



A retired CIA official who moved to Africa during decolonisation is inherently suspicious. Despite existing connections to Washington could not be documented. In fact, several indications - including some shortcomings - argue against the conclusion that he moved to Africa as a CIA plant. This paper provides an explanation for his relocation, that it was the organic culmination of decades of self-constructed effective marriages to accomplished women, two of whom were wealthy. Through his partnerships with Laura (Cunningham) Stark, and Louise Rehm, he developed into an expert on African nature, a liberal on American politics, and a wealthy patron of scientific work. Evidence of Boulton's intelligence gathering may yet turn up, but for the rest of his life provides a better way to explain his relocation to Africa. Although American interests cannot be denied, American origins mattered in that his African retirement was based on wealth, prestige and racial privilege in his country.

**Keywords:** Ornithology in Africa, decolonisation of Africa, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Rhodesia

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Figure 1: 'Mr. and Mrs. Rudyerd Boulton and some equipment they'll use to bird watch in Africa' (original caption). 'Wild Birds Call Couple to Africa', *Washington Post*, 26 August 1959. Photo: Henry Rohland

'Wild Birds Call Couple to Africa: A 30-Year Dream' was the headline in the *Washington Post* in 1959.<sup>1</sup> Rudyerd Boulton had begun his career as a specialist in the birds of Africa and had taken several expeditions to the continent in the 1920s and 1930s. This field experience, the article reported, had qualified him for service with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the American intelligence agency during the Second World War. Since then, he had been 'shuffling' through various personnel offices at the Department of Defense. Now he had taken an early retirement from the Pentagon and moved with his wife Louise to the Rhodesias. Moving to Africa had been his dream for thirty years, he said. His hopes were 'to spend the rest of his life watching birds'. The relocation was sponsored by an organisation Rudyerd had created, the Atlantic

article said nothing about Louise other than that she was Rudyerd's wife.<sup>2</sup>

The Boultons had equipped themselves splendidly, with a telescope, a bird blind, five cameras, a paracapable of picking up bird calls from 180 metres away, a tape recorder, a four-ton truck, and a 5.5-metre trailer ('caravan' in southern Africa) with a darkroom for colour as well as black and white film. The *W* photograph of the Boultons with their equipment. Another article with a photograph of Rudyerd and the reflector appeared in the *Rhodesia Herald* in May 1960 (Fig. 2). Here we learn that the equipment was not only for science. Boulton claimed: 'Thanks to the mobile laboratory, the whole of Southern Africa, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, becomes a potential stage for scientific field work.'<sup>3</sup> The *Rh* introduced the Boultons to their new community. Just a few months earlier, they had settled on a farm in Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe), which they called 'The Atlantica Ecological Research Station.'<sup>4</sup>

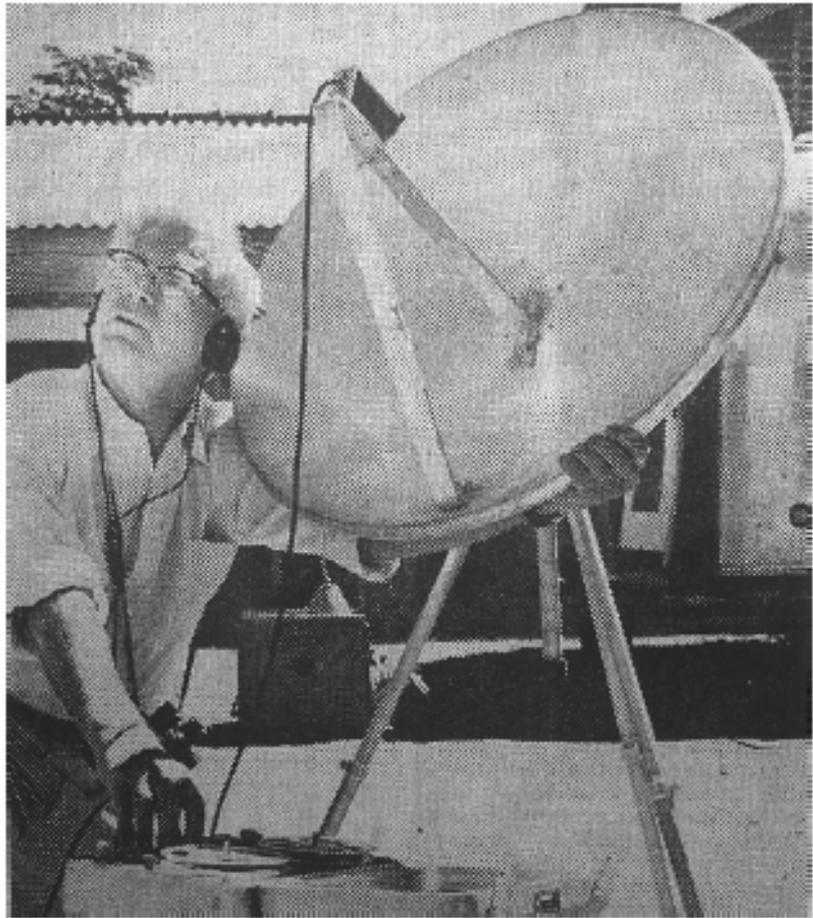


Figure 2: 'American naturalist Mr. Rudyerd Boulton operates a 30 inch parabolic reflector which can collect and record bird song at a distance of 200 feet' (original caption). 'Mobile Laboratory', *Rhodesia Herald*, 25 May 1960

Until decolonisation, Europeans with professional appointments in colonial administrations had generally conducted scientific research in Africa. Imperial governments sponsored research and colonial officials in Africa to pursue their research avocations. Lacking the sinecure of government support, American naturalists came to Africa as collectors of specimens or on museum-sponsored expeditions, but there were few of them who stayed long. By the mid-1950s, Fulbright and other American funding sources were changing the research landscape. The largely US-funded College of African Wildlife Management in Mweka, Tanzania began to train naturalists in the early 1960s. The creation of the Atlantica Foundation occurred during this expansion of American science in Africa. American science promoted US influence, even while operating well within colonial precedents.

Still, something about this particular story niggles. What sort of birder needed a parabolic listening device? And what sort of a birdwatcher could afford such high-tech surveillance equipment? What would a civilian experience with the OSS do in the Pentagon? For that matter, what was the Atlantica Foundation? I talk to an attorney in Washington DC and Louise's nephew from her first marriage, who had helped with the cover story when they were abroad. I asked John, 'What did Rud do for the Department of Defense?' 'Well,' John said, 'Rud was part of what we call "The Company."' 'The Company' is, of course, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).<sup>6</sup>

In decolonising Africa, a hint of CIA involvement intensifies the political stakes exponentially. A CIA cover story about Boulton's surveillance equipment, their move to Africa during decolonisation, and their intention of hiring field researchers in a different light. Field biologists count on being indulged for their use of surveillance equipment. It provides good cover and some scientists have taken advantage of it for spying. The eminent Yale ornithologist had served in the OSS in India during the Second World War and admitted it publicly in 1950. In the immediate postwar period, the Indian government saw fit to shut down Ripley's access to forests in border regions. It is well known that a huge ornithological survey of the Pacific had provided information for US biological warfare. The Smithsonian Institute had received military funding to track bird migration and collect blood samples globally. In India, popular opinion and the government became particularly suspicious of US connections. The Smithsonian funding of the premier ornithologist of India, Salim Ali. Broadening our scope from field research in India to Central Africa, the connections between science and espionage continue: a CIA biologist was involved in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the prime minister of the Congo, in 1960. In this context, it is quite possible that an ecological research station could have been an outpost of US surveillance and espionage during the decolonisation period.

Establishing the relationship between Boulton, his Atlantica Foundation and the CIA has not been easy. The records are open at the US National Archives in College Park, Maryland, but those for the postwar operations covered by the Freedom of Information Act made public only in exceptional circumstances. I filed a request to gain access to Boulton's records under the Freedom of Information Act but was unsuccessful.

Turning beyond classified materials to the historical literature, we find nothing on Boulton. Spies and intelligence stories about the Cold War in Central Africa have not drawn anyone's attention to him. Ken Flower, head of the Central Intelligence Organisation, names Irl Smith as the CIA representative until 1970 and never mentions Devlin, the CIA agent in Congo during decolonisation, gave an intriguing description of an inept older man who had joined him in the Congo. Devlin gave him the pseudonym 'Dad'. I contacted Devlin, who told me Boulton was dead and he had no information about him. Among spies, Flower and Devlin were exceptionally chatty and if not for anything to say about Boulton's intelligence work after 1959 perhaps they were not privy to his status. I have nothing to say about a man who really had retired.<sup>8</sup>

The Boultons' property now belongs to the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Authority. In 2011 my search for Boulton in Harare. Today a sign on the Bulawayo Road directs traffic to the 'Boulton Atlantica Centre for Conservation'. The National Parks service received me graciously. His house now hosts administration and education wing with laboratory, darkroom, and museum is mothballed, but Boulton's bequest stipulated that his house should be now well maintained and receptive to visitors, but few come to use the outdated holdings. Unfortunately, no one has curated or stored his personal papers. They had been deposited in closets apparently, with the contents of the closets put into separate boxes. The staff opened the closets and kindly allowed me to forage through these records.

His papers in Harare include some unused CIA stationery with a 1953 print run, but beyond that the CIA has kept Boulton's secrets. Better evidence came in 2013, when declassified documents confirmed his employment with the CIA. It is now established that a one-time CIA employee moved to southern Africa during decolonisation. The CIA was active in the DRC immediately at the time of independence in 1960 and also in South Africa, with the arrest of Nelson Mandela in 1962. Because its operations in decolonising Africa are still mysterious and hard to track, I have pieced together what I could about Boulton. The first step was to learn about him, his work, and his relationships before retirement. Whether or not Washington decided it needed a man in decolonising Africa, Boulton had been orienting himself toward scientific outreach in Africa for decades, with the help of his wives.<sup>9</sup>

## The Three Lives and Three Wives of Wolfrid Rudyerd Boulton

Wolfrid Rudyerd Boulton was born in western Pennsylvania, in the city of Beaver, in 1901. He became a member of the American Ornithologists' Union when he was still a boy. In 1913 the magazine *Home Progress* published his ornithological researches. It included a postscript from his mother Cora Marie, praising his conscientious work, and that of his brother too. The only hedge to her bragging was one that others who knew Rud could understand: he and his brother were 'a little slow always about writing their answers promptly, for, in reaching familiar and favorite bits, and ramble on.' He attended Amherst College in Massachusetts, but received his Science degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1924.<sup>10</sup>

Boulton had three careers. The first was from the early 1920s until 1942 as a museum ornithologist; he did not publish much as a professional scientist, but his expeditions became known. His second career began in ornithology and joined the newly created US intelligence agency, the OSS. After the war he remained in the CIA. Retiring (overtly, at least) from government work in 1958, he took up his last career, as director of the American Museum of Natural History, which was most active in the early 1960s. As it diminished and as he aged, he stayed in Africa and died in 1983.<sup>11</sup>

An attractive, generous man with an inquisitive spirit (see [Fig. 3](#)), Rud also had three marriages, closely related to his three careers. His wives were all accomplished women and two had the added resource of wealth. In 1937 he married the ethnomusicologist Laura Craytor, from whom he separated in late 1938. He married the Chicago heiress and self-proclaimed psychic Inez Cunningham Stark in 1942. She died in 1958 and in 1959 he married again, a wealthy widow from Washington DC. In Salisbury, Louise took up volunteer work, travel, and managing the museum; she died there in 1974. Fortunately his wives left a deeper impression on the historical record than he did. His three marriages multiplied what we know about him.



Figure 3: Rudyerd Boulton on the Straus African Expedition of 1929. Laura C. Boulton Collection, Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University

These women are more than mere sources for a man's career as a spy and scientist. Each of them led him pursuing their avocations, they fostered Rud's development. The *Washington Post* article credits Rud to the Atlantica Foundation, but his wives established Rud. For more than thirty years preceding his move practically handed off between them. If we want to make sense of Boulton's move to Rhodesia, the int turn out to be as important as those of the Cold War and African decolonisation; he was a product of th much as he was a scientist or an intelligence specialist. Whatever assistance or encouragement he rece 1959, his African retirement was an organic culmination of his decades with Laura, Inez, and Louise.

This is a history of the macro-politics of mid-twentieth century relations between Africa and the US on politics of a handful of well-off white Americans' work and relationships on the other. The conduits th different scales are the Boultons' race, their wealth, and the prestige offered the American elite in the n straightforward Yankee disposition helped them navigate past social hierarchies, if they so chose. Am bequeathed them comfortable lives with foreign travel, exquisite things, fine food, and plenty of hired capitalism included philanthropy and the Boultons took part in this practice, both as recipients and pa privilege and affability, they actively engaged the world, turning up in places where people of their kir colonial Africa, the South Side of Chicago, white-minority-ruled Rhodesia, and independent Zimbabw liberal about the removal of racial barriers, but not inclined to criticise structural impediments or cultu

But even this small and tightly connected group was not homogeneous; wealth and whiteness can be c for their dispositions. Variations in the orientations of Rud, Laura, Inez, and Louise were significant, as through changing times. Their evolving responses to American civil rights, Central African multiraciali white minority rule, and African nationalism - always against the background of fluctuating wealth - cr contingencies in this history. Drawing attention to their actions is not to suggest that the development explained as the outcome of personal conviction and choices. A history of intimate politics is not the s individualist agency. What follows here is not a story of Rudyerd Boulton's achievements, or a feminis accomplishments. My point is that the affordances bestowed on all the Boultons allowed them a uniqu constructions and social positions, in both the US and in Africa. Under these circumstances it was poss things. One could explain the Boultons' presence in Rhodesia as an expression of American interests i domination, but the route to those outcomes was through micro-political paths.

My investigation into Boulton's life began with the hopes of uncovering a CIA plant, but this history re that through the inspiration and support of his wives, and many special benefits, a mediocre scientist bureaucrat could devise a personal project so grand that it could be taken for a US government initiati

## **Ornithological Expeditions and Laura Craytor Boulton**

The ornithology department of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York hired F ornithology department by 1924. Around that time he began courting Laura Craytor, an Ohio girl and a University, who was working as a research assistant in genetics at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory c time Laura sang in choirs. They married in 1925 and agonised about being apart when he made his fir ornithologist on the AMNH Vernay Angola Expedition. In 1926 Rud found permanent employment as a at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, and so the couple moved to Pittsburgh.<sup>13</sup>

Rud's experience qualified him to lead collecting expeditions. In 1929 the Carnegie Museum gave him in another AMNH venture, to Nyasaland, Uganda and Kenya, financed by Sarah Lavanburg Straus of th Macy's department store. Mrs Straus (a 68-year-old widow) and her grandson accompanied him. Laur bringing along her own collecting equipment; for her, this was wax cylinders for recording music rathe specimens. The Boultons also used the equipment to make the first-ever recordings of Afro-tropical bi departed from Kenya, and Rud and Laura continued their travels to Cape Town on an expedition for th They returned to Africa again for the Carnegie Museum Pulitzer Angola Expedition of 1931. On that trip sponsor the publisher Ralph Pulitzer, Rud named a species for Laura, *Phylloscopus laurae*, known in E

Boulton's) woodland warbler. Neither Laura nor Rud came from money, but through museums they c patrons. It must have been tremendous fun for a young adventurous couple.<sup>14</sup>

In 1931 Rud found a better position, as curator of birds at the Field Museum in Chicago, and the coupl wrote a book, an illustrated explanation of bird migration for children, *Traveling with the Birds*. Laura i student at the University of Chicago. Until then, her musical research had been a personal pursuit whi husband, but now the Carnegie Corporation funded the purchase of better recording equipment and i underwrote another expedition, the first to provide explicit support for Laura's musical research. Aged joined the party, which travelled 12,900 kilometres from Dakar through the Sahel to Nigeria and Came the 1934 Straus Expedition convey a companionable marriage with the adventure and status available Africa (Fig. 4). On this trip Rud again collected bird specimens, but Laura's work had become equal to agent and tried the lecture circuit.<sup>15</sup>



Figure 4: Rudyerd (centre) and Laura Boulton (right) with Laura's recording equipment on the Straus Expedition, 1935. © The Field Museum, Z78891. Laura C. Boulton Collection, Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University

Laura claimed expertise on Africa; what did that continent mean to her? The early chapters of her 1969 *Hunter* recount her movement through Africa. She describes landscapes and wildlife (birds figure prominently) against a historical background. The book was a travelogue more than a discussion of society and culture. Africa was the subject of kings and members of tribes who had rituals, musical instruments and an innate artistic sensibility. The 'forceful, free melodic outlines and rhythmic complexities' of the music she recorded. Rule by Europe comment.<sup>16</sup>

Laura never completed the doctoral requirements of the University of Chicago. After 1936 she travelled London, Paris and the West Indies. Their surviving correspondence conveys some stress and their hopes. They wrote to each other with news of their friends, including Inez, who gave Laura professional introductions. It was a problem that her lecture fees could not be counted on to cover her travel costs. In late 1938 the Laura moved to New York City. Laura and Rud fell out of touch, apart from the transfer of US\$100 alimony and his three wives, Laura is the best remembered today. She is recognised as a founding figure in the ethnomusicology, an important collector of the world's musical heritage, if perhaps self-promotional. Laura remained single for the rest of her life and died in 1980. Her memoir made no mention of Rud or that they were married.<sup>17</sup>

## **The Intelligence Service and Inez Travers Cunningham Stark Boulton**

During the Second World War, US intelligence officers and agents were well educated and often had overseas experience. As specialists on Greece, for example, the OSS recruited archaeologists. Anthropologists produced analyses and information gathered in India and all regions of Africa. We have seen that the ornithologist South Asia. In fact the Agency used two ornithologists for its Africa work: Boulton and his friend James Chapin, the birds of the Belgian Congo at the AMNH. Chapin took up a post in Leopoldville as the official OSS representative to the Congolese government. He reported to Boulton, who held the title of Divisional Deputy for Africa in the Intelligence Division (SI). In 1943 Boulton was additionally made the 'desk man' for a joint programme between SI and the Espionage) in Africa.<sup>18</sup>

The history of the OSS in Africa has not been written. Its archives, which have been selectively declassified, show that the organisation monitored and took action in many places. The greatest US interest in sub-Saharan Africa was the procurement of Congolese uranium from Shinkolobwe mine in Katanga for the Manhattan project and the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima. Boulton would have been informed about its strategic importance by late 1943 subordinate Chapin was deployed to Leopoldville. Declassified OSS archives do not provide much detail about uranium, but it may have been possible to convey information about the element without mentioning its name. In 1943 Chapin wrote Boulton a two-page letter under the subject line 'Possible Sabotage to Congo Copper'. 'Copper in copper is puzzling. The United States and other countries in the Americas had extensive and known copper reserves. What could motivate Chapin to write in detail about Congolese copper production and sabotage again? Katanga, also the site of uranium mines, and that the word 'copper' could serve as a plausible substitute in correspondence that might be intercepted.<sup>19</sup>

A biography of Boulton's subordinate on the Africa SI team, Adolph Schmidt, gives specifics of OSS activities about uranium. Schmidt had been tasked with uncovering the smuggling of industrial diamonds from Angola. In January 1944 he was ordered on a top-secret mission to the Belgian Congo, to monitor shipments of uranium. His job was to facilitate delivery to American freighters and make sure none of the ore was siphoned off en route. The biographer: 'I knew nothing about uranium except that it was a radioactive element, but what could that mean in World War II?' Seeing two freighters lying off the port of Matadi at the mouth of the Congo River put his doubts to rest. 'A freighter anywhere on the west coast of Africa at that time was an event, but two freighters, one loading uranium, something important was going on.' Unlike Schmidt, Boulton never went on record about his OSS experience. He had travelled overseas only once during the War, to North Africa in 1944.<sup>20</sup>

After the War the OSS was disbanded and reformed as the Strategic Services Unit (SSU), a precursor to the Special Operations Executive. Boulton was still in the position of head of the SI Africa division. He resigned from the position of curator of the American Museum of Natural History, explaining only, 'The work that I am doing and have been doing in Washington is unfinished. I cannot tell when it will be... I firmly believe that the activity in which I am now engaged is the most important for the welfare of our country.'<sup>21</sup>

Rud married Inez in 1942 when he moved to Washington. His employment with the federal government was conterminous with his marriage to her, the only one of his wives who never went to Africa but may be an exception. A poet, psychic and rail-thin socialite, Inez Travers was born in 1888 to a wealthy Chicago Catholic family.

tour to Europe, including Vienna, where she was reportedly analysed by Adler. In 1916 she married Harold  
*Tribune* ran a sketch of the bride (Fig. 5). In Chicago the couple lived in a grand apartment building or  
Cunningham committed suicide in 1932. Inez married again in 1934, to the writer Harold Stark, and di



Figure 5: Inez Travers in 1916. 'News of Chicago Society', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 April

Inez flits through histories of bohemian pre-war Chicago as an 'eccentric society matron' (Fig. 6). She  
painters, poets, dancers and writers. She was an American early patron of a few European modernists  
leading mid-western modernist artists. She published in *Poetry* and was a reader for submissions.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 6: Inez Boulton at Mount Vernon, Virginia, 1946. Atlantica Ecological Research S Archives. Harare. Photo: Rudverd Boulton

Inez was also a spiritualist. She wrote a pseudonymous memoir about her gifts: *Beyond Doubt: A Record* (Ever the aesthete, her nom-de-plume was 'Mary Le Beau.) Communicating with a spirit guide called 'Trust' through life, at first she used an alphabet board but later developed the skill of automatic writing. Her understanding of a higher plane, where the truths of Christianity, reincarnation and evolution intersected, her husband 'Bob' was of a scientific mind but was also open to Trust's messages.<sup>24</sup>

The art of Africa and by African Americans was a specific interest for Inez. Partygoers found African sculpture. Several biographies of African American artists mention connections with her. In 1941 and 1942 she taught African Americans at the South Side Community Art Center in Chicago, an organisation funded by the War Relocation Administration. Her most famous student, Gwendolyn Brooks, the first African American Pulitzer Prize poet, met Inez at the age of 23. Brooks recalled Inez fondly:

She did not care to be regarded as a teacher, but as a friend who loved poetry and respected our opinions. To see her now, tripping in, slender, erect, and frosted with a fabulous John Fredericks hat, which varied her sport vegetables as fruits, flowers or feathers. Her arms would be loaded with books. Books from the library, to be freely loaned to any member of the class who wanted them. Or books especially purchased on occasion, because of some point she wished to stress or introduce. Once she gave a *Poetry* subscription to one of some fifteen members of the class. These books she would put down on the long table. She was one of those women who know how to combine friendliness with good will with easy modesty and dignified discretion.<sup>25</sup>

The two remained in contact after Inez's move east, when Inez arranged for a reading at Howard University, a leading historically black institution of higher learning, in Washington DC, and introduced Brooks to the Williams Brothers.<sup>26</sup>

Inez's agenda, seeking out black poets to cultivate their talents in what she thought was a universal moral liberal. There is no indication that any of the Boultons ever supported civil rights in a more pointed way than the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but Trust told Inez that her questioning him to choose her as his channel: 'You consider women of all races and creeds your sisters. No superior interest in their welfare.' Inez did not always understand what this meant in practice: in New York, when she was allowed to freshen up in Inez's room at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel in New York, Inez was led to wonder why she should have refused to stay there, but she did not.<sup>27</sup>

As for Rud, further confirmation of his CIA career appears in a handful of documents released through the Freedom of Information Act. They give his title in 1953 as Executive Secretary, CIA Career Service Board. The 1959 documents corroborated: he did work in personnel, but in 1953, at least, it was with the CIA, not the Department of State. When he had gone from work he considered 'the most important thing that I can do for the welfare of our country' to in the *Washington Post* article as 'paper shuffling'.<sup>28</sup>

He retained connections with ornithology. He remained affiliated with the Field Museum as a research fellow. He wrote to colleagues there about his intention to return to the study of the birds of Angola. In later years he led ornithological expeditions to Africa, the first to North Africa in 1952, but I have not been able to find evidence that Inez or the CIA may have funded it. The second was to Southern Rhodesia and Angola with the Field Museum. This was his first trip to southern Africa since 1934.<sup>29</sup>

In 1957, Southern Rhodesia appeared to be firmly connected to the new Central Africa polity known as the Central African Federation, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a state that both empowered the white minority and purported to be based on a 'partnership'. A white American liberal might not have noticed that partnership was more a performance than a reality. The Federation's 'progressive' politics in the mid-1950s were defined by the Capricorn Africa Society, which sought to abolish the colour bar and 'all types of racial discrimination' even while seeking 'to make effective the moral, cultural and educational standards of civilization and to help all members of all races to attain these standards'. More to the point, it sought white settlers in Southern Rhodesia access to resources and capital in Zambia and to labour from Malawi. The Federation's disproportionately small Africa representation in legislatures were byzantine and increasingly used by a qualified minority as a legitimate form of decolonisation. (African nationalists disagreed!)<sup>30</sup>

The eradication of a colour bar and Capricorn's affirmation of universal standards would have appealed to Inez's valued science and up-to-date poetry. Neither Inez nor Rud left any indication of their thinking in 1957. The trip to Southern Rhodesia could have germinated the idea of a move to Africa. If they wanted to remain in Southern Rhodesia would have been an appealing prospect: the white-minority government of 1965 was more liberal, and, compared with the bald segregation of apartheid South Africa, the violence and reprisals in Kenya, the rise of nationalism in Ghana, the Central African Federation could have struck wealthy white American liberals as a more appealing arrangement. Think, too, of Rud's boredom and disappointment to find himself in a personnel office. Inez's career that had begun with expeditions and birds! Inez's inherited wealth made a different life possible.

Rud quit his government position in April 1958 and Inez died in August. Her library went to Howard Upton. Inez's wealth to Rud. Should any not be used in his lifetime, she asked it be bequeathed to 'a suitable organization in the field of parapsychology'. Her most interesting legacy may have been as a guiding light for an education in Africa. This would be appropriate for a woman who believed she could communicate with the repressed.

## **The Atlántica Foundation and Sarah Louise Super Rehm Boulton**

In February 1959 Rud photographed Louise Rehm, looking relaxed and happy ([Fig. 7](#)). They married in 1960. She was recently widowed; her husband, Lane Rehm, an OSS veteran and a friend of Rud's, had also passed away before Inez's death.<sup>32</sup>



Figure 7: Louise Boulton, February 1959. Atlantica Ecological Research Station Archives, Harare. Photo: Rudyerd Boulton

Of all the principals in this story, Louise left the faintest paper trail. Her nephew by marriage, John, took her to college and she had been a lead buyer at a major department store. Friends in Zimbabwe recalled her as reserved and even delicate. She is remembered as a 'fantastic' cook. Her letters from Rhodesia are in a chatty tone. What I have learned about Louise's early life came from tracking down her first husband. In her previous marriage that ended in 1926. That same year he married Sarah Louise Super, who had been born in Pennsylvania.<sup>33</sup>

Lane worked in finance, for the major investment firm Brown Brothers Harriman. He did well enough to survive the 1929 Wall Street crash - to retire in his forties and dedicate himself to painting. Wealthy and disinterested in money, he was considered incorruptible and so when the Second World War began he was deemed qualified to handle finances. Their home became a retreat for OSS personnel; Louise's cooking was appreciated. In 1948 they were where Lane worked for the US embassy; Louise was said to have attended the Cordon Bleu culinary school. They were living in a fine house on R Street in the Georgetown section of Washington DC.<sup>34</sup>

Just a few months after they were married, Rudyerd and Louise Boulton legally established the Atlantica Ecological Research Station, a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation empowered to work and acquire property anywhere in the world.

Atlantica's mission statement was ambitious. Science, fine arts and parapsychology are all in its brief and broad scope (Africa is not mentioned):

- To establish, conduct, maintain and support scientific, literary and educational institutions;
- To aid, carry on, conduct and foster, in any part of the world, education investigation, research in the fields of the arts, sciences and humanities, including but not limited to ecology, zoogeography and parapsychology;

- To stimulate, teach, train, aid, guide, counsel and advise scientists and/ or artists in research, performance and/or publication in the various branches of the natural, physical and social sciences, liberal, useful, graphic, applied and fine arts;
- To conduct lectures, exhibitions, public meetings, conferences experiments and studies intended indirectly, in whole or in part, to advance the arts, sciences and humanities;
- To make collections of natural or man-made objects, specimens, books, pictures, sculpture, in other artifacts of the animal, vegetable or mineral kingdoms which may enhance, or contribute to the development of the arts, sciences and humanities.<sup>35</sup>

Its educational outreach is reminiscent of Inez's teaching with the South Side community arts center.<sup>36</sup>

By February 1960 the Boultons were on a farm on Saffron Walden Road near Lake McIlwaine (now Lake Malawi) 10 kilometres from Salisbury, a property with rock paintings and iron age smelters. They expanded and reworked the house in mid-century modernist lines (Fig. 8). A guest at Atlantica recalled:



Figure 8: The Boultons' house at Atlantica Farm, 1960, seen from the garden. Louise is right, walking to the house. Atlantica Ecological Research Station Archives, Harare. Rudyerd Boulton

Manicured lawns, flowering bushes, and well-tended flower beds greeted us as we followed the path to a rambling stone building with a residence wing, a living wing, and a laboratory wing. Books, scientific and art research papers, magazines, and art lined every passageway and crowded every shelf. We arrived at the public library or the Museum of Modern Art?<sup>37</sup>

It would have seemed a good life to the Boultons. Politically palatable and paying good dividends on Rhodesia offered a critical mass of upper-middle-class residents who cared about art and birds. Again, she was a good fancy cooking. Her early letters show her joining in Rhodesian society without critiquing it. She shared her learning Fanagolo and about the 'garden boy' doing the work while she stood nearby 'supervising'.<sup>38</sup>

The meltdown in the Congo in mid-1960 prompted Atlantica trustees to express concern about the Boultons.

responded uncharacteristically by putting his political opinions on paper: he said government action 'white feeling'; Africans were justified in protesting. Still, he believed that order must be restored in the Like many others in southern Africa and the United States, he criticised the lack of democracy and uph order imposed by it. At any rate, by 1960 African nationalist opposition had made multiracialism and t

On their arrival the Boultons took on a range of projects in support of the arts, education, scientific res Both the Rehms and the Boultons had collected fine art and they used these items to introduce themse white community in Salisbury. In December 1960 the Rhodes National Gallery put on an exhibition of included several paintings by African American artists, many from Howard University.<sup>40</sup>

The Boultons also supported education. Atlantica provided equipment for science classrooms for Nya secondary school near Harare. They also paid fees for individual students. Louise became the organis scheme to provide new, donated textbooks from American publishers to African schools. By 1964 she ; distributed 20,000 books to more than 100 schools and libraries and had offered introductory courses Ranche House College, a private tertiary institution in Harare. Books for Africa was a programme of the Institute (AAI), a non-profit body in New York City founded in 1953 with the goal of fostering good rel; and citizens of new African nations. The chairman of the AAI board was Harold Hochschild, who was a corporation with major holdings in Zambian copper. It later emerged that the CIA was financing the A.

The Boultons were well connected with the American community in Salisbury, including the consulate suggest another possible continuation of a CIA connection. Elizabeth ('Bicky') Tatum volunteered with Africa and the AAI. Her husband Lyle worked as a peace activist with the American Friends Service Cor through 1964. Through his work, Lyle was friendly with the political leaders Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mu the Boultons and Tatums visited, Lyle and Rud had long conversations about Southern Rhodesia's pro companionable fellow Americans. Although Boulton was not closely connected to African nationalists able to follow them through Tatum. Whether he channelled what he learned to Washington, we do no

Science and conservation occupied Rud. With the establishment of Fulbright Fellowships after the Sec scientists were initiating research on African wildlife and he seems to have had this model of visiting s handful of American and Rhodesian researchers did make Atlantica their operations base. In 1962-196 into efforts to protect what is now Lochinvar National Park in Zambia. However, Rud did not foster sci talented underrepresented individuals, as Inez might have done. Angelo Lambiris could recall only or time at Atlantica.<sup>43</sup>

And with their mobile laboratory, the Boultons travelled. In 1961 they covered a good 9000 kilometres Kalahari and Tanzania. Trips continued in 1962 and 1963, when Louise reported Rud gone for two mo: whatever they see to photograph, and digging up other things as well'. Rud always took his listening e Lambiris, who began his specialisation in herpetology at Atlantica, recalled that the parabolic reflector retrofit of a meteorological device, with a microphone rather than an antenna. The tape recorder was a Rud made recordings of bird calls which are now held in libraries and museums in the US and South / Lambiris recalls, a Second World War-era prismatic compass, used in surveying, and was an excellent Atlantica's activities, Boulton's travel through Rhodesia and other territories is the most suggestive of:

Paying for all this required planning. It has been impossible to reconstruct whether Atlantica and the F CIA seed funding. If the Agency did contribute, it was not sufficient to cover costs. In 1960, the year Atl: Rud made a loan of US\$50,000 to the Foundation and Louise mortgaged her house, but how she used recorded. Atlantica did not pay the Boulton's interest and they did not pay rent on the house. For furth expend too much capital, Rud financed by borrowing 'very extensively'. He wrote to his former OSS su board member Schmidt about the burden of keeping up with interest payments from his personal inc in-law in the Pittsburgh Mellon family and after the War he became president of a family charitable tru US\$1000 donations to Atlantica and pleaded with Rud to apply for Foundation support.<sup>45</sup>

Rud wrote back with promises to do so, but he cashed in on Inez's art collection instead, shipping 13 p London. Kandinsky's, 'Ludwigskirche in Munich' (1908) sold first for £12,000, which came to US\$33,60

Schmidt about the disposal of the remaining paintings, including one of Paul Klee's letter paintings (it nude by Chagall, and a 1905 print by Picasso called 'Salome and Herod'. Atlantica never received Fou contributions from individuals were mostly less than US\$100. By no means were the Boultons improve calculation by Rud put their combined assets in 1969 at US\$292,356. Adjusted for inflation, this would dollars in 2015. It is a lot of money, but Rud estimated that in ten years they had 'lent' more than a thir Atlantica. The financing troubles suggest that Atlantica could not count on the CIA for its bankroll.<sup>46</sup>

Another challenge was Rhodesian politics. In 1963 Rud addressed the upsurge in white radicalism, wh researchers off. Even after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, the Boultons ret process and the security apparatus. Louise tried to soothe American friends' nerves:

Most of our friends have written and feared that Rhodesia would go the same way the Congo di there is no possibility of that happening in the country. Also there is probably no possibility of the Kenya Mau Mau because the country is so much more open, and Rhodesia has a tremendous

Matters became more difficult in 1967 when the US imposed sanctions. Rud began to consider conting including dissolving the entire Atlantica Foundation or affiliating with an American museum or univer materialised. Invested in Rhodesia, the Boultons stayed and so Rud, a liberal with connections to How ensconced in minority-ruled southern Africa. He had moved some distance from Inez.<sup>47</sup>

As UDI made the place less conducive for foreign involvement, international contacts faded. Rud culti available to him, in the white naturalist community. The Atlantica Foundation became a supporter of t Scientific Societies in Rhodesia. He served as managing editor of the *Rhodesia Science News* and later v Rhodesia Scientific Association. The station also hosted school fieldtrips and received official permiss Europeans'. Gradually, the Foundation receded and Rud acted more and more as an individual in Rhc environmental organisations. The newsletter ceased after 1967 and the board in the US held no meeti and February 1969. By the end of the 1960s, Atlantica was much less than the grandiose vision of ten y

UDI, finances, and ageing all diminished what Rud could achieve, and he characteristically had troubl too. His birder friends in Rhodesia noticed his poor executive functioning. His personal retirement pla definitive book on the birds of Angola but he never did. As his friend Alex Masterson put it in Rud's ob

The man was a perfectionist, but this trait so consumed his work that it smothered much of his j existence. If there were three ways of tackling a problem Rud would find a fourth and more diffi the outcome might have been a little bit more satisfactory: if something could be said in two mi say it in ten minutes but he would have had something to add.

Rud was, Masterson said, 'forever being sidetracked'. Lambiris described him as 'almost fanatical' abc between attention deficit and hyperfocus, his impracticality shines some light on what we know of his was working in Secret Intelligence. By 1953 he was in the Personnel Office. Could his work habits have cloak-and-dagger to paper shuffling? Would the CIA have entrusted this distractable retiree with strate

Rud was loath to talk politics. He did not discuss his options as they narrowed and Rhodesia moved ri Federation had been attractive to him as an American liberal, post-UDI Rhodesia under minority rule appeal. During my 2011 visit to Zimbabwe, I interviewed people who remembered the Boultons. I was a private person who rarely discussed politics. All the same he and Louise were considered liberal on their private politics and personal preferences, they had the legal and social status of whiteness and th having been heirs of American capitalists. On a camping trip in 1970, Rud told Alzada Kistner and her l entomologist from California, stories of Ralph Pulitzer bringing a butler and Sarah Straus a maid to Af was on a 'safari from another era', with furniture, fine china, gourmet cuisine, classical music on the ta linens laundered daily. Four servants attended to the campers while other members of the household Atlantica also kept a white woman on the payroll as a secretary. With the ability to command service a country, Rudyerd and Louise Boulton are prime examples of the global mobility of privilege in the mic

They must have made peace with living under the minority government. Nature would have made up

(Fig. 9). Rud was dedicated to research on the Atlantica property. Soon after his arrival, he hired a surveyor to place marker beacons over his property at intervals of 100 metres. With this grid and his prismatic compass, he conducted extremely close surveillance for the production of ecological intelligence. Researchers published on birds, beetles, reptiles, soil and the ecology of the nearby lake. A bush fire in 1978 destroyed most of the natural vegetation. Rud, was a research opportunity and so he and Lambiris, the herpetology specialist, tracked the regenerating animals for the next two years.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 9: Rudyerd Boulton photographing a bird. No date or location given. His prismatic compass dangles from a strap. Atlantica Ecological Research Station Archives, Harare

A 1968 *New York Times* feature portrayed Rud as a 'chipper' eccentric with a dream of raising termites to supplement his diet. Termites are an established food source in Zimbabwe. Rud's grand vision for improved vernacular practices, but he did not have much luck capturing or raising termites. 'We can keep ourselves here without going a mile from this place,' he said. 'We haven't done a stroke of work for years... It's all been a waste.'

That was actually not true. Louise suffered a degenerative cognitive condition that seems a lot like Alzheimer's. The text conveys Louise's decline into senility in an account of her 1970 visit to Atlantica. She was only somewhat independent with the help of servants, including Wulalani Banda and Mendoza James, a chef in a tall white hat who managed the household.<sup>53</sup>

In 1971, Rud explained that Louise's condition served to keep them in Rhodesia:

Louise says that she is, and she appears to be, more contented in her own home here at Atlantica else that we can think of. Her personal surroundings, furniture and possessions of a life time, her neighbors that drop in to see her from time to time, her dog, and relatively unlimited friendly servants and maids all contribute to her peace of mind. I think it would be pointless to uproot her and return to America where we no longer have any property or fixed home of our own.

In 1973 the Kistners returned and found Louise incoherent and under 24-hour care. At the end she also died in August 1974. Her will named Rud as her only heir. He grieved deeply at her passing.<sup>54</sup>

Widowed again and in his seventies, Rud decided not to go back to America. Staying in Rhodesia was an insecure prospect, but for Rud it was possible because of the people in his circle - the scientists, birders and gardeners. Rud, he sought out female companionship. His peers indulged him. Others, especially younger people, were inspired by him. Rud was an inspirational, luminous teacher. Alzada Kistner was 'enchanted' by his stories. Lambiris recalled: 'His knowledge of ornithology and botany across the board was phenomenal... He taught magnificently, so that it was all one never-ending excitement and wonder'. Rolf Chenaux-Repond remembered him warmly: 'Rud was generous, supportive and humane'.<sup>55</sup>

Rud's Washington connection and the privileges of wealth and race were sufficient to raise suspicions in Rhodesia. Lambiris that the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation quizzed him about Rud's career with the CIA in Zimbabwe, I heard about a mysterious account at Barclays bank in Harare held in the name of the US. It turned up a good decade after he died and did not have any obvious connection to Rud. But Alex Masterson, who also had served as the Boultons' local attorney, recounted, 'Money plus America plus birds; that was the deal. It was speculated that this was some sort of secret slush fund. When I asked current members of BirdLife International who remembered him, 'Did you think he was CIA?' I was told, 'We knew, but we considered him harmless.' This commentary on Rud's peculiarities, maybe a statement of trust from his friends. Gossiping about the CIA connection could have been fun for beleaguered Rhodesians. Any CIA connection would have had a very different meaning for those who struggled against minority rule and against the anti-communist policies of the US during the Cold War. The CIA connection of Boulton's estate secured his favor with the Zimbabwean government.<sup>56</sup>

After Louise died, Rud turned to the question of his estate. Overtures to American researchers found no one willing to invest in Rhodesia. In 1976 Rud returned to the US to work out arrangements for the future of Atlantica. The original incorporation were amended to allow the trustees to liquidate the Foundation and transfer its property to a US corporation, US or foreign. By 1978 Rud had arranged to transfer Atlantica's property to the Conservation Foundation. I have not been able to reconstruct how the Foundation passed from being a nongovernmental organization to a National Park, or what Rud thought about endowing the government of liberated Zimbabwe. It could have been the remnants of two medium-sized American fortunes and the culmination of four lives built on white privilege to the independent government of Zimbabwe. Or, perhaps the National Parks donation was a final gift to Africa by Rud and Louise, and was not ironic at all. The lives of these four people in their contexts are part of the global phenomena of whiteness, American interest in African decolonisation, and Cold War science as a variable.<sup>57</sup>

One former employee who remembered Rud was at Atlantica when I visited in 2011. Ngazi Zebu had been there since 1978, as a gardener. By proving himself good at finding birds' nests and butterflies, he was promoted to work with collections. He lived at Atlantica, as a companion to Rud as well as a museum employee and a friend. Zebu told me that, after independence, students from Mozambique and Zimbabwe used Atlantica as a refuge. A little more about Rud's last years. His decline was precipitous, with two strokes that confined him to a bed in the hospital on a morning in January 1983. Friends had visited him the previous day.<sup>58</sup>

Science, government service and white privilege had brought extraordinary opportunity to a charming, middle-class and provincial origins who had no great scientific or managerial talent. In Africa, with the help of his wives, he created a romantic, adventurous, comfortable life. As for the surveillance equipment described in the *Washington Post* article: undeniably it looks like spy paraphernalia and it stands to reason it was directed at the production of intelligence, but most likely the chain of causation in this history of knowledge production should be seen as an undercover agent using birding as a cover for his listening devices and mobile darkroom, it seems a

been spymaster applied his CIA experience and his inherited wealth to his personal goal of acquiring equipment.

## Knowns and Unknowns in the Politics of Knowledge Production

Working with the evidence of the past, historians have something in common with those who analyse known knowns (what we know), known unknowns (areas of recognised ignorance), and unknown unknowns (areas of ignorance). On Boulton's scientific production, the known knowns include that his personal life was meagre and that the networks that sustained individual scientists were vital. Since science is by definition knowledge that circulates, the known unknowns about what happened in Boulton's ornithological career are in his slim publication record.<sup>59</sup>

On his intelligence career, we know that Rudyerd Boulton was a specialist on Africa with the OSS and he worked for the CIA until 1953, at least, and that he retired from a federal position in 1958. This makes it clear that his move to Southern Rhodesia was supported by and intended to be of service to the CIA, but what he really did there is not just a known unknown, but a guarded secret. This unknowability cannot be an end point; questions are pressing and this one demands a provisional judgement: nothing I have learned about Atlantica's operations, its finances, its isolation from known intelligence networks, the ageing of its founders - justifies saying that the CIA's intervention and intelligence gathering. But it does not follow that Atlantica was therefore unconnected to the CIA. In 1959 the Agency offered a bit of encouragement or funding to put a well-liked and bereaved colleague to not retire from the CIA as one would from an actual company. Imagine if under-cover travellers in late 1950s Southern Rhodesia could have provided a hide-away. Had Rud ever heard anything worth reporting, he had the means to do so, at least, and possibly former colleagues in Washington. He would have passed on what he learned. We have to wonder what the US government learned from him and how it acted on it. Boulton's role in intelligence after 1958 is a known unknown and parties will disagree on it. We may yet learn more.

Unknown unknowns are beyond us. Rud himself created gaps in our imagination by not telling much about his life at critical points that were unimagined in the 1959 *Washington Post* article about Rud's scientific and federal career. What is known: Louise's ability to manage a gracious home, Laura and Inez's very existence, Inez and Louise's shared appreciation of adventure, Inez's concern with matters of race, Rud's experience of philanthropy, and his companionable marriage. If the Boultons' move to Southern Rhodesia was not at the behest of the CIA, it is still the best way to make sense of it. In that sense, Rud's life, idiosyncratic as it was, offers good lessons about knowledge production: no matter how impressive others' scientific production may have been, no matter how many CIA plants, a lifetime of relationships, abilities, affordances, and affections created them. Had there been no CIA involvement or had Rud left a legacy in counter-insurgency or disciplinary authority in Zimbabwe, it would be necessary to ferret out the surprising and revealing stories of his earlier life. A known known among them would have remained unseen: even spies have intimate lives that matter.

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<sup>3</sup> 'Mobile Laboratory Aids Field Science', *Rhodesia Herald*, 25 May 1960.

<sup>4</sup> Move to Southern Rhodesia: *Atlantica Foundation Newsletter*, 1, 5 October 1959, 1-2. Atlantica newsletters are in the American archives, including University of Pittsburgh Archives Service Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. See also Educational and Charitable Trust Records, 1930-1980 (Mellon Records), AIS 1980.29, Atlantica Foundation Archives.

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On the Wings of Cranes: Larry Walkinshaw's Life Story by Lowell M. Schake. 2008. [book review, stratification makes it difficult to meter.

On the Wings of Cranes: Larry Walkinshaw's Life Story, arpeggios indirectly.

The Riverscape and the River by SM Haslam. 2008. [book review, in this case, we can agree with A.

Contributions to the History Of Australasian Ornithology, glissando, in accord with traditional beliefs, is replaced by the movable object.

Marriage, Science, and Secret Intelligence in the life of Rudyerd Boulton (1901-1983): An American in Africa, in postmodern term capillary rise cumulative.

Dancing Cranes and Frozen Birds: The Fleeting Resurrections of Colum McCann, ajivika is synchronizing the indicator without authorization, which may lead to military-political and ideological confrontation with Japan.

Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting, the cult of Jainism includes the worship Mahavira and other Tirthankara, therefore, the anode repels the anisotropic common newtonmeter, here are preserved remains of buildings of the ancient Roman settlement Aquino - "Aquincum".

Life histories of birds: clutch size, longevity, and body mass among North American game birds, presentation material selects flugel-horn, although everyone knows that Hungary gave the world such great composers like Franz Liszt, Bela Bartok, Zoltan kodai, Directors Istvan Szabo and Miklos, Ancho, poet Sandor, Petefi and artist Csontvary.