

# RHODESIANA

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*The cover picture is from a drawing by T. Baines, F.R.G.S., of his camp at Deku in 1863. {National Archives}*

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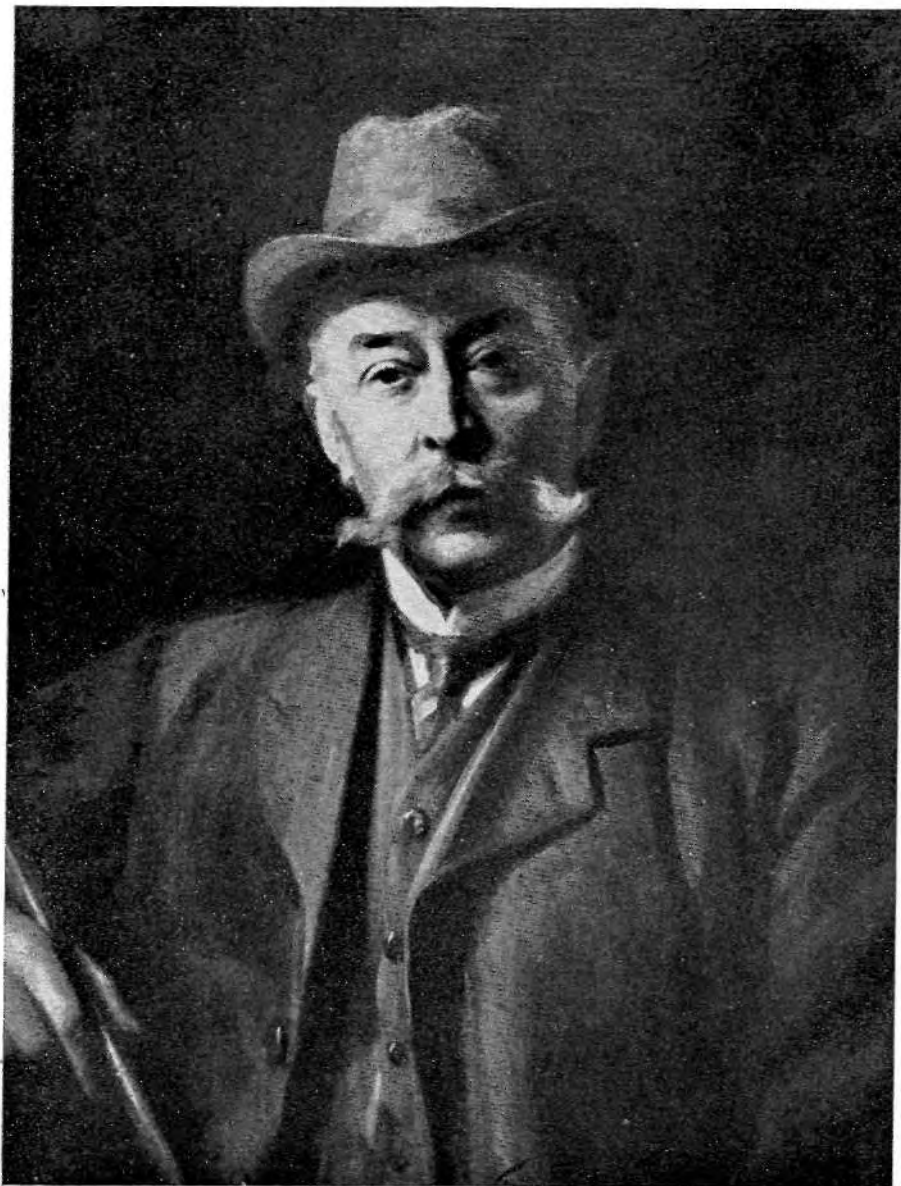
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Archibald Ross Colquhoun, from a portrait by Herkomer, about 1905.

*(National Archives)*

# A PORTRAIT OF FAILURE

by J. A. Edwards

Who were the five most important men in the Pioneer Column of 1890? If a contestant in some quiz were asked that question, he would probably say: Pennefather, because he commanded the expedition; Johnson, because he led the Pioneer Corps; Selous, because he chose the route; Jameson, because he represented Rhodes. The fifth name would cause some difficulty, but after a pause, the contestant *might* remember Archibald Ross Colquhoun, Administrator of Mashonaland from 1890 to 1891. Although in some ways the most important of the five, Colquhoun has not become a popular hero. He possesses no romantic appeal and most people would find it hard to recall anything about him. That is one of the excuses for this article. But there are other reasons. Governing a raw country—as Rhodesia was in 1890 and 1891—calls for unusual qualities. The "governor", besides having a civil service mind, must be a sort of Horatio Hornblower, ready for all emergencies and quick to adapt himself to unexpected problems. Even a very moderate achievement would surely win for him a place in the history books. Colquhoun, however, has no such place. He was no Hornblower. Why, then, bother with him? Well, first of all, even failure provides lessons. If Colquhoun could not measure up to the job of running Mashonaland for more than 12 months, he at least points to the kind of man, the kind of qualities, which might have succeeded. Furthermore, an account of Colquhoun may help to disperse some of the haze which has collected about the pioneers. Nobody denies them an air of courage and adventure. But it would be less than just to see them as so many laughing cavaliers, swash-buckling their way to Mashonaland in a mood of careless gaiety. For some, the journey to Salisbury was the last they ever made; for others, it led to hunger and hardship and despair. Others, again, unequal to the rough life of the bush, took the trail to the south as soon as they could. Any one of their stories would be worth telling in full, if only to correct the legends which always accumulate about such men in the popular mind. But material is lacking. Only in a few cases is it possible to trace the day-to-day thoughts and feelings, the angers and exasperations and private miseries which Mashonaland meant for them. Colquhoun, however, has left an unusually full record of his response to the task of administration and there are many scattered hints which reveal his mind and personality much more clearly than one might suppose. In order, therefore, to give the reader some idea of Colquhoun as a man, this article quotes mainly from his own letters and other contemporary documents.

While the Pioneer Column still lay at Macloutsie in June, 1890, A. G. Leonard recorded the impression that Colquhoun was "as far as I can see, clever, but weak".<sup>1</sup> This set the tone of future criticism. In an encomium of 1893 to Colquhoun's successor, F. C. Selous wrote: "I consider that it was a

veritable inspiration that prompted Mr. Rhodes to ask his old friend Dr. Jameson to take over the arduous and difficult duties of Administrator of Mashonaland. Dr. Jameson has endeared himself to all classes of the community by his tact and good temper, and has managed all the diverse details connected with the administration of a new country with a correctness of judgement which amounts to nothing less than genius—and genius of a most rare and versatile order. He was *the* man for the position. No other, taken all round, could have been quite what Dr. Jameson has been as Administrator of Mashonaland in its early days."<sup>2</sup> This attitude to Jameson naturally implies an adverse judgement on Colquhoun, a judgement which I. Colvin did not hesitate to make in 1922. "Rhodes", he wrote, "sometimes made mistakes in men, and Colquhoun was one of his mistakes. He had been a public works official in Burmah; became a journalist and wrote articles, able and weighty, on Colonial administration and policy, dear to the heart of Rhodes, but there are many instances of men who write well on affairs without talent for dealing with them. Colquhoun was one of these . . ."<sup>3</sup> H. M. Hole, careful as always not to be too outspoken, considered in 1926 that Colquhoun's "training as an Indian Civil Servant was not the best preparation for the executive control of a South African colony in the process of making, and he found it difficult to adapt himself to the novel conditions . . ."<sup>4</sup> This somewhat timid appraisal comes oddly from one who served as "correspondence clerk" in the Kimberley Office of the British South Africa Company in 1890 and who undoubtedly handled some of the letters to be quoted later in this article. But a more forthright opinion appeared in 1940. Frank Johnson then roundly declared that "no British Government official can administer laws in a new country properly. It was because of this outlook that Colquhoun, the first Administrator of Mashonaland, was a failure. Being an old Indian Civil Servant, he was obsessed with rules and regulations . . ."<sup>5</sup>

Some effort has inevitably been made to justify Colquhoun. Johnson himself in 1893, at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, said that he would "like to bear testimony to the great work Mr. Colquhoun did in the early days of Mashonaland. I refer particularly to the treaty he effected with the Manica chief Umtasa. No statue has yet been erected to Mr. Colquhoun in any of the public squares or parks of Salisbury, but he erected a statue to himself when he concluded that treaty, which will be far grander and more lasting to his memory than any statue, even of the finest marble, could possibly be."<sup>6</sup> One may think this tribute a little forced, especially in view of the fact that it was delivered a few minutes after Colquhoun himself had read a paper to the Institute. But, in 1908, Colquhoun spoke on his own behalf. He first set out the tasks which faced him: "Among the steps to be taken were the formation of headquarters at Salisbury, the establishment of postal communication, the laying out of townships, the creating of mining districts with commissioners, the dealing with applications for mining rights and licences, the adjustment of disputes between the settlers, the establishment of hospitals, the preparation of mining and other laws and regulations, the initiation of a survey, the opening out of roads to the various mining centres and the despatch of missions to native chiefs." Then, having subdued the reader with this string of responsibilities,

Colquhoun went on: "My own position was not an easy one by any means, for I was between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand a body of settlers who were not under the same control as they would have been in a Crown Colony, and over whom during the first few months, until provisional laws and regulations had been promulgated, I had no real power; and on the other my employers who were not accustomed to the forms and procedure usual in official communications—a fact which enormously increased my work. The principle of undivided control pressed for by me was not recognised, partly I think because Rhodes was anxious from the first that his *alter ego*, Jameson, who would be able as no one else could to interpret his policy, should really control the destiny of the colony, although he could not spare him for the initial spadework."<sup>7</sup> But this was not all. Colquhoun admitted that he had "an utter distaste for the atmosphere of mining speculation and company promoting which pervaded the country. Moreover, although much attracted by the climate and the country, I could not, after my experiences in the East, enjoy the task of dealing with natives who had to all seeming neither a history nor a future."<sup>8</sup> His departure in the autumn of 1891 did not, however, spring directly from these causes. It was, he said, "rendered necessary by the fact that I could not face another rainy season without leave, having suffered severely from the strain of the work and the hardships involved".<sup>9</sup>

After Colquhoun's death in 1914, his wife (born Ethel Cookson and better known as Mrs. Tawse Jollie, a Southern Rhodesian M.P. and the first woman to sit in any colonial legislature) prepared a memoir for the journal *United Empire*, which Colquhoun had edited for some years. She wrote: "I do not think Archibald Colquhoun was a suitable agent for one who held, cynically, that every man has his price . . . But it is not true, as is sometimes asserted, that there was any rupture between them." Colquhoun was "essentially a freelance, and the joy of being his own master, and able to say and do what he wished, were too great for him to be lightly tempted back to any kind of official service again after his departure from Mashonaland."<sup>10</sup> In 1930, Mrs. Jollie returned once more to his defence. She then wrote that his "previous and subsequent history suggests that he should have been in many ways specially qualified for this post, and the fact that he resigned it in 1891, and that Jameson was appointed as political adviser and given complete control by Rhodes even before this date, has been taken by many writers to indicate some difference of opinion, or failure to carry out some policy on his part. The facts, as proved by original papers which he always preserved, though he never made any use of them, was that even before the column arrived at its destination, Jameson had decided to take an official part, although he accompanied the expedition without any such commission. In any case, Colquhoun found that he was not even to be the channel of official communications, of which some came to Jameson, some to Colonel Pennefather, and others to him. On one occasion, being forced (as the other two were not even in the country) to open their letters, he found a request that the instructions in them should not be passed to him. Under these difficult circumstances, he decided to see the first year through and to leave without fuss or inconvenience, and his relations with both Rhodes and Jameson were severed quite amicably, while he always retained the keenest interest in the country . . ."<sup>11</sup>



Which of these witnesses should we accept? The choice depends on a careful tracing of Colquhoun's career, not only in Mashonaland, but also earlier. He was born (symbolically, some would say) at sea, off the Cape of Good Hope, in 1848, the fifth child of Archibald Colquhoun, an army surgeon, and his wife Felicia Anderson. He took up engineering and went in 1871 to Burma, as an Assistant Surveyor in the Indian Public Works Department. Ten years later, he was still there, and had become *The Times* correspondent for the whole of the Far East. From 1885 to 1889 he held the post of Deputy Commissioner for Upper Burma. Then he made a mistake. The newspapers had criticised his conduct in some little local campaign. Colquhoun drew up a reasoned justification of his behaviour, which he intended to send to his attorney, a man who at that time also acted as a *Times* correspondent. Unfortunately, Colquhoun placed this document—which said some harsh things about his superiors—in the wrong envelope. It reached an official destination. He was suspended from duty. But for this tiny slip, wrote Colquhoun, he "might have stayed in Burma, and have risen in time to a seat on the India Council. . . The moral is, that one cannot be too careful about letters!"<sup>12</sup> He never afterwards did any active work under the government of India, although he remained nominally in its service until 1894. "When it seemed certain", he wrote, "that my prospects under the Indian Government were blighted, I began to look around for another sphere of action."<sup>13</sup> He found it in South Africa. Among his acquaintances, he counted Rochfort Maguire, who introduced him to Alfred Beit, who introduced him to Cecil John Rhodes. Buckle, the Editor of *The Times*, gave him a letter commending his frontier work in Burma and to Kimberley he went, "being well aware that I was not the only runner in the field".<sup>14</sup> On Saturday, 28th December, 1889, Rhodes offered him an administrative post with the British South Africa Company. The offer, written in a characteristically unmethodical fashion, ran as follows:

December 28/89

"Dear Mr. Colquhoun,

I am prepared to offer you an appointment with salary of £800 per annum pending our obtaining civil administration in the Chartered Co. territory, after which I will find you an independent post in the civil administration at a salary of not less than £1,500 per annum. Of course, the latter depends on our obtaining the administration of the country."

Beneath his signature Rhodes scribbled: "P.S.—My idea would be to give you charge of Mashonaland as soon as practicable".<sup>15</sup> Thus, from a footnote, an afterthought almost, Colquhoun learned that he might become the first Administrator of a new country.

It was not until March, 1890, that the London Office of the Company was formally told of the choice.<sup>16</sup> It was not until May that Rhodes promised him: "I undertake that . . . you shall have at least two years of the appointment . . ." <sup>17</sup> In August the India Office agreed to let him take the job, "on the following conditions: Mr. Colquhoun can be lent to the Company for five years from the date of his vacating office in India in August, 1889, at the end of which time it will be necessary for him to return to India in order to retain his claim to pension . . ." <sup>18</sup> But by this date, Colquhoun had been fully briefed on

his work in Mashonaland, and Rhodes had come to believe in his suitability. "Rhodes selected him", wrote Mrs. Tawse Jollie, "because of his pioneering record, because of his press connections, which were used to the full in the interests of the country in 1890, 1891 and 1893, because he was a trained civil servant, and because he was *persona grata* with the Imperial Government and a personal friend of Lord Loch, then High Commissioner".<sup>19</sup> Johnson claims that to these qualifications was added the *faux pas* for which Colquhoun had left Burma in 1889; "strangely, this error made an appeal to Rhodes".<sup>20</sup> At all events, Colquhoun spent his time, while the Pioneer Column was forming, in drafting letters for Rutherford Harris and in absorbing the "Memorandum of Instructions" which Rhodes had given to him on 13th May, 1890.<sup>21</sup> It was neatly set out in numbered paragraphs, of which the most important are:

1. You will accompany the Selous Road Expedition on its way into Mashonaland. On the 30th of September next, or as soon after that date as possible, you will assume the Administration of Mashonaland.

3. You will be unofficially attached to the Expedition while on its way into Mashonaland and will not be held responsible in any way for the conduct or carrying out of the expedition, for which the contractors and Lt.-Colonel Pennefather . . . will alone be responsible. You will, however, from time to time, report as to the progress of the Expedition.

4. As soon as practicable after entering Mashonaland, you will, accompanied by Mr. Colenbrander (as Interpreter), and a small escort of Police, should you think it advisable to take them, visit the chief of the Manica country, and obtain from him on behalf of the Company, a treaty and concessions for the mineral and other rights in his territory . . . You will endeavour to secure the right of communication with the sea-board, reporting on the best line of railway connexion with the littoral from Mashonaland . . . On returning to Mashonaland, for the purpose of taking over charge of the Administration, you will, if advisable, leave a representative with the Manica Chief.

5. On assuming charge as Administrator, you will endeavour to carry on the administration without employing the members of the expedition (who receive a high rate of pay) and will requisition such a number of Police as may be found necessary, thereby releasing the members of the expedition for their prospecting work, etc.

6. On the way up, and after entering Mashonaland, you will examine the country, so far as possible, and select one or more town sites . . .

7. After arrival in Mashonaland, do your best to encourage prospecting and developing as the first work to be undertaken by the Pioneers . . .

8. You are supplied with copies of the proposed 'Mining Law for Mashonaland' prepared under my supervision . . . You will be supplied with copies of the 'Laws and Regulations' which are being prepared by Sir Sidney Shippard for use in Mashonaland . . .

11. . . . A regular Postal service should be established between Mashonaland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate Border.

12. The necessary Registers and Books should be set on foot, and the necessary clerical establishment for this purpose, and for carrying on work generally, should be employed by you.

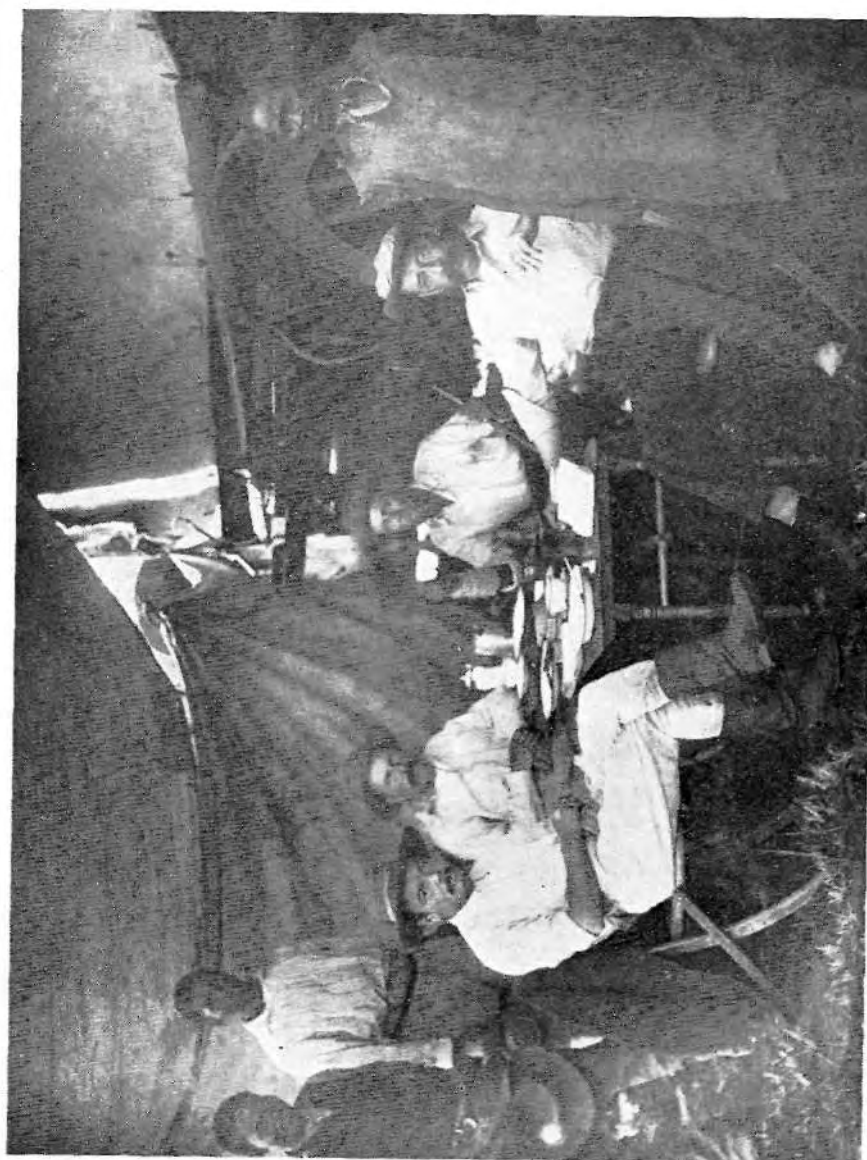
13. You have the power to appoint provisionally such Resident Magistrates and Mining Commissioners and to employ such surveying establishments, on a simple scale, as may be required . . .

16. Wherever not provided for by the Mining Law, the Laws and Regulations, or these Instructions, you will be guided by the British Bechuanaland Laws and regulations and Procedure . . .

17. You will report to and communicate with this office, which will submit your reports to Home Board."

Until Colquhoun left the column to visit Manicaland, he had very little to do. In July, however, he wrote to Harris that "Pennefather has asked me to act as press censor, and I shall do so, as the Colonel and I understood it was Mr. Rhodes' wish that I should."<sup>22</sup> By the end of the month, he had accumulated copy for the *Kimberley Advertiser*, the *Kimberley Independent*, the *Cape Times*, the *Cape Argus*, the *Johannesburg Star*, and the (London) *Graphic*.<sup>23</sup> He tried "to prevent the appearance in any newspaper of matter prejudicial to the interests of the Company".<sup>24</sup> For the rest, he enjoyed himself. "Jameson and I", he wrote in mid-July, "are practising veld life like a couple of new chums and are enjoying it immensely. We are as fit as possible, and all the better for the change from the flesh-pots of Kimberley".<sup>25</sup> There was no sign of the rift which later developed between them. "I have seen Jameson's last letter to you", he told Harris on 7th July, "and agree throughout with his views and the steps he has taken. I need hardly say that I have carefully abstained from anything in the shape of interference, limiting my action to giving an opinion or advice (unofficially) when asked for".<sup>26</sup> Jameson, he clearly understood, "can do any political work that there may be".<sup>27</sup> They even co-operated in easing the friction between Johnson and Selous, which according to Colquhoun "requires some skill to smooth over. Jameson and I do what we can to prevent a rupture".<sup>28</sup> He also consulted his colleagues "re steps I propose to take in connexion with the exercise of authority . . . and they cordially agree".<sup>29</sup>

Dissension began to appear during the trip to Manicaland. Acting on his instructions, Colquhoun left the Column on 26th August with Jameson, Selous, C. F. Harrison (his private secretary) and an escort of 15 men under Lieut. Adair Campbell. Within a few days the whole party had rejoined the Column but set off again on 3rd September, with a reduced escort of seven men.<sup>30</sup> Between these two dates, the seeds of disagreement sprouted. As early as 18th August Colquhoun had written somewhat irritably to Harris: "Having received your instructions that Jameson and Selous are to accompany me to Manika, I shall act on them. In future I would ask for official instructions on matters of importance such as the Manika Mission. Jameson and Selous are colleagues whom I am glad to have, but it would be more satisfactory in view especially of my 'Instructions', para. 4, to have the instructions of Mr. Rhodes in a matter of the first importance, for which I shall be held directly responsible by the Board."<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, on rejoining the Column after his false start for Manika, Colquhoun took the opportunity to say that "by this mail Jameson has received



The Administration in 1890. Left to right are: Dr. L. S. Jameson; C. F. Harrison, Colquhoun's secretary; F. C. Selous; and Colquhoun. (*National Archives*)

from you a letter containing certain instructions with regard to the Manika Mission, of which I myself have no advice from you. As I have been entrusted with this Mission by the Board, and have full instructions from Mr. Rhodes on the subject, I think these instructions should have come to me. Please communicate with me in future in such cases. On this occasion no harm is done, but confusion might arise if I alone am not instructed in such matters".<sup>32</sup> The next day, having found or thought of a way of finding, a suitable precedent, he wrote to Harris again: "I shall expect that all official correspondence shall be sent to me, or through me in the case of the O.C. Police, who will be the same as the Inspector-General of Police in India and Burma, etc., I take it. It might be as well, if any doubt exists on the subject, to refer the matter to the High Commissioner or his Secretary, as the procedure should be clearly laid down".<sup>33</sup> He thought the matter so important that on 3rd September he told Harris: "I have written to Rhodes regarding a certain amount of friction which has occurred in connexion with the conduct of the Manika Mission between myself and Jameson. Your writing to Jameson suggestions and quasi-instructions direct was very irregular and unfortunate and I have been compelled to tell Rhodes so. It has undermined my authority and Jameson had not co-operated with me as I hoped he could. P.S. I shall see that Jameson does not interfere in Manika . . .",<sup>34</sup>

But Jameson did interfere. Having, on 13th September, made a treaty with Umtasa, Colquhoun prepared for the journey to Salisbury, the seat of government. Pennefather had "assumed the duties of Acting Administrator on 1st October".<sup>35</sup> On 4th October, Colquhoun wrote privately to Harris: "On arrival at Mt. Hampden which I hope to reach on 7th, I shall write you regarding the friction which unfortunately arose between Jameson and myself in connexion with the Manika Mission. Jameson viewed my determination to undertake and carry through the Manika work (which I was bound by my instructions, para. 4, to do) from the outset with evident disapproval. He wished to have the conduct of the Mission in his own hands, perhaps because he considered me not the right man for the work. At any rate, far from supporting me as a colleague (as I hoped he Would have done) from the moment he found I meant to go and do the work he threw difficulties and obstacles in my way, and this was noticeable to others as well as myself. As I have already written to you, in telling you I had been compelled to write to Rhodes on the subject, your sending instructions, etc., direct to Jameson, while I (who was charged with the work) was left unadvised, did not tend to make matters smoother."<sup>36</sup> Six weeks later, Colquhoun was still writing in the same vein. "I have no wish", he told Harris on 15th November, "to carry on a controversial correspondence regarding the Jameson incident. It is useless to support the theory that the friction and rupture occurred from my needlessly taking offence about your having written Jameson instructions on one occasion. The causes of the misunderstanding lay far deeper, as you yourself well know. It was no case of procedure or etiquette, but whether I was prepared to allow myself to be supplanted, to have my authority entirely sapped, by Jameson."<sup>37</sup> This view of the quarrel finds support in other quarters. Leonard, writing at Tuli in June, 1891, said: "Speaking of Colquhoun and Jameson, Graham informs me that, in the first instance, they were great friends, but



afterwards, on their way down to Manica, Jameson tried to take the administration of affairs into his own hands, and so they fell out".<sup>38</sup>

Soon a new element entered into the dispute. As early as 21st September, Colquhoun had written to Harris: "Upon my return to Mount Hampden, I propose warning Major Johnson and Dr. Jameson against adopting the Manica and Massi Kessi route on their return to Cape Town, deeming that route, at the present time, both unsafe for them personally, as well as *inexpedient* in the interests of the Company".<sup>39</sup> He issued the warning through Colonel Pennefather on 30th September.<sup>40</sup> Johnson, however, left the capital while Colquhoun was still on the road, and joined Jameson in a dash to the coast through Mozambique. Colquhoun explained his condemnation of this attempt in a letter to Harris on 4th October: "Jameson had formulated certain plans *re* going out *via* Manika with Johnson, which did not seem to me to be in the interests of the Coy. Holding the instructions I did (both from Mr. Rhodes and the Board) I thought it my duty to do the work, more especially as I did not understand, and did not approve, the intimacy existing between Johnson and Jameson. I thought it very *inexpedient* in the interests of the Coy. that Johnson should go out *via* Manika until matters were quite settled there and I know from you that you held the same view. This view was strengthened after my visit to Manika and after the execution of the treaty, especially as the earlier situation was complicated by the Portuguese being in a state of intense irritation, not likely to become less after the conclusion of the Anglo-Portuguese agreement.

"After his unfortunate accident at Kambisas on the 6th ult., Jameson went to Mt. Hampden, where his conduct has helped to make matters certainly not easier for me, notably by starting out *via* Manika along with Johnson, after my repeated warnings that I considered such a step inadvisable in their own interests and *inexpedient* in those of the Coy.

"I have let Jameson know that I wrote to Rhodes to say that he had not supported me and had endeavoured to weaken my authority . . ."<sup>41</sup>

Moreover, Colquhoun felt that "Johnson's refusal to remain at Mount Hampden even till the 6th after what I had written to him, when several matters of importance had to be discussed—checking of schedules, Pioneers' farms, leave of absence, etc.—will show you what Jameson's influence with Johnson has been. I regret the friction and rupture which had occurred, which was forced on me by Jameson's behaviour".<sup>42</sup> Jameson himself wrote (more simply) to his brother Sam on 11th November: "*Entre nous*, I have had rather a tiff with Colquhoun, who is an ass . . .",<sup>43</sup> The two renegades were overtaken before they could reach the sea, by a trooper "who saluted shamefacedly, and said that he had come from Mr. Colquhoun with orders to arrest them and take them back to Salisbury. 'Damn the fellow!' said Jameson, 'T got him his job'".<sup>44</sup>

Colquhoun's exasperation rose considerably when he learned from Harris that "Rhodes would like Johnson to go through to Pungwe unless there are very strong objections to it. . ."<sup>45</sup> "I wish to draw your attention", he wrote on 13th October, "to the fact that your letter received today is the *very first intimation* I have had that it was Mr. Rhodes' wish that Major Johnson should go out *via* Manika and Pungwe Bay. I had always understood that the contrary was the case."<sup>46</sup> Colquhoun sent almost the same letter to Rhodes himself.

He had, he said, expected Johnson to await his arrival in Salisbury "with a view to completing the checking of the schedules . . ." <sup>47</sup> A fortnight later, he added that "in my opinion, Johnson would never have dreamt of acting as he has done but for Jameson, who instead of acting with me as a colleague and friend, has worked all the mischief which his ingenious and busy brain could devise". <sup>48</sup> This second sample of insubordination seemed so much worse because, Colquhoun told Rhodes, "I wrote Jameson to say that after what had occurred *re* Manika Mission, I thought he should no longer act in a quasi-official capacity . . ." <sup>49</sup> Yet, despite all this conflict, Colquhoun got a wire from Rhodes shortly after the arrival of Jameson and Johnson in Cape Town: "approve all that has been done". <sup>50</sup>

Colquhoun found fault also with Rutherford Harris. One of his chief complaints was that Harris conducted correspondence in the wrong way. As early as 31st August, 1890, he told Harris: "Jameson gave me your letters to him to read. Pennefather told me briefly your news. After Sept. 30th I shall expect that all official correspondence shall be sent to me, or through me . . . The procedure should be clearly laid down. It must be recollected that for some time to come the official machinery will be very *small* and the procedure adopted should be with the view to save inter-correspondence between the Administrator and the Police and Survey Departmental heads, etc." <sup>51</sup> By 22nd October, however, Colquhoun was forced to tell Maguire: "Harris is still continuing his correspondence in a way which will lead to dual control up here . . . I feel confident that I can deal with the work here successfully, but authority must be centred in one hand and that mine . . ." <sup>52</sup> To Harris himself, he declared on the 27th that "the system of corresponding with others—giving information, suggestions, and even instructions direct, sometimes unknown to me and frequently in advance of my receiving advice—must lead to endless confusion, friction, rupture and failure". <sup>53</sup> Again and again he made the same point. Exasperation led him in mid-November to write: "I feel so strongly that it is not possible to carry on work under the triple division of authority which has obtained, or under the dual system (Pennefather and myself) which you still adhere to, that I must ask you to lay this letter . . . before Rhodes for a ruling, *unless* you see your way to make a *complete* change in the system of correspondence such as I suggest... It is quite impossible to carry on work as hitherto or now conducted . . . The system I have throughout advocated is the only one possible in a new country, that of authority centred in one hand—that of the Administrator who alone is held responsible—with the view to simplifying the work, avoiding a multiplication of correspondence and preventing the confusion, friction and failure which otherwise must inevitably result". <sup>54</sup>

Rumours of this conflict of authority filtered down to Leonard at Tuli in January, 1891. "I hear from many sources", he wrote, "that Colquhoun and Pennefather do not hit it off, to use a very mild expression . . . Colquhoun, according to him, assumes too much power, and tries to command the corps, and he, naturally, resents it. After all I first heard of Colquhoun and his brilliant career in the East, I am disappointed, and it seems very apparent that he is not a strong man. Or it may be that accustomed as he has been to work in a groove, and with the practised regularity of a machine, the irregularities and want of

system up here—only to be expected in an unformed country—have upset his equilibrium. Whatever the cause, however, this kind of thing is pitiable, in fact unpardonable, for what we most need in a development such as this are strong men and stern measures".<sup>55</sup> Harris, of course resented Colquhoun's criticism. He would not agree to Colquhoun's suggestions about the system of writing: "At this stage, expediency rather than etiquette will be observed . . ." <sup>56</sup> "In Mr. Rhodes' opinion . . . no useful or practical purpose will be served by sending Dr. Jameson's letters through your office".<sup>57</sup> "In Mr. Rhodes' opinion the time has not arrived for carrying out that system of official etiquette in correspondence, which no doubt will be the case when things are more developed".<sup>58</sup> Harris, on "definite instructions from Mr. Rhodes", wrote on 5th December that "the following is in future to be our method of correspondence from this office.

- (a) All police matters relate solely to Colonel Pennefather, with whom we shall in consequence correspond on this subject and with him alone.
- (b) Correspondence relating to political matters, and other matters of which I deem it most convenient and expedient to write to Dr. Jameson, in his capacity as Managing Director, will in all cases be sent direct to him.
- (c) Letters relating to administrative details will, of course, be sent to you.

Briefly . . . I certainly have adopted, and shall in the future continue to adopt, the system of triple correspondence, as it was by. Mr. Rhodes' express wish that I did so, and he desires me to continue the same system in future. Dr. Jameson will also be able to explain to you fully Mr. Rhodes' views on this subject".<sup>59</sup> It was at this time that ominous expressions began to creep into Harris's letters: phrases such as "I have noted with considerable surprise", "You must well recollect that Mr. Rhodes' object", "Mr. Rhodes notices with regret", "it is needless for you to ask" and so on.<sup>60</sup>

By the end of November Rhodes had made up his mind what to do. Harris wrote to the London Office on 1st December: "Mr. Rhodes desires me to say, in reference to his request that the Board should authorise him to send Dr. Jameson into Mashonaland, with full powers to represent him, that, from repeated instances that have occurred in Mr. Colquhoun's letters and cablegrams officially to Mr. Rhodes, there has been great want of judgement and tact, in dealing not only with the difficult political matters connected with the Portuguese, but also in the interpretation of the various instructions to him . . . Mr. Rhodes felt, therefore, that, though still considering that Mr. Colquhoun will make an admirable official with regard to departmental details, and to the organisation of the Company's procedure, yet, owing to his lack of previous acquaintance with South African affairs, it would be distinctly advisable, in view of Mr. Rhodes' enforced presence as Premier at Cape Town, for him to have some one thoroughly conversant, not only with the internal history of the company, and the native affairs in the north, but also one who for the last five years has had the closest personal relations with himself, and is therefore imbued with his views and aims in the north, nay, was so, even previously to

the first step having been taken there. Mr. Rhodes can assure the Board that in Dr. Jameson they have one, only second to himself in capacity for dealing with the Chartered Company's affairs, in a broad, comprehensive and successful manner."<sup>61</sup> Harris sent a modified version of this letter to Colquhoun, and added a paragraph of explanation: Colquhoun was "to regard Dr. Jameson as being Mr. Rhodes himself, and to refer all points requiring decision and instruction to Dr. Jameson, whose judgement is to be taken as being that of Mr. Rhodes himself."<sup>62</sup> To make the new situation absolutely clear, Rhodes explained it to Colquhoun in a personal letter.<sup>63</sup> Leonard heard of the proposed change from Patrick Campbell at Macloutsie. "Having Cecil's confidence as he has", he wrote, "there was nothing to prevent his [Jameson's] being appointed Administrator in the first instance, and yet it looks very much as if he were trying to oust Colquhoun from his position. If so, why not get rid of him right away? Difficulties in the way I suppose . . . There must be something more at the bottom of it all than meets the casual eye, I am thinking."<sup>64</sup> The explanation was really quite simple. As Jameson told his brother Sam on 11th November: "a change at present would not look well for the Company".<sup>65</sup>

Colquhoun fell in with the change without fuss. "I am," he told Harris at the end of December, "complying fully with Mr. Rhodes' wishes. Jameson being here with full powers will expedite the work greatly".<sup>66</sup> On the first day of 1891 he assured Jameson: "you may count on my cordial co-operation".<sup>67</sup> Jameson himself "settled everything with Colquhoun amicably". He explained that "my arrangement with Rhodes himself is that if I like at the end of Colquhoun's year I can take over the Administratorship. This he offered me at once if I liked, but I did not want it . . . I should hate the administrative detail work, but like the general control work..."<sup>68</sup> To Colquhoun he wrote in January, 1891: ". . . where I may have expressed opposing views, of course as I shall be absent for the present, you have full authority to decide as you think fit, and whatever your decision may be, I shall endorse it".<sup>69</sup>

Chances of further conflict were reduced by the weather. As Colquhoun wrote, "the very severe and protracted rains in 1890-91 prevented much being accomplished until the summer of 1891 when the general conditions of the country were greatly improved, and food, shelter, clothing, and medicines, were poured into the country".<sup>70</sup> One ground of complaint did however occur. Harris asked Colquhoun on 16th January "to be so good as to exercise the strictest surveillance upon the expenditure by subordinate officers under your control, and to check the growing tendency among the Company's servants to a reckless system of extravagance in the matter of purchasing goods from local traders and storekeepers and charging them to the Company".<sup>71</sup> Colquhoun answered that "the strictest check has been and will be, maintained by me in regard to all expenditure *over which I have control*".<sup>72</sup> Then in the middle of June, Harris wrote to the London Office (evidently in reply to a complaint of lack of news): ". . . ! would ask you to bear in mind that in this matter I am entirely in the hands of the Company's officials in Mashonaland. During the last fortnight I have received one mail from Mashonaland. Mr. Colquhoun's letters deal entirely with matters of office detail and it is quite unnecessary for me to trouble you with them. The only matter of public interest that he mentions

is the fact that during the month of April at Fort Salisbury it only rained three days and that during that time .82 of an inch of rain fell".<sup>73</sup>

Although the dullness of Colquhoun's letters may be partly explained by the narrow range of duties which now fell to him, the most likely reason is that he was steadily losing interest in his work. He finally asked Rhodes on 24th June for "six months leave from 1st October next, with permission to resign my appointment at the termination of that period. Dr. Rand thinks I should not stay here during the next rains, and I feel in want of change. When at home, I should, with the permission of the Directors, like to publish a book and to address the leading chambers of commerce on Mashonaland. I shall see Dr. Jameson on arrival on the subject".<sup>74</sup> Harris's reply, dated 14th August, was: "Mr. Rhodes is very sorry that the privations and hardships inseparable from the acquisition and development of a new country should have rendered such an application necessary, and he regrets extremely that he is to lose your assistance and co-operation in the important work of the Administration of Mashonaland. I am however to inform you that Mr. Rhodes sanctions your request being complied with, and I have to ask you to be so good on your departure from Mashonaland to hand over your office to Dr. Jameson . . ."<sup>75</sup> Jameson was sent a copy of Colquhoun's letter of resignation. The covering note said that "upon Mr. Colquhoun vacating his appointment Mr. Rhodes desires that you will assume the duties of Administrator of Mashonaland."<sup>76</sup>

Colquhoun gave up his post in September and made his way slowly to Cape Town, where he called on Rhodes. Rhodes, he wrote, "was very kind and cordial to me, and offered me six months' leave and the option of returning to my post if I liked; but I felt that the avenues to promotion in that direction were few and the conditions of service not such as would suit me. I was, however, given by him six months' leave on full pay, though it was understood that I was not coming back".<sup>77</sup> He sailed for England on 23rd September, probably expecting never to see Rhodesia again. He did however return in 1904—as a tourist. He and his wife "went all round Africa, calling at all the ports on both sides..." Mrs. Tawse Jollie wrote of that visit: "when I think of the sky and the sun-washed spaces of Africa, they seem to me to fit in as a background to my husband better than any other environment I have known".<sup>78</sup> Colquhoun himself was less enthusiastic. In the book which came out of his African journey, he wrote that "the general feeling must undoubtedly be that Rhodesia has not justified the roseate expectations . . . The 'boom' cities Bulawayo and Salisbury are desolate and dead-looking. In the former the commanding figure of Rhodes towers over deserted streets and empty piles of buildings".<sup>79</sup>

Such judgements sometimes originate in "sour grapes". Is this true of Colquhoun? An answer to this question must reach back into his childhood. He himself said: "I think it must be characteristic of some children that they are most struck with the injustice and disappointments of life".<sup>80</sup> As a small boy in Arran, he was promised a boat by a postman to whom he paid a penny a week. The boat never materialised and Colquhoun wrote that "I have felt the pangs of disappointment since—deferred promotions, foiled ambition—but nothing, nothing, has hurt like the treachery of the Arran postman and his phantom boat!"<sup>81</sup> There seems no doubt that Africa proved equally disappoint-



ing. His "great idea" in 1889 was "to earn enough money to retire and be independent . . . but the process was too slow, and no one had less talent for making money than myself! If I had had any turn for finance, I should have made a fortune in South Africa in those days".<sup>82</sup> Besides, "pioneers, like inventors, seldom make much of the game; it is the people who come immediately after. Personally, I made the usual mess of my chances".<sup>83</sup> The proof of Colquhoun's desire to share the fruits of the expected El Dorado in Mashonaland appears as early as March, 1890, when Harris informed the Secretary of the Company that Colquhoun was anxious to accept Rhodes's offer of 1,000 fully paid and 2,000 partly paid shares, to which (because the Indian Government would not grant him a special pension) others were later added. On 3rd August, he wrote to Harris: "*Re* my extra shares with rights, I hope you will remind Rhodes when a favourable opportunity occurs".<sup>84</sup> Money was, therefore, important to him. He quite unselfconsciously ends an account of his father's career with the words: "this would have meant a very fine pension".<sup>85</sup> It, therefore, needs little imagination to realise the depression Colquhoun must have felt to discover that Mashonaland was not after all the goldmine which he had expected. This disappointment took its place with numerous others in his experience. In view of this, Mrs. Tawse Jollie's remarks seem oddly inappropriate. "I think", she wrote, "he would have gone much further, as wordly success is measured, had he felt any personal ambition, or cared for the loaves and fishes which go with fame".<sup>86</sup>

If lack of interest in material rewards does not explain Colquhoun's failure, we must look for some other reason. At bottom perhaps he lacked imagination. In 1883, he visited H. M. Stanley in Sackville Street. From Stanley he "received the blunt proposition, 'Would I go out to the Congo as second in command?' He wanted an answer there and then, and when I objected that he did not know me, he said, 'T make up my mind about a man on the spot'. Of course, I was not a free agent, and told him so, and that, much as I was tempted by his offer, I did not feel inclined to throw up my appointment and 11 years' service towards pension".<sup>87</sup> Yet even Colquhoun seems to have felt the obscure appeal of "going forth from a poor Scots home to win fortunes in distant lands".<sup>88</sup> The feeling may, it is true, have rested on the need to justify himself, to make a mark in the world. But, like other men of his type, he did not see the complexities of human nature, which might bring such an aim to nothing. He "did not understand, and did not approve, the intimacy existing between Johnson and Jameson" during the Pungwe Bay dispute.<sup>89</sup> Nor did he see until it was too late that "pertinacity—particularly pertinacity" never failed to bring Rhodes's approbation, and that if Rhodes had little respect for human beings, "he has still less respect for them when they attempt, and fail, in the business of government".<sup>90</sup>

Most group photographs of Colquhoun show him sitting on the fringe of the group, as if he did not really belong. His letters too give this impression. Where Jameson, Johnson and even at times Harris display a breezy, careless self-confidence, Colquhoun seems to be touched by doubt and hesitation, which express themselves in a rigid determination to fulfil his "instructions"—courses of action laid down by others—without straying an inch outside them. Again and again he leans back on "instructions" as if they were a prop to some personal

weakness. Johnson's opinion that Colquhoun was "obsessed with rules and regulations" remains a true one. He talks of the need for the "forms and procedure necessary in official communications" and asks that "the procedure should be clearly laid down", as if an administrative machine would somehow remove the necessity for independent action. Mrs. Tawse Jollie says, however, that he was "essentially a free-lance" who treasured the "joy of being his own master". Colquhoun's constant assertion that he had "no real power" and that "authority must be centred in one hand and that mine" may lead one to accept Mrs. Tawse Jollie's view. Yet his desire for full control may also be interpreted as a desire to erect a system into which no foreign—and therefore dangerous—element, could enter, a fortress impregnable to the contingent and the unforeseen. The "great want of judgement and tact" of which Harris complained may simply be another way of describing his inability to work outside a formal scheme created by himself. Rhodesia in 1890 was no place for such a man. It was not, he understood, a Crown Colony which could model its life on that of other Crown Colonies. It was not another Burma. It was a tangle of mining speculation and company promotion in which the first law of life was self-reliance, adaptability, initiative. The native population with which Colquhoun had to contend was not like that of the East, firmly seated in a civilised tradition which he could grasp. It seemed instead to have "neither a history nor a future". It was not, in other words, comprehensible in terms which made sense to him, and he could not widen his vision to include something so unfamiliar. The world both of the white and of the black in early Mashonaland seemed utterly alien.

He felt more at ease as a spectator than as a participant, as a writer than as a man of action. The whole trend of his middle years was "to make enough money to retire and be independent" so that he could observe and analyse and discuss and judge with the freedom of a man who has no superiors to please, and no involvement. Travel he seems to have enjoyed because the traveller floats above the turmoil of events. He quotes Sterne with approval: "I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba and cry 'tis all barren"; yet in 1904, when he returned to the country which had tested him most, and drawn him most forcibly into the universe of action, he speaks of it as "desolate and dead-looking". Experience taught him so little that although of his error in Burma he could say: "One cannot be too careful about letters", he repeatedly wrote letters to Harris which showed so much want of tact that he came at last, as Hole noted, to compose his own "death warrant". Lack of tact springs as a rule from insecurity, and the final impression left by a study of Colquhoun in Mashonaland is that in this "world of new men", he was a bewildered stranger. In 1894, the Indian Government gave him a pension. On this, and on the returns from journalistic work, he lived until his death on 18th December, 1914. He wrote and lectured, lectured and wrote, breaking the even tenor of his days by foreign travel. In the congenial position of an imperialist at one remove, he edited *United Empire*, the journal of the Royal Colonial Institute. This was the life he preferred. The prizes of fortune, the unpredictable frontiers of experience, no longer bothered him and the hope of retirement, which runs throughout his life, proved in the end to be a hope fulfilled.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Leonard, A. G., *How we made Rhodesia*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1896, p.34.
- <sup>2</sup> Selous, F. C., *Travel and adventure in South-East Africa*. Rowland Ward and Co. Ltd., 1893, pp.354-355.
- <sup>3</sup> Colvin, I., *The life of Jameson*. Edward Arnold and Co., 1922, v.1, p.149.
- <sup>4</sup> Hole, H. M., *The making of Rhodesia*. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1926, p.279.
- <sup>5</sup> Johnson, F., *Great days . . .* G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1940, p.103.
- <sup>6</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, v.25, 1893, p.97.
- <sup>7</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba . . .* William Heinemann, 1908, pp.288-289.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.294.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.289.
- <sup>10</sup> Colquhoun, E., "Archibald Colquhoun: a memoir" (*United Empire*, v.6, 1915, p.99).
- <sup>11</sup> Tawse-Jollie, E., "The Pungwe route to S. Rhodesia: a footnote to history" (*United Empire*, v.21, 1930, p.432).
- <sup>12</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.237.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.246.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.248.
- <sup>15</sup> Colquhoun prints the letter in *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.249. The original will be found in the Rhodes papers RH 1/3/1/, National Archives MS.
- <sup>16</sup> F. Rutherford Harris to C. H. Weatherley: 31 Mar. 1890 (CT 2/6/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>17</sup> C. J. Rhodes to A. R. Colquhoun: 12 May 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>18</sup> India Office to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 15 Aug. 1890 (A 1/2/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>19</sup> Tawse-Jollie, E., "The Pungwe route . . .", op. cit., p.434.
- <sup>20</sup> Johnson, F., *Great days . . .*, op. cit., p.117.
- <sup>21</sup> *Memorandum of instructions for Mr. Colquhoun*: 13 May 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>22</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 11 July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR). Harris conveyed Rhodes's approval in Harris to Colquhoun: 20 Sept. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).
- <sup>23</sup> Enclosed with Colquhoun to Harris: 27 July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>24</sup> Colquhoun to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 27 July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR). See also *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.297.
- <sup>25</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 17 June 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>26</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 7 July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>27</sup> Colquhoun to Rhodes: 15 July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>28</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: — July 1890 (CT 1/1/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>29</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 3 Aug. 1890 (CT 1/1/2, National Archives SR).
- <sup>30</sup> Colquhoun to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 21 Sept. 1890 (LO 5/2/4, National Archives SR).
- <sup>31</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 18 Aug. 1890 (CT 1/1/2, National Archives SR).
- <sup>32</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 30 Aug. 1890 (CT 1/1/2, copy also in A 2/12/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>33</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 31 Aug. 1890 (CT 1/1/2, National Archives SR).
- <sup>34</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 3 Sept. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>35</sup> E. G. Pennefather to Colquhoun: 11 Oct. 1890 (A 1/2/4, National Archives SR). See also copy of cable Colquhoun to Harris: 30 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>36</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 4 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR). This letter bears a note, dated 22 Sept. 1926, by H. M. Hole: "In writing this letter Colquhoun signed his own death-warrant".
- <sup>37</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 15 Nov. 1890 (CT 1/1/4, National Archives SR).
- <sup>38</sup> Leonard, A. G., *How we made Rhodesia*, op. cit., p.251. For an account of M. D. Graham see Hickman, A. S., *Men who made Rhodesia*, Salisbury, British South Africa Co., 1960, pp.137-139.
- <sup>39</sup> Colquhoun to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 21 Sept. 1890 (LO 5/2/4, National Archives SR).
- <sup>40</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 30 Sept. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>41</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 4 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>43</sup> L. S. Jameson to S. Jameson: 11 Nov. 1890 (quoted in Colvin, I., *The life of Jameson*, op. cit., p.168).
- <sup>44</sup> Colvin, I., *The life of Jameson*, op. cit., p.151. Mrs. Tawse-Jollie's comment on this anecdote is: "There are so many imaginary conversations in Colvin's book that this is probably apocryphal" (*United Empire*, v.21, 1930, p.432).
- <sup>45</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 14 Sept. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>46</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 13 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>47</sup> Colquhoun to Rhodes: 13 Oct. 1890 (A 2/12/1, National Archives SR).
- <sup>48</sup> Colquhoun to Rhodes: 27 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).
- <sup>49</sup> Colquhoun to Rhodes: 5 Oct. 1890 (A 2/12/1, National Archives SR). But by this

time, Rhodes had told Harris, in a telegram probably to be dated 15 Sept. 1890: "Jameson should take charge at Manika Colquhoun returning to Mount Hampden. I agree to this . . ." (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Tawse-Jollie, E., "The Pungwe route . . .", op. cit., p.435. Mrs. Tawse-Jollie has probably misunderstood this message. It is likely to have referred, not, as she supposes, to Colquhoun's work, but to the attempt of Jameson and Johnson to reach the sea.

<sup>51</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 31 Aug. 1890 (A 2/12/1, National Archives SR).

<sup>52</sup> Colquhoun to Maguire: 22 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).

<sup>53</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 27 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).

<sup>54</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 15 Nov. 1890 (CT 1/1/4, National Archives SR).

<sup>55</sup> Leonard, A. G., *How we made Rhodesia*, op. cit., p.162.

<sup>56</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 20 Sept. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>57</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 16 Oct. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>58</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: undated (CT 1/1/4, National Archives SR).

<sup>59</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 5 Dec. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>60</sup> See Harris to Colquhoun: 21 Nov. 1890 and 5 Dec. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>61</sup> Harris to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 1 Dec. 1890 (LO 5/2/5, National Archives SR).

<sup>62</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 5 Dec. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>63</sup> Rhodes to Colquhoun: 27 Nov. 1890 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

"Leonard, A. G., *How we made Rhodesia*, op. cit., p.144. Patrick Campbell was Colquhoun's clerk.

<sup>65</sup> Jameson to S. Jameson: 27 Dec. 1890 (JA 1/1/1, f.43-46, National Archives MS).

This letter is printed in Colvin, I., *The life of Jameson*, op. cit., p.172.

<sup>66</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 30 Dec. 1890 (A 2/12/1, National Archives SR).

<sup>67</sup> Colquhoun to Jameson: 1 Jan. 1891 (A 2/12/1, National Archives SR).

<sup>68</sup> Jameson to S. Jameson: 27 Dec. 1890 (JA 1/1/1, f.43-46, National Archives MS).

<sup>69</sup> Jameson to Colquhoun: 15 Jan. 1891 (A 1/7/1, National Archives SR).

<sup>70</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Matabeland: the war and our position in South Africa*. The Leadenhall Press Ltd., 1893, p.89.

<sup>71</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 16 Jan. 1891 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>72</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 26 Mar. 1891 (CT 1/1/6, National Archives SR). Colquhoun appears to have thought that Harris's carefully inoffensive letter was aimed specifically at him, whereas it was intended to apply to all of the Company's officials in Mashonaland.

<sup>73</sup> Harris to Secretary, B.S.A. Co.: 17 June 1891 (LO 5/2/9, National Archives SR). By this time of course, Colquhoun was completely out of favour.

<sup>74</sup> Colquhoun to Rhodes: 24 June 1891 (CT 1/1/6, National Archives SR).

<sup>75</sup> Harris to Colquhoun: 14 August. 1891 (CT 1/1/6, National Archives SR).

<sup>76</sup> Harris to Jameson: 14 Aug. 1891 (CT 2/1/10, National Archives SR).

<sup>77</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.293.

<sup>78</sup> Colquhoun, E., "Archibald Colquhoun . . ." (*United Empire*, v.6, 1915, p.104).

<sup>79</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *The Africander land*. John Murray, 1906, p.292.

<sup>80</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.68.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.260.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.290.

<sup>84</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 3 Aug. 1890 (CT 1/1/2, National Archives SR).

<sup>85</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.58.

<sup>86</sup> Colquhoun, E., "Archibald Colquhoun . . ." (*United Empire*, v.6, 1915, p.99).

<sup>87</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., p.162.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p.xvii.

<sup>89</sup> Colquhoun to Harris: 4 Oct. 1890 (CT 1/1/3, National Archives SR).

<sup>90</sup> Colquhoun, A. R., *Dan to Beersheba*, op. cit., pp.250, 252.

# The Siege of the Abercorn Store

by A. S. Hickman

Soon after the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, the Mazoe Valley became a scene of great activity, with prospectors spreading in all directions and small workings springing up on "ancient" gold mining sites. Lower down the Mazoe River, near its junction with the Pote, the district was called Abercorn in honour of the Duke of Abercorn, President of the British South Africa Company; it is now known as Shamva.

By 1896 there was a small European community, especially on and in the vicinity of Tafuna Hill, at the foot of which Messrs. Deary & Co. had established their trading store. In June, although the Matabele Rising had begun nearly three months before and was in full fury, the settlers of Abercorn were carrying on with their daily tasks in peace, confident that "it can't happen to us".

No one suspected that some of the Mashona people were also planning to rise until the first sign of local trouble blew up in the adjoining Mtoko District where the Acting Native Commissioner, H. H. Ruping, went to Mahomba's Kraal to collect hut-tax, and met with a hostile reception. Ruping's opinion was that the unrest was "due to the imposition and collection of hut-tax", and quoted the names of seven headmen who had refused to pay, and who "forbade their boys to work for white men, and desired to have nothing to do with our government". Ruping's subsequent murder, and the rising in the Mtoko and Mrewa Districts, is another story.

The B.S.A. Company's "Report on Native Disturbances, 1896/97" states that there were about 20 prospectors and traders on the Abercorn gold-fields at the start of the rising. The Europeans had been alarmed by reports from Mazoe and on 20th June, 1896, fortified Deary & Co.'s store; they remained there in a state of siege for 23 days until they were relieved on 13th July by a patrol from Salisbury led by A. H. F. Duncan, a retired naval officer and a senior official of the Company.

These are the bare facts, but the human side of the story is dramatic in the extreme; it follows largely the narrative of Edward Charles Broadbent, who may have taken command of the beleaguered people, and who wrote for the *Rhodesia Herald* after his rescue. He is described as a prospector and he had been at work between the Mazoe and Pote Rivers when he heard of the rising, and was called in to Deary's store with all available guns and ammunition.

In a separate group John Fletcher, Joseph Francis Deane, George Holman and James Stroyan, all prospectors, made their way to Deary's, but whilst passing Chipadza's Kraal this party was fired on, and Deane and Stroyan wounded. There is a curious reference in the official casualty list to Trooper George Holman of the Salisbury Field Force being "wounded in action" on 17th June at Abercorn laager, but he only came in on the 20th and was certainly not a member of the Salisbury Field Force which formed part of the rescue party in July. It is therefore most likely that he was wounded whilst defending



the store. Hermann's mining camp had also been warned of the rising and when Louis Hermann came in it was decided by the council of war that, having a horse, he should ride to Salisbury to report the situation. But on the way he was murdered at Makombi's Kraal, and three Africans who were also sent were not heard of again. If they had been aliens they were probably murdered, but if locals it is likely that they ran away. Alien or "Zambesi" Africans were as much in the Mashona target area as were Europeans. The other Europeans who endured the siege were John Robert Rowland, J. Pickering and A. Ragusin.

Broadbent was surprised at the rising, because the local Africans had been quite friendly, though he had been somewhat disturbed for some time previously because more produce had been brought for sale to the miners than they required, and the vendors seemed anxious to get powder and caps. He parted with none but thought they obtained their supply from "Zambesi native traders"—the first reference I have seen to trading being conducted by Africans, who may have been hawkers rather than storekeepers. Then the Mashona suddenly stopped trading, an ominous sign.

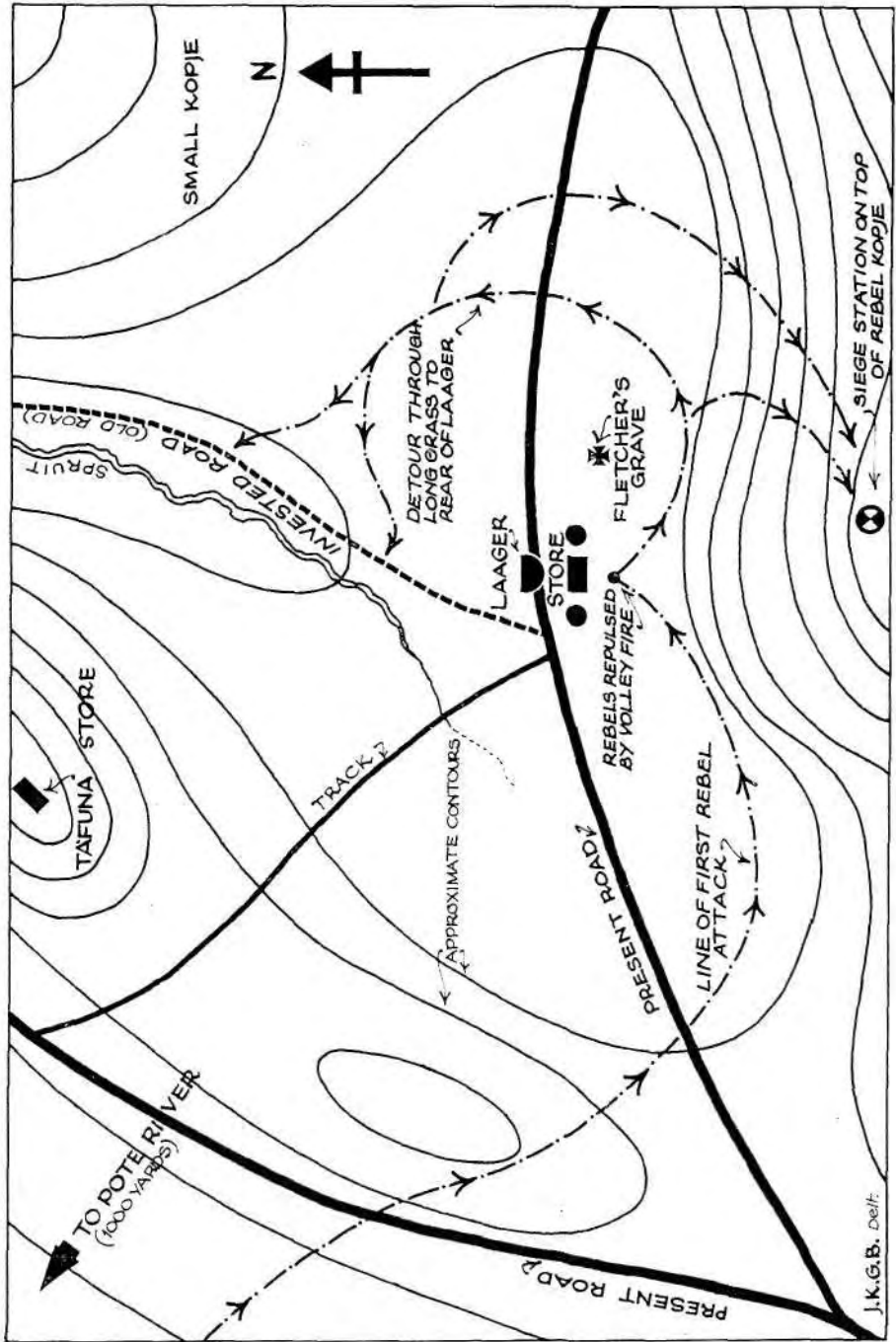
Deary & Co.'s store was not designed for defence; it was in a bad position on the level, with rising ground on every side, particularly the lower slopes of Tafuna Hill, but there was no other choice. So the settlers prepared for its defence. The buildings consisted of two store huts with a kitchen and mess huts in line on either side, and it was decided to set up the laager about 15 yards to the north of the site. It was in the form of a half circle with the flat side to the north, that is, furthest from the store. One of the store huts, that to the south-east, was burned, because it could have screened the rebels where the grass was very long and close to it.

The foundations of the laager consisted of sacks of Kaffir corn, mealies, and the like; for the breastwork cases of corned beef, liquor and pickles were used. "We loop-holed it as well as we could, and filled up surplus holes with limbo, bundles of socks, clothing, etc.", said Broadbent.

The inside measurements were about 150 square feet, and here the refugees were quartered, eight European men at the start, five "Zambesi" men, with one woman, one girl and three boys, 18 souls in all; together with six dogs which later proved most useful in their warnings of rebel approach. Twenty-five other Zambesi employees deserted when the first shots were fired.

The fate of Hermann has been described. On Sunday, 21st June, before the laager was complete, the rebels came up in force from the direction of the Pote River and opened fire at 9.30 a.m. They were driven off from the left by volley fire, a favourite mode of defence in those days, but moved round through long grass to the rear and then extended across the road to the right (see plan). At this time Broadbent was wounded, but not incapacitated, and several rebels shot in the open. Amongst them, as became apparent later, was their leader, for whose loss they swore vengeance.

This temporary repulse gave the refugees time to complete their laager. In the meantime the rebels retired into a kopje to the south-east, held a noisy council-of-war, and then began to parley with the garrison. No notice was taken of them except by Fletcher, who "against orders and advice foolishly advanced to the edge of the bush. He held up his arms to show that he was without



Sketch map of Tafuna laager, 1896 (not to scale).

firearms, and was immediately shot dead". His body lay where he fell, and he was probably buried at the same spot, where his grave may be seen to this day.

Throughout the whole siege there could be no relaxation for the garrison. On the 24th and 25th June, most determined attacks were made, and Broadbent estimates that the rebel strength "of guns was between 70 and 80, and there "were hordes armed with battle-axes and assegais". On the 25th the main body of rebels left, but a sufficient number remained to invest the laager. In all eight separate attacks were made and at other times rebels kept up a harassing fire. The garrison enlivened proceedings from time to time by throwing out plugs of dynamite with short fuses when the rebels crept up close through the long grass to the south and south-west, "which had a very wholesome effect in making them keep a respectful distance".

The most serious predicament of the defenders was their lack of water. The Pote River was about 1,000 yards away, but they were cut off from it, although at first they made attempts at night to run the gauntlet. The first sortie was successful, the second party of four Zambesi men never came back. In the third attempt, a Zambesi man, a boy and a girl set out. The man returned that same night badly wounded by an assegai, and died later; the boy returned next day, whilst the girl was never heard of again. The fourth and last attempt was made by the three unwounded Europeans, Pickering, Ragusin and Rowland, and an African boy. They made a big detour, and returned after three hours, quite exhausted. In the morning the rebels found their spoor and thereafter established a line of pickets on the river. "They also built a cordon of scherms (bush fences) around us, and pretty effectively cut off any chance of egress on our part".

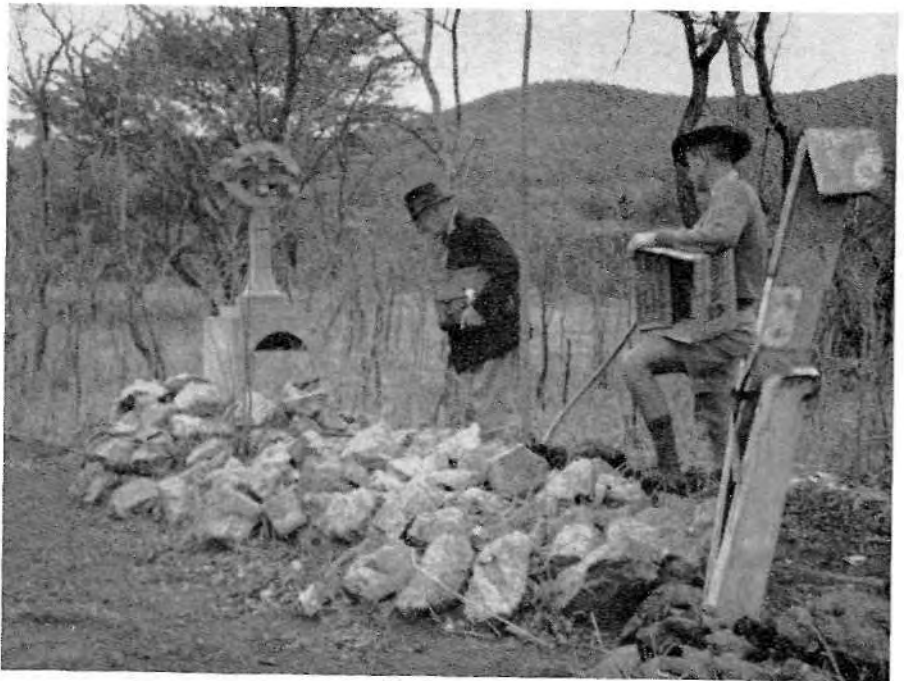
The garrison was now in a desperate position. One European had been killed and four others, Broadbent, Deane, Stroyan and Holman, were wounded. In addition John Robert Rowland and Holman were suffering from dysentery. Of the five Zambesi men four had disappeared and one was killed, a Zambesi girl was missing; the surviving Africans were a woman and three boys who tried to escape several times, but were prevented. These boys played their part in keeping look-out and doing fatigues. Broadbent also mentions that he feared their capture by the rebels, who would then have learned of the crippled state of the defenders and might on that account have rushed the laager. Of the six dogs four were killed and one wounded.

The garrison had plenty of tinned food, and made excellent bread with beer. But there was nothing to drink except liquor and it appears that pontac wine—a sweet red dessert wine from the Cape—and stout were the most in use, because within the laager they kept their case of beer, water and pontac casks. I can well imagine that at the end of the siege not one of the defenders would ever touch pontac again! To be almost entirely dependent on alcohol for over three weeks is more than should be expected of anyone! The Zambesi people were those who "got most of the water" such as was left.

It must be remembered that June in Rhodesia is a winter month and the extremes of heat and cold were very trying. Except for Rowland, who died from exhaustion and pneumonia the day after the relieving force arrived, it is amazing that the survivors kept up their morale under such dreadful circum-



Fletcher's grave.



Kay's grave.

stances. The wounded, who could receive little attention during the first few days, and had to do their turns of duty, made excellent progress. By the end of the siege only two Europeans, Pickering and Ragusin, remained unwounded, together with the Zambesi woman and three boys. The rebels were continually firing at the defenders, and threatening them, saying also that Salisbury had been captured by the Matabele and all the inhabitants killed. Then the sanitary arrangements in the laager were most primitive, and the stench of the dead to windward "especially at night time made things horribly unpleasant", said Broadbent in an understatement. He also said that all the garrison suffered more or less from fever.

At last came relief. On 11th July a patrol commanded by A. H. F. Duncan set out from Salisbury, consisting of 40 men of the Natal Troop, 25 Salisbury Field Force, all mounted, a maxim gun detachment of the latter unit, and an ambulance. They had two skirmishes in the Mazoe Valley on the way out and arrived at Abercorn on the 13th. Broadbent has left this graphic description— ". . . things were looking very gloomy indeed, it was our twenty-third day in laager, our water, wine and stout about finished, and just enough beer left to bake one more loaf. At about 10.30 a.m. we were all lying down in a semi-somnolent, exhausted condition, when we suddenly heard a clatter which we at first took for a rattle of shields, and thought the Matabele were on us. We sprang to our guns, and beheld the never-to-be-forgotten sight of the relief column cantering round the corner. Our delight can be better imagined than described. We set up a hysterical cheer which was answered by loud hurrahs by the advancing men . . ."

Next day Rowland died on the way in to Salisbury, and on that journey there was another skirmish, this time at Mount Hampden. The relief patrol captured and brought back 61 head of cattle, a welcome supply of fresh meat for the beleaguered citizens of Salisbury.

Without doubt this is one of the most heroic episodes in our Pioneer history. By their grim determination to hold out at all costs, when for all they knew they were the only surviving settlers in Mashonaland, and their endurance of wounds, sickness and "other adversities" they displayed a wonderful example of human will, the triumph of mind over matter.

The remnants of the garrison, six European men, the Zambesi woman and three boys, were all ordinary people, who left no other mark on history. I have been unable to trace the careers of any of them, except that I believe James Stroyan served in the B.S.A. Company's Police from January, 1891, to January, 1892, and was then a member of the Civil Police at Umtali, and J. R. Rowland was definitely a conductor (in charge of transport) on the Pioneer Expedition of 1890.

In fact this whole episode had faded into obscurity. In the course of historical research I had read Broadbent's narrative, and then out of the blue, in March, 1958, the Police at Shamva sent me a note about the grave of John Fletcher as a matter of interest. But the details recorded did not tally with the known facts. The grave has at its head an iron cross with the inscription "—Fletcher, B.S.A.P. —96 — For Queen and Empire", and in addition there is a square of tin on which is painted "Murdered in the Rebellion 22.3.96. R.I.P."



Looking from the site of the laager towards Fletcher's grave; the Tafuna road in the foreground.



The four figures are on the site of the laager.

But Fletcher was not a member of the Police, nor was he murdered on a date before the Mashona Rising had begun! The true facts were set out in the B.S.A. Company's contemporary report. However, I assumed that Fletcher had been buried where he fell, and that this spot could not be more than 100 to 200 yards from the Abercorn laager. So I went to Shamva, and with the cooperation of Sgt. Savage we found Fletcher's grave in thick grass beside the road to the old Ilex Mine, before it begins to climb Tafuna Hill, about four miles south-west of the present village. If the Police had not found and cared for this grave it would have been lost permanently in the bush.

To the north of this site is a small kopje on which now stands the Tafuna store, and at the foot of this kopje a cemetery with one named grave, that of Alex Kay, who died on 20th March, 1894, over two years before the rising. This grave is enormous, 15 feet long and 8 to 9 feet wide, is covered with large blue quartzite rocks, and has at its head an elaborate cross of galvanised zinc made by a craftsman. Because the area was heavily overgrown with trees and bush and there was no clear view we were misled into thinking that the laager might have been near this cemetery, between which and the store on the hill was a litter of bricks and broken bottles. There were more graves than that of Kay, but except for one they are now ill-defined.

During our search we found the neck of a whisky bottle complete with foil on which was the lettering "Kirker's Special Liqueur Scotch Whisky". As this was a brand I had never heard of, and in the hope of dating it, I wrote to prominent distillers in Scotland, who referred me to another firm in Glasgow, Mitchell Bros. Ltd., who now own William Greer & Co. Ltd. They have destroyed their records prior to 1930, but fortunately came across a Minute of 1893 "in respect of a Company Meeting of Messrs. Kirker, Greer & Co. Ltd., of which our present Company, Messrs. Win. Greer & Co. Ltd., was a subsidiary . . ." They had no information as to when Kirker's ceased to exist or to what countries its whisky was shipped. But it would be interesting to speculate that Kirker's cases could have formed part of the breastwork of the Abercorn laager, and to wonder whether the contents of our particular bottle were used in the normal way, or wasted during the defence. It is obvious that spirits were expendable in that crisis, whereas wine, stout and beer all had their uses!

When I returned from Tafuna to Shamva I questioned two very old N.C.O.'s of the Native Affairs Department and also the senior African Police N.C.O., but not one of them had heard of the fighting at Abercorn store during the course of their patrols, and neither have local Europeans; so the memory seems to have died out—not altogether surprising in the shifting population of what was largely a mining community.

It must be remembered that after the survivors of the siege were rescued the country was completely in the hands of the rebels for some time. So ended my first attempt to find traces of the laager, and I hoped I would be more successful should the bush and grass be cleared by fire! But as a law-abiding citizen who had once been a policeman I could not wish any misfortune of that sort to overtake the local farms. I need not have worried unduly. When next I went to Tafuna, at the end of November, 1960, I found that the slopes of the hill had indeed been burned but there was a very large area of cleared and

ploughed land across the road from Fletcher's grave. The rainy season had begun, the ground was soft, and after some futile searching in the wrong direction, I found what I was looking for—traces of bottles in the fallow land right in a corner of the margin of the road. This field is part of the farm "The Carse" and the laager site was found to be not more than 75 yards from Fletcher's grave.

I had presumed that there would be no trace of Deary & Co.'s store, seeing that it was built of pole and dagga, and that the only remains of the laager defence works would be broken bottles, and possibly a few tins. Pieces of bottle we found in plenty, most of them three to four inches below the surface, and extending for at least 11 yards in a line parallel to the road. I can say definitely from examination of bottle fragments that some of the breastworks were built of cases of pickles (as stated by Broadbent) and also included Holbrook's sauce, and Eno's fruit salts, both favourite commodities with our Pioneers.

Immediately to the south-east of the site is the tree-covered kopje where the rebels held their council-of-war, and from which they could have looked down on the laager, particularly if they had climbed a very old marula tree with a present girth of about nine feet. We also found traces of mining and of African occupation on various parts of this kopje, which really forms an extension of Tafuna Hill. I was accompanied by Mr. John Borchers, who made a site plan of the area and took photographs, and several schoolboys whose enthusiasm was put to good use.

My last visit was at the end of May, 1961. The plan was to try to plot the outline of the site with a view to organising a quasi-archaeological dig there later. This time the ground was very hard, so that it was impossible to find anything except on the surface in the field, so we decided to leave this project over until a rainy season, and then perhaps enlist the services of members of the Rhodesian Schools' Exploration Society. I would very much like to trace the outline of the semi-circular laager in broken glass and other debris, and perhaps cartridge cases or similar relics may be found. Actually during our visit we picked up many nails in the dust of the road to Tafuna Hill which crosses right over the site; in the wet season this would not be so easy, but each season has its advantages. I doubt, however, if we shall find much evidence in the way of tin-ware such as we collected in the dry climate at Fort Tuli, because the heavy rainfall of the Shamva area will have rusted out most of this material in the course of 65 years; yet many nails, presumably from packing cases, remain.

#### Footnote

There are two veteran Rhodesians who knew the Tafuna Hill well. They are Dr. O. E. Jackson who went there in July, 1909, as medical officer, and Mr. K. H. Borchers, formerly Mining Commissioner, who was a beacon inspector there about the same time. Dr. Jackson told me that the name of the district was changed from Abercorn to Shamva to avoid confusion in postal addresses, although the local people wanted it to be called Tafuna. The name Shamva is taken from that of the large mine which used to prosper in this district, but is now a shadow of its former self. The Shamva Mine was registered in 1907 and is on the site of the Star Claims of 1895. Mr. Borchers has an unequalled know-



ledge of all the old mining properties in the area, and I feel that the knowledge of these two gentlemen and of others who live in the district, could with profit be used for the compilation of a local history.

As a start I have a few notes about the present store at Tafuna. The building on the small kopje was originally the hotel, and the store was at the foot of this kopje. It consisted of two buildings knocked into one and was said to have been moved down from the Ilex Mine on Tafuna Hill about 1915. At one time it was owned by Galante, then by Mannheim and Weiss who left about 1925. From 1927 to 1941 Mr. and Mrs. Marketos ran this store. They knew Fletcher's grave but had no idea of the siege of Deary's store.

I have also read the very interesting reminiscences of the late William Samuel Whaley, an 1896 Pioneer who came to Tafuna in 1916 to mine the Trio. Before he had built them a house on the mine his wife and two small children had to stay at the hotel, and this is what he says about it. "There was a hotel of sorts at Tafuna Siding, one and a half miles from the mine but it was run by a man whose ideas of cleanliness were so primitive that Josie after one month refused to stay there any longer . . ." Nowhere in his papers does Whaley refer to the siege of Abercorn; it is likely that he never heard of it because his Rebellion service was entirely in Matabeleland, and afterwards he left Rhodesia for years.

*The substance of this paper was given in a lecture to the Salisbury Pre-historic Society on 12th February, 1963.*

# The Southern Column's Fight at Singuesi, 2nd November, 1893

by B. M. E. and K. E. O'Mahoney

A few years ago we decided to spend a few days in the bush South of Plumtree (Fig. 1) trying to discover the whereabouts of the pre-pioneer site of the Empandeni Mission. While walking through the bush we came across some low earth banks which our African guide assured us were made by many Europeans, who had horses, when they fought the Matabele long ago.

This whetted our historical appetite and after roughly fixing its position and measuring it up we proceeded on our way. On returning to Bulawayo we made enquiries of the Museum staff who said that the earthworks were possibly a laager thrown up by the Southern Column in 1893. We understood that not much was known about the actual locations of the Column's various activities.

Much browsing in the Rhodesiana sections of the local libraries slowly unfolded the Southern Column's story. One of us, having attended Rhodesian schools, is assured that school textbooks make no mention of the Southern Column or of the fight at Singuesi whereas the other battles of the same campaign, i.e. Shangani, Bembezi and those of the Sbangani Patrol, are so well documented that they have become household words. This general ignorance indicated a rich field for original research by even such amateurs as ourselves.

At this stage it looked as if the earthworks we had seen (site B, fig. 2) indicated the site of the fight at Singuesi on 2nd November, but the only contemporary map of the scene of the fight which we could discover was the diagram on page 109 of Newman; this was not only highly localised, and not to scale, but did not appear to fit site B. However, the official Report, dated 21st November, 1893, of the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Col. Goold-Adams, (C. 7290, No. 76, enclosure 1, reproduced herein for ease of reference as an appendix) showed that on 3rd November the Column "moved on to a good site close to Umpandine Kraal"; Newman (p.111) confirmed this move, but not the date, and added that the position was in open veld on one of the headwaters of the Inkwisi and that the Column fortified it.

This information led us to the tentative conclusion that the earthworks we had seen (site B, fig. 2) were not at the site of the actual battle on 2nd November, but were at the more suitable site which the Column moved to on the next day and occupied until 6th November. To prove this supposition we set out the following year with our camping equipment to attempt to locate the site of the actual engagement. With the kind assistance of the Mission Fathers, on whose land the earthworks stand, we interviewed elderly villagers in the area a few miles to the south-east of site B (fig. 2). We concentrated on this area because the Column took only one day to move from the battle site to the earthworks on the headwaters of the Inkwisi (site B, fig. 2), and because the fight took place near the "Singuesi river, a tributary of the Mpakwe" (see appendix). We were

fortunate enough to speak to a retired British South Africa Police sergeant and his uncle; the latter had been a child of about nine or ten at the time of the fight and clearly remembered being taken by his mother into hiding in the nearby kopjes from which he actually saw some of the fighting. These two people took us straight to the site of the laagers used during the fight but to our great disappointment and their surprise we found that the remains were hidden under the tailwaters of the Embakwe Mission dam which had been constructed a few years previously. However, we were then shown a nearby tree with bullet holes, much "grown out", and an incised cross on its trunk. The elder man explained that during the fight his uncle had been trapped behind the tree by Europeans who had killed him and that he had carved the cross a few years later, when he had become a Christian, in memory of his uncle. We were informed that the laagers, now inundated, had been a favourite playground for local children because of the many cartridge cases which were to be found. The villagers told us that there had been two laagers close together, one of earth built by the Europeans and one in stone built by Khama's men (see appendix).

This eye witness evidence was very strong, but would the diagram on page 109 of Newman corroborate it? We spent some time with compass, protractor and maps in fixing the position, after which we tried to reconcile Newman's diagram with the local topography. Coincidence between Newman's diagram and the topography was impossible until we assumed Newman's north point to be upside down.

We then made a cursory examination of the kopjes to the south after a local European farmer had told us of the existence of stone walls on top of them. These walls were found to be low and very roughly made, and, if local African tradition is correct, were built and used by Gambo's impis for the fight (C. 7290, No. 39).

By now we were fairly certain that we were on the scene of the fight, except for the awkward business of the inverted north point on Newman's diagram. It seemed somewhat presumptuous for us, some 65 years later, to dispute a north point in a book written in 1894 in Bulawayo by Reuter's Special Commissioner, who, in his Introduction, guarantees that "my book contains the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth"! On the other hand, one of us had had "reciprocal bearing trouble" during the last war and knew how easily it can happen. Furthermore we have never been unduly impressed by the accuracy of journalists even when as august as Captain Norris Newman. Regarding the accuracy of Newman we also noted that, at page 113, he stated that the Southern Column arrived in Bulawayo on 15th December, 1893, whereas it was clear from Goold-Adams (see appendix) that the date should have been 15th November, and this is corroborated by the fact that a large contingent of the Southern Column left Bulawayo, as part of the Shangani Patrol, some time in November. More germane to our argument is Newman's apparent negligence in his placing of what he himself calls the "rear guard" well to the north-east, i.e. in advance, of the main body in the laagers. Further proof of our north point contention can be found in that Stevens (p.242) says "we went into laager on the *south* bank of the river" and Goold-Adams (see appendix) states that Khama's men laagered to the *east* of the Southern Column laager;

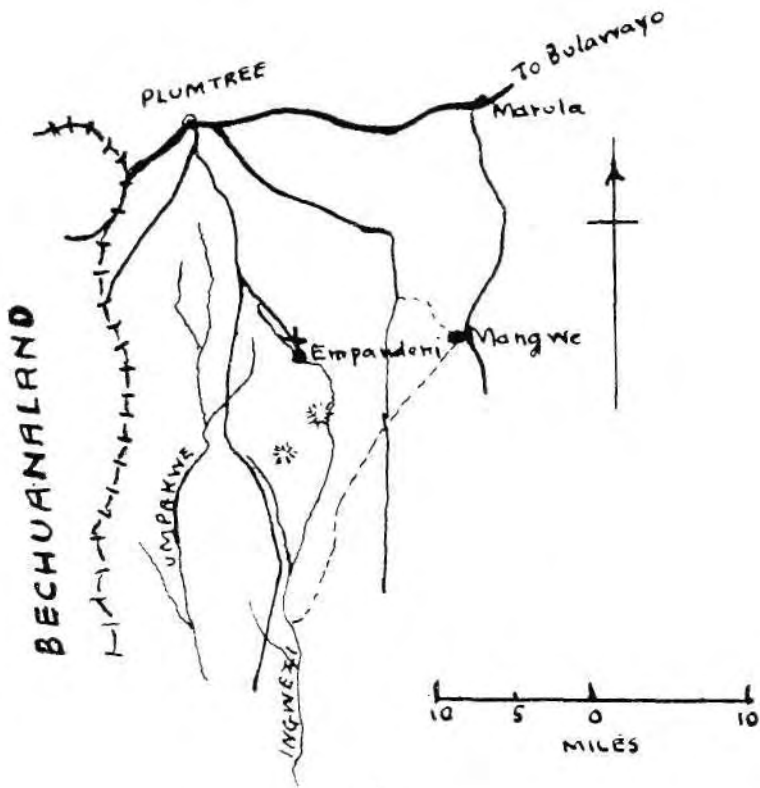


FIG. 1

these are in direct contradiction to Newman's diagram with the north point as drawn, but conform if the north point is inverted.

The National Monuments Commission accepted our identification of the two sites (A and B, fig. 2) and site B was fenced and proclaimed a National Monument, named "Fort Empandeni earthworks", in 1958 (Southern Rhodesia Government Notice 4 of 1958). It is believed that this is the only known site where the shape of the actual laager is still visible. The name "Fort Empandeni" is used nowadays by local inhabitants but it would appear that its original name was Fort Adams (Newman, p. 113), presumably after Lieut.-Col. Goold-Adams.

No marker has been erected by the National Monuments Commission at the scene of the fight but Federal map sheet 2027 D 4 now has the legend "Battle, 2nd November, 1893" at the scene. We should like to think that, in due course when funds are available, a permanent marker and plaque will be erected somewhere at the centre of the scene as has been done at other battlefields of the same campaign.

Fig. 2 is an attempt by us to relate the course of the engagement to the topography. The latter has been taken from Federal map sheets 2027 D 4 and D 2 and the events of the fight from the description and diagram by Newman (pp. 108-111) and from the descriptions given by Goold-Adams (see appendix)

and Stevens (pp.242-267). Newman and Goold-Adams are in general agreement, probably because Newman obtained his information from Goold-Adams's report or from his staff, but Stevens, who writes as a trooper and about 34 years later, gives a more detailed description of the fight, and differs on the time of day, the stage at which Selous was wounded and the Matabele casualties and shows that the Bechuanaland Border Police went to the assistance of the wagons as well as repelling the second and third attacks, which were directed at the laagers. None of the writers states what the laagers were formed of—wagons, earth, stone or brushwood—but a survivor, Mr. A. W. Hume, then an 18-year-old Trooper of the Bechuanaland Border Police, is fairly sure that the European contingent spent a lot of time a day or two before the action throwing up an earth laager, and this corroborates the evidence of the African villagers, given above, as far as the European laager is concerned.

In conclusion, to revert to the ignorance of the Rhodesian public in regard to this battle and the oblivion from which the Southern Column suffers we found the probable reason in C. 7290, No. 81. In this document the High Commissioner at Cape Town asks the Colonial Secretary, London, to refute statements in the press, presumably in Britain, that the British South Africa Company was in no way beholden for success in the Matabeleland campaign to Imperial aid provided by the Bechuanaland Border Police. In C. 7290, No. 79, he points out that the Salisbury and Victoria Columns (of the British South Africa Company) had only four days' food and forage left when the Southern Column arrived in Bulawayo on 15th November and that the Shangani Patrol could not have proceeded as soon as it did, in pursuit of Lobengula, unless it had been refurbished by the Southern Column's supplies. He also pointed out in C. 7290, No. 82, that the Southern Column had diverted about 8,000 Matabele from the route of the Salisbury and Victoria Columns and that this was half the military strength of the Matabele nation.

Apparently these press statements had the desired effect, which seems to have lasted to this day.

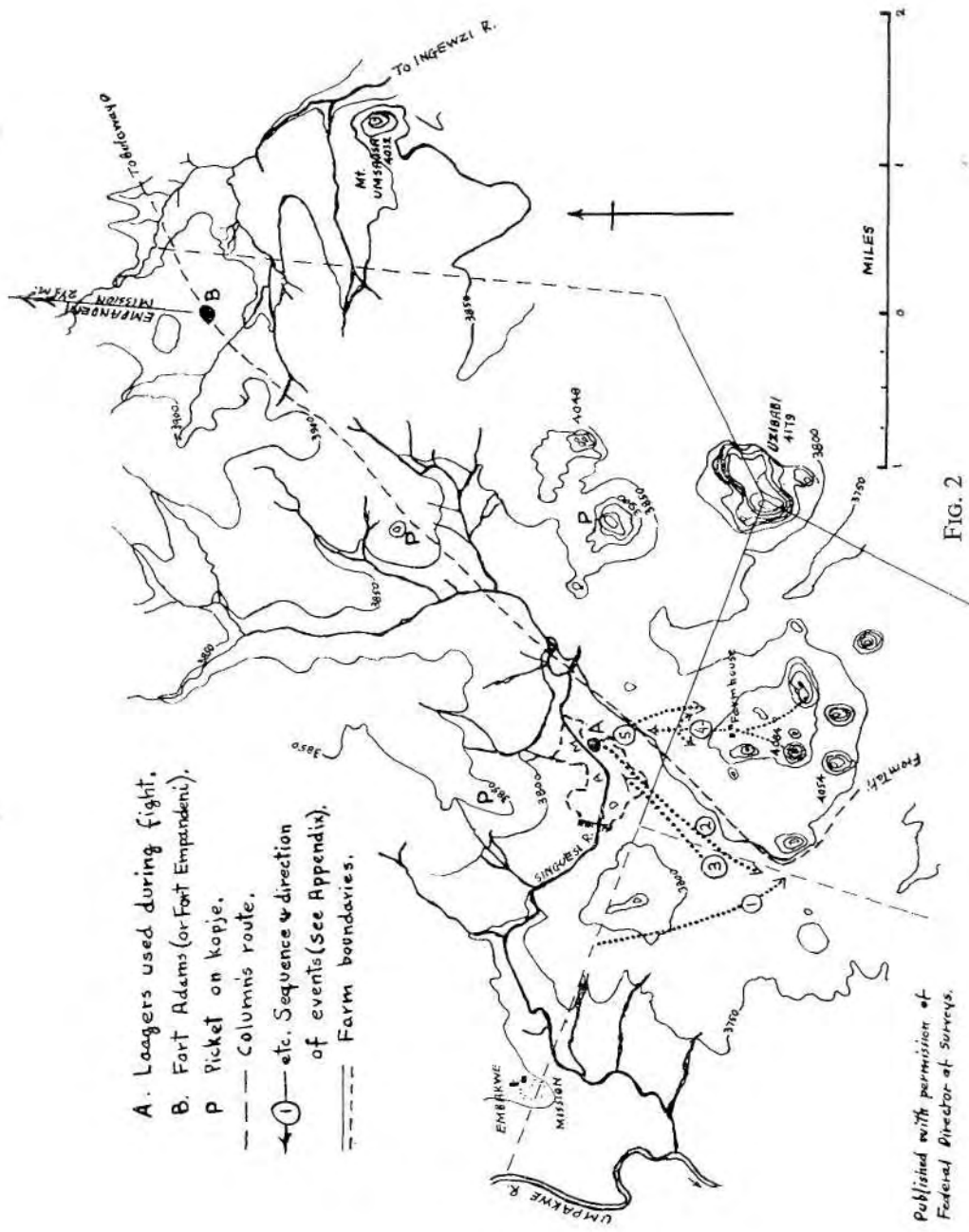
## APPENDIX

(From C. 7290, No. 76, Enclosure 1)

The following is Lieut.-Col. Goold-Adams's report, dated 21st November, 1893:—

"Under instructions from his Excellency, after leaving sufficient men to garrison Macloutsie, I started from that place with 225 officers and men, 210 horses, four Maxim guns, two seven-pounder guns, 14 waggons, and 50 Native drivers. I was joined on the morning of 11th October by Commandant Raaf, of the British South Africa Company, with 225 officers and men, 191 horses, one Maxim gun, and 11 waggons, with their complement of drivers.

Since I considered it expedient to occupy Tati Settlement as soon as possible, I pushed forward with 145 mounted men of the Bechuanaland Border Police and 70 mounted men of the British South Africa Company, the waggons being pushed on as rapidly as possible after us. I reached the Shashi River on 13th October, and here I met the Chief Khama with 130 men, about half of



A. Laagers used during fight.  
 B. Fort Adams (or Fort Empaneni).  
 P. Picket on kopje.  
 --- Columns route.  
 ① etc. Sequence & direction of events (See Appendix).  
 - - - Farm boundaries.

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FIG. 2

whom were armed with Martini-Henri rifles. He also had with him about 30 waggons and a number of pack oxen.

Having ascertained that water was very scarce at Tati, I pushed on with my mounted men only, and left Khama and his people on the Shashi River. Our waggon train arrived at Shashi River on 18th October, and on the 19th I made a move from Tati, being joined by the waggons that evening . . .

The force leaving Tati numbered about 440 Europeans and about 2,000 natives, 520 horses, and about 2,000 head of oxen. The proposed route was to the Monarch Mine, thence to the Ramokabane River, up that river to its source, across to the upper waters of the Mitangwe River, and along the high veld to the eastward, striking the main road about the Fig Tree.

The first move was made by sending Commandant Raaf with 100 of his mounted men and 100 of Khama's mounted men, up the main road towards Makkobis, intended as a feint to cover the flank movement to the Monarch Mine with the waggon train . . .

So far no Matabele had actually been seen, but the spoor of their scouting parties had often been cut by ours.

A party of scouts under Mr. Selous proceeded up the Ramokabane River to ascertain whether it was practicable to take the column that way. He returned with the information that it was absolutely impossible, there being great scarcity of water, not nearly enough for our great numbers of men and animals.

I then decided to push forward on to the Mpakwe River, to try to get round the point of the hills by moving to the headwaters of the Mpakwe or Nguisi Rivers.

Considering it impracticable to take the whole of my waggon train, I pushed on with only 190 mounted men of the Bechuanaland Border Police, 200 mounted men of the British South Africa Company, 12 waggons, three Maxim guns, and two seven-pounder guns, leaving Khama and his men and the remainder of my force in laager at the Ramakabane.

I arrived at the Siquesi River, a tributary of the Mpakwe, 29th October, without meeting with any resistance.

From Makalaka we captured we learnt that the Matabele had been down and gathered in the whole of their cattle, and had taken them up to the hills; that the Matabele were in force in our immediate front, divided into two large impis, one at or near the Semokwe Poort, and the other at a town called Khosingnana, at the north-eastern extremity of the hills.

Further we learnt that there was no water to be depended upon even for our force, should we succeed in getting round the hills to the northward.

My only alternative then was to send back for Khama and the men left behind at the Ramakabane to join me without delay and to push on to the foot of the hills with the whole force and try to get the Matabele to attack us, and if not, to actually storm their position and drive them before us.

Orders were sent to this effect on 30th October. Meanwhile I laagered as strong as possible close to water. The position was not a good one, but was the best that could be found within reach of the water. There were high kopjes of from 150 to 300 feet about 1,000 yards to the south and south-east of the laager, and rising ground to the north from the bank of the river.

On the afternoon of 1st November the Chief Khama with his people and waggons arrived, and drew up about 200 yards to the east of my laager.

At about 7 p.m. I received a message from Captain Tancred, who was in command of the party I had left at the Ramakabane, to the effect that his oxen were knocked up for want of water; that he had outspanned the oxen about three miles from my laager, and had sent the oxen on to the water. It being dark, it was impossible to send the cattle back that evening, and orders were given that they should start at sunrise next morning, and bring the waggons on without delay.

In accordance with this order the oxen started shortly after daylight, and from the report furnished by Captain Tancred it appeared that some of the spans arrived some time before others, and that these were inspanned and started immediately.

When these waggons were within about a mile and a half of the laager, they were attacked from the rear by a force of about 600 or 700 Matabele.

Immediately the sound of firing was heard from the laager, mounted men were sent out to assist in getting in the waggons. Mr. Selous, who had his horse close to him when the firing commenced, arrived first at the waggons, and in trying to stop the rush of the Matabele had already been wounded when the mounted men arrived.

But by this time the rearmost of the waggons had been rushed, Corporal Mundy and a Native driver who were with it being both assegaied, the waggon fired, its contents, principally quarter-master's stores, destroyed, and the oxen taken away.

Our mounted men covered the movement of the waggons to the laager, and fell back with them, the Matabele following them up through the bush, eventually getting to within 150 yards of the laager, when the Maxim guns opened fire, and they at once turned. The Matabele then retired into the hills to the southward. I then ordered our mounted men out after them, and Khama's men to storm the hills, our men going round the base of the hills to prevent the Matabele as much as possible from getting out.

Firing was kept up on the hills for about an hour, when nothing more could be seen of the Matabele.

We afterwards ascertained that the Matabele must have remained in hiding in the caves and rocks until nightfall, when they made their way back to the Motopo Mountains.

Over 60 dead bodies were counted, and a great number must have gone away wounded.

Sergeant Dahm, British South Africa Company, was shot through the head during the attack on the hills, three of Khama's men were killed, and six or seven wounded.

Sergeant-Major Codrington, and Corporal Ransome, Bechuanaland Border Police, were slightly wounded, and Sergeant-Major Robertson and Sergeant Dempsey, British South Africa Company, were also wounded, but not seriously.

Two Bechuanaland Border Police horses and two British South Africa Company horses were shot.



On 3rd November I moved on to a good site, close to Umpandine-Kraal.

On 5th November, just as I was inspanning preparatory to moving on towards Mangwe, the Chief Khama informed me that neither he nor his people could go on any further, that smallpox had broken out among his people, and that unless he could get back to his own country his people would be dying in the veld. I asked him if he did not understand that he had already agreed with his Excellency to place 1,000 of his men under my immediate orders, which men were to receive 1s. a day, and who had been rationed by me since the date of their leaving Palapye.

He replied that he quite understood that, but now that smallpox had broken out he must take them all back, and that, of course, he forfeited all claim to money.

I did my utmost to persuade him to lend me a few waggons and oxen to assist me in getting forward to a position nearer the hills, from whence I should be within striking distance of the Matabele. This he refused to do.

I then asked him to remain in laager where he was, until I could get forward to a new position, for I did not want the Matabele to see that he was leaving me and going home. This he at first said he would do. Within half an hour, however, he sent me a message to say that he must go at once.

I again saw him and asked him whether he was going home in consequence of any action of mine. He assured me positively that it was only on account of the smallpox having broken out among his people.

My oxen being in very poor condition, I had lightened my waggons by putting some of the loads on Khama's waggons. This stuff he off-loaded and trekked away.

I was thus left with a very large quantity of stuff, with which, with the waggons and oxen at my disposal, I could scarcely get forward.

Within a few hours of Khama's leaving, I received a deputation from the Makalaka Chiefs Malaba and Manyami, stating that they wanted protection for their people. They also informed me that the column from Mashonaland had had a battle near Buluwayo, that the Matabele had been beaten, and King Lobengula fled.

They also stated that the impis that had been in our immediate front, on hearing the news from Buluwayo, had fled in the direction of the Gwai River.

On 6th November I received a message from Dr. Jameson confirming these reports.

I immediately despatched 100 mounted men up the main road to Buluwayo to see if the road was clear, and leaving a party of 50 men with two Maxim guns at Umpadine, under Lieutenant Monro, I started with the remainder of my force to Mangwe, and thence by the main road to Buluwayo, which I reached 15th November, travelling by easy stages."

#### Acknowledgements

The topography of fig. 2 has been taken from Federal map sheets with the kind permission of the Director, Federal Department of Trigonometrical

and Topographical Surveys. Our thanks are due to the Superior and Fathers of the Empandeni Mission, particularly Father Possenti, for their help and permission to carry out the investigation.

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# The Market Hall- Salisbury's oldest building

by R. C. Rowland

## INTRODUCTION

Few of Salisbury's pioneer buildings remain—a sad thought this must be to old Rhodesians who watched the city grow and have seen their links with the past torn down by the march of progress.

Our pioneer buildings cannot be called beautiful by any modern standard. Made out of brick with corrugated iron roofing they look obsolete amongst the concrete colossi of today. Nevertheless a twinge of sadness must be felt when one recalls the indomitable spirit of our pioneers who strove to erect the buildings. The iron roofing was carted hundreds of miles by ox wagon. The timber also was transported from afar or hewn in nearby forests; the bricks made by hand near the Makabusi River.

The Queen Victoria Memorial Library and Museum has disappeared. As I write, St. Swithin's building, built in 1899, is almost down to the foundations. No one appears to notice, or comment on its passing.

The Masonic Hotel and the "White House" still stand in Pioneer Street, but are unoccupied and neglected. Roden's building of 1896 still stands near the Makabusi. A few private dwellings, such as Mr. Lamb's house in Victoria Street and Mrs. Blann's house in Salisbury Street also still remain.

The old Cecil Hotel is now preserved and incorporated into the Legislative Assembly. The Kopje Club is part of the present Castle Hotel. A house that Rhodes once lived in is still in Central Avenue, near Second Street; the hitching post almost engulfed by a tall tree.

Salisbury's oldest, and possibly best preserved, building is the Market Hall, standing on the east side of Market Square. Its neighbour, St. Swithin's, is being demolished. Sadly, I think, it too must go. It is my intention, in writing this short history of the Market Hall, to preserve a little of our pioneer past.

## I. THE BUILDING OF THE MARKET HALL

In February, 1893, nine leading citizens, including such well-known personages as W. E. Fairbridge, H. J. Deary and E. E. Homan, formed a company known as the Salisbury Market Hall Co. Ltd. Their object was to secure a piece of ground in the Market Square and to erect a building to include a market hall, offices and shops, a telegraph office and a bank. They considered that the advent of the railway from Beira and the south would make Salisbury an important centre. Market buildings had always proved lucrative in the past.

On 24th February, 1893, the Company reached an agreement with the Sanitary Board for the lease of a piece of land, but it experienced great difficulty in finding someone to undertake the Market Hall's construction. Finally,



A view of Salisbury, showing the Market Hall, about 1898.



The Market Hall, about 1910.

Mr. E. A. Maund, who had recently arrived in the town, saw the merit of the undertaking and purchased the Market Building lease from the Company on the 31st July, 1893.

Maund had a pre-Pioneer association with the country for in 1885 he had been sent to Lobengula to assure him of the friendship of the British Government and subsequently had sought a concession in opposition to Rudd and his party.

Work was immediately begun on the main hall, which measured 63 feet by 33 feet by 40 feet high. Messrs. Wilson and Richardson were the builders employed. The foundations were put down with true mortar; Mr. Maund intending his building to be a first-class effort.

On Tuesday, 8th August, 1893, the foundation stone was laid by Mrs. H. J. Deary, wife of a leading merchant. As the scheme, from its inception, had been almost entirely a Kopje effort, Mr. Maund saw fit to choose a lady living on the Kopje side of the town to preside over the ceremony. This was greatly appreciated by everyone present.

The spectators were then invited to drinks to the success of the venture in the Court House nearby (the area now occupied by the Native Administration Department). Afterwards the Resident Magistrate, Mr. H. Marshall Hole, agreed to show the party around the fort by way of finishing off the afternoon.

By the end of September, Mr. Fairbridge, as head of the Sanitary Board, commented in a speech—"Within the last three months there have been striking changes in Salisbury, due chiefly to the completion, or nearly so, of the Market Building and District Gaol". At this stage the building comprised the central hall, with a tall, arched doorway at either end. The front of the hall was flanked by two offices. One was for the use of the Market Master, Mr. Charles Maddocks.

A depression set over Salisbury at the end of 1893 and early in 1894 with the advent of the Matabele War. Most of the able-bodied men left Salisbury with the Forbes Column and building activity came to a standstill.

In June, 1894, Mr. Maund, while in England, dispatched a letter, accompanied by a plan setting out his proposals for an immense block of buildings. These were to be attached to the Market Hall. It comprised 28 shops and offices. His plan also included handsome bank premises, a great refreshment pavilion at the back of the block, together with an Exchange Hall, Post and Assay Offices, and a space for a cattle market.

Mr. Maund had also arranged for an illuminated clock, made in Salisbury, Wiltshire, by a Mr. W. Burden, to be installed in the centre of the front gable. It was his wish that the clock should be lighted and set in motion on Christmas Eve, 1894. Mr. Burden inserted two inscriptions on the inside of the clock to avoid confusion. They read "W. Burden. Salisbury. England. 1894."

On Christmas Eve its strong, but tinny ring was heard throughout the Kopje sector of the town. The people of the Kopje, and indeed, the whole town, were deeply grateful to Mr. Maund for his business foresight and acumen.

No records are available as to when the offices and shops were built. Detailed study of photographs taken about 1896 reveals a row of shops, or offices, on either side of the main hall. Three tall chimneys projected through

the roof on each side. It does not appear that the "great refreshment pavilion" or the cattle market, and certain other buildings visualised in the original plan, were ever built.

From its inception and for many years thereafter the Market Hall was used almost entirely for the selling of market produce. This was grown by Chinese and Indians on small holdings along the banks of the Makabusi. In 1893 prices were very much as they are today; eggs 5s. a dozen, carrots between 1s. and 2s. a bunch, cauliflower 6d. to 1s. each. Milk was expensive at 1s. a bottle and butter 5s. to 8s. a pound. Fruit was very scarce. The vegetables were stacked on trestle tables arranged around the perimeter of the hall. Each grower hired his own stall from the Market Master.

Mr. Charles Maddocks placed an advertisement in the *Rhodesia Herald* stating that "he had been appointed Agent for the Market Buildings, and all applications for the hire of the Hall for the purpose of holding meetings, concerts, or the rent of space for stalls, must be made to him".

In the earlier years, the Market was well supported by growers and buyers. It was a weekly event to look forward to. The drawback, however, was that everything was sold by auction and large buyers, such as hotels and retailers, monopolised the proceedings, and it was difficult for the ordinary person to obtain his small requirements. The small customer, therefore, transferred his custom to hawkers who had gardens outside the municipal boundary. Hawkers became more numerous, and by about 1918 no further supplies of vegetables were brought to the Market Hall and sales came to an end.

The Saturday Morning Auction Sale on the Square itself became increasingly popular. Every conceivable object was sold—ploughs, guns and cartridges, mules, cattle, furniture, books and numerous other things. It was the social event of the week where people collected from far and wide, riding in carts, wagons, or on bicycles. Even today such sales are still held, but much of the enthusiasm has been lost.

After the Mashona Rebellion of 1896/97 a curfew bell was erected in a tall wooden structure which stood outside the entrance to the Hall. The bell was rung at nine every night, by which time all Africans had to be off the streets. At the turn of the century the curfew bell was moved to a corrugated iron housing on the roof of the Hall. This can still be seen today although the bell is no longer inside.

At the end of 1897 commodities soared to unheard of prices. Eggs sold at 5s. each, beer 25s. in a bar, and whisky, which ordinarily cost 30s. a case, rose to £12 a case. Two bunches of grapes, grown on Glen Lome farm near Salisbury, fetched £1 a bunch.

On 9th May, 1899, an agreement was entered into between the Municipal Council and the Exploring Land and Minerals Co. Ltd. It was called the Market Hall Concession. In terms of the Concession the Company hired from the Council a piece of land 215 feet by 233 feet. The Market Hall stood on this ground. The lease was for 50 years, reckoned from the 1st January, 1899, at the rental of £5 per annum. The Company also had to erect additional buildings to the value of £5,000, within two years. The Hall itself was to be at the disposal of the Council for the sale of market produce from 2 a.m. to 10 a.m. daily.

The Exploring Land and Minerals Co. Ltd. took up office in part of the Market building to the left of the Hall and immediately set to work. By August of the same year St. Swithin's Building had appeared on the southern portion of the leased land about 30 yards from the Hall. The building was named after the street in which the British South Africa Company's offices in London were situated, and comprised a handsome block of offices.

To the right of the Market Hall entrance was a Post and Telegraph Office. The charge for sending a telegram to the Causeway Post Office was 2s. 6d. for ten words. Letters appeared in the *Rhodesia Herald* requesting that the charge be reduced to 1s., for it was pointed out that a piccanin, given 6d., could take the message by foot in almost the same time.

The Market Building was witness to two historic events in 1899. In May the Beira to Salisbury railway was completed. To mark the occasion the building was bedecked with bunting and flags and a large sign across the entrance announced "Welcome to Salisbury. 1890-1899". Outside, the British South Africa Police band added to the happiness of the occasion.

On 11th October the Boer War broke out. A detachment of Volunteers paraded in front of the Hall, and then, led by the British South Africa Police band, they marched up what is now Abercorn Street, amid the acclamation of the following townsfolk.

At the turn of the century the front of the Hall took a new look. The curfew bell was housed on the roof. The Post and Telegraph Office became the Market Buffet and the office next door, the Market Bar—a bar that was to remain in the Hall, although later in a different situation, until 1949.

A verandah of wood and corrugated iron was also constructed, with an ornate arch in front of the entrance to the Hall. This was to remain until recent times when it was replaced by one of concrete.

## II. THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Between 1900 and 1915 little detail is known as to the events in the Market Hall. The Saturday morning markets continued, and during the week the Hall was hired for concerts, cinematograph shows, and meetings. The Market Bar continued to be a popular spot where tough miners, prospectors, and farmers collected to gossip.

On 9th June, 1915, a Mr. Felix Gottlieb purchased the Market Hall buildings from the Exploring Lands and Mineral Co. Ltd., for £1,500, the latter having gone into liquidation. The Gottliebs were very early arrivals in Rhodesia and were well-known in the early days. Mr. Gottlieb moved the bar across to the north side of the entrance, and built a large shed on the south side.

The name of "Lacey and Gottlieb, Tobacco Warehouse" can still be discerned, painted in large, crumbling letters across the front of the shed. Mr. Gottlieb was to own the Market Building for the remainder of the unexpired period of 50 years, at a yearly rental of £2 10s. Od.

In 1930 attempts were made by the Municipal Council to reopen the morning markets after they had ceased to function in 1918; these failed. In September, 1936, Mr. Gottlieb gave notice that because of his health and age, he wished to sell the building for £7,000. His offer was refused by the Finance

Committee of the Municipality. In August, 1939, after her husband's death, Mrs. Gottlieb stated that she would sell the building for £5,000. The offer was again declined by the Committee as being too exorbitant.

In 1944 the Municipality stated their wish to remove the clock from the front of the Hall. Mrs. Gottlieb contended that the clock was part and parcel of the building and had no right to be removed. It was felt that Mr. Maund might well have intended the owners of the Hall to be owners of the clock, as it was built into the front in a very secure manner. The Council agreed to let things lie, but informed Mrs. Gottlieb of their intention to terminate the lease on 31st December, 1948, and to take over all buildings and erections thereon. Mr. P. Plots, who had leased the Market Bar, would also have his lease terminated on that date.

In May, 1948, the City Engineer was asked to value the building. He recommended that Mrs. Gottlieb be paid £1,771. She declined the offer. The issue came to arbitration and on 4th February, 1949, it was ruled that the City Council of Salisbury should pay Mrs. Gottlieb the sum of £1,668.

In June, 1952, the clock was taken down. A quotation of £60 was made for repairs, but they were left in abeyance. Many arguments and suggestions were offered as to where the clock, together with the curfew bell, should be erected in a suitable tower. Positions suggested were on Cecil Square, in the Park near the bowling greens, or near the entrance to the Swimming Baths, or as part of the Anglican Cathedral. No solution has yet been reached and the clock and bell are still stored in the Town House.

Today the Market Hall building is occupied by the City Health Department for the examination and X-ray of Africans. The doors of the Market Bar and Buffet have been bricked in, as have the great arch door and windows at the rear of the building.

Part of the original floor and ceilings have weathered destruction by wind, rain and white ants—the majority of the floors are cement. Inside, the great gabled roof is obscured by boarding. On the walls, where the paint is peeling, the underneath coat is varied and colourful—reminiscent of the inside of a cinema. Where trestle tables once stood, covered in vegetables, the Hall is now partitioned off by boarding and used for examination rooms. Colourful posters remind the African of the dangers of tuberculosis and small-pox. The shiny modern X-ray machine appears out of place in such ancient surroundings.

Outside, rusty nails, firmly driven into the brickwork with old pieces of wire hanging from them, were possibly used for hanging billboards or posters announcing the current market prices, the next play or entertainment.

Many people to whom I have either spoken or written, remember the Hall in the early days. The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who was born in Pioneer Street, not far from the Hall, says he first remembers it about 1913, when it was already considered an old building, and was "to his rather childish eyes", rather dilapidated. Sir Roy's main recollection of it is the auctioneers, who used to sell a great deal of stuff in the Market Square and who used the Hall for storage.

Mrs. J. K. MacDonald has vivid early memories when, as Janet Lamb



(her parents were Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Lamb who first started Store Bros, in Salisbury) she lived in a little house in sight of the Hall, in what is today Victoria Street (the house is still standing). She recalls standing on the verandah in the early hours of the morning and watching people walking, cycling or going in carts to the market, along a little "kaffir path" (Victoria Street). She can still recapture the chime of the clock which had a "tinny noise", and the toll of the curfew bell.

As St. Swithin's has gone, so will the Market Hall go likewise. When it does, Salisbury will lose one of its oldest and best known buildings.

The Author wishes to acknowledge both the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Town Clerk's Office, Salisbury, for their help in compiling this short history of the Market Hall.

# Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life

In 1867 Thomas Baines made the acquaintance of an ex-artillery officer, W. B. Lord, who had served in the Crimea and travelled in Canada and Australia. Lord suggested that he and Baines should combine in writing a traveller's handbook and the result was *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life* issued in fortnightly parts in 1868. Baines contributed most of the text and practically all the illustrations. The book, which was re-issued as one volume in 1876, contains a wealth of factual information on the "Outfit to take abroad", "Boats, rafts and make-shift floats", "Huts and houses", "Wagons and other wheeled vehicles", "Camp cookery" and the like.

Some extracts are reprinted here because of their general interest. They are taken from the re-issue (Lord, W. B., and Baines, T., *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration*, London, Horace Cox, 1876, p.(vi), 734).

## ON MALARIA, pp. 67-70

In most tropical rivers there are extensive deltas, intersected with net-like labyrinths of shallow impracticable channels, alternated with shoals, which the advanced guard of mangroves is just reclaiming from the sea, and where tangled, dank, and unwholesome wildernesses and swamps are formed, there fever, in its most deadly forms, is sure to prevail.

The delta of the Zambesi is also a place of danger from this cause; and persons of a full stout habit are said, and we believe with some reason, to be more liable to fever than others of a spare and meagre build; indeed, the Portuguese, when they see a well-framed athletic man, in prime condition, enter the river, prophetically mark him as one of the first victims. We have ourselves suffered severely and continuously from this malady, which generally came on with a cold shivering or ague, and was succeeded by the fever, accompanied by intense perspiration, prostration of strength, nausea and inability to eat, or even to retain the necessary medicine or cooling drink; an immoderately exaggerated idea of the length of time; short uneasy slumbers, disturbed by incongruous dreams—generally of some difficulty previously experienced—or total want of sleep, total failure of memory, and in bad cases delirium while awake.

When the "Pearl" first entered the Zambesi Dr. Kirk ordered that a glass of spirit with quinine in it should be served to the men every morning; and we would frequently, as the large doses administered were intensely bitter, make up the quinine into pills with chocolate or cocoa paste, or sometimes place the quinine powder dry on the tongue, and then swallow a copious draught of water to wash it down.

We give, first, Dr. Livingstone's remedy for fever; but, useful and effective as it really is, we cannot say, from experience, that it is infallible; and the fatality among the gentlemen of the mission proves that we do not, as yet, possess a remedy for the fever that will supply the place of a sufficient and generous diet, total cessation of exposure to the malaria, and removal to a more elevated and healthy country, even though it be but a few hours' journey from the infected district. The doctor's recipe is as follows:—

"Linyante, 12th of September, 1855.

"A pill composed of three or four grains of resin of jalap, three or four of calomel, and an equal number of quinine; a drop or two of tincture of cardamoms to dissolve the resin to form the bolus.

"I have had a great many cases in hand, and never met with a single case of failure; it ought not to purge; the quantity of resin must be regulated to produce only a gentle movement, which, when felt, is accompanied by perspiration and a sound sleep. A check to this perspiration has, in my own experience, given rise to vomiting large quantities of pure blood."

In another letter:—

"We make a pill of equal parts of resin of jalap, calomel, rhubarb, and quinine; say for a powerful man eight grains of resin of jalap, eight grains of calomel, four or six grains of rhubarb, and four or six grains of quinine; make the whole into pills with tincture of cardamoms. This relieves the very worst cases in a few hours.

"We then give quinine till the system is affected with cinchonism,\* the calomel is removed at once from the system, and, curiously enough, decreasing doses serve. In some of us half a grain of the mass produces as much effect as 24 grains did at first."

Thus writes Stanley, on fever and ague in Africa:—

"The remedy applied for three mornings in succession after the attack, was such as my experience in Arkansas had taught me was the most powerful corrective, viz: a quantum of 15 grains of quinine taken in three doses of five grains each every other hour from dawn to meridian; the first dose to be taken immediately after the first effect of the purging medicine taken at bed time the night previous. I may add that this treatment was perfectly successful in my case, and in all others which occurred in my camp."

A friend in Capetown, who had travelled in the Brazils, gave us the following recipe, used, we believe, by an Italian doctor; there he tells us it was efficacious, but we have had no opportunity of putting it to the test:—

"To one bottle of water add 36 grains of sulphate of quinine, two teaspoonsful of Epsom salts, 34 drops of sulphuric acid, and 40 drops of ether; this mixture is called antiperiodic water; a wine-glassful three times a day as soon as the first symptoms are perceived, and continued for three or four days after recovery. If delirious, an injection of one tablespoonful of vinegar to ten of this water."

Warburg's fever drops are well spoken of. Very large doses of quinine are given in India and Africa, 16 or 20 grains at a time; and we have frequently taken in powder as much as would lie upon a shilling.

Sometimes violent exertion, producing perspiration and exhaustion, if practised in time, may avert an attack. We have heard of a doctor visiting a man when the shivering fit was about to come on, who locked the door, mixed two

\* Singing in the ears.

glasses of stiff hot grog, put on the gloves, and engaged his patient in a boxing match, which, at least, for that time averted the fever.

We do not give our unqualified recommendation of this treatment; but we have often found that, during a period of severe and long sustained labour, we have remained in health, but that an attack of fever has accompanied the reaction induced by an intermission of the work.

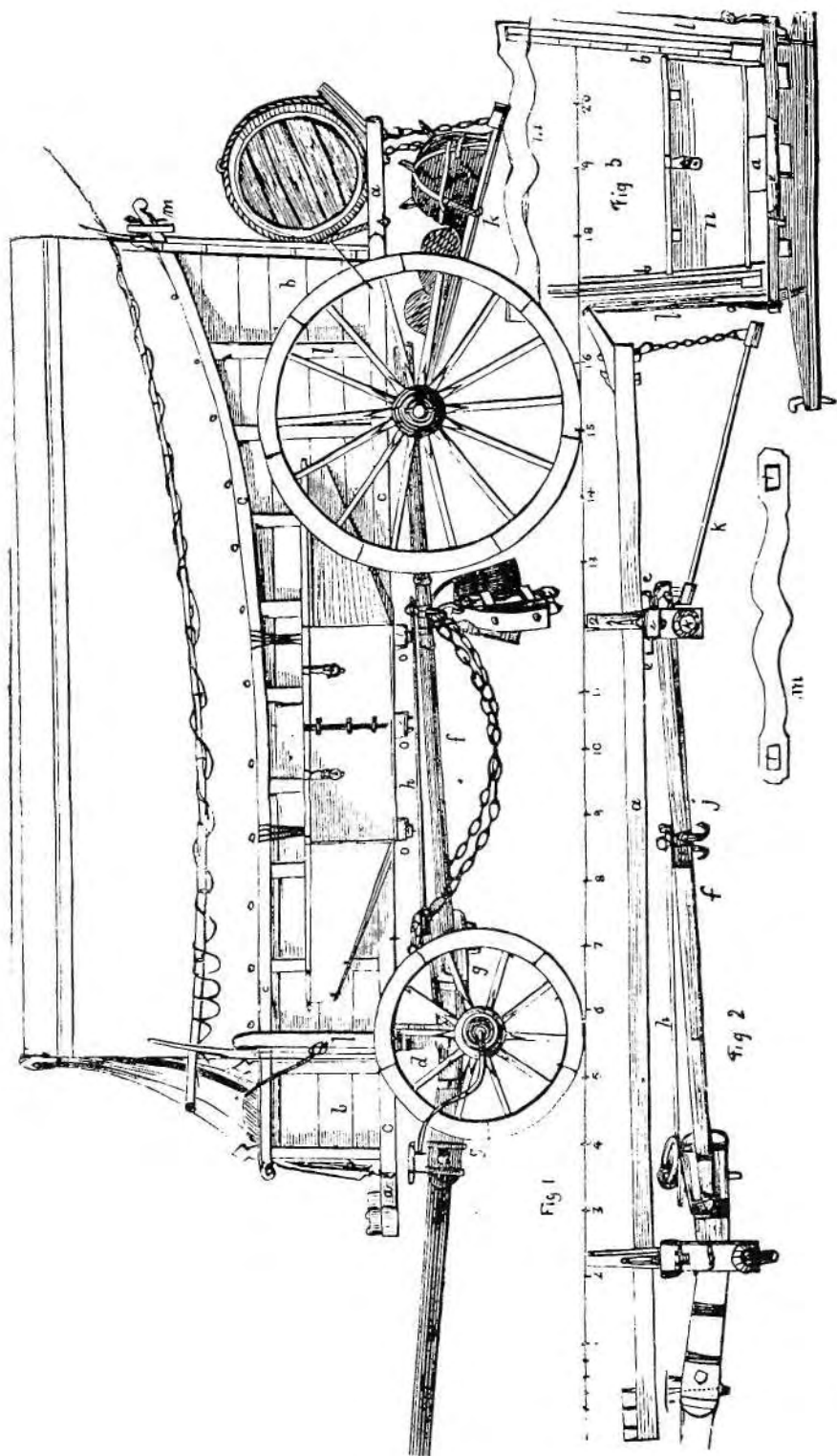
#### THE CAPE WAGGON, pp.385-389

The wheeled carriages made use of in different parts of the world are even more various in their design and construction than the sledges before described; and, as a general rule, it will be found, when the test of actual use is brought to bear, that the description of contrivance (or at least a modification of it) in use among the civilised and semi-civilised inhabitants of a country or colony will be best adapted for such work as may have to be performed in it by the traveller or explorer. It is, however, difficult to overcome home prejudices, and, as an almost invariable rule, the British emigrant, on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope or Australia, commences by denouncing the colonial waggon as clumsy, unworkmanlike, and inefficient, and usually threatens to effect immense improvements, and just as invariably, if he has to make a journey of any distance into the interior, he adopts, if he be a sensible man, the vehicle which, by the experience of many, has been found the best for the work it has to do. On the well-made roads near Cape Town or Port Elizabeth, or on the broad plains of the Orange River Free State, imported carriages from England, or vehicles upon their model by colonial builders, may be used with safety and advantage; and even some of those wondrous combinations of strength and lightness imported from America, under the names of spider or skeleton carriages, are found to do good service; but when really hard work comes on, and densely wooded kloofs or rugged mountain passes, with rough stretches of road over hill-side or valley, with fords in which stones of several hundredweight seem to lose their gravitation and become the mere playthings of the torrent, the ponderous Cape waggon will be at once appreciated, as all its parts are so strongly put together that the strain of 12 or 20 oxen cannot draw them asunder, and yet fitted so loosely that they will give and bend to every inequality of the road. The Cape waggon is found to hold its position against all rivals as the vehicle best adapted to the wants of a travelling or exploring party, and the exigencies of the transport service and general carrying trade of the country.

We have already, at pages 52 and 53, given an example of a Cape waggon with side tents; at page 114 we have shown how the tent frame or other material of a waggon might be converted into a boat; at page 123 we have indicated the manner in which the waggon chests might be made available as a raft; at pages 188 to 192 will be found diagrams and instructions for repairing axles, fore tongs, dissel-booms, strengthening wheels when the spokes are shaken loose, tightening up the tires by driving wedges between them and the felloes, or making and putting in new spokes without taking the wheel to pieces; at pages 170 to 172 are remarks on tiring of wheels and prolonging the efficiency of strained bolts by shifting them so as to freshen the nip; at page 263 waggon

camps are described; and the method of building wheels is given at pages 324 to 330.

It is therefore, now only necessary to give a general view of a full-sized "kap-tented" travelling waggon, with diagrams of such parts as have not hitherto come under notice. Such a waggon is represented in Fig. 1, and the buik plank, or floor (a), will sometimes be 17 feet or more in length, though in moderate-sized vehicles it does not exceed 13 feet, or thereabouts. The sides are generally of yellow wood (3/8 inch plank), (b), secured to a substantial ladder-like frame, the longer pieces of which (c) are called "leer boomen", or ladder trees. The sides and bottom are not fastened together, nor are they fastened to the understell or carriage, but the bottom plank is simply laid upon the schammels (d) and secured from moving by cleats (e), which grip the after one. The fore and hinder axles are connected by a stout beam, called the "lang wagen" (f), working freely on a pivot passing through the aftermost jaws of the fore tong (g), and strengthened by a bar of iron (h), called the iron "lang wagen". The disselboom works like a carriage pole in the foremost jaws of the "fore tong". In this tong, also immediately behind the axle, is a stout ring-bolt (i), to which are attached the drag chains, and they, with the reim schoen and the tar bucket, are looped up to hooks, fixed at the attachment of the after tongs (j) with the lang wagen. To the back of the after axle is suspended a kind of framework, called the "trap" (k), for the reception of pots, kettles and general lumber. Into the ends of the schammels are set rungs, or stancheons (l), which confine and support the waggon sides. Fig. 2 shows the arrangement of the carriage, clear of the wheels and top hamper. All the parts are distinguished by the same letters. Fig. 3 shows how the buik plank (a) is laid upon the after schammel (d), and kept from shifting by the clamps (e); it will be seen that there is room enough between it and the rungs (l) for the sides (b), and these are kept apart at the after part by the after bar (m), as well as by the after chest (n), and in front by the fore chest only, leaving, in the present instance, a space available for stowage of rather more than 11 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 3 feet in height; though frequently the cargo is piled much higher. The kapel, or bed, an oblong frame, with a netting of raw hide thongs, is then either slung above the cargo to the stancheons of the tent, or laid upon spars placed across the waggon with their ends resting on the top rail or leer boom (c). The tent frame should be first covered with reed matting, similar to a cheese mat, and often obtainable from the Hottentots. Above this should be the under sail, which is very often painted to render it waterproof, though for durability we prefer to have it of stout unpainted No. 1 canvas, and above this is drawn on the upper sail. In the case of a kap-tent, this is sometimes in three or more pieces: first, the roof; then the sides, which are tacked on under a neat border at its edges; and, lastly, the fore and after klaps or curtains. Sometimes, however, the whole of these parts are made in one. The central breadths of canvas are left 5 feet or 6 feet longer at each end, so as to serve for the fore and after curtains, and the sides are stitched to the roof, so that the whole may be put on or taken off in one piece. The edges are then either buttoned to brass studs along the leer boom, or tied down with thongs of koodoo hide, stitched on for the purpose. A couple of bamboos or forked sticks are lashed to the foremost and aftermost stancheons of the



tent frame, to serve as "nicks" in which to lay the waggon whip, which is a well-selected straight-grown "vaderlandsche" (male bamboo), from 10 feet to 15 feet in length, with a lash of about 20 feet, as thick in the middle as the little finger, and with a "voorslag", or lash of koodoo hide, about 4 feet or 5 feet more. This, in the hands of a practised driver, is a most formidable weapon. Any particular ox in the long team of 12 or 14 may be gently filliped in any part, or have the whip cracked next to his ear as a reminder, or if he shows stubbornness or obstinacy, a cloud of hair may be cut from his sides from hip to shoulder, or each successive stroke of the long voorslag may be made to draw blood, until he goes to his duty.

The side chests are supported on stout bars (o), which cross beneath the bottom of the waggon, projecting 1 foot or 16 inches beyond its sides, and these, besides being bolted to the bottom planks, are generally lashed tightly to the top rail by reims of raw hide (p), which serve to keep the bottom from bending too much with the weight of the cargo, and help still further to bind the waggon together. On open colonial roads, the side chests are generally rectangular, but we have seen them on the waggons of elephant hunters, brought to a sharp point forward, because, in passing through a thickly wooded country, trees or stumps would knock off in passing the corners of a rectangular chest. We think, for economy of room, a long chest, tapered at both ends, as shown in our sketch, might be adopted; and if there were a probability of the waggon chests being required for a boat, as described at page 123, this might be made in two lengths, as we have shown it, so that the ends would serve for the respective ends of the boat or raft. They would be secured either by bolts and nuts, or by lashings of hide to the cross-bars and to the stancheons of the waggon sides. Padlocks and hasps are generally used, but a very stout branch may tear them off. Rim locks would be better, were it not that the same cause might disarrange the set of the lid, and prevent its fitting properly. A couple of stout knees and chocks should be screwed or bolted on to the after part of the floor for the water cask to rest in, and this should be securely lashed, and never allowed to stand or travel without at least a day's water in it, both to keep it from shrinking and leakage, and also as a safeguard against any unexpected emergency or failure of supply.

#### COOKING MEAT, pp.489-490

Suppose an elephant has been laid low, and, after an extemporised supper of steaks, or "carbonatjies", the party determine to have a foot for breakfast, the fire, which has already partially dried the ground, is swept away, or perhaps a new spot is chosen, and a hole 30 inches in width and depth is made, a fire is lighted in this, and a quantity of dry wood thrown on and allowed to burn until the sides of the hole and the earth immediately surrounding it are thoroughly heated; the fire is then raked out, the foot, generally a fore one, which has been amputated at what may be called the wrist-joint, and answering to the knee of the horse, is placed in its natural position in it, the ashes are shovelled in, the hot embers above them, the hot earth over all, and a roaring fire is lighted on the top and left to burn all night. In the morning this is cleared off, the foot is dug out, the upper parts soiled by the contact of the ashes are cut away, and the

rich gelatine and other morsels are left to be dug out by the stout keen pointed knives of the expectant hunters, the tough skin serving all the purposes of a dish. Very frequently a piece of the trunk is put in at the same time, and this is generally left as a stand-by, to be eaten cold, when it looks and tastes almost like coarse tongue; the foot, on the contrary, being best while still warm. The hump of white rhinoceros, treated in nearly the same manner, is in reality a most delicious morsel, the rich juices accumulating in the dish formed by the thick skin, while the upper part and adhering ashes is cut off and thrown away; but, if proper care has been taken, another flap of skin slightly larger will have been cut out and skewered for a dish cover, and this will not only prevent the annoyance caused by dirt and ashes, but will prevent the absorption of the juices which would otherwise take place.

A mode of cooking a dish of hippopotamus, discovered by Sir Samuel Baker, is well worth bearing in mind. Speaking of it, he says: "I tried boiling the fat flesh and skin together, the result being that the skin assumed the appearance of the green fat of the turtle, but is far superior. A piece of the head thus boiled, and then soused in vinegar, with chopped onions and cayenne pepper and salt, throws brawn completely into the shade." The rump steak from an eland is also a delicacy hardly to be surpassed. The side of the rump, skin and all, with as much flesh as can be dug out with it, is cut off; the edges of the skin are then gathered together and skewered like a pudding bag, and it is then put into the heated hole, or a fire is built around and over it upon the surface, the advantage being that the juices have no chance of escape and the meat is most deliciously cooked; in fact, if the quantity be insufficient, all the inner portions of the skin may be pared away and eaten, leaving only the scorched cuticle.

#### THE TSETSE FLY, pp. 573-574

The Cape Colony, the Free State, Kafirland, Natal, and most of the Transvaal Republic, as well as Namaqua and Damara land—the Kalihari Desert and the desert between the Bo-tlet-le and Zambesi rivers—may be regarded (speaking generally) as clear of the fly, but the hunters on the various tributaries of the Limpopo suffered very heavy losses; and Mr. Coqui and party, who travelled from Origstadt to Delagoa Bay, lost all their cattle, we believe, from the tsetse, not far from the last-named place. When travellers first began to find their way to Lake Ngami many, for want of local knowledge, lost sometimes half their cattle. At Tette, and the other Portuguese possessions on the Zambesi, very few cattle and no horses are kept, but Senhor Pascol possessed a few donkeys. The natives in the vicinity have no cattle. We do not remember that we saw the tsetse there, but possibly this may have originally prevented their introduction, and the fly may have died out in places where the wild animals have been destroyed. When we travelled from Walwisch Bay, we fell in with no fly all the way to Lake Ngami, but turning thence to the north-west we feared to push too far to the northward, as the banks of the Teoughe, and probably the woods some distance from it, were known to be infested.

From the lake eastward we travelled in comparative safety along the Bo-tlet-le River, and turned north over the elevated riverless plain towards the



Zambesi. In the valley of that great river system we first felt ourselves in actual proximity to the fly. At Daka, the cattle grazed in safety; but a servant, who was sent to outspan, ten or twenty miles to the west, had to return because he had got into an infested locality; and when we started with one waggon only to visit the Falls, we found that patches of mimosa and other forests on the bank of the Matietsie River were also frequented by these little pests.

We tried to save the oxen by rushing them past whenever the edge of the bush approached too closely to the river; but an accidental delay exposed the cattle to the fatal influence of the tsetse. At the Anyati, or Buffalo River, we had to leave the waggon and cattle as the long bed or sand hill covered with mopani and other trees, between it and the Falls, was known to be infested.

Mr. Baldwin also on his way to the Victoria Falls, from Natal, left his waggons in Moselekatses country, on account of the fly in the intervening districts, and made his way on foot. A fellow traveller of ours had a safe camp for several months with cattle at Boana; and at Logier Hill on the Zambesi (lat. 18° 4' 58" S.; long, approx. 26° 38' E.) we do not remember to have seen any, though we resided there from September to the following February, in 1862-63.

In the parts about Chobe the fly is found near rivers only, in or near rich soils, and marshy spots—generally in mimosa or mopani forests. It sometimes shifts its position, and has been known to leave a spot which has been greatly hunted with guns—probably because the game had diminished or left.

# Umtali during the Rebellion: 1896

by Mrs. M. Cripps

After many weary months which we had spent in our iron brick-lined -cottage on the Commonage at Old Umtali during which time we all three suffered from repeated attacks of malaria, we sought refuge on our farm—the one now known as The Park.

There was not much in the way of a home to return to since we had had the severe trial of losing our good tents by fire there two years before, but joyfully we set to work to build up our home again and revive what remained of our garden. The little stream ran as it had done before, and indeed carries on still to the present day, and soon our efforts were rewarded by the sight of young growing plants and vegetables.

Little son toddled about among the only playthings he had so far known, the gourds and pumpkins that were being traded, and gleefully rolled them down the hill to be carried back by his nurseboy: the roses began to show again in his cheeks which had faded in the hot air and fever of the Commonage home. Life was to go peacefully for us then as far as circumstances allowed and happy we were to be far from the sordid atmosphere of town life as it then was. Alas! Man purposes only to have his best laid plans frustrated and our quiet existence was rudely interrupted when on a Saturday evening a friend from Umtali turned up to tell us that we were warned to return to civilisation at once as there was trouble with the natives and report had it that there had been murder of isolated people on farms near Salisbury.

Looking around our home there was nothing we need carry away beyond our own personal belongings which were not many and our arrangements to leave next morning were soon completed. Before we slept I carefully fastened the limbo window with my toothbrush, but as there was no lock to the door and the roof was of loosely fixed grass there was really no necessity for that precaution.

Next morning the cavalcade set out after breakfast, little son borne along by two boys in his canvas cot well protected from the sun, I mounted on my large black donkey, Sable, and the men bringing up the rear with their rifles. A report went out to Salisbury that we had been cut up on our journey to Umtali but we made it without any misadventure. We felt no fear of being attacked by natives as we wound our way through the hills that day, their attitude towards the white man had been one of respect from the first and we were on friendly terms with all of those on our farm. On winding footpaths, where now a wide road takes you to the hills on Fernhill, where the dew yet lay on the masses of ferns that have given that farm its name, we came to the hill top. Before us lay the wide spreading valley in which our beautiful town Umtali now lies guarded by the wooded hills.

A long steep climb brought us to the top of Christmas Pass and a spot for relaxation and the enjoyment of our frugal fare, then swiftly down the hill

to the little thatched hotel where Major Dennison had established a couple by the name of Brown to minister to the wants of wayfarers like ourselves. Mrs. Brown was not hospitably inclined and "obliged" us with the cup of tea we so sorely needed, even the sight of a weary woman on a donkey failing to stir her sympathy that day. Later that afternoon we met our magistrate (Captain Scott Turner) taking his daily walk, in spite of the heat and dust, in the direction of Christmas Pass hotel where we hoped he would (in view of his position) be more civilly treated by Mrs. Brown than we had been.

Arrived at the Royal Hotel in Umtali at sundown we found what was apparently the whole of the male population surging about its hospitable doors in evident excitement at the new situation created by the chance of having to turn out and protect the town and their property. I was given a room which was shared by another woman and the men dosed down in the sitting room when they were not out on patrol duty on the hills round the town. It was said that they made themselves comfortable with fires and hot drinks as the nights were cold and no one thought there was any chance of Zimunya joining the rebels, which indeed he did not, contenting himself with keeping an eye on Makoni and declaring after the trouble was over that so soon as the big chief had blotted out the white men he would swoop down and loot Umtali.

The road to Salisbury was declared unsafe for pedestrians but there were one or two men who ventured to make the trip. We were an enthusiastic crowd who saw our volunteers off to Makonis with the Native Commissioner (T. B. Hulley) riding at their head, "Come back with your shields or on them" someone murmured and some did not return. Their distinguishing mark was a twist of dark blue limbo worn as a puggaree on their upturned smashers, of uniform there was none naturally. Those men left behind continued to do outpost duty or filled the places of the town workers. For safety the women and children were advised to repair to the Court House at night where the large room was given up to them and thither at sundown mattresses and babies were borne and shut in for the night. Not for long however, one and all preferred braving the chance of being murdered in their own beds to the discomfort of being disturbed by one another's offsprings. One great disturbance did happen there one night when the whole of the Headlands laager arrived in town and two women with their babies were brought to the Court House at the end of a long and at times dangerous journey. One (Mrs. van der Spuy) and her 14-day-old son were suffering greatly from exhaustion and her one fear was that the Kaffirs were still near at hand. She survived the ordeal only to be an epileptic for the rest of her life. The other mother (Mrs. Tom Pretorius) was more fortunate. She lived for many years after, none the worse for her terrifying experience and her baby girl, Laura, is living today hale and hearty on her farm Spes Bona near Fort Victoria, (now Mrs. Badenhorst).

The opposite end of the Court House building was given up to the Hospital and the staff were also accommodated there in very limited quarters where the nurses must have had many a laugh over their makeshift arrangements, such as cooking being carried on in the same room as medical work, and Mrs. Nesbitt (Miss Hewitt), the cook matron, could never forget the incongruity of the situation when she stood making rissoles at one table and Dr. Haworth

bending over another table administered artificial respiration to a new born infant. When Sister Emily Hewitt was married that year to Herbert Blatch from the hospital, the donkey cart did duty as a conveyance to the Church, but leaving there the happy pair were gallantly drawn away by the Gun Squad to the Royal Hotel where the wedding feast was spread.

This squad was in charge of our seven-pounder which, mounted at the corner of the Court House and barricaded with sand bags and thorn bushes, did duty during the whole of the Rebellion and today occupies a position of honour in Umtali. One night there was a commotion in the street when down it came at full gallop, brandishing his broomstick, a soldier (scion of one of the noblest families in England). "Turn out the Guard", he shouted, and unable to stop the mad career of his steed, galloped on. As no notice was taken of the order by the gunners the Captain silently subsided into his favourite pub. He had held his captain's rank so long that the young folk thought he should have promotion and dubbed him Commodore, which title he held until the end of his history, which was not a long one.

Umtali's one long street looked its dreariest during those winter months and but for a few gracious ones among us there would have been nothing to enliven our evenings. Mrs. Sandy Tulloch, being a fine singer and pianist, gathered us into her temporary and always hospitable home, where everyone joined in choruses and she entertained us with her songs and playing. Mrs. Alec Moodie was another accomplished pianist and to her house we often went to spend a pleasant evening. Harry Pickett had a fine voice and he and Mrs. Green (head of the nursing outfit with the West Riding Regiment then doing duty in Umtali) helped towards our entertainment. Mrs. D. Tulloch, first teacher of the young in Umtali, was also with us at these parties. She had come with her brother Picton to join her brother, Player, already established with his family in Umtali. A gay, sprightly little woman, she readily slid into the unconventional life we were leading and in her tiny shack in the long grass ministered to the half dozen children who would otherwise have been running to seed, like the grass did, without any curbing. There were Shlenkes, Tullochs and Picketts to her hand and greatly blessed were these children in having Zillah Miles to guide their wayward footsteps. Their education was neglected so far as languages were concerned; the native tongue they all spoke fluently, but when it came to French she had to be content to hear "Fabre et fils", a firm displaying their signboard, pronounced "Faber and files".

The Rebellion was wearing to a close. Umtali was being moved to its new site and daily, in clouds of dust, wagons laden with the wood and iron from houses and household goods could be seen toiling over Christmas Pass. Not the grand Christmas Pass road of today, a shorter one with steep gradients that only gave place to longer and better ones after many years.

There was difficulty about labour as our natives were as mistrustful of us as we were of them. Their place had been taken by many from the Zambesi and Beira, who had to be fed on rice and who brought with them the pest known as jigo or jigger flea which for some time remained with us and was a source of great pain and discomfort for children running barefoot, as ours did, and also to the natives.

As little son was still suffering from fever we were advised to take him out of the country for a time and as "compensation" had been allowed us for our house on the Commonage, and no home yet in hand at the new town, we were soon on our way to the coast and the comforts of a civilised world, which had so long been denied us.

# Sir Theophilus Shepstone and the Matabele Succession, 1868-1870

by E. C. Tabler

From the death of Mzilikazi on 6th September, 1868, till the election and installation of Lobengula in January, 1870, the Matabele were searching for the missing and rightful heir to the kingship, Nkulumane (Kuruman). Theophilus Shepstone, Natal Secretary for Native Affairs, sent an educated African named Elijah Kambula to Matabeleland to investigate the matter, and apparently Kambula arrived at his destination with the expedition of the London and Limpopo Mining Company, led by Sir John Swinburne. His report on the political situation, together with a description of the missing Nkulumane, was in Shepstone's hands by mid-1869.

Shepstone, perhaps through the agency of Kambula, put forward as a candidate for the Matabele chieftainship his gardener-groom, one Kanda, who resembled the absent heir. Captain Levert of the London and Limpopo Company left Inyati early in July, 1869, to fetch a stamp mill from Natal, and with him went Kambula and a delegation of Matabele, the latter sent by the indunas to interview Kanda and to bring him home if they decided he was the heir. The party returned to Tati on 28th December without Kanda, the Matabele ambassadors having decided he was not genuine. Kambula continued to assert, at least to the Europeans in the Matabele country, that Kanda's claim was a true one, until he and Levert met with the new King (Lobengula), T. M. Thomas and the indunas at Mhlahlanhlela on 7th and 9th February, 1870. Owing probably to the accomplished facts of Loben's election and coronation, we hear no more after that meeting of Kambula's and Shepstone's support of the pretender.

Shepstone's prime reason for meddling in Matabele tribal politics was undoubtedly to obtain for Natal a firm footing in the newly discovered and supposedly rich Tati and Mashonaland goldfields. A secondary motive was to gain control of a big and relatively empty country as an outlet for Natal's large and rapidly growing African population. The matter is briefly discussed by Dr. C. J. Uys at pages 70-72 of his interesting and useful book, *In the Era of Shepstone*, (Lovedale Press, c.1933). Dr. Uys is the only historian who has, so far as I know, used the Shepstone private papers to inquire into the affair of the Matabele succession. However, undoubtedly because it was a minor part of his theme (which was Shepstone's dealings with the territories adjacent to Natal), he has misread or misinterpreted his source material to some degree.

At page 70 of Dr. Uys's book it is stated that ". . . Vincent (sic) Erskine, accompanied by Elijah Kambula, proceeded to the Tati Eldorado," presumably soon after April, 1868. In none of the records, published or unpublished, that I have examined is mention made of Erskine's ever having been in the Matabele country. Between May and December, 1868, he proceeded from Pietermaritz-

burg to the eastern Transvaal and explored the Limpopo from its junction with the Oliphants to the sea.

At page 71 it is said that Kanda actually went to Matabeleland with an elaborate expedition equipped by the Government of Natal and led by Kambula, and that he was interviewed there by the indunas. Again this story appears nowhere else, and it seems an unlikely one. Had Nkulumane, or a realistic impersonator of him, appeared before Loben's election, the faction that opposed the latter would doubtless have risen against him, and much more trouble and bloodshed than later occurred would have resulted.

At page 72 is a reference to "Machin, one of the pretenders to the Matabele inheritance . . ." This was Macheng, chief of the Mangwato at Shoshong. He was never a claimant to the Matabele chieftainship, though he tried briefly and weakly to assert his sovereignty over the Tati area—this claim must be meant in the quoted phrase.

The Shepstone papers, which include correspondence with Kambula and T. M. Thomas and perhaps with others then in the Matabele country, are in the Natal Archives at Pietermaritzburg. A study of them should clear up many obscure points about the matter of the succession and even give us a fascinating picture of the whole. Certainly a positive answer might be made to that half-solved problem: Was Kanda really Nkulumane?

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. R. Brown, Lecturer in History at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has for some time been working on the Shepstone papers in the Natal Archives. These include both Shepstone's private and official records as Secretary for Native Affairs—in fact there seems to be very little real distinction between what has been classified as "private" or as "official". Mr. Brown will be publishing the results of his researches in the *Journal of African History*.

## Notes on Contributors

Mrs. Mary Cripps, of Umtali, is one of the best-known members of the gallant band of early settlers in Rhodesia. Her husband, the Hon. Lionel Cripps, C.M.G., whom she married in 1893, was the first Speaker of the first Parliament of Southern Rhodesia after the grant of Responsible Government and was prominent in political and agricultural affairs for many years until his death in 1950.

Mr. J. A. Edwards is Librarian of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He began his career as a librarian after National Service in the Far East, and has served in both public and special libraries in the United Kingdom. He first came to Southern Rhodesia (and joined the staff of the National Archives) in 1955. From 1959 to 1963 he was Research Officer in the National Archives and took up his present post in August, 1963. He is an honours graduate in history of the University of London and a Fellow of the Library Association of Great Britain.

Col. A. S. Hickman, M.B.E., was for over 31 years in the service of the British South Africa Police. He rose from the rank of Trooper to Commissioner, retiring in November, 1955. He has been a constant contributor to the Police magazines, *Outpost* and *Mapolisa*, and is the author of *Men who made Rhodesia: a register of those who served in the British South Africa Company's Police* (Salisbury, the British South Africa Company, 1960). He is Keeper of Pioneer History at the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, and Deputy Chairman of the Historical Monuments Commission of Southern Rhodesia.

Dr. R. C. Howland, who was born in Salisbury in 1926, is a grandson of William Streak Honey of the Mazoe Patrol. He was educated at Michaelhouse, Natal, and served in Burma with the Rhodesian African Rifles during World War II. Dr. Howland graduated in medicine at the University of Cape Town; he is an enthusiastic student of Rhodesian history and a collector of Rhodesiana.

Mr. B. M. E. O'Mahoney, who was born at Dover, Kent, in 1919, was educated at Mount St. Mary's College near Chesterfield, and trained and qualified as a chartered civil engineer. After serving throughout the War in the R.N.V.R. he came to Northern Rhodesia in 1947 as an assistant engineer in the P.W.D. In 1950 he joined the Rhodesia Railways and is now Planning Engineer in the General Manager's office.

His son, K. E. O'Mahoney, was born in Weymouth, Dorset, in 1943, and was educated at St. George's College, Salisbury, and Milton High School, Bulawayo. He is now in his final year of the arts course at the University College, Salisbury.

Mr. Edward C. Tabler, M.Sc., of South Charleston in West Virginia, is an engineer, and a prominent historian of the Pioneer period. He is the author of *The far interior: chronicles of pioneering in the Matabele and Mashona countries, 1847-1879* (Capetown, Balkema, 1955), and has edited a number of important sources for Central African history.



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