

Wilhelmusfeld

RHODESIANA

PUBLICATION No. 17

DECEMBER, 1967



TROPICO LOVRENCO DE CADRUCORNO



Al molto Ill.^{mo} G.^{ro} M^{te} Antonio Mirisiori Vecovio di S. Marco, & Comendatore di S. Spirito.

Unfino ad hora niuno ha così bon rappresentato in disegno l'Isola di Capri di buona Sp^a rasiaca, & i Luoghi del Nile, & i monti danse scende, & i Reani del Prae & Lantre di Longo, & le contrade vicine, come il nostro Sig.^{ro} Odoardo con la grande sua carta, che V. S. R.^{ma} mi rinvare in questa minore forma. Hor io parodi^o affetto non ucederli il sito del'ho dierno. Egdo al Cairo in giù in tavola ueruna l'ampago tanto simile al vero, quanto nella presente, ch'io vegolo per hauerlo due volte cammato, & ritiro con diligenza secondo l'istruetione dallo spatio. Sono con lettere segnati i luoghi per dowerli elle portave nella Cartella sopra posta, & agguungerli nomi di ciascheduno.

'Di Roma à 2. S.^a d'Aprile. M.D. X.CX.

De V. S. R.^{ma}

Ser. Filippo Pigafetta.

IL NEST ROSE SANS ESPINE

1919



This mule cart, photographed outside The Standard Bank, Sinoia, was used to transport officials and cash to the Agency at the Eldorado Mine.

RURAL AREA SERVICES OF THE STANDARD BANK LIMITED

1968



Mobile Banks like the one shown above now bring banking services to the country.



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF RHODESIA

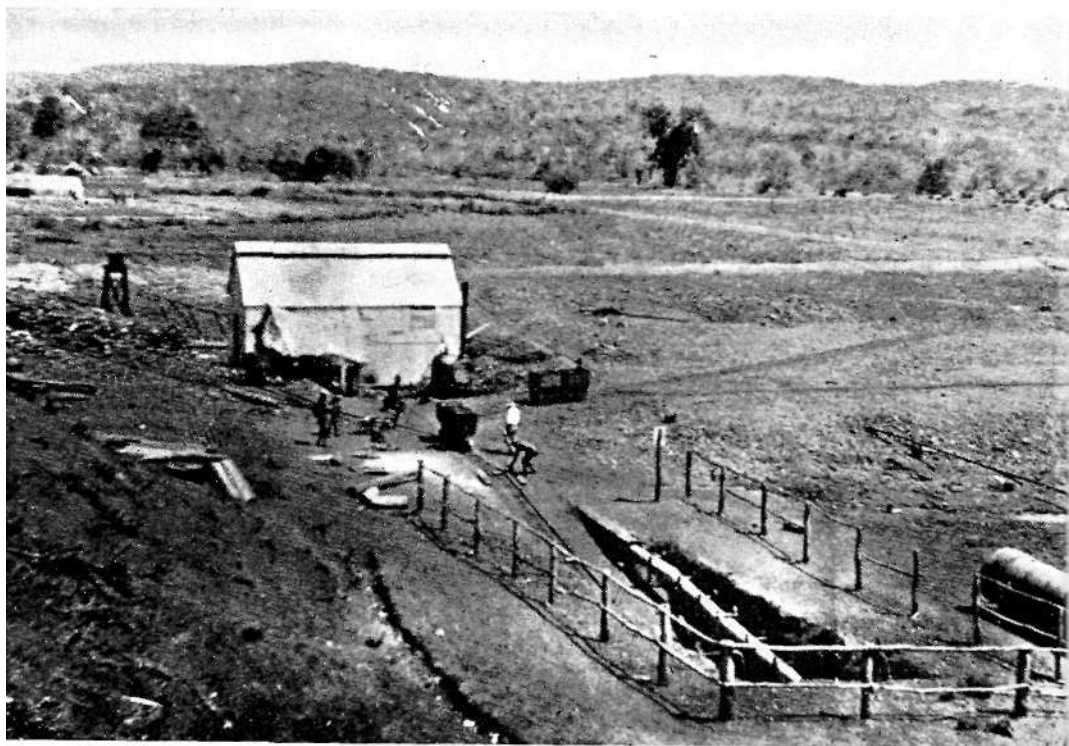
The Historical Manuscripts Collection of the National Archives contains colourful and vital pieces in the patchwork of Rhodesian history. In this wealth of letters, diaries and reports the exploits of the makers of our early history—the Moffats, Livingstone, Baines, Selous, Jameson and Rhodes himself—are vividly and openly described as they chronicle the Rhodesian story.

Many Rhodesians are aware of this material and have used it to good effect. Most Rhodesians fail to realise, however, that the collection must continue to grow. Each succeeding generation must add its own chapter to the story, for the events of today become the history of tomorrow. The National Archives appeals to you to aid this important process of growth by depositing your own personal records or those of any organisation to which you may belong in the Archives of your country.

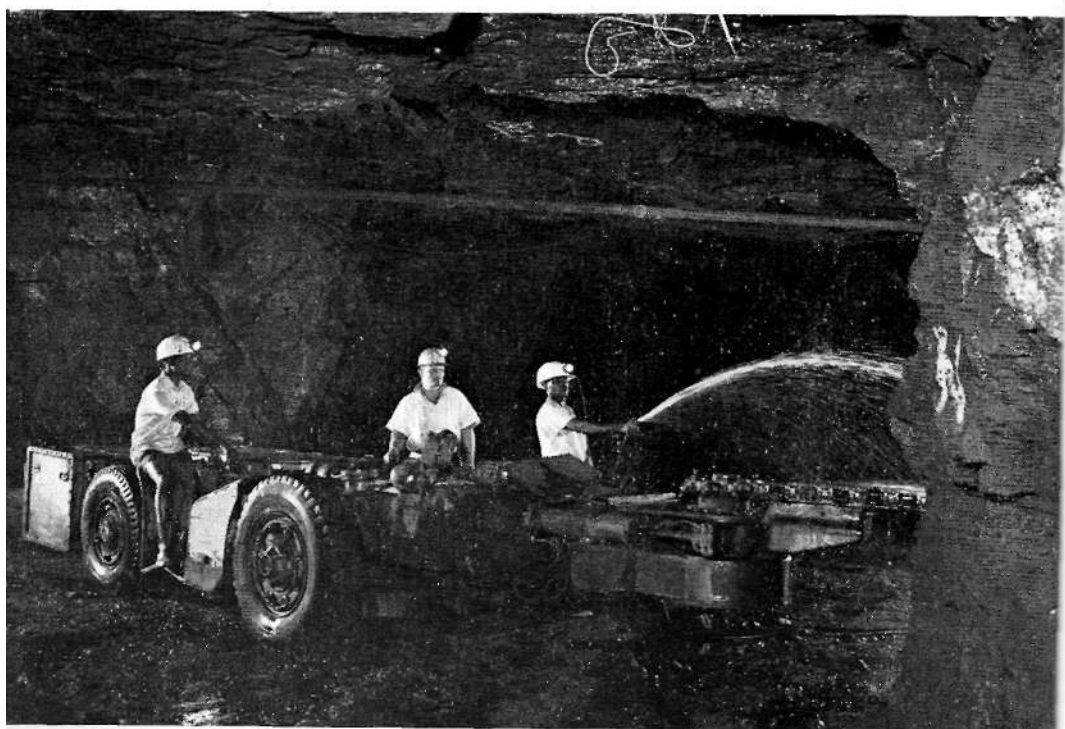
Apart from manuscript material, the National Archives is also interested in building up its photographic collection which covers all facets of the country's past. Photographs considered suitable for inclusion in the collection will be copied and, if so desired, the originals will be returned to the sender.

Your help with manuscripts or photographs would be sincerely appreciated. Please write to the Director, National Archives of Rhodesia, P.O. Box 8043, Causeway, Salisbury.

WANKIE — YESTERDAY AND TODAY



One of the first incline shafts at Wankie Colliery, where hand-got methods of mining were used. The coalfield was pegged in 1895 by Albert Giese on behalf of the Mashonaland Agency Limited.



After the Anglo American Corporation took over the administration of the colliery in 1953, modern mechanised methods were introduced at No. 2 Colliery and a third colliery was established. This picture shows a cutter sumping into the coal face at No. 2 Colliery.

RHODESIANA

Publication No. 17 — December, 1967

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

Salisbury

Rhodesia

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*The cover picture is from a map of southern Africa of 1590, by
Filippo Pigafetta. (National Archives)*



The Rhodesiana Society

The Society exists to promote Rhodesian historical studies and to encourage research. It also aims to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of the history of Rhodesia.

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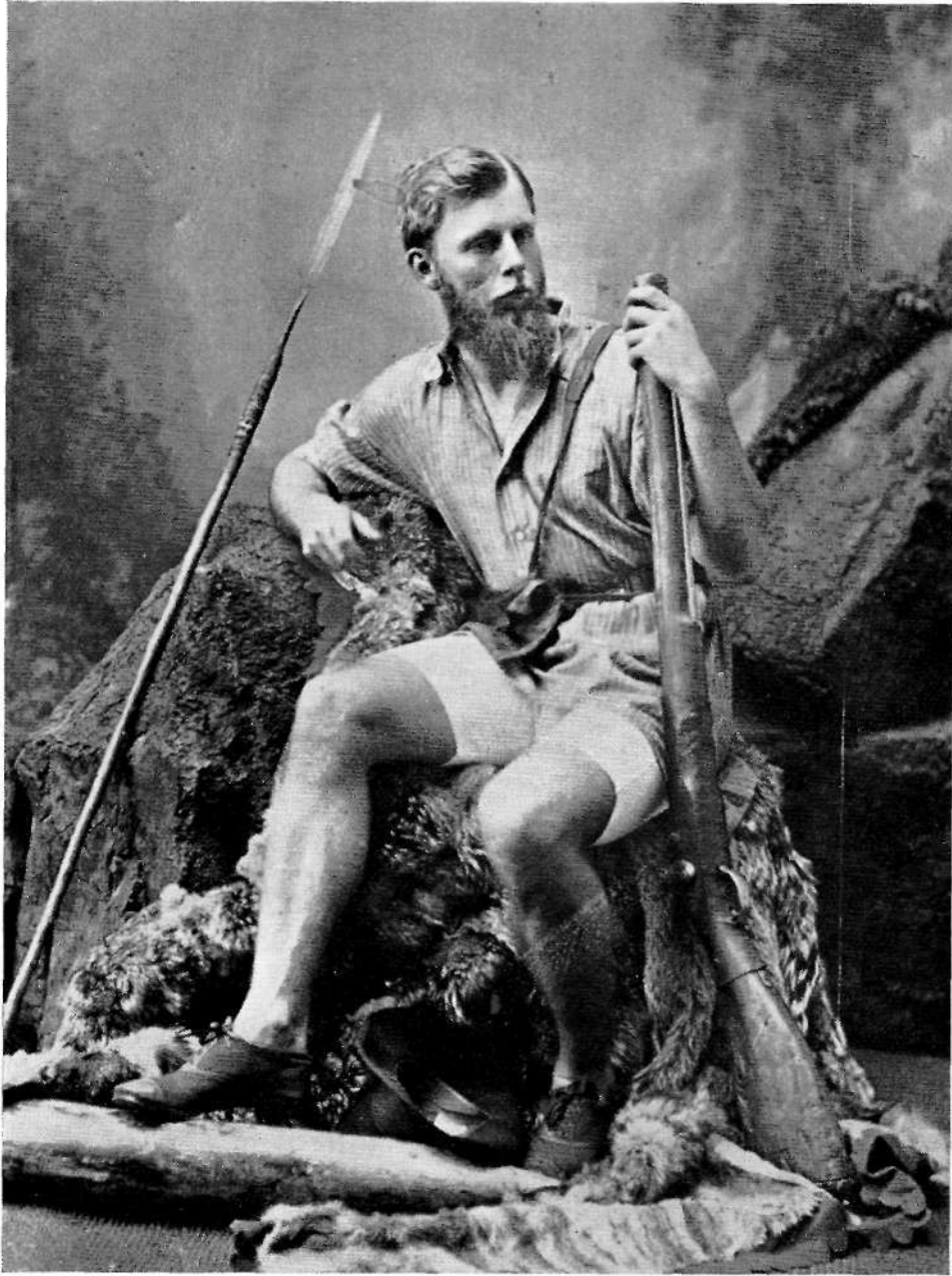
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Studio portrait of Selous taken in England possibly about 1892 or later, about 1894.
(National Archives)

Selous — A Reassessment

by R. Blair

Frederick Courteney Selous emerges from the school history books and reminiscences and stories of white Rhodesian "folklore" as one of the heroes of the formation of Rhodesia. In the cavalcade of Founders of Rhodesia, Selous marches a few paces behind Rhodes and Jameson. The popular picture of Selous as the rugged, famous white hunter and explorer who became scout and guide to the Pioneer Column, and whose unrivalled knowledge and experience was put to use and influenced the founding of Rhodesia, is certainly widely accepted and a very attractive one. The aim of this paper is to examine and assess Selous' role in the founding of Rhodesia. It will attempt to evaluate the part he actually played, together with his wider and more general influence in the period around 1890. Selous' relations with the British South Africa Company come under particular scrutiny, and from this it is hoped there will emerge a clearer picture not only of Selous as a man and a factor in the making of Rhodesia, but also some indications regarding the nature, aims and methods of the Company itself. Indeed, this is true of Selous in general, for he was so inextricably bound up with the early history of Rhodesia to a greater or lesser extent that a study of him inevitably leads to a better insight into the whole period. Furthermore, Selous must be evaluated as an historical source for the early history of Rhodesia, and it is hoped that we will end up with some idea as to the real value and usefulness of Selous' books, articles and letters.

Some details of Selous' early life are of great value as they give us useful insights into the character of the man whose career we are assessing. Selous (31st December, 1851-4th January, 1917) was born into a reasonably wealthy family, and was able to attend Rugby school and travel on the Continent. It is as well to relate here the almost notorious story of the young Selous which indicates an early fascination with Africa. One night, the headmaster, on doing his rounds of the dormitories, "discovered Freddy Selous, lying flat on the bare floor clothed only in his nightshirt". On being asked the cause of this curious behaviour he replied, "Well, you see, one day I am going to be a hunter in Africa and am just hardening myself to sleep on the ground."¹ Similarly, his numerous exploits at Rugby and his frequent brushes with the gamekeepers of neighbouring estates seem to reveal an early interest in natural history. There emerges from Millais, and Selous' early letters, the impression of a determined, conscientious and thoroughly independent, self-reliant young man. A letter to his father from Salzburg in 1870 is typical. "If you say that I am only 18 and that few people would let a youth of that age be quite alone in a foreign country, my answer is that as everybody says I appear about two or three and twenty not only in looks but in thought and manners, I think I ought to be considered of that age when any unlooked for occurrence arrives."² A determination to travel and see Africa was an early plan of Selous, but a letter to his

mother in 1868 shows he maintained his determination even through his "teens" —the ideal work to Selous was "sheep farming or something of that sort in one of the colonies . . . I am certain I shall never be able to settle down quietly in England."³ A final detail of some significance is that Selous read books by Livingstone keenly, and he seems to have been especially interested in Baldwin's *African Hunting from Natal to the Zambezi* (1864), a rollicking tale of hunting adventure on the unknown but game-filled veld.

In 1871 Selous arrived at Algoa Bay, and he eventually made his way north. Thus Selous' hunting career lasted from 1871 until his involvement with the B.S.A. Company in 1889. He has come to be regarded as the model nineteenth century hunter, but although his reputation as the last of the great professional hunters is perhaps well deserved, he in fact began his career when the ivory trade was already in decline, and his career as an elephant hunter was a constant battle to make ends meet. Indeed, it is perhaps of considerable credit to Selous that he earned his reputation at a time and in conditions of far greater difficulty than did other hunters, such as Henry Hartley and Jan Viljoen.

However, wonderful stories though his hunting escapades and adventures are, they do not concern us here. More relevant are his comments on the African peoples he met and on the country he travelled through. Selous' first book, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (Bentley, 1881), is the main source for Selous' early comments on the region between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers (Southern Zambezia). It is particularly important in that, being his first book, it is completely unconnected with the B.S.A. Company, and indeed Selous does not appear to be committed to any "cause" in his book. His observations on the relationships between the Matabele and Mashona are of immense interest to the historian, because in later years Selous was used as an authority in various arguments over the actual extent of Matabele control. Thus a passage in *A Hunter's Wanderings* on how the Matabele have depopulated Mashonaland by their raids is significant both as a simple observation on Southern Zambezia at the time, and as a comment to be considered in regard to Selous' future involvement in the question of B.S.A. Company sovereignty. "All this tract of country, though claimed by the king of the Matabele, whose father, Umziligazi, drove out its former possessor, is at present uninhabited, but some forty years ago, before these all-conquering Zulus invaded it, murdering or driving away the inhabitants, it must have supported a large population, as the frequent traces of maize fields, and the clearings, once the site of large villages, prove beyond a doubt."⁴ Thus, in his pre-Company days, Selous seems to have concluded that Matabele raids had certainly seriously affected the Mashona, but that he implied any sort of Matabele control over the Mashona appears doubtful. In the case being discussed he is more specific and Selous does tell us that "the tract of country in which I was principally hunting was. . . situated in the angle formed with the Zambesi by the river Gwai."⁵ Hence, one can say that in 1881 Selous believed the Matabele had exerted a considerable influence on the lives of the Mashona living in what is today west central Rhodesia, near the southern end of Lake Kariba.

Selous' comments on the Africans he dealt with reveal a strongly paternalis-

tic attitude, and there is an interesting passage in *A Hunter's Wanderings* which shows an early suspicion, even contempt, for the Portuguese in Africa, which is of relevance and importance to Selous' later work in the Pioneer period. He tells how "a Kafir who is owed money by one Englishman, perhaps the wages for a year's work, will take a letter without a murmur to another Englishman hundreds of miles away, if he is told by his master that, upon delivering the letter, he will receive payment. This fact speaks volumes to any one who knows the crafty suspicious character of the natives . . . whereas on the lower Zambesi near Zumbo, you cannot get a native who has been in the habit of dealing with the Portuguese to stir hand or foot in your service unless you pay him all or part of his wages in advance."⁶

A Hunter's Wanderings and Selous' early letters home reveal to the historian a factor of some importance in using Selous as an historical source. He appears particularly liable to early wide generalisation, and this must be borne in mind when evaluating some of his observations and comments. Hence, he allows a statement such as this, "never having known the untutored savage to tell the truth" to stand completely unqualified.⁷ Similarly, in a letter to his mother on the Zulu war, some of his comments can only be described as outrageously uncharacteristic of the popular picture which one can easily gain of Selous as a gentle-mannered man of moderate opinions. "It is to be hoped that the Exeter Hall clique and the Aborigines Protection Society, will not be able to prevent Sir Theophilus Shepstone from checking the insolence of the Zulus . . . brutal savages . . . If they will only come out into the open they will be slaughtered by the thousand, and their carcasses given to the Hyenas and Vultures, the only thing they are good for." Political conditions and Selous' definite ideas as to where his loyalties lay can perhaps explain the comments he made on the Zulus and on the Boers, among whom he had many friends—"mentally they (the Boers) are I should think the most ignorant and stupid of all the white races, and they certainly have not one tenth part of the courage of the Zulus".⁸ The most plausible explanation of such statements is surely that they are only Selous' reaction, perhaps naturally heated reaction, to the Anglo-Boer and white-black tensions of the time. It is certainly a pointer to how Selous would react later under far greater pressures.

Finally, two other vitally important aspects of any assessment of Selous are revealed in his early hunting days. Selous seems to have been intensely concerned with making good in his personal career in terms of wealth and fame. This preoccupation with his financial position, while not of great significance as regards his character, does show that Selous' life was not a carefree, epic story of hunting and discovery, nor was he likely to work on projects even dear to his heart, for little reward to him. Towards the end of the 1870's Selous seems to have despaired of making a living out of ivory. "The whole country is in a state of ruin, and probably no part of it in a more utterly hopeless condition than this. Trade and elephant hunting, the only two things to go in for in the country have collapsed suddenly, and in a manner which no one could have foreseen or did foresee, and consequently unless we can get into another part of Africa we are all ruined . . . last year 40,000 lbs. weight of ivory were traded

at the Zambezi alone . . . this year owing principally to Sepopo's assassination, only 2500 lbs. have been traded!!! and not a hunter has earned his salt!! If it was not for two or three little "ifs" I should now be worth £10,000 a year." 1880 seems to have been a turning point for Selous: "I shall now give up hunting elephants as it is impossible nowadays to make it pay,"⁹ and his future travels were all of a more purely exploratory or specimen collecting nature.

Selous' life in Africa for nearly 20 years was a peculiarly isolated and lonely one. In his journeys, particularly during the 1880's, he travelled extensively all over southern Zambezia, and it appears that in his lonely wanderings he lost touch with many of the realities of the world, particularly in political affairs. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that when Selous became involved with the B.S.A. Company he brought a special naivety and "other worldliness" to his work, which perhaps made him especially easy to use. This vitally significant aspect of Selous' life is instrumental in explaining his relations with the B.S.A. Company, and it was directly due to his years of isolation and intensely individual self-reliant existence. But to a degree Selous realised how out of touch he was, and even in 1891, while on Company business, wrote to Colquhoun saying that he would "be much obliged to you if you could send me some late papers. I am more out of the world than anyone in Mashonaland."¹⁰ Similarly, on looking back at this period of his life in his *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa* (Rowland Ward, 1893), Selous notes his loneliness and desire to see white men. In the earlier hunting years he hunted often with other white hunters, but as the trade declined and Selous remained making his exploratory journeys, he was increasingly alone with just his African servants. In 1882, while on the Zambezi, he writes that one day "three large boats hove in sight . . . I was told they were 'soldados'... and was in hopes that there might be a white Portuguese officer with them. When they arrived, however, I was disappointed to find that the man who seemed to be in command was as black as any of his crew." And again, in November 1883, while in Northern Mashonaland near the Hunyani river, he wrote that "I had not seen a white man since leaving the Matabili country in the previous April; but I knew that two hunters, an Englishman and a Boer, were camped near the river Zweswi, three days' journey from me, and so resolved to make for their camp and spend a few days with them and enjoy the pleasure of speaking my own language once more." Selous describes the rumour that a waggon was approaching as "exciting news" and "how inexpressibly delightful are such meetings in the wilderness, and how different the conduct of two Englishmen to one another on such occasions from the Continental idea, as expressed in caricatures".¹¹ It is certain that a realisation of the loneliness and isolation of much of Selous' life is essential to an understanding and assessment of his role in the making of Rhodesia.

Towards the end of the 1880's, Selous was definitely doing better on the level of his personal financial career. In a letter to his mother he claimed that "thanks to my specimens I have, during the last two years, in spite of more than reasonable losses, even for Africa, done very well; but all that I have made is represented by waggons, salted horses, cattle, rifles, etc. . . . but which . . . would bring me in scarcely enough to pay my passage to England", and just

prior to his disastrous trip north of the Zambezi he stored £1,500 worth of goods at Panda ma Tenga. His reputation had developed considerably, mainly due to the widespread circulation of *A Hunter's Wanderings*, a second edition of which was issued in 1890, and he was able to write home about the lectures he was asked to deliver.¹²

The attack on Selous by the Mashukulumbwe (Ha) north of the Zambezi was a minor crisis point in his life. Selous had been moving north through northern Zambesia to visit the missionary, Arnot, near the Kafue, when he was suddenly attacked and only just managed to escape. After a harrowing journey he reached the safety of a Barotse sub-chief. One gains the impression that Selous began to wonder at his peculiar position in Africa, and perhaps felt there was some pointlessness in his wandering life. "I had had time to realize the full horror of my position. A solitary Englishman alone in central Africa, in the middle of hostile country, without blankets or anything else but what he stood in, and a rifle with four cartridges."¹³ What is certain is that his future life in Africa showed far more purpose and direction, though it is not certain whether the opening created by the formation of the B.S.A. Company or the attack by the Ila was the cause of this reassessment of his life and future.

In early 1889, Selous led Frank Johnson on an expedition to the Mazoe gold-fields. Johnson had been to Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1887, and largely because of Lobengula's denial of control in the Mazoe Valley, had decided that he must seek Portuguese approval for his journey. Hence, the expedition Selous led in from the Zambezi was based on a Portuguese concession to Johnson. Selous, who had always held vague ideas for the British to take over the Mashona highlands, smarted under this, and his journey convinced him that the Portuguese were beginning to make energetic preparations to occupy Mashonaland effectively. It was as a response to these premonitions of his that Selous made the Mapondera-Tereringa Concession (25th September, 1889)¹⁴ giving him rights to a large area of the Mazoe Valley, and which stressed the independence of the two sub-chiefs from Portugal and Lobengula. He wrote in *Travels and Adventure*: "From observations made during the progress of the expedition . . . I imagined, rightly or wrongly, that the Portuguese were making strenuous efforts to establish a claim to Mashonaland, and saw that if my surmises were correct it was absolutely necessary for the British to take possession of the country during the coming year."¹⁵ That gives the first and foremost reason for Selous' association with the B.S.A. Company, and he quotes in *Travels and Adventure* various letters he wrote to papers in Cape Town and Britain to the effect that it would be a tremendous tragedy if Britain was to allow Portugal to get the Mashona highlands. There is a very interesting, mysterious letter among the B.S.A. Company files; unfortunately the first page is missing, so we have no idea to whom it was sent, nor when it was written, but in it Selous strongly renounces any Portuguese claims to Mashonaland. "I speak of Mashonaland from an experience gained during nine years of constant travel throughout every portion of it . . . except during the latter part of 1889 . . . neither he (Andrada) nor any other white Portuguese has ever within historical times at least, set his foot on the Mashona plateau . . . as to the effective occupa-

tion of Mashunaland spoken of by d'Andrada, the only sign was the presence at Mangwendi's town of a black 'Sargento Mor', one Jose Ribeiro, and a few of Gouveia's natives who except by their tattoo marks were indistinguishable from Mangwendi's people."¹⁶ This letter may, however, have been written after the occupation at the time of the Company's brush with Andrada at Mutasa's in late 1890, but if it was publicised (and we have no evidence either way to prove publication or not) it could merely be a typical case of the Company using Selous as an authority for their own interests. But it does reveal Selous' strong anti-Portuguese attitude with regard to control in Mashonaland—to him, Mashonaland with its potential should have been a strictly British preserve.

SELOUS THE IMPERIALIST

Selous was a British imperialist cast in a very similar mould to Rhodes, and his remaining career in Africa can largely be explained by a very real desire to make Mashonaland part of the British Empire; and he was, as we shall see, intensely proud of his role in the making of Rhodesia. The first reference one gets to Selous' official connection with the B.S.A. Company is in a letter to his mother in December 1889: "I had to go up to Kimberley to see Mr. Cecil Rhodes . . . The Chartered Company wish to employ me, and I think I may now consider myself to be in their service. At present they are allowing me a retaining fee—so much a month—to keep me going until they actually require my services."¹⁷ But his relations with the Company were not always amicable, as might have been expected considering Rhodes and Selous held such remarkably similar views on major issues concerning Southern Zambezia. Selous' frictions with the Company were often financial—and he seemed to feel he deserved a larger salary.

In a sense Selous seems to have been "trapped" by Rhodes. Rhodes quickly realised Selous' relative innocence regarding the unscrupulous, ruthless workings of the B.S.A. Company's financial and political manoeuvrings. Rhodes was able to make full use of Selous because Selous so earnestly desired the same end in southern Zambezia. Rhodes played on this, and it is only occasionally that Selous seems to have perceived how he was used so often. In October 1890, Selous wrote a very indignant letter to Harris (B.S.A. Company Secretary in Cape Town), only to conclude with a rather plaintive half-apology: "As Mr. Colquhoun (the unofficial Company Administrator in Mashonaland) is disposed to set a higher value upon the knowledge and experience which it has taken me nearly twenty years to acquire than you are evidently disposed to do, and is therefore inclined to consider my services of some value to the Company, I hope that he will be able to do something more for me than what you propose. The salary is doubtless a good one, but as I have to do important work for the Company (work which unless first primed with my knowledge no one else is capable of executing)," he felt he deserved more. He concludes by rather lamely apologising, "I commenced this letter to you this morning, and was then in an irritated frame of mind. I will now write in a calmer frame, but as I think there is both truth and justice in what I wrote hastily and in anger I will let it stand."¹⁸

Indeed, one might say that by the beginning of 1890 Selous' concern to

make his fortune and his concern to make Mashonaland British combined to ensure his support for Rhodes. "I have made more than £2,000 cash this year and shall get more when the Mashona country is opened up", and in May 1890 he wrote of a friend that "his fortunes depend, like mine, on the success of the schemes of the Chartered Company"; and later in the year he was able to write "that if all goes well with the Chartered Company I may make a good deal of money in the next year or two . . . I am engaged to the Company for a year from September 1st last. I get a retaining fee of £50 a month and all expenses and other advantages that may turn out much more valuable." Selous was financially dependent on the Company until July 1892. "I have now taken another year's engagements with the Company. They give me £1,000 and all expenses for this year's work and that is a sum I could not afford to let slip."¹⁹ He was also given land and shares—"with regard to the 20,000 acres of land which I am to get I look to you to see that my interests in this matter are safeguarded".²⁰ Towards the end of his Company service Selous wrote to his mother, "I shall have considerable interests here, which will increase in value as the country develops. I can live on the £300 a year which my de Beers shares produce."²¹ Thus Selous' future seems to have been even more dependent than Rhodes' on the well-being of the Company and the successful occupation of Mashonaland.

In the discussions and arguments on the subject of the B.S.A. Company's legal title to Mashonaland, Selous was involved not only as a much-quoted authority but as an active participant. The reasons why this debate was so important are revealed in the Company's attitude. Rhodes and Harris and other top officials in London, Cape Town and Kimberley were not prepared to consider the independence of the Mashona chiefs. The Company claimed all Mashonaland through the Rudd Concession and Lobengula's claims to Mashonaland; Rhodes was afraid the Company-position would be compromised if any other title to the area, apart from the Rudd Concession was claimed. The fear of the Portuguese contesting the Company's, and therefore the British position, seems to have been paramount in the Company's attitude. Furthermore, the Company had the backing of the British government in its claim to Mashonaland through the Rudd Concession. The British position is clearly stated in a letter from the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, to Petre, the British Minister in Portugal, as early as November 1889, where he claims that Britain does not recognise Portuguese claims because of the agreement between Lobengula and the British of 11th February, 1888 (Moffat Treaty), in which Lobengula is recognised as ruler of Mashonaland and Makalalaland. Indeed, the Portuguese position was, as we shall see, remarkably similar to Selous', for in January 1889 Petre wrote to Salisbury saying that the Portuguese felt Lobengula's claims were "based on coercion alone".²² The Company position can be understood as a perfectly reasonable one, considering their aims and what had gone before. Rhodes was quite simply not prepared to tolerate anything which might compromise the Rudd Concession, on which the B.S.A. Company's Royal Charter was based.

On the question of Selous' involvement in this debate a most interesting paper has been written by Dr. T. O. Ranger in which he claims that Selous'

association with the B.S.A. Company combined with the intense political pressures of the time led him to be inconsistent, and Ranger concludes that "if Selous had been able to write his *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa* without the obligations of loyalty to the Company position, later historians would have had some very different evidence upon which to base their assessments of the Matabele dominance in Mashonaland."²³

Ranger bases his conclusion on what he regards as an inconsistency between what Selous wrote in 1889 and what he wrote in *Travel and Adventure* in 1893. In 1889, while on his journey in northern Mashonaland with Johnson, Selous obtained the previously mentioned treaty from the two headmen Mapondera and Temaringa. In the concession (25th September, 1889), the two chiefs spelt out their independence of the Portuguese and of Lobengula, declaring themselves to be a "free and independent nation . . . paying no tribute nor being in any way subject either to Lo Bengoola, chief of the Amandabele, on the one hand, or to the Portuguese government . . . on the other . . . the said chiefs declare that the Amandabele have made but three raids into their country . . . doing but little damage and suffering some loss themselves and never having made the slightest attempt to conquer and occupy the country, only a very small portion of which has ever been trodden by a subject of Lo Bengoola."²⁴ Selous goes further in his assertion of Mashona independence in a letter to the holders of the Concession. It is as well to give Ranger's presentation of Selous' letters: "Here you have a concession embracing probably the richest little piece of country in all Africa . . . This concession is perfectly square, fair and genuine and nothing can upset it. . . if there is really any payable gold in Africa, much of it must lie in your concession . . . The Matabele claim to the country is utterly preposterous," Selous insisted, "and cannot hold water for a moment. Should the matter at some future time be inquired into by a Commission, I am and shall be prepared with evidence . . . in the face of which the Matabele claim could never be allowed . . . it rests entirely on the strength of a raid made in 1868, for the two subsequent raids made respectively in 1880 and 1883 did not touch the country. "Mount Hampden, which is just beyond the western border . . . is distant from Bulawayo as the crow flies about 250 English miles, and Mavin, the furthest Matabele outpost, which was established a few years ago about 150 miles and there is not a single Matabele living in the intervening country. Nor do Matabele hunting parties ever approach the . . . country. The river Umfuli is about their limit."²⁵

Ranger continues his case by claiming that one of Selous' main services to the Company was the writing of *Travel and Adventure*. Ranger quotes at length a famous passage from Selous' book which he claims is a contradiction, telling a different story, to the one outlined by Selous' letters of October 1889. "Some fifty years ago this fine country must have been thickly inhabited, as almost every valley has, at one time or another, been under cultivation. The sites of villages are also very numerous . . . the peaceful people inhabiting this part of Africa must then have been in the zenith of their prosperity. Herds of their small but beautiful cattle lowed in every valley, and their rich and fertile country doubtless afforded them an abundance of vegetable food. About 1840, however, the Matabili Zulus, under their war-like chief Umziligazi, settled in the country

which they now inhabit, and very soon bands of these ferocious and bloodthirsty savages overran the peaceful valleys of the Mashona country in every direction. The poor Mashonas, unskilled in war, and living, moreover, in small communities scattered all over the country, without any central government, fell an easy prey before the fierce invaders and very soon every stream in their country ran red with their blood . . . In a few years there were no more Mashonas left in the open country, the remnant that had escaped massacre having fled into the mountainous districts to the south and east of their former dwellings, where they still live. Thus, in a short time an immense extent of fertile country, that had, perhaps, for ages past supported a large and thriving community, was again given back to nature: and so it remains to the present day—an utterly uninhabited country."²⁶

In discussing these passages Ranger has not shown Selous to be inconsistent in so far that in 1889 he was emphasising Shona independence whereas in 1893 he was asserting Matabele control over Mashonaland as a whole. To Selous, Matabele raiding and plundering could definitely not be equated with Matabele control or sovereignty. But what Ranger has very perceptively shown was that Selous' commitment to the British settlement of Mashonaland through the B.S.A. Company, together with his concern to make good on the personal level, forced Selous to play down Shona independence while perhaps tending to exaggerate the extent and horror of Matabele raids. Hence, in 1889, in the private correspondence concerned with the Maopondera-Temaringa Concession Selous does emphasise the independence of Shona chiefs and he gives a definite geographical boundary to the extent of Shona raids—the Umfuli river. But in *Travel and Adventure in S.E. Africa* (1893) Selous' concern for the white position in Rhodesia prompted him to gloss over any direct references to the independence of Shona chiefs while at the same time he discusses the effects of the Matabele raids with only occasional reference to any limits—geographical or otherwise.

Furthermore, Ranger is quite correct in asserting that this probably deliberate change of emphasis on Selous' part did help the Company's position. In addition, Selous was used as an authority and Harris, when writing to the B.S.A. Company London office, could say that "Mr. F. R. Thompson's statements that the Matabele impis have killed 10,000 Mashonas is not only correct but the number is very far below the mark; on this point we can easily obtain the testimony of hunters, travellers and missionaries. Mr. Selous puts the number at not less than 100,000 during the last seventy years, and bases his estimate on the very large number of deserted villages and deserted valleys which he has come across during his twenty years residence in Mashonaland . . . not only has the occupation of the country by the B.S.A. Company been effected without wronging the native races, but it has very likely saved some of them from absolute destruction at the hands of the Matabele."²⁷ This facet of Selous' service to the Company continued and in 1894 in his address to the Royal Colonial Institute he declared: "That occupation, as I have said before, wronged no human being, and it added a very valuable province to British South Africa and to the British Empire; but it was a very bitter pill for the Matabele to swallow

as it curtailed their raiding grounds and diminished their prestige. It did something more, it relieved large numbers of aboriginal tribes of Eastern Mashonaland from the ever-present fear of invasion and massacre by the Matabele."²⁸ This evidence is in tune with that revealed in letters home such as that from Mangwendi's in October 1890, "The natives are few and scattered and a very harmless peaceful lot. They all seem delighted to see us and make use of such expressions as 'now that the white men have come into the country we shall be able to sleep' meaning that they will no longer live in perpetual fear of the Matabele and Gaza Zulus."²⁹ Such passages and speeches not only helped remove any twinges of conscience the Company might have had as to the occupation, and later the war, but more importantly helped remedy the Company image and justify its actions in the eyes of overseas observers. Selous certainly served the Company and therefore his own interests.

SELOUS THE HISTORIAN

Finally, it would be as well to come to some definite idea as to the usefulness and value of Selous and *Travel and Adventure* as historical sources. The impression gained from Ranger's paper is that *Travel and Adventure* is the carefully edited statement of the Company story. If this is the case it is surely overstated, for while it is admitted that Selous' close association and identification with the B.S.A. Company does reduce the historical value of *Travel and Adventure*, he does mention in it factors which are quite contrary to the official Company line.

The previously quoted passage from *Travel and Adventure* (see footnote 25 above) must not be read outside the rest of the book. As Ranger points out Selous does refer to the Maondera Concession³⁰ but he omits any reference to the repudiation of Matabele sovereignty which was a major part of the concession. However, Selous does deal in some detail with his negotiations with Mtoko (an "independent" Shona chief), and he concludes with a statement which is a direct contradiction of the Company line: "the majority of them (Mtoko's people) do not know the name of Lo Bengula . . . which is not very surprising considering that no impi of Lo Bengula has ever penetrated to within several days journey of even the western border of Mtoko's country."³¹ Similarly he limits still the extent of Matabele raids to the Umfuli-Hunyani region. He claims that after crossing the Hunyani he was "now beyond the farthest point ever reached by a Matabili marauding expedition".³² It is as well at this stage to point out a factor of some importance in assessing the Matabele raids which Selous makes no mention of ever having realised. In all probability a great number of the destroyed and deserted villages and valleys, which Selous describes, were the result of the primitive shifting agriculture practised by the tribal Shona groups. This is a factor which must be borne in mind while reading Selous' books if a reasonably accurate picture of southern Zambezia in Selous' time is to be gained.

Travel and Adventure was not very carefully edited to present the Company view, though it certainly helped the Company's position, partly due to the fact that it is full of Selous' characteristic, but at times confusing, broad generalisation. In conclusion one can say that although Selous' close identification of his

prospects with those of the Company must be considered, he can still be regarded as a reasonably independent commentator. Selous was so out of place in the political world of Rhodes and Jameson that he was easily used by both the Company and its opponents. With these realisations in mind the necessary caution can be exercised and Selous may emerge as a valuable and useful source. Mason's evaluation of him can stand: "Selous was a careful observer and remarkably free from bias"³³, and more specifically while *Travel and Adventure* is not a history it is nevertheless a work of immense historical value and usefulness.

In private Selous maintained his scepticism of the Company claims to the whole of southern Zambezia through the Rudd Concession, and in 1889 Selous concluded a letter by rather sarcastically pointing out that in his view "Lo Bengoola claims Khama's country as well as, and with more reason than Makorikori land"³⁴. It is unfortunate he did not refer to this question again in his later letters home because Selous' private belief in the limitations of Matabele jurisdiction did in fact bring him into some conflict with the B.S.A. Company immediately after the occupation and the resultant activity and argument are remarkable revelations of the Company's attitude and methods.

Indeed it seems likely that Selous had to be persuaded to support the Concession, although he never really believed in it. After Selous had visited Lobengula in March 1890, he was extremely suspicious of the Matabele, and in a letter to his mother from Palapye on his way back he wrote: "I distrust LoBengoola and his people", and in a further letter he airs his thoughts on the Rudd Concession: "The position is a very strange one. The Charter was granted to the South African Company on the strength of their having obtained a concession from LoBengoola for the mineral rights in Matabililand and Mashonaland. These rights were really bought and a lot of money was paid to LoBengoola directly and his people indirectly by the agents of the Company. Now it seems as if LoBengoola were inclined to disallow Europeans to work for gold either in Matabililand or Mashunaland. In order to avoid trouble the Company now want to waive their rights in Matabililand proper where they would necessarily come into contact with the Matabili people, and to exploit and develop Mashunaland, a country to which the Matabili have no just title." Selous had strong views and a very real determination for the Company to occupy Mashonaland, as later in the same letter home he writes, "I abhor the Matabili yet I would not have them interfered with or their country invaded without a casus belli; but that they should keep the European out of Mashunaland is preposterous."³⁵

Selous' honesty and naivety after years alone in the bush seem to have urged him that other titles than the Rudd Concession must be obtained. Rhodes, with his realisation of what this would mean, together with his determination to see Mashonaland occupied, had to talk Selous into seeing the ruthless political realities of the situation. Indeed, he had to use the old bogey of the Portuguese claim to make Selous realise where his belief in an independent Mashonaland would lead if publicly expressed. Rhodes wrote to the Duke of Abercorn. one of the Company directors in London, in March 1890 telling him of what he had

had to do: "He (Selous) was about to write a series of articles advocating that Mashonaland was independent of Lo Bengula and had never been under his control. I saw at once the danger of our position, if a series of articles appeared in the Press from a man of Selous' position claiming that Mashonaland was independent of Lo Bengula . . . but when he saw that the only hope for the country was the success of the Charter, he agreed to throw in his lot with us. . . I gave him personally £2,000 out of a private fund . . . it took me a long time to show him that if he could prove Mashonaland to be independent of Lo Bengula it would not help the Mashona, but simply would be helping the Portuguese claims and therefore that he would be helping the Portuguese to get the country."³⁶ Thus on the final analysis, harsh political realities and Selous' concern with the end—a British Mashonaland—overcame his "legal" scruples as to the means, though in a sense it could be claimed that Rhodes had "bought" Selous. One tends to feel that it was a subtle combination of the money and Selous' anti-Portuguese feelings which made him agree with Rhodes' attitude.

The final chapter in the involved and often rather sordid story of the Company's title to Mashonaland would appear to be a slight reversal of previous Company policy; for immediately the Pioneers were in Mashonaland, Selous and others were occupied in making treaties with various chiefs in north-eastern and eastern Mashonaland; but they did this on their own initiative. Part of this activity is explained by reference to the geography of the country. The Company theoretically only recognised Lobengula's authority as extending to the Sabi, and in practice they seem to have accepted his control as not really extending far north of the Zambezi/Sabi watershed. Beyond these areas it was a scramble between the Company and the Portuguese to establish claims. This is shown by the urgency of the expedition which left the Column at Fort Charter to negotiate with Mutasa. Selous wrote, "Mr. Colquhoun wants me to accompany him to Manica to try and counteract Portuguese influence there . . . the journey to Manica is considered very important but I am afraid that we shall be too late to do much good."³⁷ The Company's difficulties are clearly indicated in a letter from Colquhoun to Rhodes which, while still holding to the official Company view on Mashona independence, shows some misgivings. "Lobengula's claims in this neighbourhood (Mt. Wedza) I have understood to extend at least *as far east as the Sabi river*. I consider, however, that (especially if any enquiry were made on the spot) this claim would be most difficult to establish, and it would be as undesirable to have the question raised. Between the Sabi and Ruzarwe rivers . . . there are chiefs . . . who acknowledge *no one's authority*. They have certainly never been under Matabele authority . . . I propose to lose no time in coming to arrangements and understandings re minerals etc. (by means of presents and friendly interviews) with these petty chiefs so as to exclude the Portuguese. I do not consider it expedient to execute formal treaties with them (which might be constituted as being tantamount to an admission that we had no business here) especially in view of Anglo-Portuguese arrangements. But it is necessary to fill up any hiatus between the Sabi and Odzi rivers, i.e. between Mashonaland and Manica . . . Selous has maintained and maintains, as you know, that a) East of the Sabi, and b) north and east of the Hunyani the Mata-

bele have no real claim whatever, and that such claims would *not stand investigation*." Colquhoun reports that he could not answer for (b) but that (a) would appear correct. He asserts that he has reiterated the Company position to Pennefather and Selous: "a) In the north our Government claims as under Lobengula's authority; (b) in the east Lobengula himself only claims as far east as the Sabi."³⁸

Pennefather made a similar report to the B.S.A. Company, "I am strongly of the opinion that Lobengula's impis have not raided farther than 32°E", and he goes on to express the view of most men on the spot, such as Colquhoun and Selous, that "it is important that the interests of the Chartered Company should be secured throughout the whole of the sphere of British influence."³⁹ The men on the spot seem to have believed that any and all treaties help, and that far from weakening the Rudd Concession, they would additionally strengthen the Company position. But this was not the thinking of the Company politicians viewing the scene from afar, who asserted that, as the Company had got where it was through the Rudd Concession, nothing else was needed. Harris wrote rather abruptly to Colquhoun emphasising the official attitude: ". . . everything included within the area assigned to the British south of the Zambezi is based on the recognition of Lobengula being supreme . . . and despite everything that Selous or anyone else says to the contrary, politically Lobengula and Lobengula alone has been and will be recognized, so that it is impolitic, as well as useless to waste time and money on so-called 'independent Mashona chiefs'; an independent Mashonaland is an impossibility within the sphere assigned to the British, but outside that sphere an independent Mashonaland and independent Mashona chiefs ought to commence exactly where the British sphere ends, and there it may flourish like a green bay tree."⁴⁰ This letter is a striking reflection on the methods and ruthless unscrupulousness of the Company, but it does not reflect on Selous, Pennefather or Colquhoun; the latter in fact was dismissed largely because of his refusal to knuckle under to Company views. Selous and Colquhoun were essentially lost in the buccaneering world of Rhodes, Jameson and Harris.

In the face of the steadfast official Company view Selous was confined to making treaties in the east and north-east of Mashonaland: "Selous secured treaties with Magoni and Maranaka, and Forbes with Mangwendi. Thus the hiatus between Manica and Sabi has been secured to the Company at little or no cost."⁴¹ Indeed, the urgent treaty-making carried out by Selous, Pennefather and Doyle was concerned with establishing British claims over areas Portugal might have attempted to claim. Selous was busily involved in this "diplomatic work for the Chartered Company", for much of the latter part of 1890 and early 1891. His letters show that his missions were largely confined to north and eastern Mashonaland: "have . . . to visit two chiefs to the north of the Mazoe . . . a chief living to the east of Mashonaland between the Mazoe and Ruenya rivers . . . conclude negotiations with Mtoko."⁴²

Selous was not averse to criticising the Company strongly when need be, although admittedly the only written instances are in his letters home: "Ever since the expedition got into Mashonaland last year there seems to have been

an utter want of management of any sort or kind . . . many people . . . are beginning to hope that the Imperial government will take over the country. . . . Everything seems to have been badly managed during the last year and nothing has yet been done to keep communications open during the rainy season."⁴³

Apart from being a startling comment on the early settlers' attitudes towards the Company, the letters bring us to the question of communications which involved Selous for a great deal of his time while in the Company's service. Selous' record as a road builder is remarkable. Not only did he cut the road for the Pioneer Column, but he was contracted to cut roads in Mashonaland—the main one being between Salisbury and Umtali. The guiding of the Pioneer Column is often regarded as the highpoint of Selous' career, and indeed it was a task of immense practical significance. His work for the Column has been described as unique in that no one else was so eminently suited and equipped to carry out the responsibility. Certainly Selous' part in bringing the Column to its destination has been glorified, but the comments of his fellow Pioneers show that they felt deeply indebted to Selous. "Skipper" Hoste, who worked with Selous cutting the road, recorded that "Without Selous we would certainly have lost our way coming through the lowveld, but when he had guided us through that and on to the highveld his job was practically over."⁴⁴ It is of interest to relate a tale told by Hoste which shows that Selous never lost his forebodings that the Matabele would attempt to halt the Column. Hoste tells of Selous' worry, while being held up looking for a way on to the highveld, that the Matabele might attack: "About noon he (Selous) and I were sitting in the orderly tent and he was telling me all about his discovery (Providential Pass) when we were startled by an infernal din; yells, shouts and screams accompanied by the yelping of dogs. We jumped to our feet, Selous exclaiming, 'My God, they've caught us on the hop!' We rushed out of the tent, revolver in hand, fully expecting to find a Matabele impi on the rampage, but it was only an unhappy hare being chased through the camp by a mob of waggon drivers and a mixed pack of dogs."⁴⁵ Selous not only played an invaluable part in guiding the Pioneer Column—Colquhoun felt he was so vital that he delayed his mission to Mutasa to allow Selous to return to the column to guide it through a difficult piece of country⁴⁶—but can also claim part of the credit with Johnson in persuading Rhodes to take the roundabout route to avoid Matabeleland, a factor which almost certainly prevented conflict with the Matabele in the occupation of Mashonaland.

Selous, despite his modesty, showed a natural pride in his feat and delightedly told his mother how an old and experienced Boer had congratulated him: "I am proud to be able to say that the road to Mashonaland is now being called the 'Selous Road' . . . an old Boer hunter . . . said to me in Dutch, 'I think that the expedition without Mr. Selous would be like a swarm of bees that has lost its Queen and doesn't know where to go'."⁴⁷

Selous worked out his contract with the Company until May 1892 "when, there being no more work for me to do, I terminated my engagement," and he returned home to England.⁴⁸ He had primarily been involved in making roads, mapping and surveying the route from Manicaland to the coast, a question on

which he was one of the first to realise the vital necessity of building a railway through the tsetse fly country.⁴⁹ In the final analysis on Selous' work for the Company in the early part of the occupation, one can only agree with Rhodes who is reported as appreciating "the unique assistance rendered by Mr. Selous . . . and that in the large sphere of the Company's operations there will be found ample scope for Mr. Selous' energy and ability."⁵⁰

THE MATABELE WAR

Selous lived in England until the outbreak of the Matabele war, and was apparently just setting sail for an American lecture tour when he heard the news, cancelled his plans, and rushed out to South Africa. He joined the Goold-Adams' southern column from Tati, and was slightly wounded in one of the few skirmishes the column had in reaching Bulawayo. There is little that Selous wrote on the war, none of his books cover it, and there are only a few letters to his mother to consult. The main value of these letters is in the insights they give us as to how Selous regarded the war, and being private they are more likely to be genuine. Selous seems to have had a rather typical early Rhodesian attitude regarding the Matabele, and one which can easily be seen duplicated among the men of Salisbury and Victoria columns.⁵¹

In his early letters, immediately after the occupation of Mashonaland, Selous exhibits a cheerful optimism: "There is no doubt about the wonderful richness and fertility of this country . . . Mashonaland is really a magnificent country and bound to be a very important one in the near future . . . no native troubles are to be apprehended except from the Matabili and with good management they ought now to be avoided"; and at Tuli in 1891 he was able to say, "as far as I can learn they (the Matabele) seem inclined to let the white man alone."⁵² Selous does not seem to have realised the inevitability of a clash between the two societies whose interests were so opposed, and he is of little help in reaching an understanding of the Victoria incident or general attitudes prior to the war.

Selous definitely felt that the defeat of the Matabele was all that they deserved—"No one knowing their abominable history can pity them or lament their downfall. They have been paid back in their own coin . . . eventually many of them will probably come in and live under the rule of the white men." In his final letter home from Bulawayo in November 1893, Selous strikes a prophetic note: "but there are such a lot of them that they will take up the whole country and it would, I think, be much better if the king (Lobengula) would go right away across the Zambezi, and form a new kingdom for himself there, just as his father fled from the Boers in the Transvaal and established himself in this country. If he would do that a large number of his people would go with him and the warlike element in the country would be removed, whereas if they all come back, although they will be very humble, they may give trouble again later on."⁵³

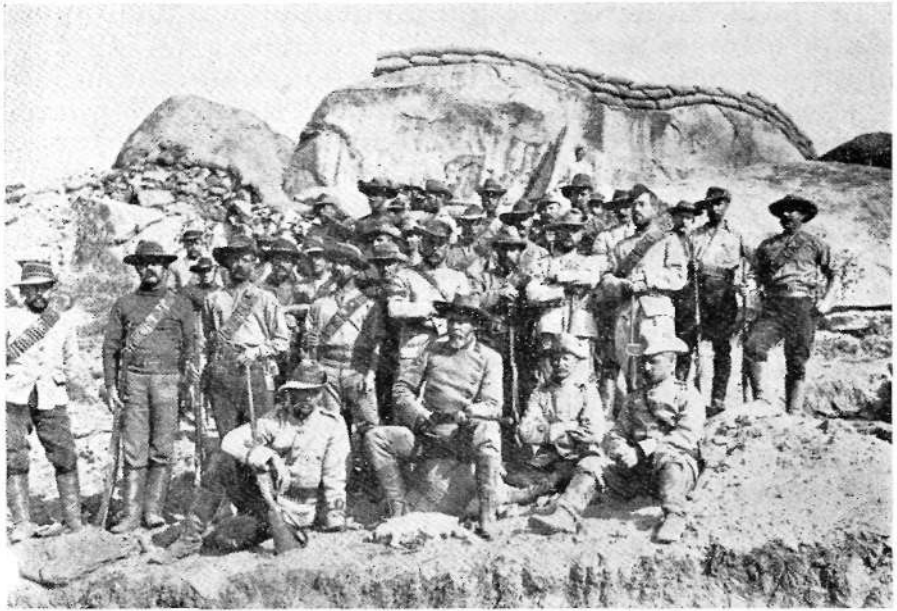
Hence Selous was already thinking of the white occupation of Matabeleland, and he shows little concern or understanding of the Matabele dilemma. To Selous, the imperialist, the war was merely a step in the advance of progress

and civilisation. But the interesting question with regard to Selous and the war is why he returned to South Africa. His part, once he arrived, was not particularly distinguished—the southern column had little to do, Selous' scouting for them was nothing special, and his wound only served to delay his hasty return home once the war was over. Selous reveals little of his motives, and one can only attempt reasonable speculation. Perhaps above all he was afraid his beloved Mashonaland was in danger and his return was a genuine attempt to help. He felt almost certainly that his unique experience and knowledge could be of some assistance. Perhaps also he rushed to the war with the aim of embellishing his already esteemed reputation, but that conflicts with Selous' modest, sincere character. In the end, a natural concern for the settlement he had done so much to create is probably the best explanation of Selous' war effort.

SELOUS IN BRITAIN

In Britain Selous married and attempted to settle down, but for us this period illustrates another aspect of Selous' Rhodesian career. Selous was still of use to the Company, and his part in the Barotse border question is an amazing reflection on the way in which he was regarded as an authority. Rhodes, writing to Lord Kimberley regarding the Angola/Barotse border, encloses a letter he received from Selous on Barotseland. Selous writes that while hunting in the region in 1874, 1877, 1879 and 1884, the country between the Chobe and Zambezi was "universally acknowledged as Barotse". He also asserted that while in Barotseland in 1888 Lewanika received headmen from west of the Chobe even.⁵⁴ For Selous to have been used in this way on the strength of his limited contact with Barotseland he must have been held in considerable respect as an authority. It is of interest here to give Coillard's, the French missionary at Lewanika's court, impression of Selous: "While listening to him, as he related his adventures to us, I felt singularly drawn to him. He is a noble character."⁵⁵

Selous' time was also occupied in giving lectures and writing articles. Thus in the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute of 1893-94, there is a report on a lecture given by Selous on 13th March, 1894, on the causes of the Matabele war. This lecture is interesting in that with the advantage of hindsight Selous describes the Matabele as "a fierce, overbearing, cruel and bloodthirsty people who were as certain, sooner or later, to come into conflict with the advancing wave of European civilization in South Africa as gunpowder is to explode when brought into contact with fire".⁵⁶ Selous also earnestly defends the settlers' position in Rhodesia, and one is struck by what a considerable help these articles must have been to the B.S.A. Company in answering the criticisms of such men as Labouchere (editor of *Truth* and an M.P.). "That occupation, as I have said before, wronged no human being." Selous also accepted the typical Company and settler explanation of the war: "They (the Matabele) forced the colonists . . . to make war upon them," and quotes a Mr. Sylvester, who was at Fort Victoria at the time of the Victoria incident, whose opinion was that " 'there was not a man in the Victoria district who had not made up his mind that . . . there could be no further safety for white men in Mashonaland until



Capt. F. C. Selous (seated on sack in front row) shown with a portion of "H" troop, Bulawayo Field Force, in front of Fort Marquand of which he was in command in 1896.

(National Archives)

the power of the Matabele was broken.'⁵⁷ In another lecture, to the Royal Geographic Society, Selous once more comes to the defence of the B.S.A. Company by declaring that "not only has the occupation of the country by the B.S.A. Company been effected without wronging the native races but it has very likely saved some of them from absolute destruction at the hands of the Matabele".⁵⁸ In these lectures Selous was not defending the B.S.A. Company as such, he was merely carrying out what he probably regarded as his duty to the country he had helped found. That he helped the Company was subsidiary to his main aim of supporting the settlers which emerges in his clashes with the notorious radical writer Labouchere, which are reported in the *African Review* of 1894.

Indeed, Selous' clash with Labouchere is of great interest and it is well worth digressing for a moment to study the debate in a little detail. The cores of both arguments are revealed in two letters to the *London Times* republished in the *African Review* (24th February, 1894).⁵⁹ Selous attempts to refute Labouchere's allegations and challenges him to substantiate them. Selous claims he desires to correct for the public Labouchere's image of the British in Rhodesia as "inhuman brutes" while defending his settler friends. Labouchere contends he is merely doing a good public service in drawing attention to the iniquities of the Matabele war. He makes wide and serious accusations as to the conduct of the war alleging settler cruelty, the shooting of prisoners, the deliberate provocation of war and dismisses Selous' evidence as suspect because he was a Company employee. Labouchere's evidence seems to be based on an alleged

statement by a Capt. Francis of Goold-Adams' force and from statements by anonymous troopers.

Selous vehemently argues back that he never saw or heard of a prisoner being shot and refers to evidence from other men in Goold-Adams' column and in Raaffs' Rangers. Furthermore, Selous denied the existence of any sinister design behind the death of Lobengula's indunas at Tati while they were en route to Cape Town for negotiations with Loch (The High Commissioner), and this view was supported by an enquiry by Major Sawyer, Loch's secretary, which exonerated all concerned. But the incident certainly tended to justify Lobengula's and Labouchere's belief that war was forced on the Matabele. Selous goes further in his attempt to remove all the blame for the war from the Company by reporting that when he heard of, what is now known as the Victoria Incident, he cabled Jameson offering his help, if the situation was serious. Jameson cabled back saying things had settled down and he hoped there would be peace.

More important to our interest is Selous' attempt to establish himself as a fair and independent commentator. Selous wrote that he "entirely repudiates the oft repeated insinuation of Mr. Labouchere that I am the paid agent of the B.S.A. Company and simply write as I am ordered to do by Mr. Rhodes . . . and as I hold no interests in Mashonaland that it is reasonable to suppose would be prejudiced in any way if the Charter were revoked and the Imperial or Cape Government was to supersede the B.S.A. Company, I maintain that I have no interest to serve in defending the officers of that Company".⁶⁰

Labouchere's reply to Selous asserted that the Company declared war because it needed the resources of Matabeleland to bolster its deteriorating financial position. Labouchere believed "that in a war waged by a financial Company with a view to re-establishing its finances, and by men collected together by the promise of 'loot' the strong probabilities are that it would be waged with cruelty and inhumanity . . . I am convinced this was the case in Matabeleland."⁶¹ Labouchere spells out his attitude to Selous' evidence by stating that if Selous had remained a hunter he would have regarded his evidence as independent. But as he speaks as an ex-employee of the Company and presumably has land or mining claims, Labouchere asserts it is in Selous' interests to maintain Company rule as the Imperial Government would not invest as much in the development of Rhodesia as would the Company.

In analysing this debate, particularly on the war questions, neither Labouchere nor Selous had a knowledge of all that had gone on in the months leading up to war. Labouchere has an understandable case, though it should be pointed out that the latest research tends to free the Company from any long premeditated plans for war, and Labouchere was writing before the publication of the Newton Report (August 1894).⁶² Only after the Victoria Incident did the Company determine on war. "From then (the Victoria Incident) onwards, from 18 June 1893, to be exact, Jameson decided on war. Come what may, the Matabele must be smashed and the country pacified."⁶³; and "it is difficult to escape the conclusion that war was largely a straightforward development of events . . . and certainly within a week he (Jameson) was making his conversion to war obvious: 'I wish to assure your excellency', he wrote to Loch on July 21st,

'that should you not prohibit it, we could from Mashonaland settle the whole question rapidly.' ".⁶⁴

However, of more relevance to us is the question of Selous' position. While Labouchere makes factual errors and exaggerated claims, such as thinking the war was due "to the occurrences at Fort Salisbury", Selous is also guilty of grossly incorrect statements—"only two women and one child have been killed in Mashonaland by white men since 1889".⁶⁵ It is hard to believe he knew nothing about the extreme actions such as those taken by Capt. Lendy in dealing with the Guerold and Bennett cases in the Mazoe and Marandellas districts in February and April 1892, where whole kraals were destroyed and the Company admitted that at least 30 Africans were killed.⁶⁶ It is just possible Selous did not know of these events but it is more likely he chose to ignore them while dealing with Labouchere. Labouchere was perfectly justified, it would appear, to suspect Selous' evidence; he was as capable of publishing deliberately misleading statements, as was Labouchere.

Labouchere's analysis of Selous' motives was also along reasonably accurate lines. There is no evidence to support Labouchere's contention that Selous was still the paid agent of the Company, but Selous did have Chartered Company shares and he did have land and mining claims. It is a hypothetical question whether Imperial or Cape Government rule would have developed Rhodesia, and thus benefited Selous' interests any better or worse than the Company, but from the evidence of Imperial rule in Bechuanaland one feels Selous almost certainly did regard the maintenance of Company rule as preferable.

In conclusion one can say that Selous certainly did propagate views which supported the Company, but he did so because they represented his own and settler views and interests. Selous was so committed to "the cause" of the white occupation of Rhodesia that he had a narrow view on some questions; but it was definitely the isolated exception rather than the rule that he misled deliberately the public. Labouchere's accusations were often exaggerated and overstated to achieve impact, but cannot be easily written off. The biases one expects to find in historical sources are fully evident in the heated Labouchere-Selous debate. Once the contestants' motives are realised the debate assumes some historical use, but generally, apart from showing the tensions of the time, it is not as reliable a guide to events in Rhodesia as are Selous' other contributions to history.

Selous' arguments with Labouchere also extended into his last book of importance—*Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (Rowland Ward, 1896), in which he recounts his and other experiences of the Matabele Rebellion. Selous had returned with his wife to manage an estate at Essexvale owned by a company floated by his friend, Maurice Heany. It was while living on this farm that the Rebellion broke out. In *Sunshine and Storm*, Selous shows considerable understanding of the Matabele position, and shows some considerably independent thought. In the preface he tries to emphasise his independence by writing: "It may be said that, as I am a friend of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and of Dr. Jameson, I ought not to have expressed the opinion that it was the removal of the police force from Matabeleland to the Transvaal which gave the natives their oppor-

tunity to revolt, since the expression of such an opinion may be held to reflect upon the administration of the Chartered Company. My reply is, that I have written a history, which, to have any value, must be truthful."⁶⁷

During the Rebellion Selous had a small force principally concerned with building and guarding a line of forts protecting the route to the south from Bulawayo. Selous tells of this work, and it shows that despite his understanding of the Matabele he felt extremely bitter, even vicious, and in this he was once more typical of many of the settlers. Before hearing the details of the outbreak of rebellion, Selous claims he was "inclined to judge the Kafirs very leniently. But my visit to Bulawayo had changed my sentiments entirely, and the accounts which I had there heard of the cruel and treacherous murders that had been perpetrated on defenceless women and children, besides at once destroying whatever sympathy I may have at first felt for the rebels, had not only filled me with indignation but had excited a desire for vengeance, which could only be satisfied by a personal and active participation in the killing of the murderers."⁶⁸

The main interest of *Sunshine and Storm* is in Selous' analysis of the causes of rebellion. He asserts that as far as he can gather, the most obvious reason was that the Matabele "disliked their position as a conquered people, and imagined that they were strong enough to throw off the yoke".⁶⁹ Selous also points to the labour question where indunas had to supply miners and farmers with African labourers, who were supposed to be paid at the rate of 10s. a month plus food. He relates the complaints of Umlugulu, one of Lobengula's chief indunas, which he heard when visited at Essexvale by the induna. "I have no complaints to make against white policemen; but the black police, 'wa duba, wa duba sebele'—they give me trouble, they really give me trouble."⁷⁰ Selous' main criticism of the Company's rule was their mishandling of the cattle distribution problem after the 1893 war; this he felt caused considerable discontent among the Matabele. He also regarded the revolt not as a spontaneous mass movement, but a plot by indunas to regain their former power through the use of the Makalaka Mlimo prophet.

Selous' analysis of the reasons for rebellion is very closely similar to that of Sir Richard Martin's official report on the Rebellions, where he cites the labour and cattle regulations, and the fact that the Matabele had never been completely subdued as the main causes.⁷¹ However, while the Martin Report is strongly critical of the Company, charging it with gross mismanagement and imprudence in the cattle and labour questions, and forcing Earl Grey to rush to the Company's defence, Selous is not as critical of the Company. He points out that if the Company had been systematically cruel and oppressive the missionaries would soon have complained. This is rather a lame defence, but after the heat and emotions of the Rebellion Selous shows more perception when he states that although government of the Africans had not been all that could be desired, it is usual when "a black man's country has been conquered by Europeans, the laws by which that country will be subsequently governed will be made in the interests of the whites and some of them will be very unpalatable to the conquered race, however just and equitable they may seem to their rulers."⁷²

In one sense, Selous is appealing that the settlers are not judged too harshly, and he cites Matabele cruelties for justification. It must be remembered that Selous' story is the white man's version, and that of a man who was intimately-involved, whose home and farm were destroyed. A great deal of credit is due Selous when he admits in his preface that as he was writing under the influence of extremely strong emotions, he most certainly will not have done justice to the Matabele—"smarting under what he perhaps had some reason to consider the arrogance and injustice of his white conquerors".⁷³

Sunshine and Storm is also of considerable use to the historian as giving a reasonable picture of the course of the Rebellion—it brings out what was to the settler a sudden but sporadic start, it shows the settlers' tactics. The settlers set up laagers in Bulawayo and other centres, and attempted to bring the people from outlying districts to them, and then the settlers moved on to the offensive, driving the Matabele to the refuge of the Matopos hills where Sir Frederick Carrington's force harried them and food supplies became so short that they were forced to negotiate. It also reveals the rather "after the fact" indignation of the settlers towards the Company "that in 1893 the fighting power and the military spirit of the Matabele . . . was only scotched, not killed".⁷⁴ Similarly, a letter by Selous' wife, a newcomer to the country, shows an understandable but not understanding attitude; some white men were found "so awfully cut about that it was quite impossible to recognize them, which only shows what savage brutes these natives are. I have absolutely no pity or sympathy with them and I hope that they will have the beating they deserve. We have not been allowed to rule them strictly enough and that is half the mischief."⁷⁵ It is of interest to note that there is a modern theory which cites B.S.A. Company under-government as a cause of the Rebellions.

Selous concludes with some thoughts on the future which show an understanding of reality which is not only a credit to Selous, but if typical of the settlers, as have been so many of Selous' views, show that they have a new comprehension of the situation as well. The Company certainly made administrative reforms which tie in closely with Selous' broad ideas. Selous hoped that Matabele grievances would be inquired into and remedied "for not until mutual confidence has again been restored between the whites and the blacks can Rhodesia prosper . . . a sulky rebellious black man, only held in subjection by fear, is both a useless and dangerous personality . . . the natives . . . shall be governed both kindly and justly as well as firmly".⁷⁶ He insists that justice and a realisation of the importance of the native question must characterise all future relations between the two races, and he concludes with an argument for the maintenance of Company rule so long as certain necessary reforms were immediately made. He felt that "should this territory be converted into a Crown colony and governed from Downing Street on hard and fast lines, some of them not at all applicable to local requirements . . . nothing but disaster is to be expected".⁷⁷

After the Rebellion Selous returned to England where he wrote and travelled the world on hunting expeditions. He campaigned against the Boer War, but though accused of being pro-Boer, his British patriotism predominated. At the

age of 65 he enlisted and fought in East Africa during the first World War, where he was killed in action in January 1917.

Selous' intense honesty and the knowledge that he would not purposefully tell an untruth—though of course he was as liable as anyone else to make mistakes—make him a reasonably fair and useful historical source for the history of the founding of Rhodesia. But he was not an historian by any means—he was a deeply involved observer, who at the particular period we are concerned with had identified his future with that of the B.S.A. Company. Selous' bias is definitely towards the Company and white settler side of the story. Except for the Rebellions, he shows little understanding or concern for the African side of the events he discusses. Selous narrates his own story, which is the story of the white occupation of southern Zambezia. Once Selous' position and character are understood and borne in mind when using his books and letters, one can obtain a useful, fair, though by no means comprehensive picture of the making of Rhodesia.

In assessing Selous' part in the founding of Rhodesia, one soon appreciates that it was a genuinely significant and momentous part. His contribution was unique. In the practical sense, his experience and knowledge were put at the service of the B.S.A. Company in guiding the Pioneer Column, in making treaties, roads and maps; on the more theoretical level, Selous was used, and sometimes misused, as a respected authority with an unsurpassed knowledge of conditions in South Central Africa.

Finally, one can say that the popular image of Selous—the "Selous myth" if you like—is largely accurate and true but inadequate in that it emphasises that of a hunter, explorer and naturalist. The image of *A Hunter's Wanderings* is perhaps the popular one, rather than that of *Travel and Adventure*, where he is the imperialist and company servant. Selous deserves his position of esteem as a founder of Rhodesia, but the popular picture does not reveal the other side of Selous' career, nor does it realise what an ordinary person Selous was—he had his faults and certain psychological traits essential to any understanding and assessment of his career. One must consider Selous' years of isolation, his restlessness, his intense desire to make good, and his very real imperialism. Selous and Rhodes were men out of very similar moulds in many ways. Rhodes' assessment of Selous is exaggerated and grandiose, but worth ending with—"the man above all others to whom we owe Rhodesia to the British Crown".⁷⁸

NOTES

1. J. G. Millais, *Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous, D.S.O.*, Longmans Green & Co., 1918, p. 13.
2. Selous to father, 22nd July, 1870. SE1/1/1.
3. Selous to mother, 13th Nov., 1868. SE1/1/1.
4. Selous, F. C, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa*, Bentley 1888, p. 57.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 247. I was told a similar story by Sir Robert Tredgold, who told me he once met an old African on the Umfuli river who worked for Selous, and testified that Africans had a deep trust in Selous' honesty and would travel great distances for Selous on the promise of future payment.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 374.
8. Selous to mother, 20th July, 1878, 25th Jan., 1880. SE1/1/1.
9. Selous to mother, 15th Oct., 1877; 25th Jan., 1880. SE1/1/1.
10. Selous to Colquhoun, 14th July, 1891. A1/7/1.

11. Selous, F. C, *Travel and Adventure in S.E. Africa* (Rowland Ward, 1893), pp. 60, 118, 153.
12. Selous to mother, 6th Apr., 1884; 13th June, 1888; 27th May, 1889; 4th June, 1889. SE1/1/1.
13. *Travels and Adventure in S.E. Africa*, p. 223.
14. For Concession, see CT1/6/8.
15. Selous, F. C, *Travel & Adventure in S.E. Africa*, p. 309. The Portuguese were worried by the Rudd Concession and the B.S.A. Company: Warhurst, P. R., *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South Central Africa* (Longmans, 1962), p. 25.
15. See page 12.
16. Selous to ? date ? A1/6/4.
17. Selous to mother, 22nd Dec., 1889. SE1/1/1.
18. Selous to Harris, 4th Oct., 1890. CT1/20/3.
19. Selous to mother, 22nd Dec., 1889; 18th May, 26th Oct., 1890; 20th July, 1891. SE1/1/1.
20. Selous to Rhodes, 5th Dec., 1890. CT1/20/3.
21. Selous to mother, 11th Jan., 1892. SE1/1/1.
22. Salisbury to Petre, 21st Nov., 1889; Petre to Salisbury, 25th Jan., 1889. C5904 Nos. 239. 153.
23. Ranger, T. O., "The Re-writing of African History during the Scramble: The Matabele dominance in Mashonaland", cyclostyled 1963.
24. Mapondera/Temaringa Concession, 25th Sept., 1889. CT1/6/8; and Ranger, op. cit.
25. Selous to Selous Exploration Syndicate, 2nd Oct. and 12th Oct., 1889. CT/1/6/8; and Ranger, op. cit.
26. Selous, F. C, *Travel and Adventure in S.E. Africa*, p. 81; also Ranger, op. cit.
27. Harris to Secretary, London Office, 27th Sept., 1893. LO5/2/30.
28. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Vol. 25, 1893-94, pp. 251-290.
29. Selous to mother, 26th Oct., 1890. SE1/1/1.
30. Selous, F. C, *Travel and Adventure in S.E. Africa*, p. 291.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
33. Mason, P., *The Birth of a Dilemma* (O.U.P., 1958), p. 68.
34. Selous to Selous Exploration Syndicate, 12th Oct., 1889. CT/1/6/8.
35. Selous to mother, 26th March, 1890; 30th April, 1890. SE1/1/1.
36. Rhodes to Abercorn, 31st Mar., 1890. L08/3/1.
37. Selous to mother, 30th Sept., 1890. SE1/1/1.
38. Colquhoun to Rhodes, 27th September, 1890. CT1/1/3.
39. Report by Pennefather, 11th Oct., 1890. CT1/1/3.
40. Harris to Colquhoun, 20th Sept., 1890. CT1/1/4.
41. Colquhoun to Rhodes, 29th Oct., 1890. CT1/1/3.
42. Selous to mother, 26th Oct., 1890; 16th Nov., 1890; 24th Dec., 1890; 25th Jan., 1891. SE1/1/1.
43. Selous to mother, 19th Aug., 1891; 3rd Sept., 1891. SE1/1/1.
44. Hoste, H. F., "Rhodesia in 1890" in *Rhodesiana*, No. 12, Sept. 1965 (The Rhodesiana Society), p. 18.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
46. Colquhoun to B.S.A. Company, Cape Town, 21st Sept., 1890. CT1/12/8.
47. Selous to mother, 26th Oct., 1890. SE1/1/1.
48. Selous, F. C, *Travel and Adventure in S.E. Africa*, p. 426.
49. Selous to mother, 19th Aug., 1891. SE1/1/1.
50. B.S.A. Company, Cape Town, to Colquhoun, 27th Sept., 1890. CT1/20/3.
51. Dorey, Anne: "The Victoria Incident and the Anglo-Matabele War of 1893", C.A.H.A. Local Series No. 16, Aug. 1966, e.g. p. 13.
52. Selous to mother, 30th Sept., 1890; 26th Oct., 1890; 7th Oct., 1891. SE1/1/1.
53. Selous to mother, 15th Nov., 1893; 27 Nov., 1893. SE1/1/1.
54. Selous to Rhodes, 6th Dec., 1894. F.O. Confidential Prints 6688, 1 (2).
55. Coillard, F., *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1897), p. 324.
56. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Vol. 25, 1893-94, p. 261.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 263.
58. *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1893, pp. 289-324.
59. *The African Review*, Vol. 3, 1894, 24th Feb., 1894, pp. 249-52.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
62. Newton Report. C7555.
63. Gann, L. H. *History of Southern Rhodesia* (Chatto & Windus, 1965), p. 113.
64. Dorey, Anne: "The Victoria Incident and the Anglo-Matabele War of 1893" (C.A.H.A., 1966), pp. 12 and 17.
65. *African Review*, op. cit., p. 250.
66. See correspondence in C7171, 11, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32; and Mason, P., *Birth of a Dilemma* (O.U.P., 1958), pp. 155-9.
67. Selous, F. C, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (Rowland Ward, 1896), p. viii.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
69. *Ibid.*, p. ix.
70. *Ibid.*, p. xi.
71. The Martin Report on the Native Administration of the B.S.A. Company. C.8547.
72. Selous, F. C, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, p. xvi.
73. *Ibid.*, p. xix.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
75. Mrs. Selous to mother and father, 28th Mar., 1895. SE1/1/1.
76. Selous, F. C, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, p. xvi.
77. Selous, F. C, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, p. 257.
78. Quoted in Bertha Selous Philips and Elizabeth Walsh, "Selous and His Road" in *African World Annual*, Vol. 47, 1951, pp. 46-7.

Bibliography

A. PRIMARY SOURCES :

1. *Selous' Letters*: Historical manuscripts; National Archives.
 - (a) *SE1/1/1*: These are the most comprehensive and useful source. They are nearly all written to his mother, covering the period 13th November, 1868-28th March, 1895. Unfortunately there are in places large gaps in the dates between letters, probably due to Selous' difficulty in posting letters. Presumably these letters, as they were private, come closest to what Selous really felt, and are particularly useful on the question of Selous' financial position and his relations with the B.S.A. Company.
 - (b) *SE1/1/2*: General Correspondence, 29th December, 1898-18th April, 1918. These are of little use to us, covering the period after Selous' African career. They do reveal Selous' attitude to the Boer War.
 - (c) *SE1/1/3*: Roosevelt Correspondence (November 1897-28th August, 1915). These are of little use, mainly being concerned with hunting in the U.S.A. They do show Roosevelt's high opinion of Selous.
2. *British South Africa Company correspondence*: Inventory of Public Archives, 1891-1923; National Archives.
 - (a) *Cape Town (Kimberley) Office*: These show the Company's attitude on the questions in which Selous was involved. They show how the Company officials regarded Selous, and are mainly of use on the period around the occupation of Mashonaland.
 - CT1/1 Administration, Mashonaland.
 - (1) Official and demi-official 1889, 28th Dec.-27th July, 1890.
 - (2) Official and demi-official 1890, 2nd Aug.-22nd Sept.
 - (3) Official and demi-official 1890, 3rd Sept.-15th Nov.
 - (4) Official and demi-official 1890, 1st Nov.-3rd Dec.
 - (5) Official and demi-official 1890, 2nd Dec.-17th Feb., 1891.
 - (6) Official and demi-official 1891, 7th Jan.-12th Aug.
 - CT1/6/8 Makorikori Concession, 21st Jan., 1891-28th Mar., 1894.
 - CT1/11/1/8 Treaties made: Sept. 1890-Jan. 1891.
 - CT1/12/8 Manica Reports, 21st Sept., 1890-17th Feb., 1891.
 - CT1/20 Selous Road Expedition.
 - (1) High Commissioner, 1890, 3rd Apr.-6th June.
 - (2) Johnson, F., 23rd Nov., 1889-26th Nov., 1890.
 - (3) Selous, F. C, 1890, 2nd Apr.-5th Dec.
 - (b) *London Office*: These show the more general and purely political and financial attitudes of the Company. Interesting letters from Rhodes to Company directors in London are of some general use.
 - L05/2 Cape Town (30), 1893, 27th Sept.-25th Oct.
 - L08/3/1 Miscellaneous, copies of letters relating to the occupation.
 - (c) *Administrator's Office*: These are of great use as they show in some detail the problems and attitudes of Company officials on the spot. Some of direct concern to Selous' work.
 - A1/6/1 Manica Reports 1890, 19th Oct.-3rd Dec.
 - A1/6/2 Manica Reports 1890, 4th Dec.-21st Dec.
 - A1/6/3 Manica Reports 1890, 22nd Dec.-16th Mar., 1891.
 - A1/6/4 Manica Reports 1891, 24th Mar.-16th July.
 - A1/7/1 Mashonaland: Occupation of, Laws and Regulations and sundry matters, 28th May, 1890-5th July, 1891.
 - (d) *B.S.A. Company Annual Reports, 1889-98*: These were of little real use, being concerned with describing Company operations in very general terms.
3. *The Ellerton Fry Papers*: FR1/4/1: Historical manuscripts. Ellerton Fry was a close associate of Selous in making the Selous road. His letters reveal very little of use that is new on Selous or the Pioneers.
4. *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons*:
 - C5904 of 1890: Corres. re action of Portugal in Mashonaland and in the Districts of

the Shire and Lake Nyasa. These are of great use in showing Anglo-Portuguese relations on the eastern border of Mashonaland. They give the background to Selous' involvement and information.

C7555 of 1894: Report by Mr. F. J. Newton *re* collision between Matabele and forces of B.S.A. Co. These give some background information, of some use in assessing Matabele and settler attitudes.

C8547 of 1897: Report by Sir R. E. R. Martin on the Native Administration of the B.S.A. Co. Background to the Rebellion—important on causes and B.S.A. Co. rule.

5. *Foreign Office Confidential Prints 6688*: These are of little use as they are concerned with affairs north of the Zambezi. They are only of limited use on Selous' involvement in the Bartose border question.
6. Selous, F. C, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (Richard Bentley, 1881).
Selous, F. C, *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa* (Rowland Ward & Co., 1893).
Selous, F. C, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (Rowland Ward, 1896).

Selous' books are the other major source. They themselves reveal the changes in Selous' life—hunter, imperialist, settler. They are useful in showing any changes in Selous' attitude when he was able to look back, but there is no real divergence of opinion between them and his letters. *Travel and Adventure* is the most useful as it is concerned with the pre-Pioneer and Pioneer period. Though he might be accused of a Company bias in the last two books, all are essentially adventure stories and narratives of Selous' life. That they publicised Rhodesia was secondary to their main purpose of making money for Selous.

7. *Articles by Selous*:

- (a) *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1893-94*, Vol. 25. With hindsight, Selous looks at the Matabele war—of some use.
- (b) *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1893—F. C. Selous, "Twenty Years in Zambezia". Useful, as it reveals some of Selous' broad ideas.
- (c) *African Review*, Vol. 3, 1894—Useful summary on Selous' clashes with Labouchere.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES :

1. Ranger, T. O., "The Re-writing of African History during the Scramble: The Matabele Dominance in Mashonaland" (cyclostyled, 1963). This is a most valuable and useful paper—it raises many interesting points which are discussed in this assessment of Selous. Ranger is largely fair to Selous and is very accurate in assessing the Company attitude and position. Perhaps Ranger does underestimate the value of Selous' books as sources of historical information.
2. Millais, J. G., *Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous* (Longmans Green & Co., 1918). Very useful as a factual account of Selous' career. But as Millais was a close friend of Selous he is not particularly critical. This is the biography of Selous. There is a great need for a good, modern biography of Selous.
3. Mason, Philip, *The Birth of a Dilemma* (O.U.P., 1958). Only really of use in that it gives an excellent discussion on the Company's legal title to Mashonaland and Matabeleland.
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7. Coillard, Francois, *On The Threshold of Central Africa* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1897). Only of use on Selous' limited involvement on the Bartose border question.
8. Lockhart, J. G., and Woodhouse, C. M., *Rhodes* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1963). Gives one some ideas on Selous' relations with Rhodes and the B.S.A. Company.
9. *Rhodesiana*, No. 12, September 1965 (Rhodesiana Society). Gives an edition of H. F. Hoste's diary which is useful in giving a general impression of the Pioneer expedition.

C. ALSO CONSULTED :

1. Tabler, E. C, *Pioneers of Rhodesia* (C. Struik (Pty.) Ltd., 1966). Briefly gives the facts on Selous' life.
2. Tanser, G. H., *Founders of Rhodesia* (O.U.P., 1950). A brief article giving the "popular" picture of Selous.
3. Loveday, A. F., *Three Stages of History in Rhodesia* (A. A. Balkema, 1960?). The "popular" analysis of Selous.
4. Wills, A. J., *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa* (O.U.P., 1964). Good introduction to the history of the whole period.

- D. Conversation with Sir Robert Tredgold (Saturday, 28th Jan., 1967). I am indebted to a talk with Sir Robert Tredgold which helped to clarify and consolidate some of my ideas on Selous. Sir Robert has a very real interest in Selous and personally knew some of the men who knew Selous. He particularly impressed me with Selous' honesty. My grateful thanks are due to Sir Robert Tredgold for his help and encouragement.

Ballyhooly Hotel

by A. S. Hickman

Part 1

For some years I have been attracted by the delightful Irish name of Ballyhooly, and now find it is that of a village west of Fermoy in Co. Cork. But the Rhodesian place of the same name was an hotel owned and run by Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Orton, very popular characters amongst early Rhodesians in 1896. Not only was their hotel, situated 12 miles from Salisbury on the road to Umtali, a staging halt for the coaches, but also a pleasure resort for the people of Salisbury, being at a convenient distance for those who could ride or drive there, well patronised at weekends, and even by honeymooners.

I do not know at present how this name came to be adopted, but in Rhodesian records the spelling was either Ballyhooly or Ballyhooley, and I first saw a reference to it in the B.S.A. Company's official report on "Native Disturbances, 1896/97". It was also reputed to have a fine swimming pool in the nearby Ruwa River.

So it was obvious that the site should be looked for under present conditions somewhere on the Salisbury side of Ruwa village, and I had noticed a clump of giant gum trees to the south of the main road but never visited the spot. Then the trees disappeared. Charles Plastow and his wife, as editors of the local district news, made an appeal for information about the place, but had no response. Then he talked me, not unwillingly, into carrying out a search with Mrs. Norah Jack of Goromonzi, who had seen this hotel as a child. With me came Theo Rudman, a member of the Rhodesiana Society, and we met yesterday (29th November, 1967) at Ruwa Store, and drove back along the Salisbury road, Mrs. Jack feeling confident that she could locate the site, but being handicapped by the loss of the trees as a landmark. We crossed the railway line at an old road which is now wired across, and by so doing gave ourselves a lot of extra walking. We had seen a large dilapidated gum tree further downhill near the railway line, but decided to work our chosen area first, as we had heard that a farmer a few years before had felled the large gums in order to clear an extensive field for tobacco planting. It is now overgrown with fairly long grass, and through this we searched without success.

Then Plastow went ahead and returned running to say he had found some foundations near a large mkondo tree. It is indeed the site of the lost hotel. When we carried out a more detailed search we found traces of quite extensive foundations in a level area of ground, but were handicapped by the tangle of grass. The evidence consisted of dressed stones, which are typical pioneer foundations, and many burnt bricks. The latter are of a sandy type, and were probably burnt on the site. We did not find the midden, but look forward to doing so with evidence of bottles and tins, but Rudman did locate parts of a



Left to right: Charles Plastow,
Mrs. Jack and Col. Hickman.

bottle at the corner of a foundation and Mrs. Jack picked up fragments of crockery at the foot of the large tree; some of these carried floral designs in blue.

Mrs. Jack, of the famous Rhodesian family of Nesbitt, told me that as a child she had been in the last coach from Umtali to travel the Salisbury road before the Mashona Rising broke out, and had been one of those who slept in a cell at the Gaol, where the women and children were housed in laager at Salisbury. It was a year or so later that she was taken to Ballyhooly, then deserted and looted, and the strong impression that has remained with her all these years is the sight of tins of food lying about, each of which had been pierced by an assegai. In my opinion this was not just wilful destruction, but probably a precaution against witchcraft in case something malevolent might have emerged from the tins. It is in keeping with the report that Matabele warriors in 1893 fired their rifles at bursting shells in the belief that they were countering the attacks of little white men who would otherwise emerge.

Near the foundation site we found that some enormous gum trees had been felled and left to lie where they were, and there were deep pits from which the roots had been dug. It appears that the farmer who undertook the task may have given it up uncompleted when he realised what a labour it would be to make good the land, not only on account of the trees, but because of the foundations and the piles of bricks and stones lying about. One such pile of granite and other assorted stones may well have formed a rockery. We did not find any evidence, except for the gums, of any other non-indigenous trees or bushes growing around the hotel. The ancient gum which I have already-referred to, appears to have been a regrowth, and is about 100 yards from another tree of the same species near the railway fence—a descendant of the original plantings.



The landmark.

It would be most desirable to carry out a survey of the whole area when the grass has been cleared, when it may be possible to determine the whole lay-out precisely. Certainly it is by no means spectacular, but is definitely historic, particularly on account of its link with Salisbury and its connection with the Mashona Rising.

Bearing in mind the bathing pool I had been surprised that the site should



A dressed stone of the foundation.

appear to be so far from the Ruwa River, the distance from which I had reckoned from the old drift near the present main road bridge. But Mrs. Jack solved this problem quite simply. Just across the road from the hotel is the Boy Scout's Training Camp, Ythan Park, where there are excellent facilities for a dip, and I am sure she is correct in guessing that this was the place patronised by hotel guests.

We therefore gave ourselves a good deal of extra toil in finding sites which were really under our noses all the time. I am pleased, however, that we did it the harder way if only to see a demonstration by Mrs. Jack of the qualities of handihood of some of our more senior Rhodesian citizens. She told us, and we could observe ourselves, that she enjoyed pushing her way through the bush and long grass to cover quite a considerable distance, and her powers of observation as a veldtswoman were excellent. I will not state her age, but she tells me she has been married for 57 years and now has 20 great-grandchildren. Her husband, at the age of 85, is also very spry; he rises daily at 5 and puts in two hours supervision of his dairy herd. Rupert Jack was formerly Government Chief Entomologist, used to travel in remote places. I was proud as a junior officer in the B.S.A. Police in 1931 to be able to help him in the control of tse-tse fly on the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls road, particularly in the region of the Gwaai River.

Part 2

Before closing this preliminary report I would like to mention certain references I have found about the Ballyhooly Hotel and places in its vicinity. In the British South Africa Company "Report on Native Disturbances 1896/97" it is stated that at Ballyhooly Hotel, 12 miles from Salisbury, were Dr. and Mrs. Orton and Tucker, the barman. At Kirriemuir, 20 miles from Salisbury, were Horace Law, the storekeeper, and Dickinson, a guest. Near the road between Law's and Matshanganyikas' (Mashonganyika) at their farmhouse were A. D. Campbell, the Native Commissioner, and his brother (G. D. Campbell).

On 19th June, 1896, Campbell, with C. T. Stevens (later killed in action near Chishawasha,) set out to warn the "whites" in the district of the impending rebellion of the Mashona. "At the same time Messrs. Reed and Brown were sent out with a cart to bring in Mrs. Orton. Matters were so serious on Mr. Campbell's arrival that he considered it inadvisable for the whites to attempt to reach Salisbury, and urged them to rally at his farm. After warning Law and the Ortons, he and Stevens were reconnoitering, when they saw the Orton's cart literally surrounded by kaffirs, who were dragging it along towards Campbell's farm. There was no one in the cart, and Campbell and Stevens could do nothing but dash off to Salisbury under heavy fire. On arrival at Salisbury, Campbell was convinced that all the whites in that district had been cut off, but towards midnight Mrs. Orton made her appearance with Reed and Brown, the party having had a most sensational escape. Later on, the same night, Dr. Orton turned up with the stock of his gun shot away, he having saved

himself when the cart was attacked by creeping away in the long grass. Law, Dickinson and the others were killed."

In the casualty list of those reported murdered or missing, are the following entries:—

30. Adam Johnstone Dickinson, June 19th 1896, Salisbury District, tailor, murdered near Law's store, on Umtali road.

68. Horace Law, about June 20, 1896, Salisbury District, storekeeper, murdered near N. C. Campbell's farm, body supposed to be his found July 25.

96. Arthur Smith, about June 18, 1896, Salisbury District, believed to have been murdered near Ballyhooly.

105. Augustus Thomas Tucker, June 20th, 1896, Salisbury District, barman at Ballyhooly murdered near Law's store, body found August 3.

So Native Commissioner Campbell's assessment of the position was very nearly correct. His brother, George Duncombe Campbell, was murdered at his own farm, which had been recommended to the district people as a rallying point and lies along the Goromonzi turn-off from the main road. Others, not connected with this narrative were also killed, and of the four whom I have listed only one, Smith, was killed near Ballyhooly, and nothing is known about him, but the date of his death, June 18th, is before that of the others and I wonder how that came to be proved, unless the Ortons, who escaped the day following, had observed the body.

The barman, Tucker, obviously had fled along the Umtali road towards Law's, on his way to Campbell's, when he was overtaken. Law himself was well on his way to Campbell's and his visitor, Dickinson, died near Law's store itself. This seems somewhat peculiar because on June 16th, Dickinson had travelled with a party from Salisbury led by G. Lamb, which had camped that night about a mile beyond Ballyhooly and next morning had left Dickinson as a visitor at Law's. "Mr. Law evidently knew nothing then of the native rising" says Miss Carter, who wrote the story of the escape of this group, which was later joined by the Vicomte de la Panouse, in the "Rhodesia Herald".

Reluctantly they had turned back before they reached Headlands, and endured a number of attacks en route until "About a mile from Law's the attacking parties left us, and with the help of the moon and a better road our rate of progress was more satisfactory. We reached Law's about 11 p.m. where all was in darkness. After repeated calls to which we could get no response, the Count, Messrs. Lamb, Finch and Hudson went in a body to the house, which was deserted and looted."

Why had Law left his visitor and gone on himself towards Campbell's? Dickinson was murdered on June 19th, two days after he had been left at Law's on June 17th, and Law the following day. Miss Carter continues, "They (the men of her party) fired some of the outer huts which obscured the view, and then made the animals secure, after which we took refuge in a room. Our pickets were then posted, three at a time, in two watches. The boys were instructed to light fires both in front and at the back of the house. These proved very serviceable to the men on guard, as the night was bitterly cold."

At 2 in the morning, a Cape Coloured, Jacob Nelson, badly wounded,

joined Lamb's party which soon after daybreak moved on from their "handy place of shelter". After travelling about a mile they saw a huge column of smoke ascending from Law's dwelling, which they assumed had been set on fire by the rebels. They were sniped at intervals along the road, and in one incident a little dog walking between the Count and Lamb was shot dead. "On nearing Ballyhooly we were in a state of dread, fully expecting again to meet evidence of horrible crimes. Our last attack occurred about half a mile before reaching Dr. Orton's (the Hotel). Here the assault was fast and furious, the wounded boy Jacob ultimately shot the rebel leader, after which we were left in peace. We found Ballyhooly deserted and partly looted..." (Miss Carter). Lamb and his party eventually reached Salisbury safely after literally running the gauntlet from between Marandellas and Bromley to their destination. Their survival was due largely to their own courage and determination.

Two other episodes are also relevant. On June 29th, Capt. Taylor, in command of a detachment of the Salisbury Field Force, attacked Besa's kraal, which lay between Ballyhooly and Salisbury. The defenders retreated and a large quantity of grain was captured; there were no casualties. Three days later a force of 10 Europeans and 60 Zulus was sent to Besa's under Sergeant-Major J. A. Edmonds (of Glen Lome) and brought back three wagon loads of grain, suffering no casualties.

On September 10th, Simbanoota's kraal, which was the main Mashona stronghold in this area, situated not far from Ballyhooly on the Ruwa River, was attacked by Rhodesian, and British regular troops, under Major Tennant, a local officer of the Artillery Troop. This kraal was shelled, stormed and burnt, the defenders retreating into their caves, on which explosives were used; there were several casualties in killed and wounded, and it is of interest to note that a Rhodesian officer was placed in command of British regular soldiers.

I think men from this kraal must have been those who looted Vicomte de la Panouse's wagon, which had to be abandoned, due to its weight, when carrying luxury goods from the coast. I say this because deep in one of the caves my youngest son, Jeremy, found evidence some years ago in the shape of a French perfume bottle with its neck broken off. It is marked "Sylvin, Parfumeur, Paris".

Finally a few extracts from G. H. Tanser's "A Scantling of Time" to give some idea of the Ballyhooly Hotel's close link with Salisbury.

"The Salisbury Cycle Club had a large "mixed" membership and runs were made to Six Mile Spruit (Beatrice Road) or to Ballyhooly Hotel, while strong men thought nothing of cycling to Umtali. . ."

The Salisbury European population at this time—not stated—was well over one thousand.

But in 1899, when the railway line from Beira reached Salisbury, there were festivities of all kinds. "Nor were the children forgotten; a few days later they had their share of the fun. Boxes of toys were bought and sent out to Ballyhooly and the children and their parents were given free train rides to Ruwa and back again after sports, cakes and ice-cream".

It is obvious therefore that Ballyhooly was restored and patronised after

the Mashona Rising, but I have no evidence yet to say when it was abandoned finally. Mrs. Jack also remembers being driven to Ballyhooly for a picnic, particularly as her party had to cross the railway line shortly before the passing of a train.

So I must finish this article with the trite remark—"to be continued in our next", and my intention is to gather further information about this once-celebrated week-end resort. I am truly delighted that its site has been found at long last!

A footnote which may perhaps indicate that the Ballyhooly Hotel could have been given up, or perhaps taken over by new owners, before 1899, is the following notice of death now at National Archives, and completed by Dr. John Henry Orton in shaky handwriting:—Katherine Elizabeth Orton, aged 44, died at Ballyhooly on 21st March, 1898. Her maiden name was Brett, from Etherstone, England, her name by her first marriage—Avery, and she had three children by that marriage.

Nothing more has been found on record about Dr. Orton, but further research will be made. If the Ballyhooly Hotel was abandoned in 1898 then perhaps the 1899 children's picnic was held at the site. I wonder if there are any Rhodesians who still remember this party?

Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne:

Part 1

Australia to Salisbury: 1890-1892

(Dudley Guy Gisborne was born in London in 1858 and educated at Brighton College. He emigrated to Australia and then came to South Africa hoping to join the 1890 Pioneer Column. He was just too late so he enrolled as a Trooper in the Bechuanaland Border Police on August 15th, 1890. He was appointed to 'E' Troop and posted to Macloutsie where he stayed until 1892. Early in that year he was allowed to leave the force, before his two years' contract was up, and he took a job at Weil's store at Macloutsie. He was transferred to Salisbury later in the year and in 1893 he joined 'B' Troop of the Salisbury Horse which invaded Matabeleland in 1893. He became a corporal in the Salisbury Horse. He took part in the engagements at Shangani and Bembesi and after the conquest of Matabeleland he succeeded Capt. J. H. Kennedy as Quartermaster of the newly formed Matabeleland Mounted Police. He took part in the Jameson Raid and ended his service with the B.S.A. Police in 1896. He later prospected the Tuli coalfields, and for 20 years he was the general representative of the Goldfields Company in Filabusi. Except for a few years' stay in Pietersburg after the Boer War, his whole life after arriving in Africa was spent in Rhodesia. He died in Bulawayo on September 7th, 1939, in his 82nd year. He was a devout churchman and, as a young man, an all-round athlete as well as a good singer. His son, T. G. Gisborne, who died in 1966 became a well-known civil servant, serving as Deputy High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia in Rhodesia House, London, and afterwards as Secretary for External Affairs for the government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.—Editor.)

Having decided to throw in my lot with the Chartered Company in the Occupation of Rhodesia I started to make my plans. In 1890 there were not many chances of getting to South Africa by steamer or sailing ship. From Australia steamers seldom made the voyage, and sailing ships were scarce. Occasionally one was advertised to leave some smaller port between Sydney and Adelaide; and I managed to find a schooner loading flour at Port Pirie, in South Australia, on which I booked for Cape Town.

She was a Norwegian schooner of 200 tons burden named the "Edward" and manned by a Norwegian skipper and crew. The accommodation, of course, was rough, and the catering bad, but I was glad to take any chance that offered to reach my destination, for I knew the Chartered Company were mustering their forces for the advance into Mashonaland. We sailed in May with the idea that the voyage would take about 50 days. All went well through the Australian Bight, but our troubles began in rounding Cape Lewin where we ran into a terrific storm. Though accustomed to ocean travel I had never seen such moun-

tainous seas, and became very sea-sick. Occasionally I used to struggle on deck to get fresh air, but the small boat I was on seemed to be fighting for her life against seas that almost overwhelmed her, and I was glad to get back to my uncomfortable quarters below.

After three weeks of this sort of thing the weather moderated, and we managed to crawl round the Cape, and steered North to catch the Trade Winds. Having reached the Degree of Latitude where these winds may be expected we turned West and headed for the Island of Mauritius, and the coast of Africa. Eventually, after a slow journey, delayed by light winds, and calm, reached Cape Agulhas, the extreme southern point of the African Continent. Just as we were thinking that, in the morning following, we would sail into Cape Town, a gale sprang up similar to the one we experienced in rounding Cape Lewin, and drove us south, and kept us there, hove-to, for a fortnight.

These delays were most irritating, for instead of 50 days our voyage had lasted 80, and we only reached Cape Town early in July.

I had a letter of introduction to Sir Hercules Robinson, given to me by my uncle, who had known him when he was Governor of Ceylon; and, after a night's rest, lost no time in making my way to Government House and presenting it. I was ushered in to Sir Graham Bower's office, he acting as Secretary to the High Commissioner, and the interview began. Having explained who I was, and what I had come for, I soon found that the "Edward" had been too slow, and that I had missed the opportunity, I came so far to take, of being one of the Force which left Tuli to enter Mashonaland—for, pointing to a map on the wall the Secretary to His Excellency explained that the Pioneer Column—according to latest reports—had already reached the Lundi River on its way North. It was therefore impossible for me to overtake it! It was all a great disappointment; but I had come to Africa for adventure, and meant to stay, and see things through.

So when Sir Graham Bower asked if I would care to join the Bechuanaland Border Police, stating that he knew Sir Frederick Carrington—who was in command at Mafeking—well, and would send him a wire to enquire if there was a vacancy, I agreed, and he told me to call on him next morning when he would, most likely, get a reply. At 10 a.m. next day I was at his office to hear that a message had come from the O.C. B.B.P. to say that he would be glad to take me on if I could pass the medical and other tests, and would come to Mafeking to see him.

At that time the railhead was at Kimberley, so I took the first train there, and then went on in a Dutchman's waggon to Mafeking. I had a pleasant journey, shooting in the "Vaal" bush when the waggons were outspanned, and enjoying myself generally, for the Dutchman was a thoroughly good fellow, and helped me in every way he could. At Mafeking I had to appear at the Orderly Room, and then visit the Doctor who passed me as fit, without hesitation, and on August 15th, 1890, was enrolled as a Trooper in the B.B.P. The O.C. then asked me to what station I should like to go to take up my duties, and I chose Macloutsie. This was the most Northern Border Police Station under Imperial control, and about 60 miles south of Tuli, which was the Chartered Company's



D. G. Gisborne at Filabusi in the 1920's.

base on the Shasi River, and some 300 miles north of Mafeking. I was told to call on Julius Weil & Co., who were contractors to the Government, and who would give me rations for the road, and arrange transport for me in the next convoy of waggons leaving for the North. The journey took three weeks. We travelled via Ramoutsa, Selika, and along the Crocodile River; and it was all most enjoyable. The weather was fine, and there was excellent shooting; and the novelty of visiting a new country, and seeing new conditions of life appealed to my love of adventure.

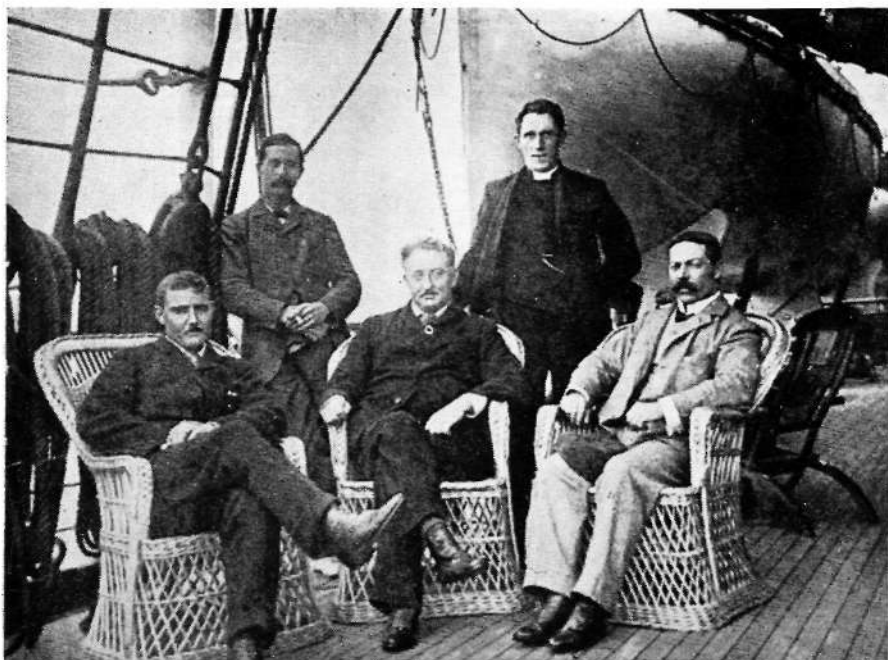
About the middle of September I reached my destination, and was appointed to "E" Troop. There were three troops then stationed at Mac-loutsie—"E", "F" and "G"—numbering in all 300 men. As the station was newly formed we lived under canvas. Life in a Police Force in those days was pleasant. The duties we were called on to perform were not exacting, nor heavy. An occasional parade, or an hour spent at drill, or a fatigue (as it was called) when waggons with supplies arrived and had to be off-loaded, completed the necessary routine. For this a Trooper, to start with, received 6s. a day, out of which 2s. were deducted for rations.

We were supposed to be a Mounted Force, but the country round Mac-loutsie was most unhealthy, and horse sickness was rife. In May of each year,

after the rains, a large number of "Remounts" were purchased by the Government down south for our use, but within three months of their arrival at our camp 90 per cent died. In spite of every attention, careful feeding, and a veterinary staff to look after them horse sickness took its toll, and the new arrivals died daily. Ten per cent, perhaps, recovered and became "salted", and on these the Force depended for patrolling. The Officer Commanding the B.B.P. at Mac-loutsie, when I belonged to it, was Colonel (now Sir) Raleigh Gray. Other officers in charge of the three troops included the Hon. Charles Coventry (later on badly wounded at Doornkop in the Jameson raid) Captains Coleman, Sitwell, Gosling, Bodilly and others.

I had signed on in 1890 for two years with the Force, but being offered a civilian billet in Weil's store at Mac-loutsie, after 18 month's service, I was allowed, as a favour, to take my discharge in order to better myself. It was a generous concession made by the authorities to help me advance towards the goal I was aiming at when I first landed in Africa, viz., to get to Rhodesia as soon as possible, and help in its development. I stayed for six months in Weil's store with E. E. Herman as my chief, when the opportunity was afforded me of proceeding to Salisbury as Manager there, under Herman, I jumped at the chance and lost no time in booking my seat in the cart which carried the mail through from the south to the capital of Rhodesia.

The conveyance was a covered Scotch cart drawn by six or eight Zulu oxen. These were a small breed of oxen supposed to "trot" but only doing so when they thought fit. However, I took my seat and started for the Tuli. This was the base of the Chartered Company's operations, and a busy place, from which all their transport waggons started north, being a storage depot on a large scale under Q.M. Tighe. It was also a base camp for the arrival of troops of the Chartered Company's Forces, from which drafts were sent on when required. On reaching Tuli we changed from the Scotch cart to what was known as a travelling waggon—a four-wheeled covered conveyance on springs—which had once provided a very comfortable way of travelling on the rough Pioneer road which lay ahead of us, but was then, as we knew it, only fit for the scrap heap. However, drawn by eight oxen—not in the best condition—Her Majesty's Mail with four passengers, started off on the long journey to Salisbury in June, 1892. Our driver, "Ratty" Davis—as he was known—was chosen from one of the Chartered Company's Police Forces at Tuli, and had volunteered for the job—knowing nothing of driving oxen—on the chance of being able to steer our caravan, without disaster, to its destination. He had once been a captain in a British regiment, and had done good service in Burma, but this business of driving oxen in a string along a newly made bush road was new to him, and not as simple as it looked when he started from the Tuli Hotel with a great flourish of his whip to cross the Shashi River. Along the Pioneer road in those days were trading stores, and canteens at intervals of 12 miles or more, and the first we passed on the Mashonaland side of the Shashi Drift, opposite Tuli, where there was a hotel, store and bar—the first of its kind to be met within Chartered Company's territory. Under the control of Julius Weil & Co., of Mafeking, and in charge of two well-known characters, Pioneer Tomkins and "Poobah"



An interesting snapshot taken when the author D. G. Gisborne, was travelling on the "Tantallon Castle" from England to Cape Town in 1897. In the Group (from left to right) are sitting: J. Grimmer, Cecil Rhodes and W. Napier. Standing: D. G. Gisborne and W. Shimrin.

Powell, this place did an enormous trade. The bar was full early and late, and many a young fellow acquired habits there, which, in a few years sent him to his grave.

Her Majesty's Mail wasted no time here, and in turn passed canteens at the "Ipagee" and "Umzingwani" rivers, and was travelling on towards the "Nuanetsi" when our troubles began. The road was in a dreadful state. There were deep ruts everywhere which acted as channels for water in the heavy rains, and were, in many cases, three or four feet deep. Nor was it easy to avoid the stumps of trees which had been left standing by the Pioneers who cut the road. The moon was nearly full, and night time was the best for travelling. As we were going along at about 1 a.m., somewhere between the "Umzingwani" and "Nuanetsi" rivers, our driver failed to avoid a deep rut in the road. The two wheels on the near side of our coach fell into it and broke at once. We were all thrown out and soon realised that our conveyance was damaged beyond repair. Luckily the accident happened not far from a building which turned out to be a wayside store on the "Gondokwe" river, where we aroused the inmates and found shelter till morning. We then had to decide what to do. First of all we went to see our driver "Ratty" Davis and examined the wreck of his coach. It was beyond repair; but after considerable trouble we put the two sound wheels on to the front axle, and on this fixed a platform to which the mailbags were lashed—the remaining parts of the coach, hood, body and wheels, were left

where the accident occurred as worthless—the oxen inspanned, and Davis started off to complete his journey and deliver his precious burden—precious no doubt it was, and eagerly looked forward to by the Pioneers living in Salisbury, far away from the outside world and civilisation.

For ourselves, we had to buy a donkey from some natives, which cost £8, and with our kit and belongings on its back we started off to walk to the next store, five or six miles off, and situated on the banks of the "Nuanetsi" river. Here we spent a day or two. Men called Sandeman and Knight were partners in this venture, which was the usual type of a wayside store. The canteen was the most important part of it, and the proprietors seemed to drink more whisky than they sold. Sandeman—a nephew of Sir John Sandeman of Baluchistan fame—had been an officer in the Navy, and no doubt had had to leave the service on account of over-indulgence in liquor. It was a pity for he was a fine looking man and did all he could for us. We found out from him that at the next store, 20 miles distant on the "Lundi" river, telegraphic communication had been established with Salisbury, so we hurried on to get in touch with the mail contractor there, and tell him what had happened to us. It was a long journey. However, we started early and got to the "Lundi" river before sun-down, and sent our message through to Salisbury by the first chance that offered. Dudley Bates was then contractor for the mail service. Some years later, when the country was settled, he became a prominent man, and Mayor of Salisbury. He replied to our tale by promising to send a scotch cart and oxen from headquarters to fetch us, and we waited patiently till it came. It took some days to arrive, but we were glad to see it, and lost no time in starting off to complete our journey.

By gradual stages we passed the "Tokwe" river, and then Fern Spruit and a wayside store where three partners struggled to make a living. "Billy" Bruce, "Wingy" Bowden, and "Bertie" Galt were of the usual convivial type. All three, later on, became members of the B.S.A. Police, took part in the Occupation of Matabeleland in 1893, and, like the great bulk of those early Pioneers, have passed on. There are few left. After leaving them, and about 12 miles from there, the first township of Victoria was reached. The Tuli Trading Association had a store there, then in charge of a man called Greenfield, who joined the Victoria column raised to advance into Matabeleland, and was killed with Allan Wilson's Patrol on the Shangani River on December 4th, 1893.

Victoria at that time had an hotel, run by "Tos" Slater, a brother of "Ted" well-known, when Bulawayo was occupied, as a leading auctioneer and owner of Tattersall's Hotel. This "pub" in the Victoria of those days, must have had the first billiard table ever imported into Rhodesia. A most dilapidated and ancient piece of furniture it looked too, but still, no doubt, served its purpose in breaking the monotony of life for the poor wanderers who visited the hotel. The township I have described, or tried to describe, is forsaken—it is no longer on the map—for, owing to shortage of water, and an unhealthy position, another site was chosen and the Victoria of today has taken its place. Thirty miles further on we passed a trading station known as "Makowrie's" situated below a small kopje—a common feature of Mashonaland scenery—where a few frightened

Mashona natives had built their kraal. The latter was situated amongst big granite boulders, and very inaccessible. We found this to be a general practice amongst Mashonas, who had been accustomed, for generations, to be raided by the Matabele, and in self-defence had taken to these picturesque kopjes, where they had the chance of defending themselves. From "Makowrie's" we travelled on to Charter, where there was a fort and a small garrison.

A well-known character of those days had made his home here, and, with his native boy "Bill", spent his time harassing the natives around him. This was Edward Eyre Dunne, a handsome Irishman, who, more or less an outcast, had given way to drink, taken to buccaneering, and was the terror of the poor Mashona natives who lived anywhere near him. He had a short reign, however, for the Chartered Company could not allow this sort of thing to go on long unnoticed, and sent him across the Zambezi, where, somewhere on the shores of Lake Tanganyika he died, not from drink exactly, but, as we heard, because his supply of whisky had run short, and the next consignment did not arrive in time.

In his early life he had been in the Army, and must have been a charming man, till the fatal craving took hold of him and sent him to destruction. There were many of his type in the Rhodesia of those days, who had been banished from respectable society and ended their days far away in the wilds, alone. From Fort Charter to Salisbury was a distance of 60 miles, and this we covered in a couple of days. Crossing the "Umfuli" and "Hunyani" (?) rivers on the way, and so ended the journey. We had spent an eventful time for some weeks since leaving Tuli—in the wilderness—and at last reached the promised land. This was in July, 1892.

The last phase of the East African Campaign : 1914-1918

by L. A. Russell

Annotated by H. A. Cripwell

(Although this narrative concerns the part played by 'B' Company of the Northern Rhodesia Police, written by its then Commanding Officer Captain L. A. Russell¹, many of the characters mentioned either came from Southern Rhodesia or became well known in Southern Rhodesia after the war. It was written in 1937, nineteen years after the war ended, at the request of Major General Sir A. H. M. Edwards K.B.E., C.B., M.V.O. who had been Commandant-General of the Rhodesian Forces during the war.—Editor.)

After over three years spent in the field and the last three months engaged in hard trekking in Portuguese Territory, i.e. since the Enemy crossing of the Rovuma from German East Africa—a period full of alarms and excitement but during which the Germans were never actually encountered by us—'B' Coy. again united with its Battalion moves down the hills from Namwera and on the 17th September, 1918, reoccupies the camp site previously occupied by it at 'The Bar' (Fort Johnston) on the southernmost point of Lake Nyasa. A few days of comparative rest are here spent until 'B' 'C' 'D' Coys, embark on H.M.S. Gwendolen: on the 24th September and reach Mbamba Bay at noon next day. On the 26th 'D' Coy. with one company of the 2nd/4th Kings African Rifles ("Kartufor") move out under the command of Lt./Col. Hill en route for Songea. Reports have been received that some of the enemy have re-crossed the Rovuma and orders issued are to be carried out "rapidest". Most of my porters are loaned to assist with Lt./Col. Hill's transport. H.M.T. Queen Victoria arrives in the Bay next morning with machine guns etc. shortly followed by H.M.S. Chauncy Maples who proceeds to disembark 'A' Coy. and Battalion Headquarters. Orders are presently issued that we are to move the following morning and I begin to look round for 120 porters. My carrier strength has been reduced to 17 and there are only 149 askari on the strength of the Company. Moreover Lieut. Langham³ and Sgt. Maher⁴ are both sick and I am feeling none too good myself. By 10.30 a.m. 28th September we have bidden farewell to the Camp Commandant (Capt. Owen Letcher)⁵ and to J. C. May—now an Assistant Political Officer—who had lost his arm at Malangali in 1916—and are on the move again. By breakfast on the 30th September we have reached the old M. Transport Camp at Lipumba Hill and that evening we halt beyond Kigonsera Mission. Here rumours are current that parties of the enemy are on the path between Kigonsera and the Rovuma. My diary 1st October reads "Another month begun, another trek ahead, no reliable news of the enemy—Lord when shall it end? Company musters very few, askari exhausted, only

eleven Europeans to man 14 Machine and Lewis Guns". After 13 miles we halt for breakfast near Johannesbrucke⁷. Here Langham who had been left sick at Lipumba Hill rejoins the Company. Orders to move forward are cancelled and at 3 p.m. we retrace our steps to a selected position. Next day is spent in Camp to await the arrival of Depot Coy. with supplies. On the morning of the 3rd October news is received that the enemy have been located north of the Rovuma. We accordingly move off at 1.30 p.m. and with rapid trekking make camp at dusk some fourteen miles in the direction of Songea. It is now the 4th October—my birthday—and at dawn the column pushes on—'B' Coy. in advance. At the first halt I hear firing and on reporting same to Headquarters am informed that it is probably the motorcar panting heavily (as they did sometimes in those days), for a car had just passed us during our halt, proceeding to Songea. The Column however takes precautions and moves back a short distance to a camp recently occupied by Lt./Col. Hill—meantime I despatch Sgt. Greenspan⁹ with a party to reconnoitre ahead. At midday the Column moves forward again—the heat is intense. Having covered 3 miles Sgt. Greenspan is met returning. He reports having struck a party of Germans in a difficult position and that there was an exchange of shots. Pte. Mwanamwamba is missing, believed killed¹⁰. This askari's body was afterwards recovered and accorded proper burial. I halt the column and extend my advance guard. Parties of the enemy are seen approaching in the bush on the left of the road and firing is opened. The whole company is now extended to the left of the road and Graham¹¹ comes up with 'C Coy. on my left. It is 1.40 p.m. and fighting starts in earnest. The enemy who have got right up to our rapidly formed lines are temporarily driven back. Machine guns etc. are hurriedly placed in position and rifle pits dug. Langham who is hardly able to move with fever remains with me in the firing line stricken with thirst. (He was recommended and later received the M.C.). The Stokes guns get busy but many of the shells fail to burst and to add to our difficulties many of the local porters have dropped their loads and fled with the result that supplies of reserve ammunition run short. Fighting continues until dusk—at one moment the firing seems concentrated against 'B' and 'C Coys, on the left of the road and at the next against 'A' Coy. on the right. Under cover of the darkness we withdraw gradually to a higher position in our rear and dig ourselves in. Thus ended this fight in the bush near Fusi Village.

Considering the fierceness of the action our casualties were comparatively slight but we lost a good Officer in the person of Lieut. L. J. Champion¹² who was commanding 'A' Coy, in the temporary absence of Capt. Latham¹³ who however arrived during his funeral next morning. Before dawn next day (5th October) we are "standing to" prepared for a counter-attack but patrols report that the enemy have dispersed. With a strong patrol and a number of porters I follow the German spoor for a few miles and recover lost loads. On inspecting the position we held during the fight a German Askari Sergeant armed with a new Portuguese rifle¹⁴ and clad in a new Portuguese uniform is picked up 85 paces in front of my rifle pit. The bullet which entered his shoulder had first

passed through the trunk of a tree fully 12 in. in diameter and through the butt of his rifle.

The next few days are spent in the despatch of patrols, repairs to telegraph, reorganization of transport etc., and Sgt. Greenspan is sent with an escort from 'B' Coy. to convoy supplies to Lt./Col. Hill in Songea. The telegraph line to Songea had been cut and our communication with Hill's column is round-about via Zomba and Portuguese East Africa. It is ascertained that the motor car which had passed us the previous morning emerged with minor damage from the hail of bullets and the driver had been able to report to Songea the presence of the enemy. It was on the 12th October while in this camp that we received news of the Kaiser's abdication. Next morning the Column starts moving back to Mbamba Bay and on reaching Lipumba Telegraph Office on the 15th we are heartened by encouraging news from the home front. Early on the 18th we are back at Mbamba and push on to our old camp some four miles distant on the Lake Shore. Here a few days are spent in comparative comfort: Lake bathing is much enjoyed. Langham is again off-colour and is medically boarded. On the 25th rather enviously we bid him farewell as he leaves us to proceed on 6 months sick leave and the Company embarks again on the 'Gwendolen' this time destined for the northern end of the lake. Mwaya is reached next day (26th). On 28th Sgt. Maher with 30 men of 'B' Coy. leave by car at dawn to proceed ahead to New Langenburg. My Company is however strengthened by the return of Greenspan's patrol from Songea who bears a letter of appreciation from Lt./Col. Hill, At 12 noon I move out with the remainder of 'B' Coy., Stokes Battery, Signallers also Depot Coy. with supplies and a few men of 'D' Coy., and camp in column of route after twelve miles scorching trek. Rain robs us of sleep. A further 23 miles involving much climbing and next evening we are in Neu Langenburg. Here I meet Lt./Col. Hill who has come overland from Songea and am rejoined by Sgt. Maher. Everything is bustle: there is feverish haste to prepare for the next pursuit. At dawn of the 30th we press on and after 22 miles we are climbing into the cold mistiness of the Igale Pass. Most of 'C and 'D' Coys, with Graham have previously passed through on their way to Fife and my orders are to follow on their tracks next morning. I have fever on me—brought about by the rain and extremes of temperature no doubt—and after a spot of food which is shared by Transport Officer Lieut. MacKenzie-Kennedy¹⁵ (now Chief Secretary, Tanganyika Territory), I lie down to sleep. By 9 p.m. however I am wanted at Headquarters. It transpires that the enemy are reported to be making for Ithaka and instructions come from 'Norforce'¹⁶ that my company is to proceed rapidest as advance company to the 1/4 K.A.R.¹⁷ (Karwunfor) under Lt./Col. Hawkins D.S.O. along the Bismarcksburg Road in the direction of Ithaka¹⁸. Lt./Col. Hawkins is reported to be moving down on to that road from the North and I am to make contact with him. Having then made all necessary commissariat arrangements I turn in again at 11 p.m. By 7 a.m. 31st October Headquarters (N.R.P.) with part of 'A' and the balance of 'C Coy. have left for Fife and we strike camp and move towards the Songwe River. A S.A. Signalling Company which was to join me at the 'Pass' reports that their carriers have deserted

during the night and so I reluctantly have to leave signallers behind. After 3 1/4 hours trekking over the Igale Hills we halt for breakfast in the plain near Kawinde Village and attempt to communicate with the 1/4 K.A.R. at Old Utengule. By 5.30 p.m. we reach and cross the Songwe River, having covered 21 miles, and make camp. The 1/4 who have been seen converging on us from the North remain the night on the other bank. Enemy camp fires are still smouldering so we keep alert. At 6 a.m. next morning (1st November) I pay a short visit to Capt. Currie, Commanding No. 3 Coy. 1/4, on the other bank and by 7 a.m. taking with me a K.A.R. Signalling section I move off with 'B' Coy. in advance of the column. After 2 1/2 hours through hilly country we make a short halt at the Ruanda Stream. A little distance ahead we strike the Mbozi Mission—Ithaka branch roads and despatch patrols. Moving forward we cross the Mjovisi Stream and after three miles find fresh German spoor and decide to camp 3 p.m. on a large hill to await the return of patrols. The rest of the column are some distance behind us and I move independently at dawn and, reaching Mbozi Mission by 10 a.m., take up a position on a hill. The column comes up 1 1/2 hours later and I interview the Commanding Officer with whom are Majors Gee and Lambert. We receive information that the enemy force has circled on to the Fife road from the direction of Mukoma. Sending out patrols I move on for seven miles and make camp. The remainder of the Column camps three miles in my rear. Information is received of fighting on the Igale-Fife road and leaving heavy kit behind to be picked up by the K.A.R. baggage guard 'B' Coy. is off at 3 a.m. Sunday (3rd November) and by 6.15 a.m. we have reached Luwima. Advancing a further four miles we halt for breakfast. No news has been received from Fife and the situation is difficult. The rest of the column has now joined up with us and 'B' Coy. continuing in advance we mount the steep escarpment west of Fife and reach the Stevenson road. Approaching Fife by this road we join up with Graham at 3 p.m. from whom we learn that the enemy had left at dawn after investing the garrison for 1 1/2 days. We have been very short of food but the Asikari have behaved admirably. The enthusiasm and speed with which they scaled the escarpment will long linger in my memory: except for the short breakfast halt we had been on the move all day. Next morning (4th November) Headquarters N.R.P., who had left us at Igale, arrive in Fife accompanied by 'A' Coy. The 1/4 K.A.R. follow up the German spoor and I receive instructions to catch up with them. Accordingly at 3 p.m. I leave Fife with 'B' Coy. and 'D' Coy. (Capt. Castor).²⁰ Passing Mwenzo Mission we camp at dusk at 'Mandala' with the 1/4. By 6 a.m. (5th) we are off again the two companies forming the rear guard to the 1/4. After two hours trekking orders are received from 'Norforce' that 'D' Coy. are to rejoin the rest of the N.R. Police Battalion who are to proceed direct from Fife to Abercorn, which place it is reported the enemy are making for. Reluctantly we say adieu to Castor, and 'B' Coy. continues a slow and tiring trek behind the K.A.R. still following the enemy spoor. By 4.15 p.m. we have covered 20 miles and reach the Luchende River. The enemy slept here last night apparently and the grain buying depot is still burning. Just before having sundown and supper with the CO. there is an alarm, which however happily

proves to be false. By 6 a.m. (6th November) we are off again—'B' Coy, now with the main body. After 2 1/2 hours we arrive at the Chosi River where we make a halt to draw water. Then rapidly trekking forward the advance Coy. bumps the enemy at the Tumba Stream²¹ at 1.30 p.m. some 21 miles from our last night's camp. 'B' Coy. halts in column of route for a considerable time and then receives orders to move up in support of No. 1 Coy. K.A.R. The K.A.R. capture two Machine guns meanwhile 'B' Coy. is held in reserve through what seems to be an interminable period whilst the scrapping continues. I have asked the CO. to allow me to launch a flank attack but he disallows this. At sunset we have orders to find water and make good our position beyond it. In open formation we advance across the dambo and cross the Tumba. Our thirst has been awful. The enemy retires and we form line. It is now dark and we have no loads or food. We hear voices which get no nearer and presume that the 1/4th are camping on the side of the dambo we had left. Rain increases our discomfort. At 10 p.m. I send out a patrol to follow up and snipe at the enemy. We spend the night without food and blankets. At 7 a.m. (7th November) the porters arrive with our loads and Lieut. Colborne²² and I enjoy a quick wash and breakfast. (Colborne of the Machine Gun Coy. had been seconded as 2nd in Command in lieu of Capt. E. C. Castle²³ who was left sick at Fife after being with the Company for three days only). By 9 a.m. we are off again as advance company to a K.A.R. Company under the command of Capt. Lindsay D.S.O. Our orders are to occupy and hold Kayambi Mission at all costs. After 1 1/2 hours trekking we strike a strong enemy picquet and Pte. Kunengwa M.M. (who together with Col./Sgt. Yasi had been awarded the Military Medal after the action at Fusi)²⁴ is badly wounded. Leaving the road I decide to make a detour so as to approach the Mission from the South and am followed by Lindsay's company in support. Advancing in open formation over a dambo studded with anthrills we see the buildings close in front and sinister smoke rising therefrom. In a moment we come under a heavy enfilade fire from what is presumably the main body of the enemy who are seen moving out from the Mission on our left front—the enemy in the Mission also get busy and our line for a moment falters, then rallies. There seems only one thing for it and with shouting and bugles blowing 'B' Coy. cross the stream at the foot of the Mission and rush the hill. We have come under uncomfortable Machine gun fire from one of the buildings but this is presently silenced by our Stokes gun. Lindsay's Coy. has however lagged behind and whilst I am sitting under the Stokes gun writing to him—it is 2.15 p.m.—requesting him to come quickly to our assistance there is a terrific burst of flame; the gun has exploded killing the European and two Asikari gunners and leaving me momentarily stunned:²⁵—a lull; then more firing—but it transpires that the enemy have evacuated and we are now exchanging shots with the K.A.R. main body.²⁶ This mistake happily is soon discovered and firing ceases. We have been in occupation of the Mission for 1 1/2 hours before we are joined by Lindsay and the remainder of the Column. On entering the Mission Church we had found a terror stricken mob of German native sick and camp followers huddled together at one end of the building and effected the release of a Britisher who had been

a prisoner with the enemy. These natives appeared much relieved to be informed that the building would be left intact and themselves attended to. On the approach of the Column, 'B' Coy. ensconces itself on a rise overlooking the Mission and, after sending out patrols and posting picquets, partakes of some much desired refreshment. Feeling more than satisfied with the Company work that day it came somewhat as a surprise when I visited Column Heads quarters at 9 p.m., in spite of the friendly reception accorded me, that it should have been suggested that we (B. Coy.) had opened fire on the main body of the Column. But it transpired that our firing had been uncomfortably accurate and had resulted in certain casualties amongst their unfortunate M.G. porters. I must admit that I felt somewhat piqued, and, being tired, probably gave expression to it. We had experienced a succession of gruelling days and the evening in question was accompanied by strong wind and thunderstorms which made it more difficult to be good-humoured. But in spite of these adverse circumstances our own gratification enables us to spend a restful night. It is all too short however, for by 6 a.m. (8th November) Sgt. Maher has moved off with a reconnaissance party to follow up the enemy. An hour later the rest of the Company is on his heels to be followed a further 1 1/2 hours later by the whole Column. Advancing with caution we reach the Mpanda River where we await the arrival of the main force.

At 1.30 p.m. we prepare to make camp, for the CO. has decided to allow time for the supply column to join up. The convoy with supplies arrives during the night and there is much noise amongst the porters.

Early next morning (5 a.m. 9th November) 'B' Coy. performs rearguard duty as the Column, forsaking the route taken by the enemy, proceeds along a well-worn native path which carries us over hills, at first, until more level country is reached.

Crossing the Mifunsu and Kanona Streams we halt for breakfast.

The sun is already scorching and our progress with a large convoy is tiresomely slow. By 2.15 p.m. we have reached the Linyungu River and after a further 1 1/2 hours trek we cross the Chambezi River and settle down in Camp.

During the early hours of the following morning (10th November) we are anxiously awaiting the return of scouting parties. News is soon received that the main enemy force has crossed the Chambezi River on the Fife road and is threatening Kasama. At 10.30 a.m. we are on the move again and after three hours of rapid trekking the CO. decides to halt owing to the presence of much water in the large dambo we have reached, the reported distance to water ahead, and the known distance of our supply column to the rear of us. From this camp I despatch Cpl. Kwendakubi (himself a Mwemba native accustomed in normal times to pay tax at Kasama Boma) in charge of a small patrol with instructions to proceed towards Kasama and to return with first-hand information of enemy movements at the same time bringing with him local natives if such are to be found.

At daybreak on the 11th November 'B' Coy. moves off with the main body. After three hours march we halt for breakfast. Pushing on we reach the Kalungu River 3 1/2 hours later, where, having covered 21 1/2 miles, we make camp at

2.30 p.m. The heat has been intense and we are all weary. My native ration state is 570. Two days' rations are here distributed. In the evening I attend a 'powwow' at Headquarters.

Off again by 5.30 a.m. (12th November) we reach the Chiwiri Stream in just under two hours' trekking and halt for breakfast on the far bank. We have been on the move again for barely five miles when the advance platoon of K.A.R. open fire on a party of the enemy in a hollow near the Milima Stream. Orders are thereupon issued that we should move in file and cut in on the main Abercorn-Kasama road between the Milima Stream and Kasama. By 1.30 p.m. we have crossed the Milima Stream when we see just ahead on our left front the enemy camp with a number of tents glistening in the bright sunlight.

We (B. Coy.) thereupon form up in file on the left of No. 4 Coy. K.A.R.

Whilst moving through a thick 'musitu' at 2.15 p.m. some shots are fired in our rear. We carry on over some rocky velt and reach the main road. Tapping the telegraph line we hear the enemy at Milima conversing with the Germans in Kasama. We are therefore between the enemy main body and rearguard. Hurriedly moving into position the enemy open up on us and firing which grows in intensity is carried on until dark when we withdraw to secure the baggage column which we had left behind us in the bush. In this fighting our force has lost six killed and thirteen wounded.²⁷ A restless night is spent and at 6 a.m. (13th November) I receive instructions to send out Sgt. Maher with a patrol of 12 Asikari in an endeavour to reach Kasama. Two hours later a report is received from him that he has exchanged shots with enemy flankers and at 11.10 a further report is received that he has bumped into several small parties and has decided to return to camp. In a short time he has rejoined us and at 1.0 p.m. I receive instructions to move out with the Company and take up a position on the road. A patrol which I had despatched to recover missing loads has meantime returned with the report that a motor cyclist was heard by them proceeding rapidly in the direction of Kasama from Abercorn or Fife. By 1.42 p.m. we are on the main road and a few minutes later we see a party approaching with the White Flag. Halting them I receive despatches announcing the Armistice. Word is sent immediately to the C.O. and in a short time distant cheering is heard which echoes over the velt. By 2.30 p.m. we are joined on the road by the whole Column. The excitement and general feeling of relief is intense. Selecting a suitable site camp is made astride the road. To celebrate the occasion that evening the C.O. invites all officers to join up for 'dinner' at Headquarters: each individual kitchen being brought into play. The Medical Officer (Capt. Murphy) enlivens the proceedings by producing 'bubbly' and other medical comforts. It seems the greatest evening of freedom for over 3 1/2 years and there are happy speeches. We are however advised to be cautious for it is not known what the reaction on Von Lettow will be to the messages contained in the several telegrams which are passed on to him through the C.O. from the higher command (General Van de Venter) in Dar-es-Salaam.

We are to be prepared for eventualities and so we maintain orderliness in Camp and hold a defensive position. Nevertheless we feel able to relax and the

appearance next day (14th November) of Lieut. Leslie with long overdue supplies assists materially our comfort of mind and body.

Cpl. Kwendakubi also returns and reports that he entered Kasama and found himself and his patrol in the presence of the enemy, not knowing of the Armistice. He has been received in a friendly fashion by German Officers who question him and refer to the scrap at Fusi on the 4th October.

This day and the next (15th November) are spent busy in camp with many of the 101 things required of one besides trekking and fighting e.g. preparation of Carrier states, list of recommendations, ammunition states &c &c.

On Saturday 16th November General Von Lettow Vorbeck with the enemy main force passes through our Camp en route to Abercorn where the official surrender is to be staged. He remains for a few moments to talk with the CO. but refuses an invitation to breakfast. A proud Prussian, he finds it difficult to believe that their invincible armies have been vanquished. Though speculation is rife he refuses to declare what his plan of campaign was to have been had he not been stayed at the Chambezi River (Kasama-Mpika Road) by news of the Armistice conveyed to him by the District Commissioner (Mr. H. Croad)²⁹ who had evacuated Kasama. Mr. Croad while at the Chambezi Rubber Factory received the news from the South by telegraph from Livingstone (N. Rhodesia) presumably almost simultaneously with the arrival from the North of the cyclist despatch rider amongst the German forces then occupying Kasama which has just been referred to. (Note. The next time I see General Von Lettow is at the East African Campaign dinner at the Holborn Restaurant in London some eleven years later).

Much has been said of Croad's meeting with Von Lettow at the Chambezi but too little is known of the small force which had been harrying the Germans in the rear for the past five weeks since their crossing of the Rovuma River from P.E.A.

To revert:—it is the 16th November and being instructed to move into Kasama to make a report of damage done and to secure property worth salvaging—and being held up by lack of supplies—I get into communication with Croad who has now safely returned from the Chambezi to his residence (occupied by the enemy since his evacuation) and the following is a copy of the written reply received from him the next morning—(the original is in my possession)—

"Kasama 17.xi.18

Dear Russell,

I'm sorry I have no one to put up at the Camp.

I have only 3 or 4 Messengers here so far.

If the Camp is like this there is not much to save.

Yours sincerely,
H. Croad".

On the 17th, however, acting on instructions I enter Kasama to inspect and report on the damage done to buildings &c. and to endeavour to protect further

property from being looted. In the course of this visit I interview Croad and return to the Milima Camp in the evening.

During my absence orders have been received from 'Norforce' that the 1st/4th K.A.R. are to proceed to Abercorn to take part in the formal surrender of Von Lettow's forces and that my Company is to move to Kasama to garrison that place. It is now for the first time that the terms of the Armistice are to be read in printed form.

March Orders No. 85 issued this evening by Lt./Col. E. B. Hawkins D.S.O. contain the following:—

"2. *Move.* B. Coy. N.R.P. will move to Kasama tomorrow. Remainder of Column will move en route Abercorn at 6 a.m. tomorrow.

"3. *Complimentary.* On the occasion of the departure of 'B' Coy. N.R.P. from the Column, the Commanding Officer wishes to thank all ranks of the N.R.P. for the splendid work performed by them on all occasions and he wishes them every success in the future".

Instructions are thereupon issued by me to the effect that 'B' Coy. and Signalling Section will leave the Milima at 7.30 a.m. next day for Kasama where they will remain in garrison until further orders.

By 6 a.m. on the 18th November 1918 the 'Karwunfor' Battalion are ready for their move to Abercorn. As they leave Camp the Company falls in along the route and gives them a hearty send-off which is received with considerable enthusiasm by both European and Native rank and file.

So with shouts of greeting and much cheering 'B' Coy. N.R.P. bids farewell to the Uganda Battalion with whom it has made many friends during the comparatively short but busy and anxious period since hands were joined at the Songwe River. The Company feels somewhat distressed to be parted in this manner and at the termination of a long Campaign to be deprived as it were, of a share in the 'perks.' It would be a fitting conclusion, it is thought, for the N.R.P. Battalion to become reunited on Rhodesian soil at Abercorn which three years previously had provided the venue for their "kick-off", when the 'push' started. But this is not to be, and at 7.30 a.m. we commence to increase the distance between us and the departing Column, and Abercorn. Before 9 a.m. we have covered the five miles to Kasama but our entry does not, however, connote the end of our troubles for there persists a great scarcity of native rations and we are faced with the task, besides feeding our own Asikari and porters, of obtaining supplies for the enemy force under Capt. Sprangenburg which arrives at Kasama during the evening. Since the information of the Armistice had been received Capt. Sprangenburg had been engaged in the recall and collection of scattered German patrols and was therefore unable to attach himself to Von Lettow's main force and proceed with it to Abercorn. Having in mind instructions which were received by telegraph at the Milima Stream from the G.O.C. (General Van de Venter) in Dar-es-Salaam to the effect that the enemy forces were to be adequately provided for and that they were in fact to receive prior consideration to our own—(an instruction which

I may be permitted to remark in passing made some of us extremely resentful!)—we busy ourselves in an attempt to obtain the necessary supplies so as not to hold up Sprangenburg in Kasama longer than possible. Croad has intimated that he can give little assistance. Immediate action is therefore necessary and foraging parties are despatched to all villages in the vicinity besides 275 carriers to the depot at the Chambezi Rubber Factory. During the evening a message is received from Sprangenburg who is camped at some little distance from us. It is recorded as an example of the sporting spirit which prevailed. It ran "Greetings to the Captain at the N.R.P. Camp on the good work done by the N.R.P. at Fusi". This was accompanied by a verbal message which referred in complimentary terms to the Company's more recent reconnaissance work and which hinted that the intervention of the Armistice had saved it from being decimated by Von Lettow who was preparing to lay a trap for us had we continued our advance beyond Kasama. There was, no doubt, a considerable element of truth in this statement and in fact we had all wondered for how long we could continue, without adequate supplies and reinforcements, the risky business of maintaining contact with an enemy force which not only outnumbered us but was able to choose its route and, by plundering the countryside, to leave a desert in its wake. Of the thousands of British troops—not to mention Belgian and Portuguese—engaged in this theatre of war, B. Coy. N.R.P. did at least share with 'Karwunfor' the honour of being in closest touch with the enemy during the last phase of the operations. In talking or writing of the war in East Africa it is, perhaps, possible to lay too much stress on the physical discomforts endured and to overlook the frequent mental strain which amounted at times to torture. I refer to the extreme loneliness which can be experienced by a mere handful of Europeans engaged with African troops a loneliness aggravated by the nature of the country itself—its desolation: forsaken villages, looted or burning grainbins, lack of communications, shortage of supplies, and, above all, by the seeming never-endingness of the Campaign and the utter futility of it!

By the morning of the 19th November sufficient supplies have been collected to enable Capt. Sprangenburg to embark on his trek to Abercorn and it has been arranged for further supplies to meet him en route. Lieut. Leslie accompanied by Lieut. Sibold³¹ of the 2nd/1st. K.A.R. ('Kartuwun') have meanwhile, made a welcome appearance with overdue rations for the European Officers and N.C.O.'s in the Kasama garrison.

The Signalling Section which we brought from the Milima Stream have left this morning by motor transport for Abercorn. Through their endeavours the telegraph lines have been temporarily repaired and communications improved. Other breakdowns shortly occur, however, and our communication with the Battalion in Abercorn is for a time roundabout via Livingstone.

The next few days are spent in comparative tranquillity in Camp—drills, fatigues etc. Parties are despatched to the Chambezi River to fish for abandoned enemy Machine guns, rifles &c.; and various enquiries are held into the damage to property at Kasama (which appears to have been not wholly attributable to

the Germans), and into the loss of stores at the time of the evacuation of the depot.

An outbreak of Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis creates a momentary alarm and this is shortly followed by an epidemic of 'Spanish Influenza' which has apparently made its way to us from the Belgian Congo via Lake Tanganyika. The native sick are segregated in large hastily erected pole and grass hospitals and, thanks to the care and attention bestowed on them, cases of mortality are remarkably few.

The Europeans in camp have come up to scratch as always and have generously shared out to the suffering their small and precious rations of whisky and 'dop'.

Inoculations have no doubt also greatly restricted the spread of infection.

On the 23rd November, just before this outbreak, the last of the batch of sick natives left behind by the enemy had been evacuated to Fife. The time has also come to reduce our own numbers and on the 30th November a large body of time-expired porters are sent to Fife for discharge. Many of these had been with the Company for a long period and had given most loyal and devoted service. It is impossible to speak too highly of the invaluable work performed by them. Without their aid the Company could not have kept so closely on the heels of the enemy. No history that is written of the Campaign can be complete unless it records the remarkable part played by those thousands of natives enrolled as first and second line Military porters, many of whom had never before left their villages and many of whom never returned. As Machine gun and ammunition porters, as ambulance bearers, and as supply carriers over lengthy and inhospitable lines of communication—unarmed all of them—they were truly marvellous. The casualties suffered by them were greater, through deprivation and sickness, than those suffered by the fighting services. Sometimes, half-starved, they dropped dead under their loads in the course of gruelling treks. If I were to be asked who, of all who took part in the Campaign, deserved the palm I would unhesitatingly respond—'The African Porter'.

Life in Kasama is becoming tedious and we who are left are full of expectations of leave and of thoughts of 'Blighty'.

On the 1st December Capt. F. S. James,³² who has arrived from Abercorn where he has been Camp Commandant, relieves me of my Command and I am promised to be allowed to proceed South as soon as this can be arranged.

The good old Company is gradually disbanded and with feelings of deep regret I part with faithful comrades, both European and African.

In spite of occasional boredom garrison life has much to recommend it and the relaxation is pleasant. There is, after all, so much to look back on and so much to look forward to.

Christmas 1918 is spent with quiet festivities and—at long last—on the 7th January 1919 Colborne and I move off to the Chambezi River with those Asikari of the Company, not time-expired, who will be proceeding to the Livingstone Depot.

On the morning of the 10th January we become the guests of Capt. C. D. Simpson³³ at the Rubber Factory and await boats which are to take us to the

line of rail by the river route through Lake Bangweulu. Simpson, whose recent death I must record with deep regret, was kindness itself to us and we remained with him until the 19th when, fresh orders having arrived regarding my own transport I hand over the remnant of the Company to Lieut. Gardiner³⁴ (just returned from leave and depart by car for Mpika and Kashitu. I have said farewell also to Colborne who has been my righthand man since he joined the Company—a good friend and a tower of strength. Lt./Col. H. M. Stennett D.S.O.³⁵ who had recently come up from Livingstone on a visit to Kasama, is returning South by car accompanied by the Adjutant (Capt. Wardroper)³⁶ and by Capt. G. C. Latham (A. Coy.) when I catch up with them next day at Chansa. We are hoping to make the journey South together but during the halt at Chansa telegraphic information is received of native unrest near Fife which is inspired by the 'Watch Tower' movement. Lt./Col. Stennett with Wardroper thereupon 'about turn' and make for Abercorn en route to Fife. Latham continues the journey with me and we reach Livingstone by train from Kashitu on the 24th January and sail together for England from Cape Town on the 15th February 1919 in the good ship 'Durham Castle'. Thus at last I am home again after an absence of 6 1/2 years when I joined the service of the British South Africa Company as a Probationer in the Native Department of the Administration of Northern Rhodesia.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

by H. A. Cripwell

1. *L. A. Russell* describes himself as having joined the service of the British South Africa Company as a probationer in the Native Department of the Administration of Northern Rhodesia. He was granted a commission in the Northern Rhodesia Police on 14th July, 1915, and went forward to the border between Northern Rhodesia and German East Africa, posted to Abercorn. On 1st April, 1916, he was appointed Transport Officer at Fife before taking command of the newly formed "F" Company, Northern Rhodesia Police, which operated on garrison duties in the Njombe-Lupembe area mainly. In July 1917 "F" Company joined "C" and "E" Companies under Major E. G. Dickinson for operations towards Mahenge, coming under the Command of Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Fair, D.S.O. This column had a trying three months, had one or two encounters with the enemy before moving to Mbamba Bay, on Lake Nyasa, for reorganisation into a Service Battalion of four double companies, Russell taking "B". Meantime Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck had crossed into Portuguese territory in the last week of November 1917. The newly organised battalion moved off from Mbamba Bay on 28th May, 1918, by steamer to Fort Johnston, entering Portuguese territory at Mlanje; from then till 17th September all four companies were actively engaged in pursuing the enemy without actually coming into contact as described. Von Lettow-Vorbeck re-crossed the Rovuma river by the end of the month; he had now been promoted General. Russell returned to the Northern Rhodesia administration after the war and eventually retired as a Provincial Commissioner about 1938.
2. *HMS Gwendolen* and the other ships on Lake Nyasa are described by R. W. M. Langham, M.C. in "Memories of the 1914-18 Campaign" Part III, at page 255 of volume III (1957) of *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*.
3. *Langham, Lieut. R. W. M.* As Trooper 1459, British South Africa Police, was posted to "A" Service Company, Southern Rhodesia Column, on 16th August, 1915, accompanying it to Abercorn on foot from Broken Hill. He was granted a commission in the N. R. Police on 4th March, 1917; he was awarded the Military Cross after the affair at Fusi's on 4th October, 1918. His account of his experiences is to be found in *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, volumes II, No. 1 (1953), at page 49 and No. 4 (1954) at page 79, volume III, No. 3 (1957) at page 253, and volume IV, No. 2 (1959) at page 166. Langham stayed on in the Northern Rhodesia Police after the war. He resigned his commission in 1930 to become an elephant hunter. After hunting on his own for a few years he was appointed, in 1934, as one of the first three Elephant Control Officers for the Northern Rhodesia Government. He retired in the 1950s.

4. *Maher, Sgt. T. L.* I believe he was in Government service when he joined the Northern Rhodesia Rifles as No. 24 in December, 1914; see *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, volume V, No. 2 (1962) at page 161; he would have been released from service in December, 1915. On 5th February, 1917, he joined the Southern Rhodesia Column in Salisbury, No. A320. On 6th July, 1917, he was transferred to the N. R. Police as a third-class sergeant, being promoted second-class sergeant on 1st September, 1918. He served with Mr. Langham, sharing in the latter's later experiences and was awarded the Military Medal, more or less in similar circumstances to Mr. Langham's Military Cross.
5. *Letcher, Capt. Owen* was of the Union of South Africa's Imperial Service Contingent which was sent through Nyasaland in August, 1915, to assist in the defence of the Northern Rhodesia frontier with German East Africa; his experiences have been recorded in his book, *Cohort of the Tropics* (Author, 1930). He was the author of other books and a journalist.
6. *May, J. C.* may have been a relation of Bishop May.
7. *Johannesbrucke* on the headwaters of the Rovuma river, where Sgt. F. C. Booth, B.S.A. Police, attached Rhodesia Native Regiment, earned his Victoria Cross.
8. As one who was there that was the general idea.
9. *Greenspan, Sgt. H. M.* had originally attested as No. A242 in "B" Company, Southern Rhodesia Column, on 20th August, 1915; he had been released the next day owing to business reasons in connection with his and his family's cattle operations. On 13th January, 1917, he again attested in Salisbury as No. A315. He was transferred to the N. R. Police as a third-class sergeant on 18th June, 1917, being promoted second-class sergeant on 1st September, 1918. He returned to civil life on 20th April, 1919. His interest in military affairs remained unabated and on the outbreak of World War II he went to West Africa from which he came back as a major with Membership of the Order of the British Empire. Max Greenspan is a well-known Bulawayo rancher and businessman.
10. *Mwanamwamba, Pte., N.R. Police.* Greenspan says this man was peering over his shoulder when he received a shot in the face; he was the first of several casualties that day. The action that day was known as "the affair at Fusi's".
11. *Graham, Major B. J.* On the outbreak of World War I he had been stationed with "C" Company at Kasempa and went forward to the border on 14th July, 1915. He became second-in-command of the Service Battalion after commanding a company for some time. There is a photograph of him and his wife, accompanying Major E. G. Dickinson when the latter was presented with his Military Cross at Buckingham Palace, in *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, volume III, No. 3 (1957) at page 261. Graham was mentioned in the despatch from General Northey under date 30th May, 1917, which may have been published in Supplement No. 30182 of 10th July, 1917, to the *London Gazette*. Graham, as Major, became Commandant of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment in 1933, retiring in 1937.
12. *Champion, Lieut. L. J.* As 1412, B.S.A. Police, he was transferred as corporal to the Column on 22nd August, 1915, and attached to "B" company, being promoted to third-class sergeant the next day, second-class sergeant on 19th February, 1917. He was commissioned in the N. R. Police on 23rd March, 1917. He was mentioned in despatches on Tuesday, 25th September, 1917, in Supplement No. 30305 to the *London Gazette* of that date; he had been presented with the Medaille Militaire by the President of the French Republic, notified in the *Gazette* of Friday, the previous 31st August. As stated he was commanding "A" Company that day and exposed himself to fire as he moved up and down the line. When he was hit I congratulated him on what appeared a flesh wound through the lower part of the thigh which prevented him from standing. A search for the Medical Officer I had seen only a few minutes before failed to produce him so I sent him back on a stretcher. "A" Company was the last back to our bivouac that night and I was shocked when I heard that he had died of his wounds; the next day I knocked out on tin from an empty cartridge case a plate to put over his grave. It is likely his remains were later removed to the Imperial War Graves Commission's cemetery at Songea.
13. *Latham, Captain G. C.* Another entrant into the N. R. Police from the Northern Rhodesia Administrative Service he had gone forward to the border on 18th September, 1915; his luck was to join Captain C. H. Fair's original "A" Company and his activities brought him a Croix-de-Guerre presented by the President of the French Republic and notified in the same *Gazette* as Champion's. It was dire need that kept him back from the Battalion at this time and he was very upset when he arrived for the funeral service; he had great pride in his company and losses through death or wounding amongst his comrades were deeply felt by him. Latham returned to the Northern Rhodesia administration after the war. He transferred to the Education Department, becoming Director of that department, retiring in the 1930s.
14. *Von Lettow-Vorbeck* had re-equipped his men with the Portuguese 6.5 mm Mauser rifles he had captured at Mtamacurra, near the mouth of the Zambesi river. Tests carried out by us showed that at a hundred yards a bullet from this rifle went through two burned

- bricks a foot apart with the gap filled in with soil. So the regular order at evening to dig rifle pits for the night was grudgingly carried out when on the march.
15. *Mackenzie-Kennedy*, Lieut. H. C. D. C. was another in the Administrative Branch of the Northern Rhodesia Government Service since about 1912. Mackenzie-Kennedy returned to the Northern Rhodesia administration after the war. He became Chief Secretary, was knighted and, as Sir Donald, became Governor of Nyasaland. He then retired but after a time came back into the service as Governor of Mauritius. He finally retired in 1939.
 16. *NORFORCE*. The telegraphic indicator for the Rhodesia-Nyasaland Field Force; the command was now held by Brigadier-General G. Y. P. Hawthorn, D.S.O., he having taken over from Major-General E. Northey, C.B.
 17. *1st/4th King's African Rifles (KARWUNFOR)*. Old comrades of the N. R. Police from the Battalion's arrival on the Rovuma river towards the end of 1917 when it got a shaking-up from the enemy which cleared off before Lieut.-Colonel R. E. Murray, D.S.O., D.C.M.'s relieving column could get to them; Graham's then "D" Company in which Langham, Maher and Greenspan were all serving formed part of Murray's column. This Battalion had been moved from Portuguese territory to the head of Lake Nyasa behind the N. R. Police, while the latter had made the advance towards Songea.
 18. *Ihaka*. Operations were now back in the area from which the N. R. Police had made their first real advance into German territory.
 19. *Luwima*. I think this should be Luwina, opposite Fife on the German side, which was the first aim of Lieut.-Colonel E. Rodger in May, 1916; included in his force was the original "E" Company, N. R. Police.
 20. *Castor, Captain B. K.* At one time a schoolmaster at Plumtree School, I am unable to say how and when he joined the N. R. Police. Castor stayed on in the N. R. Police after the war and retired in the normal way about the mid-1920s.
 21. *Tumba stream* served the Kayambi Mission.
 22. *Colborne, Lieut. A. A.* A member of the staff of Haddon & Sly in Bulawayo and subsequently a director. He had joined "B" Company, Southern Rhodesia Column, A188, in Bulawayo on 17th August, 1915. He was promoted corporal on 10th April, 1917, transferring to the machine guns on 3rd August and being given a commission in the B.S.A. Police on 24th August, 1918. He was mentioned in despatches in Supplement No. 31156 to the *London Gazette* of 4th February, 1919. He relinquished his commission on 20th March, 1919. He died in Bulawayo on 25th October, 1958.
 23. *Castle, Captain E. C.* was a regular officer in the N. R. Police and went forward to the border on 20th September, 1914. His services seem to have been confined to the back areas of the campaign. Castle retired in the normal way from the N. R. Police at the end of his service.
 24. There were four immediate awards after Fusi's affair: A207, Sgt. Kohr, J., B.S.A. Police attached N. R. Police; 456, Colour-Sgt. Yasi and 421, Pte. Kunengwa, both N. R. Police, the Military Medal; while 399, Sgt. Chikusi, N.R. Police was given the Imperial Distinguished Conduct Medal. At a later date 640, Colour Sgt. Tegete, N. R. Police, was, awarded the D.C.M. for his part there, mainly on my recommendation.
 25. I have not traced the casualty list in which Kunengwa's name and that of the Stokes gun crew are given.
 26. A not unusual consequence in bush country.
 27. As for 25.
 28. *Leslie, Lieut. E. J.* As A240 he had attested in "B" Company, Southern Rhodesia Column on 20th August, 1915, made Acting corporal on the 23rd, confirmed on 1st September, reverting to the ranks on 25th November, 1915. He was posted to Supplies and Transport on 1st June, 1916, promoted third-class sergeant on 25th March, 1917, and commissioned in the B.S.A. Police on 15th July, 1918.
 29. *Croad, Mr. Hector.* *The story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment* and *The Northern Rhodesia Journal* contains much material about him.
 30. *Spangenburg, Captain.* General von Lettow-Vorbeck has much to say of this officer in his *Reminiscences*.
 31. *Sibold, Lieut. C. M.* As 1999 and trooper in the B.S.A. Police he came to the border with a draft on 6th January, 1917; he transferred to the N.R. Police as a third-class sergeant on 4th April, 1917, and was commissioned in The King's African Rifles on 1st July, 1917. I do not know of his later movements.
 32. *James, Captain F. S.* He was a regular officer of the N.R. Police and was stationed in Livingstone at the outbreak of World War I; he reached the border on 12th December, 1914. He was one of those who did not get on with Colonel Murray and was left behind in the advance in May 1916. However, his work, wherever he was, must have been appreciated for he was mentioned in despatches by General Northey under date 30th May, 1917, but the list does not seem to have been printed unless in Supplement No. 30182 of 13th July, 1917, to the *London Gazette*. James stayed on in the N.R. Police. After his retirement in the late 1920's he became Chief Constable of Chesterfield, and then Bristol, in Britain, following closely behind another

- N.R. policeman, Sillitoe, who was, in turn, Chief Constable of East Riding, Sheffield, Glasgow and Kent, before becoming Sir Percy Sillitoe, famous head of M.I.5.
33. *Simpson, Captain C. D.* It is clear the manager of the rubber factory at the Chambezi river is referred to but this is the first time I have seen his name with military rank attached. Croad speaks of him in *The Story of the N.R. Regiment* as does G. A. M. Alexander in *The N.R. Journal* (volume IV, No. 5 (1961)) at page 440; H. C. N. Ridley 'volume II, No. 5 (1955) at page 16', Gordon Lott 'volume III, No. 3 (1957) at page 198', J. H. Venning 'volume IV, No. 3 (1960) at page 304', E. H. Lane-Poole 'volume IV, No. 3 (1960) at page 385', H. C. N. Hill 'volume V, No. 1 (1962) at page 46', Arthur Davison 'volume VI, No. 2 (1967) at page 232' and R. H. Hobson 'volume VI, No. 2 (1965) at page 137' all refer to him as "Charlie" or even "Mr.". Here is another grant of a commission, probably in the N.R. Police, which is interesting to know of. Charlie Simpson was a most interesting character about whose early life little is known. After the war he stayed on at the Chambeshi crossing as Government Agent, running the pontoon and handling all government stores and passengers. He had, with George Buchanan been responsible for the reconstruction of the African Lakes Corporation Steamer *Scotia* on Lake Mweru in 1900. The ship had been sent out from Scotland in sections and, it is believed, Simpson accompanied the carrier safari from Fort Johnston right across Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to Lake Mweru. It may be that he came out from Scotland with the boat.
 34. *Gardiner, Lieut. C. S.* As 1494, corporal in the B.S.A. Police he was one of the draft that left Salisbury on 6th January, 1917, for the border; he was commissioned in the N.R. Police on the following 4th April. I am unaware of what part he took in actual operations in the field. There is an obituary in the *Rhodesia Defence Force Journal* of October 1927; he is buried in the Salisbury Pioneer Cemetery.
 35. *Stennett, Lieut.-Colonel H. M., D.S.O.* If ever a man was jockeyed from place to place here he is. He took part in the Mobile Column that occupied Shuckmansburg, in German South-west Africa, almost immediately after the outbreak of war in 1914 and he had got to the Northern Border by 1st September. He was left behind in the advance in 1916 but assumed command of the N.R. Police in the field towards the end of 1917; he then returned to Northern Rhodesia. So far as I can recall he did not reach Abercorn for Von Lettow-Vorbeck's surrender or at all. Stennett stayed on in the Northern Rhodesia Police after the war, becoming Commandant from 1919 to 1925 when he retired.
 36. *Wardroper, Captain P. R.*, was a regular officer in the N.R. Police, reaching the border on 18th September, 1915; he saw much service with "C" Company, N.R. Police, and became Adjutant of the Service Battalion on its formation. He was mentioned in the despatch of 21st January, 1918, from Lieut.-General Sir John van Deventer, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, British Forces in East Africa. Wardroper stayed on in the N.R. Police becoming Commissioner and retiring in the mid-1930's.

Notes on the Battlefields at Shangani and Bembesi

by R. F. H. Summers and C. W. D. Pagden

Although these battles are well described by Major Patrick Forbes in Wills & Collingridge's *Downfall of Lobengula* and by Sir John Willoughby in Appendixes to C. M. Norris Newman's *Matabeleland and how we got it* few attempts have been made to relate the events of the battles to the ground. Mr. B. M. O'Mahoney and his son have worked out and published most valuable details about the topography of the Singwesi river battle¹, and a joint research project on Matabele history has recently led us to examine the other two 1893 battlefields, where the decisive battles for Rhodesia were fought between the Salisbury and Victoria Columns of the B.S.A. Company's forces and the military might of the Matabele nation.

Sir John Willoughby's original sketch maps of these two battlefields are in the National Archives and these have been very accurately redrawn in Plates iii and iv of the *Downfall of Lobengula*. Another of the Bembesi battlefield was drawn by Sgt.-Major R. T. Coryndon and appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in March 1894 being reproduced in this journal recently.²

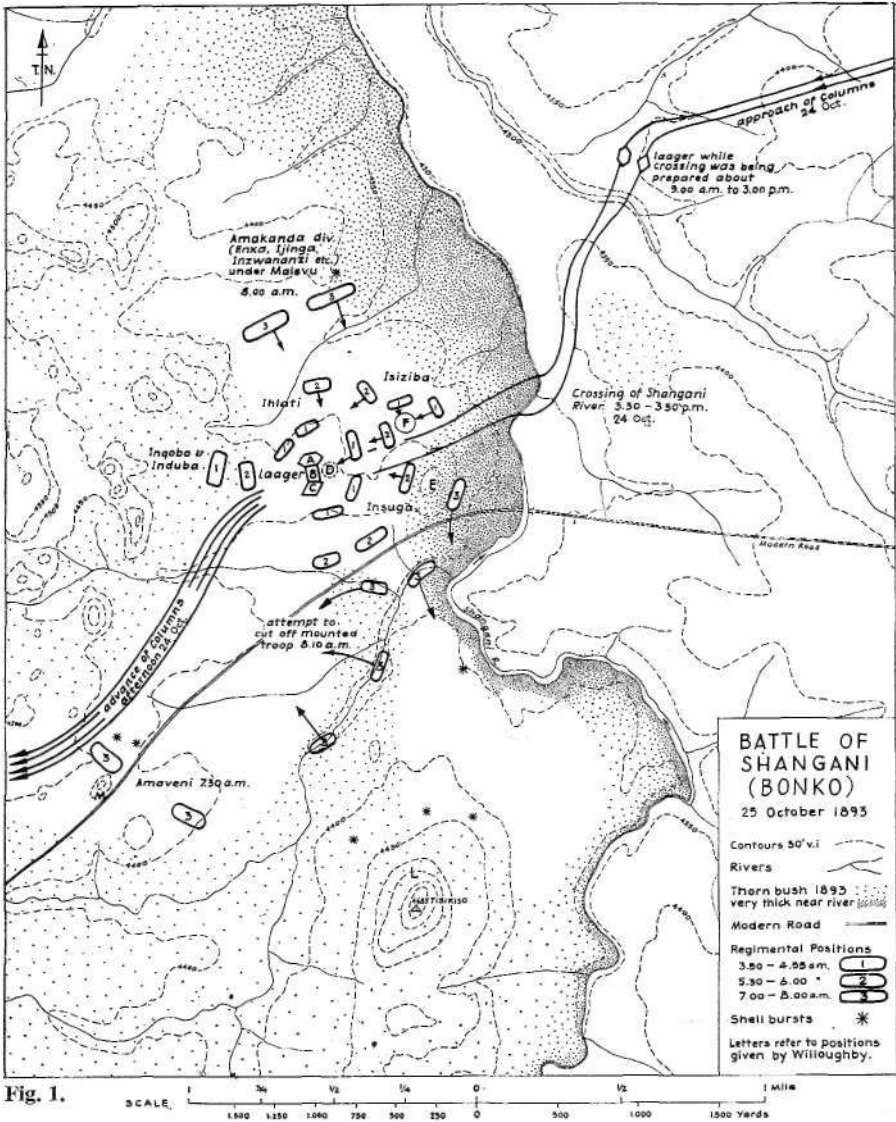
SHANGANI (see Fig. 1)

This battle, known to the Matabele as Bonko, was fought in the early hours of 25th October, 1893.

The site of the battlefield was known to have been in the vicinity of the present road bridge on the main Bulawayo-Gwelo road but until recently the various landmarks on the field had never been identified on the ground. A detailed reconnaissance was therefore made on 22nd July, 1967, by Col. A. S. Hickman, M.B.E., and ourselves, together with Mr. R. L. Moffat of Ormiston farm, Shangani. Permission to go over the ground was given on behalf of Oppenheimer Rhodesian Ranches (Pvt.) Ltd. by the Manager of Shangani Ranch, Mr. J. Robertson, who made a number of enquiries on our behalf. Mr. Robertson's and Mr. Moffat's detailed local knowledge was of the utmost help in our exploration.

Willoughby's sketch map is extremely accurate, except that the very prominent hill L is shown far nearer to the battlefield than is the case. It is a very usual failing of sketch maps to underestimate the distance of prominent features.

Point L, a conical hill, is undoubtedly Tisikiso (QJ523130)³ standing some 400 feet above the surrounding country and a very prominent landmark hereabouts.



Point M is a small kopje, standing 70-80 feet above its surroundings, but it is quite clear on the ground and is at 505136.

These points being determined, the "Deep Watercourse with pools of water" is the stream running in a more or less northerly direction between these points, joining the Shangani at 525148. It can be seen just beside the old road south of the Pongo Memorial. Even today it has steep banks which provide excellent cover. It was from this watercourse that an ambush directed against Fitzgeralds' and Bastard's mounted troops (H & I on Willoughby's plan) was sprung.

Shortly after this the Matabele were seen to retreat over the lower slopes of Tisikiso.

Point E is easily identified as the ring contour at 524153, the highest point between the Shangani and the broad open space where the laager was sited.

The two points where the columns crossed the Shangani river are more difficult to determine.

(a) A very obvious drift with comparative easy and well cut approaches on both banks is at 530159. We were told by an old African that this was where the "very old road" went across. Mr. R. L. Moffat considered that this was the Bulawayo-Gwelo Coach Road, which diverged from the modern road near Insiza, ran through Pongo Outspan (now marked "Crown Land"), on through his farm Oaklands (or Ormiston) and north of the hills on Battle Farm before swinging to cross the Shangani.

This point is marked on 1966 edition of the map as "approximate Route of Pioneer Column". If it was the 1893 crossing point, it has been improved out of all knowledge. It might, however, have been the point where the Salisbury Column crossed.

(b) There are two other crossings between (a) and the present road bridge. One is about 100 yards below the bridge and is at present used by Africans living in a kraal on the right bank to get scotch-carts across. The other is about 400 yards below the bridge and is a much better crossing although the approaches are completely overgrown. The approach on the right bank has been very slightly cut but on the left bank there has been a good deal of cutting to make a steady, although steep, pull up from the drift. This crossing has not been used for very many years but it seems very probable that it was the drift made and used by the Victoria Column.

Forbes (p. 105) says that the Salisbury Column got its 21 wagons across in 16 minutes while Victoria Column took 3 minutes longer to get 18 over. As drift (b) entailed crossing two watercourses the slightly longer time is understandable.

Westward from drift (a) the track has been washed away and is now a watercourse but half a mile from the river it is still marked as a track through woodland.

From drift (b) westward there is no track but a cleared route is clearly visible and easily followed through thronbush, it passes over the shoulder of the hill of which Point E is the highest point.

The position of the laager can now be determined only by distances from the known points E and M for the ground is so flat here that almost any point would do. Making the appropriate measurements, 2,200 yards from M and 350 yards from E, the position of the laager (about 250 yards by 100 yards) would appear to be about 300 yards west of a borehole and windmill (centre of laager 517153). We had hoped to be able to identify the laager from cartridge cases (3,600 rounds were fired) but this has proved impossible although enquiries were made from all African labourers working in this area.

Quested's laager, where were lodged some 300-400 Shona, including a number of women released from Matabele servitude, is stated to have been about 600 yards from the main laager and its measured position is at 522157. Nothing remains to mark its position on the ground.

Heany's mounted actions marked G on Willoughby's plan, was against the reserve under Manlevu (probably from Amakanda kraals to the west) and took place in the southern half of square 5016. The earlier charges by Heany and Spreckley (K & N on Willoughby's plan) were nearer to the laager.

The Columns marched off at 3 p.m. and after moving 3 miles to open ground, they laagered again. This would seem to have been just north of the New Eclipse Mine about a mile NNW of Shangani Post Office.

Comment on tactical position

The crossing of the Shangani river was one of the biggest problems facing the Columns. Not only were the banks of the river very steep, but tough opposition was expected once the effective border of Matabeleland was passed.

The greatest danger to the Columns was during the actual crossing, when it would have been impossible to form a laager and this danger was fully appreciated by both Forbes and Wilson.

The engineering problem alone was a considerable one: several hundred cubic yards of soil had to be removed while tree cutting on the left bank would be heavy since the bush was very thick (it still is!).

The approach from the east was over open granite country and rapid progress would have been made after an early start so that by 9 a.m. at the latest the temporary day laagers would have been formed on open ground a mile from the river. From then until about 3 p.m. when the laagers were broken for the onward march, the labour force would have been busy making two drifts and cutting two broad tracks through the bush. The working parties were protected by constant mounted patrols and by two Maxims and a 7-pdr. on hill E and an adjoining one.

Forbes and Wilson would have liked to march on for about 4 miles beyond the river to open ground but there was not sufficient time to get there before it was time to laager for the night. Accordingly the best available place was chosen. Forbes says it was "fairly good" but Willoughby says it was "far from good and much in favour of an attacking force".⁴

To our eyes, Willoughby's appreciation was the more realistic. More prudent commanders than Forbes and Wilson might have waited until next morning to cross, but had they done so, they would have lost the element of surprise which, in fact, carried them over unopposed.

The site chosen for the laager had one great advantage, it was well suited to the employment of automatic weapons for there were clear fields of fire in all directions. It was less suited for mounted infantry because it was enclosed by hills with plenty of cover, nevertheless Heany, Spreckley, Fitzgerald and Bastard manoeuvred their troops very successfully.

The Matabele plan for the attack is said to have been a silent dawn charge; this was, however, foiled by a Shona picket who fired an alarm shot when he found Matabele closing in on Quested's laager. The Matabele use of ground was of high standard, especially the cover provided by the range of hills at E and in the deep watercourse, south of the present main road, which they turned into a trap.

The traditional site of the laager is on a low hill, on the southern slope of which stands the farm homestead. The Terblanche family burial ground is on the actual site of the laager and Tpr. F. Thompson (C Troop, Salisbury Horse) is also buried there, having been killed in the early stages of the battle whilst on picket duty.

Owing to inaccuracies in both Willoughby's and Coryndon's maps, we at first doubted if the traditional site was indeed the true one. However, several visits and much walking convinced us that the location is correct. Map reference is PH968824.⁵

The site was identified in 1953 by the late Major C. J. S. Paddon, O.B.E., who fought in the battle as an ammunition member on the Victoria Column's 7-pdr. RML gun. Major Paddon, whose memories of the battle were very vivid even after sixty years, had considerable difficulty in recognising the site owing to the encroachment of thorn bush over the immediate area and contrariwise so much bush had been cut out to the north. In the end, however, he pronounced himself satisfied: his companion, Mr. Jamieson, another survivor of the battle, was, however, unable to recognise anything.⁶

The doubts felt, despite Major Paddon's identification, arose because both Willoughby's and Coryndon's sketch maps show the streams on the east and west of the laager site flowing into one main river marked "Tributary of Umzingwane river" by Willoughby and "Headwaters of the Umshabetsi river" by Coryndon.

In actual fact, however, the laager hillock is on an important interfluere, the stream on the west (now serving two farm dams) flows to the Ncema—considered in 1893 to be the Umzingwane, while the stream on the east is the Mnyezana which flows to the Insiza.

Since Willoughby claimed that his map was a "compass sketch" and as Coryndon's seemed generally a very careful piece of work we found ourselves in a difficulty. Walking over the ground, however, it appeared that there was so little drop eastward from the low point 4505 (at 973815) that without actually following a watercourse anyone looking at the ground would imagine that stream-beds ran as shown by Willoughby and Coryndon. The spruits were dry at the time so there was no flow of water to assist the observer.

One difficulty which faces the modern investigator is the great change in bush growth since 1893; a problem which has already been mentioned. The natural vegetation over the laager site and to the north and east is thorn bush (on andesite—"redsoil") but west and south it is open grassland (on granite—"sandveld"). However, at the time of the battle, there was a small kraal around which the laagers were built and Matabele kraals were such great users of timber that undoubtedly a good deal of cutting had taken place. Both maps show that there was a good deal of bush cover although the edge of the bush by no means coincided with the granite—andesite Contact. In plotting 1893 bush, we have followed Coryndon's sketch as far as possible as this seems to be more accurate topographically than Willoughby's.

Comment on tactical positions

As at Shangani, the positions of the laager was not too good a one, there being good cover in thorn bush within 350 yards of the Salisbury laager at one point and a patch of dead ground which extended to within 150 yards of the laager.

However, the summit of the hillock was a commanding one and any Matabele charge would have to come up a sharp rise.

The laager covered a smaller area (about 180 x 60 yards) than that at Shangani, probably because it was intended as a mere midday halt and no attack was anticipated. In fact, the Salisbury laager was isolated, the thorn fences which should have connected it to the Victoria laager not having been started. The presence of a small kraal of eight huts between the Victoria and Salisbury laagers further reduced the possibility of mutual support since they gravely restricted the field of fire. No doubt it was to correct this unfortunate position that Major Allan Wilson deployed five guns and two considerable flanking parties to cover the threatened Salisbury laager.

Everything points to a general lack of appreciation of any danger on the part of Forbes and his officers. Men were dispersed outside the laagers and all the oxen and most of the horses had been sent to water and graze a mile or more away, where there were pools in the Ncema headstream. Possibly the heat and airlessness of the day contributed to the lethargic feeling, but there is no doubt that the Matabele attack achieved complete surprise for evidently there was some delay in opening fire.

Once the action was joined, however, the Columns fought briskly and it is evident that the artillery was especially well handled both as to siting and actual firing.

At one point, disaster was narrowly averted by the prompt action of Borrow, Willoughby and a few others in immediately galloping out under fire to catch 400 stampeding horses. Had they not done so the results would have been disastrous.

On the other side, the handling of the large Matabele army was deplorable. Most of the attack was made by two regiments, Imbizo and Ingubo, in the centre, there was little support at first from the left and the right wing remained unemployed until the centre had been defeated. Moreover no use was made of the ground and many of the warriors remained standing up and firing until they were shot down. The contrast between Bembesi and Shangani is so glaring that one cannot believe the commander was the same at both battles.

In the 1930's, Col. George Parson, C.B.E., D.S.O., then officer commanding, Southern Rhodesian Forces, made a study of the Matabele war and came to the conclusion that Matabele tactics suffered greatly through their attempt to use a new and unfamiliar weapon—the Martini-Henry rifle—and that had they stuck to their old and well tried shock tactics "it is doubtful whether the small European force would have survived".⁷ This seems very probable, but there seem to us to have been other factors. The attack was made in direct defiance of Lobengula's orders, which were to avoid attacks on laagers but to go all out when the Columns were in unavoidable disorder at a river crossing, preferably

the Umguza. Secondly, the regiments who attacked first, Imbizo and Ingubo, had not previously been engaged and had in fact only joined the main body at 11 a.m. that morning, full of boasting as to what they, seasoned warriors, would do. It was over-confidence in their weapons and their own prowess that defeated the Matabele as surely as the cool handling of automatic weapons by the Columns.

The battlefields today

The Shangani battlefield has changed little in 75 years although a wide tarmac road and a railway runs across its southern edge and a few wire fences would seriously hamper today's Heany or Bastard. However, one can still easily visualise every movement on each side and understand just why they were made.

At Bembesi things are very different. Farm buildings cover the site of the Victoria laager and a graveyard is where the Salisbury wagons stood, while the side of the hill have been so scarred by gravel pits that one can no longer see where the dead ground was and one is hard put to imagine how horses could have been driven into the laager, let alone stampeded away. To the north, where Insukamini appeared on the top of a hill, there now stand buildings of a Presbyterian mission. While a little to the east of it years of timber cutting and overstocking have reduced to dust the thorn bush which sheltered an army so effectively that the Columns were taken completely by surprise.

Only a stone cairn stands, dignified and lonely, commemorating in English and in matchless Sindebele, the heroism of all who fought and died in that breathless November noontide.

NOTES

1. *Rhodesiana* No. 9 (1963), pp. 28-36.
2. *Rhodesiana* No. 15 (1966), p. 5.
3. Map reference are from 1966 edition of 1:50,000 map of Rhodesia, Sheets 1929 C2 and 1929 C4 from which Fig. 1 has been drawn. Base material has been reproduced by permission of the Surveyor-General.
4. Wills and Collingridge, p. 104; Norris-Newman, p. 220.
5. Map references are from 1961 edition of 1:50,000 map of Rhodesia, Sheet 2028B2, from which the base material of fig. 2 has been drawn by permission of the Surveyor-General.
6. The examination of the site was made at the request of the Historical Monuments Commission. Information from Mr. K. S. R. Robinson, formerly Chief Inspector of Monuments.
7. National Archives, Historical Manuscripts Collection, PA1/1/1, para. 7 of 'Comments on 1893 campaign'.

Archives and Archaeology

by E. E. Burke

{From a talk given to the Mashonaland Prehistory Society on 26th January, 1967}

My title of "Archives and Archaeology" has a satisfying roundness which nicely hides the fact that the meaning is not obvious. But under its cloak I want to talk, or perhaps ramble, over certain common interests which link the archaeologist and the archivist and in which the latter can help the former.

Nowadays, in these times of sensitivity to public relations, everything or everyone has an "image" and the projection of a proper "image" is apparently a matter of great importance—the man or organisation or community which says it doesn't care much what the world thinks of it is a Philistine or a collection of Philistines. Archaeologists and archivists used to share a rather poor "image", though perhaps a definite one, in the popular mind. The antiquarian has been the popular butt for centuries. Pope indicated his romanticism—

"With sharpen'd sight pale antiquaries pore
Th' inscription value, but the rust adore."

But if archaeology and the archaeologist has, by its scientific approach, broken away from this conception of the antiquarian in the last forty years or so, the archivist is not yet regarded as being entirely "with it". There is still confusion in regard to an awareness of what he does and why.

Here, I know, I am speaking to the informed, but before demonstrating manners in which archives can be drawn upon by the archaeologist, I would like to talk about some of the particular characteristics of archives which may not be generally appreciated.

The first point to be made is that archives are essentially documentary in character and can therefore only be co-existent with the graphic arts, and of these principally with writing. Man developed the art of writing, so we are told, in order to record and to communicate, and once he started to preserve and collect his records the archivist was in business. Some earliest evidences of organised collection are in the form of clay tablets from Mesopotamia recording legal codes, the affairs of state and business transactions. A complete royal archives was discovered in the ruins of the palace of Assur-bani-pal, an Assyrian ruler of the seventh century B.C., but there are other, older, examples which show that the concept of archives is as old as that of civilisation.

But think for a moment of collections of documents lying in any museum or library or university that you know. In Cape Town there are collections of papers of individuals in the South African Library but the Cape Archives are a separate organisation half a mile away. In London the British Museum has collections of British manuscripts which are quite different in nature from those of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. An archival collection therefore has some special quality that distinguishes it from other collections of documents formed, perhaps haphazardly, for particular and specific purposes.

In a word, archives are documents created in the course of business of any kind, whether public or private. Said quickly like that the meaning—significant for my purpose—might be missed. You and I have our private archives, our correspondence, our bills and bank statements, our insurance policies and leases and so on. They form our evidences, help our memories, and will provide documentary evidence to posterity of our individual activities and relationships with other people. We throw a lot away and keep what is important. Commercial firms and corporations do the same and so do governments. State or National Archives are the documentary reflection of the Government's business as shown by the documents that formed part of that business. As with our private affairs, not all of the Government's papers are worth preserving—we find in practice in Rhodesia that it amounts to about 10 per cent of the total volume and this is just as well as the taxpayer might otherwise revolt.

As the documents are those used in the conduct of business they automatically have certain qualities, the chief of which is authenticity.

Archives are the historian's raw materials for him to interpret according to his lights. He can quote, interpret, deny or applaud their contents but he cannot impugn a document on the grounds of forgery if it has been preserved in an official archives and has not been out of the custody of those archives.

Thus authenticity, and a certain impartiality, derive from the fact that the documents originated at the time and in the light of the circumstances of the moment. They are apt to have a superiority over later reconstructions. To take a homely example, Major Frank Johnson commanded the Pioneer Corps in the occupation of this country and he clashed with Col. Pennefather who was in overall command of the whole expedition. Johnson's correspondence and reports, and Pennefather's counter documents, indicate this. But 45 years later, Johnson wrote his autobiography. Well written and dramatic as it is, it shows that very human trait that memory can be defective or unconsciously selective—his relationship with Pennefather is quite different in his description from that indicated by the letters of 45 years earlier. At a distance of time events lose their cohesion and actions their motivations. It becomes difficult, after much thinking about some past event in which one might have been personally connected, to separate hindsight from foresight.

Apart from use by historians, an incidental use, the archives are of course a permanent administrative asset—civil servants come and go but their works remain and a corporate memory is as necessary to the ordered functioning of Government as our personal memories are to us in our affairs. Thus amongst the practical benefits of preservation can be economy of effort and unit of purpose. To take an example—from time to time the suggestion crops up that daylight saving—the adjustment of the clocks by an hour or so to give more working hours in daylight—should be introduced here. The files show that it was introduced once in 1930. It lasted three weeks. The African could not understand it and was upset, life became disorganised, the railways found it difficult to co-operate and kept their clocks on standard time, so if you were catching the night train to Bulawayo the timetable said it went at 8 p.m., the station clock might confirm that it steamed out at 8, but your watch said it was

7 p.m. and so on. The scheme was abandoned and the lesson has remained an interesting one. The record of the experiment cuts the corners when it is, from time to time, proposed afresh.

The idea of *public access* to public archives has grown up as one of the normal liberties, but it is by no means as old as archives themselves. It dates from certain principles established in the French Archives as they were organised out of the former Royal Archives after the French Revolution.

In the English-speaking world the idea of public access to legal records has long been accepted. The records of a Court reflect on the rights of individuals and are available to those individuals. In the simplest example a man may wish to produce evidence that he has already been tried and punished for an offence for which he is newly charged—the formal court records are there to speak on his defence.

On the other hand access to departmental records, to correspondence and reports and minutes to and fro, is of a more recent growth and the conditions vary considerably from one country to another. In Rhodesia access is generally available when the records reach 30 years of age, in South Africa it is around 45 years, in England it is 50 years, though the present Government there is introducing legislation to reduce this to 30.

It was this acceptance that the public might use the departmental records as well as the purely legal ones that has converted the uses made of archives from the genealogical and antiquarian to those of research in many different disciplines—historical, economic, sociological and many more—but principally historical.

I am gradually coming back to archaeology, somewhat deviously perhaps. Clearly the archivist cannot help the archaeologist in regard to matters before the invention of writing. I was struck by an advertisement quoted from the *New York Times* of 26th July, 1966.

"How do you imagine Eve?"

"The talented people who created the extraordinary motion picture 'The Bible' asked thousands of men and women . . . and they agreed: Eve was a blonde! This is just one of the myriad details that were thoroughly checked before 'The Bible' was filmed."

Not even the custodian of the Sumerian clay tablets could have been expected to help with that historical conundrum.

Here in Rhodesia administration began in 1890 so the true public archives can only date from then. But to supplement this the organisation has gone far in the collection of copies of other relevant archives of earlier date—from Portugal, from the missionary societies of England, France and South Africa. Then to this is added the collection of original private papers and family or personal archives—the diaries, the letters, the reports of hunters, traders, missionaries and the travellers. And further there are large collections of printed materials, books, pamphlets, maps and newspapers, which forms what is undoubtedly the most complete library on Central Africa in existence—one that it would now be impossible to duplicate. Why, perhaps you may ask, do we have a library? Why, because an Archives is not concerned with print but with

handwriting, with the unpublished document? If you go into the Public Record Office in London or the National Archives in Washington you will not find a vast library of works on Britain or America respectively; for that you have to go elsewhere. But in Rhodesia there is no separate National Library to ensure the preservation of at least one copy of a book produced here and the task has devolved upon the Archives. The convenience to the research worker of having both his primary and secondary sources available in one place is clear.

The Library of the Archives includes too, a collection of photographs, some 6-7,000, illustrative of aspects of Rhodesian history. The whole total of these various collections constitutes the National Archives of Rhodesia and they are catalogued and indexed and inventoried in such a way that the contents can be explored for any particular purpose.

How then can these collections be of service to the archaeologist? There are two ways at least which come to mind. One is by providing contemporary source materials which can be of direct relevance to an archaeological project. An obvious example comes from the relationship of the early Portuguese records to that country's permanent stations in this country—to the rise and fall and the chronology of Masapa and the rest. Here I would like to draw attention to the series of Portuguese archives being published jointly with the Portuguese Government. It is planned to cover the period from 1497 to 1840 and progresses slowly. Vol. 4, dealing with 1515-16 has recently appeared. It includes a report of 26th June, 1516, by the Captain of Sofala direct to the King of Portugal which has new material on Antonio Fernandes and his journeys into the interior. The diaries of Carl Mauch, with his description of Zimbabwe as he saw it, were described at a recent meeting of the Society. There are the diaries of Baines, Selous, the Moffats and others.

Within our documented historic times, from 1890, there are the official files dealing with, for example, the Rebellions, which illuminate the constructions of laager sites and forts and serve to show when they were built, why and for how long they were occupied. Here clearly some literary flesh can be put on archaeological bones.

Now the actual classification and arrangement of archives is a subject on which a lot of controversy has been engendered. Historians, as a class of user, would perhaps like an arrangement by subject—all the files on Khami, whatever their office of origin, brought together. However, this might only suit the historian and not the other users. It has been found most generally helpful to everybody, and logical, to classify the archives by the offices which originated them. As mentioned earlier there are guides and indexes but to get the best use of the archives it is necessary to know something of the administrative background to the subject in question—what departments were responsible in the matter, who handled it and so on.

There is scope for a history of archaeology in this country and any such would have to take into account the attitudes of the Administration towards the subject over the years. To work these out from the public archives it is desirable to know something of the legislation concerning antiquities, the

reasons for its introduction and what department was made responsible for that legislation.

I think that I should go on now briefly to some account of this administration of archaeology. During the 1890's the Company thought of its ruins and ancient workings as profitable areas for exploitation for gold; bushman paintings and any visible prehistoric relics were but curiosities. Such explorations, such as that by the Bents, as were arranged, were more in the hope of establishing an ancient mineral history and therefore a potentially rich future for investors, than for purely scientific reasons. They were motivated by very practical purposes.

The subsequent efforts of the Ancient Ruins Company and the protests they evoked are well known. By the end of the South African War the tourist trade was beginning to emerge and the three major attractions were the Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe and the Sinoia Caves. A combination of tourist potential and the realisation of the widespread damage that had already occurred to the visible sites and paintings, led to the first legislation on the subject. This was the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance of 1902 which vested all control in the Administrator. All finds had to be reported to him and excavation required his permission, with suitable penalties for evasion. Thus the files of the Administrator's Office contain these reports and applications.

The next action was the appointment of Richard Nicklin Hall as curator of Zimbabwe with a rising responsibility beyond this, embraced in the title of National Keeper of Monuments, or Curator of Ancient Monuments. Hall's explorations at Zimbabwe, and his books, are too well known to need description now but it is worth pointing out that his papers, including the manuscript of an unpublished work on the "Bushman of Rhodesia" are in the National Archives. Hall's service with the Administration terminated abruptly when he wrote to his superiors stating his unsolicited views on the methods, morals, manners and general conduct of the then Director of Public Works. Various differences had arisen over the manner of reconstruction or repair of certain of the ruins, for an ex-member of the B.S.A.P., Mr. Wallace, had been appointed by the P.W.D. to take charge of this. This type of activity apparently continued for the next 25 years or so and there are many references and reports and some photographs in the files of the Department of Works.

In 1914 one of the Directors of the Company wrote of his horror at the state of the Acropolis—

"Some of the most important walls are tumbling down, large slips are constantly taking place . . . It is no use crying over spilt milk, but it is quite obvious that this state of affairs must be due to the trying conditions to which the ruins have been unfortunately subjected in the last 5 or 6 years",

and so on. As a result £1,000 was allocated to Wallace, working with a gang of 30 Africans, to put things right.

Again, a few years later, in 1914, the Director of Public Works reports: "The main wall of the Acropolis was carried over a passage on wooden lintels still in a fair state of preservation but for the sake of safety and greater strength

these have been replaced by stone." In the following year he speaks of excavation through 15 ft. of filling to bedrock . . . "Some of the original workmanship was extremely poor and necessitated taking down the whole wall right to the foundations."

I mention these extracts in no spirit of criticism but as examples of the type of information that the archives should afford. These facts are I believe well known to Mr. Summers and others who have worked through the files but the availability of this type of information both in connection with Zimbabwe and with other sites, may not be *generally* known.

Again in 1917 it was reported of Dhlo Dhlo by the Director of Public Works that in the 15 years since his last visit, the amount of decay from purely natural causes was incredible. The main entrance and the passage, which were open in 1902 were entirely closed with fallen walls—damage he attributed to weather and the effect of growing trees. This raised the question of reconstruction while it was still possible to follow old patterns which he thought would in a few years be almost impossible, and some time afterwards Wallace was sent from Zimbabwe to report on the feasibility of this. He came to the conclusion that their condition was too far in deterioration to make it practicable.

Then in 1922 the help of the Chief Native Commissioner was enlisted and Native Commissioners throughout the country were asked to collect particulars of any structures, paintings or other sites of interest in their areas. These reports are available, they straggled in over the succeeding months and are of varying fulness. Some include plans and photographs, some African accounts of their origin, others are confined to mere statements of existence.

The same file has a letter from a Mr. McLeod of the Public School at Que Que after a walking tour from Enkeldoorn to Melsetter in 1924 in which he visited the Matendere and neighbouring (Mtchuchu) ruins. He enclosed some 12 photographs with the suggestion that perhaps they would awaken an interest in their preservation and steps might be taken to cut back the encroaching vegetation before it destroyed them. In the event, after a certain amount of correspondence £5 was authorised for the purpose and the work was done.

In 1931 Wallace sent in two photographs of the Outer Wall of the Eastern Temple on the Acropolis showing the nature of his work in the form of "before" and "after". These raised the question again of the desirability of reconstruction and much thought was given to it. Parallels were taken from other countries and the wisdom of taking expert advice was accepted. An archaeologist was to be invited to draw up a scheme of restoration and repair with definite instructions for the guidance of the curator.

Miss Caton Thompson's book on her excavations in 1929 was published in 1931. There was clearly a new scientific approach—one might say that it seemed that archaeology had arrived or was on the way. The next landmark and the emergence was perhaps the establishment of the Historical Monuments Commission in 1936.

I have made no attempt to cover the field in detail, or to construct a history of archaeology. I have merely tried to show, by some random examples, that there is material in the archives which may be of value to you. One could wish

that there was much more; there may have been at one time but a lot was lost when the B.S.A. Company's remaining records of their Rhodesian administration, mostly London records, but including some removed from Salisbury in 1923, were destroyed in the blitz in 1941.

There may be nothing available relevant to any one particular site or project, on the other hand there may be, possibly, something of importance which only the inquirer can judge as such. Our indexes do not cater for every eventuality, but the staff are there to help. They will not necessarily produce specific answers to specific questions, but they *will* indicate the materials where the answers seem likely to be found.

A Modern Historical Safari

by P. C. D. Eaton

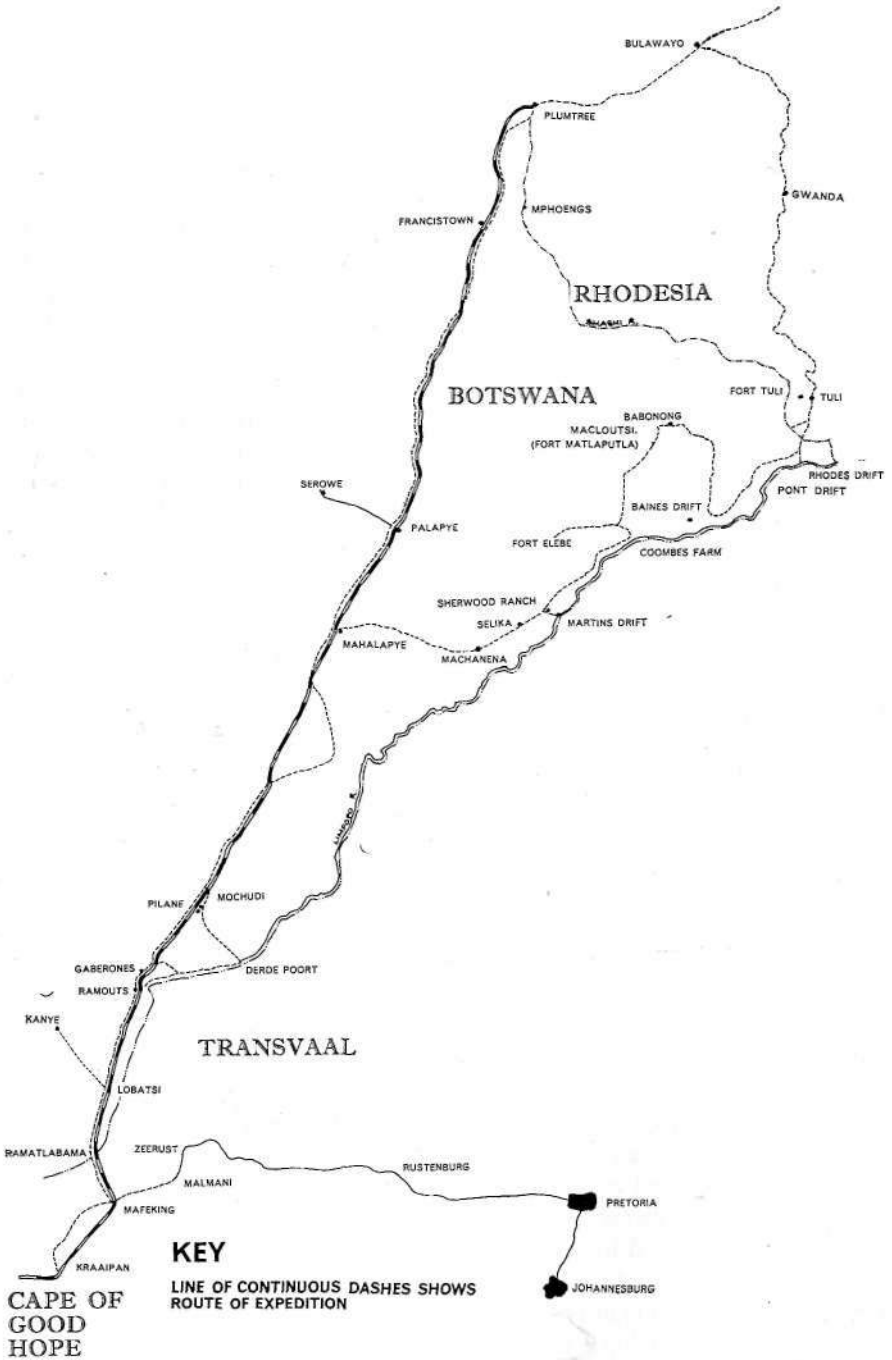
For some years now the Army has been conscious of the need for a written history of the part played by Rhodesians in the Boer War. It was felt that public knowledge of the Rhodesian's share in this war was poor and that Rhodesians were not aware of the considerable effort that the country made in assisting the British in this war. It must be remembered that at the turn of the century the population of Rhodesia was very small and yet the percentage that took part in the war was on a par with the percentage that volunteered in the 1914-18 fracas, probably the highest in what was then called the Empire.

Early in 1967 the Ministry of Defence agreed to the setting aside of a sum of money for the purpose of producing a Rhodesian military history up to the end of the Boer War, and it was agreed that Col. A. S. Hickman, well known to readers of *Rhodesiana* as an historian of early Rhodesia, should be asked to undertake the task—this he most readily agreed to do.

It is not the writer's intention to encroach on Col. Hickman's ground, it would, in fact, be an impertinence to attempt to do so, since the writer's knowledge of written history is limited to Sellers' and Yeatman's "1966 and All That". Yeatman was, in fact, his history master at school which probably makes it worse. This account is purely that of an historical layman. Col. Hickman started by delving into the records held at National Archives and armed with a great number of notes extracted from the old records held there, written by those who were personally involved in the war, decided that the first requirement was a physical reconnaissance of all the sites of action referred to in the notes, in particular, to try to find certain forts and battle sites that had been lost and the whereabouts of which forgotten.

A conference was accordingly held at Army H.Q. and the necessity for a physical search and reconnaissance was agreed. Authority was granted by the South African Government and the Botswana Government for the party to visit both countries to investigate known forts and sites and search for those that had been lost. The S.A. Government were particularly helpful in providing the party with a *laissez-passe* to enter and leave the Republic as and when the circumstances required it. The Botswana Government attached a Mr. Alec Campbell to the party as escort and liaison. As an ex-Game Department Officer and Curator-Designate of the newly formed Botswana Museum, Alec Campbell was a most useful and welcome member of the party.

The final arrangements were made in the last week of July. Two Army vehicles were allocated to the party, a 1 1/2-ton Ford F250 four-wheel drive, and a short wheel-base Land Rover. Both these vehicles were painted in non-military colours and given civilian registration numbers. It was, of course, essential not to embarrass the Botswana Government by having a quasi-military detachment wandering all over the country in military vehicles.



An imprest account was arranged for the purchase of petrol and other essentials and an indent submitted for 28 days' rations for four people. This was all tinned except for onions, potatoes and carrots. Army rations are first class and very plentiful, but after a few weeks are inclined to become a little monotonous. However, with plenty of onions and carrots together with mashed potatoes, even the dullest tinned meatballs, steak, or steak and kidney, can be turned into a really first class stew.

It was originally intended to take four pup tents to sleep in since they are simple to erect. Second thoughts, however, decided us that since Col. Hickman would have a great deal of writing to do that one large 14 x 14 ft. tent which could be used both for sleeping for the whole party and as an office would be taken. As it transpired, Col. Hickman was able to do his writing in the open and only on one occasion was it cold enough to put the tent up. The rest of the time we slept on camp beds under the stars.

By 2nd August all was ready, the vehicles loaded with all the food, beds, tentage and small gas cooker and gas bottles and eight jerry cans of petrol and four of water, one large tarpaulin and personal luggage. At 9 a.m. on 3rd August the party was under way bound for Bulawayo.

The party consisted of four people:

Col. A. S. Hickman, historian.

W.O. I Joe Hulme, surveyor/draughtsman.

Cpl. Jack Brummer, vehicle mechanic/driver.

Mr. Peter Eaton, photographer/safari manager and self-appointed cook.

Considering the different backgrounds of the party, i.e. one retired Police Commissioner, one ex-Fleet Air Arm now Army Engineer, one young and fairly new soldier mechanic and one retired R.A.F. Wing Commander, now Army Photographer, it was quite noticeable how well the team mixed in together. There was never throughout the whole trip any friction at all, which, considering the different ages and backgrounds, was quite surprising. Four people living together under uncomfortable conditions for 28 days can so easily get on each others' nerves, but this was a most happy safari.

After a night stop at Bulawayo on 3rd August, the party finally arrived at Tuli on the Shashi River where the Member-in-Charge, Tuli Police, Section Officer Ian Beattie, gave us the use of a large open-sided grass holiday hut on the banks of the river Shashi shaded by numerous trees—a delightful spot. He also found us an African to do the camp chores, cooking in the bush can be fun if you have someone to do the washing up! Here we were joined by Mr. Alec Campbell who was to be our mentor and guide whilst in Botswana.

Fort Tuli was a most fascinating experience to the layman such as myself and with Col. Hickman as guide it was not difficult to visualise the Fort as it was when occupied by the early Pioneers. The Fort is surrounded by all the main camp facilities with remains of the troops lines, the prison and the rifle range clear to see. The most interesting feature is the drift across the river. Although the riverine growth was cut over seventy years ago it has never grown back again and the clearing on both sides of the river are as devoid of growth now as they were when they were cleared.



The old pioneer road near Fort Tuli still clear after 70 years.

Through the kind offices of Mr. Mike Reynolds the Officer-in-Charge of the Shashi Irrigation Scheme, Col. Hickman was able to interview three very old people who remembered the first wagons arriving. The two men both worked in Fort Tuli as youths and can clearly remember the day-to-day activities of the Fort. One was the troops' water carrier and the other a general labourer. It is interesting to note here that the troops even had a tennis court and billiards table after the settlement was established. The third one of the ancients was a woman who was so frightened by the horses and the wheeled vehicles, which none of them had ever seen before, that she ran away into the bush and when she came back had no connection at all with the Fort. In passing it is interesting to note that this old woman had no lower lip. When asked to explain this mutilation she said that it was bitten off by her sister in an argument because her sister was making sheeps' eyes at this old lady's husband. It must have been quite a fight. Here we found a most interesting relic. There are records of a staging post known as Bryce's Store. The whereabouts of this site had been forgotten ever since it was attacked by the Boers in the war, but through the reports of two game trackers employed by Mr. Adrian Boshier we were led to the site of the store, where we found evidence of the old building, hand-made bricks, tins and cartridge cases, still to be seen. It is interesting to note in passing that at every site we visited we found relics of occupation in the shape of empty bully beef tins, biscuit tins, bottles of every shape, kind and description, including

the ubiquitous "Eno" bottles. It seems that the early Pioneers didn't worry a great deal about camp hygiene and the vast piles of tins and refuse at Fort Tuli, for example, which covered some acres of ground must, when they were fresh, have been the most revolting breeding place for flies and rats.

I do not intend to go very deeply into the relics and forts and encampments that we found since this is to be the basis of Col. Hickman's military history of the period, but will revert now to the more general aspect of this safari. Our explorations around Tuli and Bryce's Store, and the kopje from which we established that the Boers had shelled the store, were all on the far side of the river and once we had finished our explorations in the Land Rover and the time came to move on there was considerable speculation in the party as to whether we would get the big Ford across the riverbed which was composed entirely of very dry loose sand. Our concern was justified because, on taking this heavily-laden vehicle down the steep bank into the bed of the river it bogged down to its axles in the first three feet, necessitating the hitching together of the Land Rover and Alec Campbell's American jeep into a train and with all three vehicles in four-wheel drive and auxiliary gearbox we managed with great difficulty to get the vehicle across. Anbody contemplating the trip with this type of vehicle would be well advised to have extra large balloon tyres with sandgrip treads fitted. It was not that the vehicle had no power but merely that the tyres, which were a standard fitting on Army vehicles, did not have sufficient grip under these conditions of very loose sand. From here on we drove down to Fort Matlaputla in Botswana where we picked for ourselves a delightful camping site by the bed of a river. This fort was heavily overgrown with grass and is being destroyed by the trampling of native cattle. The area here is an amateur geologist's paradise with agates of all shapes, sizes and colours lying around all over the surface of the ground. Moss agates, cornelian, jasper, jadeite and many other stones could be picked up by the handful without even hunting. The yard of the police station at Bobonong, which is the large native town quite close by, is gravelled entirely with red agates. Unfortunately we did not find out the source from which these were obtained. Botswana is a country of endless flat scrub interspersed with savannah-like grasslands, and apart from small plantations of millet and rather poor maize the entire countryside is devoted to cattle. The only big trees to be seen away from the riverine growth are baobabs, some of which have achieved the most fantastic size. I find it strange that the African population has done little or nothing in the way of making use of the riverine silt. On our way to Bobonong at Pont Drift where we also found an old fort we passed through an area of land which was being cultivated by Europeans and the crops that have been obtained from this extremely rich river silt are exceptional. Having driven for nearly one whole day through countryside that can only be described as semi-desert we came across an area on the banks of the Limpopo where European farmers are producing 8 or 9 tons of potatoes to the acre and the most astonishing crops of cotton and onions. One man had a field of some 20 acres entirely devoted to the production of onions which were some of the finest I have ever seen and all destined for the Johannesburg market. All down this bank of the Limpopo there are European farmers and ranchers and we stayed one



The cemetery at Fort Matlaputla.

night with a Mr. Glover and his family. He is producing some of the finest beef cattle to be seen anywhere in the world. Mr. Glover, senior, is over 90. This land was given to Rhodes as a concession by old Chief Khama at the turn of the century for settlement by Europeans on the understanding that the Europeans would keep the Boers on the Transvaal side of the river. There is, however, a great deal of land which has not been used at all and which the indigenous population don't seem to take much interest in.

Our next main camp was at Gaborones, the capital of Botswana, where there are nine miles of tarmac road out of the country's total of less than thirteen. I think Botswana is the only country in Africa where it is necessary to put a vehicle into four-wheel drive on a main road. The loose sandy surface of the roads is particularly bad at this time of year, although some of the secondary roads, which are virtually nothing more than tracks, have quite a good surface. I think primarily because they do not carry the same amount of heavy lorry traffic and therefore do not get broken up to the same extent.

In Gaborones we were given an excellent camp site, it being what is left of an old survey camp now no longer in use. Most of the buildings had no roofs and the walls, which were cement-sprayed hessian, were all falling down. However, we took to ourselves the two best preserved rooms which were two bathrooms in which we split up into two and two. This camp we occupied for nearly a week, and were most hospitably entertained in Gaborones by Alec Campbell

and his charming wife and also an old friend of the writer, Col. Lindsay Seymour, Director of Legal Services for the Federal Armed Forces, prior to December 1963, and now Assistant Attorney-General for the Botswana Government.

Gaberones is a completely new city. Where a few years ago there was nothing but scrub, today there are large ultra-modern buildings and the full facilities that you would expect to find in any small town of comparative size, and the most remarkable feature which can be seen sticking out over the bush for many miles is the town's water tower which is an enormous silver-painted inverted onion sticking up against the skyline and visible in all directions. Here right on the corner of the Transvaal border we again made considerable discoveries of importance and interest to Col. Hickman's forthcoming book. The Boers here had built the most enormous stone fortification system that we found on the entire trip, covering many acres and consisting of miles of dry stone walling. The labour involved in building this vast complex of stone walling, redoubts, etc., must have been considerable and I can visualise that the old Boer commandos must have had a hearty dislike of their Commander, who ordered the building of this fort; manual labour of this kind had never been extremely popular with the old Boer. It is possible of course that they may have had a sufficient number of African labourers to do it for them, but there does not appear to be any evidence of this. During our stay in Gaberones we encountered the only cold weather we met on the trip. Hitherto we had all slept on camp stretchers out in the open but here a very unpleasant cold snap lasting for several days caught up with us, and after waking one morning with hoar frost on our bedclothes it was decided for the first and only time to put up the big tent, after which conditions were not too bad. Throughout the whole trip we were extremely lucky with the weather as putting up and pulling down a 14 x 14 ft. tent is hard work. As it was, this was the only time we used it.

Before we moved on from Gaberones we decided to give a dinner party for all those who had been so hospitable during our stay and I found, as self-appointed camp cook, that producing a dinner party for the four of us and six guests over a portable two-ring gas burner required a certain amount of ingenuity, especially since there was a high wind blowing at the time. However, with the stipulation that our guests brought knife, fork, spoon, plate, chair and a glass each, I think they all enjoyed it. Soup, a large stew full of meat, onions, garlic and root vegetables, with creamed potatoes with lots of margarine and condensed milk, and fried rice, ending up with fruit salad and coffee was, I believe, a meal they all enjoyed, or possibly the apparent enjoyment was more noticeable owing to a liberal number of noggins. However, the party seemed to go off quite well and we sat around the fire talking until well after midnight.

From Gaberones we went to Mafeking in the Northern Cape Province. Here we had the best camp of the whole trip. The administrative area of Botswana in the olden days before independence was in Mafeking, an area of offices and houses on the outside of the town, known as the Imperial Reserve. This piece of land is British territory and it struck me as odd at the time that here was an enclave of British territory in the middle of the Republic of South Africa.



The reconstructed fort: Cannon Kopje, Mafeking.

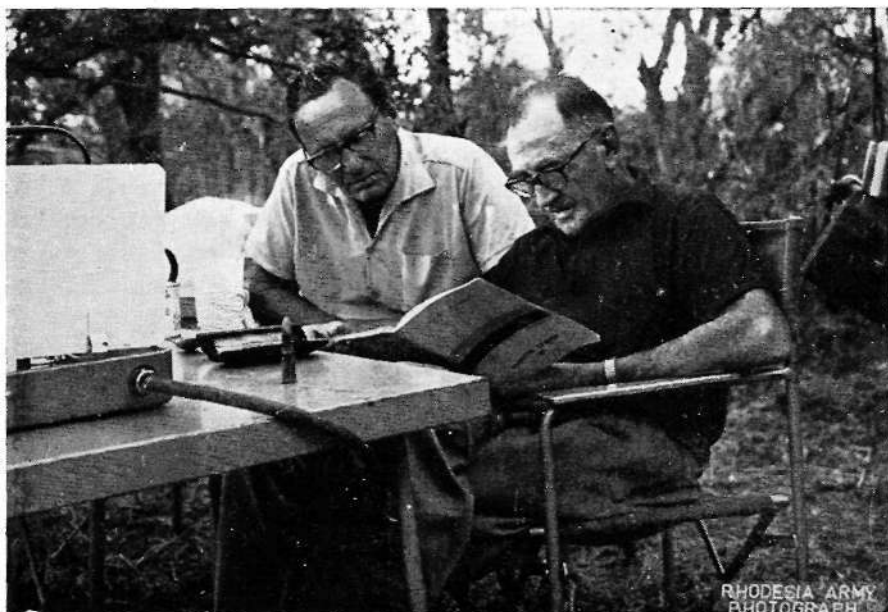
However, since practically the whole of the Botswana administration has now moved to Gaborone all the houses are empty and we were given the use of an empty house to camp in with hot and cold running water and electric light. This was indeed luxury.

The old fortifications from the days of the siege of Mafeking are extremely well preserved and the whole town of Mafeking gives one the impression that the siege has only been just raised. All the inhabitants are extremely proud at the part played during the siege and even today will, with very little encouragement, talk about it and the part played by their ancestors. The most famous fortification is Cannon Kopje which used to be shelled by old "Creaky" with 94-lb. shells. This would appear to have had more nuisance than destructive value. This fortification has been completely rebuilt by the authorities exactly as it was before the siege and in spite of the fact that for seventy years visitors and tourists have wandered all over it we still managed to find some relics of the siege itself. Cartridge cases, bully beef tins, etc., and a piece of heavy shell. From our base camp here we went south to Kraaipan where the first shots of the war were fired, and after a certain amount of search we found the gun emplacement from which the Boers shelled a train on the railway line, putting it out of action. The only person who escaped from this action uninjured and uncaptured was the engine driver. It is not well known that this train was manned by Rhodesians and that the beginning of the war started here between Rho-

desians and Boers, not the British and the Boers. By the use of common sense and a little military knowledge, we were able to establish with fair certainty that the Boers blew out an iron culvert to stop the train and then shelled it. The gun-site from which the shelling took place is an outcrop of very high-grade ironstone, which is slowly being removed piece by piece for smelting. Col. Hickman hopes to get the South African authorities to stop this and preserve the site as a historical monument. It was on our trip to Kraaipan that I made my one and only error in navigation and took the party about 40 miles out of its way. We had to use the services of Jack Brummer to find out where we were since the only European we met could not speak English and I could not speak Afrikaans.

It was here whilst camped in Mafeking that the only illness on the trip occurred. Col. Hickman had had for several days a nagging tooth and I had lost a cap from a front tooth. We both visited the local dentist where Col. Hickman had the offending tooth drawn and I had my cap re-cemented and for some unknown reason developed a strange kind of skin allergy to something. What it was quite I still to this day don't know, but itched all over, couldn't sleep and my eyelids swelled up to such an extent that I could hardly open them. However, it wore off in time. This was as far south as we went and our return trip through Derdepoort, Mochudi, back on to the main road which runs parallel to the railway line through Mahalapye, Francistown back into Rhodesia at Plumtree. We arrived at Francistown when there was a considerable stir going on. The large gang of terrorists that had come through into the area and were trying to make their way to South Africa through Botswana had been jumped by the Rhodesian forces and scattered. We met the local Police Officer in charge who was rather a frustrated man since all he could do was to pick them up in Botswana when I think his personal inclinations were to come up and join in. However, we saw nothing, although I must admit sleeping out in the open one felt a little apprehensive after putting the lamps out. At the Customs and border post at Plumtree the senior Immigration Officer showed us a Martini-Henry type rifle that he had acquired. This, he believes, to have been the property of Selous at one time. It was in beautiful condition and still in first class working order. He also told us of a laager on a farm, just inside the Botswana border where one of the early treks got itself detached from the main body, or lost, and was completely overrun and wiped out by a Matabele impi. He says that the remains of the laager are still there today with wagon wheels, axles, etc., still lying around as they were on the day of the attack. Unfortunately time didn't permit us to go up and have a look at it and in any case this sad little cameo had no connection with the Boer War and therefore not really within the scope of our terms of reference, but it might be an interesting source of investigation at some future date.

The conclusions on a safari of this kind are first and foremost that for anybody who likes the outside world and has a yen to get away from the cities and suburbia, this sort of thing makes a wonderful holiday. Any one of the old forts that we visited could be of fascinating interest and a source of constant fun to explore. Fort Tuli alone could easily occupy anybody's time for at least a week, particularly if they go armed with a little basic knowledge which is not difficult



The author and Col. Hickman in camp at Ft. Matlaputla.

to obtain. The countryside of Botswana, although very flat, dry and outwardly uninteresting, has a fascination all its own. The bird life could keep the trained and amateur ornithologists happy for months and mineralogists or persons like myself who just collect stones because they look attractive, could spend years wandering around the country. There are even, I believe, traces of diamonds in parts of Botswana, but I would suggest anybody visiting the country just to grub around amongst the stones should first get a prospector's licence.

For a party of four such as we were we were very well equipped and needless to say carried a great deal more than the ordinary visitor would need. Joe Hulme, for example, had theodolites, tripod and a complete range of surveying equipment since he had to draw sketches of all the sites we visited. In fact, apart from Col. Hickman, who had to make voluminous notes, he was the hardest worked one of the party. The rations we carried, being on the Army daily scale, were more than we needed and I would advise anybody contemplating such a trip to carry basic dry rations and buy fresh meat, vegetables, etc., in the little village stores. As has already been stated, even on main roads four-wheel drive is essential and in this respect a party of four could cope very well with one long wheel-based Land Rover. Water is not really a problem unless you are staying for a long time in inaccessible places. Petrol, however, is essential and a minimum of 250 miles should be carried in jerry cans.

This is a trip that I can highly recommend to anybody who is not only interested in the flora and fauna of Africa, or the early history of Rhodesia, but also to anyone who would like a holiday with a difference.

Notes

REGINALD BRAY: POLICE PIONEER

Colonel A. S. Hickman contributes the following note:

I have had some interesting response to my notes on Reginald Bray and his companions at Mafeking in 1890 which were published in *Rhodesiana* No. 16.

First of all I quote from a most amusing letter written by Roger Summers, F.S.A., Keeper of Antiquities at the National Museum, Bulawayo. He says:

"I have read your Addendum to Reginald Bray in *Rhodesiana* No. 16 with much interest and would like to take you up on a small point.

"In para 4 of page 82 you suggest that the jolly toppers shown on page 83 may have been drinking Guinness. However, Guinness leaves a 'beard' on the glass—a sort of sticky froth—as the level of the liquid falls. In the reproduction it is not at all clear that this is so (although you may be able to see it on the original), the glasses in Fitzgerald's and Bray's hands reflect light and this gives the impression that there is a 'beard', but the glass on the table is in shadow, it does not reflect and has no sign of 'beard'.

"The bottles don't look a Guinness shape to me and moreover they have lead foil covers, which before that became a form of seal, was used to cover wired-down corks. Guinness would not, I think, have been sufficiently gassy to require wired-down corks. So I feel that there is something other than Guinness in the bottles.

"Now the Cape exported its vine products in the form of brandy—I agree the barrel held dop—so the glasses can't have held Cape wine and indeed the obvious 'head' shows that the drink isn't wine.

"May I suggest that it was one of the beers made especially for export—originally called India Pale Ale because it was sent to India for the troops after the Mutiny and said to have first been made in my home town. We have in the Museum here a chest of drawers, at one time belonging to C.J.R., which has been made partly from a packing case holding 6 dozen pints of Burke's Special Pale Ale brewed specially for export by John & Edward Burke of Dublin & Liverpool. This case must have reached Matabeleland in the very early 90's and I would think that you jolly toppers are more probably drinking some Export Ale.

"What subjects historians have to study! I have high marks in my practical work on beer!!"

Summers may very well be right in his supposition. I had thought at first that the bottles contained sherry on account of their labels and shape and because the liquor in the glasses might have been "old brown". Then I noticed the froth or "beard" and opted for Guinness' stout. I did not think of India Pale Ale, having no personal knowledge of its properties!

The second letter was from Mr. E. T. Brown of Redcliff, Que Que, who says—"Re the photograph of Bray and Co. in *Rhodesiana* could not Lyons-Montgomery be holding a type of cigarette lighter? I believe Orlik had a form of lighter or tinder cord on the market in those days."

A point which I had not noticed is that Lyons-Montgomery's cigarette is unlighted between his lips. And there is an appearance of smoke (?) above his right hand which holds whatever it is!

PAT JUDSON

In the July 1967 issue of *Rhodesiana*, in an article "Pat Judson: First Rhodesian Born Airman", J. McAdam lists the awards made of the Judson Trophy up to 1966.

It is of interest to note that the 1967 award was made to the B.S.A. Police Airwing for the vital part they had played in the maintenance of law and order during the year.

The aircraft used were mainly privately-owned. Duties undertaken included reconnaissance, air-to-ground co-operation, search and rescue, searches for stolen vehicles, fugitives, terrorists, use as airborne radio relay stations, supply drops to ground forces in operational areas and generally assisting the regular security forces.

In the year the Wing had been used extensively in conjunction with regular forces in reporting terrorist activities.

In commenting on McAdam's article, A. D. Wood writes:

"As a matter of interest, in the article about Pat Judson, Captain W. Wray Forshaw is Donald Wray Forshaw who lives in Marandellas, and whose address is c/o Mr. W. Phear, P.O. Box 157, Marandellas.

"Mr. Forshaw has said that he did not come to Rhodesia until 1928 and therefore it is incorrect to call him 'a fellow Rhodesian', also the number of the Squadron was No. 3 and not No. 2. Mr. Forshaw looked up his Log Book and said he first flew with Pat Judson on the 13th April, 1917."

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Blair is a Rhodesian, born in Salisbury and educated at Mount Pleasant Boys' High School and the University College of Rhodesia where he gained a B.A. Honours in History, in 1967. His paper on Selous was written as a third year undergraduate exercise in original research. He hopes to work in industry or commerce.

P. C. D. Eaton was born in England in 1914 and educated at Canford. He is a retired Wing-Commander of the Royal Air Force. He farmed in Kenya from 1948-59. He came to Rhodesia in 1959 and took up the appointment of official Army Photographer with the Federal Army. He still holds the post with the Rhodesian Army.

C. W. D. Pagden is Head of the Department of History at the Teachers' College in Bulawayo. He was born in England and educated at the University of London where he obtained an Honours Degree. He came to Rhodesia in 1952.

FORMATION OF BULAWAYO BRANCH

We welcome the formation of a branch of the Rhodesiana Society in Bulawayo. The Chairman is Peter Gibbs, Committee members are Dr. O. N. Ransford and C. W. D. Pagden. The Hon. Secretary is D. T. Low of 13, Clark Road, Bulawayo.

It has been proposed that the Society's next Annual Dinner be held in Bulawayo and the Bulawayo Committee has fixed the date of 1st November, 1968, for this function. This date has been agreed to by the organising committee of the celebrations that are being held in honour of the 75th anniversary of Bulawayo's occupation. Visiting members of the Society will have an opportunity of participating in the various functions that are being planned in the city.

TWO BOOKS AT REDUCED PRICES

By special arrangement with the Publishers the Committee has been able to obtain special terms for members of *Rhodesiana* for two books about Rhodesia.

Great Spaces Washed with Sun: Rhodesia. Written and illustrated by Members of the National Federation of Women's Institutes of Rhodesia. Published by M. O. Collins (Pvt.) Ltd. of Salisbury.

This book gives a charming and non-political picture of the Rhodesian way of life. The text of 192 pages, which is profusely illustrated in colour and black and white, describes the country and all its people, how they work and play, where they live and the country in which they live. The binding is a new type of white plastic binding with a printed design. Altogether a quality publication. The normal price is 22s. 6d. but this book is available to members at 19s. 6d. which includes sales tax and delivery charges.

Rhodesia: Its Natural Resources and Economic Development, 1965, can be bought by members at 25 per cent less than published price. It was £3 3s., it is now £2 7s. 3d. delivered to members in Rhodesia and £2 10s. 6d. delivered to members outside the country.

This book is in fact Rhodesia's first and only atlas. Beautifully designed and edited by Brigadier M. O. Collins, C.B.E., former Director of Federal Surveys, the work measures 17" x 15" and contains a wealth of information dramatically presented. The maps are of a superb standard with meticulous care lavished on even minute details. The information on special subject maps such as Soils, Geology or Industries is supplemented by brief but highly informative articles by well-known experts in these fields. The work also contains a comprehensive Gazetteer.

This Atlas is a must for every scholar or student interested in African geography. As a specialised reference book on Rhodesia it is quite unexcelled, for it deals with all aspects of the national life: Agriculture, Climate, Flora and Fauna, Geology, Population, Topography, Transport and so on. It should be in every Rhodesian home.

All applications for these books must be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Rhodesiana Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, but cheques and postal orders should be made out to M. O. Collins Ltd. Overseas members please note that cheques in sterling are acceptable.

The Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of Members of The Rhodesiana Society was held at the Shell Cinema, Salisbury, on Thursday, 23rd November, 1967, at 8 p.m.

Present: The Chairman, Mr. H. A. Cripwell; the Deputy Chairman, Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E.; the Honorary Secretary, Mr. M. J. Kimberley; and 70 members.

Apologies: Apologies were received from 19 members.

Business:

1. *Minutes of Previous Annual General Meeting:*

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of Members of The Rhodesiana Society held on 10th November, 1966, were read and confirmed.

2. *Chairman's Report:*

The Chairman's report on the activities of The Rhodesiana Society during the period 1st October, 1966, to 31st October, 1967, was read and adopted.

3. *Financial Statement:*

The audited financial statement covering the transactions of the Rhodesiana Society during the year 1st January to 31st December, 1966, was adopted.

4. *Election of Committee for 1968:*

Mr. H. A. Cripwell was re-elected Chairman.

Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E., was re-elected Deputy Chairman.

Mr. M. J. Kimberley was re-elected Honorary Secretary.

Messrs. W. V. Brelsford, E. E. Burke, R. C. Howland, R. Isaacson, B. W.

Lloyd, G. H. Tanse. and R. W. S. Turner were re-elected to the Committee.

Messrs. D. T. Low and J. Foggin were elected to the Committee.

In the absence of any nominations for the position of Honorary Treasurer, it was agreed that the incoming Committee would endeavour to find a suitable person for this post.

5. *General:*

It was suggested and agreed that the incoming Committee should investigate the desirability of arranging public lectures and trips to places of historical interest in Rhodesia.

Report of the Chairman

FOR THE PERIOD 1st OCTOBER, 1966, TO 31st OCTOBER, 1967

1. *Committee.* The names are to be found in our publication *Rhodesia No. 15* (December 1966) and are as follows: Messrs. W. V. Brelsford, E. E. Burke, V. F. Ellenberger, R. Isaacson, B. W. Lloyd, G. H. Tanser and R. W. S. Turner, Doctor R. C. Howland, Reverend W. F. Rea with Mr. M. J. Kimberley as Honorary Secretary/Treasurer, Colonel A. S. Hickman as Deputy Chairman and myself as Chairman.

Mr. Kimberley is prepared to carry on as Honorary Secretary but feels

there is now scope for a Honorary Treasurer; you will be asked to consider this. Mr. Ellenberger and Fr. Rea is not desirous of being re-elected to the Committee.

Two meetings of the Committee were held during the year: there were numerous informal contacts and discussions by telephone. At the last meeting of the Committee Mr. Burke asked for sabbatical leave as Editor and Mr. Brelsford was appointed to the post. It now seems to me there is no need for an Editorial Sub-committee as volunteers could be sought to help the Editor to read the proofs of our publications. The Membership Sub-committee still flourishes as can be seen from the regular lists of new members. A sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Isaacson and Lloyd was appointed to go into the inadequacy of certain aspects of our Constitution, Messrs. Burke and Kimberley agreeing to afford any help. With the founding of a Bulawayo branch of the Society some consequential additions or alterations to our Constitution would have become necessary in any case; no report or recommendation has yet been made by this Sub-committee.

2. *Publications.* Despite the Editor's strenuous efforts publication No. 15 (December, 1966) was some months late; No. 16 (July, 1967) has come to hand since the drafting of this report. We are entirely in the hands of the printers in this regard.

I understand the Editor is urgently in need of articles and notes and he will welcome contributions in the manner set out in the opening pages of our publications. In this matter I should refer to the association of the Society with the P.E.N. Centre of Rhodesia in presenting prize-money for articles on some aspect of local history; apart from the prize-money and publication by us of the successful articles I feel that all entires by members of the Society should be considered for publication—the greater the number finding themselves in print the more successful the Society must feel itself. In short, entries of 5,000 words (not more but might be slightly less) are invited on original subjects of Rhodesian historical interest but it is necessary to seek acceptance of the chosen subject in advance from the Secretary, P.E.N. Centre of Rhodesia, P.O. Box 1900, Salisbury.

3. *Membership.* I am much concerned with this; despite very many new members our total of paid-up ones seems to remain steady; this is what I find:

	<i>Listed</i>	<i>New</i>	<i>Resigned</i>	<i>Removed</i>	<i>Total paid-up</i>
1st August-31st December, 1965 (Publication No. 13)	551	38	4	38	547
1st January-30th June, 1966 (Pub- lication No. 14).	547	59/60	—	—	607
1st July-31st December, 1966 (Publication No. 15).	607	59	79		587
1st January-31st October, 1967 (Publication No. 16).	587	68	3(?)	?	652

at which later date 46 persons who had paid their subscription for 1966 had not

renewed it for 1967, despite frequent reminders; you will note no figures of resignations or removals for one period, a bracketing of them for another period and queries in that regard for a third. All this seems to show that a hundred or more persons have lost the initial enthusiasm with which they joined the Society in less than three years. I wonder if anything further can be done to stop this wastage? I do not think it would help to record a full membership list in every publication.

4. *Finance*. A statement as at 31st December, 1966, appears in our publication No. 16 (July 1967).

As at 31st October 1967 we had £1,686 7s. 1d. with the Central African Building Society, £500 on fixed deposit and the balance on current account; our publications Nos. 16 (July 1967) and 17 (December 1967) at an estimate of £500 each have to be paid for.

5. *Back Numbers of Rhodesiana*. I have seen where an enthusiast has photostatted our publication No. 1 (1956) and heard of a copy having been sold for a fiver. It might be as well if members desirous of getting any number now out of print should advise the Honorary Secretary when some arrangements might be made. As it is I think the prices the Society is prepared to pay for such copies, for resale to members, too low; and that is not a conclusion arrived at after a recent sale in Salisbury of Africana and Rhodesiana. The stocks on hand of our publications are as set out in the current issue of *Rhodesiana*.

6. *The Society's Dinner on 2nd June, 1967*. A full report can be read in our last publication and I feel there is no need for me to say more than to congratulate those responsible. The Society's crest was publicly displayed then for the first time; you will have seen it on the covering envelope to publication No. 16 and reproduced therein to *Rhodesiana* 16. The Society could well undertake further social gatherings; apart from the dinner there was no such during the period of review.

7. *Bulawayo Branch*. Messrs. Burke and Turner were authorised to handle this idea which had been simmering for some time; so far as I was concerned the first I knew of how affairs progressed was when I read the newspaper item. I believe the date of the proposed meeting was known in Salisbury and it should have been possible for someone from the Committee to have gone along. You will find a note in the current publication giving the names of those on a Bulawayo branch committee; I hope success will follow the intention to hold a series of talks at three or four meetings a year—so had some Salisbury members the hope ten or more years ago. BAMBA ZONKE indeed!

As I have said our Constitution will need attention to cover this new development; I understand some members from Bulawayo are here tonight.

8. *Pioneers' Day Celebration*. Mr. Lloyd laid a wreath on behalf of the Society; I thank him for this.

Finally I thank my fellow members of the Committee for the interest and enthusiasm they have shown in the affairs of the Society.

A Film and a Talk.

Annual General Meetings are usually dull affairs. Indeed, it can be shown that the degree of dullness is a measure of the success of the organisation that calls the meeting; for it is only when things are going wrong that a meeting is likely to produce heated discussion or lively exchanges. In the absence of a financial or constitutional crisis, the packed hall at the Society's 1967 A.G.M. was therefore entirely due to the items on the programme following the formal business on the Agenda. In short, the success and charm of the evening was due to the great little film made by Dr. R. C. Howland and to Professor Michael Gelfand's splendid talk on the history of nursing in Rhodesia.

Dr. Howland has been making documentary films for several years but his last production—*The Pioneers*—which he showed the Society was undoubtedly his finest work to date. The 8-mm. film, which is in full colour and has synchronised sound on tape, ran for 20 minutes and depicted the 1890 Pioneer Column. There is a similarity between the sailing of the *Mayflower* and the setting off of the Pioneer Column and the film brought to life Rhodesia's epic expedition. The film was based on an intelligent mixture of present-day shots and those from old photographs.

Professor Gelfand's love of the Rhodesian story is well-known, and his affection and high regard for our pioneer nurses was plain for all to see. The Professor illustrated his talk with over 70 slides which traced the development of nursing in Rhodesia from primitive conditions to the present day. His tale of courage and steadfast devotion was appreciated and enjoyed by all.

R.W.S.T.

Letter to the Editor

Sir,

May I make two comments on contributions to *Rhodesiana*, publication No. 16 (July 1967) which may prove of interest to our members?

"Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion"—R. Hodder-Williams at page 53, note 49. There was an iron cross in the Ruzawe graveyard erected over the remains of a person alleged to have been Lieutenant Harry Bremner of the 20th Hussars, murdered on 20th June, 1896; see the Graves Register of the Loyal Women's Guild, Rhodesian Central Committee, in the National Archives.

"James Dawson—Rhodesian Pioneer"—L. D. S. Glass at page 72. Another account of this unfortunate affair can be read in *Africana Notes and News*, volume 17, No. 2 (June 1966), at page 80 in an article "The incidents leading to the death of Lobengula's indunas" by A. J. Clement.

Yours, etc.,

H. A. CRIPWELL.

Book Reviews

To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland. The Diary of Major Henry Stabb, 1875.

Edited by Edward C. Tabler. 268 pages. Illustrated. End board map. Published by C. Struik Ltd., Cape Town. 1967. Price R4.75.

Major Stabb, an officer of the Duke of Connaught's Light Infantry, stationed at King William's Town, took leave in 1875 to make a bunting trip through the Transvaal and Matabeleland with the Victoria Falls as his final objective.

He started off with a fellow officer, Capt. Glascott, two European soldier-servants and a drunken Hottentot driver and a voorlooper for the wagon and span of 12 oxen. The party left in March and were back in King William's Town for Christmas the same year, 1875. It is of interest to note that it took the wagon 20 days to make the journey from Bulawayo to the Falls.

Stabb's diary of the ten month trek gives a pleasing picture of the way of life on a wagon journey, its frustrations and disasters but also of the joys of a leisurely life in the bush.

He met both the African potentates of the era, Khama and Lobengula, and spent some time in their encampments. He found both chiefs intelligent and helpful, Lobengula settling an awkward wages dispute for Stabb. The portrait of Lobengula is particularly sympathetic. "Nature and circumstances," he writes, "were evidently at war at the birth of Lobengula. The latter made him a king, the former intended him for a farmer. Nothing pleases him so much as to be in the midst of his cattle in his kraal."

Stabb met, and sometimes travelled in company with many of the early traders whose names we recognise from other records—Westbeeck, the foremost trader of Barotoseland, Phillips, his partner, Bradshaw, Fairbairn and many others. His description of the hard living, hard drinking life of these tough traders is very realistic. He and Glascott were present at Westbeeck's wedding at Zeerust. It must have been a riot. Glascott, attempting to flirt with "a buxom young Boer lady", got a backhander from her that knocked him flat on his back and Stabb, after being embraced by "a good old dame of over 50" had to leave the revels and seek sobriety in a pipe of tobacco. "Bohemians all", he says of the traders, "living beyond the pale of any law yet recognising a certain rough yet honest law to themselves."

In addition to his portrayal of the two chiefs Stabb has a good deal more to say of historical value. He relates the events that led up to the accession of Khama: he describes the Bushman settlements close to the Falls: he tells of the Matabele method of hunting lion: and there are odd mentions of tribal customs. He visits Hope Fountain Mission, and he meets the Rev. T. M. Thomas, the founder of Inyati Mission, as well as other pioneer missionaries.

Stabb's reactions to the Falls are given in surprisingly factual and unpretentious prose. And, although the purpose of the trip was hunting, there are no boring recitals of game shot or missed. Perhaps the blue pencil of the discriminating editor was used? He does report a cruel hunt in Barotseland in

which 90 elephants had been killed and there is an indication that Stabb himself failed to follow up a wounded elephant cow with the conscientious dedication typical of later, twentieth century hunters.

This is a fascinating piece of Rhodesiana and apart from its historical worth it makes very good reading. The introduction and annotations by the editor enhance its value considerably and it would have greater had there been a better, more detailed map of the route taken in this country.

The African Witch by Michael Gelfand. (E. & S. Livingstone Ltd., Edinburgh. 1967. Foreword by the Rev. Father M. Hannan, S.J. Drawings by V. N. Barlow. 227 pages. Price 30s.)

Dr. Gelfand, Professor of Medicine at the University College of Rhodesia, is a most prolific writer. Barely a year passes without a book from his pen, usually on some phase of African life.

In the Introduction, Father Hannan emphasises that in this book, as in earlier works of a similar kind, Professor Gelfand's main interest lies in African methods of healing sickness, both mental and physical, and in allied subjects such as religion, divining, magic and witchcraft. He is not interested in sociological theorising about these matters. Nor, indeed, is he qualified to indulge in such studies. So that those professional sociologists who have criticised his work, in reviews, because he does not theorise, have missed the point of Professor Gelfand's writings. They are factual source books about what actually happens—nothing more. And his long established medical work among Africans puts him in a unique position for studying their sicknesses and the customs and beliefs connected with them.

In this particular book Professor Gelfand makes use of court cases and police records, as well as informants and personal experiences, so there is a good deal of statistical material concerning the prevalence of recorded witchcraft accusations, the diagnoses made by African doctors (*nganga*) and the causes of the accusations.

This study deals only with the Shona people of Rhodesia. The author points out that the distinction, commonly made in some other African tribes, between the sorcerer (the user of medicines for evil purposes) and the witch, is not found among the Shona. To the Shona anyone who practices evil, whether by the use of medicines or by magic, is a witch, *muroyi*. In contrast is the "good" witchdoctor, the pointer-out of witches, the *nganga*, a term that often covers the herbalist, the diviner or an African "doctor".

The Shona believe that a witch is usually a woman and that she becomes one by being possessed, involuntarily, by an evil spirit. Once possessed, a witch is not easily cured. The spirit can be exorcised but only with great difficulty. In the old days she could have been killed but nowadays the only remedies are the protection of a village or persons by special medicines or by the use of rituals.

Accusations of witchcraft usually involve certain categories of relations between whom there is tension. But in the towns relationship may not be a factor connecting accused and accuser. Jealousy of economic success, the loss

of a good job or the failure to get one may lead to accusations of witchcraft involving people who are merely town acquaintances.

Professor Gelfand outlines the various effects of the belief in witchcraft on daily life. In addition to being the cause of most serious illnesses, it affects social habits, good behaviour in the village and the attitude to strangers. It makes for uniformity and is restrictive of ambition. But, insists the author, it cannot logically be contended that belief in witchcraft is the main cause of the lack of material development among tribal Africans. Rather, belief in witchcraft is a characteristic of many societies that are poor and backward technologically perhaps because of their environment, climatic conditions or lack of natural resources. In such circumstances belief in witchcraft is more of an effect than a cause of backwardness.

The line drawings are pleasant but somewhat fanciful, which adds weight to the opinion that this is a book for the ordinary reader, interested in the Shona, and is not intended as a fearsome sociological textbook.

Rhodesia—a Postal History, its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs by Robert C. Smith. (Published by Robert C. Smith. 1967. Illustrated. Printed by Mardon Printers Ltd., Salisbury. Distributed by Kingstons Ltd., Salisbury. Price 63s.)

The publication of a new book on Rhodesian Postal History and Stamps is AN EVENT—quickly recognised by the Mashonaland Philatelic Society which gave a "launching party" in honour of the Author and the Occasion.

This book of 453 pages is divided into two parts, the first on the Post and Telegraph Services (21 chapters), the second on Rhodesia's Postage Stamps (10 chapters), followed by several appendices in the first of which are listed all the Post and Telegraph Offices opened since 1890.

The book is well illustrated and there are maps of the early postal routes. The chapter titles are a poor substitute, however, for an index, that time-saving means of quick access to names, events and dates which spells the difference between a book of reference, which this should be, and a book to be read and put away.

Chapter I gives an over-all account of the pioneering days: the Moffat Postal Service of 1888, the Rudd Concession, the Charter, the Pioneer Column, the Selous Road Post between Tuli and Salisbury and the passenger and mail service of 1892 between Salisbury and Umtali. The various methods employed for the conveyance of mails, the introduction of the Company's stamps, early Telegraphists and Telegraph Stations, Post and Telegraph Offices at Marandella's, M'Cheke, Rusape and Odzi, the Zeederberg Coaches, Dan Judson and the Mazoe Patrol, and James Boardman, Rhodesia's oldest Post Office Pioneer.

Other chapters recount the stories of The Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Line, Telephones, Overseas Communications, Radio and Broadcasting, The Post Office in the Wars, Airmail Services, Training and Recruitment. The Federal Post and Telegraph Services, the Dissolution of the Federation and the Post Break-up Era, each of which makes fascinating reading and jogs our short memories. It may appear invidious to select any one part of the book for

particular mention but Chapter V about the Airmail Services is more than excellent.

Part II does not follow the selective order of sequence of Part I. The chapter on Postage Stamps and U.D.I, comes before the disposal of the "Rhodesian Reminders" (in 1924) which in turn precedes the chapter on the Company's Issues (1890-1923).

Much more information is available about the cancelling of the "Reminders" than is told and there will be regret that the opportunity has not been taken to bridge the gap more effectively between the pre-1940 Postal Cancellations of Rhodesia (Dann's "Romance") and those of the present day, to give the derivation of names of Post Offices in the vernacular and to include more information on Postal Stationery.

Nevertheless, the book brings together a great deal of Rhodesian history and is a handsome tribute to all who have contributed to the development of the country's Postal Services, and the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the number and variety of the services rendered to the public and of which the public as a whole knows so little.

V.F.E.

Genesis of the British South Africa Company's Postage Stamps and Postal Services by V. F. Ellenberger, C.B.E., I.S.O.

This 24-page leaflet was issued as a Supplement to *The South African Philatelist*. Vol. 43. No. 6. June 1967.

It clarifies a confusion concerning the dates of issue of the 1890-95 B.S.A. Co. stamps. There is also much interesting material on the first internal and external postal services, on the use of Bechuanaland stamps in Mashonaland and on the admission of the Company into the Postal Union of South Africa.

Inside Zambia—And Out by Anthony Pitch. (Howard Timmins, Cape Town. 1967. Illustrated. Foreword by Sir Roy Welensky.)

Anthony Pitch is a third generation Rhodesian of a well known family. His father has twice been Mayor of Salisbury.

The author was deported from Zambia and declared a prohibited immigrant in June 1965 although he was Chief Reporter for the *Zambian Times*, a newspaper that supported the Government. This book tells of his life in Zambia and particularly of his relationship with the various Ministers. In the relating he is seeking a cause for his deportation because, as is usual, no specific reason was ever given. He takes the event much too hardily. Deportation from super-sensitive newly formed states is almost an occupational hazard for newspaper men. One would hardly have thought that even in the young life of a hard-bitten journalist it would have—"shattered belief, faith and dreams".

Although this book has perhaps only the ephemeral fame of newspaper reporting it does contain some very pertinent sidelights on the personalities and events of the day and on the conduct of government business. The author's assessments of the character and ability of President Kaunda, of Vice-President Kamanga and of Ministers such as Simon Kapwepwe, of the two Lozi brothers

Arthur and Sikota Wina, of James Skinner, Attorney-General and anti-Imperialist Irishman, and others, are certainly revealing and of interest to readers in neighbouring countries that are affected by their actions. Pitch touches, rather disappointingly, on the attempted Barotse secession and on the Lumpa riots of which he does reproduce some realistic pictures.

In his foreword, Sir Roy Welensky comments on the author's description of the Russian attempts to gain favour in Zambia and of the poor showing of the British and United States representatives before the United Nations Committee that sat in Zambia.

The Leopard by Peter Turnbull-Kemp. (Published by Howard Timmins, Cape Town. 1967. 268 pages. Illustrated. Price 57s. 6d.)

In 1961 Howard Timmins published an authoritative and definitive book on the lion, *Simba* by G. C. A. W. Guggisberg. Now the same type of comprehensive publication has been produced for the leopard.

Peter Turnbull-Kemp is a Rhodesian on the staff of the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation. He has not only studied his subject deeply he has also had a good deal of practical experience in the field. He has been a Hunter and Collector in Nigeria and the Sudan and a Wild Life Manager in the Eastern Transvaal. In this country he served for two years on Operation Noah, rescuing animals from the rising waters of Lake Kariba, and he was Chief Warden of the Inyanga National Park.

His book is encyclopaedic in scope. He deals with the distribution of the leopard and its relatives, its taxonomy, its evolution, its mythology and its physical and mental characteristics: and the leopard in heraldry and in the superstitions of man.

He describes the life span and the family life of the animal, its food and its enemies. He tells of leopards as man-eaters and leopards in captivity; of hunting and photographing it.

The author clearly reveals his love for his subject—"a creature of consummate grace who still lives among some of us . . . handsome in the sun and ethereal by moonlight, the leopard is an animal for whom at least a grudging admiration should be found . . . Let us try and keep him as a neighbour."

It is difficult to think of any facet of the leopard and its life that has not been covered. The book is well documented and there are 22 illustrations, five of them in colour. The pictures are perhaps too few and too stereotyped for a book of this size. But that is a minor criticism of a book that will remain the standard work on the leopard for a long time.

Don't Die in the Bundu by Col. D. H. Grainger, O.B.E., E.D. (Published by Howard Timmins, Cape Town. 1967. Limp cover. 172 pages. Illustrated with line drawings and colour plates. Price 17s. 6d.)

The author of this book is Commander, Salisbury Area, Rhodesian Army, and it had its origins in the requirement of the Rhodesian Forces for a concise book on bushcraft.

The foreword is written by the Rt. Hon. Sir Hugh Beadle, C.M.G., O.B.E., Chief Justice of Rhodesia and Chairman of the Rhodesia National Hunters' and Game Preservation Association. He emphasises that even in the twentieth century aeroplanes force land in the bush and men get lost and hurt in the wilds. So that this handbook of survival techniques is not only for soldiers.

There are chapters on first-aid, shelter, fire and weapons, signalling to searching aircraft, finding food and water, direction finding, camping in comfort and on dangerous animals, reptiles and insects.

There are chapters that the general reader interested in natural history will find of value. These are on edible and poisonous plants and fruits and are illustrated with line drawings, and on venomous snakes ten of which are shown on colour plates.

Vernacular names are given and perhaps any revised edition should contain a few basic vernacular phrases of the—"I am lost, hungry, thirsty: take me to your village"—type.

We do not doubt that every soldier in the Zambezi Valley carries one of these books in his knapsack together with his Field Marshal's baton.

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Publications of the Rhodesiana Society

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SIR ROBERT TREGOLD. Address on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial at the Mangwe Pass on 18th July, 1954.

Extracts from the Matabele journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-1860.

W. V. BRELSFORD. Northern Rhodesia.

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R. HOWMAN. The effect of history on the African.

A. S. HICKMAN. Some notes on police pioneer doctors and others.

"REGULUS". Frank William Baxter, V.C.

H. POLLETT. The Mazoe Patrol.

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F. BERGHEGGE. Account of a journey in Central Africa.

A. S. HICKMAN. Norton District in the Mashona Rebellion.

N. M. BRETTELL. Three Rhodesian poets.

Rhodesiana No. 4, 1959 (out of print)

Diaries of the Jesuit missionaries at Bulawayo, 1879-1881; translated from the French by Mrs. M. Lloyd.

Rhodesiana No. 5, 1960 (out of print)

A. S. HICKMAN. The Mashonaland Irish.

E. C. TABLER. Impressions of Hendrik's Pass.

MRS. MARY BLACKWOOD LEWIS'S letters about Mashonaland, 1897-1901.

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E. C. TABLER. Rare or little known Rhodesiana relating to the pie-pioneer period.

Rhodesiana No. 6, 1961 (out of print)

W. F. REA. Rhodesia's first martyr.

Rhodesiana No. 7, 1962 (out of print)

J. A. EDWARDS. The Lomagundi District, a historical sketch.

H. W. SMART. Early days in Bulawayo, 1896-1900.

D. E. FINN. "Kambandakoto", a study of A. S. Cripps. 1869-1952.

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E. E. BURKE. William Hartley's grave.

E. CAMPBELL. A young lady's journey to Umtali in 1895.

R. C. HOWLAND. The Mazoe Patrol.

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J. A. EDWARDS. Colquhoun in Mashonaland: a portrait of failure.

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The British South Africa Company's Central Settlement Farm. Marandellas, 1907-1910; from the papers of H. K. Scorrer, edited by R Reynolds.

C. T. C. TAYLOR. Lomagundi.

R. W. DICKINSON. Sofala.

H. A. CRIPWELL. Operations round Mpepo, German East Africa, 1917.

Rhodesiana No. 11, December 1964

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L. S. GLOVER. Memories of the Mashonaland Mounted Police, 1896-1897.

R. C. HOWLAND. Salisbury, old and new, contrasted in photographs.

Rhodesiana No. 12, September 1965

H. F. HOSTE. Rhodesia in 1890.

R. W. S. TURNER. Henry Hartley, 1815-1876.

P. S. GARLAKE. Pioneer forts in Rhodesia, 1890-1897.

K. MAUCH. The Makalaka; translated from the German by F. O. Bernhard.

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D. DOYLE. "The rise and fall of the Matabele nation" (1893).

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- The Diary of Alfred Cross at Old Bulawayo and to the Victoria Falls, 1875.
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 P. BERLYN. On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie.
 Kopje and Causeway: extracted from C. E. Finlayson, *A Nobody in Mashonaland*, 1893.

Rhodesiana No. 16, July 1967

- J. MCADAM. Pat Judson: First Rhodesian Born Airman.
 G. L. GUY. Notes on Some Historic Baobabs.
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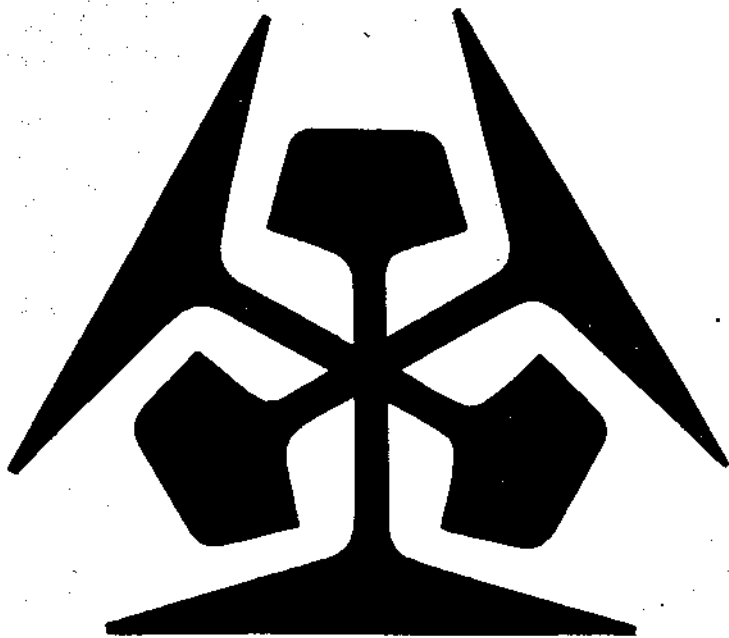
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