were examined in Standard IV and one in Standard V; six of these pupils qualified for the Exemption Certificate, "a very creditable performance". The Inspector congratulated Mr. Bentley on "the general efficiency of the School".[3]

That Waddilove was making a significant contribution to African education, was noted in the annual report for 1920. "This Institution", the report for that year stated, "is vital, not only to our own evangelistic work, but also to the general uplifting of the African people. Among those who have come to us for training are several sons of chiefs and headmen. They are to be the future leaders of their people".[4]

In 1921, there were 131 students enrolled at Waddilove. These included 104 boarders of whom 25 were girls. Of the 23 student-teachers, 5 were in Standard IV, 7 in Standard III and 11 in Standard II. In the industrial department, the Principal, Mr. J.W.Stanlake, drew attention to the need for a trained agricultural teacher; he

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1. Directory of the Rhodesia District,1920,R.McIntosh(Inspector of Schools), Report on Waddilove Training Institution,November 4,1919.
2. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1921,Statistical Returns, 1920.
3. Directory of the Rhodesia District,1921,J.Condy(Inspector of Schools), Report on Waddilove Training Institution,September 10,1920,p.10
4. W.M.M.S.,Annual Report,1920,p.72.

believed that the future of the African was on the land and as the land available was each year lessened by the farms being occupied by white settlers, it was increasingly important that the African should be taught new methods of cultivation. "Much of the land, which he now regards as useless", Stanlake wrote, "can be shewn in practical demonstration to be of great value for the kind of crops he needs. He must also be taught to breed better animals than those seen at his kraal, and it is important that at the Institution such training should be given by a man who has made a study of the work. The Government give every encouragement to this side of the work and pay 75% of the salary of a qualified man".

In the girls' department, in cooking and laundry work, the girls gave practical demonstration before the Inspector and gained a capitation grant of £1 per head. The sewing was also inspected and showed great promise. In this respect, Mr. Stanlake emphasised the need for training girls. "The importance of training the girls", he wrote, "cannot be over-estimated, for the helplessness of many of the wives of the evangelists in the direction of assisting the native people to a higher standard in their home life, is a serious draw-back to the progress of the work".

The training of African evangelists was also continued in 1921. A special course of Bible study was given and the report of the examiner showed that good work had been done by the students. The study of the Gospel of St. Mark and the Epistle to the Galatians was grasped by the majority of the students. The wives of the evangelist students were not neglected and during the year they went to school every morning and special instruction was given to them in sewing and in the care of the home.[1]

1. S/M/R/B.1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1922, J.W.Stanlake, Report of Waddilove Training Institution, December 7, 1921.

That Waddilove was making significant progress in African education was shown by the report of the Inspector of Schools when he visited the Institution during the year. In the industrial department, the Inspector found that the course of instruction was assuming more definite shape and that some really good work had been done by the boys under the new instructor, Mr. Chisnall. In the agriculture department, he felt that the time had come for the appointment of a skilled agriculturalist and the Government was prepared to contribute £200 or 75% of the salary of such a man as soon as he was found.

He had the greatest praise for the girls' department under the new instructor, Miss Smallwood. "In Miss Smallwood", he wrote, "the Mission is fortunate in having secured a lady whose heart is in her work. One has only to look at the girls and their boarding house to realise that training of no ordinary character is undertaken and effectively carried through. Sewing, Laundry, Cooking and General House Work are systematically taught".[1]

In 1922, the Inspector of Schools also visited Waddilove. He found that the quality of the scholastic work had improved considerably during the year. In the first year Practical Teacher Training class, nine out of fourteen of the student teachers passed their examination and also qualified for the Exemption Certificates. He also found that Mrs. White was doing good work among the African women of the village near by in training them in needlework, mothercraft and other important duties of the home. He reserved his greatest praise to the girls' department under Miss Smallwood. "In commenting on the marked growth of Domestic training", he wrote, "I cannot speak too highly

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1. S/M/R/B. 1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes 1922, J.Condy (Inspector of Schools), Waddilove Training Institution Report, November 12 and 14, 1921.

of Miss Smallwood's energy, efficiency and devotion to duty. She gives her whole time to this side of the Mission's activities, and the course which the twenty-nine girls under her charge have to go through is extensive and very practical".[1] The success of the girls' department under Miss Smallwood was also noted by the Principal, the Rev. John White. At an exhibition of needlework for schools in the territory arranged by the Government, he wrote, Waddilove came out first, and "received words of very warm commendation from the judges".[2]

There was still a pressing need, however, for the employment of an agricultural instructor at the Institution. The Director of Education, Mr. L.M.Foggin, suggested to Mr. Stanlake that if such an instructor were appointed, he should have had a theoretical and practical training in agriculture as well as practical experience either in teaching agricultural classes or in successfully conducting agricultural operations.[3]

In 1923, a total of 137 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 2 were candidates for the ministry and 24 were evangelist students. There were also some staff changes made during the year. After four and a half years, Mr. Bentley severed his connection with the Institution and Mr. A.E.O.Rush of Cliff College, was appointed as his successor. The girls' department continued to make good progress as shown by the fact that for the second time Waddilove won the Government Certificate for the best needle-work in African schools.[4]

The Inspector of Schools also paid a visit to Waddilove in 1923.

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1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1923,J.Condy (Inspector of Schools),Waddilove Training Institution Report, December,1922.
2. Ibid, John White, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1922.
3. S/M/R/B.1912-1922,L.M.Foggin to J.W.Stanlake, January 17,1922.
4. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1924,John White, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1923.

In the Teacher Training Department, he found that Mr. Bentley (before he left) had taken the scholastic work and Miss Nicholas the professional subjects of the pupil-teachers. No less than 23 out of 27 of the pupil-teachers in Standard IV qualified for the Exemption Certificate. "This I believe" he wrote,"constitutes a record for any Mission in Rhodesia".

In the industrial department, he found that a trained bricklayer, Mr. Gray Tembo, had 12 students, in batches of 4 everyday receiving instruction and getting practical experience in building with stone and bricks. He was interested to note that the Institution was going in for cotton growing and that two acres of land had been prepared for this crop. Mr. White had already introduced spinning and hoped at a later date to add weaving and grow all the cotton required at the Institution. In animal husbandry, Mr. White had bought a pedigree short-horn bull; the idea being "not only to improve the Mission herd but to demonstrate to the students the advantages of improved breeds of cattle".

In the girls' department under Miss Smallwood, progress continued to be made. "The girls", the Inspector wrote,"are turned out to school every day in blue print uniforms which they make themselves. It is only when one contrasts these girls with the raw material which enters the Missio n that one realises what Miss Smallwood has accomplished. In cookery individual girls are able to weigh out ingredients in the proportions given, mix them and see to the cooking. The bread and cakes could be put on any table and would be relished by the most fastidious. The finish on

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1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1924, John White, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1923.

articles turned out of the laundry class", he wrote, "leaves little to be desired. A year ago Miss Smallwood attended at St. Faith's Mission a course of instruction in spinning and weaving. She has introduced spinning at Nengubo, and as already noted, looms are being made in the wood-work room for weaving".[1]

In 1924 the Inspector of Schools visited Waddilove. The enrolment had increased to 180 students of whom 160 were boarders. In the scholastic, industrial and Domestic departments, the Institution continued to be more efficient than ever before. A new member of the staff joined the Institution during the year; this was Miss Hudson who took charge of the Practising School, a post for which she was "eminently qualified".

The Inspector said judged "by the standard of native mission schools", the work at Waddilove was "highly efficient throughout" and that animal husbandry and agriculture were being systematically taught by a highly qualified instructor, Mr. Davis. He attributed the success of Waddilove particularly to the work of Miss Smallwood in the girls' department. "Miss Smallwood", he wrote, "continues to do excellent work on the girls' side. Indeed there is no more effective and useful work being done for the natives anywhere in Rhodesia than is being done by Miss Smallwood. Her course of instruction includes Practical Hygiene, Sewing, Laundry work, Housewifery, Cooking, Spinning and Weaving, Raffia and the making of mats from mealie products". He also paid tribute to Rev. John White's supervision of the Institution.

The Rev. John White and the management as a whole, he wrote, "have reason to be proud of Nengubo Mission. It attracts students

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1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1924, J.Condy (Inspector of Schools), Waddilove Training Mission Report, November 21, 1923.

from far and wide in increasing numbers notwithstanding the fact that its entrance fee is considerably higher than that at any similar institution in the Colony".[1]

The work being carried on at Waddilove was also praised by the members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 who in the course of their tour of inspection of both Government and Mission schools in Rhodesia, paid a visit to the Institution and later wrote that "some of the best teaching seen by the Commission was in the practising school of the Normal Department" where the "Montessori principles of self-activity were being splendidly applied". The Waddilove Institution, the Commission added,"is very efficiently run and has the reputation of being one of the best in Rhodesia".[2]

In 1925, there were 175 students enrolled at Waddilove. The results of the work done was noted by the Inspector of Schools when he paid a visit to the Institution during the year. Students ranging from Standard II to VII were examined individually. The number who qualified for the Exemption Certificate was 41. "This, I believe"he wrote, "constitutes a record for any mission school in Rhodesia". The results in all the other classes, he added, "were equally high. In the higher classes I noticed a high standard of natural intelligence, possibly stimulated and developed by Mr. Rush, than whom there is no more successful teacher in any native school in the Colony".

The Inspector was also pleased with the work being done in the carpentry and building class of the industrial department. "The importance of this class", he wrote, "cannot be over-estimated. The natives are getting valuable instruction inthe workshop and thorough training in practical work".

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1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1925,J.Condy (Inspector of Schools),Waddilove Training Institution and Primary School Report,December 26 and 27,1924.
2. T.Jones,Education in East Africa,New York,1924,p.245.

In animal husbandry and agriculture, he found Mr. Davis doing good work but felt that much remained to be done in the experimental work on plots and in improving the herd of cattle. Mr. Davis, he wrote, fully realised this and could be relied on to pursue a "progressive course suitable to the conditions obtaining in the district and possessed "educational merit of the right kind for the native".

In concluding his report, the Inspector again paid great tribute to Waddilove. "Nengubo Mission", he wrote, "is a valuable institution to both Church and State. It is engaged in weaning the native from the deadening influence of the spirit world; it gives him a religion which intimately concerns his best interests..it increases his capacity as a wage-earner and makes him a more useful member of the State".[1]

We have seen that during this period great emphasis was placed on the need to train more African teachers as well as training students in agriculture. This programme was in accordance with the recommendations of the Education Commission Report of 1925. This Commission had been appointed by the Government to inquire into all aspects of African education in Southern Rhodesia. The Report made several recommendations one of which emphasised the need to train more African teachers. "It is our view", the Commission wrote, "that the most urgent need for Native education is competent Native teachers, particularly at third-class or kraal schools".

Another recommendation of the Commission which was in accordance with what was already being done at Waddilove was the need to train Africans in agriculture. "It is upon the land", the Commission wrote,

1.Directory of the Rhodesia District,1926,J.Condy,(Inspector of Schools), Waddilove Training Institution Report,December 8,1925, p.7.

"that the future of the Natives will chiefly be, and their secular education must be based on tilling the soil and raising cattle".[1] This was precisely what Mr. Davis was doing in the agricultural department of the Institution.

In 1926 the enrolment at Waddilove increased to 45 evangelist students; 55 girls; 187 male paying students;35 women (wives of evangelist students) and 50 pupils in the Primary School, making a total of 360 students. This, the Principal, the Rev. John White wrote, was the largest number of students admitted into the Institution since it began.[2]

The work done at Waddilove was also noted by the Inspector of Schools when he visited the Institution during the year. In the Primary School, he examined the upper classes individually and found the neatness of all the written work and the "high standard of accuracy in the Arithmetic tests" to be a feature of the examinations. "I have never seen", he wrote, "better work. I had an opportunity of judging the merits of the teachers themselves when they questioned their respective classes for me in History, Geography and General Knowledge. Mr. White has been fortunate in securing such highly qualified men-they seem to be born teachers".

In the Teacher Training Department, the Inspector found that the professional training which the student-teachers received,was on "a par with the scholastic training in its thoroughness and suitability". In animal husbandry and agriculture, Mr. Davis lost no time in becoming "acquainted with local conditions. He has in Mr. White a man who realises the importance of this department in

1. Southern Rhodesia. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the matter of Native Education in all its bearings in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia,Government Printer,Salisbury,1925, pp.27 and 116.
2. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1927,John White, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1926.

the General scheme of Native Education. The herd of the cattle has improved considerably since last year. Two pedigree bulls are now running with the herd. I venture to say the sheep are the best of their kind in Rhodesia". The farm and garden work, he added, "are carried out in a systematic manner, while experimental plots are used to demonstrate the need of cultivation, rotation of crops and manuring".

In the girls' department, good work continued to be carried on by Miss Smallwood. Miss Smallwood's syllabus, he wrote, "is more varied than those of other missions in Rhodesia who are engaged in this work but not less efficient. Domestic training is carried on with characteristic thoroughness. In my opinion", he added, "the remarkable success of the Mission is due to the fact that all authority is centralised in one person. Mr. White has had long and varied experience of native work in Rhodesia. When selecting a worker for his Mission he knows exactly what qualities to look for".[1]

In 1927, a total of 405 students were admitted into Waddilove. The Inspector of Schools also paid a visit to the Institution during the year. He examined every Standard. "The results throughout", he wrote, "were exceptionally good..The majority of the students would merit promotion now. The student teachers displayed a knowledge of commercial geography and general history which surprised me. These students have been trained to think and reason, and they have proved that the native is capable of intellectual development".

In animal husbandry and agriculture, good work continued to be made under the direction of Mr. Davis. The field work and gardening operations were organised and the advantages of manuring and of crop

1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1927,J.Condy (Inspector of Schools), Waddilove Training Institution Report, December,1926.

rotation were ably demonstrated, especially in the garden plots. In the wood-work shop, Mr. F. Saddler, succeeded Mr. Chisnall at the beginning of the year; during his stay at the Institution, Mr.Chisnall did excellent work, especially in the building construction. The beautiful church, completed before he left, was built and equipped throughout by the students under his supervision.

In the girls' department, the Inspector again drew attention to the good work done by Miss Smallwood. "As far as I am able to judge", he wrote, "the work in spinning and weaving, needlework, laundry and domestic training could not be excelled. Cookery is also taught systematically; I saw cakes,etc., which the girls had made without any assistance, and I do not think that any European lady could make better". He considered that the success of Waddilove was due " in the first place to Mr. White's ability for organisation and in the second place to his unerring judgment in selecting staff".[1]

An important development took place at Waddilove in 1927. The Synod of that year requested the Missionary Committee in London to make a grant of £200 towards the erection of a dispensary and a small hospital at Waddilove. The scheme was estimated to cost £500 and the balance was to be raised locally. The hospital was opened towards the end of the year. Two male orderlies and two probationer nurses received both practical and theoretical instruction in caring for the sick;in addition, the nurse gave systematic instruction to all Standards above Standard II in hygiene.[2]

Several building schemes were proposed to be undertaken at Waddilove in 1927. Owing to the extraordinary growth of the Institu -

1.Directory of the Rhodesia District,1928,J.Condy(Inspector of Schools), Waddilove Training Institution Report,1927,p.9
2.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1928,John White, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1927.

tion, the accomodation proved quite inadequate and the Synod requested the Missionary Committee to make a grant of £200 for the erection of a dining-room and kitchen. It was estimated that this would cost £350 and the balance was to be raised locally. In addition, it was proposed to erect a building for domestic science classes. At that time there was no suitable provision for the accommodation of the Sewing, spinning, weaving and domestic science classes and the dining-room was being used for the purpose. The estimated cost of such a building was £200 and the Synod requested the Missionary Committee for a grant of £150; the balance was to be raised from local sources.[1] Some of these building schemes were accomplished during the year. The agricultural instructor's bungalow was completed; four new dormitories were built as well as a kitchen and pantry and by the end of the year a laundry block was being erected for the girls' department.

In 1928, a total of 387 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these 68 were girls; 1 was a candidate for the ministry; 23 were training as evangelists and 129 were being trained as teachers.[2] At the hospital, there were five nurses in training and five hospital assistants. The hospital rendered useful service; a total of 3,315 patients were treated during the year.

Meanwhile, the training of teachers at Waddilove was continued with vigour. According to Mr. H.H.Morley Wright, the teachers trained at Waddilove and sent out to teach in the kraal schools were important for two reasons. First, they formed the "vital factor in the education of the African". Second, they were the men who were

1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1927
2.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1929,Statistical Returns,1928.

laying "the foundations of a Christian education in Africa". At that time, he continued, many of the teachers had had no proper training; yet they bravely tackled "what would seem to most of us impossible tasks". At Waddilove, he wrote, training was being given to those who would go back to their villages and bring their own people to Christ. "The evangelisation of Africa", he added,"depends on such as these. The European can never hope to reach the hearts of the Africans in the same way as an African can".[1]

The training of girls, of course, was not neglected. According to the Rev. L.P. Hardaker of Epworth, there were two main reasons why the training of women and girls was important. Firstly, the "well-known truth that a nation cannot rise above the level of its women has been brought home to all of us, and most missionaries are realising that we have a lot of leeway to make up, and we must bring the women to the level of the men who are advancing." Secondly, anyone who knew the African household realised how very essential this work was. "The dirt, the bad cooking, the lack of variety in food, the moral atmosphere of the home, the simple childish ailments ignorantly treated-all these things", he wrote, "cry aloud for improvement".[2] It was for these and other reasons that the training of girls at Waddilove was speeded up.

In order to assess the progress made in the Domestic and Industrial Department for girls, the Organising Instructress for Domestic Science in Southern Rhodesia, one W.W. Waters, paid a visit to the Institution during the course of 1929.

1.H.H.Morley Wright,"The Vital Factor in Missionary Education", The Foreign Field, May, 1928,pp.194-5

2.L.P.Hardaker,"The Education of Girls in Rhodesia",The Foreign Field,September,1929,pp.286-7

In sewing, she found that the work done by the girls was excellent. "A carefully-graded scheme", she wrote, "had been followed and the latest methods were in use. The students had made a variety of garments, both useful and artistic". In laundering, she found that very valuable training was given in washing, starching and ironing on a variety of garments. In housewifery, she found that training was given in this branch in connection with the girls' hostel and boarding department and that everything was in a "spotless order".

With regard to the domestic science equipment needed at the Institution, she made several suggestions. The addition of a model hut, she suggested, would be welcomed; this might be furnished as far as possible by the students themselves and serve as a centre for their work so that the school and home might be closely interrelated. The cooking and housewifery, she suggested, might be demonstrated in this building. If the girls could take complete charge of the hut, say six or eight a month, they would learn house-management in a very practical way; if marks were awarded each month for every set of girls in charge, it would arouse a healthy competition.[1] It was hoped that if these suggestions were carried out, the training of the girls would be greatly improved.

Meanwhile, the work at the hospital was making steady progress. In 1929 there were five girls and three boys in training. In addition, the Sister in charge, Miss Margaret P.Dry, each week held a class on mother-craft for the wives of the evangelist students. A little home nursing was also taught to these women. Another aspect

1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1930,W.W.Waters, Report on Waddilove Domestic and Industrial Department for girls, 1929.

of the Nurse's work was the teaching of hygiene in the school as well as Elementary First Aid.[1]

In 1930, a total of 324 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 73 were teachers in training and 44 were in the industrial department. Of the teachers in training, 65 passed their final examination, and in the industrial department, 34 students passed their final examination at the end of the year. During the year, the Inspector of Schools visited the Institution and was pleased with the work he saw, particularly in the teacher training department. The practical teaching given to the students, he wrote, reflected "great credit on all concerned, teachers as well as students-in-training". Great emphasis was placed on the teaching of Infant Methods and much use was made of the 'concrete' in the preparation of lessons. "Real initiative and enthusiasm", he wrote, "marked all the lessons taught. Apparatus and teaching aids had been carefully prepared and in certain instances it was surprising to find the amount of material provided at short notice. Free expression and project lessons had received great attention. The teachers", he added, "generally were pleasant in manner, spoke well, had good control, maintained interest and had mastered to an astonishing degree the art of questioning. Blackboards were freely used and there was a conspicuous lack of the usual 'preaching' type of lesson".

The Inspector was also pleased with the methods employed by the student teachers. "The scripts written by Std V", he wrote, "showed that the method notes were extremely practical and were very suitable for teachers who must eventually teach in kraal schools. It was

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1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,M.P.Dry to Miss Bradford,March 26,1929.

evident that the students had mastered thoroughly what had been given to them. It was felt that theory was in no way divorced from practice, and that the pupils were given sound reasons for the methods which they were being taught".

In the industrial department, the Inspector found that several building schemes had been accomplished during the year. The Office and class-room for the Principal had been finished and were occupied temporarily by the Schoolmaster pending the completion of the Principal's new house. The foundation and brickwork of the new dining hall had been completed and the building was ready for roofing, the principal sections of which were being constructed by the carpentry students.

In the carpentry department, in addition to repairs to buildings and furniture, some additional furniture had been made for the Staff houses, desks, cupboards for the Institution, equipment for kraal schools, as well as tools and appliances for builders and carpenters. In the agricultural department, the work was progressing well under the new instructor, Mr. Addison. In animal husbandry, the herd of cattle was being improved and piggeries were being established.

In concluding his long report, the Inspector said the building programme, the agricultural work as well as new features in teaching techniques were but a few of the things that showed that Waddilove was dynamic and was in the "forefront of matters educational in Southern Rhodesia".[1]

1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1931, J.H.Farquhar, (Inspector, Native Development Department, Salisbury Circuit) Waddilove Teacher Training Institution Report, 1930.

Meanwhile, the work at the hospital was making steady progress; a total of 1,887 patients were treated at the hospital during the year. In addition, the five girls in training sat for the final examination conducted by Miss Rees, the Matron-in-Chief of the Southern Rhodesia Nursing Service; all the girls passed.

Miss Rees felt that good training was given to the girls at the hospital. "The girls", she wrote, "showed great interest and enthusiasm. The practical work was of very good standard, and the theoretical side, while not carrying the same high percentage of marks as last year, is very good indeed".

The Sister in charge of the hospital, Miss M.P.Dry, hoped that these girls would continue to nurse their own people in one of the Government hospitals when they completed their training. She felt, however, that the training of African nurses needed serious consideration. At that time the Government did not recognise the Waddilove hospital as a Training School for African nurses on account of its small size. In this regard, she did not feel that the Institution was justified in accepting girls for a three years' course in nursing if at the end they had no standing as trained nurses. It was probably best at that time, she felt, to consider the hospital as a preliminary training school and to accept girls for two years only. After this it might be possible to enter into some agreement with the Government whereby the girls would be allowed to complete their training in one of the recognised training schools for nurses. She expressed her earnest wish that the future would see the establishment of a dispensary on the neighbouring Reserve. This, she said,"would be a great boon in view of the great prevalence of sickness among the Native peoples".[1]

1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1931,M.P.Dry, Report on Nengubo Hospital,1930.

We have noted that Miss Rees was very satisfied with the training which was given to the girls at the Waddilove hospital. She also paid great tribute to Miss Dry. "The results Miss Dry has no doubt submitted to you", she wrote to the Principal, Mr. Searle, "and I would congratulate you on Miss Dry's work. She has shown extraordinary interest and sustained enthusiasm". On the future of the nurses trained at the Waddilove hospital which she had discussed with Miss Dry, Miss Rees felt that it would be necessary for her to ensure that her candidates for training went through a full time three year course spent partly in school and partly in the hospital; whether the size of the Waddilove hospital would be considered large enough and the work undertaken there sufficient for the hospital to be recognised as a Training School for African Nurses, was doubtful but there was obviously room for expansion in this branch of the work of the Institution.[1]

In 1932, there was a total enrolment of 324 students of whom 5 were candidates for the ministry; 11 were evangelists in training; 55 were teachers in training and 45 students were in the industrial department. At the hospital, a total of 2,582 patients were treated during the year.[2] During the year, the Organising Instructor for Manual Training visited Waddilove to inspect the work done in the industrial department. The results of the examination given were as a whole "unusually good" and indicated clearly that "thorough and systematic" training was given in all Standards. The average marks were very satisfactory and the degree of progression through the Standards was also good; the high scoring in Standard VII was

1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1931, T.M.Rees to Mr. Searle, December 10, 1930.
2. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1933, Statistical Returns, 1932.

particularly gratifying and signified that Waddilove maintained "the right stress on industrial work right to the top of the school".[1]

In 1932 also, the Inspector of Schools visited Waddilove and examined the teachers in training in Practical Teaching and School Method. "The training school", he wrote, "gave ample evidence of having received much thought from the Method Master. The criticism lessons were on the whole effective and real teaching ability was shown by many of the students particularly in the higher classes. There was a freedom in the use of the blackboard during the lessons which was highly commendable". In general regarding Practical Teaching, he wrote, it was "evident throughout that the student teachers had received careful training in the technique of handling classes. The sympathy that existed between class and student teacher was a happy symptom of healthy conditions".

With regard to School Method, the Inspector was equally pleased with the work being done by the student teachers. The Method paper in Standard VII was very well done. "There were ample indications", he wrote, "that the pupils of this class had a good grasp of elementary educational principles, in theory at least. Indeed throughout the Training School evidence was available that sound teaching was given in this subject. The Method Master is following his own syllabus at present and though at first sight the syllabus appears ambitious the pupils by a series of guided observations are led to arrive at the conclusion forming the basis of the particular principle it is desired to teach".[2]

1.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,S.Haworth (Organising Instructor of Manual Training),Report on Annual Industrial Examinations at Waddilove, August 25-27,1932.

2.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,G.Stark,(Inspector,Salisbury Circuit),Report on Teacher Training Examination,Waddilove Institution,1932.

The good work done at Waddilove, particularly in the Teacher Training Department, was also praised by the Director of Native Development, Mr. Harold Jowitt. The influence of the training being given and the influence exerted by the Method Master, he wrote, had "proved stimulating and effective, and it was apparently evident throughout the course, that sound instruction in school method as well as in Practical teaching had been given".[1]

In 1934, a total of 310 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 51 were teachers in training and 17 were in the industrial department. The examination results for that year were considered by all visiting Inspectors to be highly satisfactory. In the girls' department, the Theory of Industry papers were the best the Organising Instructress of Domestic Science in Southern Rhodesia had seen at any school. Furthermore, the Director of Native Development in his farewell speech to the school stated that Waddilove "led the way in educational progress among Africans in the Colony".[2] At the hospital, a total of 270 in-patients and 1,965 out-patients were treated during the year.[3]

In 1937, a total of 348 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 9 were in the theological department; 58 were teachers in training and 38 were taking industrial courses.[4] In 1938, there were 432 students enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 7 were 'special' evangelist students, 15 were evangelists in training receiving academic or professional training and 4 were theological students.

1.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,H.Jowitt to Mr. Searle,December 19,1932.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1935, Waddilove Training Institution Report,December,1934.
3.Ibid, M.P.Dry, Waddilove Hospital Report,1934
4.Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1938,H.H.Morley Wright,Waddilove Report,1937.

Such an enrolment, according to the Principal, Mr. Pluke, was the largest on record and certainly the limit "under existing conditions".[1] In the theological department, the 4 students training for the ministry were Messrs. H. Kachidza, E. Musa, E. Mapondera and S. Mnyama[2] At the hospital, a total of 348 in-patients were treated during the year.[3] With respect to building grants, the Synod of 1938 recommended that a grant of £560 be made to cover the cost of providing additional accommodation for girls at the Institution. Additional accommodation was needed as applicants had to be rejected owing to lack of accommodation.[4]

In 1939, a total of 404 students were enrolled at Waddilove. In the theological department, 16 men were enrolled. Of these, 14 were men sent by the Southern Rhodesia Synod for training either as candidates for the African ministry or for the District Agency. One student was a ministerial probationer from Kenya and another came from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missio ns at Mt. Selinda. During the year, 4 of the students took the third year ministerial course, 8 took the one-year Evangelist-Teachers' course and 4 the first year of the two-year special Evangelists' course.[5]

At the hospital, a total of 467 in-patients were treated in 1939. In the same year, the John White Memorial Hospital was opened. This was a much larger hospital than the existing small one and the building of this hospital was made possible through a gift of £1,000 which the Rev.

1.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1939, G.E.Hay Pluke,Waddilove Training Institution Report,1938.
2.Ibid, H.S.F. Rossiter,Waddilove Training Institution,Report of the Work of the Theological Department,1938.
3.Ibid, Statistical Returns,1938.
4.Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1938.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1940, A.W.Heath, Report of Ministerial and Evangelistic Training at Waddilove Training Institution1939.

John White had bequeathed to the Institution before his death in August, 1933. The new hospital consisted of a women's General Ward, Maternity and Labour Ward, a Nurses' Home and a nursery for babies. What used to be the women's section was used for men and the men's ward was used for isolation cases. The former Mayoress of Salisbury kindly performed the opening ceremony for the new hospital.[1]

Several building programmes were proposed for Waddilove in 1939. The Synod of that year approved the plans for a block of four boys' dormitories and a teacher's house at a total estimated cost of £300. The Synod requested the Missionary Committee to make a grant of £300 for the erection of one dormitory which was needed immediately. The Synod also proposed an extension of the girls' hostel at Waddilove and approved plans for the erection of four cottages at £125 each and a teacher's house at £130, making a total cost of £630 and the Synod requested this amount from the Missionary Committee.[2]

Some of these proposed building programmes were accomplished during the year. The John White Memorial Hospital was completed and was being fully utilised. The hospital kitchen, the African Minister's house and a handcraft room were all built during the year and various alterations to the class-rooms were made during the winter holiday. A new boys' dormitory was begun and completed.

In addition, the late Mrs. White bequeathed a sum of £300 for a school library and the Carnegie Trust Corporation donated £533 to the joint library and museum scheme. The Beit Trustees to whom the

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1. Nurse M.P.Dry, "The 'John White Memorial Hospital' at Waddilove", The Kingdom Overseas, October, 1939, pp.195-6
2. S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1939.

Synod had appealed for help to replace the small and inadequate assembly hall at Waddilove promised to donate £1,000 if the Synod could raise the balance of £1,500 believed to be necessary to put up the assembly hall. The offer was valid for one year but the difficulties in raising money in war time led the Synod to ask for an indefinite extension of the time limit.[1] Such were the developments that took place at Waddilove in 1939. The achievements made at the Institution were summed up by the Principal. "That the school is maintaining its place in the estimation of the African people", he wrote, "there can be no doubt. Our only problem of enrolment is that of choosing from the hundreds of applications we receive, those that we can take".[2]

Several developments took place at Waddilove in 1940. The total enrolment was 334 students of whom 39 were in the Teacher Training Department, and 15 were in the theological department.[3] Of the 15 theological students who completed the year's course, 13 were sent by the Synod for training for the African ministry or for the District Agency; one ministerial student came from Kenya and another from the Northern Rhodesia District. In addition to the prescribed courses of study, the students took regular classes in building and carpentry in the industrial department of the Institution. They also took First Aid classes with Sister Dry and all passed the tests and examinations of the Southern Rhodesia First Aid Association.[4] At the hospital, a total of 426 in-patients were treated during the year.

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1940, G.E.Hay Pluke, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1939.
2.W.M.M.S.,Report for 1939,p.43
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1941, Statistical Returns,1940.
4.Ibid, A.W.Heath and S.J.Chihota, Ministerial and Evangelist Training at Waddilove, Report,1940.

In addition, there were 4 nurses in training all of whom were doing very good work and passed their examination with satisfactory results. Other work outside the hospital consisted of mothercraft classes for senior girls and the wives of the evangelist students.[1] With regard to the proposed building of an assembly hall at Waddilove, the local Beit Trustee, Sir James Macdonald agreed that the offer of £1,000 towards the cost of the hall should stand good until after the war.[2]

In 1941 the enrolment at Waddilove stood at 313 students of whom 27 were teachers in training, 8 in the second year and 19 in the first year. The major building scheme for the year was the completion of the library and museum. The library building was opened by the Prime Minister on Rhodes and Founders' Day.[3]

In the theological department, 8 men completed the year's course of theological training. Of these, 5 were ministerial students-3 sent by the Synod, 1 from Kenya and 1 from Northern Rhodesia. These completed the two years' course prescribed by the Synod and were available for work at the mission stations. Three District Agents completed the one year course of evangelistic training. In addition to the syllabus of theological and Biblical teaching, the students had regular instruction and practice in building and carpentry in the industrial department; they also took the First Aid classes with Sister M.P.Dry. The students preached regularly in the Nengubo Circuit and rendered great assistance in this work.[4] At the hospital, a total of 431 in-patients were treated during the year. In addition, there were five nurses in

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1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1941, M.P.Dry,Waddilove Hospital Report,1940.
2.C/S/R/B.1936-1940,H.Carter to Mr. Noble,March 25,1940.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942, G.E.May Pluke, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1941.
4.Ibid, A.W.Heath, Ministerial and Evangelistic Training Report, Waddilove, 1941.

training, one of whom completed her third year and passed the Government examination with satisfactory results. There were also four motherless babies under the nurses' care. At the beginning of the year, a class including the African ministers' wives and some of the hospital staff took the African First Aid course and all were successful in gaining their certificates.[1]

In 1942 the enrolment of boarders at Waddilove stood at 339 students including 98 girls; the number of students in the Teacher Training Department increased to 47. Out of the 17 teachers in training who sat for their final examination, 16 passed. Of these, 8 were local preachers. Six of these became local preachers while in the Teacher Training School.[2] At the hospital, a total of 339 in-patients were treated during the year. There were four nurses in training, two of whom sat for their final examination at the end of the year. First Aid, Home Nursing and mothercraft were taught to senior boys and girls at the Institution.[3]

With regard to the proposed building of a Beit Hall at Waddilove, the Synod of 1942 requested a grant of £400 from the Missionary Committee; the Institution was to raise £400 and add this amount to the £1,000 which had been promised by the Beit Trustees in order to make the building of the Hall possible.[4] The Missionary Committee approved of the scheme and a grant of £400 was made at the beginning of July, 1942.[5]

In 1943, there were 340 boarders at Waddilove; these included

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942, M.P.Dry, Waddilove Hospital Report,1941.
2.Ibid, Various Reports presented to Synod,1943,G.E.Hay Pluke,Waddilove Training Institution Report,1942.
3.Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943,M.P.Dry, Waddilove Hospital Report,1942.
4.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,H.Carter to W.J.Noble, January 27,1942.
5.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,F.W.Dodds to H.Carter,July 1,1942.

100 girls. In the Teacher Training Department, there were 49 students in training, of whom 11 were girls. In Standards Five and Six there was a total of 160 students, of whom 38 were girls. In the Teacher Training Department, of the 19 boys and 7 girls who sat for the Government professional certificate, only one failed.[1] At the hospital, a total of 447 in-patients were treated during the year. Of the four nurses in training, three sat for their final examination and all passed, one of them taking the first place out of the sixteen candidates taking the midwifery course throughout the country. Of the six babies in the hospital, three were returned to their homes; one died and two remained in residence at the end of the year.[2]

In 1944, there were 343 boarders at Waddilove. Of these, 22 were in the second year teacher training course; 21 in the first year teacher training course;12 in the First year agricultural course; 96 in Standard Six and 88 in Standard Five. In the Teacher Training Department, of the 21 students who sat for their Practical Teaching examination at the end of the year, 17 passed and in the Post-Standard Six Agricultural course, a remarkably good beginning was made.[3] In the theological department, nineteen students were in residence. Of these, one ministerial student was received from the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in the Congo and the remainder were evangelist teachers sent to the Institution by the Synod.[4]

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944, C.E.Hay Pluke, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1943.
2.Ibid, M.P.Dry,Waddilove Hospital Report,1943.
3.Ibid, Volume of Reports presented to Synod 1945,G.E.Hay Pluke, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1944.
4.Ibid, J.G.Soulsby and E.M.Musa,Waddilove Training Institution, Theological Department Report,1944.

In 1945, a total of 430 students were enrolled at Waddilove. Of these, 47 were teachers in training and 21 were in the Post-Standard Six agricultural course. Of the students in the teacher training department, 16 were in their second year and of this number, 14 passed as qualified teachers. In the Post-Standard Six agricultural course, the first group of 10 to sit for their final examination were all successful.[1] In the theological department, 21 students were enrolled in 1945. They consisted of 6 ministerial students; 6 second year evangelist students and 7 students who were taking a one-year course, 5 of whom had already passed the second year teacher training course.[2] At the hospital, a total of 330 in-patients were treated during the year.[3]

Thus far, we have discussed in detail the expansion and progress made at Waddilove between 1919 and 1945. The progress made included that in the teacher training department; the girls' department; industrial training;theological training and the training of nurses at the hospital. We have seen the high praise which the work at the Institution received from the various Inspectors of Schools during this period. Perhaps the most glowing tribute extant made to Waddilove was made by Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, himself a product of that Institution.

Writing of his own experiences at Waddilove, Mr. Shamuyarira said that among the missionaries who influenced him and his fellow students were Mr. Tregidgo and Miss Marjorie Baker. These missionaries, he wrote, "instilled in us a sense of cleanliness, good manners

1.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1946, G.E.Ray Pluke, Waddilove Training Institution Report,1945.
2.Ibid, J.G.Soulsby, Waddilove Training Institution, Theological Department Report,1945.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1946, Statistical Returns, 1945.

and discipline,not only in our work but in our living". These missionaries, he added, "made a deeper and more lasting impression on me than any other group of Europeans". "The Eight years I spent at Waddilove", he continued, "first in the primary school and then in the teacher training wing, were important in forming two habits - reading and going to Church". The habit of reading which he learnt in the Friday afternoon sessions taken by the Rev. G.E.Hay Pluke, he wrote, made "an invaluable experience for me, helping me fit into many situations with ease".[1]

Having discussed the developments which took place at Waddilove between 1919 and 1945, we should turn to the developments which took place at the Tegwani Training Institution between 1919 and 1945.

We have noted that the Tegwani mission was founded as an industrial institution near the Tegwani River in 1897. Between 1897 and 1923 Tegwani remained a day school. An important development, however, took place in 1924 when the Representative Session of the Synod held in January of that year approved the establishment of a boarding school with industrial training and requested from the Missionary Committee a grant of £250 for buildings and equipment and £150 for boarding, house-keeping and salaries for the teachers for the second half of 1924. This proposal anticipated, first, the enrolment of 25 pupils and second, that in the following year apart from buildings, a grant of £100 would be required.[2]

The Tegwani boarding school for boys was begun about the middle of 1924 and by the beginning of June, there were 11 boarders and 2 day pupils[3] The founder of the Tegwani boarding school, the Rev.

1.Nathan Shamuyarira, Crisis in Rhodesia,London,1965,p.120.
2.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1924.
3.C/R/B.1924-1928,Herbert Carter to Mr. Burnet,June 3,1924.

H. Carter, in explaining the reasons for the establishment of this boarding school, said it had for years been felt that the need for such a school was the paramount need for the work of the Methodists in Matabeleland. Although financial help had been neither secured nor promised, he and Mrs. Carter felt called upon to make the attempt and the boarding school was opened in May. "Another consideration which weighed heavily with us", Carter wrote,"was the expressed desire of a number of young men known to us to come to the school, and a second consideration was that if we had not started when we did, another Mission in the vicinity would probably have done so, and we should very likely have been without the recognition and financial help of the Government in full measure". The boarding school commenced with boys in Standards I to IV and in manual work the boys did a certain amount of woodwork, building, farming and tree-planting.[1][2]

The boarding school was first housed in the village which had been occupied by an African minister, the buildings available being a two-roomed cottage and three round huts. The Staff consisted of the Minister of the Tegwani Circuit and the evangelist stationed at Tegwani. Farming and carpentry were added to the literary work and the school was graded by the Government Inspector as a first-class school.[2]

In 1925, the Synod requested from the Missionary Committee a grant of £525 for the erection of permanent buildings for the Tegwani boys' boarding school; another grant of £130 in order to erect a two-roomed teacher's house with a small kitchen, and a further

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1.S/M/R/S.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1925,H.Carter, Tegwani Circuit Report,1924.
2.H.Carter,"How We Built Our Own School at Tegwani",The Foreign Field,May,1932,p.183.

grant of £100 for maintenance in 1925. These requests were made in the anticipation that between 35 and 40 boarders would be resident at the Institution during the year.[1] In the event the year ended with 43 boys of whom 40 were boarders.[2]

Meanwhile, at Tegwani itself, the arrangement made in the interests of instructional work and economy was that the Institution should make its own bricks; the students working under an African bricklayer, would do all the building; the Institution carpenters' shop which by this time was under the charge of an African instructor, would do all the wood-work and the minister would be architect, clerk of works and generally to take charge of the activities of the rest.[3] By May, 1926, a total of 64 boarders and 3 day students were enrolled at the Institution.[4] In September,1926, the first foundations of a boys' dormitory were marked out.

In 1927 the Synod requested further building grants from the Missionary Committee in order to speed up the construction work at the Institution. It requested a grant for the completion of two class-rooms; two dormitories with dining-room accommodation; one teacher's house; a hospital room; windmill, storage tanks and timber for desks at a total cost of £1,160.[5]

In 1927, the Inspector of Schools visited Tegwani. In carpentry, he found that the instructor, Mr. Azael Letsoalo who had been "the best apprentice of his final year at Lovedale", had already had a year's experience in carpentry at Tegwani. The Inspector watched

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1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1925.
2.C/R/B.1924-1928,Herbert and Daisy Carter and Family to Friends, November,1925.
3.H.Carter,"How we Built Our Own School at Tegwani",The Foreign Field, May,1932,pp.83-4.
4.C/R/B.1924-1928,H.Carter to Mr. Noble, May 20,1926.
5.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1927.

the pupils at work; examined the tools and equipment which were of very good quality and in excellent condition, and inspected a considerable variety of finished work. He considered the carpentry department to be in "a very satisfactory state".

In the building department, the teaching staff consisted of Mr. Ngala Napa; an assistant builder, Mr. Mpendulo Mlalazi; and a carpenter-builder, Mr. David Mathlare whose work was confined to roofing, ceiling, painting, glazing and hanging doors. The staff, according to the Inspector, was adequate, the workmanship good and that there was no doubt as to the value of the training which the pupils were receiving.

In the agriculture department, the theoretical teaching was being done by Mr. Carter while the practical training was in the hands of Mr. Philip Pile. The latter possessed no formal qualifications but had had long and successful experience as a farmer and a teacher. Over 40 acres were under cultivation and the work was being carried out on "sound principles".[1] By the end of 1927, there were 73 boarders at the Institution.[2] In the building programme, the bungalow dormitories were increased from two to four.[3] Such were the developments at Tegwani in 1927.

In 1928, more building grants were requested from the Missionary Committee for the work being undertaken at Tegwani. The Synod requested grants for the construction of a wash house and baths for the boys; a store, kitchen, a sick room for the hospital; office,

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1. Directory of the Rhodesia District, 1928, A.G. Cowling, (Inspector of Schools) Tegwani Industrial School Report for 1927, pp.10-11
2. S/M/R/B. 1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1928, Statistical Returns, 1927.
3. W.M.M.S. Report for 1927, pp.73-4.

book store, printing room; timber for offices, tables and shelves. These buildings were estimated to cost £1,000. The Synod also requested a further grant of £1,250 for the erection of a bungalow for the Principal.[1] By the end of the year, there were 79 boarders enrolled at Tegwani.[2]

In 1929, the appointment of Mr. W.M. Tregidgo as Principal made it possible to contemplate a Teacher Training course at Tegwani. Up to this time, all the teachers had been sent to Waddilove Training Institution in Mashonaland. There were many draw-backs in sending Ndebele teachers to Mashonaland for training. First, "they went to a different language area"; second, "living conditions, food supplies, tribal customs were very different from their own"; third, some of these students married Shona girls who refused to come to Matabeleland and it was felt, Mr. Carter wrote, "that we should staff our own schools far more effectively if we kept the Ndebele teachers in their own country for training". Accordingly, permission was sought and obtained from the Government for the commencement of a training school and the course was successfully launched by the end of 1930.[3]

Several building programmes were proposed for 1930. The Synod requested from the Missionary Committee grants for the construction of two dormitories; one class-room; one married teacher's house and three married students' quarters at a total cost of £1,117-10.

With regard to grants required to complete the scheme for 150 boys' Teachers' course, the Synod requested a grant for the construction of two dormitories; two class-rooms; a workshop; a married teacher's house; a single teacher's house; an assembly hall; married

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1.S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1928.
2.Ibid, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1929,Statistical Returns,1928.
3.H.Carter,"How We Built Our Own School at Tegwani",The Foreign Field, May,1932,pp.184-5

students' quarters, as well as for expenses relating to timber for furniture, water scheme, borehole, engine, piping facilities and water tanks.

In 1930 it was also proposed to begin a girls' boarding department at Tegwani. The Synod requested for grants for the construction of dormitories; four class-rooms; kitchen, wash house and meal store; a domestic science room, kitchen and laundry; an assembly hall; a house for two African women teachers and a bungalow for two women missionaries. The total grants requested amounted to £6,100 for the accommodation of 100 girls.[1] Meanwhile, the number of students at Tegwani increased to 137 boys of whom 5 were training to be evangelists, 24 were training to be teachers and 96 were training to be industrial workers. Of the total student body, 12 were day pupils.[2]

The principle for the establishment of a girls' department having been accepted by the Synod in 1930, the Synod of 1931 submitted and recommended to the Missionary Committee a scheme for the buildings required. The total amount requested for building the girls' hostel including the domestic science block and staff quarters was £5,950. The Synod requested that the scheme be accepted and that this amount be made available to be called for in instalments year by year.[3]

The Missionary Committee agreed to the establishment of a girls' boarding department at Tegwani and that a sum of £4,000 would be available for the purpose. The Southern Rhodesia Government, however, intimated that under the existing financial difficulties, it would be unable to sanction any additional appointments to the staff at

1. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1930.
2. Ibid, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1931, Statistical Returns, 1930.
3. Ibid, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1931.

Tegwani where Government grants were involved. On these grounds, the Chairman, Mr. Frank Noble, felt that the development of the Tegwani girls' boarding department could not proceed very far.[1] The scheme was therefore abandoned in 1931.

The scheme, however, was revived in 1932 but owing to the inability of the Government to make any promise to grants towards salaries for additional staff, the missionaries were compelled to postpone this scheme for the time being.[2] The Government, however, changed its mind and at the end of January,1932, the Chairman received a message from the Director of Education stating that the Government was now prepared to approve of the Tegwani girls' school development. This, according to the Chairman, meant that if a lady teacher arrived at Tegwani at the beginning of July and completed the second half of the year at the Institution, the Government would contribute £50 towards her stipend payable about February, 1933.[3]

With this promise of a grant from the Government, the Synod of 1933 unanimously recommended that the girls' boarding school at Tegwani should be proceeded with immediately. The decision to proceed at Tegwani on a co-educational basis was equally favoured by the Native Development Department and by missionaries of other Societies engaged in similar work.[4]

A grant of £4,000 having been made by the Missionary Committee in 1932, the Synod of 1933 requested grants totalling £1,175 for the erection of buildings for the girls' department in 1933.[5] The Synod of 1934 requested another grant of £535 for the construction

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1.C/R/B.1928-1932,Frank Noble to W.J.Noble,October 30,1931
2.Ibid, Franke Noble to Secretary(of W.M.M.S.), January 19,1932;Frank Noble to Mrs. Leith, January 19,1932.
3.Ibid,Frank Noble to Secretary (of W.M.M.S.), January 29,1932
4.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,H.Carter to W.J.Noble,February 14,1933.
5.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1933.

of an African matron's house and furniture for the same and two dormitories.[1] This grant was sanctioned by the Women's Committee.[2] These grants having been made, the Tegwani girls' boarding department was begun in 1934 with 17 girls in residence[3] and with Miss Lince as the first woman missionary.

In order to speed up the construction programme being undertaken at Tegwani, the Synod of 1935 requested several building grants for that year. For the boys' department, it requested a grant of £272-10 for the erection of a class-room and furniture for the same. This class-room was urgently needed in view of the increased enrolment for 1935.

There was also an urgent need for the construction of a carpentry workshop as at that time a dormitory was being used for the purpose; this dormitory was required for its proper use in 1935. The scheme was for building and equipping a workshop; a blacksmith's shop and implement shed and a class-room for industrial subjects. At that time there was practically no workshop equipment and a good portion of the requested grant was to be spent on equipment.

The Synod also requested another grant of £70 for the erection of a single teacher's house. For the girls' department, it requested a grant of £130 for the erection of one girls' dormitory and furniture for the same. This dormitory was urgently needed owing to the increasing enrolment in the girls' department. The Synod also requested yet another grant of £650 for the equipment, furnishing and provision of all the necessary fittings for the kitchen, bathroom and domestic science block of the girls department.[4]

1.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1934
2.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,Frank Noble to Secretary (of W.M.M.S.)December 14,1934.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1935, Statistical Returns,1934.
4.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1935.

These grants having been made, considerable progress was made at Tegwani in 1935. In that year there were 28 boarders in the girls' school and 110 boarders in the boys' department.[1] In 1936 the Synod requested a grant for £130 for the erection of the seventh dormitory for the girls' department at Tegwani. In addition, the Women missionaries drew up a statement on the domestic science training needed at Tegwani. Owing to the rapid development of the girls' work at Tegwani and the inadequate accommodatio n for their proper training in Domestic Science, the women missionaries met together to discuss their common policy and submitted a statement of their views on the matter to the Home Committee.

The stated aims were, first, to train the girls "to be good wives and mothers in order to raise the standard of African home life"; second, to meet the "growing demand for girls to replace boys as cooks, house-maids or nursemaids in European households"; and third, to train industrial teachers who would satisfy Government requirements for domestic training in rural schools.

In order to accomplish these aims, they said the following buildings were necessary at Tegwani for the girls' department. First, "a model native cottage with simple furniture and equipment"; such a cottage might be the home of a Jeanes woman. Second, a larger building providing a class-room for Domestic Science instruction and evening study and a small quiet room; and third, an adequate building providing accommodation for cookery and laundry classes of fairly large groups and a bathroom.[2]

1.C/S/R/B.1932-1936,Percy Ibbotson to Mr. Noble,February 20,1935.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1936.

Meanwhile, the work at Tegwani continued to expand. By May,1937, there was a total enrolment of 211 students, 46 of whom were girls. On the medical side, the Tegwani hospital was recognised as a Government clinic and Dr. Knight of Plumtree visited it every fortnight. By the end of April, 1937, a total of 688 patients had been treated.[1] Also in 1937, the new Domestic Science block was completed and the Quiet Room which it included, was dedicated by the Chairman on May 23. Separate kitchens for each of the girls' dormitories were also built and the Laundry class-room was nearing completion.[2]

In 1938, a total of 182 students were enrolled at Tegwani. Of these 30 were teachers in training; 22 boys were taking industrial courses and 119 students were in the junior classes.[3] The boarders in the girls' department increased to 50. Also in 1938, three Beit bursaries were awarded to the Institution.[4] There was also an additional appointment to the staff during the year. In July, Mr. Guy Merry was appointed industrial instructor at Tegwani and proved himself in every way a most valuable addition to the staff. In the girls' department, Miss Edna Garton continued to work conscientiously and most efficiently in charge of Domestic Science Work. At the hospital, a trained European nurse was employed and 59 in-patients were treated during the year.[5]

In 1939, a total of 208 students were enrolled at Tegwani. Of

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1.C/S/R/B.1936-1940,E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training Institution, Principal's Ad Interim Report,May 24,1937.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1938 E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training Institution Report,1937.
3.Ibid, E.G.Nightingale, Tegwani Training Institution Report,1938.
4.C/S/R/B.1936-1940,E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training Institution, Principal's Ad Interim Report,1938.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1939, Statistical Returns,1938.

these, 26 were teachers in training and 23 were taking industrial courses. In the teacher training school, of the ten students in the third year, nine passed their final examination and of the sixteen students in their second year, fifteen passed. In the industrial courses, of the eighteen students in their second year, thirteen passed and of the five students in their third year, all passed their final examination during the year.[1] In the carpentry section of the industrial department the three students who completed their course passed their certificate examinations.[2] At the dispensary, a total of 70 in-patients were treated during the year.[3] Also in 1939, the Synod approved of the plans for the erection of an assembly hall at the Institution at a total estimated cost of £1,000 and requested the Missionary Committee for this sum for the purpose.[4]

In 1940 the total enrolment at Tegwani was 245 students of whom 230 were boarders. Of the total boarders, 64 were girls. The practising school also had an increased enrolment, its pupils apart from boarders numbering 159.[5] At the dispensary, a total of 79 in-patients were treated during the year.[6]

In 1941, a total of 206 students were enrolled at Tegwani. Of these, 36 were in the teacher training school.[7] The results in the teacher training department were again very good and a "most enthusiastic report was received on the girls' industrial Department". In

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1.C/S/R/B.1936-1940,E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training InstitutionAnnual Report,1939.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1940, G.F.W.Merry,Tegwani Training Institution, Farm Report,1939.
3.Ibid, Statistical Returns,1939.
4.S/M/S/R/B.1934-1939,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1939.
5.C/S/R/B.1936-1940,E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training Institution, Principal's Ad Interim Report,April 4,1940.
6.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1941, Statistical Returns,1940.
7.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942, Statistical Returns,1941.

addition, a special report was received on the special industrial course given to Post-Standard VI girls which was regarded as highly satisfactory. The Principal, Mr. Nightingale, felt that if the Synod decided that this experimental course should be continued on a permanent basis, he was assured of warm support and financial help from the Government.[1]

In 1942, the number of boarders enrolled at Tegwani stood at 175 of whom 32 were teachers in training and 5 were taking industrial courses.[2] In the industrial department, the industrial course for girls started in 1941 as an experiment for those who, having passed Standard VI, did not wish to take the teacher training course, continued in 1942 with 3 girls; 2 more girls came to the Institution at mid year to take a foundation course in industrial work prior to the full course in 1943. Centring round the African home, this Home Training Course aimed at training "better homemakers of the future".[3]

It was, however, found not possible to organise the Home Training course as a separate Post-Standard VI School and thus qualify for a Government grant. This very valuable course was therefore continued as before. Thirteen out of fourteen girls in their final year successfully qualified as teachers.[4]

In 1943, a total of 165 boarders were enrolled at Tegwani. Of these, 30 were teachers in training.[5] Mr. H.H.Morley Wright's endeavours to raise the academic standard of the Central Primary

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1.Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942,E.G.Nightingale, Tegwani Training Institution,Annual Report,1941.
2.Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943,Statistical Returns,1942.
3.Ibid, Tegwani Training Institution,Women's Work Report,1942.
4.Ibid,E.G.Nightingale,Tegwani Training Institution,Annual Report,1942.
5.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944, Statistical Returns,1943.

School bore fruit, 27 out of 29 students in Standard VI and 43 out of 54 in Standard V passed their final examination. The results in the teacher training school were also satisfactory; only one student in the second year of the course failed.[1]

In 1944, there were 223 boarders at Tegwani. Of these 34 were teachers in training and of this number, 11 were girls.[2] During the year the boys' dormitories were comfortably filled with 153 boarders and there was a record enrolment of 72 girls.[3]

In 1945, the number of boarders at Tegwani increased to 244.[4] In the teacher training department, the enrolment of 47 students set a new record.[5] In addition, in 1945, the eleventh year of the Tegwani girls' department saw the six dormitories in full use with 81 students of whom 12 were in the teacher training course. Of the 12 girls in the teacher training school, 6 girls completed their final year of teacher training.[6] The above were the major developments at Tegwani between 1924 and 1945.

In addition, the missionaries were concerned not only with the expansion of their training institutions and boarding schools but also with the expansion of African education as a whole throughout the country. They advocated the provision of more facilities for teacher training for Africans.

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1. Ibid, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1944, E.G. Nightingale, Tegwani Training Institution, Annual Report, 1943.
2. Ibid, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1945, Statistical Returns, 1944.
3. Ibid, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1945, H.H. Morley Wright, Tegwani Training Institution, Annual Report, 1944.
4. S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1946, Statistical Returns, 1945.
5. Ibid, Volume of Reports presented to Synod, 1946, H.H. Morley Wright, Tegwani Training Institution Report, 1945.
6. Ibid, E.G. Garton and M. Beckerlegge, Women's Work Report, Tegwani, 1945.

In 1942 the Synod, in view of the prevailing acute shortage of trained teachers for African schools, recommended to the Government the desirability of offering for a limited period of years a number of scholarships, additional to the Beit bursaries, which would enable more pupils who had passed Standard VI to take the Teacher Training course.[1] Further, in his address to the Representative Session of the Synod of 1944, the Chairman, Rev. H. Carter, stated that while the Methodist Church appreciated the increased Government grants for African schools, the position of African education remained unsatisfactory. "If every European boy and girl is entitled as a right, and in the interests of present and future life, to the best possible facilities for learning", Carter stated, "the same must be said of every other kind of boy and girl". Mr. Carter wanted to see three things developed in African education. First, closer co-operation between the various missionary bodies in different areas by "Area Education Committees" formed of representatives of those missions which were willing to modify their denominational rules in schools in consultation and by mutual agreement; secondly, the employment by the missions of more qualified educational officers who would undertake superintendency duties and act as expert advisers to the Missions and to the Native Education Department; thirdly, the formation of a Board of Education for the whole country as the ultimate control with a Minister of Education for all education- white, Asiatic, Coloured and African; infant, adolescent and adult; academic and technical.[2] These suggestions were made in the hope that if all education were conducted on a non-racial basis, greater progress would be made in this field for the whole country.

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1942.
2.Ibid, Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1944,Chairman's Address to Representative Session,1944.

The Methodists were also concerned about the need for the establishment of secondary schools for Africans. During this period there was not a single Government secondary school for African students and although there were some mission secondary schools, the position of African education remained unsatisfactory. The Synod of 1945 passed a resolution which said that it shared with the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference the conviction of the need for post-Standard VI academic courses in selected mission schools. The Synod said the immediate introduction of Standard VII in such schools as the first stage towards the introduction of a Junior Certificate course at an early date, was necessary "if the urge for education among the African people" was not to be stifled and the best fruits of the ever-growing primary education system were not to be lost. In consequence, the Synod resolved, first, to present the need for secondary education for Africans once more to the Government and to request that approval be given for the introduction of Standard VII at Waddilove and Tegwani as soon as staffing arrangements made this possible. Secondly, the Synod urged the Government to appoint a Commission to inquire into the existing position of all African education and to declare its policy with regard to the relationship between the Government and Missions in African education. It further requested the Government to give consideration through the proposed Commission to the question of the establishment of a comprehensive and representative Board of Education for the whole country. Finally, it resolved that if the Government could not give financial support for post-Standard VI academic courses at mission schools, the committees of Waddilove and Tegwani should consider the possibility of introducing such courses without Government support

and make recommendations on the matter to the Synod of 1946.[1]

Some of the above recommendations did not bear fruit . For example in 1944 the Government stated that it was not in a position to support any post-Standard VI academic courses at mission schools although it was prepared to recognise an additional primary year as long as it was called Standard VII and not considered a step in the direction of a Junior Certificate course.[2] The other recommendations of the Synod and of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference were accepted by the Government. In 1946, for example, the first Government secondary school for Africans was established at Goromonzi. Further, a Commission was appointed by the Government in 1951 to inquire into the existing position of all African education and to make recommendations on future policy.

Among the recommendations of the 1951 Education Inquiry Commission was the need for the expansion of Teacher Training Schools for Africans. The Commission noted that after the pupil, "the person of primary importance" was the teacher and noted that in 1950, 6,864 African and 361 European teachers were engaged in African schools and that of the 5,939 Africans employed in aided primary schools, 4178 or 70.5% were untrained, and that of these 1,300 had not passed beyond Standard V and over 50 (mainly older teachers)had not passed beyond Standard IV.[3] Such a deplorable state of African education needed to be rectified. It was for this reason that the Government from 1951 onwards decided to make a greater contribution than hitherto, towards African education by increased grants to mission schools and by making grants to students who wanted to take

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1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1945.
2.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Volume of Reports presented to Synod,1945,G.E. Hay Pluke,Waddilove Training Institution Report,1944.
3.Southern Rhodesia,Report of the Native Education Inquiry Commission, 1951, Printed for the Government Printing and Stationery Department by the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company, Bulawayo,1952,p.15

the teacher training courses.

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter the growth and expansion of the Waddilove and Tegwani Training Institutions between 1919 and 1945. We saw that judged by the reports of the various Inspectors of Schools, these two institutions made a great contribution to African education in Southern Rhodesia during this period.

The educational contribution of the Methodists can best be judged by examining the number of day schools and the number of pupils enrolled in such schools during this period.

The statistical returns showed that the number of day schools and the pupils enrolled in them increased from 111 schools with 5,104 pupils in 1919,[1] to 206 with 12,824 pupils in 1929.[2] In 1939, although the number of day schools decreased to 162, the number of pupils increased to 14,180.[3] In 1945, these schools increased to 204 with 22,179 pupils.[4] These numbers were large indeed especially when considered in terms of the limited resources available to the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia during this period.

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1. S/M/R/B.1912-1922, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1920, Statistical Returns, 1919.
2. S/M/R/B.1923-1933, Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1930, Statistical Returns, 1929.
3. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1940, Statistical Returns, 1939.
4. S/M/S/R/B.1946-1949, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1946, Statistical Returns, 1945.

Chapter 9: The Missionaries and African Welfare, Part 1, 1914-1945.

In addition to their work in the field of African education and in the religious domain, the Methodists played an important part in African welfare between 1914 and 1945 especially on the question of the land and the franchise. They believed that on the satisfactory solution of these twin problems, depended the success of good race relations between the European and African communities in Southern Rhodesia. In this chapter, we will discuss the role played by the Methodists in solving these problems. Before proceeding any further, however, a few preliminary remarks should be made.

First, all missionary societies were interested in African welfare but since this work is on the work of the Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia, greater prominence will be given to the role played by the Methodists in African welfare. Secondly, the Africans themselves were not mere spectators content to let the missionaries fight their battles for them; they were active participants in the process. Thirdly, the name of the Rev. Arthur Shearly Cripps will appear on numerous occasions in this narrative; although Cripps was not a Methodist, no serious discussion on the role played by the missionaries in African welfare can be complete without some discussion of the role he played. Fourthly, the role played by the missionaries in African welfare would have been less effective but for the alliance which the missionaries made with the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society in Britain. This chapter, therefore, will focus on the alliance between these two groups to determine what influence they exerted on the Colonial Office and what success, if any, they accomplished.

It will be appropriate at this juncture to remark that the land question was a complicated one and no attempt will be made to unravel all aspects of this question; a whole thesis was devoted to this question by Dr. Palmer in 1968.[1] What will be attempted will be to show in what ways missionaries regarded it as a legitimate subject for protest and in what ways they attempted to influence not only the Rhodesian Government but also the Colonial Office in Britain to adopt policies which would be in the interests of Africans. The same will apply to the question of the franchise. With these preliminary remarks, we will begin with the land question.

The land question was by far the most important of the issues affecting the lives of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia between 1914 and 1945. So far as the Rev. John White was concerned, "the whole future of the masses of the African people, as well as their moral welfare, was bound up with the fair division and partition of the land between the African and the European. If things went wrong in that direction, they would be likely to go wrong all round".[2]

We should at this point give some background to this question. The history of the land question went back to the occupation of the country by the forces of the British South Africa Company in 1890. The members of the original Pioneer force-some two hundred in number-received the right to select farms of 1,500 morgen in Mashonaland.

In addition, rights to mark out farms were also granted to members of the police force who took part in the occupation of

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1.R.H.Palmer,"The Making and Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890-1936", Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis,University of London,1968.

2.C.F.Andrews, John White of Mashonaland,London,1935,p.199

Mashonaland. Matabeleland was occupied towards the end of 1893 at the conclusion of the Matabele war; each member of the forces which took part in the conquest of Matabeleland received the right to select a farm. In the first few months of 1894 white settlers poured into Matabeleland in large numbers and many of them obtained rights to farms; the farms in Matabeleland were 3,000 morgen in extent-twice the size of those in Mashonaland. In addition to individual grants, a number of land and exploration companies received the right to select large blocks of land for future development as farms and ranches. As the Native Reserves Commission of 1914 in giving a history of how land had been acquired in Southern Rhodesia during the early period put it, "Most of the early settlers in Matabeleland selected their allotments on the gold belts-on land which is locally known as 'formation'. This type of country contains the heavy red and black loams...which were favoured by the Matabele.. It followed that the Matabele began to feel the pressure of European settlement within a few months after the occupation. By the middle of 1894 practically the whole of the gold belt areas of Matabeleland had been alienated to companies or individuals".[1] It was during the regime of Jameson that land in Matabeleland was parcelled out in the most reckless manner to all and sundry.

In view of the alienation of large areas of Matabeleland to companies and individual whites, the problem was to find land on which the Ndebele would live. It was in order to cope with this problem that the Matabeleland Order in Council was issued on July 18,1894.

1.Cd.8674,Papers Relating to the Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission,1915, October,1917,Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission,Interim Report, 29 November,1914.

This Order in Council provided for the appointment of a Land Commission consisting of a Judicial Commissioner and two other Commissioners; the Judicial Commissioner was to be a Judge of the High Court and one of the Commissioners other than the Judicial Commissioner, was to be selected by the Secretary of State and one by the British South Africa Company and both were to be appointed by the High Commissioner.

The Land Commission was empowered to deal with all questions relating to land in Matabeleland. It was to assign without delay "to the natives inhabiting Matabeleland land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes or portions of tribes, and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements, including in all cases a fair and equitable proportion of springs or permanent water". The most important provision of this Order in Council was one that stated that "A Native may acquire, hold, encumber, and dispose of land on the same conditions as a person who is not a native".[1]

The Land Commission proposed in the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894 consisted of Mr. J. Vintcent, the Judicial Commissioner and Judge of the High Court of Matabeleland, and Captain C.F.Lindsell and Mr. Jas.Heyman. The Commission, after a tour of Matabeleland stated that upon considering the evidence of the various witnesses who appeared before it, it was decided unanimously to assign for the occupation of the Ndebele two large reserves called the Shangani and Gwaai Reserves. The former was estimated to be 3,500 square miles in extent and the latter to be 3,000 square miles.

In selecting these reserves, the Commission wrote,"we have, with reference to their suitability for agricultural and pastoral

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1.C.O.417/121,Matabeleland Order in Council,July 18,1894.

requirements and to the quantity of springs and permanent water, been influenced by the evidence of natives well acquainted with these localities". With regard to the Shangani Reserve, the Commission continued,"we are satisfied that the report of the Judicial Commissioner and Captain Lindsell, and the evidence of the native witnesses, afford ample proof of the existence of an abundant and permanent supply of water in the Gwampa, Guelo,Fupu,Shanghani, Karua and Rutopi rivers, and of the suitability of the soil for agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Mr. J.W.Colenbrander, Native Commissioner for Matabeleland, who accompanied Mr. Vintcent and Captain Lindsell in their tour of inspection, and who has a vast experience of native habits and customs, and is well versed in farming matters, has in his evidence expressed an opinion that the Shanghani Reserve is capable of supporting a native population of not less than 30,000. We have no hesitation in agreeing with this view, and consider that Mr. Colenbrander has rather under than overestimated the capabilities of this reserve".

Finally, the Commission said that the evidence of the chief Indunas "inhabiting and well acquainted with the land lying in the Gway Reserve conclusively establishes the facts that it is well watered and fertile, and is regarded as beingthe best grazing veldt in Matabeleland, and has been, and is still being occupied by natives".[1]

Such were the recommendations of the Land Commission of 1894. The Commission in point of fact did not make a thorough inspection of the Shangani and Gwasi Reserves and relied for the most part on

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1.C.8130,Matabeleland. Report of the Land Commission of 1894 and Correspondence Relating Thereto,1896. The Report of the Land Commission, October 29,1894.

the evidence of the Ndebele who were supposed to know the two reserves well and on the evidence of Mr. Colenbrander, the Native Commissioner for Matabeleland. Why the Ndebele Indunas misled the Commission into believing that these two reserves were suitable for the occupation of their people, is not clear. At any rate, the Native Reserves Commission of 1915 clearly demonstrated that the Gwaai Reserve was incapable of supporting a large African population because of the lack of water. "One need only refer to the Gwaai Reserve", it observed,"where at least five sixths of the total area has no surface water whatever during nine months of the year".[1] The Land Commission of 1894 did not realise this and upon concluding its report, submitted its recommendations to the High Commissioner for South Africa on October 29,1894.[2] The latter forwarded the report to London on November 19,1894.[3] The Secretary of State, the Marquess of Ripon, on receiving the report wrote to the High Commissioner saying that he had "no objection to offer to the recommendations made by the Commissioners, who appear to have given their best attention to the questions, and arrived at well considered conclusions".[4]

That the Shangani and Gwaai Reserves were unsuitable for Ndebele occupation both on account of lack of water and barenness of the soil, was shown by the fact that most of the Ndebele refused to move into the two Reserves with the result that "they found themselves living on private farms and therefore subject to rental charges, eviction and so on".[5] As we have noted in Chapter 4, the Ndebele grievances

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1.Cd.8674 Papers relating to the Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission,1915,London,1917,The Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission. Final Report,16 December,1915.
2.C.8130,Judge Vintcent to Sir Henry Loch, October 29,1894.
3.C.8130,Sir Henry Loch to the Marquess of Ripon,November 19,1894.
4.C.8130,The Marquess of Ripon to Sir Henry Loch,January 25,1895.
5.T.O.Ranger,Revolt in Southern Rhodesia,1896-7,London,1967,p.102.

over land were among the crucial factors which led the Ndebele to rebellion in 1896 and that this was also the case in Mashonaland. After the suppression of the two risings, an attempt was made to rectify the position in order to prevent future risings.

The two basic aims of Imperial land policy during this period, Dr. Palmer wrote, "were to ensure that adequate native reserves were provided throughout the country, and as far as possible to protect Africans who found themselves on European owned land".[1] The Imperial Government informed the BSAC to this effect. The Company accepted these demands and native commissioners in both Matabeleland and Mashonaland began the task of demarcating the reserves in 1897 and 1898 respectively. While the surveys were still being carried out, the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council was issued on October 20,1898. This Order in Council embodied most of the provisions of the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894. The African's right to acquire, hold, encumber and dispose of land on the same conditions as a person who was not a native was safeguarded by Clause 83 of the Order in Council of 1898.[2] The reserves, however, took time to demarcate so that it was not until the end of 1902 that they were incorporated by an order of the Executive Council of the Rhodesian Administration. They were then submitted to the Secretary of State who finally approved them on July 11,1908, with the important reservation that they were to be regarded as provisional and subject to possible further consideration.

The provisional nature of the reserves as stated by the Secretary of State in 1908 formed the subject to an enquiry by a Native

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1.R.H.Palmer,"The Making and Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890-1936",op.cit,pp.70-71.

2.C.9138,Papers Relating to British South Africa Company,January,1899. The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council,20th October,1898,Clause 83.

Affairs Committee of Inquiry which was appointed by the Rhodesian Administration in 1910. The Committee consisted of Messrs. John J. Graham, R.Grey, Phillip B.S.Wrey and S.N.G. Jackson.

On the subject of the adequacy and suitability of the existing reserves, the Committee found that there was no unanimity of views on that point, "it being contended by certain witnesses that the amount is excessive. The Surveyor General shares this view very decidedly, but on the other hand the testimony of the Native Department officials is substantially against him. They point out that in certain reserves a large portion of the soil is poor, that water is deficient, and that certain localities are wholly unsuitable for human occupation".

On the question of reserves generally, the Committee said the reserves were "adequate in area for the present needs of the natives, and for the reasonable expansion of the population in the future. The present delimitation of some reserves is, however inconvenient. There are many small detached areas from which it would be advisable, if possible, to remove the occupants, in order that they may be located in the larger reserves, the size of which should be increased proportionately..We recommended", the Committee concluded,"that the various reserves be demarcated, and that assignment be ratified by legislative enactment, so as to secure finality in regard to land reservation for exclusive native occupation".[1]

There was an appendix to the above Report made by the Surveyor General, Mr. W.J. Atherstone. After surveying several reserves in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, he made certain recommendations which became the subject of controversy in later years. Among these

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1. Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911, Government Printer, Salisbury, 1911, p.11

recommendations were that when recommending the Sabi Reserve the Native Commissioner had estimated it contained 400,000 acres and was required for a population of 21,438. According to the maps, however, this Reserve contained 1,534,000 acres and had a population of 26,000. The Sabi Reserve was one of the four reserves which made up the Charter District of Mashonaland and the four Reserves were estimated to contain a total of 1,737,241 acres and a total population of 49,000. From this survey, the Surveyor General came to the conclusion that allowing "a most liberal estimate of land for this total population and their stock, as well as making provision for large increases in both, the reserves can well be reduced by one million acres".

Further, Atherstone said the reserves, "taken as whole are excessive; and it hardly appears that their disposition is in every case to the advantage of the country", and that therefore, the reserves should be reduced in area.[1] As we shall later see, Atherstone's recommendations became the subject of controversy when he was appointed to the Native Reserves Commission of 1914-1915 which was appointed to make a final settlement of the Reserves and which recommended a reduction of the reserves by about one million acres- the argument being that as he had for years advocated the reduction of the reserves, he should not have been appointed to such a Commission and that for that reason, among others, the report of that Commission could hardly be regarded as impartial. For the time being, however, the reserves were not reduced.

We have noted that the Secretary of State approved the delimitation of the reserves which had been made in 1898, on July 11,1908,

1.Ibid,pp.37-38.

with the important reservation that they were to be regarded as provisional and subject to possible further consideration. In 1913, the Imperial Government decided that the time had come for the final settlement of the reserves and informed the Directors of the British South Africa Company to this effect. What the Imperial Government wanted was the setting up of a Commission which would make a final demarcation of the reserves. The Company was at first reluctant to agree to this. But after pressure had been brought to bear on the Company by the Imperial Government, the High Commissioner for South Africa had an interview with Mr. Malcolm, one of the Directors of the Company and understood from that interview that the Directors of the Company were now favourably disposed to the idea of the appointment of a Commission for the definition of the reserves. On December 18,1913, therefore, the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Lambert, on behalf of the Secretary of State,Lord Harcourt, wrote to the Directors of the Company stating that the Secretary of State would be glad to know whether the Directors had indeed agreed to the appointment of a Commission and if so, what proposals the Directors had to make in the matter.[1]

In reply to this, the Directors of the Company confirmed that they were now willing to agree to the appointment of a Commission on condition that such a Commission would make a final settlement of the boundaries of the reserves instead of a provisional settlement as first suggested by the High Commissioner, Lord Gladstone, in his letter to the Secretary of State on April 30,1913.[2]

1.Cd.8674,Papers Relating to the Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission,1915, London,1917,Colonial Office to the British South Africa Company,December 18,1913.

2.Cd.8674,The British South Africa Company to Colonial Office,January 16,1914.

In reply, in a letter of April 8, 1914, the Secretary of State stated that he accepted the Company's view that the delimitation of the reserves then contemplated should be final. He informed the Company that the High Commissioner suggested that the proposed Commission should consist of three persons- a chairman to be nominated by the High Commissioner, one member to be nominated by the Southern Rhodesia Administration, and the third to be agreed upon by both. As Chairman, the High Commissioner, Lord Gladstone, wished to nominate Mr. R.T.Coryndon. The Secretary of State agreed that Mr. Coryndon was, "both by his knowledge of native affairs in Rhodesia and by his experience in the settlement of Swaziland, eminently suited for the position". As a second member, the Secretary of State said "the Administration will no doubt wish to nominate a senior officer of the Native Affairs Department". For the third member, Major E.F.C. Garraway, formerly of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police and the South African Constabulary, and until recently Military Secretary to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, was suggested and the Secretary of State hoped that he would be acceptable to the Rhodesian Administration.[1]

The British South Africa Company agreed to Mr. Coryndon's suitability for the post of Chairman of the proposed Commission and likewise agreed to the appointment of Major Garraway as the third member of the Commission. The Company also said that it would inform the Secretary of State as soon as possible as to the nomination of a member to represent the Company.[2]

The Secretary of State, having agreed to the appointment of Mr. Coryndon as Chairman of the proposed Commission, however, began to

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1.Cd.8674, Colonial Office to the BSAC,April 8,1914.
2.Cd.8674,BSAC to Colonial Office,April 20,1914.

entertain doubts as to whether Mr. Coryndon would "be altogether suitable as the main representative of the Imperial Government". "Our Commissioner", he wrote to the High Commissioner,"should not I think be a man who has been in the service of the B.S.A.Co; we shall have to defend the work of the Commission in Parliament, and should therefore have someone as Chairman who is beyond suspicion of any bias in the Company's favour". While the Secretary of State had no doubt that Mr. Coryndon "would in fact be quite impartial as between the government and the Company", he felt that "it might be thought that his previous service with the Co. biassed him in their favour". He then asked the High Commissioner to consider the point and let him have his views.[1] But since the Company had already accepted the appointment of Mr. Coryndon as Chairman, it was decided to let him head the proposed Commission. As the second member of the Commission, the BSAC nominated its Treasurer, Newton, ignoring the suggestion of the High Commissioner that a senior member of the Native Affairs Department would be more appropriate.

The terms of reference of the Commission were that it should visit Rhodesia and examine "the existing Native Reserves and to have special regard to the sufficiency therein of land suitable for the agricultural and pastoral requirements of the natives, including in all cases a fair and equitable proportion of springs or permanent water"; to report "whether any of the said Reserves are insufficient for or in excess of the requirements of the natives occupying them". In so doing, the Commission was to have "regard not only to the present requirements of the natives but also to their probable future necessities consequent upon the spread of white settlements

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1.C.O.417/550,L.P.Harcourt to Gladstone, January 31,1914.

to areas now occupied by natives but falling within the Reserves and to the probable extension of those requirements by reason of the natural increase of population". Finally, the Commission was asked, in case any Reserve should appear to them to be insufficient, to examine "such other areas as may be indicated to you by divers authorities as suitable and to recommend the assignment as additional Reserves of such portions thereof as you may deem to be desirable and necessary".[1]

The Commission held its first meeting in Salisbury on June 4, 1914, it then toured each Reserve accompanied by the Native Commissioner of the District concerned. Within a month of the Commission having begun its work, Newton was recalled to his administrative duties and Atherstone, the Surveyor General, was appointed as his alternate. The Colonial Office raised no objections to Atherstone's appointment, although as we have noted earlier, he had gone down on record as favouring the reduction of the reserves in his appendix to the Report of the Native Affairs Inquiry Commission of 1910-1911.

The Commission issued its Interim Report on November 29,1914. This consisted largely of the background to how the land had been acquired by the white settlers since 1890, and then went on to say that the "cumulative effect of the available evidence goes to show, in the view of the Commission, that the aggregate area of the reserves in Southern Rhodesia is more than sufficient for the present and future needs of the native population. If, therefore, any congestion is found in particular districts, what is required is either a readjustment of areas or a redistribution of population, while no efforts should be spared to induce the natives to make better use

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1.Cd.8674,Colonial Office to BSAC,April 8,1914.

of the land assigned to them".

The Commission did not consult the African chiefs and their people. "We did not as a rule", it said, "examine native chiefs unless there was some point to be elucidated or some definite information to be gained..We felt that we might do more harm than good by questioning the natives upon a matter of which they were very likely to misunderstand the real scope".[1]

After completing its Interim Report, the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Coryndon, handed the Report to the High Commissioner during his visit to Pretoria. The High Commissioner transmitted this Report to the Secretary of State on December 9,1914.[2] After submitting its Interim Report to the High Commissioner, the Commission went into recess on November 30,1914 and resumed its work on May 1,1915. In order to shield itself from future attacks, the Commission in its Final Report issued on December 16,1915, tried to show that it was not biased in favour of whites against Africans. "There has been no attempt", it said, "to influence the Commission in favour of the white settler as against the native", and that whatever influence "has been brought to bear in favour of the settler has been balanced by the influence of the Missions and the Native Department on behalf of native interests"- the assumption being that the Missions and Native Department were necessarily the guardians of the Africans. This was an eroneous assumption.

The Commission found it difficult to reconcile the interests of white settlers with those of the Africans. It said in one breath that "where it was possible to draw a distinction and to comply

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1.Cd.8674,Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission,Interim Report, Nove.29,1914.
2.Cd.8674,The High Commissioner to the Sec.of State,December 9,1914.

with suggestions made to us in the native interest, we have endeavoured to frame our recommendations so as to secure that benefit", and in the next breath, said that it was sometimes "impossible to meet the native position without coming face to face with some white interest already existing or guaranteed or earmarked in connection with some progressive scheme of white development".[1]

The Commission again tried to show that it did not favour white settlers against Africans. "It might appear to Your Excellency at first sight", it wrote in submitting its report to the High Commissioner,"that, in recommending the surrender of some small reserve or of a position of a large one, the Commission was actuated only by the desire to improve the position of the white man. That, however, is not the case, for it has more than once been clear that in confirming the white man in possession of a certain area we are securing the truest benefit to the native by moving him therefrom", but it did not say how the African was supposed to benefit from his being moved from an area which was being claimed by whites.

The Commission was unable to reconcile its recommendations with the views of the Native Commissioners. In a few cases, it said, "it has been impossible to avoid the fact that our recommendations have not been in accordance with the wishes of the Native Commissioner of the district..In recommending a readjustment of boundary,therefore, in these instances, we are compelled to place the Native Commissioner in the awkward position to have to initiate and encourage a movement of people from land to which he himself had assured them that they could go with safety. But it is inevitable that such cases should occur during readjustments of the boundaries of twenty million acres

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1.Cd.8674,The Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission, Final Report,December 16,1915,paragraph 62.

of land which is already divided into over one hundred reserves".[1]

The Commission then proceeded to give its recommendations with respect to each Reserve. It is not our intention to go into a detailed analysis of the recommendations made. We will confine ourselves to an analysis of one reserve which later became the subject of controversy. This was the Sabi Reserve in the Charter District of Mashonaland. The Commissioners said that the population of this Reserve as given by the Native Commissioner was 37,000 and the area 1,553,536 acres, and the acreage per head was 41.9. They went on to say that this Reserve was "thinly populated throughout", and was one of a block of Reserves which totalled no less than 4,696,400 acres. They further said they had recognised "some time ago the necessity of reducing the area of this block, and they have apportioned the reduction between the various reserves in a manner least detrimental to native interest".

The Commissioners understood that it was proposed to build a railway at some future time between Umvuma and Odzi, and that this line would take a course running East and West through the northern part of the Sabi Reserve. They therefore decided to recommend "that the necessary reduction in this Reserve should take the form, in lieu of a definite geographical boundary of a belt of land twelve miles wide with the proposed railway as its central line".[2]

The Commissioners went on to say that they had regarded the reduction of a certain area in the Sabi Reserve "as necessary in any case, and the area which this belt will contain, namely, about 291,800 acres is no larger than the area which a reduction independent of any railway would have involved. The country along

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1.Ibid,paragraph 72.
2.Ibid,paragraph 58.

the line that a railway is likely to take is thinly populated, and it will be no hardship for the kraals affected to move, in the course of several years, a maximum distance of six miles. There is ample land both north and south of the proposed belt to take those natives who will decide to move".[1]

Finally, the Commissioners drew attention to another point in connection with the Sabi Reserve. This was that the value of the Reserve on each side of the twelve-mile belt would be greatly enhanced by the construction of the railway; its value for sale would not be affected, and the greatly increased facilities for traffic, access and trade and the creation of new and neighbouring markets for their produce in future years "will, we think, outweigh any loss which the natives may allege".[2]

All in all, the Commissioners recommended the reduction of 6,673,055 acres to the existing 20,491,151 acres of the reserves and added 5,610,595 acres, making a net reduction of the reserves by 1,062,460 acres. The Chairman submitted the Commission's report to the High Commissioner in Pretoria on December 20,1915. The latter transmitted the Final Report to the Secretary of State on December 31,1915.[3] The Secretary of State after considering the observations of the High Commissioner, decided to accept the recommendations of the Commission as a whole on February 1,1917 and informed the British South Africa Company to this effect.[4] Such was the background to the land question in Southern Rhodesia between 1890 and the recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission of 1915. The recommendations of this Commission aroused a wave of protest, not only from the missionaries in Rhodesia but also from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines

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1. Ibid, paragraph 59.
2. Ibid, paragraph 60.
3. Cd. 8674, The High Commissioner to the Secretary of State,December 31, 1915.
4. Cd. 8674, Colonial Office to BSAC, February 1,1917.

Protection Society in Britain. In the pages that follow, we shall see the basis of this criticism and the recommendations which were proposed by the missionaries and their friends in Britain.

The recommendations of the Natives Reserves Commission were criticised on several grounds. First, that although the Commission had been set upon the initiative of the Imperial Government, the three members composing it, were without exception, employees of the British South Africa Company, past or present. This was the argument made by John Harris, the Organising Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in his book published in 1920,[1] and by Arthur Shearly Cripps, the missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in his two books, one published in 1920[2], and the other published in 1927.[3] Cripps and Harris argued that a Commission made up of past or present employees of the Company could hardly have been expected to be impartial and that it was natural that the members of the Commission were bound to favour the Company. This criticism was quite justified as the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Coryndon, had been the Company's employee until 1907; the second member of the Commission was Mr. Newton, the Company's Treasurer, and the alternate member, Mr. Atherstone, the Surveyor General was not only an employee of the Company, but had gone down on record as favouring a reduction of the reserves.[4]

The major criticism of the Commission centred around the figure of Atherstone. This gentleman, the APS pointed out in a letter to the Colonial Office dated March 17,1919, had been "recognised

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1.John H.Harris,The Chartered Millions,London,1920,p.123
2.Arthur S.Cripps,The Sabi Reserve,Oxford,1920,p.52
3.Arthur Cripps,An Africa for Africans,London,1927,p.41
4.Palmer,op.cit,pp.180-182.

locally as the leader of the agitation for cutting down the reserves", and that it could "hardly be a matter for surprise that by reason of his position and access to informatio n the Company's chief Land Agent became the dominating influence on the Commission".[1]

The APS again returned to this argument in another letter to the Colonial Office, dated April 14, 1919. Mr. Atherstone, the APS argued, "could not, by reason of the office which he held, and his previous commitments upon the question he was called upon to decide, be regarded as unbiased, and that he was consequently unsuited to occupy a dominant position where impartiality was above all things essential. Our Committee has plainly stated that this official was the Principal Commercial Land Agent for the shareholders of the Company, whose first official duty must always be that of controlling as much land as possible and securing the best terms for the shareholders in sale and leases. Secondly, that he had for years worked as strenuously to obtain a reduction of the reserves in the interests of the shareholders, as the Missionaries and Officials of the Native Affairs Department had sought to maintain the reserves in their integrity".[2]

The APS broadened its argument and criticised not only the appointment of Atherstone but also that of Sir. F. Newton. In reply, the Colonial Office pointed out that the Native Reserves Commission had been appointed on the initiative of the Imperial Government and that two of the three members who composed it were nominated by Lord Harcourt who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

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1. C.O. 417/633,APS to Under Secretary of State, March 17,1919
2. C.O. 417/633,APS to Under Secretary of State, April 14,1919.

The Colonial Office further pointed out that Sir F. Newton had been appointed to the Commission instead of a senior officer of the Native Affairs Department in order to leave the latter free to give evidence before the Commission: a view which was accepted by Lord Harcourt. Subsequently the High Commissioner for South Africa, Lord Gladstone, telegraphed that as the proceedings of the Commission appeared likely to be protracted and to entail absence in remote districts for long periods, the Administrator of Southern Rhodesia had recommended the appointment of Mr. Atherstone, the Surveyor General as an alternate member for Sir F. Newton. The High Commissioner proposed to approve the appointment and his proposal was agreed to by the Secretary of State.[1]

The APS, however, was not satisfied with this argument and requested that a deputation of their Society should meet the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Milner. This was agreed to by the Colonial Office and the deputation met Lord Milner at the Colonial Office on April 29, 1919. What ensued was a bitter exchange between Lord Milner and Mr. Harris.

The deputation brought to the attention of Lord Milner the question of land in Southern Rhodesia. This question fell into two parts: the reserves and the unalienated land. As regards the reserves, the deputatio n felt that the Commission which dealt with this questio n was not really competent to give fair recommendations. As regards the unalienated land where Africans occupied land for twenty years or more, the deputation felt that they ought to be given a secure title. Further, Africans ought not

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1. C.O. 417/633, Henry Lambert to theSec. of the APS,April 4,1919.

to be compelled to pay rent as they did in addition to taxation.

In reply, Lord Milner stated that the object of the policy of setting up native reserves was to provide sanctuaries large enough for native needs, which should be permanently set apart for exclusive native occupation. If that policy was properly carried out, he could not see that the natives had a grievance, because when they occupied land outside their own territory, they had to pay a rent for it.

In reply, Mr. Harris stated that the grievances of the Africans consisted of being evicted from their ancestral lands, to which Lord Milner replied that in order to get a settlement at all a certain amount of shifting was obviously necessary. As long as sufficient land was provided and no more shifting of natives was resorted to than absolutely necessary, he thought the natives had no grievance. As far as he had been able to examine the work of the Commission, Lord Milner continued, "it seemed to him that it had been thoroughly and effectively done; if the findings of a Commission of this character were upset there could be no guarantee of any finality on the question".

Mr. Harris returned to the subject of the composition of the Commission and stated that the composition of the Commission was such that it was incapable of giving an impartial verdict. Lord Milner replied that he knew two of the Commission's members personally, Sir R.T. Coryndon and Colonel Garraway; both of them had been native administrators and from his personal knowledge of them, "he would be

exceedingly surprised to find them biassed against natives. In his experience men like these, who spent their lives in native administration, were strongly pro-native".

Mr. Harris returned to the subject of the unsuitability of Mr. Atherstone on the Commission and stated that being as biassed as he was, he was "hardly the man to substitute for an official of the Native Affairs Department, the appointment of whom Lord Harcourt had urged". Lord Milner observed that missionaries also had their bias; Mr. Harris agreed, but stated that, "inthis case, the Native Affairs Department held the same view as the missionaries". Lord Milner did not answer this rebuttal; he instead stated that he did not see "how he could now question the competency of a Commission appointed by one of his predecessors, the report of which had been examined and approved by another of his predecessors". Mr. Harris then asked whether in issuing the Order in Council Lord Milner would consider the question of preventing the natives from being evicted from the land they occupied; to this, Lord Milner stated that no removal was possible without the consent of the High Commissioner. In conclusion, Mr. Harris said that his Society would feel that they had gained something "if that position could be maintained, and asked that the Secretary of State would give consideration to this".[1]

One observation emerges from this interview. Lord Milner's argument that if the question of providing reserves "had been properly dealt with", then the Africans would have had no grievance, was the key to the whole argument on the part of the APS; the question had not been properly dealt with in so far as the Africans lost a million acres when there was so much unalienated land which remained unused.

1.C.O.417/633,A Deputation from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to the Secretary of State, Lord Milner, at the Colonial Office on Tuesday, April 29,1919.

The Colonial Office wanted the APS to know in no uncertain terms that the recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission would not be revised. This was again emphasised in a letter to the APS, dated May 29,1919. In this letter, it was stated that as explained to the deputation which met Lord Milner on April 29, the latter was "not prepared to question the competency of, or recommendations made by, the Southern Rhodesia Native Reserves Commission of 1915 which was appointed by one of his predecessors and the Report of which had been examined and approved by the High Commissioner for South Africa and adopted by another of Lord Milner's predecessors". It was also added that Lord Milner had since been informed by the BSA Company that Mr. Atherstone"is not, and has never been a member of the Company's Land Settlement Department or a servant of the Commercial Branch of the Company. The head of the Company's Land Settlement Department is Mr. Frank Inskipp. Mr. Atherstone holds the office of Surveyor General of Southern Rhodesia and is a purely administrative officer".[1] This argument was besides the point; the real point was that Mr. Atherstone did not have an open mind when he was appointed to the Commission as he had gone down on record as favouring a reduction of the reserves.

A second criticism of the findings of the Native Reserves Commission was that it did not consult the leaders of the people whose fate was being decided.[2] This was certainly a just criticism since, as we have noted, the Commission in its Interim Report stated that "We did not as a rule, examine native chiefs unless there was some point to be elucidated or some definite information to be gained", and that "we felt that we might do more harm than good by questioning

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1.C.O.417/633,G.Grindle to Secretary of APS,May 29,1919.
2.Arthur S.Cripps,An Africa for Africans,op.cit,p.54.

the natives upon a matter of which they were very likely to misunderstand the real scope".

A third criticism of the recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission centred around the Sabi Reserve in the Charter District of Mashonaland in which Cripps had worked as a missionary since 1901. We have already noted that the Commission had recommended that in view of the proposed railway line which would run through the Sabi Reserve, a belt of land twelve miles wide should be alienated from that Reserve. The APS opposed this on two grounds. First, that where a railway passed through areas occupied by whites, a strip of only fifty yards was alienated from the land affected, whereas in this case the Commission had recommended the alienation of six miles of land on each side of the proposed railway, involving a total of 291,800 acres. Secondly, that according to the information they had received from Cripps, the alienation of the twelve mile belt would involve the eviction of a large part of the 40,000 people who lived in the area, the destruction of their kraals, ancestral grounds, farms; in short, "the obliteration of a considerable native agricultural industry which has been so patiently built up".[1]

Cripps argued that the area proposed for alienation was good land while the area left for Africans in that Reserve was largely bad.[2] In reply to the APS's criticism concerning the Sabi Reserve, the Colonial Office made two points. First, that the APS was under the impression that "it is proposed to evict forthwith the natives at present resident on the belt of land which is to be excluded from the reserve", and added that the Native Reserves Commission "contemplated that an ample period of grace should be given to natives living

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1.C.O.417/633,APS to Lord Milner,February 21,1919.
2.Arthur S.Cripps,The Sabi Reserve,op.cit,p.28

on the surrendered reserves". Second, it drew the attention of the APS to paragraph 59 of the report of the Commission, which made it clear that "the proposed reduction of the Sabi Reserve would have been suggested apart from any question of the land being required for the railway".[1]

Meanwhile, there had been a continuing debate in Southern Rhodesia as to who owned the unalienated land in the country. In 1908, the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council passed a resolution to the effect that it was "imperatively necessary" that there should be an "immediate settlement" of the differences outstanding between the BSA Company and the settlers particularly in regard to the claim of the BSA Company to be the private owners of all unalienated land in the country. The Legislative Council resolved that this matter should be referred to the High Commissioner for South Africa through the Administrator and that the matter should be inquired into and decided upon by His Majesty's Government without delay.

The Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, however, was unwilling to accept the position of arbitrator and in reply observed that "the questions which His Majesty's Government had been asked to decide were, to a large extent, matters which, unless they could be settled by agreement between the parties concerned, did not appear, in present circumstances, to be susceptible of any binding solution except by the courts of law, and, even were His Majesty's Government to undertake to express an opinion, they would not be able to compel either side to acquiesce in the decision, if it should consider that it had good reason for objecting".[2]

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1. Cmd.547, Correspondence with the Anti Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society Relating to the Native Reserves in Southern Rhodesia, 1920, Colonial Office to APS, March 4, 1919.
2. Cd.7509, Papers Relating to a Reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Question of the Ownership of Land in Southern Rhodesia, 1914, The Secretary of State to the High Commissioner, March 14, 1914.

The settlers, however, did not give up their claim to the unalienated land in the country. In April,1914, the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council passed a resolution to the effect that, first, "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 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". Secondly, 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 dominium or estate in or title to the said lands or to any moneys or revenue derived therefrom". Thirdly, 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". Such was the resolution of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative

Council of April 17,1914.

In 1914, the Imperial Goverment decided that a judgment as to who owned the unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia, should no longer be deferred. There were two reasons for this change of attitude. First, the Imperial Government feared settler opposition to the appointment of the Native Reserves Commission.[1] Second, the Charter of the British South Africa Company was due to expire in October,1914. It had been stated in Article 33 of the Charter that at the end of twenty-five years the powers of the Company would be reserved to the Crown, to add to or repeal any provision of the Charter so far as it related to administration and public matters.

The Secretary of State stated that it had now become necessary to decide on the question because the election which was about to be held was drawing public attention in Southern Rhodesia to the future relations of the Company to the country. At that election twelve elected members would for the first time be elected, thereby securing a substantial majority to the elected element over the Company's six nominees.

The Secretary of State therefore agreed that the matter should be referred for decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and added that it was the intention of the Imperial Government that the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be final and that legislation would, if necessary, be passed for this purpose.[2]

The Privy Council's judgment was delayed by the war until 1918, by which time there were four contestants to the unalienated land

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1.Palmer,op.cit,pp.270-271.
2.Cd.7509,Papers Relating to a Reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Question of the Ownership of Land in Southern Rhodesia,1914,The Secretary of State to the High Commissioner, March 14,1914.

in Southern Rhodesia: The British South Africa Company, the white settlers, the Africans and the British Crown. The Privy Council decided that the Lippert Concession of 1891,[1] on which the Company based its claim to the unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia, was "valueless"; that the white settlers and the Africans had no claim to such land either; and that therefore the Crown was the rightful owner of all the unalienated land in Southern Rhodesia.[2]

The Privy Council's decision was welcomed by the missionaries in Rhodesia as well as by the APS and their friends in Britain and prompted these groups to appeal to the Colonial Office to rectify the land situation in Southern Rhodesia in the interests of the Africans.

The APS in a letter to the Colonial Office dated October 16, 1918, submitted that whatever tenure was accorded to Africans in Southern Rhodesia, it should be a secure one, and should be extended to all Africans settled on the unalienated land and that if this land were secured to Africans by the Secretary of State, it would follow that "the present system of imposing upon certain natives rent as well as direct and indirect administrative taxation would automatically cease".

The APS suggested that a "Delimitation Committee" should be appointed to go into the whole question and that such a Committee should include a representative of the Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department. The terms of reference of such a Committee

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1. For details on the terms of this Concession, see C.7171, South Africa. Copies and Extracts of Correspondence Relating to the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, September, 1893.
2. Cmd.547, Appendix 1, Special Reference As to the Ownership of the Unalienated Land in Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Delivered 29th July, 1918.

would include the following: firstly, a final delimitation of the reserves as recommended by the Native Reserves Commission, subject to the proviso that "no native tribe which can show that it has been in beneficial occupation of its lands for a period of twenty years be removed against the wish of the people themselves"; secondly, the granting of secure occupancy title "to natives on 'unalienated' land outside the reserves in all cases where they can show beneficial occupancy for a period of twenty years". The APS demanded also that African on the unalienated land outside the reserves should be relieved from the obligations of paying both a direct administrative head-tax and a rent for land, and that they should be placed on the same footing as the Africans on the reserves who paid a head-tax only for administrative purposes.[1]

The suggestion that unalienated land outside the reserves should be kept available for African occupation, appealed strongly to Cripps. According to him, some of this land might be contiguous to the Reserves while other portions of it might be retained within "reasonable everyday reach of industrial centres". If such unalienated land were kept available for African occupation, this would pave the way towards the granting of freehold titles to Africans. He submitted that any such scheme should be supervised by the Imperial Representative- the Resident Commissioner in Southern Rhodesia.[2]

The APS and their friends, having failed to persuade the Colonial Office to recommend an enlargement of the Reserves, demanded that those Africans already living on Crown Lands should not be evicted from the land they were occupying. Thus the Directors of

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1. Cmd.547, APS to Colonial Office, October 16, 1918.
2. C.O.417/634, A.S.Cripps, Memorandum on Natives and Land Addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner on the occasion of his visit to Mashonaland, August, 1919.

the LMS in a resolution passed at a meeting held on April 30,1919, registered this concern and asked the Colonial Secretary, what steps the Imperial Government was taking to secure for the Africans of Southern Rhodesia, title to the lands they were beneficially occupying on the Crown Lands.[1]

It was, however, the allegations that Africans living on Crown Lands were already in the process of being evicted, which raised a storm of protest. This concern was voiced by the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends on December 5,1919;[2] by the Archbishop of Canterbury on March 12,1919.,[3] by the Edinburgh Committee for the Protection of Native Races on March 8,1919;[4] and by several Executive Committees of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches on December 17,1919;[5] on February 4,1920;[6] on March 1,1920;[7] on March 10,1920;[8] and on numerous other occasions. In each case, the recommendation made was that a thorough investigation of the facts by an impartial committee of inquiry should be made.

Inspite of the protests of the missionaries and the APS and their friends, no commission of inquiry was set up to inquire into the allegations that Africans living on Crown Lands were being evicted. The Imperial Government however, was determined that a final settlement of the reserves should be made. The Southern Rhodesia Order in Council was therefore issued on November 9,1920.

1.C.O.417/633,LMS to Lord Milner,May 9,1919.
2.C.O.417/633,The Society of Friends to Lloyd George,December 5,1919.
3.C.O.417/634,The Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Milner,March 12,1919.
4.C.O.417/634,Edinburgh Committee to Lord Milner,March 8,1919.
5.C.O.417/633,London National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches to D.Lloyd George,December 17,1919.
6.C.O.417/656,Leigh and District Evangelical Free Church Council to Colonial Secretary,February 4,1920.
7.C.O.417/656,Manchester,Salford and District Federation of Evangelical Free Church Council to Lloyd George,March 1,1920.
8.C.O.417/656,Lymington and District Free Church Council to Colonial Secretary,March 10,1920.

The main provisions of this Order were, first, that the reserves were vested in the High Commissioner for South Africa and set apart "for the sole and exclusive use and occupation of the Native inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia". Second, that no person "other than a native shall occupy any portion of a Native Reserve except by special permission given in accordance with such regulations as may be issued by the Administrator, with the approval of the High Commissioner". Third, that the boundaries of the belt of land six miles wide on each side of the railway line to be constructed between Umvuma and Odzi, which was excluded from the Sabi Reserve by the terms of the Government Notice No.57 of the 15th February,1918, was to be defined by a Government Notice to be published in the Gazette and was to be subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, who was to have power to require such modifications of the breadth of the belt to be made as "may, in his opinion, be necessary in the interests of native settlements". Fourth, that in the case of any land hitherto forming part of a Native Reserve but no longer in any Native Reserve under the provisions of the Order, such land was to be released from assignment for African occupation provided that for a period of four years from the commencement of the Order, no African was to be removed from any such land. Finally, that with respect to the belt of land to be excluded from the Sabi Reserve for the purpose of the construction of the railway, the period of four years' grace for the removal of the Africans in the land affected was to be reckoned from the date of the publication of the Government Notice defining the boundaries of such belt.[1]

1.Cmd. 1042 Native Reserves in Southern Rhodesia. Despatch to the High Commissioner for South Africa transmitting the Order of His Majesty in Council of the 9th November,1920,1920.

The decision to give authority to the High Commissioner to determine the boundaries of the area excluded for the construction of the railway line through the Sabi Reserve, with the power "to require such modifications of the breadth of the belt to be made as may, in his opinion, be necessary in the interests of native settlements, subject to the proviso that the breadth of the belt shall nowhere exceed twelve miles", was made because of the "special circumstances" that had been brought to the attention of the Colonial Office.[1] This no doubt referred to the protests made by the APS, the missionaries generally and by Cripps in particular.

We have thus far discussed the criticisms made on the recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission of 1914-1915 and the recommendations made by the APS and their friends to rectify the unsatisfactory state of the Native Reserves in Southern Rhodesia up to the time of the issuing of the Order in Council of November 9,1920. One observation needs to be made in this regard. Although no restoration of the million or so acres of the reserves which Cripps and Harris had struggled for was made the results were not lacking in consequences. "Most important of all", the biographer of Cripps wrote,"they had, by their vigilant action, delayed the Order in Council for three years; had made possible an extended debate, and had permitted the people of Britain to become acquainted with the issue involved in the Africans' need of land in Southern Rhodesia. While the Sabi Reserve shrinkage was not officially altered, the railway and the twelve-mile strip proposal was quietly abandoned, and although Cripps and White in 1922 and 1923 kept pressing the APS to get this abandonment made 'official', in point of fact, it simply faded out".[2] This was

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1.Cmd. 1042, Milner to the High Commissioner,November 24,1920.
2.Douglas V. Steere,God's Irregular Arthur Shearly Cripps,London,1973, p.97

certainly a victory for the missionaries, the APS and their friends that this outcome was made possible. What remains to be discussed were the major developments which took place between the time of the issuing of the Order in Council of 1920 and the setting up of the Land Commission of 1925.

From 1920 onwards, most of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia were committed to the policy of segregation with respect to the ownership of land. The key to the whole debate, as Palmer pointed out, was the law which stated that a native "may acquire, hold, encumber and dispose of land on the same conditions as a person who is not a native". This provision, we have already noted, was emphasised in the Matabeleland Order in Council of 1894; in the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898, and in the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1920. This right, Palmer argued, "was seldom exercised, for the Company, in deference to the feelings of European farmers, refused all African applications for land and the great majority of private owners did likewise". It was therefore, Palmer argued, "not so much the exercise of this right, though this usually provoked protests, as its future potential which was the source of controversy. The settlers were afraid that Africans would buy land much more extensively in the future, whilst guardians of African interests, and the Africans themselves, feared that the same pattern would continue and that Europeans would acquire nearly all the remaining unalienated land". The driving force behind the movement towards segregation, Palmer further argued, "was the intense hatred displayed by the overwhelming majority of European farmers at

the idea of Africans buying land in their midst".[1]

This view had been expressed by the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910-1911. The Committee in its report stated that there was "a wide-spread feeling that natives should not acquire possession of land in the neighbourhood of farms occupied by Europeans". The Committee felt that it would be "unwise, for the present at least, to disregard this sentiment", and recommended that "natives be not allowed to acquire land by purchase or lease outside the reserves at present".[2]

It was for this reason that when the settler delegation arrived in London in 1921 to discuss the granting of Responsible Government to Southern Rhodesia, it suggested that "special districts should be set aside by the High Commissioner in which natives alone might acquire land and within which Europeans should not be allowed to do so". The Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, informed the delegates that the existing clause which allowed Africans to buy land anywhere in the Colony on the same conditions as Europeans, enshrined "a long accepted principle and that I should be unwilling to agree to an alteration, the corollary of which seems to be the exclusion of natives from other areas; but that if full and impartial enquiry should show, after responsible government had come into force, that some amendment of the law is necessary, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to consider an amendment".[3] Furthermore, in the Southern Rhodesia Draft Constitution of 1921, the principle allowing Africans to buy land anywhere in the Colony on the same conditions as Europeans was confirmed.[4]

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1. Palmer, op.cit, pp.260-261.
2. Southern Rhodesia. Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911, Salisbury 1911, paragraph 67, p.10
3. Cmd.1573, Despatch to the High Commissioner for South Africa transmitting Draft Letters Patent providing for the Constitution of Responsible Government in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia and other Draft Instruments connected therewith, 1922, Winston S. Churchill to High Commissioner, December 22, 1921.
4. Cmd. 1573, Enclosure II, Draft Southern Rhodesia Constitution, paragraph 43.

The right of Africans to buy land anywhere in the Colony and on the same conditions as Europeans, was reaffirmed by the Buxton Committee of 1921 which was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consider certain questions relating to Rhodesia. The Committee in its report recommended that the "right of natives to acquire individual title to land must be preserved, even though in practice it is very improbable that many natives are in a position to avail themselves of these rights".[1]

The settlers, however, did not give up their fight for segregation. The missionaries too, supported the idea of segregation in land holdings although for different reasons from those of the settlers. This was especially the case with the Rev. John White and Arthur S. Cripps. We shall first consider Cripps' justification for the policy of territorial segregation and later the views of Cripps and White together.

Cripps supported the policy of land segregation on several grounds. First, he saw in this policy of providing "ample and acceptable separate Native Areas some real, if rather dim hope of daybreak for African Life in Anglo-Africa". He argued that African life had in it something "clearly meriting as well as rightfully claiming liberty for self development, and that such liberty may be fostered and extended by a measure of Territorial Segregation". He welcomed segregation "even in a much modified form, if it were to mean the provision of ample and acceptable Native Areas. For the partial benefaction of half a loaf is better than no bread for the hungry".[2]

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1. Cmd.1273, South Africa. First Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consider certain questions relating to Rhodesia, 1921, paragraph 64(4), p.9
2. A.S.Cripps, An Africa for Africans, op.cit, pp.72-73.

Secondly, that such land would provide a "real break-wind and makeshift harbour of refuge for the natural and legitimate instincts of the African's race consciousness".[1] Thirdly, he wanted a "racially self-conscious African not to feel himself homeless in a colonized Africa; he wanted a "miniature Africa of the Africans, free, as far as may be, from exploitation, and free as far as may be, for self-development, to exist within the borders of every one of our Native Areas".[2]

The Rev. John White also supported the policy of land segregation. He said the right of Africans to hold and dispose of land should remain in force and that a portion of the unalienated land should be set apart to be sold to individual Africans in portions that were within the purchasing power of the ordinary individual.[3] In a joint letter with Amos Burnet addressed to the Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, on October 15,1921, the two missionaries urged the Imperial Government to set aside a good portion of the unalienated land which would be cut up into blocks "suited to native purchasers, so that these might be acquired by progressive natives who desire to become individual owners of land".[4]

Although White and Cripps supported the policy of land segregation, it must be emphasised that they came to support this policy because every other method they had recommended had failed. They had advocated the enlargement of the Reserves but this had been opposed not only by the Rhodesian Government but also by the Colonial Office. Under the circumstances, they came to the conclusion

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1.Ibid,p.90
2.Ibid,pp.100-101.
3.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.165,John White to John Harris, May 13,1921.
4.C.O.417/675, John White and Amos Burnet to Winston Churchill, October 15,1921.

that Africans could only obtain enough land if they were given the opportunity to purchase it.

White and Cripps also supported the policy of land segregation on several other grounds. According to the terms of the Responsible Government Constitution of 1923., White argued, Africans had the right to purchase land anywhere in the Colony. The fact of the matter, though, was that very few of them were able to do so. This was largely because of the strong prejudice of whites against Africans buying and owning land adjoining theirs. Under the circumstance, he considered it a good bargain that Africans should have land set apart "in close proximity to their present Reserves in plots of suitable size and at a price to enable them to become individual owners of land in lieu of their present right of purchase anywhere".[1] In other words, Africans should give up a theoretical right for a practical benefit.

White tried to show why he now supported the policy of land segregation whereas he had opposed it in the past. "The corollary of setting aside land for exclusive use by natives", he wrote to John Harris on December 3,1923, "is the setting apart of areas for Europeans only. In other words it carries with it Segregation. Against such a racial division in the past I have protested on principle. I could not see the justice of it. My views have undergone a change. The right of natives to purchase land anywhere means that they purchase nowhere..If the Government would set apart a fair proportion of land, suitable for native cultivation, and cede it to them on reasonable terms, I for one would be prepared to agree to the condition they wish to impose, viz, that the natives be

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1.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166, John White to John Harris, June 28,1924.

excluded from the white areas".[1]

In another letter to Harris on January 2,1923, White again emphasised the reasons for changing his mind. He was "extremely reluctant", he wrote,"to accept any arrangement that seemed to carry with it exclusion from the right to purchase in other parts of the country". But under existing conditions, Africans were getting nothing. Secondly, the legal right of Africans to purchase land anywhere, he emphasised, "does not make land available in the only way they can buy, viz, small plots with grazing rights on common lands". Besides, he argued, when African plots adjoined those of European farmers, there was "endless friction and disputes, and the black man as a rule is badly handicapped in any litigation that may ensue. With this strong racial prejudice that obtains some equitable scheme of segregation seems to be the best solution." Thirdly, if the unalienated land were thrown on the market, since Europeans had better facilities for buying such land, they would take it all up quickly and the African would be left high and dry.[2]

On September, 21,1923, White and Cripps wrote a joint letter to Harris in which they drew up a four-point programme of reforms which they requested the latter to submit to the Colonial Office and which they felt should be incorporated in the new Responsible Government Constitution. One of the points submitted concerned land purchase by Africans. They wanted the land adjacent to the Reserves to be set apart as soon as possible after Responsible Goverment had been granted to the Colony. They wanted these areas to be set aside for purchase by individual Africans. They emphasised

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1. RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White to John Harris, December 3,1923.
2. RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White to John Harris, January 2,1923.

the urgency of their recommendation, submitting that the alternative to the provision of reasonable land purchase facilities for Africans was "now" or "never".[1] These recommendations were supported by the Anglican missionary, Edgar Lloyd and his wife, Elaine, in a letter to Harris on September 26,1923.[2]

The Methodist Synod too, supported the view that "suitable and sufficient areas of unalienated land adjoining the present Reserves should be set apart, surveyed in suitable blocks and offered for sale to Natives who may wish to become individual owners of land." In forwarding the above resolution to the Colonial Secretary, the Synod of 1923 regarded this "not only as an act of justice, but likewise a wise policy to meet the immediate and future needs of these people". It further urged that this scheme should be adopted at once, arguing that as white settlers increased, the matter would become more complicated and difficult.[3] A resolution to the same effect was passed by the Synod of 1924.[4]

Meanwhile, Responsible Government was granted to the Colony in 1923. According to the Constitution, there was to be established a 'Board of Trustees', consisting of a chairman nominated and appointed by the Secretary of State, and two other members, the Chief Justice and the Chief Native Commissioner of the Colony.[5] The Reserves were vested in the Board of Trustees and set apart "for the sole and exclusive use and occupation of the indigenous native inhabitants of the Colony".[6] Further, save in special circumstances, and then

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1.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White and A.S. Cripps to John Harris, September 21,1923.
2.Ibid, Edgar and Elaine Lloyd to John Harris,September 26,1923.
3.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1923.
4.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1924.
5.The Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent1923,Clause 41(1)
6.The Southern Rhodesia Constitution Letters Patent,1923,Clause 42(1).

only with the permission in writing of the Secretary of State, and subject to such conditions as he might prescribe, which would include adequate compensation in land, no African Reserve or any portion thereof could be alienated except subject to the provisions of Clause 43 of the Constitution.[1]

The Government of the Colony was to retain the mineral rights in the Native Reserves. If the Government should require any such land for the purpose of mineral development or as sites for townships or for railways or other public works, the Governor in Council could "upon good and sufficient cause shown, with the approval of the Board of Trustees, order the natives to remove from such land or any portion thereof", and was to assign to the Africans affected, "just and liberal compensation in land elsewhere situate in as convenient a position as possible, sufficient and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements containing a fair and equitable proportion of springs or permanent water and, as far as possible, equally suitable for their requirements in all respects as the land from which they are to remove", provided that "natives shall not be removed from such land for the purpose of creating sites of townships unless the Board of Truetees is satisfied that such sites are required for the development of important mineral discoveries".[2]

Finally, the Governor in Council was empowered, with the consent of the Board of Trustees, to make such adjustments of the boundaries of the Native Reserves as were desirable for the purpose of "more clearly demarcating such boundaries by reference to natural topo-

1.Ibid, Clause 43(1)
2.Ibid, Clause 43(2).

graphical features", or better administration, but in the case of any such adjustments, the area of no Native Reserve was to be "materially affected or diminished thereby.[1]

Such were the main provisions of the Responsible Government Constitution of 1923, so far as land was concerned. One observation needs to be made about the provisions of this Constitution. The question of individual land purchase by Africans which Cripps and White had been advocating,, was nowhere mentioned; the Constitution dealt only with the reserves. It was for this reason that White and Cripps again returned to the question of land segregation which in their view would allow Africans to purchase land on individual tenure.

As we have already mentioned, the settlers had long been in favour of the policy of land segregation; the missionaries favoured this too, though for different reasons. It was for these and other reasons that the Rhodesian Government set up a Land Commission in 1925 to go into the whole question of whether land segregation should henceforth be the official policy.

But before the Land Commission was set up, Cripps and White wanted to emphasise one important point-namely, that in the event that the Land Commission recommended segregation, the land available for African purchase should be sufficient. White had been influential in persuading the Missionary Conference to recommend this scheme to the Government; the Missionary Conference agreed although it was "most solicitous in securing that the quid pro quo which the Commission shall recommend to the Government is an equitable one". He

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1. Ibid, Clause 44.

emphasised that if the policy of land segregation was to have the approval of the Missionary Conference, "it must be an obviously fair bargain".[1] Cripps agreed with this entirely.[2] In addition, there were two things which White wanted Harris and the APS to watch for before the proposed Land Commission was appointed. First, that the persons composing it should be "very carefully chosen. Some man or men with vision and sympathy must be among them. A Commission composed exclusively of those who want Rhodesia to be what they call a 'white man's country' would be incapable of dealing justly with the partition". Second, that the recommendations of the Commission should be "carefully scrutinised when published and the friends of the natives must fight against surrender of clause 43 unless the bargain is a fair one". He urged Harris to demand that "sufficient time shall elapse after the report is published for careful investigation to be made ere it come before the House of Legislature. And it might be well to require that the Crown on behalf of the natives shall have a voice in the appointment of the Commission. If this were done very much would be accomplished".[3]

Such was the background to the Land Commission of 1925. We have already stated that the majority of the white settlers were committed to the policy of land segregation for the reasons already given. We have also shown that White and Cripps favoured this policy for the reasons already given. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that White and Cripps advocated this policy on condition that the land set aside for African purchase was sufficient. The problem, as it turned out, was that the recommendations of the Commission and the bargain they had advocated, was not an equitable one.

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1. John White, "The Rationale of the Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia", NADA 1923, p.69.
2. A.S.Cripps, "A Difficult and Delicate Operation", NADA, 1924, p.102
3. RHO/Mss.British Empire, S.22, APS Papers, G.166, John White to John Harris, June 28, 1924.

The Land Commission was appointed in January,1925. It consisted of three members. The Chairman, Sir Morris Carter, was a former Chief Justice of Uganda and Tanganyika; the other two members were Messrs Herbert Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner and W.J. Atherstone who, as we have already seen, was the controversial figure of the Native Reserves Commission of 1914-1915.

Among the terms of reference of the Commission were "to inquire into and report upon the expediency and practicability of setting apart defined areas outside the boundaries of the Native Reserves (a) within which Natives only shall be permitted to acquire ownership of or interest in land, and (b) within which only Europeans shall be permitted to acquire ownership of or interest in land".[1]

The Commission first gave a history of how land had been acquired in Southern Rhodesia from 1898 to 1920 and noted that although the Order in Council of 1920 gave finality to the matter of Native Reserves,"it in no way affected the legal rights of the individual Natives to acquire land secured to them under the Order in Council of 1898".[2]

The Commission then went round the country interviewing witnesses and completed and compiled its report towards the end of the year. It stated in its report that the evidence"which has been given before the Commission leaves no room for doubt as to the wishes of all classes of the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia who are affected; and we have no hesitation in finding that an overwhelming majority of those who understand the question are in favour of the existing law being ammended, and of the establishment of separate areas in which each of the two races, black and white, respectively

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1.Report of the Land Commission, 1925, Government Printer, Salisbury, 1925, parag. 1.
2.Ibid, parag.38.

should be permitted to acquire interests in land. Missionaries, farmers and town dwellers, the officials of the Native Department, the Natives in the out-districts and Reserves, in so far as they can grasp the subject, and the more advanced Natives, are, generally speaking all of one mind in this respect".[1]

The Commission then gave reasons advanced by the groups concerned as to why they favoured land segregation. "The farmer", it wrote, "considers that his stock and produce will be endangered by the proximity of Native landholders, whose less progressive and careless methods will spread disease among his crops and cattle; in many cases he suspects the honesty of the Native, and fears that his crops and implements will be stolen; and he objects to the Native as a neighbour; moreover, he has no doubt that his land will depreciate in value if a Native buys a neighbouring farm".[2]

"The Native, on the other hand", the Commission wrote, "prefers to live among his own people, and has no wish to acquire land among white people if he can obtain suitable land elsewhere; he dreads the trouble which arises from the white man not understanding him, and the worry to which he is subjected by the impounding of his straying flocks and herds, with the consequent expense he is put to in releasing them from the pound; in many cases he realises the growing difficulty of obtaining land in competition with the whites".[3]

The Commission then turned to the reasons given by the missionaries in support of land segregation. "The missionary", it wrote, "is more guarded in the expression of his opinion, as he was unwilling on behalf of the Native to surrender the rights of which

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1. Report on the Land Commission, 1925, parag. 40.
2. Ibid, parag. 50.
3. Ibid, parag. 51.

the Native is in possession; but in the existing state of opinion, both black and white, he is satisfied that the interests of the Native would be better served if he is enabled to acquire suitable land in sufficient quantities among his own people and apart from the whites, where he will have a better opportunity of progressing in his own sphere along lines more suited to his race; a view which is held by the official of the Native Department who also feels that the proper administration of the Natives will be facilitated by the adoption of the policy of separate areas".[1]

The Commission found that the white town dweller was "averse from having a Native as his neighbour, whether as a resident or as a competitor in his profession, trade or craft; and the Native town dweller at present is only anxious to obtain a place where he can reside in comfort, with his family, if he has one, and, if he wishes to trade, to have some opportunity of setting up a shop or practising his craft".[2]

Such were the views of the various groups concerned, in favour of land segregation. From the evidence submitted, the Commission concluded that in view, therefore, "of the state of opinion of both races in this country, which we think is unlikely to be materially changed for many years if at all, and which coincides with the accepted policy in the Union of South Africa, its neighbour to the South; and of the difficulties which arise throughout the world in countries where the population is composed of persons of different coloured races, each in considerable number; we are of opinion that it is expedient that separate areas for the holding of land should be set aside for the two races".[3]

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1. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.52.
2. Ibid, parag.53.
3. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.62

The Commission emphasised why it recommended separate land purchase areas for whites and blacks. "However desirable it may be", it wrote, "that members of the two races should live together side by side with equal rights as regards the holding of land, we are convinced that in practice, probably for generations to come, such a policy is not practicable or in the best interests of the two races, and that until the Native has advanced very much further on the paths of civilisation, it is better that the points of contact in this respect between the two races should be reduced, and a lengthy period afforded for the study of the whole question of the future of the relations between the two races, in an atmosphere which is freed as far as possible from the setbacks which would ensue from the irritation and conflicts arising from the constant close proximity of members of races of different habits, ideals and outlook upon life".[1]

The Commission observed that if separate areas were to be set aside for the two races, there would be "ample land available for Europeans; and those progressive Natives who have the means to acquire land, at present not a very considerable number, will be afforded a far better opportunity of satisfying their needs in this direction than exists at present; and, in growing numbers,will contribute towards the prosperity of the country by the production of exportable products"[2]

Having concluded that the majority of both white and black were in favour of separate areas, the Commission made the important observation that it was "in fact the white element of the population

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1.Ibid, parag.63
2.Ibid,parag.67.

which originally asked for an ammendment of the law in this direction", and that it depended upon the votes of members of the Legislative Assembly, who, "to all intents and purposes, have been elected by that portion of the community, whether any alteration of that law should take place", and that it was up to the white electorate "to determine to what extent they are willing to surrender their rights in order to obtain the benefits which the policy of separate areas will bring to the whole community".[1]

The Commission said of those witnesses who expressed an opinion on the subject, the majority of Europeans apart from missionaries and the officials of the Native Department, had expressed the view that less than a quarter of the available land should be allocated for individual acquisition by Africans,[2] while the majority of Africans who had expressed an opinion on the subject and of the missionaries who had spoken on their behalf, considered that the land should be divided equally.[3]

The Commission further observed that while the Europeans had acquired about 31,000,000 acres of land, the Africans had acquired by purchase only some 45,000 acres and added that it was true that "the majority of the Natives probably have not been aware of their rights in the past, but it is equally true that they have not had the means to acquire large areas by purchase", and that if nothing was done, all the most desirable land would be in the possession of the Europeans and it would only be by the payment of such price as the white man would demand that the Africans would be able to secure land.[4]

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1. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag. 76
2. Ibid, parag. 80
3. Ibid, parag. 81
4. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag. 85

The Commission observed further that although in the aggregate the amount of land purchased by Africans for some years to come might not be considerable, yet such purchases were bound to increase and this would be an important factor which would create an "increasing feeling of insecurity among the white inhabitants of the country, and might seriously retard the influx of settlers, who would be unwilling to come to a district where, after they had expended capital in making a home among people of their own race, they might at any time be confronted with neighbours of the other race; as settlement becomes closer, so would such proximity be felt to be more objectionable".[1] It was also for this reason that the Commission recommended separate purchase areas.

Having considered the reasons justifying the creation of separate purchase areas, the Commission made several recommendations. "The policy which we recommend is", the Commission wrote, "on the one hand, to leave existing European interests as far as possible undisturbed, and to make available for acquisition by Europeans all possible land in what are predominantly white areas, while on the other hand, providing suitable land for private acquisition by Natives in or near to the districts in which they are at present residing, in sufficient quantity to satisfy their present and their future needs..and affording fair and adequate compensation for the surrender of their rightto purchase land anywhere in the Colony".[2]

Having considered the expediency of the establishment of separate land purchase areas, the Commission next considered the practicability of the establishment of separate land purchase areas.

1.Ibid, parag. 90.
2.Ibid, parag. 121.

It observed that although a "considerable proportion of the land available under existing conditions is unsuitable at present for the requirements of either the white or black population, yet a large proportion of it is suitable, and we consider that the setting apart of separate areas is a practicable proposition at the present time", and added that with a firm determination "to do justice, and the expenditure of a moderate sum of money in expropriation, in our opinion the whole of that part of the Colony in which a conflict of interests between the black and the white is likely to arise for several years to come can be divided into separate areas for the two races, with a minimum of disturbance of existing rights, and to the great advantage of the country".[1]

The Commission emphasised the urgency of establishing separate land purchase areas as soon as possible on the ground that as each year passed, the problem would be of "increasing difficulty, as Europeans take up more and more of the land which may be properly required for the present, more especially of the future, needs of the Native", and added that if a policy of separate areas was to be adopted,"the present is the time for its adoption; otherwise the conditions are likely to become such that the setting apart of suitable separate areas will involve such an expenditure of capital and such a disturbance of existing rights as to make it impracticable".[2]

A further integral part of the policy which the Commission recommended was that the Native areas should, "wherever possible,

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1.Report of the Land Commission,1925,parag.72.
2.Ibid, parag.73.

adjoin the existing Native Reserves so as to form with them compact Native areas".[1] The policy of linking the new Native areas to the Reserves, the Commission wrote, was one which was advocated "by the very great majority of the witnesses" who appeared before it, both European and Native, and in the recommendations of the Native Commissioners.[2]

This policy was said to have advantages for all the people concerned. First, it had the advantage for the European of providing him with a potential source of conveniently situated labour which would have already received "considerable instruction in more modern agricultural methods".[3] For the African landholder, this policy had the advantage of "bringing him in close proximity to the roads used by the neighbouring Europeans for the conveyance of their produce to market, and of affording him some opportunity of studying their methods of agriculture, while, at the same time, being linked up with his fellow Native in the Reserve".[4] This policy also had advantages for the Africans living in the reserves. The Native in the Reserve, the Commission wrote, would be benefitted by "the force of example shown him by his more progressive brethren, whose proximity should stimulate him to make an improved use of the land which he occupies in the Reserve".[5]

The Commission then recommended the areas to be assigned. It noted that the total area of Southern Rhodesia was 96,226,560 acres. Of this, the Europeans held 31,033,050 acres; the Native Reserves occupied 21,594,957 acres; the Matopo National Park 224,000 acres;

1.Report of the Land Commission,1925,parag.122.
2.Ibid, parag.123.
3.Ibid,parag.124.
4.Ibid,parag.125.
5.Ibid,parag.126.

land occupied by the missions comprised 406,200 acres; the Urban areas occupied 149,033 acres; the Forest Area 670,000 acres; the Semi Neutral Areas 80,329 acres; land left for future determination 17,793,300 acres; land recommended as Native Purchase Areas 6,851,876 acres and land assigned for future European purchase 17,423,815.[1]

The above figures meant that the total area assigned to Europeans represented approximately 62% of the total area of the country while the area assigned to Africans represented approximately 37% of the total area of the country.[2]

We have already noted that the land assigned as Native Purchase Areas amounted to 6,851,876 acres. Quite apart from the fact that such land was hardly sufficient for African needs, the Commission imposed certain restrictions on how such land should be purchased by Africans. It recommended, first, that no final title should be granted in the Native Purchase Areas until "a sufficient amount of development had taken place, including the building of a reasonably good substantial and sanitary house, where land was intended as a farm". The Commissioners added that they preferred to see a title given "only to such portion of the land as was from time to time brought under cultivation or stocked with a suitable number of cattle or small stock".

Second, such land could be forefeited, "subject to compensation for improvements, if the land ceased to be beneficially occupied, reasonable exception being made for temporary absences on work elsewhere or for other substantial cause", but as far as "practicable", the Commission recommended that "a Native should be prevented from taking up land and leaving it vacant for a long and indefinite period".[3]

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1. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.206
2. Ibid, parag.209
3. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.264.

Third, the transfer of such land, other than by succession, should receive the prior sanction of the Government. The Commission said that it recommended these restrictions "both in the interests of good government and in those of the Native himself, in order to protect him from other Natives under whose power he may have placed himself".[1]

Fourth, where a large farm had been acquired by an individual African, there could be little reason against its subdivision by sale or sub-lease, provided that "the sub-division is not allowed to proceed to such an extent as to prevent the land being profitably used". In particular, the Commission added, it was important that an African should be "prevented from acquiring or holding land merely with a view to making a profit by sub-letting it".[2]

Fifth, the African holder of land in the Native Purchase Areas should be prevented, either by clauses in his title or by regulations, from having as residents upon it "persons other than members of his family or servants or Natives under labour agreements or old people in the nature of pensioners".[3] Furthermore, the power to mortgage land was one which the Commission considered was "most inadvisable to allow to Natives, except under stringent restrictions".[4] The Commission then considered the question as to whether any limitation should be placed on the size of African holdings in the Native Purchase Areas. The Commissioners recommended that "only in exceptional cases should a Native be permitted to hold more than 1,000 acres in freehold, and that if, for the accommodation of his stock, he requires a larger holding, the additional land should be

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1. Ibid, parag.265
2. Ibid, parag.266
3. Ibid, parag.267
4. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.268

upon leasehold only".[1]

Other recommendations made by the Commission included the formation of a Native Land Board "to supervise the development of the Native Purchase Areas and to regulate the acquisition of land by natives".[2] The Land Board would be under "such control as was considered suitable and would presumably be under the Minister for Native Affairs".[3] The constitution of the Board would be a matter for consideration, but the Commission suggested that it should be presided over by the Minister for Native Affairs or by the Chief Native Commissioner, who should "in any event be upon the Board". The Commissioners further recommended that the Board should include an official "with a knowledge of land and survey matters, a non-official member with practical knowledge of agriculture and stock-breeding, a missionary, more especially as Mission Lands would come under the purview of the Board and later one or more Natives".[4]

The Commission further recommended that the Board should work in close co-operation with the Native Department in order to co-ordinate "as far as possible the development of the Native Purchase Areas and the Native Reserves".[5]

Such were the findings and recommendations of the Land Commission of 1925. Several comments should be made. The success of these recommendations depended on several factors. We will mention only two. They depended, on a "firm determination to do justice, and the expenditure of a moderate sum of money in expropriation". Yet this was precisely what the white settlers were not willing to do to satisfy African demands for suitable and sufficient land. Secondly,

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1.Ibid,parag.287
2.Ibid,parag.321
3.Ibid,parag.322
4.Ibid,parag.323
5.Ibid,parag.324

the Commission noted that although the majority of the inhabitants of the Colony, both black and white, were in favour of separate areas, it was in fact "the white element of the population which originally asked for an amendment of the law in this direction", and that it depended upon the votes of members of the Legislative Council who, "to all intents and purposes, have been elected by that portion of the community,whether any alteration of that law should take place", and that it was up to them to determine "to what extent they are willing to surrender their rights in order to obtain the benefits which the policy of separate areas will bring to the whole community". In other words, the success of the policy of separate areas depended on the good will of the white electorate. Good will was precisely what was lacking in Rhodesia at that time.

Thirdly, the Commission noted that the majority of the Africans who expressed an opinion on the subject and of the missionaries who spoke on their behalf, considered that land should be divided equally. Yet the Commission ignored this and recommended that 6,851,876 acres should be assigned as Native Purchase Areas while a total of 17,423,518 acres were assigned for future European purchase.

The Commission, in giving so much land to the Europeans in addition to the 31,033,050 acres which they already held, representing 62% of the total area of the country while assigning a mere 37% to the Africans, was far from doing justice to the blacks, especially when it is considered that Africans constituted the majority of the population.

That the Commission was pandering to the wishes of the white population was evident from its report. The Commission deliberately assigned less land for African purchase when it observed that although

in the aggregate the amount of land purchased by Africans for some years to come might not be considerable, such purchases were bound to increase and that if this happened, it would create an "increasing feeling of insecurity among the white inhabitants of the country, and might seriously retard the influx of settlers, who would be unwilling to come to a district where, after they had expended capital in making a home among people of their own race, they might at any time be confronted with neighbours of the other race", and that "as settlement becomes closer, so would such proximity be felt to be more objectionable". The premium, therefore, in assigning 17,423,815 acres for <u>future</u> European purchase, was on attracting as many settlers as possible into the country.

Fifthly, the Commission advised against making mortgages to African land purchasers in the Native Purchase Areas. This was a serious draw-back to those Africans who wanted to buy land, but did not have the necessary cash. Further, we have noted the restrictions imposed on land purchase in the Native Purchase Areas. We will mention only one. The Commission recommended that "only in exceptional cases should a Native be permitted to hold more than 1,000 acres in freehold, and that if, for the accommodation of his stock, he requires a larger holding, the additional land should be upon leasehold only". Yet no such restrictions on size was made for European farms.

At this point, we may now ask what the missionaries thought of the Land Commission's Report. Cripps for one was still convinced that the policy of separate areas was in the best interests of Africans. In stating that Africans in the Charter District wanted the establishment of separate areas, he said, when the Commission took evidence in that District, the evidence of the Paramount chief

and other "Native witnesses given on that occasion may be found to support my argument that Native opinion itself demands the provision of Territorial Areas as a means to further Native Self-Determination and Native Development". He cited the "Natives' own desire for Segregation Areas" as the "most important human argument in favour of them".[1]

Having said this, when the Commission's Report appeared, Cripps was dissatisfied with its recommendations. The Commission, he wrote, assigned 17,793,300 acres for future determination; yet it was not clear how much of this land was likely to be alloted to African purchasers, since the local Legislative Assembly was to be the sole alloting authority.[2]

Cripps wanted three things. First, that at least half of the 17¾ million acres recommended for future determination should be "definitely earmarked as Native Land before ever Clause 43 be allowed to disappear from the Southern Rhodesia Constitution";[3] second, that communal tenure should be allowed in the Native Purchase Areas. As a community, he argued, Africans would have facilities to progress and prosper; as individuals, they would experience difficulties and probably fail.[4]

This argument had been rejected by the Commission when it recommended that communal tenure should not be allowed in the Native Purchase Areas. The Commission rejected the plea for communal tenure in the Native Purchase Areas on two grounds. First, that the needs of the 'tribal Native'were sufficiently met by the provision of Reserves in the Colony.[5] Second, that in any event, the Reserves were the place for the 'tribal Native' and that it deprecated the Native Purchase Areas being utilised in this manner". "It would

1.A.S.Cripps,An Africa for Africans,op.cit,pp.67-68
2.Ibid,p.179
3.A.S.Cripps,An Africa for Africans,op.cit,p.180
4.Ibid,p.187
5.Report of the Land Commission,1925,parag.253

moreover", the Commission argued, "tend to perpetuate a form of tenure which in our opinion is less economical of land than is the individual system of tenure".[1]

Further, apart from the Native Purchase Areas, Cripps wanted to reopen the whole question of the Reserves and wrote to the Governor, John Chancellor, on April 18,1925, to this effect. The Governor discussed Cripps' letter with the Prime Minister and the Attorney General who, the Governor wrote, were of the opinion that the question of the adequacy of the native reserves did not fall within the terms of reference of the Land Commission, which therefore, "properly refused to hear evidence on that point". The Governor added that the question of Africans being permitted to purchase and own portions of the reserves did not fall within the terms of reference of the Land Commission and that the Government did not want the Commission to report upon it, "except in so far as the situation and condition of individual reserves affect the application of the principle of partial segregation, if the Commission decide to recommend the adoption of that policy".[2]

Cripps, as we have seen, rejected the policy of separate areas which he had advocated in the past because the outcome of the Commission's recommendations did not satisfy African demands for more land. John White too, considered this policy a mistake. At a meeting of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference held in 1925, Cripps and White attempted to persuade their colleagues to reject the report of the Land Commission but they failed to carry their colleagues with them.[3]

1.Ibid,parag.254
2.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S 22, APS Papers,G.166,John Chancellor to A.S.Cripps, May 8,1925.
3 T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,1898-1930,London, 1970,pp.172-173.

Cripps in particular later came to regret his earlier advocacy of the policy of separate areas. According to his biographer, Steere, he instructed one Leonard Mamvura, his most trusted African companion, to insert a type-written statement in each of the last six copies of his book, An African for Africans, which were to be sold by the SPCK in 1950. The statement was dated July 11,1950, and said when he wrote this book, he was willing to approve of Segregation for Africans and Europeans-if Africans were given a fair share of the land in the Colony. Afterwards, he did not consider that Africans were given a fair share of the land when it was apportioned; it was for this reason that he lost faith in segregation in Southern Rhodesia. He was glad, he added, that segregation had been recommended by the Carter Commission because it opened the way for Africans to purchase plots of land but he did not believe that Segregation was a righteous policy for a British Colony. He asked whether it could be a right policy for Christian people and said it was certainly not.[1] By this time, of course, it was too late.

Not all missionaries, of course, condemned the recommendations of the Carter Commission Report. One of these was the Rev. Frank Noble, who succeeded John White as Chairman of the Methodist Synod in Southern Rhodesia. He said he was prepared to endorse in general the recommendations of the Carter Commission Report with regards to the areas which had been allocated to the two races, provided that such allocation was made on the "distinct understanding that the area of over 17,000,000 acres left for future determination is so left, absolutely without prejudice, to either race", and that in the interests of harmonious development, "no part of that area should be determined save by joint agreement between Europeans and natives

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1.Douglas V.Steere,op.cit,pp.119-120.

and the British Government".[1]

The recommendations of the Land Commission were also criticised by one Mr. B.J. Mnyanda, a South African who had worked in Southern Rhodesia for several years. In his book written in 1954, he criticised the recommendations of the Land Commission on several grounds. First, that compared with the African people, the Europeans possessed "the most resourceful areas in the Colony"; in other words, the Colony's large rivers, its richest soil and largest forests, and about 90%,if not more, of its minerals; all these were in the European areas, while land set aside as Reserves and Native Purchase Areas was "absolutely useless for purposes of settlement and sustenance of the African people by reason of its being deficient in water supply and fertility or being rocky or sandy".[2]

He further argued that the reserves and the Native Purchase Areas would never be economically self-sufficient; they would never be in a positio n to meet the demands made upon the African people by their changing mode of living following their increasing contact with Western civilisation.[3]

Thirdly, the inequitable distribution of land between the two races in Southern Rhodesia was bad enough as it was;what was worse was that part of the land allocated to Africans both in the Reserves and in the Native Purchase Areas was over-populated and overstocked;its water and grazing facilities were either inadequate or failing;it was droughty and completely lacked the means of sustaining life.[4]

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1. The Rhodesian Methodist, Vol. IV, No.11,1929,p.14
2. B.J. Mnyanda, In Search of Truth, A Commentary on Certain Aspects of Southern Rhodesia's Native Policy, Bombay,1954,p.65
3. Ibid, p.66
4. Ibid, p.67

Mr. Mnyanda was in favour of individual tenure by Africans because communal tenure as practised in the reserves, was not reckoned a qualification for the franchise. This was a great disadvantage; on the face of it, there was no convincing reason why the African people in the reserves should be excluded from individual ownership of land; after all, the development of individualism was an inevitable adjunct of civilisation. Even in the reserve, Africans had a claim to the rights and privileges of civilisation.[1]

Mr. Mnyanda said it was about time the authorities realised that the old tribal communal system of land holding was the very "antithesis of a civilised system.[2] He also criticised the way in which the reserves were situated. He argued that the Native Reserves were for the most part scattered all over the Colony and from the point of view of African solidarity, inter-tribal understanding, discipline, administration and concerted efforts in development schemes, this was regrettable. He made two recommendations. First, if matters were to improve, Native Reserves should be combined into one whole or should be so consolidated as to become very few in number and much bigger in size or area, thereby providing scope for the advancement of the African people in a much "quicker and easier manner than is possible now".[3]

Second, all land in the Colony should be partitioned and apportioned between the Europeans and Africans in a fair manner, due regard being paid to the fact that the African people were mainly an agrarian race and outnumbered Europeans by a large ratio. "It is unfair, to say the least", he wrote, "to allocate 48 million acres of land to

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1.Ibid,pp.73-74
2.Ibid,p.74
3.Ibid,p.76.

133,000 Europeans and only 32 million acres to 1,800,000 African people".[1] These were powerful arguments not only against the recommendations of the Land Commission but also against the whole Rhodesian Government policy on the land question.

So far we have discussed the criticisms levelled against the findings and recommendations of the Land Commission by missionaries and other interested parties. It is now time to consider the views of the Africans themselves on the findings and recommendations of the Land Commission.

The African witnesses who appeared before the Commission represented a wide range of African opinion and included the tribesmen and the representatives of the African political associations of the period. Of the African political associations, the most active were the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association, formed on January 20,1923; the Rhodesia Native Association, formed in 1924; and the Gwelo Native Welfare Association which was subsequently transformed into the Southern Rhodesia Native Welfare Association.

It has often been stated by historians interested in this aspect of Rhodesian history that the majority of Africans of Southern Rhodesia of that time accepted the findings and recommendations of of the Land Commission of 1925. Professor Ranger has challenged this view and has gone to great lengths to demonstrate that this in point of fact was not the case.

Professor Ranger has demonstrated, for example, that of the African witnesses who appeared before the Land Commission, there were many who wanted to buy land for their own people which would

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1.Ibid,p.68.

then be communally farmed and there were many wealthy cattle owners who could not find sufficient grazing land either on European owned farms or in the arid reserves and wanted to buy large areas of ranchland. In addition, there was an increasing number of Africans who wanted to establish themselves as progressive farmers or who wanted to start gardening businesses near the towns or to purchase land in the towns on which to build secure homes.[1]

The Rhodesian Government, however, emphasised to the Commission that it would not allow communal purchase of land; it was interested only in individual tenure. Secondly, the Commission was not prepared to recommend that Africans should be allowed to purchase areas of land large enough to provide grazing for large herds of cattle. Thirdly, the Government was not prepared to implement in practice the legal right of purchase of land anywhere in the Colony irrespective of race; all it was prepared to consider was a final settlement which set aside areas outside the reserves for African purchase in exchange for exclusive white rights of occupation in the rest of the country.[2] Professor Ranger has also demonstrated that although some Africans spoke in favour of the principle of separate areas, it would be quite untrue to say that the majority of the African witnesses who appeared before the Commission were "committed to it and still more untrue to say that they were prepared to accept the sort of bargain that came out of the Commission's recommendations".

Professor Ranger provided the evidence given by the African political associations before the Land Commission. He first gave the evidence provided by the Rhodesian Bantu Voters Association. From

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1. T.O. Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit,pp.113-114
2. Ibid, pp.114-115

the evidence given by the leaders of this Association, three points emerged. First, they were opposed to any limitation on the size of the farms which Africans should be permitted to purchase; that Africans should be permitted to purchase as much land as they liked because no limitations were imposed on the size of farms which Europeans were to be allowed to purchase.[1] Second, that Africans should be allowed to purchase land anywhere they liked.[2] Third, that the unalienated land should be divided into two equal areas, one for exclusive white occupation, the other for exclusive black occupation.[3]

The second African political association to give evidence before the Land Commission was the Rhodesian Native Association. From the evidence given by the leaders of this Association, three major points emerged. First, that the African right to purchase land anywhere should remain but that land should be added to the reserves and other land should be set aside for African purchase.[4] Second, that any scheme of segregation if it were adopted, should be based on an equal division of the land. Third, that conditions of land holding in the African and European areas should be the same and that the Europeans already had 31,000,000 acres whereas the Africans had 21,000,000 acres; this was unjust since the Europeans were a small minority and yet they had 10 million more acres than Africans.[5]

Summarising the evidence given by these two Associations, Professor Ranger has shown that two important points emerged. First, a number of witnesses rejected the whole idea of total possessory segregation. Second, of those witnesses who accepted the idea, they

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1.T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,p.118
2.Ibid,p.119
3.Ibid,p.121
4.Ibid,p.123
5.Ibid,p.124

did so only as a bargain, one which must give at least an equal share of the land to the Africans. "The evidence of the Association leaders", he argued,"does little to support the idea that Africans were at all ready to accept the sort of Land Apportionment arrangements which did in fact emerge from the Commission's report".[1]

The Commission also took evidence from the African tribesmen, both Ndebele and Shona. We will first consider the evidence given by the Ndebele tribesmen. From the evidence given by the Ndebele tribesmen, several points emerged. First, that Africans should be given suitable land either in a new reserve or at very low rents. Second, that although Africans were in favour of land purchase, they did not have the necessary money with which to purchase land.[2] Third, the small plots of land envisaged under the Native Purchase scheme were of little use to cattle herders, precisely because they were too small. Under the circumstances, they requested that more good land should be added to the reserves. When this was rejected, the Ndebele tribesmen requested communal purchase of land for communal farming so that they would be able to settle on such land and be able to graze their cattle communally.[3] This idea, too, was rejected by the Commission.

The Shona tribesmen also gave evidence before the Commission. From the evidence submitted, several points emerged. First, they did not have money with which to purchase land.[4] Second, where the idea of land purchase was accepted with the concomitant segregation which this would involve, the condition attached was that the land made available should be adequate and good.[5] Third, if separate

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1.T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,p.125
2.Ibid,p.131
3.Ibid,pp.132-133.
4.T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,p.134.
5.Ibid,p.135.

areas were recommended, the land assigned to white and black should be cut in half. Fourth, Africans should be given more land for communal cultivation, or if this was not acceptable, should be given the means with which to purchase land.[1]

Such was the evidence given before the Land Commission by the leaders of the African political associations as well as by the Ndebele and Shona tribesmen. As we have noted, most of the demands they made were rejected. It was, therefore, not surprising that when the report of the Land Commission appeared in 1926, most Africans rejected its findings and recommendations.

As Professor Ranger argued, African witnesses had requested that Native Purchase land should be good land, "close enough to the communications network to make competitive commercial agriculture possible"; these conditions "were not met by the areas suggested for Native Purchase". Second, African witnesses had suggested that "within the new Native Purchase Areas land should be held on the same terms as Europeans owned land"; they had suggested that there should be no limit set on the amount of land an African could own. The Commission, however, recommended a limit of one thousand acres for Native Purchase farms; such farms could not be mortgaged or sub-let and title to them was provisional upon satisfactory development.[2] But no limitation on the size of European holdings was suggested.[3] Third, African witnesses had urged that "some satisfactory provision should be made for African economic enterprise in the urban areas". As against this, the Commission recommended that "special townships might be set up in the Reserves where African

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1. Ibid, p.136.
2. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, parag.268
3. T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit, p.171.

craftsmen, and men with the skills of modern education, might serve the needs of the tribesmen. Given the disparity between what articulate Africans were prepared to accept as a segregation bargain and what they were offered it would be surprising", Professor Ranger argued, "if the Commission's proposals commanded universal African support".[1]

With so much African evidence against the Land Commission's findings, it was not surprising that when the report of that Commission appeared, it was rejected by most Africans. The political associations repudiated the report and called for a fresh inquiry.[2] "There can be little doubt from the evidence", Professor Ranger wrote, "that the consensus of those Africans who were articulate on the matter was overwhelmingly hostile to the Land Apportionment Bill which emerged from the Rhodesian Government's adoption of the Carter report".[3] Further, the missionaries who had supported the idea of separate areas-White and Cripps-also condemned the Commission's report; so did the APS in Britain.[4]

The Commission recommended the policy of separate purchase areas because, first, the Government had wanted separate areas in the first place. Second, as Palmer argued, the personnel of the Commission "made its acceptance of segregation inevitable". This was because Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner, had "for years advocated a policy of assigning land adjoining the reserves for purchase by Africans, recognising that European farmers were strongly averse to Africans buying land in their midst". The second member of the Commission, W.J.Atherstone, was appointed despite missionary criticisms which "recalled his controversial choice as alternate

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1.Ibid,p.171
2.Ibid,p.171;173;176
3.Ibid,pp.171-172
4.Ibid,pp.172-173.

member to the Native Reserves Commission. His sympathies naturally lay with the European farmers, who had been demanding segregation for a decade and more". The Chairman of the Commission, Sir Morris Carter, Palmer pointed out, was a former Chief Justice in Uganda and Tanganyika, where he gained a reputation "for favouring the development of European plantations and for showing no reluctance to curtail African lands. He subsequently headed the Kenya Land Commission of 1932 which barred Africans from acquiring land in the White Highlands".[1]

We have seen the criticisms levelled against the recommendations of the Land Commission by the missionaries. Not all missionaries, however, opposed the Land Apportionment Bill which implemented the recommendations of the Land Commission. Some of them welcomed the Land Apportionment Bill which was drafted in 1929. One of the missionaries who supported this Bill, was the Chairman of the Methodist Synod, Frank Noble.

According to Noble, the Land Apportionment Bill was "without question one of the most significant pieces of legislation which has ever been enacted in South Africa. It lays down the policy and in the main a most wise policy, for the whole future of Rhodesia. As Englishmen look back upon the signing of Magna Charta as one of the great political events of their history, so we believe in days to come will Rhodesians, both European and Native, look back upon the passing of this Bill". Mr. Noble congratulated the Prime Minister on his conduct of the Bill through the Rhodesian Parliament.[2] Other missionaries, however, opposed the Land Apportionment Bill but in spite of this opposition, the Land Apportionment Act, embodying the

1.Palmer,op.cit,pp.315-316
2.The Rhodesian Methodist,Vol,V,No.4,July,1929.p.1

greater part of the Carter Commission's recommendations, was passed in 1930 and brought into force in 1931. The only modification was that a total of 7,444,000 acres was alloted to Africans as Native Purchase Areas whereas the Commission had recommended a total of 6,851,000 acres.[1]

The Land Apportionment Act did not, however, solve the Africans' demand for more land and the issue cropped up again in the 1940's. By this time, it was evident that Africans did not have enough land and that there was a great deal of crowding in many areas. It was for this reason that the Methodist Synod held in January,1944, passed a resolution urging the Rhodesian Government to set aside more land for African occupation. "We further urge", the resolution read, "that this need is not only acute, but immediate, in that reports are continually heard of the impossibility of finding suitable areas in which African families may be located. Synod presses that action be taken without any further delay".[2]

Further, the Methodist missionaries, together with their African colleagues, met at Waddilove for two days from Tuesday July 18, to Thursday July 20,1944, to discuss the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to Southern Rhodesia. One of the things discussed at this meeting was the land question. The meeting passed three resolutions on the issue. First, that Africans should be allowed to purchase land suitable for their needs in the areas allocated for African purchase; second, that the reserves allocated to Africans were totally inadequate for the immediate and future needs of the African population; third, that a commission should be

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1.Richard Gray, The Two Nations, Oxford,1960,p.54
2.3/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1944.

appointed to examine the facts and frame a policy so that the unassigned areas be added to the existing Native Areas to meet the immediate and future needs of the Africans.[1] The Government, however, was not willing to reopen the land question.

In conclusion, we may ask what missionary protests against the recommendations of the Land Commission achieved. For the most part, missionary protests achieved little. There was one consolation for Cripps, however. We have noted that for several years he had protested against the reduction of the Sabi Reserve which the Native Reserves Commission had recommended should be reduced in view of the proposed construction of the railway line through the Reserve. The Chairman of the Land Commission, in a note on the proposed railway belt in the Sabi Reserve, recommended that the land in question should continue to form part of a Native Area in the event that a railway was built and should become a Native Purchase Area as it stood with the proviso that "Native Chiefs and people who have their ancestral homes there should remain and be given a title, without payment, but subject to beneficial occupation, to land sufficient for themselves and their stock, and that ancestral burying grounds be preserved for them". The Chairman added that if the land in question continued to be a reserve after the railway had been built, some form of individual tenure should be permitted so that "Natives who wished to produce crops for sale should have a better opportunity of getting them to the markets".[2] Such were the problems connected with the land question in Southern Rhodesia between 1914 and 1945. What remains to be discussed is the question of the franchise in so far as it affected Africans.

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1945.
2. Report of the Land Commission, 1925, "Note by Chairman on the Proposed Railway Belt in the Sabi Reserve".

It was felt by many missionaries that Africans should have some say in the running of the country and that the franchise should be broadened to enable more Africans to vote. This question had been dealt with by the Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898 which set down the qualifications for voters. According to this Order in Council, male persons over the age of twenty-one, who were either British subjects by birth or by naturalization, or had taken an oath of allegiance, and had for six months preceding the registration of voters either occupied a building in the electoral district to the value of £75, or owned a mining claim, or received wages at the rate of not less than £50 per annum, were entitled to register, provided they could write their name, address and occupation.[1]

It should be clear from the provisions of the 1898 Order in Council that the franchise was theoretically colour-blind, but the financial qualifications in particular were such that while most Europeans were in a position to vote, very few Africans could do so. But even this theoretical right of the Africans to the franchise was felt most objectionable by the majority of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia. This became evident from the report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry of 1910-1911.

In its report, the Committee said that from the evidence submitted- no doubt from white witnesses-there was no doubt that "the natives of this Territory are as yet quite unfit for the exercise of any legislative franchise". The Committee felt, however, that Africans should in "some way be directly represented in the Government and Legislature". It recommended that a separate Secretary for Native Affairs should be appointed with a seat in the Legislative and Executive Councils. It said this official should be "specially charged with the responsibility of representing the natives", and

1.C.9138,Papers Relating to British South Africa Company,January,1899, Southern Rhodesia Order in Council,20th October,1898,"Proclamation Making Provision for an Electoral System",p.20;Claire Palley,The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia 1888-1965, Oxford,1966,p.136.

should be "well acquainted with their wants and conditions, and should take measures to keep himself thoroughly informed in that direction".[1]

The Committee further said that in recommending that the franchise "should not be granted to any native in the future", it considered that those Africans who already had it, should retain it. It noted that only 51 Africans were registered as voters in the country; there had been practically no change in the number since 1904, and very few of those registered were indigenous Africans.[2]

The Committee made four recommendations on the franchise. First, that the existing law admitting Africans to the franchise for the election of members of the Legislature, should be repealed; second, that "the present conditions of the native races in Southern Rhodesia does not necessitate the consideration of any measure for their popular representation"; third, that "for the present, in any case, the representation of the native races in the Legislature will be sufficiently provided for by the inclusion in the Legislative Council of the Secretary for Native Affairs"; fourth, that "natives at present on the register be allowed to retain that privilege so long as they possess the necessary qualification".[3]

Two things were evident from the findings and recommendations of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry. First, a broadening of the franchise to enable more Africans to vote was not permitted. Second, that Africans would be adequately represented in the Legislative Council by the Secretary for Native Affairs, as if such a Secretary was answerable to the African electorate.

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1. Report of the Native Affairs Committee of Inquiry, 1910-1911, Government Printer, Salisbury, 1911, parag.177.
2. Ibid, parag.178
3. Ibid, parag.179

Since it had become evident that the settlers would not accept a broadening of the franchise to enable more Africans to vote, the missionaries and the APS made several suggestions. Cripps suggested first, that Native Councils should be established in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland in which Africans would be able to discuss matters affecting their interests at the local level. Second, that Africans should be represented by at least two European members in any Southern Rhodesian Parliament of the future and suggested that such members should be nominated by the APS and approved by the Colonial Office, pending the coming of age of the Native Councils.[1]

The APS, too, was concerned about the right of Africans to the franchise and on November 23,1921, appealed to the Colonial Secretary, Churchill, pointing out the numerous obstacles in the way of Africans acquiring the franchise. "The franchise in Rhodesia, we understand", the APS wrote, "is open to the Natives, provided that they possess immovable property to the value of £150, or income of not less than £100 a year, together with the capacity to write 50 words in English. It is notorious that few, if any, Natives have qualified for the exercise of the franchise, and it seems to us that under existing conditions, it must be well-nigh impossible for the greater part of the population to do so". The APS listed some of the difficulties which stood in the way of Africans getting the franchise. First, that the majority of Africans in the Reserves were at that time precluded from acquiring immovable property and that "in no circumstances, therefore, can they avail themselves of the property qualification". Second, that with the exception of a "very limited

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1.C.O.417/675,A.S.Cripps to Winston Churchill,August 17,1921.

number of Chiefs, no salaried occupations are open to Natives in the Reserves, and from this, in combination with the first condition, it results that the whole of the population is, in practice, quite debarred from the exercise of the franchise". Third, that no public education was provided to enable Africans to qualify for salaried employment or to pass the test of literacy, whilst substantial fees were required from them for passes if they desired to leave home to better themselves. The APS then asked the Colonial Secretary to let them know whether, in the proposed Reponsible Government Constitution, any steps were being taken to mitigate this apparent injustice.[1]

The suggestion that pending African representation in the Legislative Assembly, Native Councils should be established in the Reserves, was recommended by the Buxton Committee which was appointed by the Colonial Secretary in 1921 to consider certain questions relating to Rhodesia. "In our opinion", the Committee wrote, "it would be advisable-even if somewhat premature for immediate application-that Constitutional provision should be made for the eventual creation of Native Councils in the Native areas, and for the summoning of Conferences of natives on the lines of the Native Councils and of the Native Conferences under the Native Administration Act,1920, of the Union".[2]

The Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, however, was against the granting of franchise to Africans. Writing to the Secretary of the APS on behalf of Churchill on December 2,1921, C.T.Davis said that on the question, he was directed to state that His Majesty's

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1.C.O.417/675,APS to Winston Churchill,November 23,1921.
2.Cmd.1273,First Report of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to consider certain questions relating to Rhodesia, 1921,parag.64(4)

Government, while "heartily approving the recommendation of Lord Buxton's Committee that the Natives' right to the franchise should be protected", was not willing to go further than this, and stated that it appeared to the Colonial Secretary that "it would be out of the question to grant the franchise to natives living under tribal conditions. It is proposed however to provide in the suggested new constitution which is now under consideration for the future establishment in the reserves of Native Councils for the discussion of matters relating to natives".[1]

The suggestion to establish Native Councils in the Reserves was alsosupported by John White and Amos Burnet in a joint letter to Churchill on October 15,1921, "These Councils", they wrote, "would necessarily be largely consultative and advisory bodies, but at an early period they should be given power to elect European Representatives to any Legislative Council that may be created".[2]

Although the Colonial Secretary refused to grant the franchise to Africans living in the reserves, the missionaries got something for their pains when in the Draft Southern Rhodesia Constitution of 1921, the establishment of Native Councils was agreed to by the Colonial Secretary. According to the Draft Constitution, the Governor in Council was empowered, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, to establish by proclamation "in any Native Reserves such Council or Councils of indigenous natives representative of the local chiefs and other native residents as may seem to him expedient, for the discussion from time to time of any matters upon which, as being of direct interest or concern to the native population

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1.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S 22,APS Papers,G.165,C.T.Davis to Secretary of APS, December 3,1921.
2.C.O.417/675,John White and Amos Burnet to Winston Churchill, October 15,1921.

generally or to any portion thereof, he may desire to ascertain, or they may desire to submit, their views; and subject to the like approval, to make regulations for the constitution of such Council or Councils, for the appointment of the places and time of meetings, for the manner of conducting the proceedings, and for all other matters incidental to the establishment and periodical meetings of such Council or Councils, including, if he thinks fit, the occasional or regular meeting of any two or greater number of such Councils in joint session".

The Governor was also empowered, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, "to make regulations conferring on any such Council such powers of management in connection with local matters affecting the indigenous natives as can in his opinion be safely and satisfactorily undertaken by them, and by such regulations or by any subsequent regulations to make all such provisions as may be necessary in order to give effect to such powers".[1]

The suggestion to establish Native Councils in the reserves, then, was accepted by the missionaries and by the APS. The granting of the franchise to rural Africans, however, was rejected by the Colonial Secretary, as we have already noted. It was for this reason that the missionaries returned to the question of African representation in the Legislative Assembly.

So far as the Rev. John White was concerned, the idea that Africans should be represented in the Legislative Assembly by the Minister for Native Affairs, was quite unacceptable. The plea that was being used against the reforms which the missionaries

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1. Cmd.1573, Despatch to the High Commissioner for South Africa transmitting Draft Letters Patent providing for the Constitution of Responsible Government in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia and other Draft Instruments connected therewith, 1922, Enclosure II, Draft Southern Rhodesia Constitution, Clause 44.

proposed, he wrote Harris on December 3,1923, was that Africans were well represented in the Legislative Assembly by the Minister for Native Affairs. "But we have to remember", he wrote, "that such a person never gets in touch with the people he is supposed to represent and the information he gets about things is the usual stereotyped official stuff. The natives should have someone in sympathy with their views of things to whom they could open their hearts and who might be expected to speak out on their behalf in the Legislative Assembly".[1]

Cripps and White pursued the question of African representation in the Rhodesian Legislative Assembly with vigour. In a joint letter to John Harris on September 21,1923, they drew up a four-point programme of reforms which they wanted to see incorporated in the Responsible Government Constitution. They requested Harris to submit these proposals to the Colonial Office. Two of the proposals related to the franchise for Africans. They suggested first, that the new Legislative Assembly should include two European members appointed by the High Commissioner; these members were to represent the unenfranchised Africans in the country; second, that the financial qualification for the franchise should be made the same in Southern Rhodesia as it was in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, viz, a £50 wage qualificatio n instead of the existing £100 wage qualification; £75 worth of immovable property qualification instead of the existing £150 immovable property qualification.[2] Cripps emphasised the need for African representatio n in the Leg islative Assembly by at least two "Colonial Office-approved European Representatives", in a letter

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1.RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White to John Harris, December 3,1923.
2.RHO/Mss,British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White and A.S. Cripps to John Harris,September 21,1923.

to Harris on February 21,1924, and cited the Kenya precedent in this respect.[1]

We have noted that Cripps and White drew up a four-point programme of reforms which they wanted to see incorporated in the new Responsible Government Constitution in a letter to Harris on September 21,1923, and requested the latter to forward them to the Colonial Office. We have also seen that Responsible Government was granted to the Colony towards the end of 1923. When Responsible Government was granted to the Colony, White was at first optimistic that the reforms which he and Cripps had advocated would be implemented by the new Government. But he was soon disillusioned.

He said the reforms which he and Cripps advocated were moderate. Events, however, made him pessimistic. "The new Government" he wrote to Harris on October 9,1923, "is not of a kind that will brook a moment's disfavour to gain any reform for the Natives. The alteration in the basis of the franchise is palpably fair, but, beyond McChlery, I doubt whether there is another politician in the new Government that would look at it. It is called Responsible Government, but it only represents one section of the community. The voice of the native people will never be heard". Under the circumstances, White felt that the Legislative Assembly might be ready to listen to suggestions from the Colonial Office "if they were tactfully put". This is where Harris could play an important part ." If you could submit a moderate scheme to Downing Street, based on the four points we have named", he urged Harris, "something might be done".[2]

White, however, did not give up. In a letter to Burnet on October 13,1923, he reiterated his argument that Africans should have

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1.Ibid,A.S.Cripps to John Harris,February 21,1924.
2.RHO/Mss British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.166,John White to John Harris, October 9,1923.

some voice in the running of the country. It was unfair, he wrote, that in the new Legislative Assembly, the 33,000 white people had 30 representatives while the 900,000 Africans were politically voiceless. He appealed to Burnet to take a stand on the issue. "If you can in any way forward this matter by voice or pen", he urged, "you will help to improve the position of this dumb multitude".[1]

The Methodist Synod too agreed with the suggestion that at least two European representatives should represent Africans in the new Legislative Assembly and urged this on the Government, citing the Kenya precedent in this respect.[2]

The most active of the African political associations in the 1920's - the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association and the Rhodesian Native Association -were equally concerned with the question of the franchise. Both these organisations wanted inter alia, a modification of the franchise qualifications so that the literacy test might be taken in the vernacular rather than in English.[3] The demand for lowering the franchise qualifications was pressed forcefully by the Rhodesian Bantu Voters' Association. The leaders of this organisation demanded a lowering of the franchise qualifications on two grounds. First, that the wage qualifications were £100 a year whereas there were very few Africans who received wages of £50 a year. Second, the franchise qualifications demanded that a voter should be able to write 50 words in English; this was out of the reach of most Africans because in many of the mission schools, instruction was given in the vernacular.[4]

The Government, however, was not willing to broaden the franchise to enable more Africans to vote. It was for this reason that the

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1.C/R/B 1924-1928,John White to Amos Burnet,October 13,1923.
2.S/M/R/B.1923-1933,Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1924.
3.T.O.Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia,op.cit,pp.94-95;108
4.Ibid,p.99.

whole franchise system in Southern Rhodesia was heavily criticised by the South African critic, Mr. Mnyanda. Mr. Mnyanda had no sympathy with the argument that Africans could be adequately represented in the Rhodesian Legislative Assembly by the Minister for Native Affairs. Though specifically charged with the responsibility of voicing African opinion, Mr. Mnyanda argued, the Minister for Native Affairs represented a European constituency; in the event of a serious conflict of European and African interests, it was unreasonable to expect him to risk "alienating the sympathy of his European constituency by raising his voice against the wishes of the European people".[1]

So far as the establishment of Native Councils in the Reserves was concerned, Mr. Mnyanda argued that such Councils did not truly represent the African people, even at the local level. He argued that the Native Councils and Native Advisory Boards which were proposed under the Responsible Government Constitution were so divested of executive powers that in practice, they did not serve the purposes for which they were established. He cited the fact that in law, the Native Commissioner, who presided over all the meetings of the Native Councils, had absolute executive authority in regard to the administration of all Native affairs in his district.[2]

Mr. Mnyanda also criticised the suggestion made in some quarters that a separate roll should be created for Africans to elect two or three representatives to watch their interests in the Rhodesian Parliament. From what had happened in South Africa and from "the mass of available evidence", he argued, it was clear that the creation of a separate roll for Africans to elect two or three representatives to watch their interests in the Rhodesian Parliament, would serve no

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1.S.J. Mnyanda, In Search of Truth op.cit,p.83
2.Ibid,p.86;88.

useful purpose, for "not only would they be charged with arguing everything from a Native standpoint, but they would also be always outvoted".[1]

He made two suggestions to remedy the situation. First, that Africans in towns should be given municipal franchise because African representation through "powerless and helpless Advisory Boards", could not be an acceptable substitute for representation on the Municipal Council.[2] Second, that only a greater exercise of political power by African voters in the general elections could persuade all the members of Parliament to develop a sense of responsibility towards all sections of the people, particularly towards the inarticulate and "disinherited African masses".[3] Such were the arguments against the representation of Africans in the Legislative Assembly by European representatives and in the Native Councils.

The missionaries, however, held the view that since the Rhodesian Government was not willing to have direct African representation in Parliament by African representatives, Africans should be represented by Europeans. This was clearly stated by the Rev. John White in a letter to Harris on December 16,1927.

White suggested several reforms to enable Africans to have some say in the running of the country. First, he suggested, as before, that Africans should be represented in the Rhodesian Parliament by a "fair proportion of white men of known sympathy and knowledge, nominated at first by the Governor, and later when the Councils have been set up, by these Councils. These men would have aright

1.E.J.Mnyanda, In Search of Truth,op.cit,p.82
2.Ibid,p.88
3.Ibid,p.84.

to speak and vote on all matters tha t came before the Assembly". Second, that the Minister for Native Affairs should be elected to his post by the whole Rhodesian Parliament; if he failed to get a unanimous vote then he should be appointed by nomination of the Governor. He emphasised that a Minister for Native Affairs should not depend on the suffrage of any white constituency; he should be independent.[1] Such a policy, however, was unlikely to satisfy African demands.

The arguments advanced by White in favour of the establishment of Native Councils in the reserves and for African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament by a "fair proportion of white men of known sympathy and knowledge", while probably sound at first sight, were a poor substitute for direct African representation by Africans themselves. It can be argued, however, that he was being realistic; the Rhodesian Government was not willing to broaden the franchise to enable more Africans to vote. At any rate, the Native Councils which he, Cripps and the APS had advocated, were not established immediately. This became evident from the report of the Native Education Commission of Inquiry of 1925.

This Commission had been asked, inter alia, to investigate "the advisability or otherwise" of the initiation of Native Councils in terms of the 1923 Constitution. On this head, the Commission stated in its report that "with very few exceptions the opinion was general and emphatic that the natives are not yet ready for the innovation".[2]

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1. RHO/Mss.British Empire,S.22,APS Papers,G.167,John White to John Harris, December 16,1927.
2. Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the matter of Native Educatio n in all its bearings in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, Government Printer, Salisbury,1925,parag.820.

The Commission recommended instead that Native Councils would be desirable when the Natives were fitted "to carry out the necessary duties", and that in the opinion of the Commission, they were not yet fitted to do so. The Commission recommended that it should be "a main purpose of the Native Department to prepare the natives for this function by periodical meetings at which free discussion should be invited of matters affecting them".[1] It was only in 1937 that the Government passed an Act setting up Native Councils composed of chiefs, headmen and specially nominated Africans, with the right to make by-laws.[2] But as we have seen, the Native Councils were divested of any real executive powers.

The missionaries were heavily criticised for engaging in 'politics' on the ground that their function was solely to look after the spiritual advancement of Africans. The Rev. John White, for one, felt that such a charge should not be allowed to go unchallenged. This he stated forcefully in an article he wrote in 1923.

In this article, he discussed the role of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference in matters affecting Africans. He conceded that to most members of this body, the role of 'the political parson would be thoroughly objectionable'. He argued, however, that in ordinary circumstances, most of the members of this body would contend that "the best contribution a minister can make to the welfare of the State would be to so inculcate in the minds of his parishioners the great truths of our common Christianity that when they were called upon to act politically, irrespective of party, they should be expected to be on the side of righteousness and humanity". But the circumstances in which the missionary worked were not ordinary; he lived his life in "most intimate relations with people who are

1. Ibid, parag.838
2. L.H.Gann and M.Gelfand, Huggins of Rhodesia, London, 1964, p.131.

politically inarticulate. Perhaps more closely than any other class in the land is he acquainted with the disabilities, the sufferings, the aspirations and the disappointments of this large dumb proletariat".[1]

Under the circumstances, he argued, it happened that the missionary "whose great commission is to proclaim the good news of personal salvation finds himself driven to face this much wider responsibility. He must call attention of all concerned to the claims of this large mute constituency for better education, voice their need for wider opportunity of industrial development, plead that some appropriate form of political representation be ceded to them, and that they have a fair share of the land in the country of their birth".[2]

Such a criticism of the Rhodesian Government antagonized not only some of his missionary colleagues but also a large section of the European electorate in Southern Rhodesia. It was for this reason that White re-stated his position in another article he wrote in 1927.

In this article, he argued that the African was waking up to his rights. Such awakening was brought about by a number of factors. "Chief among these awakening influences", he pointed out, "we must place the message of the missionary. He tells them of the privileges and responsibilities in a Kingdom in which all men have equal opportunity; of a Heavenly Father Who has no favourites in His world-wide family; of a brotherhood that knows nothing of race or colour". Such teaching, he pointed out, "is bound to be revolutionary; it cannot be otherwise. Whereever we go, if we are true to our Message, we are

1. John White, "The Rationale of the Missionary Conference of Southern Rhodesia", The Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department Annual, 1923, p.68
2. Ibid, p.69.

bound to turn the world upside down".

Christianity, however, was by no means the only revolutionary force at work. "The last fifty years", White wrote, "have witnessed a great democratic uprising among the peoples of Europe. They now vehemently deny the right of a few privileged persons to shape their destiny or say how they shall live. The news of what is taking place filters through to Africa, potently affecting the black masses of this continent. If Europe's bottom dog may growl and shake himself, why not Africa's?"[1]

This African awakening, White wrote, raised a number of problems. The African, he wrote, refused to take things for granted. "He cannot admit that he must remain in a state of childish tutelage for ever. He is not content with his position of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water to the governing race; he has resolved to fit himself to take his place in the skilled industries of the country; he questions whether it is fitting that he should not have word to say anent the laws he is required to obey, the taxes he must pay, the education he must receive, and the share he must have of the public services of his country".

The white man, White continued, was disturbed by this African awakening. "He prefers the status quo, resents the intrusion of these new ideas and blames chiefly the missionary for their introduction. Having accustomed himself to a certain standard of living, he resents any competition that might interfere therewith". White emphasised that he did not urge that "this awakening race is clamouring vociferously at the door of the ruling people for reforms. We have not reached that stage yet. But anyone with insight into things may

1. John White, "Africa's Awakening; How Shall We Meet It?", The Foreign Field, March, 1927, pp.131-132.

note a deep and growing discontent. They tell us deferentially of their desires today; tomorrow they may speak in more vehement accents, and the whisper become a clamorous demand".[1] These were certainly powerful arguments in favour of reforms which would take African interests into account.

White also effectively combated the suggestion that Africans were adequately represented in the Rhodesian Parliament by the Minister for Native Affairs. It was not true, he argued, that the Minister for Native Affairs represented the African people. "He was elected by a purely white constituency and to them he is responsible". This too, was a most powerful argument in favour of direct African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament.

Unfortunately, White indulged in the kind of paternalism common to many European 'liberals' in Southern Rhodesia. He argued in the same article that even if the franchise were broadened in such a way that the Africans could take part in electing their representatives to Parliament, they were "unaccustomed to deal with intricate political questions, the issues of which are far beyond their range of vision. Someone must think these things out for them; someone must speak on their behalf. Otherwise there is a danger that their case may go by default. In the order of God's providence it does seem that this duty falls to our lot".

White emphasised that missionaries did not claim any exclusive right to intervene on behalf of Africans; they believed, however, that by virtue of their office they had been called to assume the role of trusteeship for Africans. "Not only are we to preach to them

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1. Ibid, p.132.

Jesus, the Deliverer from personal sin, but to show them that His teaching has to do with the whole of life's affairs. And if by them these great principles He laid down are being contravened, we must firmly and faithfully tell them so. On the other hand, if we find that they are the victims of oppression and wrong, we must courageously defend them, or we are unworthy of the Name we bear".[1]

Such were the arguments advanced by White in favour of giving Africans some say in the running of the country. We have seen that the only concession made by the Rhodesian Government was the setting up of Native Councils in the reserves in 1937. But even this was not really a concession since the establishment of Native Councils was provided for in the 1923 Responsible Government Constitution. In any case, as we have seen, these Councils were divested of any real effective executive power. It was for this reason that the debate on the role which the African should play in the running of his country, continued to rage in the 1940's.

This debate was sparked off by the Chairman of the Methodist Synod, the Rev. Herbert Carter, in an address to the Synod of 1941. At this Synod, Mr. Carter took the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins to task for having stated that he would not approve of the entry of Africans into Rhodesian politics until there was a much greater number of 'intelligent natives with the capacity for politics'.

Mr. Carter argued that one learned to swim in water and that Africans would become politically competent by being given such political responsibilities in native councils and boards of management as they were able to carry. There was not much hope for Africans, Mr. Carter emphasised, "as long as all the political,

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1. Ibid, p.134.

governing and industrial power is in the hands of the white races. Some measure of local self-government might well be the prelude to the inevitable co-partnership between white and black. If we fight the idea of German racial dominance in Europe we must not continue to preach and practise unending British racial dominance in Africa. The powers of government belong to the governed on the true democratic principle".

The real battle for Africa, Mr. Carter continued, was not being fought against German Nazism and Italian Fascism but in the minds of white and black races in British-controlled Africa against racial prejudice and selfish injustice. "The Christian Church", he stated, "may justly demand for the African a real share in the new order, and demand it not only in principle but in practical ways;"among these were universal education; real power in native councils and as soon as possible, in the election of members of Parliament.[1]

One may wonder whether some measure of self-government for Africans on the Native Councils or even direct African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament, was a prelude to the "inevitable co-partnership between white and black" in Southern Rhodesia in the 1940's; nevertheless, Mr. Carter's speech was important in that it challenged the Rhodesian Government head-on to state its Native policy and for this reason, the speech was heavily criticised by the leading Rhodesian newspapers.

In a leading article on January 13,1941, the Rhodesia Herald for example, strongly criticised Mr. Carter's advocacy of African participation in politics. Mr. Carter's statement, the Rhodesia Herald argued, not only created "the danger of natives being led

1.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1941; The Bulawayo Chronicle, January 11,1941.

aside from the paths where they can progress with most advantage to themselves socially, economically and politically; but it is entirely unfair to the very principle of democracy to suggest that natives should be precipitated into parliamentary politics before they have shown the requisite capacity for that method of government".

Nothing would kill democracy in Rhodesia, "more quickly and more surely, and set back the clock of native progress more emphatically", the Herald continued, "than an attempt to abandon the policy of 'hastening slowly' and to introduce into Rhodesian elections a great number of natives who have not yet shown any convincing capacity for representative government in its preliminary stages".[1]

In response to Mr. Carter's statement, the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, in an address at the annual meeting of the Mashonaland Native Welfare Society in the Cathedral Hall in Salisbury on February 11,1941, stated that he was opposed to African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament even by Europeans, on two grounds. First, that the Legislative Assembly was too small. Second, that with such a tiny House, "if there were two direct representatives of native interests, and a Government was operating with a small majority, it might be thrown out by the vote of the two representatives of natives, probably on some issue that had nothing to do with native affairs. This would mean that the control of the government of the Colony had been handed over to the representatives of the native people".

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1. The Rhodesia Herald, January 13,1941.

Sir Godfrey further stated that "there was an enormous amount of work, other than political, waiting to be done among their own people by the educated native. They had some exceptional natives in the Colony who were doing excellent work for their own people. To suggest that they should give up this work at the moment - work which could not be bettered - in order to take up politics was a retrogade step".

A Commonwealth in which "too many voters were deficient in their sense of duty or lacked knowledge, like children, on how to discharge it", Sir Godfrey continued, "was bound to disintegregate. The main question between him and Mr. Carter was the speed at which they should move in the question of the native".

The Prime Minister then discussed the outlet for the energies of the more educated Africans. "Instead of congregating in the towns", he argued, "there was ample employment for all of them in the white areas outside the towns, and in the Native Reserves".[1]

Sir Godfrey's argument against African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament needs one comment. By arguing that the Legislative Assembly was too small to allow African representation even by Europeans, he was avoiding the real issue-that Africans should have some voice in the running of the country. This argument was very much in line with his thinking on African franchise since he became Prime Minister in 1934. As his biographers, Gann and Gelfand pointed out, he had all along been opposed to the principle of the common voters' roll whereby Africans could get the franchise on the same conditions as Europeans and had advocated that no more Africans

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1.The Rhodesia Herald, February 11,1941.

"should be allowed to come on to the voters' roll; Africans instead should acquire a say in Parliament through a few special European members until the country acquired a Second Chamber where African interests would find representation".[1] This was a slight shift from his earlier argument; but it was a poor substitute for direct African representation by Africans themselves.

Such a statement of Native policy by the Prime Minister, particularly his fear that African participation in politics would lead many Africans to withdraw from other useful occupations in favour of politics, did not satisfy Mr. Carter. He believed that many of the things feared by the Prime Minister were "insubstantial bogeys". The withdrawal of Africans from "useful avocations into politics", he argued, was pure supposition; it did not happen among Europeans.[2]

The Government at this stage, however, was not prepared to accept the principle of African representation in Parliament and Mr. Carter re-stated the reasons for its necessity. In an address to the Synod held in January,1943, he emphasised the need for African representation. "The habit of conference and debate", he argued, "is developing tremendously among Africans and there is sharp point as well as fluency in what they say"; Africans were "rapidly reaching the point at which it will be an absurdity to deny them some voice in choosing representative legislators in their native land and in giving them opportunity of making their communal wants and wishes known".[3]

Probably as a result of these and other pressures, the Rhodesian Government in 1945 at last accepted the principle of African representtation in Parliament by two European members, but it proposed that

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1.L.H.Gann and M.Gelfand,Huggins of Rhodesia, op.cit,pp.100-101.
2.The Rhodesia Herald, February 13,1941.
3.S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945,Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes,1943.

the nomination and election of such representatives were to be by Europeans only; it also proposed the removal of those Africans who had the vote from the common roll. These two proposals were considered unsatisfactory by Mr. Carter.

In an address to the Synod held in January, 1945, Mr. Carter made two major points. First, that nomination and election of African representatives by Europeans was not satisfactory and fair. "There must be", he stated, "some place for African choice from the beginning, even though it is far removed from universal franchise and a ballot vote which are certainly not feasible at present. But either in choosing the panel of candidates or in choosing from the panel those who are to represent African interests there must be a place for the African's own choice". Second, that the Government's proposal to remove all African voters from the common roll, was unacceptable. "There are many Africans", Mr. Carter argued, "who by education, intelligence and service to the country have earned the right to be reckoned as full citizens"; this group of Africans, he emphasised, should not be included with the mass of Africans for whom special arrangements were needed.[1] In other words, only that elite group of Africans who already had the vote should be allowed to exercise such vote, but not the mass of Africans whom he believed were not yet ready to exercise the franchise.

In addition to African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament, the missionaries proposed the establishment of local government for Africans both in the Reserves and in the urban areas. The missionaries, together with their African colleagues, at a meeting called at Waddilove from July 18 to July 20, 1944, to discuss

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1945.

the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to Southern Rhodesia, suggested several ways by which local government for Africans could be established.

First, the meeting urged upon the Government the establishment of Native Councils. This, of course, was nothing new; the missionaries had been urging this all along. However, the delegates suggested that "some more satisfactory method of election than that which obtains at present should be devised, so that all sections of the African community shall have opportunity to nominate and to vote for members of the Councils". The Councils so established, would have authority as local governing bodies in the Native Purchase Areas and Reserves.

Second, that Native Urban Councils for urban areas should be established; such Councils should be elected and should operate in the same way as Rural Native Councils. Third, that African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament should be by not less than four Europeans. The meeting suggested that to maintain the principle of "true representation of African interests", the European representatives should be elected forthwith by an African Electoral College from a panel of persons nominated by the Governor in Council. "We affirm", the meeting stated, "that such representatives of Native Affairs must be full members of Parliament".

On the franchise, the delegates agreed that the existing franchise should remain open to those Africans who already had it. Finally, the delegates urged upon the Government that the proposals they had made, should be framed on a timed programme, and suggested, for example, that the proposal regarding Native Councils, could be put into effect within two years, and that in another two years,

Provincial Councils could be created.

The proposed Provincial Councils, the delegates urged, could then become the Electoral College for the election of representatives of African interests to Parliament. The delegates emphasised, however, that African representation to Parliament should be an immediate consideration.[1] Many of the above proposals as we have already seen, were not new; the missionaries felt, however, that they should be emphasised.

Thus far, we have discussed the background to the land situation in Southern Rhodesia from the occupation of the country by the forces of the British South Africa in 1890 until the appointment of the Native Reserves Commission of 1914-1915 and from the appointment of this Commission to the appointment of the Land Commission of 1925. We have discussed the findings and recommendations of the Native Reserves Commission of 1914-1915 and the criticisms of that Commission both by the missionaries in Rhodesia and by the APS in Britain. We have also discussed the findings and recommendations of the Land Commission and the criticisms of that Commission both by the missionaries, the APS and by the Africans themselves. On the whole, we have seen that the recommendations of the Land Commission of 1925 fell far short of African demands for more land. We have also seen that those missionaries who had earlier supported the policy of land segregation -Cripps and White in particular - later came to regret their advocacy of this policy when the recommendations of the Land Commission of 1925 did not bring about the "fair bargain" they had hoped for.

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1. S/M/S/R/B.1940-1945, Southern Rhodesia District Synod Minutes, 1945.

We have also discussed the questionof the franchise from the point of view of the APS, the missionaries and the Africans themselves. In conclusion, we may ask what missionary protests on the land and the franchise achieved. On the land question, the protests and recommendations of the missionaries achieved little For Cripps, the only consolation he got was that the Sabi Reserve was ultimately not reduced and that portion of the Sabi Reserve which had been proposed for alienation in view of the proposed construction of the railway, was finally made a Native Purchase Area.

On the question of the franchise, the protests of the missionaries also achieved little. The Rhodesian Government made only two concessions. First, the Native Councils were established in 1937; second, the principle of African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament by two Europeans was accepted in 1945.

One can of course argue that the suggestions made by the missionaries on the franchise; the establishment of Native Councils in the rural areas; the establishment of Urban Councils for Africans; the representation of Africans in the Rhodesian Parliament by two Europeans, were all beside the point in that they did not meet African demands. This, however, would be an uncharitable view of the efforts of the missionaries. The missionaries advocated these reforms because they believed that such reforms would go some way towards improving the position of the Africans.

Chapter 10: The Missionaries and African Welfare, Part 2, 1940-1945.

In the last chapter, we discussed the role of the missionaries in African welfare especially on the question of the land and the franchise. The missionaries did not confine their activities to these two issues. In this chapter, we will discuss the role played by the Methodist missionary, the Rev. Percy Ibbotson, in African welfare in his capacity as Organising Secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia.

Percy Ibbotson came to Southern Rhodesia from England in 1922 and for twenty years he served as a missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in various circuits, in which capacity he also served as Secretary of the Temperance and Welfare Society. In addition to missionary work, Ibbotson got himself interested in various organisations operating in Southern Rhodesia during this period. In 1936, he became Chairman of the Social Hygiene Council; in 1940 he became the Southern Rhodesia Regional Representative of the South African Institute of Race Relations and by August, 1944, he had served in this capacity for about four years.[1] In 1942 he became Chairman of the Prisoners' Aid Society as well as being on the executive committees of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; the Bulawayo Prisoners' Aid Society and the Society for the Blind and Physically Defective.

In April, 1942, Ibbotson was seconded from missionary work to serve as Organising Secretary and Social Investigator of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies, of which Advocate J.M. Greenfield was Chairman. The appointment was for a probationary period of one year. In February, 1943, however, he was

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1. C/S/R/B.1940-1945, Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds, August 15, 1944.

unanimously recommended to serve for another three years.[1] In the event, he served for a much longer period than this.

According to Ibbotson, the Native Welfare movement in Southern Rhodesia was begun in the 1930's and came into being not because "of any requests from Africans for assistance and guidance but because of the conviction of certain sympathetic and liberally minded Europeans that something be done to assist African welfare and bring about some form of understanding between Europeans and Africans".

The Federation of Native Welfare Societies came into being as a result of fusion of the various Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia during this period. Among these were the Mashonaland Native Welfare Society; the Salisbury Native Welfare Society; the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society, as well as Native Welfare Societies in other towns such as Umtali, Gwelo, Que Que, Gatooma and Selukwe. The Federation was governed by a Council which met about twice a year; this was made up of two delegates from each Native Welfare Society. The Secretary for Native Affairs and the Labour Officers of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland resident in Southern Rhodesia also attended the meetings of the Federation Council.

Further, in order that Africans might 'freely discuss' matters of importance to them, provision was made for holding an annual conference of African delegates from the various Native Welfare Societies; resolutions passed by this African Conference were then fully considered by the Federation Council and where possible, representations were made to the Government.[2]

Ibbotson, as we have already noted, was appointed to his job as Organising Secretary of the Federation in April, 1942. He began

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1.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds, February 22,1943.
2.The Bantu Mirror, November 27,1943.

by collecting information, statistics and reports on various aspects of Native Welfare work not only in Southern Rhodesia but also in Northern Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa. During the year he addressed meetings of the 'Sons of England'; the Bulawayo Rotary Club, the Bulawayo Left Club; the Plumtree Public Association; the Gwelo Discussion Group and many other societies on the subject of Native Welfare work; Race Relations and Native Policy. Further, he not only gave addresses on "Native Welfare and Race Relations" to the senior pupils of the Eveline High School in Bulawayo and the Plumtree High School, but also addressed meetings of Africans in Bulawayo, Gwelo, Selukwe, Que Que, Gatooma, Plumtree and Umtali. At the African meetings, he stressed the importance of thrift, co-operation, and on Africans having a sense of responsibility for their own uplift and on the welfare of their own people.

In addition, in August, 1942, Ibbotson began work on a survey of African conditions in the urban areas of Southern Rhodesia. He began by collecting information on wages, rentals, rations, employment, education and medical facilities. By November 1,1942, he had obtained particulars of a total of 12,887 Africans in Bulawayo, Gwelo, Selukwe, Que Que, Gatooma and Umtali. Included in these figures were approximately 1,000 cases which he had personally investigated. A special feature of these investigations, he explained, was "to assess the economic position of Natives who have dependants".[1]

In addition, the Federation Council meeting held on November 14,1942, considered a resolution from the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society, requesting the Federation to investigate and encourage the Co-operative Trading movement among Africans. It was decided

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1. C/S/R/B.1940-1945, Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, Organising Secretary's Report for the period April 1 to November 1, 1942.

that Ibbotson in his capacity as Organising Secretary should undertake the task and report his findings to the next Federation Council meeting. This he proceeded to do.

He began by collecting all available information regarding the Co-operative movement among Africans in Southern Rhodesia. He found in the course of his investigation that there was a keen desire among Africans for the development of this movement in the country. He inserted, as part of his investigation, a notice in the newspaper, The Bantu Mirror asking for particulars on African Co-operative Societies either already established or in the process of formation; he also made personal investigations.

He found that there were three main African Co-operative Societies in the country. The first was the Selukwe Bantu Co-operative Society which had been formed three or four years previously. This Society had a small membership and a small credit balance in the Bank. The Society had attempted to draw up rules and regulations and some form of constitution for its members. These attempts, however, had not been successful and the Society was waiting for the adoption of the rules and regulations governing the Bulawayo Bantu Co-operative Trading Society. The second Society was the Gazaland Shangaans Co-operative Society which operated in Umtali, Salisbury and Que Que. The aim of this Society was to collect money with which to start a business. The members paid a membership fee of 3/- and a monthly subscription of 1/-. The Society also aimed at helping its members in times of hardship.

The third and much bigger Society was the Bulawayo Bantu Co-operative Trading Society. This Society was the only one in the country in which a serious attempt was made to conduct business on a sound basis. The Society intended eventually to open a small

store in Bulawayo and after the success of this experiment was assured, to extend operations and include possibly a butchery and a Native Eating House. Although its activities at first were limited to Bulawayo, it was proposed to extend these activities to rural areas. This Society had £150 in the Bulawayo Barclays Bank and this amount was steadily increasing. At that time the Society had about 70 members and it was hoped that when all had subscribed, the necessary capital would be about £250 as some members were contributing sufficient money to purchase five shares.

After concluding his investigations, Ibbotson made several recommendations to improve the Co-operative movement among Africans in Southern Rhodesia. He recommended first, that everything possible should be done to encourage this movement among Africans in Southern Rhodesia as this would be an important factor in their future development; secondly, that steps should be taken to ensure that the development of this movement was on a sound basis.

Ibbotson, like all white liberals, was concerned that this movement should not be left without guidance because it was feared that the movement might have a potential for 'subversive' activities. For this reason, he recommended it should be carefully watched by "responsible Europeans", as it was important to ensure that "the mistakes and undesirable features of the movement in certain other territories be avoided in Southern Rhodesia".

Ibbotson further recommended that legislation should be introduced as soon as possible, covering co-operative societies in general and the Bantu Co-operative Societies in particular; that the assistance of "sympathetic Europeans" should be sought by societies in the process of formation; that provision should be made in the

regulations for "qualified Europeans" to sit on the Board of Directors of every society. He considered this provision necessary in order to "avoid some of the troubles and difficulties experienced in the Union and elsewhere". Two other recommendations were to the effect that a "qualified European" should be appointed to advise Bantu Co-operative Societies, develop athe movement and initiate 'sound' propaganda among Africans and that membership and/or shareholders should be strictly limited to Africans.[1] Such were the findings and recommendations of Ibbotson regarding the African Co-operative Trading Societies in Southern Rhodesia.

In addition to making the above report, Ibbotson also undertook other programmes for the Federation in the course of 1942 and 1943. In 1942, he not only addressed the annual general meetings of the Salisbury, Gwelo and Umtali Native Welfare Societies but also addressed meetings of Africans in Salisbury, Umtali, Selukwe and Bulawayo. He also accepted an invitation from the newly-formed Bulawayo Civic Association to address its sub-committee which had been appointed to work out a policy of Native Administration. Furthermore, he was requested by the Federation to undertake a sociological survey among the African population of Plumtree and also a survey on African females employed in Salisbury and to investigate the need for erecting an African girls' hostel.

In the course of his work, Ibbotson also made several suggestions to expand the work of the Federation. He suggested first, that the Federation should authorise the commencement of a Federation Library. He believed that it was important that a library of books, reports

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1. C/S/R/B.1940-1945, Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, Bantu Co-operative Societies, Memorandum prepared by Organising Secretary, May 14,1943.

pamphlets and memoranda for the use of various Native Welfare Societies and other interested people should be built. Mr. H.T. Low generously offered to donate some valuable books and publications to form the nucleus of the Federation Library. Secondly, that there was a need for the circulation of information on Native Welfare and suggested that a monthly bulletin should be circulated by the Federation. Thirdly, that an annual report outlining the work of the Federation should be prepared and circulated to local authorities, Government Departments and Members of Parliament. Finally, on his suggestion, a pamphlet on 'The Native Labourer and His Food' was printed by the Federation. About 1,500 copies of this pamphlet were printed; the sales proved very satisfactory and the pamphlet was well received by the public.[1]

One of the most important contributions made by Ibbotson towards the work of the Federation, was the survey he made between August,1942 and June, 1943, on African urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia. The object of the survey was to obtain reliable information relating to wages, rents, rations, diet, living and economic conditions of male adult Africans working in the urban areas. The Survey covered Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, Selukwe, Que Que, Gatooma and Umtali. We will only deal with the main features of the survey.

On wages, he found that in the majority of agreements made under the Industrial Conciliation Act, it was evident that African workers had not received the consideration to which they were entitled. Whereas the minimum rates of pay for skilled workers-almost entirely European-had been fixed to allow for the maintenance of a wife and family, the minimum rate of pay for unskilled workers

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1.C/S/R/B.1940-1945, Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, Organising Secretary's Report for the period November 1,1942 to March 30,1943,April 1,1943.

appeared to disregard the needs of married Africans.[1] Ibbotson returned to this subject in an article he wrote in 1945 and observed that in practice and possibly also in intention, the Industrial Conciliation Act reflected unfairly on the employment of Africans in skilled and semi-skilled work and that Africans were excluded from the definition of employees under the Act. He considered it a matter of urgency that a scheme should be evolved whereby there was some form of African representation- by "qualified Europeans"- on industrial councils on the ground that if the European workers needed protection, the same could be said of African workers.[2]

Secondly, Ibbotson found that avenues of employment ensuring a satisfactory living for Africans, were seriously limited and that much of the industrial legislation in actual practice limited the employment of Africans in skilled and semi-skilled work. Thirdly, that many urban Africans receiving low wages, depended on income and produce from their rural homes to maintain themselves during their stay in the towns.

A fourth problem was that many Africans who came to the towns in search of work often wandered from house to house and from business firm to business firm in search of employment. This was largely because there were no organised means of establishing contact between supply and demand. He therefore suggested that labour bureaus should be established in all the important urban centres to assist Africans in search of work as well as employers requiring labour.[3] On the whole, Ibbotson found, the average wages paid to Africans were too low to allow for the maintenance of life at a reasonable standard. There had been many public utterances urging

1. Percy Ibbotson, Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1943, p.6.
2. Percy Ibbotson, "The Urban Native Problem", NADA, 1945, p.39
3. Percy Ibbotson, Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit, p.10.

the need for increased wages, but with little response. There was, therefore, a strong case for some form of wage regulation. He suggested that the time had come for the introduction of a Wage Act in Southern Rhodesia making a provision for a Wage Board and Wage Determinations.[1]

On diet, Ibbotson found that many African families were compelled to exist, owing to low wages, on a totally inadequate diet; a number of family budgets and cases personally investigated revealed "a deplorable state of poverty";[2] malnutrition existed among many Africans and this was due, in the main, to low wages, ignorance of food values and unwise spending.[3]

On rents in relation to wages, he found that a considerable proportion of married Africans paid more than one fifth of their wages on rent whereas the maximum should be a fifth of their wages; and lack of storage facilities compelled many Africans to purchase food in small quantities and in consequence, at greater cost. "The majority of married Africans", he wrote, "are in debt but this is due not so much to unwise spending as to low wages received".[4]

Further, in order to supplement family income, the wives of some married Africans undertook employment and often unsatisfactory provisions were made for the care of children while parents were at work. "It is considered", he wrote, "that any system which necessitates a wife undertaking employment in order to supplement the income of her husband is unsound, especially where young children are involved".[5]

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1. Ibid, p.11
2. Ibid. p.13
3. Ibid, p.15
4. Ibid, p.18
5. Percy Ibbotson, Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit, p.21

On housing, Ibbotson found that in the municipal locations, serious over-crowding existed; in every location, there were many Africans seeking accommodation; many Africans unable to secure location accommodation were living under very unsatisfactory living conditions; communal sanitation existed in every location and this had many undesirable features.[1] The Government Village Settlements at Luveve in Bulawayo and Highfield in Salisbury, however, represented "one of the pleasing features of urban housing". These Villages were "attractively" laid out; the houses were "very satisfactory" and reasonable; the rents ranged from 7/6 per month for one room and kitchen to 15/- per month for an "attractive" house consisting of three rooms and a kitchen.[2]

On housing in the private compounds, he found that a number of employers provided accommodation for their African workers and that there were many private compounds in the immediate vicinity of the large towns. There was some improvement in previous years in the type of accommodation provided, but the position was still unsatisfactory. "Some employers", he wrote, "have erected suitable accommodation but others are content that their African workers should be housed in hovels. The accommodation in some of the private compounds is appalling and sanitary facilities often leave much to be desired. Overcrowding, with all its attendant evils is common".[3]

On social facilities available to urban Africans, Ibbotson said although much had been done to meet the medical needs of urban Africans and there were many 'excellent' clinics dealing

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1. Ibid, pp.22-23
2. Ibid, p.24
3. Percy Ibbotson, Report on A Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit, p. 25.

with maternity cases in Bulawayo and Salisbury locations, there was a serious shortage of accommodation for maternity cases at these centres. He conceded that very valuable child welfare work was being undertaken in Salisbury and Bulawayo; there were Government hospitals with accommodation for African patients in Bulawayo, Salisbury, Gwelo, Que Que, Gatooma and Umtali, and a clinic with accommodation for African patients was available at Selukwe. On the whole, however, accommodation for African patients in most urban areas was inadequate.

On education facilities available to African urban children, Ibbotson found that school accommodation in some areas was taxed to the limit; it was clear, he argued, that if compulsory education was to be introduced in urban areas, it would be necessary to provide additional school accommodation. There were some evening schools for male African workers in most urban areas, but the attendance was irregular. A thorough investigation into the possibilities of adult education, he felt, would be valuable.[1]

In conclusion, Ibbotson made several recommendations to improve the conditions of urban Africans in Southern Rhodesia. On wages, he recommended that more adequate consideration should be given to the position of unskilled and semi-skilled African workers in industrial agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act; a Wage Act making provision for a Wage Board and Wage Determination should be introduced; wider spheres of employment for Africans should be created, and employment bureaus for urban Africans should be established.

On rations, diet and malnutrition, Ibbotson recommended the adoption of more satisfactory ration scales where employers accepted

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1. Ibid, p.26.

the responsibility for feeding their African workers; the introduction of subsidised milk schemes in all urban areas; the establishment of Municipal Native Eating Houses in all large locations and the undertaking of a nutrition survey. On housing and living conditions, he urged that steps should be taken to investigate ways and means of overcoming the existing acute shortage of African accommodation in urban areas; an investigation should be made into the question of Government loans for economical housing; the establishment of an Advisory Board on African Housing and Location Planning; the establishment of more Government Village Settlements and the provision of more adequate accommodation in private compounds where employers accepted the responsibility for housing their African workers.

On medical facilities for Africans in urban areas, Ibbotson urged the provision of additional accommodation for African patients at Government hospitals; the provision of additional voluntary clinics for treatment of veneral disease, and intensive health propaganda to be carried out among Africans. On education, he urged that an investigation should be undertaken on the question of adult education for urban African workers.[1] Such were the findings and recommendations made by Ibbotson on urban African conditions in Southern Rhodesia.

The above report had several immediate results on African conditions in the urban areas. First, one business firm as a result of the survey, granted pay increases to all its forty employees at the rate of £1 per month; at least three industrial concerns improved their ration scales and one factory owner accepted Ibbotson's advice on food, accommodation and wages for his

1. Percy Ibbotson, Report on A Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, op.cit, p.30.

African employees.[1] Second, early in July, 1944, Ibbotson interviewed on request, an influential firm which had interests at two centres in the country and which employed a large number of Africans. At Ibbotson's request, the firm adopted a well-balanced ration scale for its African employees; it also adopted a gratuity scheme for its African employees. Third, Ibbotson was requested by an industrial firm to visit its plant at Gwelo and recommend satisfactory wage scales for its African employees.[2] This was not much; still it was a victory of sorts for the Federation.

In addition to the publication of the above report, the Federation took further steps to improve its work in the course of 1943. Among these was the launching of a Native Welfare Bulletin in December, 1943, in which the monthly activities of the Federation were reported. The Federation also received considerable financial support when the Bulawayo City Council donated £600 for the financial year ending in December, 1943 and thereby made it possible for the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society to employ a Native Welfare Officer and an African assistant. Furthermore, the late Sir James McDonald, generously bequeathed £500 each to the Salisbury and Bulawayo Native Welfare Societies.[3]

The Federation also undertook other programees in 1943. One of these was the holding in Salisbury of a conference of African delegates from the various Native Welfare Societies on December 11, 1943. Included in the matters discussed were The Atlantic Charter and Africa; Payment of Income Tax by Africans; Employment Bureaus in Urban Areas; Africans and State Lotteries, and the Employment

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1. C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds,December 24,1943.
2. C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds,July 19,1944
3. C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Native Welfare Bulletin, Published by the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, No.1, December,1943.

of African Artisans in the Erection of Local Buildings. In addition, two years previously, the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society had investigated the need for a hostel for African girls in Bulawayo, and as a result of these investigations, urged the Bulawayo Municipality to provide a hostel for African girls. The Federation noted that as a result of its representations an 'excellent' hostel was being erected; the foundation stone was laid on January 6,1944, by Mrs. Donald Macintyre, after whom the hostel was named.

Also included in the activities of the Federation in 1943 was the decision by the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society to use the £500 bequeathed by the Late Sir James McDonald for the benefit of the Africans of Matabeleland in assisting, by means of grants or loans, Africans who desired to further their educational or professional training. The Federation also received a donation of £20 from the late Mrs. Fox of Bulawayo and the Bulawayo Native Welfare Society proposed to use this money for the improvement of the African Library at the Stanley Hall.[1]

The Federation also undertook other programmes in 1944. These included the staging of the Fifth Annual Southern Rhodesia Inter-Town-Mine First Aid competition under the auspices of the Que Que and District Native Welfare Society at its sports ground on September 10,1944. The eighteen teams taking part included the Globe and Phoenix Mine; the Cam and Motor Mine; the Shabani and Sherwood Mines.[2] Further, in December, 1944, the Salisbury Native Welfare Society decided to use the £500 bequeathed by the late Sir James McDonald in the interests of the Africans of Mashonaland to assist them to obtain educational or professional qualifications

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1.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Native Welfare Bulletin,No.2 January, 1944.
2.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Native Welfare Bulletin,No.9,August,1944

by giving financial assistance or loans where the cost of the training course was greater than could be borne by the applicant; this money was also used in the legal defence of Africans in approved cases, especially where a matter of principle was involved.[1] Such were the activities of the Federation in 1943 and 1944.

Another important contribution made by Ibbotson towards the work of the Federation was his survey on Native Juvenile Delinquency in Southern Rhodesia. The survey was undertaken because sometime in 1943 the question of Native Juvenile Delinquency had been discussed by the Salisbury Social Welfare Council and the Salisbury Prisoners' Aid Society;as a result of these discussions,it was suggested that a survey should be undertaken to examine the whole problem,collect information and formulate recommendations. The Federation requested Ibbotson as Organising Secretary to undertake the survey and provided him with the necessary facilities. The survey was begun in March and completed in December, 1944.

In collecting evidence, Ibbotson visited the prisons in Bulawayo, Salisbury, Umtali, Gatooma, Que Que, Gwelo, Selukwe,Umvuma,Fort Victoria, Shabani and Plumtree for the interrogation of juvenile offenders and the examination of records. In addition, the Roman Catholic mission at Driefontein to which Native Juvenile deliquents were committed, was also visited and the juveniles concerned interrogated. Ibbotson also issued a total of 78 questionaires to judicial officers;native commissioners, the British South Africa Police, prison officials, probation officers, missionaries and the general public. In addition, he carried out interviews with several people

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1.C/S/R/B.1940-1945,Native Welfare Bulletin,No.10,September,1944

in "direct contact with native conditions, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas" ; over a hundred interviews were held and these included Africans.[1]

In his report, Ibbotson made several recommendations for dealing with the problem. On the method of dealing with Native juvenile offenders, he recommended that adequate records should be kept of all juvenile offenders, these records should include previous convictions, past history, home and environmental influences; except in the cases of trivial offences, full inquiries should be made before juvenile offenders were brought before the courts for trial and sentence; juvenile offenders should not serve sentences in prison or be detained there on remand; remand homes should be established in order to avoid the detention of native juvenile offenders in prison while inquiries were being made.

He also recommended that an adequate probationary system for Africans which would include the employment of trained Africans as assistant probation officers, should be introduced; court procedures in the case of juvenile offenders should be changed and a certain amount of formality should be dispensed with where possible; judicial officers trying Native juvenile offenders, especially in the large centres, should be those who had some knowledge of the problem and outlook of juveniles; increased powers should be given to native commissioners to deal with native juvenile offenders.[2]

On the punishment of juvenile offenders, Ibbotson said under the existing system, caning was too readily resorted to in the case of juvenile offenders brought before the courts and he recommended

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1. Percy Ibbotson, Report of A Survey of Native Juvenile Deliquency in Southern Rhodesia, Published by the Federation of Native Welfare Socieities in Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1945, p.2
2. Ibid,p.34

a modification of the practice; after caning had been administered on two occasions and thereby proved to be ineffective, other methods should be used; caning should not be administered in prison; reprimands should be given in more cases than was being done; fuller use should be made of the provision of suspended sentence; more juvenile offenders should be placed on probation when circumstances warranted this step; and juvenile offenders should not serve sentence in prison.

On certified institutions or approved schools, Ibbotson advocated that provision should be made for additional schools of this sort under the Children's Adoption and Protection Act and a 'Borstal type institution' on modified lines should be established to meet Rhodesian conditions.[1] Finally, Ibbotson urged that a conference should be arranged by the Government as soon as possible to discuss the recommendations contained in his report and the facts revealed in his survey. "It is suggested", he recommended, "that this Conference should consist of representatives of the Department of Justice, Native Affairs Department, Native Education Department, Prisons, the Police, the Criminal Investigation Department; also Probation Officers and representatives of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies".[2]

With the above survey completed, Ibbotson was now free to undertake other programmes on behalf of the Federation in 1945. In June, 1945, he was appointed a member of the National Health Commission of the Colony. This Commission had been set up to investigate health

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1.Ibid,p.35
2.Ibid,p.36.

services for all sections and races of the Colony. The Commission began its tour of the country lasting twelve weeks collecting evidence. The Chairman of the Commission was Professor Saint of Cape Town; the other members were one Mr. Russell - a Social Security Officer,- one Dr. Burnet, a woman social worker and Ibbotson himself.[1]

In addition to his work on this Commission, Ibbotson also played an important part in the settlement of a strike by Africans employed by the Rhodesia Railways. The strike first broke out in Bulawayo in October,1945 and other centres soon followed suit. There were, according to Ibbotson, something like 5,000 African workers of the Rhodesia Railways on strike. An attempt had been made to bring about negotiations between the management and the striking Africans but a deadlock was reached two days after the strike had begun. Ibbotson decided to intervene in the dispute. He interviewed the General Manager of the Rhodesia Railways and had a full discussion on the causes of the strike. He intimated to the General Manager that he was going to establish contact with the strike leaders. Inspite of warnings of the physical danger he might encounter if he entered the compound of the Bulawayo strikers, he decided to take the risk; he established his contact and had two 'secret' meetings with the strike leaders. He saw, however, that the situation was serious and asked the Prime Minister to intervene and promise an impartial commission of inquiry if the strikers would agree to return to work.

The Prime Minister agreed and the decision was announced on October 25,1945. Representatives of the strikers were to meet the

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1.C/S/R/B.1940-1945, Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds, June 19,1945.

Chief Native Commissioner, his officials and Ibbotson on the following day. Ibbotson hoped that the striking Africans would accept the Government's offer of a commission of inquiry. "If the offer is not accepted", he wrote to Dodds on October 26, "I am afraid the position is going to be serious as the whole country is likely to be held up".[1]

The strike leaders had a meeting with the Chief Native Commissioner, the Northern Rhodesia Labour Officer and Ibbotson on October 27 and agreed to return to work on the assurance that the Government would appoint an independent commission of inquiry. On Monday, October 29, there was full return to work by the Bulawayo strikers. Meanwhile, the strike had spread to other centres and on October 27, it became a general strike throughout the country, including Northern Rhodesia. Most of the centres, however, followed Bulawayo's example and returned to work but other centres held out as they did not believe the telegrams sent from Bulawayo; delegates had to be rushed by train and car to the various centres to inform the striking workers that all was settled and the strikers should return to work.

In view of the return to work by the strikers, the Government appointed an independent commission of inquiry. The Prime Minister asked Ibbotson to serve on the commission; he was at first reluctant to serve as he already had more work on his hands than he could satisfactorily tackle. The Chief Native Commissioner, however, strongly urged him to accept and he agreed. The Commission consisted apart from Ibbotson, of the Chairman, Mr. Justice Tredgold and a

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1.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds,October 26,1945.

businessman; the Commission began taking evidence in Bulawayo on October 31,1945.[1]

Among the causes of the strike were those relating to wages; recognition of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association; housing, paid leave; payment when an employee was absent on account of illness or injured on duty and gratuities. We will briefly consider each of these grievances and the Commission's recommendations regarding them.

On wages, the Commission found that there was a general demand throughout the Railways for an increase in wages. This was largely because of the rise in the cost of living which the war brought in its wake. The Africans, according to the Commission, had felt the effect of increased prices more than any other section of the community, with the result that the wage of an African supplied with housing and rations bought somewhat less than half what it did before the war.[2] The Commission, therefore, recommended that the basic wage for African employees of the Railways should be 30/- per month,[3] and that African employees on joining the Railway service should, for the period of six months during which they would be regarded as in training and on probation, receive 25/- per month and at the end of this period, should receive the basic wage.[4]

Closely associated with the question of wages, was the question of rations. The Africans were most insistent in their demand that they should be given cash payment in lieu of rations. After

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1.C/S/R/B.1945-1948,Percy Ibbotson to F.W.Dodds,October 30,1945.
2.Report of Commission appointed by His Excellency The Governor to investigate the grievances which gave rise to the Strike amongst the African employees of the Rhodesia Railways and certain other matters affecting Africans employed in Industry, Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company, Salisbury,1946,p.6
3.Ibid,p.7
4.Ibid,p.8

considering this demand carefully, the Commission felt that in the interests of the Africans themselves, such a demand should not be accepted on the ground that experience had shown that Africans who bought their own food, and especially men who had no wives to prepare it, were prone to feed themselves on an unsatisfactory basis and that the Rhodesia Railways, by buying wholesale could obtain better quality and larger quantities of food for the equivalent expenditure.

On the issue of the recognition of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association, the Commission found that there was a widespread feeling in the country against 'anything in the nature of trade union activity amongst Africans'. The Commission, however, took the view that no obstacle should be placed in the way of Africans if and when they were able to organise themselves but that at the existing stage of African development, there were serious practical difficulties in the way of such a development. Among these was the fact that a substantial number of African employees in any concern including the Railways, only remained in employment for a period of six months or a year. In the circumstances, any sort of organisation, in the Commission's view, was bound to be sectional in its membership and confined to employees who were not necessarily representative of the general body. This was the case with the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association. While, therefore, this Association should not be discouraged and that any representations it cared to make should be given full consideration, the Commission did not think that it could be accepted as the sole mouth-piece of African employees of the Railway; that if it developed 'naturally' and grew in strength, its position should be reconsidered in the light of

of the principles stated.[1]

The Commission suggested that an 'African Council' should be formed at each of the main railway centres, on the lines of the Bulawayo Location Advisory Board. It recommended that the Supervisor of Natives; Welfare Officers;Compound Managers and perhaps one or two other officers of the Railways should be members of such a Council; should attend its meeting and direct its activities; meetings of such Councils should be held regularly; each section of African employees should send representatives to these Councils; these Councils should discuss and advise on African welfare; an annual conference of delegates from all the Councils, meeting at some central point would complete an organisation giving the African employee "a much-needed opportunity to voice his views".[2]

On housing, the Commission found that housing conditions of African employees of the Railways varied from 'the very good to the unspeakably bad'. The Commission therefore recommended that there should be an "immediate and complete survey by a competent Government official of all the railway housing in the Colony, whether in or out of the town areas, and final decisions should be made in the light of this report".[3] On the question of paid leave, the Commission found that all leave of African Railway Employees was unpaid and found no reason why paid leave should not be granted. There was no reason, the Commission wrote, why an African employee should suffer financial deprivation when he had earned his leave by faithful service; it recommended that paid leave should be granted for a

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1.Ibid.p.11
2.Report of Commission appointed by His Excellency The Governor to investigate the grievances which gave rise to the Strike amongst the African Employees of the Rhodesia Railways and certain other matters affecting Africans employed in Industry,op.cit,p.11.
3.Ibid,p.12.

period of one month after three years of completed service.[1]

On the question of payment of workers when ill or injured on duty, the Commission observed that prior to the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1941, it had been the custom of the Railways to pay African workers who were away injured on duty but not when ill; after the Act became law, this was discontinued and payments were made strictly in terms of the Act, that is, no payment was made where disablement continued for a period of less than fourteen days. The Commission saw no reason why, while the law stood in its existing form, African employees of the Railways should be compelled to forego the benefits conferred by Statute upon "the general body of workers of their type"; it recommended that payment and other benefits in terms of the Masters and Servants Act should be conceded to workers when absent from duty through illness or injury; this meant that for the first month of absence on account of illness or injury, they should be paid; after that they were entitled to all benefits other than wages for another month.[2]

On the question of gratuities, the Commission took the view that the existing scale of gratuities payable to African employees, was a good one. After twenty years' service, an African on retirement was entitled to a sum varying with his grade from £1 to £1.15/- for each year of completed service, with provision for special cases. The Commission found that the African employees did not ask for any amendment to the amounts but wanted the gratuity to be paid after ten years' service. The Commission felt that this period was too short and that to introduce it would be opposed to what it regarded should be the policy in the employment of Africans, namely, "the encouragement of long service with the increased efficiency and the

1. Ibid, p.13
2. Ibid, pp.13-14

general stabilisation of conditions in the undertaking which it involves". For the time being, at any rate, it was felt that the existing system of gratuities should be continued but that in principle the award of gratuities was unsatisfactory and possibilities of a pension scheme for Africans should be investigated.[1]

In the concluding section of the report, the Commission made several suggestions for dealing with future industrial disputes in which African workers were involved. First, there was a need for the reorganisation of the Native Department. There was at that time, the Commission wrote, no section of the Department specially charged with the administration of the urbanised and industrialised African population; the need for such a section was apparent and suggested the creation of a sub-department of Native Labour under the Native Affairs Department and immediate attention should be given to this.

Secondly, that Labour Boards should be created. It was suggested that inquiries should be made into the possibilities of such Boards in relation to African labour and particularly into the question of African representation on such Boards; this might initially be effected by officials, but at an early stage, representations by Africans themselves should be envisaged. Thirdly, a Wage Act should be passed. "The strike on the Railways has illustrated", the Commission wrote, "that it is imperative that some readily available body should be created to which industrial disputes involving Africans can be referred. It is manifestly unfair to prohibit strikes or to employ the power of the State in their suppression unless an alternative method exists by which disputes between employer and employees can be brought to finality". The

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1. Ibid, p.14.

alternative, the Commission suggested, was the passing of a Wage Act on the lines of the Union Act 44 of 1937.[1] Such an Act would create Labour Boards to which industrial disputes involving Africans could be referred.

Fourthly, agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act often laid down wages which, although nominally applicable to unskilled labour generally, were intended ultimately to apply to Africans. "It is suggested", the Commission wrote, "that there are no adequate safeguards in the Act to ensure that such provisions are given due consideration from the point of view of the African. If a Wage Board was created such provisions should be referred to it before being incorporated in an agreement".[2] Fifth, that on housing, there was no satisfactory means in existence by which the Government could enforce the construction of suitable housing for African employees outside the municipalities. That being the case, the Commission recommended that the Government should be empowered to issue instructions to any employer, outside a municipal area, and employing more than, say, 200 Africans, to provide suitable housing within a named period. Upon default, the Government should be empowered to construct the housing and to recover the cost from the employer.[3] Such were the findings and recommendations of the Tredgold Commission. The findings and recommendations of this Commission deserve several comments.

Many of the findings it made, it will be recalled, had been made by Ibbotson in his survey of African urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia. Ibbotson had found, inter alia, that in the majority of

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1. Report of Commission appointed to investigate the grievances which gave rise to the Strike amongst the African Employees of the Rhodesia Railways..o'.cit,p.15
2. Ibid,p.15-16
3. Ibid,p.16

agreements made under the Industrial Conciliation Act, the African workers had not received the consideration to which they were entitled; whereas the minimum rates of pay for skilled workers - almost entirely European- had been fixed to allow for the maintenance of a wife and family, the minimum rates of pay for unskilled workers appeared to disregard the needs of married Africans; that in practice and possibly also in intention, the Industrial Conciliation Act reflected unfairly on the employment of Africans in skilled and semi-skilled work and that Africans were excluded from the definition of employees under the Act. Ibbotson had also dealt with the question of rations and had found that those Africans who received rations from their employers were in the majority of cases inadequately fed; the issuing of rations in lieu of cash payment was the cause of a great deal of dissatisfaction among Africans. Finally, he had demonstrated in his survey the chronic shortage as well as unsuitability of African housing in the urban areas. Seen in this light, many of the recommendations of the Tredgold Commission did not provide a new departure from those already made by Ibbotson. In fact, it may be said that the railway strike of 1945 took place precisely because the Government and industry generally had not paid adequate attention to many of Ibbotson's recommendations.

The Tredgold Commission, of course, laboured under great difficulties. First, its refusal to recommend the recognition of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association should be understood in terms of the Commission's own findings that there was a widespread feeling among many Europeans against "anything in the nature of trade union activity amongst Africans". The European worker enjoyed a monopoly of high wages not only in the Rhodesia Railways but also in other

industries generally precisely because the African worker, qua African was paid very little. Any recognition of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association, therefore, would have meant not only the acceptance of the principle of African trade unionism in general, but would have enabled that Association to bargain for higher wages for its members. If such higher wages were granted, it would have been interpreted as meaning a corresponding decrease in wages for the European employees of the Rhodesia Railways; this, the European workers would have stoutly resisted. To this extent, the Commission's suggestion for the creation of African Councils, was a poor substitute for recognition of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association, especially as the members of the proposed councils-all of whom were Railway officials-were to attend their meetings and direct their activities.

Secondly, the Commission's recommendation of a basic wage of 30/- per month for African employees of the Railways, was incredible to say the least, especially in view of the Commission's own findings that the rise in the cost of living which the war brought in its wake, had affected Africans more than any other section of the community. The recommendation of such a low basic wage can only be explained in terms of the realisation on the Commission's part that if a higher wage scale were recommended, it was likely to be rejected by the Railways Administration.

Thirdly, the Commission's refusal to accept the African workers' demands for cash payment in lieu of rations on the ground that experience had shown that Africans who bought their own food, and in particular men who had no wives to prepare it, were prone to feed themselves on an unsatisfactory basis, was paternalistic in the

extreme. It was, however, the Commission's findings and recommendations on African housing that a most telling critique was made on the Railways Administration's housing policy. If the recommendations it made were acted upon, they would have gone a long way in solving the problem of African housing.

The other recommendations of the Commission including those on paid leave; the payment of workers when absent on account of illness or when injured on duty; gratuities, the re-organisation of the Native Department and the proposal for the passing of a Wage Act creating Labour Boards, were also sound. Thus, it may be said that to some extent, the recommendations of the Tredgold Commission constituted a serious attempt-within the limits open to it-to solve indistrial disputes involving Africans in industry generally and the Rhodesia Railways in particular.

In conclusion, we have discussed in this chapter, the role played by Percy Ibbotson in his capacity as Organising Secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia. We have discussed his survey into the Co-operative movement among Africans. His two reports on African urban conditions and on Native Juvenile delinquency and his role in the settlement of the strike among the employees of the Rhodesia Railways,have also been discussed.We have already made several comments on the findings and recommendations of the Tredgold Commission.We should in conclusion, comment briefly on the work of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia during this period.

In so far as this movement was dominated and controlled by whites, it was not an independent movement free to initiate independent programmes. This was evident in Ibbotson's recommendations

regarding the improvement of the co-operative movement among Africans. He recommended inter alia, that the movement should be "carefully watched by responsible Europeans", in order to prevent whatever potential it might have for 'subversive' activities; that the assistance of "sympathetic Europeans" should be sought by co-operative societies in the process of formation and that provision should be made in the regulations governing this movement for "qualified Europeans" to sit on the Board of Directors of every Native Welfare Society. Moreover, to the extent that the development of the co-operative movement was intended to create an African middle class, it did not cater for the needs of the majority of Africans who worked as peasants in the countryside. It should be emphasised, however, that the encouragement of the development of the co-operative movement was good in principle.

Ibbotson's report on African urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia was of great significance for the light it shed on the low wages paid to urban Africans; on the limited opportunities for the employment of Africans in the urban areas; the unfair operations of the Industrial Conciliation Act; the poor diet leading to malnutrition among many Africans; the chronic shortage and unsuitability of African housing; the lack of medical and educational facilities open to Africans in the urban areas and the poverty prevailing generally among the urban African population. Ibbotson's recommendations on the reforms needed to improve these conditions were also of great significance. If the Government had paid serious attention to these recommendations, it would have led to a great improvement of African urban conditions.

Ibbotson's report on Native juvenile delinquency in Southern

Rhodesia needs little comment. I am not convinced in my own mind to what extent this was a serious problem; if it was, one may wonder whether this was a problem peculiar to African children and whether the same problem did not exist among white children. However, Ibbotson's report was important in so far it was the first of its kind in the Colony. On the whole, the Native Welfare movement played an important part in African welfare in Southern Rhodesia in the 1940's. But in so far as it confined its activities to urban Africans, it left out the vast majority of the Africans who lived and worked as peasants in the countryside.

Summary and Conclusion.

We have in the course of this work covered the history of the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Southern Rhodesia from 1891 to 1945. Several aspects of Rhodesian Methodism have been discussed, including the religious, educational, literary and medical aspects and the role of the missionaries in African welfare. We should now summarise the major developments which took place between 1891 and 1945.

We have seen that the missionaries made very few converts among the Shona and Ndebele during the early period because they did not appreciate the importance of traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele. We discussed several aspects of Shona and Ndebele traditional religion, first, in order to dispel the eroneous belief held by the missionaries that the Shona and Ndebele had no religion deserving of the name; and second, to provide the religious framework within which the missionaries worked when they arrived in the country.

Because the missionaries underestimated the importance of traditional religion among the Shona and Ndebele, they had great difficulty in making converts among the Shona and Ndebele during the early period. This became evident when the missionaries set about establishing new mission stations in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. We discussed several of the mission stations which were established between 1891 and 1896. We noted that whatever success had been achieved in converting the Shona and Ndebele to Christianity between 1891 and 1896, was ruined by the Ndebele and Shona risings which broke out against the regime of the British South Africa Company in March and June of 1896. We discussed the causes and results

of these two risings on the country as a whole and on the Methodist missions in particular.

We noted that the two risings were a disaster for the Methodists for not only were several of their leading evangelists and teachers killed in the risings; several of the mission stations were also destroyed. The task facing the Methodists after the suppression of the two risings was not only to rebuild the destroyed mission stations but also to regain the confidence of the people. The Methodists also opened new mission stations between 1897 and 1918, the most important being the Tegwani mission in Matabeleland and the Chimanza, Sandringham and Marshall Hartley missions in Mashonaland.

We then discussed the African response to Christianity after the suppression of the two risings both on the level of the chiefs and of the ordinary people. We noted that most of the leading chiefs in Mashonaland were strongly opposed to Christianity and we showed the reasons for this. In Matabeleland, there was a division between those chiefs who welcomed the advent of Christianity and those who did not. On the one hand there was Chief Gambo who, although he did not actively oppose the new teaching, did very little to advance its cause while on the other hand there were chiefs like

Majila and Abednego Sinondo who welcomed the new teaching.

We further noted that, while Christianity made little headway among the old people, it appealed very strongly to the young. We gave three remarkable examples of conversion among the young people, those of Samuel Kona, Peter Mantiziba and Andria Mtshede. We also noted that even with men such as these to support them, the missionaries found the conversion of the Shona and Ndebele to be extremely difficult. The missionaries tackled these problems in various ways. First, they established model Christian villages to serve as a striking object lesson to the surrounding heathen. Second, they converted some of the chiefs in order that the chiefs thus converted would influence their people to accept the new teaching. Third, the missionaries translated the Scriptures into the vernacular so that the people would be able to read the Scriptures for themselves. We noted how the various portions of the Scriptures were translated into Shona by the Rev. John White and others. The medical missions established during this period and the role they played not only in relieving suffering but also in winning converts to Christianity, have also been noted.

In addition to preaching and healing, the missionaries reinforced their work by establishing educational institutions between 1897 and 1918. We noted that the most important educational institution during this period was the Nengubo Training Institution which was begun by the Rev. John White in 1898. We traced the major developments at Nengubo between 1898 and 1918 and noted the role which this Institution played in African education during this period.

Several aspects of the expansion of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia between 1919 and 1945 have been discussed. These have included the expansion of the Church through the Ruwadzano/Manyano movement, the Girls' Christian Union, the Men's Christian Union and the Boys' Christian Union; more literary work which was carried out during this period which made it possible to provide more religious literature in the vernacular; the rules and regulations governing the membership of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia and the problems encountered in enforcing these rules and regulations. The phenomenon of independency and in particular the secession of the Rev. E.T.J.Nemapare from the Methodist Church to form his own African Methodist Church, has also been discussed. We traced the career of Nemapare and the reasons for his secession.

We also discussed the expansion of Methodist educational institutions between 1919 and 1945 and in particular the two training institutions at Waddilove and Tegwani and the central primary boarding schools at Kwenda, Marshall Hartley, Pakame, Sandringham and Mzinyati. We traced the major developments at each of these institutions between 1919 and 1945 and assessed the role these institutions played in African education during this period.

Enough has already been said about the role of missionaries in African welfare on the land and franchise questions between 1914 and 1945 and the role played by the Methodist Missionary, the Rev. Percy Ibbotson in his capacity as Organising Secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia between 1940 and 1945. On the twin problems of the land and the franchise, it will suffice to say that many of the reforms advocated by the missionaries were rejected by the British and Rhodesian Governments.

A few concessions, however, were made but these fell far short of satisfying African demands.

The above notwithstanding, Christian missions played a most significant role in the history of Southern Rhodesia. First, in order of importance, was the role played by the missionaries in the literary field. In the process of translating the scriptures into the vernacular, the missionaries reduced African languages to writing for the first time. The second most important contribution made by the missionaries in Southern Rhodesia was in the field of African education. It was through Western education that the missionaries produced that African elite which was to play such an important part in African advancement in various professions before and after 1945. We have seen the role played by Methodist educational institutions in this regard between 1891 and 1945.

The contribution made by the missionaries in African education can be best appreciated when it is considered that, before 1920, there was not a single Government industrial training school for Africans in Southern Rhodesia and it was only in 1920 and 1921 respectively that the first Government industrial training schools were begun at Domboshawa in Mashonaland and at Tjolotjo in Matabeleland. The missionaries provided this training at their various training institutions. Furthermore, the missionaries not only set up a vast system of primary schools but also pioneered secondary education for Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The missionaries of the Church of England, for example, established the first secondary school for Africans in Southern Rhodesia at St. Augustine's mission at Penhalonga in 1939.[1] The school was begun without a Government

1.H.St.John T.Evans,The Church in Southern Rhodesia,London,1945,p.59

grant and opened with six pupils.[1] In addition, the Anglicans established another secondary school at the Cyrene mission in Matabeleland in 1941.[2]

Although the Rhodesian Government assisted the missions with grants, it lagged behind in providing secondary education for Africans; it was not until January, 1946, that the first Government secondary school for Africans was begun at Goromonzi in Mashonaland. The third important contribution made by missionaries in Southern Rhodesia was in the medical field. The amateur as well as the trained medical missionary relieved a great deal of suffering among Africans especially in the rural areas where Government hospitals or clinics were either very few or non existent. The missionaries also trained African nurses at their various mission hospitals. We saw the role played by the Waddilove Hospital in this regard between 1927 and 1945.

Indeed, the role played by missionaries in the treatment and care of the sick among Africans was acknowledged by the Rhodesian Government in the Native Education Commission report of 1925,[3] and has recently been emphasised by Professor Gelfand.[4] The contribution made by the missionaries in the history of Southern Rhodesia was perhaps best summed up by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, a leading African churchman in Rhodesia and a product of the missions when he wrote,"It is to the credit of the Christian church in Southern Rhodesia that it pioneered, initiated and piloted African education which has resulted in the revolution of the African mental outlook

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1. International Review of Missions, Vo..29,1940,p.82
2. International Review of Missions, Vol.30,1941,p.75
3. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the matter of Native Education in all its bearings in the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, Government Printer, Salisbury,1925,pp.89-91
4. Michael Gelfand,"Medicine and the Christian Missions in Rhodesia, 1857-1930",J.A.Dachs,(ed)Christianity South of the Zambesi,Mambo Press, Gwelo,Rhodesia,1973,pp.109-124.

without which the African in Rhodesia would have found it difficult to cope with the fast-changing conditions of the Africa of the latter half of the twentieth century. It was the Christian church that first introduced literacy which was to give birth to the African nationalists, medical doctors, advocates, businessmen, journalists and graduates".[1]

1.N. Sithole, Obed Mutezo, Oxford, 1970, p.98.

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Southern Rhodesia.

Zambia

Zambia

Botswana

MOZAMBIQUE

MOZAMBIQUE

Republic of South Africa

Sipolilo(SA)
Mt Darwin(SA)
Howard(SA)
Sinoia(WMMS)(SA)
Mtoko(AMEC)
Mazoe(SA)
Nyadiri(AMEC)
St Albans(CE)
Kutama(RC)
Chishawasha(RC)
Salisbury(WMMS)(CE)(DRC)(PCSA)
Hunyani(CE)
St Bernards(CE)
Macheke(CE)
Monte Cassino(RC)
Waddilove(WMMS)
Gatooma(WMMS)
Bonda(CE)
St Triashill(RC)
St Epiphany(CE)
St Faiths(CE)
Chimanza(WMMS)
Inyazura(SDA)
Old Umtali (AMEC)
Kwenda(WMMS)
Penhalonga(CE)
Wreningham(CE)
Umtali(AMEC)
Que Que(PCSA)
Gwelo(CE)(SDA)(SABMS)
St Francis(CE)
Gutu(DRC)
Alheit(DRC)
Selukwe(WMMS)
Shiloh(LMS)
Somabula(SABMS)
Mtambara(AMEC)
St Aidans(CE)
Zimutu(DRC)
Fort Victoria (DRC)
Pamushana(DRC)
Makumbe(DRC)
Bulawayo(CE)(WMMS)(PCSA)
Jichidza (DRC)
Tegwani(WMMS)
Hope Fountain(LMS)
Solusi(SDA)
Chibi(DRC)
Morgenster(DRC)
Chikore(ABCFM)
Dombodema(LMS)
Matopo(BC)
Mt Selinda(ABCFM)
Wanezi(BC)
Belingwe(SKM)
Mnene(SKM)
Mthabezi(BC)
Gwanda(SFM)
Masase(SKM)

Abbreviations.

CE	Church of England
RC	Roman Catholic Missions.
SA	Salvation Army
BC	Brethren in Christ
LMS	London Missionary Society
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SAGM	South Africa General Mission
SKM	Swedish Church Mission
SFM	Swedish Free Mission
PCSA	Presbyterian Church of South Africa.
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
AMEC	American Methodist Episcopal Church
SABMS	South African Baptist Missionary Society
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Southern Rhodesia.

and other places mentioned in the Text.

