

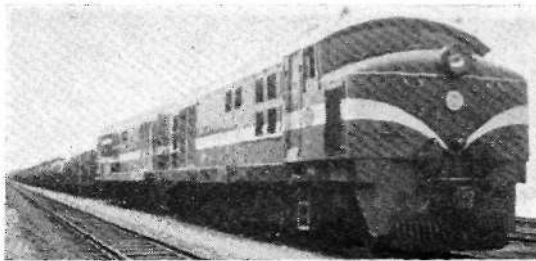
The first train in Bulawayo, November, 1897.

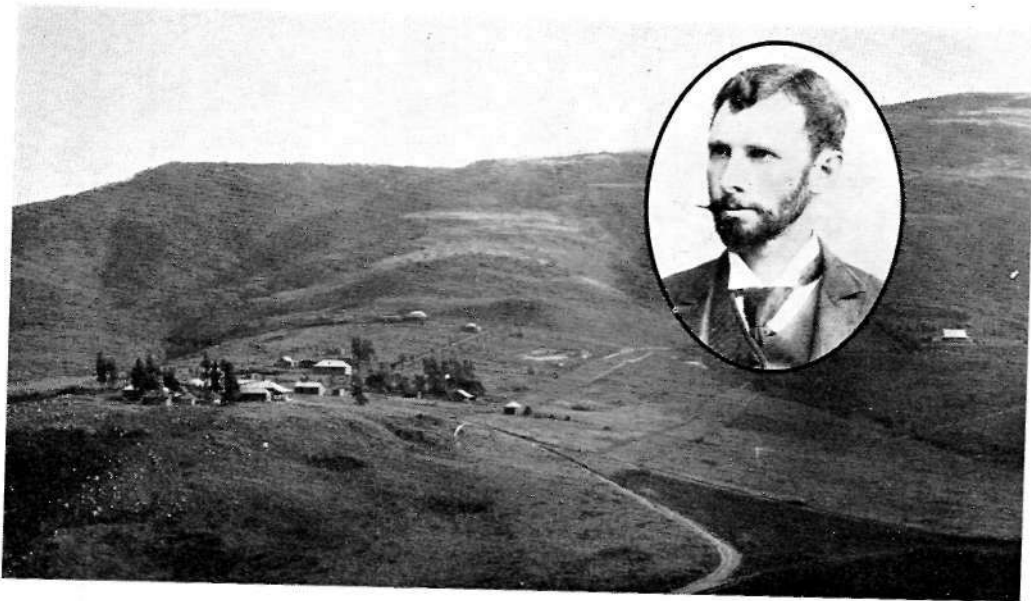
The birth of a lifeline . . .

Seventy-one years ago, on 4th November, 1897, due to the untiring efforts of our Pioneers, the first train to enter Rhodesia arrived at Bulawayo, thus Rhodesia's lifeline was born.

Rhodesia Railways are proud of their part played in the advancement of Rhodesia.

Today, in 1968 we continue to serve the nation, providing a vital link in the economic growth and stability of our country.





Melsetter in 1898 about five years after it was founded by Dunbar Moodie (inset), who led a trek to the area from Bethlehem in the Orange Free State. The settlement is named after the Moodie home in the Orkneys.
National Archives

GAZALAND 1898 — 1968

Planting trees at Eastern Forest Estates, Melsetter, where more than 20,000 acres have been planted to timber by this company, which is administered by Anglo American Corporation Rhodesia Limited.



KINGSTONS LIMITED

have pleasure in announcing

the publication, under the imprint of the Pioneer Head, of their series of Rhodesiana facsimiles. The first book, which is to be published shortly, will be African Nature Notes and Reminiscences by Frederick Courteney Selous, with a Foreword by President Theodore Roosevelt, and Illustrations by E. Caldwell, 386 pages.

The American President concluded his Foreword with these words:

"Mr. Selous' notes on the Cape buffalo and tsetse fly are extremely interesting. But indeed this is true of all that he has written, both of the great beasts themselves and of the adventures in hunting them. His book is a genuine contribution alike to hunting lore and to natural history. It should be welcomed by every lover of the chase and by every man who cares for the wild, free life of the wilderness. It should be no less welcome to all who are interested in the life-histories of the most formidable and interesting of the beasts that dwell in our world today."

The White House, 23rd May, 1907

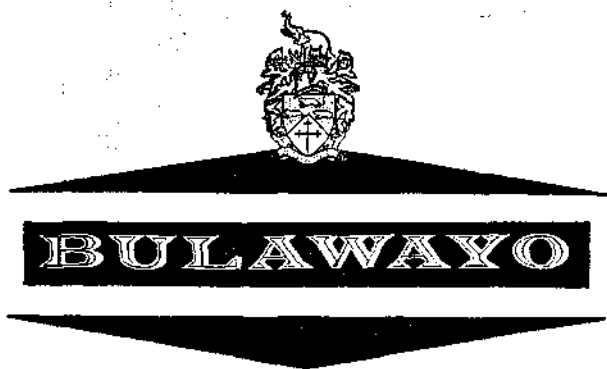
This much sought after work has been out of print for more than half a century. It is based, for the most part, on the author's experiences and adventures in Rhodesia, and was originally published in 1908 by Macmillan and Company Limited, London.

Further details of this, and future publications under the Pioneer Head imprint, are obtainable from: Kingstons Limited, Rare Book Department, P.O. Box 591, Salisbury, Rhodesia.



*Bulawayo flies the
flag of friendship*

Bulawayo . . . the city where you'll find friendly faces and warm hearted people . . . people who love their city and are proud of its attractions—and they've plenty to be proud of—after all, Bulawayo is the industrial heart of Rhodesia and the centre of its tourist trade. Bulawayo is surrounded by scenic and historical treasures . . . World's View and the mysterious Khami Ruins . . . attractive expanses of water at Maleme, Matopos, Ncema and Hillside for fishing and fun . . . the National Museum, where Rhodesia's thrilling past and its natural flora and fauna give pleasure to constant visitors . . . both young and not so young. But the fun doesn't end when the sun sets. Bulawayo's night life includes theatres, cinemas, cabaret and sophisticated dining out. If you live in Bulawayo, you already know all this . . . if you don't, why not visit us and see what you're missing. If you own a caravan, stay at the finest caravan park in Africa!



Special issue
75th Anniversary
of
occupation of Matabeleland



HENRY JOHN BORROW
(See article "Henry Borrow: Pioneer and Hero".)

(National Archives)

RHODESIANA

Publication No. 18 — July, 1968

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.

There is no entrance fee; the subscription is £1 10s. Rhodesian currency (\$5 USA) a year, and this entitles paid-up members to those numbers of *Rhodesiana* issued during the year. There are two issues in each year, dated July and December.

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Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Secretary.

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FOREWORD

by

The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Tredgold,

PC, KCMG. QC, LL.B.

Rhodesiana has already established a name for itself—not only in this country but beyond its borders—and its periodic publication is awaited with interest and the assurance that it will contain much that is valuable and relevant to the historical record of events that were important in the building up of Rhodesia.

It is most fitting therefore that, as Bulawayo passes another milestone in its history, *Rhodesiana* should mark the event by devoting a number to matters having a direct bearing on that city.

Indeed it is a matter of special interest that so many of the most colourful and stirring occurrences in our history have associations with Bulawayo and with the adjacent areas: the land of one of the greatest of the black kings; the scene of the first settlement of the white man north of the Limpopo; the stamping ground of legendary hunters and adventurers; the field of testing battles culminating in a romantic peacemaking; then the steady growth of a modern city in the space of a man's lifetime.

When we look around us we see in Bulawayo a splendid memorial to the work of many men. They would be well content that that memorial should stand anonymous. But we who follow after owe it to them, and to ourselves, that we should pause at this special point in our march to think of all that they achieved and all that they have handed on to us, lest we fail them and the things for which they stood.

Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne

Occupation of Matabeleland 1893

We left Salisbury on the 5th September, 1893, and arrived at Charter on the 10th of that month. There we found 50 horses awaiting us. On the 22nd September a further 109 horses arrived, and 34 more were ordered from Salisbury—these arrived a few days later. Finch, Carden and McKenzie were sent down to Victoria for more horses, and the party returned on the 1st October with another 22.

Dr. Jameson arrived in camp, having travelled by post-cart, on the 30th September. General parade was held at 10 a.m. on the same day; and Dr. Jameson returned to Victoria, by post-cart, the same night at 12 p.m. The Columns left Charter at 2 p.m. on Monday the 2nd October, marching seven miles, and then camped at Acutt's First Cattle Post on the Bulawayo road. Next morning we continued to march and halted five miles further on at Acutt's farm on the Inyati River. Went shooting next morning with Watson but saw nothing. Five tssessebe were shot by "B" Troop.

Camp was moved at 4 a.m. on Friday the 6th October and we travelled five miles then making a halt for breakfast. On the march "A" Troop formed the advance guard. "B" Troop main guard with the wagons, and "C" Troop rear guard. "A" and "C" Troops also providing flanking parties, while "B" Troop formed escort for guns at this camp. Saw plenty of game, a herd of tssessebe coming just in front of the laager . . .

Vogel, who had been sent back to Salisbury for a mule that had broken away from camp, rejoined the mess at this outspan. Broke camp again in the afternoon and went on to Acutt's Third Farm about seven miles distant. Could not cross the spruit here, and darkness coming on we formed camp in confusion. Laager at last arranged, and troops allowed to sleep where they pleased.

The next day we broke camp at about 3 p.m. and went on about two miles camping near water in an open plain. We formed laager and slept under wagons as told by O.C. Next morning the alarm sounded and the men fell into positions allotted to them, "B" and "C" Troops manning the wagons, while "A" Troop stood to their horses. About 7 a.m. a telegram brought in from Charter contained marching orders. The laager was immediately broken up, and a two-mile trek made.

In the afternoon another trek of four miles completed the day's march. Next morning, Monday, 9th October, trekking was continued and the Inyati was crossed at about 8 a.m. enabling the Columns to form laager for the first time in Matabele Territory.

We moved on again in the afternoon and marched about four miles in a valley surrounded by small stone kopjes. At this camp three double pickets and three other native pickets were sent out besides a stable guard of three men.

"Reveille" sounded at 4 a.m. next morning, 10th, and the men stood to arms again on wagons allotted to them. Mounted patrols of four men were sent out at daylight. All duties including pickets supplied by "B" Troop; Column moved on at 5.30 a.m. After marching six miles we camped until 2 p.m. and then went on about six miles where we formed laager till daylight.

On the 11th October we moved on again at daybreak, 5.30 a.m., and marched about six miles crossing the Sebakwe River en route. Crossing the drift caused about one hour's stoppage and delayed forming camp on a small spruit until 9 a.m. On the march a sable antelope was shot by the advance flanking party and brought into camp by the boys. At the Outspan an eland was found, killed by lions the previous night and was secured for rations. The country passed through was very rugged and fairly thick and the temperature in the morning was cold. I omitted to mention that on the previous day, 10th October, many herds of game were seen by flanking parties, men in the advance seeing a large leopard, and the picket, a lion.

We struck camp and marched again at 3 p.m. on 11th October, the route lying through thick bush, and we went into laager on the banks of Bembeswane River. Just before sunset a fatigue of "B" Troop men were sent out to cut reeds for horses, the grazing being very bad all day along the line of march. The following morning we inspanned and crossed a river, laagering on the opposite side. The drift being bad, "B" Troop fixed a rope and helped pull the wagons across, afterwards falling in to cut grass and reeds for the horses for the evening meal.

After breaking camp again at 1 p.m., we marched on about five miles, "B" Troop acting as rear guard through similar country—bush with strips of open country in between. We then camped on an open rise above a spruit.

On the morning of the 13th, we marched at 5 o'clock, "B" Troop acting as advance guard, and camped near some water after a three-mile trek. Two scouts, Forbes and Swinburner, having come in the previous night with three natives they had captured, reported that the Victorian Column were camped about 12 miles off, advancing to meet our column at the Iron Mountain. On this march, when acting as advance flanking party, we saw a herd of sable mustering about 15 head, standing about 200 yards off.

We broke camp at 2 p.m. I stopped behind for a half an hour as a horse had been lost by the grazing guard and then went on to some water about four miles off, situated in a large open plain. Here we camped for the night and started on at 5.30 the next morning, trekking only two miles and forming a strong laager at the Iron Mountain, on a saddle overlooking low country beyond. At about 5 p.m. we broke camp again on the account of the lack of water at the Mountain, and went on about two miles, laagering near a sluit in a valley.

A halt was ordered for the next day, the 15th, and a patrol of 20 men from each troop was ordered out at 4.30 a.m. to ride out and look for cattle. We went out at the appointed time and rode about eight miles where we surrounded a mob of 240 cattle, and ten men of "A" and "B" Troops were ordered to take them back to camp, the remainder of the force went in search of more loot and returned to camp in the afternoon with a few calves. News was brought in that

Captain Campbell had been wounded in a paltry attempt to surround three or four head of cattle. Immediately in receipt of this news, 20 men of "B" Troop saddled up and escorted a scotchcart to go and fetch Campbell. We met men carrying the latter in on a litter and helped them to do so, getting back to camp about 5 p.m. Dr. Jameson decided that it was necessary to amputate Campbell's leg, the operation of which was performed before sundown.

The next morning, Snodgrass and five men of "B" Troop were ordered out with 200 natives from the Victorian Contingent to collect mealies. They went out and visited three kraals about eight miles off and returned about 8 p.m. with about 15 bags. On this day, the 16th, the Victorian Contingent joined us and laagered up on the opposite side of the spruit, and on our return from the mealie patrol we heard the bad news of Campbell's death. The Bishop joined us on this date. Next morning, the 17th, we went on about three miles and laagered in open country near a spruit where grazing was better than we had found for some time. At 3 p.m. we trekked again for three or four miles and laagered for the night in a narrow open space surrounded by thick bush and stony rises. In the morning we went on again about five miles, the road wandering in and out between stony kopjes, while the Victorian Column were marching in double column, parallel and close to us.

We outspanned near some water in a narrow valley with timber all round us. In the morning Lieutenant Snodgrass had been sent ahead to a kraal to collect mealies with a gang of boys and an escort of four men, and at this outspan a wagon was sent back to him to load up, in charge of Corporal McDougall and one man. Later on scouts came in and reported that Matabeles had been seen two miles ahead of laager retreating with their cattle. I was sent out with a despatch for Snodgrass, warning him to look out for an attack. We went to the kraal, and after helping to load, we joined the escort and returned with the wagon to camp, arriving about 12.30 p.m.

Earlier in the day, Captain Borrow had gone out with ten men to visit a kraal to the right of the column where a detachment of the Victorian Scouts were reported to be on their journey out. They heard firing and later came across two Makalakas who had been shot by Matabeles. In the afternoon the column moved on again and camped about four miles further on in a commanding position in a wide open plain within sight of the kraal visited by Captain Borrow. The two laagers were here for the first time, made close together, connected by rows of oxen tied to their yokes.

On the next morning, the 19th, three wagons were sent out to the kraal for mealies and kaffir corn in charge of a strong escort of "A" and "C" Troops, and orders were given that the two columns would halt for the day. The same evening word was brought in by the scouts that they had discovered a military kraal about 15 miles to the north, supposed to be inhabited by a large impi, so, at midnight, 20 men from "A" and "B" Troops and ten from "C", besides 60 from the Victorian Contingent, were ordered to mount and proceed to the kraal, one galloping, and one pack maxim accompanying them with staff and artillery. This force amounted to 140 men. under command of Captain Allan

Wilson, with Captain Heany as his subordinate, and under the guidance of E. Burnett.

We reached the kraal at about 6 a.m., the maxim opening fire from a commanding position and the troopers in skirmishing order of half-sections advancing in line to surround the kraal and prevent the Matabeles getting off free. Unfortunately the kraal was found to be deserted, so the force went down to the sluit below, off-saddled, and had breakfast. After an hour's rest they saddled up and returned to the kraal and burnt it afterwards, then proceeding to catch up the column. At about 1 p.m. they off-saddled again for a couple of hours and then continued journey, joining column at about sundown after riding about 30 miles in all. Next morning, the 22nd, we broke laager at 5.30 a.m. and marched about nine miles, camping for the morning in very open country on the banks of a sluit. On this trek we crossed through a narrow strip of forest country, but with this exception, the journey was made through country similar in appearance to the Charter Flats. At 3 o'clock we started again and went on about two miles where we camped for the night.

At 5.30 the next morning we left again in a dense fog. We tried to trek but found it too dangerous and had to stop after going a mile. We laagered in a sluit for an hour and had breakfast then moved on, the weather having cleared.

We continued the trek for about six miles, laagering at lunch time for the day. In the afternoon, news was brought in that Burnett had been badly wounded at a kraal seven miles off. On receipt of intelligence, four men from "A" and "B" Troops (including me) accompanied Dr. Jameson, Dr. Edgelow and Willoughby, who galloped under Gifford's guidance for about six miles but failed to find Burnett and the party with him. We searched round till dusk and then returned to laager by moonlight to find that Burnett had died on the wagon in, and that his body had been brought in. He was buried the same night.

We went on at 5.30 on the morning of the 24th, and trekked for about six miles towards a range of kopjes on the other side of the Shangani River and stopped for lunch. In the afternoon we went on about a mile and crossed the Shangani River and camped on the other side among some kopjes, placing the oxen between the two laagers with a brush fence on each side. "B" Troop and the Victorian Contingent having taken a larger number of oxen from the kraals around, had them enclosed in a brush kraal between the laagers and the river in charge of the Black Watch.

All went well that night, but just before reveille in the morning, the camp was roused by the pickets firing. We found that the Matabeles had attacked the outposts to recover their cattle, which they succeeded in driving off, then they made a general attack on the laagers and completely surrounded us, but the heavy fire from the laagers prevented them from coming close. The fight lasted for about an hour when the Matabeles retired. Mounted parties were then sent out from our three Troops to hasten their retreat. About 11 o'clock everything appeared quiet, and all settled down to breakfast; the oxen and horses being sent out to graze. In the engagement three men of the Salisbury Troop and three of the Victorian Column were wounded; one only of the latter severely.

In the afternoon the column moved on again for about 2½ miles into open

country, and close to water, laagering securely at about 5 p.m. In the night a false alarm was given by the pickets who all retreated to the laager, but on it being found out that there was no attack they again took up their positions, and all was quiet for the night.

In the morning a start was again made, the columns steering west over stony and rather thickly-timbered country, and after a trek of about six miles camped for lunch. After lunch we moved on again through similar country, and at about 4 p.m. the advance and flanking parties, also the scouts, engaged the enemy who were scattered about in parties of a few hundred strong, and in most cases had to retire for want of support. Just before sundown laager was hurriedly formed far from water, and a scene of confusion lasted some time owing to the advance of the enemy from the rear. They were chasing the scouts and had proved themselves too strong for "A" Troop who were acting as rear guard.

A maxim was sent back in haste from the laager to protect the rear whilst camp was being formed. The maxim, after travelling about a mile, met "A" Troop retiring to camp, and was ordered to return in company with them. On reaching camp we found everything in order and properly laagered. Pickets were stationed and the night passed without mishap. It was then found that Captain Williams, who commanded the scouts, was missing, his horse, Bula-wayo, having bolted with him. One of the men of the Victorian Contingent, wounded in the Shangani fight, died on this date, the 26th.

Next morning an early start was made, and the column trekked on in search of water, camping after a six-mile trek at about 10 a.m. During this trek the column was harassed on the right flank by bodies of natives who attacked the flanking party in force, and this necessitated a temporary laager being formed. "C" Troop fell in for the greater part of the fighting, holding their own well against considerable numbers till "B" Troop, who were acting as reserve with the wagons, went to their support. The natives then fell back, six men falling before the rifles of "B" Troop and were chased by "C" Troop, "B" Troop being ordered to retire. They were followed by "C" Troop for some distance and considerable numbers were killed, the total number knocked over being about 60. In this skirmish one man of "C" Troop was wounded (Lucas by name), by an assegai in the shoulder and bullet in the leg.

After laager was formed for breakfast, the pickets reported that strong bodies of natives were advancing on right flank, whereupon "B" Troop fell in mounted, but on their appearance the Matabele retreated and disappeared. At 3 p.m. the laagers were moved a mile lower down the sluit to water, and a strong camp was formed in open country. Pickets were placed out at night and though an attack was expected nothing happened to disturb the camp.

Next morning, the 28th, a halt was ordered till 2 p.m. to enable a party of "C" Troop and seven-pounder with escort to attack a large military kraal to the south-east of the camp. Two men also rode out, John Selous and another, to see if any trace could be found of Captain Williams. About midday the party sent to burn the kraal returned, having accomplished their purpose and bringing with them a Matabele child.

In the afternoon John Selous having returned with the information that he had struck a blood spoor, supposed to be that of Captain Williams' horse, a party of 14 men from "B" Troop, under Captain Borrow, went out, hit the spoor, and followed it up till sunset without result, then they started to return to camp and found it no easy matter through the stony and thickly-timbered kopjes. However, after a 20-mile ride, the party reached camp at about 9.30 p.m.

Next morning laager was broken up at 5.30 and the trek continued—John Selous and another native being sent back with a spare horse to follow up trail of Captain Williams' horse—and a journey of six miles was made before breakfast. On this trek the column emerged from the kopje and got into fine open country. In the afternoon we continued the journey and travelled two or three miles only, the oxen being tired and falling continually.

On this trek three or four shots were fired by scouts in front, presumably at kraals prior to burning them.

This was on the 29th, when strong laager was formed in an open plain. On the morning of the 30th we went on again at 5.30 a.m. "B" Troop forming reserve made a trek about 4½ miles and camped for breakfast. We went on again at 3 p.m. and camped for the night at about 5 p.m., after journeying four miles, and an attack being expected, strong pickets were posted at 6 p.m.

Later on a thunderstorm passed over camp and rain fell through the night, but in spite of darkness nothing happened, the night passing quietly. On the morning of the 31st a halt was ordered till 2 p.m. to give oxen and horses a chance of feeding. Just as preparations were being made to start, the alarm sounded, and everyone was ordered in to man the wagons and "horses in" were sounded at the same time. This course was being taken on account of a note being sent in by Captain White to the effect that a large force of the enemy had been seen a mile or so ahead advancing on the laager. All oxen and horses were safely got in and still no enemy appeared, and after two troops—"C" troop, and a troop from the Victorian Contingent—had been sent out to patrol, returning with the information that the enemy were some way off, the order was given, to outspan and move on, which was done at about 4 p.m. the column advancing about two miles and, taking up a strong position on a rise in open country, laagered for the night.

The laager being in range of the kopje where the enemy were last seen, the seven-pounder was brought to bear on the hill and the shells were seen to burst among large bodies of natives who turned and fired on the bursting shells and then ran for their lives. The night passed without an attack and at about 8 a.m., 1st November, the following morning, the column moved on again keeping the open country and skirting a large tract of bush on the right of the line of march.

At about 12.15 p.m. a halt was made for lunch, all oxen and horses were let loose and cooking was going on when natives were seen in strong force on the right flank. The seven-pounder opened on them but was not sufficient to keep them in check. All hands were ordered to man the wagons and a heavy fire was opened but the attack being quite unexpected, a certain amount of

confusion took place. The whole strength of the enemy's force was thrown on the one face of our laager where Troop "A" were stationed.

A heavy fire was kept up by the men. The Gardener, one maxim and the seven-pounder joining in, but the main danger consisted in getting the horses cut off. They had been brought up at the rear of where the firing was going on under cover of the Victorian laager, but on coming near the firing they all bolted off in the direction of where the Matabeles lay on our left face. The enemy seeing the advantage of cutting off our means of transport threw out arms to surround them, but their attempts were repeatedly frustrated by the heavy fire of the maxims and Gardeners; and Captain Borrow, galloping out of the laager, pluckily turned the horses in the direction of safety which lay in the valley stretching out behind the Victorian laager.

Ultimately all were brought into this laager, but by the time the enemy found our fire too hot and had turned back into the bush. All this time the oxen had been kept out in our rear but protected by the fire of our guns. After this a troop of dismounted Victorians went out into the bush and engaged the enemy, doing good work by keeping up a steady fire till they finally overcame opposition and returned to camp where they were greeted with cheers. The usual patrol of two or three mounted troops sent out to scour the country round and hasten the Matabele retreat, concluded this attack, which was practically over in an hour's time.

The fight took place on a low kopje near a small kraal, situated in open country with the exception of the bush on our right flank where the attack started, and is known to natives by the name of "Mbembese". Water was to be had in the valley about one and a half miles on our left where the water-cart made two or three journeys throughout the day. When all was over, preparations were made in the afternoon for a night attack, bush being brought in in larger quantities and placed round the oxen which were tied up to wagons outside. Barbed wire was also stretched outside the line of pickets and every necessary precaution taken.

It was found that our loss amounted to one man killed, Thompson—"C" Troop, three men badly wounded—Cary, Sibert and Calcroft and four slightly wounded—Crewe, Barnard, Mack and a man in the Victorian laager. We lost three or four horses; and the estimate of the enemy's loss varied from 500 to 1,000 men. At any rate their loss was very heavy in spite of the fact that only one face of our laager was attacked, the Victorian laager being in the rear and comparatively not exposed so that it may be estimated that a quarter of our force only was engaged.

Before sundown we were all shown our places on the wagons. Extra pickets were posted. Men were told to sleep in readiness on the wagons, but though everything was prepared, the night passed without a sign of hostilities being renewed. Scouts, who had been sent to Bulawayo from the previous camp to find out what was going on, returned just before the engagement now described, commenced.

On the 2nd November, the cattle and horses were let go to graze under strong guards and the trek ordered for 12 p.m. At the appointed time the column



Colenbrander's trading store, around which Salisbury and Victoria columns formed laager on 4th November, 1893. It was situated near what is now the Bulawayo cemetery and further on, the Sauerstownship of today. In the collection of pole and daggas structures that can be seen within the stockade were rooms in which the administration of Matabeleland began. It remained the base until Jameson and Willoughby chose the present site of Bulawayo in 1894.

(National Archives)

moved on in the direction of Endaba Induna, a hill which stood out in the distance and reported to be 12 miles distant from Bulawayo. We trekked about six miles laagering in fine open country in a commanding position.

On this trek, "B" Troop had been sent out to scout the bush thoroughly on our right flank and returned to laager to report that no natives had been seen. Strong sentries were posted and with the exception of an alarm at 3 a.m. which turned out to be false, the night passed quietly.

At this camp poor Carey and Sibert died and were buried on the morning of 3rd November. Just after the ceremony the column moved on at about 6 a.m. travelling through open country towards the hill seen the previous day, but before we had gone more than two miles the alarm was given and laager formed. The alarm was caused through "C" Troop firing on natives who appeared in strong forces on Endaba Induna and in the bush around. The seven-pounder opened up on the hill without effect but the scouts and "C" Troop silenced the fire of the natives who did not appear anxious to meet us again.

About lunch time Fairbairn came into camp from Bulawayo and reported that the kraal was on fire and that Lobengula had fled northwards. It was then determined to trek on and "horses in" was sounded, the column moving off at 1 p.m. Under the protection of strong flanking and advance parties with the scouts, the wagons moved on round the hill and passing through some thick bush where thousands of natives could have lain concealed, emerged into open country studded with native kraals, and laagered for the night after a six-mile trek, leaving a seven-mile distance between them and Bulawayo.

The night passed quietly and on the morning of 4th November at 6 a.m. the column moved on to the river Umgozo, two miles ahead, where they delayed crossing for an hour owing to the steepness of the drift. We eventually got across without mishap and went on about half a mile and laagered for breakfast.

On the previous evening Captain Borrow and 20 men of "B" Troop had been sent ahead to Bulawayo. All at the outspan thought the spot was badly chosen being surrounded by bush which grew up to the Victorian laager.

At 12.30 p.m. the column moved on again, having 4½ miles to cover before reaching Bulawayo. This was accomplished by 2 p.m. when their contingents laagered on either side of Colenbrander's Kraal. On arrival it was found that the greater part of the country had been burnt, and the remainder still in flames. The King's Kraal had been destroyed and no Matabele were to be seen. No news had yet been heard of the B.B.P. or Raaff's column.

On Sunday, 5th November, nothing was done beyond holding an arms inspection in the morning and a Church Parade in the afternoon at 4.30 p.m. On the same night poor Calcroft died. During the afternoon, commencing at 2 p.m., an auction sale had been held at Dawson's Store, all goods fetching good prices. In the evening Usher brought news in that on his journey from his farm, 15 miles out, he had met 500 Matabele who told him they had just returned from the direction of the Tati Road, where they had just surprised a convoy of 15 wagons, killing the men in charge and stabbing the oxen, but had seen nothing of the B.B.P. On receipt of this news "C" Troop, who were lying picket, had orders to hold themselves in readiness at 4 a.m. on 6th November, to start in pursuit of this party of the enemy.

A large party of the Victorian Contingent also joined them, and at the appointed time the party moved off.

On the 7th November nothing of importance happened. Dr. Jameson, Major Forbes and an escort of ten men of "A" Troop went out to look for a site for using the heliograph, found a satisfactory place and returned to camp. In the afternoon Colenbrander came in from Raaff's Column and reported it to be about 15 miles off, where it had camped with the intention of coming in the following day. He also stated that they had no supplies with them as all stores had been left behind; and further, that 60 men were with the B.B.P. as their oxen were knocked up. On receipt of this news ten spans were sent off in charge of a detachment of the Victorian Contingent to be handed over to Raaff, with the order to take them to the B.B.P. and tell the latter to come on with the supplies, as we were short of stores. At this time our rations had been reduced to 3/4 lb. of meal and two of sugar per day.

From this date nothing of importance happened beyond the usual routine of camp life. A fort was started, each troop taking its turn of doing a fatigue of two hours daily. One hundred and fifty men were warned to hold themselves in readiness for a patrol to chase Lobengula and his army, but, on further consideration, it was decided that the force was insufficient, and it would be better to wait for the B.B.P.'s and Raaff's contingents.

About the 11th November, Major Goold-Adams came in and all arrangements were made for the force of 150 men of the B.B.P. to come in and join

with our troops, making a force of about 320 men to pursue Lobengula and his army, who were reported to be camped about 35 miles off.

On Tuesday, 14th November, at about 6.30 p.m., this force (supplied with rations for three days) and accompanied by three maxims, marched in the direction of Entaba Induna Hill. Then we turned round in a circle, faced north-east, and after travelling about 15 miles, camped for the night, forming a hollow square with the horses inside. The next day at 1.30 p.m. we moved on about ten miles and camped near River Mbembese in the same formation, with orders to march again at 11 p.m. Rain fell heavily during the latter part of the march, and square was formed in the dark and wet. At 11 p.m. we started again after a rest of two hours, and just before daylight the following morning finished the 11 miles which separated us from the hill where the impi was supposed to be. We formed hollow square, after crossing Inyati River, in an open flat, and stood to our horses till daylight. At daybreak the troops advanced, supported by maxims to advantageous positions. They advanced up the hill amid skirmishes and the hill was found to be occupied by about 100 Matabeles only, left as herdsmen in charge of oxen. These fled at once, leaving about six dead men behind them, and their cattle were taken. The column then retired to the Inyati Mission Station, and laagered in the kraal around Rees' house. Horses were sent out and the men prepared for breakfast.

On the 17th a patrol of 200 men were warned to start that night and continue the pursuit. It was understood this patrol was to last two days, but no rations were served out, dependence being put on what could be picked up at the kraals on the way. We travelled by moonlight through very thick bush and eventually took possession of a kaffir kraal for the night, after travelling about ten miles.

On the morning of the 18th we went on about six miles and off-saddled for breakfast at another kraal on the edge of open country near water. We stayed here all day and in the evening saddled up and went about a quarter of a mile lower down nearest the water in open country. We formed a hollow square and protected it with brush all round. On this day we collected several small herds of cattle numbering a few hundred head and on the 19th natives came in and handed over several more herds which made up the number collected to about 1,200. During the day some natives came out of the bush about 20 strong and drove off a small herd which was feeding close to them. An alarm was given and horses brought in and secured, Raaff's Contingent saddling up and going in pursuit. In the evening they returned having shot about half a dozen natives and recapturing a few of the cattle taken away.

Next morning, the 20th, a rumour got about that Raaff's Contingent, "C" Troop and "A" Troop of the Salisbury horse, had refused to go further without rations being issued; this was confirmed by an order for a general parade at 11 a.m. At the appointed time the column was paraded and Major Forbes walked round and ordered all men who were dissatisfied to step forward, the majority of "A" and "C" Troops, all Raaff's Contingent, and a number of Victorians responded, the eight men of "B" Troop standing firm. Major Forbes then told them that we should return and get rations and that those who were

willing should accompany him with sufficient force to follow up Lobengula's pursuit. The day then passed without further incident and a move in the morning ordered.

At daylight on the 21st, the column moved on about ten miles scouring the country but very few natives were seen. We returned the same evening to our old camp. On the following morning, the 22nd, the return journey was commenced. Two patrols of 20 men each being sent out on either flank to burn all kraals that they passed and assemble in the evening at the Inyati Station. The column returned, making the same stages as on the outward journey and reached the Mission Station at about 5 p.m. (the cattle having been sent on before them the previous day), and was warmly received by the comrades they had left behind in garrison.

Next morning, 23rd, Captain Borrow and a patrol of 16 men of "B" Troop came in with about 60 natives carrying rations and reported that 100 men with eight wagons of the Victorian Contingent had been sent out to meet us at Shiloh. During the day heavy rain fell and on the following morning, the 24th, at about 5 a.m. the whole column started on the journey to Shiloh.

We marched along the road which lay through thick bush and crossed the Mbembese River and camped for breakfast on the opposite bank. The "A" Troop maxim breaking down in the drift caused considerable delay to the escort in putting in a new disselboom. At 2 p.m. we continued the march and experienced heavy weather. Two heavy thunder showers fell one after the other in quick succession, drenching everyone to the skin. The bush was very thick all along the line of march and the country, after the rain, was one sheet of water which made progress slow and led to our losing the road when quite close to Shiloh. Going down the pass which led to this station "A" Troop maxim was twice delayed owing to the disselboom slipping out of position where it was secured with reims.

On reaching Shiloh after dark we found eight wagons waiting for us with rations and 100 men (dismounted) from the Victorian Contingent. An issue of bully beef was made and all hands made big fires and tried to dry themselves before turning in. Rain fell at intervals through the night and everything was most uncomfortable, but on the following day, 25th, it cleared up. Rations were issued and the camp settled down and waited for orders. Later on it was decided that another patrol should start out on the following morning with four wagons of provisions consisting of 200 mounted and 100 dismounted men, and should follow Lobengula's army.

"A" and "C" Troops were ordered to return to Bulawayo at the same time together with Raaff's Contingent. "B" Troop volunteering to join the patrol with the exception of myself and two others who returned on account of sickness. In the afternoon I was ordered to take Captain Borrow's horse and accompanied by a man from "A" Troop to return to Bulawayo with despatches for Dr. Jameson. We started at about 5 p.m. and after great difficulty in keeping the back reached camp at about 2 a.m. on Saturday the 25th, very glad indeed to get back to camp and escape a second edition of the patrol.

On the night journey we lost the track three times. Once it delayed us about

half an hour, the second time about an hour, and the third time we wandered about, keeping our direction but without a road to guide us. Eventually we hit a wagon spoor and followed it for some miles and found ourselves close to Entaba Induna then turned off, struck across country and reached camp as before mentioned. We found that Bradley had come in with despatch from Salisbury the previous day.

On the afternoon of the same day, the 25th, "A" and "C" Troops came in and 63 men of the B.B.P. with 40 of Raaff's column went out with six days rations to Usher's farm to compel an Induna with his 4,000 men to lay down their arms. Next day, Sunday 26th, a patrol of 50 men, 25 from "A" and 25 from "C", Troops, under Captain Spreckley, went out with one wagon in pursuit of Impi led by native named Gumbo. A mail to Tati starting at 4 p.m. was also sent out on this day.

On the 27th, Beal, with escort of 12 men from Victoria Contingent, started to meet wagons en route from Tati and act as escort into camp. I was sent for by Dr. Jameson and offered a billet of storeman in charge of all stores belonging to the Company at a salary of £15 per month and all found. I accepted the offer.

Lobengula sent a message to Dr. Jameson that he and his men were all sick and were anxious to give themselves up, also asking what he wished him to do. Dr. Jameson in his answer told him to give himself up to Major Forbes who he would see on patrol. Finch and Farquhar took this message out on the 27th.

On the 28th, I started work to help Christison make out letters of Registration for Land and Mining Rights. Twelve men, three from each Troop of the Salisbury Column with two horses each and a week's provisions, were sent out to Usher's farm to stay there and let the horses graze.

On the 30th, Chappii's wagons came in and what bully beef they had was off-loaded and stacked in the fort where a store was in course of erection.

"White Man's Camp", Bulawayo

by O. N. Ransford

On the afternoon of 4th November, 1893, just 75 years ago, Dr. Jameson's column of Mashonaland settlers marched into "White Man's Camp" below Lobengula's capital of Bulawayo. The first thing they did was to nail a flag onto a convenient tree to signify their conquest of Matabeleland. Then the various buildings in the camp were requisitioned as billets for the 1,300 men. The most suitable building, a store belonging to James Dawson, was put into immediate use as a hospital.

In this paper I have attempted to assemble evidence to show that the tree on which the flag was raised and Dawson's store, which are both of such historical significance, are still in existence.

* * *

After Lobengula became King of the Matabele in 1870 he departed from his father's custom by allowing a number of white men to live in the vicinity of his chief kraal. Major Stabb¹ tells us that in 1875 there were about a dozen white Traders, concession-seekers, and hunters, as well as some general hangers-on, living outside Old Bulawayo, which was some 14 miles south of the present city. Some of them had put up quite pretentious homes for themselves: thus Mr. H. Greite lived "in a large one-storey cottage constructed in stone"² which he later sold to the Jesuit missionaries for £500, while another trader named Martin occupied a comfortable house on top of Lion's Kopje a mile or two away.

When Lobengula moved his capital to the hill of Umhlabatini, which today bears the buildings of Government House, he allotted an area on the other side of the Amajoda stream (now called the Bulawayo spruit) as a concession where Europeans might live. There James Fairbairn built a residence which he grandiloquently named "New Valhalla".³ Close by and overlooking the spruit stood the compound of his partners, the Dawson brothers: it contained several buildings including a well-built brick store house with a corrugated iron roof; beyond it James Dawson farmed a long strip of land adjoining the perennial stream. Towards the end of 1888 the Rev. James Smith Moffat settled down nearby: he lived in a tent at first but soon replaced this with a mud hut. Captain Ferguson who visited Bulawayo in 1890 writes of other Europeans' huts nearby which were "surrounded by ring fences of thorny mimosa bush".⁴ We know that the largest compound belonged to the British South Africa Company and that it was three-quarters of a mile from the Matabele town; near to it were the enclosures of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company in which lived E. A. Maund and another one set up by Edward Renny-Tailyour, which according to

Mrs. Lippert actually boasted a water-closet.⁵ When Mrs. Lippert paid her visit to Matabeleland in 1891 she found Johan Colenbrander and his wife were camping out on the Umvutcha Road⁶ some four miles north of Bulawayo, but



Bulawayo. J. Dawson's camp. J. S. Moffit's camp. From Mrs. Lippert's diary, 27th October, 1891.

(National Archives)

a year or so later Colenbrander too put up a cottage beside the Chartered Company's thatched hut.

Some traders and hunters, however, were content to live in their wagons at "White Man's Camp". Moreover some of the more permanent residents changed their quarters and moved to other compounds when Lobengula's grant of the Rudd Concession sparked off all sorts of company amalgamations and changes of allegiance.

In 1893, when war clouds began to gather over Matabeleland, many of the Europeans living in the country slipped away to safety. The missionaries at Inyati left for the south; "Matabele" Wilson trekked to Mashonaland; William Tainton, the court interpreter, panicked and one day left Bulawayo hurriedly without the King's permission⁷; and so the exodus continued. Two weeks after the Fort Victoria "incident" the only Europeans left at Bulawayo were P. D. Crewe, the Colenbranders, Harry Grant, W. Usher, James Fairbairn, and James Dawson.⁸ Then Grant succeeded in persuading the King to allow him to leave with some of the royal cattle. Next, on 20th August, Crewe set off to Cape Town on an official mission to carry Lobengula's case against the Chartered Company to Cape Town and lay it before the British Government.⁹ A little later Colenbrander received permission to obtain guns for the King's impis from Palapye, and finally Dawson got away too, setting out with three Indunas to make contact with the southern column of the white invasion forces.¹⁰

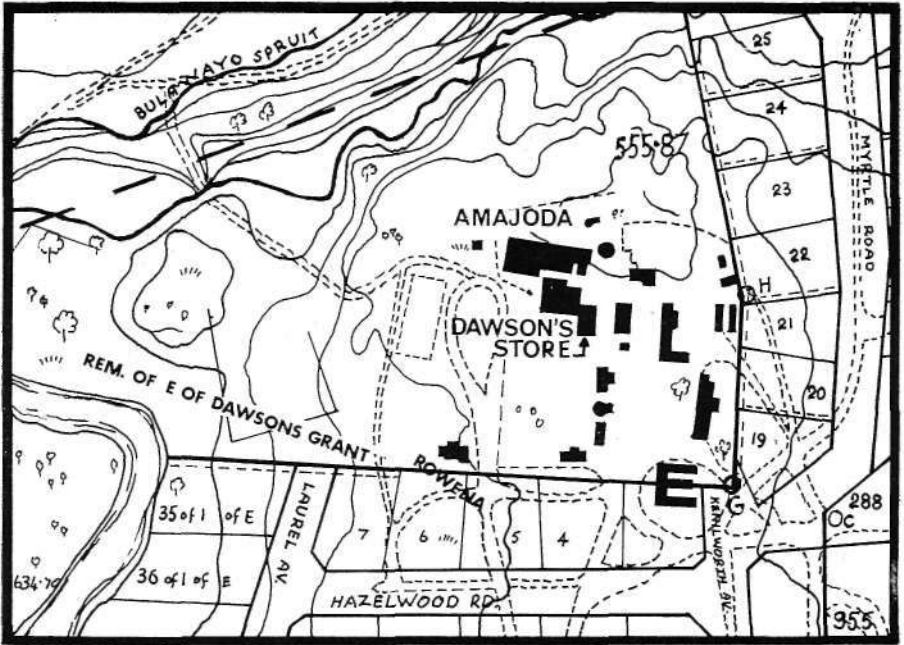
But the King steadfastly refused to allow either Fairbairn or Usher to leave Bulawayo, explaining that he intended to hold them as hostages until Crewe's return.¹¹ And there is no doubt that the lives of these two men were in very great danger when Jameson's column, after sweeping the Matabele impis aside on the Shangani and at Bembesi, approached the capital. But it must be recorded that Lobengula went out of his way to protect his two hostages, even detailing a guard for them when he himself withdrew to Umvutcha; the guard commander had instructions to obtain a note from Usher to say he had carried out this duty, before leaving when the white troops drew near.¹² It is no wonder then that Major Howard, our informant on this matter, remarked that such consideration "speaks volumes for Lobengula",¹³ and that "Matabele" Wilson



Hoisting the flag,
4th November, 1893.
(Robal Studios)

should have written a little later "If ever a native deserved to be called the white man's friend, it was Lobengula . . . May his spirit still have a good time fluttering over the country he once ruled."

By the morning of 3rd November, 1893, Dr. Jameson's column was only a few miles from the royal kraal, and acting on the King's orders the Induna Sivalo blew up the Bulawayo magazine and set fire to the hut city. Through the crackling of burning thatch Usher and Fairbairn could hear the sound of rifle are coming from the direction of Thabas Induna and they knew that their ordeal was now nearly over. But its last hours might be the most dangerous of all for there were still a number of Matabele hanging about the town and Concession, and the two men decided to spend the night on the roof of Dawson's store which was the strongest and most fire-proof building in "White Man's Camp". They took their rifles and plenty of ammunition up with them, as well as a pack of cards to help pass the time.¹⁵ Although there had been a plot to kill them according to Crewe, they were not molested. Yet it is easy for us to appreciate their overwhelming sense of relief when at 8 p.m. Captain Borrow rode into the Concession at the head of a cavalry patrol which had been sent by Major Forbes, the commander of the column, to reconnoitre the royal kraal. "They found them playing poker on the roof" runs a contemporary account of the

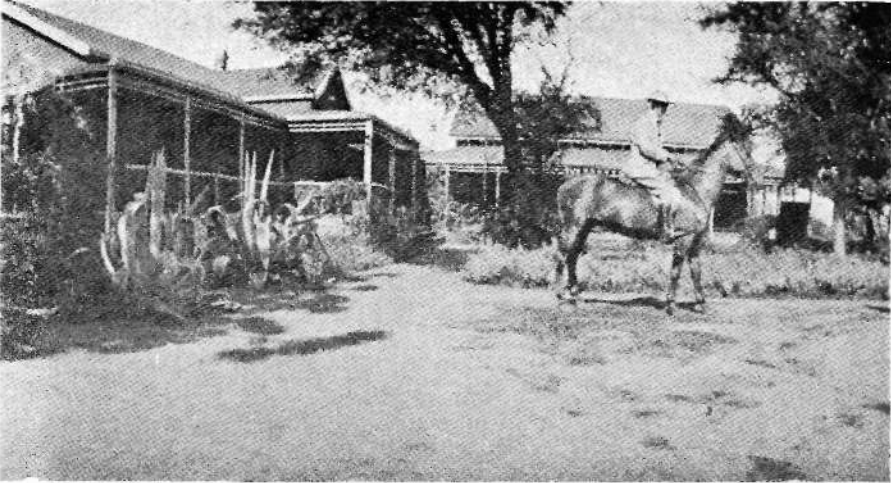


Plan showing site of Dawson's store in modern Bulawayo.

meeting of the patrol with Fairbairn and Usher.¹⁶ The two men and the soldiers spent the remainder of the night crowded into the store building, and one hopes they celebrated the occasion suitably.

Next day the main column rode into "White Man's Camp". Jameson's force was made up of 652 Europeans and a similar number of African wagon drivers and levies. A company flag was nailed to the top of a prominent tree* as the soldiers stood gazing at the kraal burning on the far side of the stream. After forming a strong point the men then fell out to find bivouacs for themselves. Forbes tells us that "the Matabele had not interfered in any way with the houses belonging to the white men",¹⁷ but there were not enough to go round. M. W. Barnard, one of the troopers who had been wounded in the Bembesi fight, writes that "the laager was formed on both sides of an old store that Colenbrander used" and he adds that "the wounded were put into this store".¹⁸ We are able to identify this makeshift hospital as Dawson's store from a speech made by Major Howard in 1923: this member of the southern column said the troops were quartered "where the Grange is now" and "one building that is still there was part of what had been Dawson's store that they were then using as a hospital and quartermaster's store, and later it was the first Bulawayo post office and the troops were camped all around".¹⁹ Barnard in his account goes on to paint a picture of conditions in the hospital during the first few days

* We have a photograph of this flag raising ceremony: although it is of poor quality it suggests that a Company flag was first hoisted and then a Union Jack.

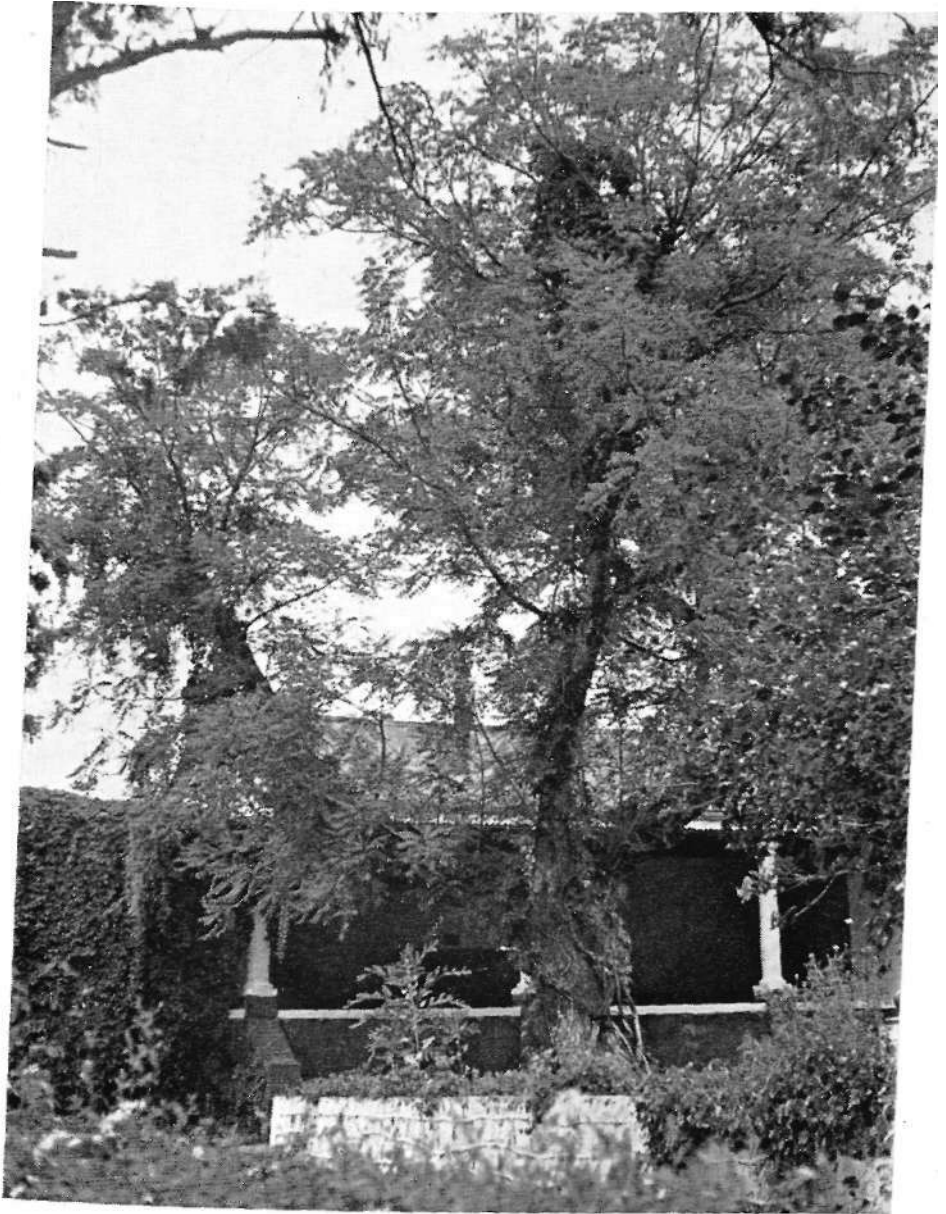


The "Flag Tree" with Mr. Mitchell, 1904.

of the occupation: "The wounded were put in this store" he says. "There were no bed pans or other conveniences but some bright spark discovered a jerry. We had to use wooden vessels from Bulawayo Kraal. The stench can be imagined. We also suffered a terrible plague of flies. Operations were carried out in front of us. I remember being next to one man and having to hold a towel and sponges during the operating."²³

During the next few days the soldiers built a shanty town for themselves which stretched from the Concession overlooking the spruit to the northern end of the present cemetery, but in June 1894 everyone packed up and moved to the new town site a couple of miles away to the south. By then Dawson's farm had passed into the possession of the "Bulawayo Market and Office Company" whose two agents in Matabeleland were the redoubtable Dr. Hans Sauer and Mr. Benjamin Bradley. In his autobiography Sauer writes "Dawson's homestead was about two miles north of the present town, on a little stream called the Amajoda, and within a quarter of a mile of the royal kraal. I took possession at once and for many months was the most comfortably housed man in the country."²² His company's title to the land was registered as late as 20th June, 1899; it then comprised 98 morgen and 100 square roods as shown in S/G survey diagram February 1897, No. 827/99 attached to Grant 1567. Payment for the grant to the B.S.A. Company was 4s. per annum and was first recorded on 1st January, 1899. This larger portion of the old "White Man's Camp" was later subdivided on several occasions, the largest division being formed into a Township which still bears Sauer's name. About 40 acres round Sauer's house (it had replaced and possibly incorporated Dawson's homestead, and had been renamed Amajoda) were retained, however, by the B.M. & O. Company. It was briefly occupied by the rebels in 1896; in 1903 Mr. George Mitchell, who afterwards became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, took up residence in

Amajoda, his move being assisted by Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Meikle, Mr. and Mrs. Molyneux, and Mrs. Weir.²³ The house was a large one. It was surrounded by an extensive garden and fields for horses. Dawson's old store was by this time used as a laundry and harness room. A stoep ran round three sides of the build-



The "Flag Tree", 1968.

(Miss Jane Singleton)

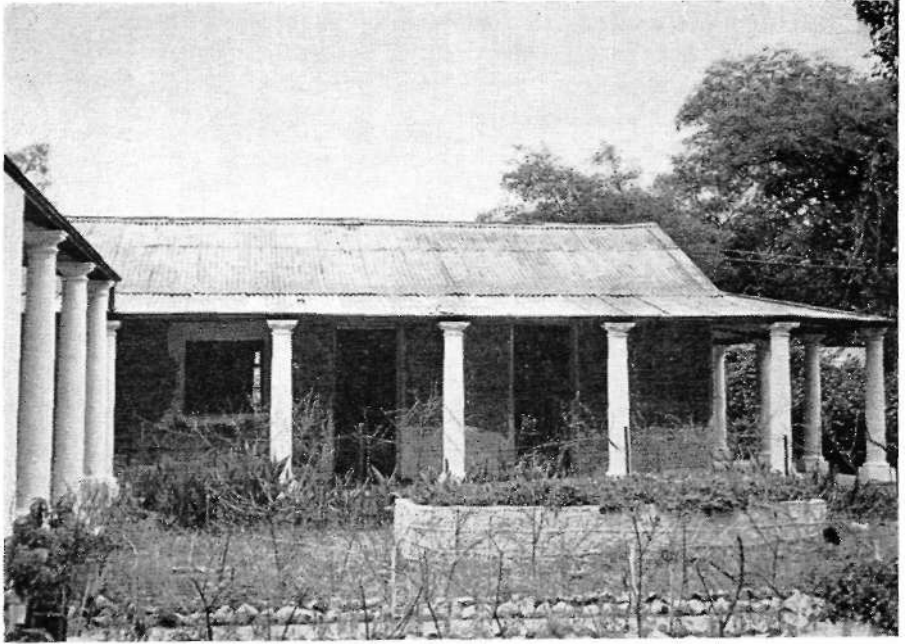
ing and its trellis was covered with a number of fine grape vines.²⁴ Mrs. Mitchell's diary records some of the events that occurred in the house: one entry says that "a various selection of millionaires came to see Dr. Sauer" who often came to stay in his old home, and another records the planting of some date palms which had been grown from stones taken from a packet of dates. After being Transferred in 1911 to the Transvaal and Rhodesian Estates Ltd., the subdivision "E" of Dawson's grant on which the homestead (now renamed "The Grange") stood, was bought by Mrs. H. T. Longden. It then passed successively into the hands of Mrs. Lyons (later Mrs. Donovan), Mr. Martin Liebenberg (when it became an hotel) and finally Mr. K. J. Pate .

We must now briefly record what happened to the southern part of the original "White Man's Camp". In 1897 this ground which measured rather more than 15 morgen was granted by the B.S.A. Company to Mr. E. A. Maund who had lived there during Lobengula's time. He paid £1 for the grant (Title 6354, 28th February, 1906). In 1907 it was transferred to Julius Kreilsheimer, and afterwards to other owners until it was finally bought by Mr. Hubert Davies and his son, and was turned into lots named the Kenilworth Estate. A plan of Maund's Plot made by Fletcher and Espin in 1897 shows Colenbrander's old homestead marked at the eastern end of the grant; by then Colenbrander had moved into his new house called "Honeycomb".

* * *

The intriguing thought that Dawson's store was standing 25 years ago and that it still might be in existence often set me exploring the grounds of the Grange Hotel. On them stood numerous scattered buildings, and one was impressed by the number of old trees still standing beside the rocky bluff which overlooks the Bulawayo spruit and the site of the old royal kraal. The search for the store unexpectedly led first to the rediscovery of the tree on which the flag had been raised on the afternoon of 4th November, 1893: on one visit with Mr. C. W. D. Pagden we both agreed that a wild syringa (*Kirkia acuminata*) standing close to Sauer's house not only closely resembled the tree shown in the photograph of the flag raising ceremony (although of course the trunk was by now much thicker) but stood in a prominent position above the spruit which corresponded to that shown in the photograph. Since then Mr. Roger Summers, Mr. C. K. Cooke, and Mr. Graham Guy have all visited the site and have pronounced themselves satisfied that this tree is the one which figures so importantly in Bulawayo's history. A coloured man living at the "Grange" moreover came up to me one day and volunteered the information that his African grandmother had once told him that this was the tree from which the white men flew the flag in 1893.

Only subsequently did I find that the continued existence of Dawson's store was well known to several people. Mrs. Rushmore (*nee* Mitchell) was the first to indicate the building to me, whose history she had known since childhood and whose interest was often referred to by her parents and by Dr. Sauer. The small brick building stands a little south-east of the old house. It has a gabled



Dawson's Store today.

roof of corrugated iron which levels off sufficiently over the verandah to have provided a reasonably comfortable refuge for the poker-playing Fairbairn and Usher during their anxious period of waiting for relief in 1893. The "tuscan" columns of the surrounding portico appear to be later additions which are contemporary with those of the bedroom wing; no doubt they replaced wooden pillars. The building today is divided into three rooms and it is curious to stand in them and realise that they constituted Bulawayo's first hospital. I have learned from several sources that the most southerly of the rooms served for a time as the town's original post office, which substantiates Major Howard's recollection; but Mrs. Rushmore remembers that another small and isolated brick building which has now disappeared was once used as a post office.

All available evidence then suggests that this small brick edifice is the only pre-occupation building in Matabeleland which has remained in continuous use until the present day. When it was built is still uncertain, but quite possibly it predates the occupation of Mashonaland. Certainly it can claim to be Bulawayo's oldest building still in use.

It is perhaps fitting then that wider attention during the year of Bulawayo's seventy-fifth anniversary should be drawn to Dawson's old store where the first elements of Dr. Jameson's column spent the night before the effective occupation of the royal kraal of Bulawayo, and to the tree on which was raised the flag that symbolised the birth of the modern city.

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Henry Borrow : Pioneer and Hero

by D. Hartridge

"What a chance for the Metford!" The son of an English country parson writing to his mother. "How the ivory sight would shew up against their dusky hides! I think the Maxim gun . . . quite equal to the Matabele nation wouldn't it just mow them down!"¹

On 4th December, 1893, the sight showed up against scores of dusky hides but the Maxims were on the other side of the Shangani River.

The bloodthirsty writer is Harry Borrow, who died with Allan Wilson. The quotation is misleading. If we are to believe his contemporaries Borrow was really "high-principled"² and "thoroughly kind-hearted".³ And the impression gained from 1,225 folios of his letters is not of a vicious but of a naive and immature young man*; in the above he is self-consciously trotting out the current bluster.

Henry John Borrow was born on 17th March, 1865, probably in Lanivet, Cornwall. His family were well off and he attended a good public school, Sherborne, his background shaping him into a decided, though not fanatical, snob.

Early in 1882 he emigrated to South Africa, accompanied by the Rev. Borrow who left him working for a Mr. Hilton Barber on an ostrich farm near Cradock. He came under the influence of a confident young man, Charley Wallis, and they started running their own farm, but this did not satisfy him for long, for he had left home to find adventure and make a fortune. Besides, his partner was not pulling his weight and, as was often to happen, he was left with the work. By October 1884 he was tired of being imposed upon. "How galling to be corrected etc by a fellow ones own age . . . I'm heartily sick of him and as there is a new police force to be raised I've sent my name in."⁴ He joined the Second Mounted Rifles (Carrington's Horse) before the end of 1884 and next year took part in the expedition into Bechuanaland under Major-General Sir Charles Warren.**

Little is known of Borrow at this time except that he became adept at riding and shooting. "He was a splendid horseman . . . and one of the very best shots in a country where good shots abound . . ." (Wills and Collingridge).⁵

He left the Mounted Rifles after a year with the rank of Sergeant and joined the Bechuanaland Border Police as a Lance-Corporal. For Wallis, his old mentor, he now felt only contempt and he pursued him by letter through South

* The Borrow papers were presented to the National Archives by Mrs. Nancy Harris of Barnham, Sussex. Mrs. Harris is the daughter of Borrow's sister, Beatrice, and Jack Spreckley. It was through the efforts of Col. A. S. Hickman, M.B.E., that the papers were located and brought to Rhodesia.

** The National Archives does not possess Borrow's letters for this period, and the information comes from an article in the *Rhodesia Herald*, Jack Spreckley being acknowledged as the source. Wills and Collingridge have obviously used the same source.

Africa, demanding the return of money and goods left on the farm. Borrow's new heroes were the Q.M.S., Frank Johnson, and an American, Maurice Heany. When he heard them speak of the fortunes to be made in the goldfields he became restless again: ". . . not that I have the fever or anything of that sort but it appears to me a shame to throw away golden opportunities for the sake of £7 per month".⁶ It was a turning-point in his life. The B.B.P. would grant him a farm at the end of his service contract but, on the other hand, his was an un-rewarding job and a farm would not bring him riches. He wrote: ". . . the worst of being a sober man is you have to do duty for about three. I am meditating getting out of the whole thing by getting a weeks leave and clearing off in to the Transvaal. . ."⁷

It was the boldest plan of all which finally won him over. Obtaining their discharges from the Police, Johnson, Heany and Borrow, with Ted Burnett and Jack Spreckley, formed the Pioneer Party of the Northern Gold Fields Exploration Syndicate, "rather a majestic title is it not?"⁸, and set off to try their luck as concession hunters. They were certain of success: ". . . that there's gold there is a *well-authenticated fact*"⁹

With Khama in Bechuanaland they were indeed successful. Borrow wrote home proudly on 15th April, 1887: "We have just had a most satisfactory interview with Khama who has given us all that our hearts desired . . . i.e. the prospecting rights to the whole of his country and the right to pick out 1 or more blocks of 100 miles square to dig for gold, minerals and precious stones."¹⁰ The agreement as signed was indeed as generous. However, this effort was almost incidental. The real prize was a concession from Lobengula and they pushed on immediately to Bulawayo, arriving there on 19th May, 1887, before Wood, Francis and Chapman or Rudd's party or Maund.

Borrow's Bulawayo letters are full of other people's opinions and stories. He writes at length on the customs of the Matabele and the habits of the King, but his comments on the white community are the most valuable: ". . . the natives grow excellent rice in Mashonaland, sent down in neatly woven bags, any amount of Kaffir corn and mealies, tobacco, potatoes, sweet potatoes, ground nuts etc. etc.—All the white people on the station eschew altogether bread & coffee, & simply live on the things aforementioned, meat being very cheap, they have two meals a day one at 10 a.m. & another just before dusk, the interim being filled up with Kaffir beer, of which they drink enormous quantities . . ."¹¹ Borrow met and was impressed by Selous, who was not only a great hunter but also a public school man—Rugby, and van Rooyen who, though not public school, was "rather better" than the former as a hunter.¹²

They sat in the sun with Lobengula and his indunas and were duly exasperated by Matabele delaying tactics. Why wouldn't the old blighter sign away his wealth? Suddenly Lobengula's attitude changed and he gave them, as they thought, permission to prospect in the Mazoe basin. Borrow and Heany remained in "Bug Villa",¹³ rather bored by now, while the others departed for Mashonaland.

Lobengula repudiated the "concession". One gains the impression that neither Borrow's letters nor Johnson's book reveal the full story of the Mazoe

expedition. Burnett was perhaps at fault in his handling of the guides and the adventurers seem to have exceeded the terms of the King's permission: at any rate, they faced mutiny and were lucky to escape with their lives. The mutiny was quelled by "starving [the guides] into submission".¹⁴ Back in Bulawayo, Johnson had to pay Lobengula £100 to secure the party's safe departure.

Meanwhile, Heany and Borrow had made a trip back to Mangwato to make sure of their concession. Khama was thinking of revoking it but they managed to smooth things over with a few cosy chats and the gift of a barrel-organ. Borrow was inclined to blame the Rev. James Hepburn: "... it appears to me that it [the agreement] has been purposely misrepresented by the missionary there . . .".¹⁵ It may be remarked that Borrow was never a good judge of character or motive. His first impulse, in itself a laudable one, was usually to like and admire an acquaintance. He would praise someone and claim them as allies, but as soon as their interests diverged from his he would be very hurt and would denigrate them bitterly. This happened with Wood, with Gifford and with Colquhoun and, to some extent, with Rhodes. With the Hepburns the pattern was merely reversed! Eventually he grew fond of them and found them very useful in his dealings with Khama. To show his gratitude he asked his parents to send them a parcel of books from England. Mrs. Hepburn became his confidant and introduced him to the small number of girls who ventured into the area: ". . . whole batch of the fair sex has been up here . . . so you must excuse anything in this letter, as I am naturally susceptible & this kind of thing affects me".¹⁶

The concession secured, Johnson made the first of several trips overseas to look for backers. Heany and Borrow were left behind again but presently the good news filtered back to them. The Bechuanaland Exploration Company had been floated. Lord Gifford, v.a, and George Cawston were providing the finance, Johnson was managing director and Heany and Borrow were local superintendents.

Borrow was tickled pink, and from this time on he never ceased from counting up his paper wealth—so many shares at such and such and stock and equipment worth so much, plus a salary—not gloatingly but rather with an incredulous "Can it really be me?" Gifford was an important asset: it was good to have a Lord on the Board. Borrow wrote to ask his father to get in touch with Gifford; he had an optimistic idea of the old man's credit, for 18 months before he had been requiring him to "bring influence to bear on Col. Carrington"¹⁷ and later he was to urge him to visit Rhodes.¹⁸ From Gifford came a condescending testimonial: "I think yr son is a most valuable true man."¹⁹

Borrow got down to work again, acting as local blacksmith, carpenter and barber, and as odd-job-man for Khama, as well as applying himself to learning the local language. When the Company's prospectors arrived he placed them throughout the country and then made a tour of inspection. He tried to learn from the experts, especially from the Company's geologist, Harman.

Other projects were in the offing: a hunter named Erickson was organising a hunting expedition to the hinterland of Mossamedes, Angola, and in return for shares in the Company was prepared to bring in Johnson, Heany and



Pioneer Corps Officers

The four men seated in chairs are (left to right) Ted Burnett, Heany, Johnson and Selous. Borrow is in the back row, fourth from the right.

(National Archives)

Borrow on any finds; and Johnson had obtained permission from the Compagnia de Mocambique for Selous to prospect in the Mazoe basin. The future was rosy.

There was, however, one small cloud on the horizon. In November 1887 Wood, Francis and Chapman had received a concession from Lobengula for the area between the Shashi and Macloutsie rivers, an area that Johnson and his friends considered to be Khama's, and thus theirs. The miserable stretch of ground now assumed a key importance and the "Disputed Territory", as it came to be called, was deemed to contain fabulous wealth. Neither Lobengula nor Khama were inclined to make an issue of the affair and Borrow felt quite safe in his conviction that right would prevail and that the matter would be settled in their favour, even when Lieutenant Frank Lochner, instructed by the Administrator of Bechuanaland, warned them off prospecting in the area. The claim of Wood, Francis and Chapman was preposterous, as indeed were various other claims to have succeeded with Lobengula where his Syndicate had failed—Maund and even Rudd were chancers. And Rhodes's formation of the British South Africa Company would surely advance the interests of Johnson, Heany and Borrow.

Then the blow came. Gifford and Cawston blithely agreed to become directors of the B.S A. Company and no longer saw why they should press for the

"Disputed Territory". Johnson made a bid to salvage something for himself and the men on the spot, presenting to Rhodes an optimistic plan for the amalgamation of the two companies, but Gifford and Cawston were not interested. Cried Borrow: ". . . my own private opinion is that Gifford and Cawston should be prosecuted for fraudulent breach of trust"²⁰ and he called their action "the most barefaced piece of swindling I ever heard of"²¹ and he swore that "if they were a little younger I for one should have the greatest pleasure in obliging them for a few minutes".²² Heany was less apoplectic: "I cannot understand this Company 'not being in it' coming as a surprise to J. Even at this distance I expected it."²³

Borrow wrote a long letter to his father, asking his advice, but events ran faster than the mails. Selous wrote to say he had gathered concessions galore from chiefs in Manicaland. Erickson was to be given a wagonload of equipment. Lochner was to make a journey to the Zambezi to win concessions from Lewanika and other chiefs, and Borrow was to go with him. At the last moment, a mysterious telegram came from the B.S.A. Company: "Do not think of going with Lochner much better business on hand."²⁴ Johnson had made an agreement with Rhodes to equip and lead a Pioneer Corps into Mashonaland and Borrow must come along too. But first, he made a hurried journey to Bulawayo as a guide to the Queen's Messengers, Captain Ferguson and Surgeon-Major Melladew of the Royal Horse Guards, with a message for Lobengula. All this in December 1889 and January 1890. His father's reply when it came was irrelevant.

Harry Borrow became Adjutant of the Corps, with the rank of Lieutenant. Naturally, the job involved a great deal of work. He was only 25 years of age: how did he fare as an officer? "He took an interest in all of us and joined in our sport", says Adrian Darter, a trooper in 'A' Troop.²⁵ But Johnson gives a story to illustrate his youth and inexperience: ". . . I told Borrow to send a couple of despatch riders with a note to Selous telling him to come to Camp Cecil and report. Borrow, using one of the printed memorandum forms 'From Adjutant', wrote in the regular official way to Captain Selous:

Intelligence Officer,—on receipt of this you will come in at once to Camp Cecil, and report to me. By order.

Henry J. Borrow, Lieutenant and Adjutant."²⁶

The great Selous, unused to military conventions, was incensed and refused to budge. Johnson had to use all his tact to persuade him that the young Lieutenant was not being insolent.

Borrow's own comment on the life was: "I find the discipline very irksome ..",²⁷ He preferred to work up in front of the column, supervising the road-gang and interpreting. But he was proud of his position and of the venture. "This Company will yet be the biggest thing the world has ever seen."²⁸ A large claim. "We are certainly one of the greatest & finest expeditions that has ever been raised."²⁹ He was also aware, however, that the whole business was a little irregular and on their being gazetted as soldiers he crowed: ". . . we shall be highly respectable filibusters at any rate".³⁰ Borrow's fond mother seized upon his commission and he had to explain: ". . . let me beg of you *not* to address me as

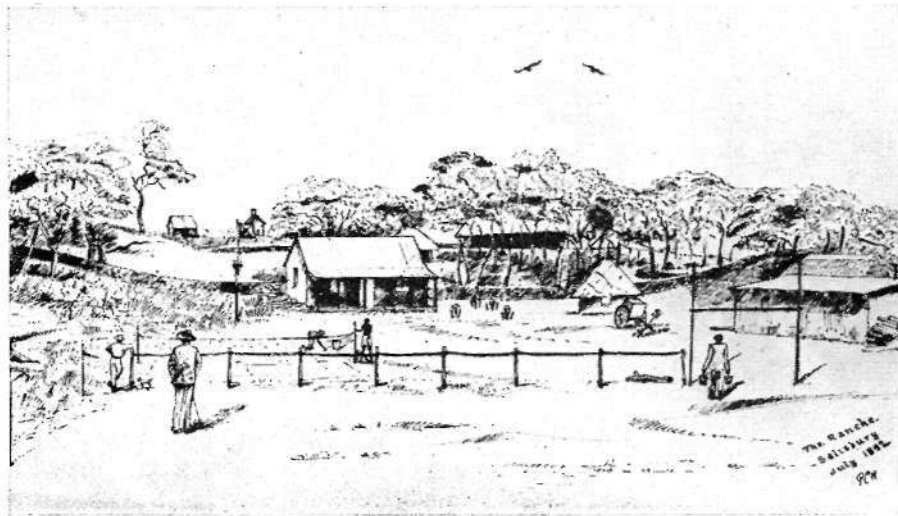
Captain a title to which I have no right whatsoever & even supposing I had the best in the world should be very sorry to make use of. I aspire to neither the title nor sword. I am not a soldier . . ."³¹

There is no doubt that his letters often disgorged, half digested, the opinions of the camp. In one letter he was saying: ". . . there will very probably be a row with the Matabeles . . . of course this is very confidential as there is sure to be a certain amount of false sympathy in England about any savages".³² A few weeks later a row was "very improbable I think"³³—this after several days in an atmosphere of euphoria with Rhodes and Johnson. However, it is good to see that, referring to the obscure origins of Zimbabwe, he found "most of the theories are absurd".³⁴ He, at least, did not believe it to have been built by the Phoenicians.

As the column neared its destination and the possibility of a Matabele attack faded, Barrow indulged in his usual luxury of adding up his paper wealth—shares, oxen, wagons, provisions and soon-to-be-pegged claims. He boasted of the monopoly that the firm of Johnson, Heany and Borrow would have in Mashonaland. The profit from the journey alone would be £18,000.³⁵ But Mashonaland was an attractive country in its own right, if only in contrast to Bechuanaland. Wrote Borrow from the Umfuli River: "We are all very much pleased with the country the climate is simply superb . . . there are splendid long open valleys here that one could plough to any extent. . . every little hollow has a small stream running down it."³⁶ So attractive was the place that: "This will really be a fine & glorious place to settle down & make one's home. Heany & myself fully intend to have a nice place & to make ourselves comfortable."³⁷

Within a day of the raising of the flag at Fort Salisbury, Johnson, Burnett and Borrow had sped away to a choice little spot on the Umfuli River, near Hartley Hills, to peg their first claims on the new Rand. Such haste was illegal as the country had not yet been opened for civilian occupation. "Here we are," exulted Borrow, "on the great Mashonaland Gold Fields & the fields on which Mauch stood as one stupified at their immensity & beauty, this is the place that has been talked about written about & thought about by all S. Africa, we have pegged off ground enough for ½doz. companies".³⁸ Johnson has a little anecdote.³⁹ As Burnett and Borrow were about to drive in the first peg, he cried, "Stop!" and produced a bottle of champagne which he had saved to launch their new claims. But as he swung back the bottle it was their turn to cry, "Stop!" and after discussion they drank the contents before breaking it. A deviation which doubtless explains why the fields did not live up to expectations.

Borrow made many other journeys to examine ancient workings and to peg further hopeful claims. The American, "Curio" Brown, later a Mayor of Salisbury, gives us a glimpse of him on the Mondetonga River, near Hartley Hills, in about October: "One evening Messrs Borrow and Stevenson came along with a party of natives who were taking them out to show them some old workings. They were much astonished as finding me there with no white partner, having flattered themselves that they were further afield than any prospector had yet been. They assumed a mysterious air concerning their destination, as gold-seekers usually do when they think they have a rich find; hence I asked



The Rancho, July 1892. The artist, Percy Nunn, died with Borrow.

(National Archives)

them no leading questions. They camped just across the river from me, and the next morning took their course toward the Umsweswi River."⁴⁰

Johnson and company established their headquarters at "The Rancho", where Rancho House College, Salisbury, stands today. In October 1890 it consisted of "an enormous store made entirely of wagon sails & a few marquee tents for an office, mess tents & tents to sleep in".⁴¹ The firm expanded rapidly—much too rapidly—grabbing as many barely viable claims as it could lay its hands on and buying up vast tracts of land at 8d. an acre. In the process it fell foul of the B.S.A. Company's senior official, Archibald Ross Colquhoun. Colquhoun was eventually edged out, but as early as December 1890 Borrow was giving a rather egocentric forecast of his eclipse: ". . . we have found out lately that Colquhoun was not to be trusted he pretended to be most friendly to us & at the same time was writing to Rhodes requesting him to authorize him (Colquhoun) to enact special legislation with regard to our firm saying that we were becoming altogether too powerful in the country! This was the signal for his downfall as Rhodes said he shewed what a miserably weak man he must be."⁴²

Johnson was soon off again, with Jameson, to find a practicable East Coast route and then Heany began work on a road to the Pungwe River, while Borrow went as far south as the Sebakwe and Bembesi rivers to search for a rumoured goldfield. The farm Borrowdale was planted with potatoes and other vegetables and crops, and though the produce was badly damaged by insects, the "experts", whoever they were, expressed the opinion that this was a phenomenon confined to the first season only.⁴³ In the meantime, Erickson was said to be doing well on the Okovango River in Angola. Yet there were no concrete results and the firm of Johnson, Heany and Borrow, spending recklessly, was in trouble. The projects were taking too long to mature and heavy rains held up equipment, as

well as food supplies and mails. Borrow did not realise the danger: apparently he was running his projects with reasonable efficiency; at any rate, Johnson does not blame him, saying only that "Heany was drawing fast on our small capital."⁴⁴

Borrow, out of Salisbury, heard of the proposed reconstruction of the firm through Heany, and Heany agreed for him to the proposals. The reconstructed firm was known as Frank Johnson and Company, and Rhodes, providing new capital, was chairman and could now keep tabs on the development of Mashonaland. Johnson was managing director, Rudd was on the Board and Heany and Borrow were local managers, represented on the Board in Cape Town by Rhodes men. Johnson, Heany and Borrow had to pay out of their own pockets for Erickson and were free to have other interests in Mashonaland, provided that these did not clash with those of Rhodes.

Borrow was not particularly depressed. The country still had great potential. By June 1891 the rivers had fallen and, as he puts it, "the wagons come rolling in like mad".⁴⁵ He was too busy to worry: ". . . we are again pushing on with development work & all this means no end of writing & talking for me the former I do by night the latter by day . . .",⁴⁶ Every newcomer to Salisbury went to see him. Anyway, before the full effect of the squeeze could be felt there was news of fighting in Manicaland and a chance for adventure. Borrow tore down to Umtali in the hope that he might "have a fling-in",⁴⁷ "like a good fellow",⁴⁸ as Selous puts it: he arrived too late. (Selous was also making his way towards the trouble when his leisurely party was overtaken by Borrow, riding alone.)

On his return to Salisbury, Borrow had to face a series of experts, McWilliams, then Perkins, then Rolker, all coming up to pass judgement on the country. McWilliams, the first, who came up in May 1891, was not too disheartening: the man who struck fear into the hearts of the settlers and seems to have effectively killed interest in the country was Perkins, who journeyed up with Lord Randolph Churchill in August. Borrow gave them the full treatment. He found that Perkins was a pleasant chap, but a forthright one: "... the experts have been rather rough on the country after having . . . only seen a very small portion of it . . ."⁴⁹ A familiar plaint! There was something to be made from the visitors: "We have kept Lord Randy quiet by putting him into a Syndicate up here of which he has given me full charge."⁵⁰ But the fact remained that Perkins's best advice to Borrow was to get out.⁵¹ By now Borrow was drawing on his capital for living expenses, but he was not going to give in. As ever, he was working exceedingly hard: "Today is Sunday but it makes very little difference—we cannot afford to stop the mill."⁵² He also put more effort into developing Borrowdale and had a dam constructed. He served on the Salisbury Sanitary Board as a nominee of the B.S.A. Company. He became an officer in the local volunteer force. And from time to time his outrageous optimism would return and he would vaunt Alice Mine, in which he had an interest, or one of Heany's mines in Manicaland, or the mines round Fort Victoria.

He was never, of course, really hard up. His interest in the turf having been aroused by a win at Salisbury's pioneer race meeting on Boxing Day, 1891, he was able to justify importing race-horses from South Africa at a cost of £523.

They won £499 for him on their first appearance. But any expectations of making a quick fortune had been dashed. He composed a philosophical letter to his father: "We are all gamblers here . . . We [three] . . . have played a bit higher than anyone else for we have played not for competency but for a big fortune. Well! the ace turned up at the wrong time & beat us . . . I suppose I ought to feel sorry for myself but really I can't, the game was quite worth the candle."⁵³ He asked for advice on whether to carry on hopefully or to return to Britain to study mining engineering. Although later called "a deep student of mining and all that went with it"⁵⁴ he himself realised that his knowledge, particularly his theoretical knowledge, was deficient. Several times he wrote to advise his brother Frank to obtain a qualification of some sort. For the present he quizzed Mc-Williams and Perkins, as he had Harman in Bechuanaland, and commenced a study of trigonometry.

Borrow believed that he owed Rhodes a moral obligation to stay in the country for at least a couple of years. He could not be spared by the company: Heaney was in Manicaland and, besides, was a notorious tippler. As Darter says: ". . . we were wont to say of the firm of Johnson, Heaney [*sic*] & Borrow, that Heaney did the thinking, Johnson the taking and Borrow the work".⁵⁵ It was only after an accident in the latter part of 1892 that Borrow was released by his firm and by his conscience to make a trip home.

By 1892 Borrow had matured. He no longer hero-worshipped Heaney or Johnson, although perhaps the glamorous Jameson had partially taken their place. He even had his doubts about Rhodes: "(Rudd) takes more interest in the Company than Rhodes does I think, Rhodes is such a peculiar man one never knows what he really thinks."⁵⁶ Now that he had learnt self-sufficiency he was on the way to becoming our idea of a clean-limbed young Victorian pioneer. Certainly he aspired to a lofty imperialist ideal: "One has one's business out here," he wrote, "ones interests, the very essence of one's life & one feels that one is not quite wasting ones existence, that one is after all trying to open up new countries, to prepare the way for ones countrymen, to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before . . . and . . . we in these out of the way parts . . . have a certain honour amongst us with the majority our word is our bond . . ."⁵⁷ Some types of idealist he did not appreciate: ". . . why don't people stay in England if they want to do good, there must be plenty of savages in the east end. I shld never give a sixpence to any missionary society. I might give the Salvation Army a shew if I made a pile."⁵⁸ But this was the cant of the day.

In spite of his growing assurance, Borrow was still ill at ease with women. He had always had a schoolboy's attitude towards the fairer sex: witness his coyness at Mangwato when Mrs. Hepburn tried a bit of matchmaking. From "The Ranche" he remarked: ". . . we have none of the refining influence of women none of the good influence given by the associations of home"⁵⁹ and made this resolution: "Two things to be done in England. Lessons in elocution and dancing!"⁶⁰ The lessons in elocution were necessary to give him more authority when speaking in public: ". . . I was going to make a telling speech thought of it all last night in bed; got on my hind legs today . . . began the 'Gentlemen' part of the business splendidly . . . suddenly it ocured to me-^hat

I was making an awful ass of myself, the rest of my speech as suddenly vanished . . ." ⁶¹ Socially he tended to be inhibited and he found it difficult to relax and enter into the spirit of an exuberant occasion: ". . . they are going to have an idiotic tug-of-war business in which I have to perform deeds of strength greatly to my disgust for I hate these kinds of amusement". ⁶² Yet his tendency to shyness, coupled with obvious attributes, could be endearing: "He stood over 6 feet and was finely built and very handsome, modest, unconscious of his gifts . . ." (Wills and Collingridge). ⁶³ "He had a fine appearance and carried with it a charming manner. He gained the hearts of all of us." ⁶¹ (Darter).

By 1892 Borrow had been away from home for ten years and he became increasingly homesick. His letters, once ended with a perfunctory "Yr. affectionate son, Harry" would now close "With heaps of love, I am, Yr. loving son, Harry." ⁶⁵ (Such sentimentality is not rare amongst hardy adventurers writing home after a long absence.) He had no wish to quit Rhodesia permanently, despite Per kin's advice, but a trip home was due. There is evidence that misunderstandings with his family were arising "... two letters I received from Constance . . . [here a line has been cut out] . . . cannot think how grieved I was to receive for that we who are thousands of miles apart & have been separated for over ten years is too sad [?] . . . never . . . did I intend my letter to convey the impression that I consider my sisters devoid of intellect or that they led aimless or useless lives.. ." ⁶⁶ His accident, of which no details are known, ⁶⁷ precipitated his departure, and in January 1893 he sailed to England on the *Scot*. His original plan of visiting Erickson in Damaraland had to be abandoned.

That Borrow succeeded in his aim of impressing his family with his sincerity and enthusiasm is evidenced by the fact that both of his sisters later came out to Rhodesia and one, Beatrice, married his friend Jack Spreckley. But he had another purpose in going overseas, and in this he was also successful. For some time he had felt that his fortunes were too closely tied to Johnson and his sometimes unreliable business manoeuvres. In August 1892 he wrote home with sarcastic comments on one of his boss's projects, concluding: "Johnson is a wonderful man, I wired him that I expected . . . to spend my wet season in prison at Salisbury for fraudulent insolvency." ⁶⁸ He now hoped to spread his interests. Whilst overseas, he made arrangements with a London firm, Hirsch and Company, bringing out "young Hirsch" with him to Rhodesia, along with another disciple, Harold Money, who was to die with him at Shangani. He also visited General Owen Williams, whose son had come out with Lord Randolph, and made various other contacts.

Before he left Britain he was involved in a coaching accident, for which he was partly responsible, and his mother was seriously hurt. He himself sustained injuries and was still not fully recovered when he returned to Salisbury, via Cape Town, in mid-1893. Mashonaland seemed happier than it had been: "I find everything here pretty promising & people for the most part very hopeful . . ." ⁶⁹ But the change may have been within himself. He told his parents about a certain girl whom he had met in Mashonaland, Lucy Drake, and they decided that he must be in love. They made enquiries about her, obtaining the opinion of an unprejudiced observer. Wrote Borrow to his mother: "I asked [Money]

if he had an injunction from you and B. to describe faithfully the young lady, he told me he had .. He thinks she is quiet. I fancy she must have had toothache or something of the sort perhaps been a little sadly for I should hardly describe her as quiet... [we are] not very serious ... I am not likely either to get married or to die broken hearted."⁷⁰ Shortly afterwards he became engaged to her. He had a brick homestead built overlooking the dam at Borrowdale.⁷¹ Lucy had come to Salisbury in 1892 with her sister, Ella Caldecott, the wife of Alfred Caldecott, the Public Prosecutor.

It soon became apparent that there would be a war with the Matabele. Though willing to fight, Borrow was not so enthusiastic as before, and now it would be hard to imagine him penning the quotation which opened this article. He pondered: "Tomorrow we leave for what I look upon as a somewhat risky enterprise viz the subjection of the Matabele. I think as we probably all do that we shall be entirely successful still I cannot help thinking that a great number of us will in all probability never return, I have not made a will but I have left a note leaving, with a few exceptions, all my personal effects to father. I estimate my estate as being worth about £17,000 . . .,"⁷² The note was recognised as a valid testament. In fact, he left only £6,420. He did not mention it in his letter, but £3,000, in the form of Geldenhuys shares, went to Lucy Drake: his father received £2,260. Incidentally, when the Rev. Borrow died in 1905, he was worth £34,000.

Harry Borrow was chosen to lead "B" Troop, Heany and Spreckley taking charge of the other Salisbury troops with Forbes, of course, in overall command. Forbes had originally chosen Heany, "Skipper" Hoste and Arthur Eyre but the latter two dropped out and their younger replacements were more popular with the men. Of Borrow, Trooper Gooding, one of the last to return from the Allan Wilson Patrol, writes: "[He] always took his share of any work that had to be done, no matter how hard. He knew every man in his troop and we all knew and loved him."⁷³ Borrow gathered round him a crack band of "about 20 of his picked men . . . the finest and fittest in the Colony".⁷⁴ These were the men who were to die with him.

In September he set to work with typical conscientiousness, training his men rigorously and writing minute descriptions of everything that happened for the *Times* (they published not a word of it). He was delighted to find a good proportion of public school chaps in his mess.

Throughout the campaign he is mentioned frequently: combing the hills around the Shangani River before the Column's crossing; reconnoitring after the first battle; hunting vainly for his friend Williams who had become separated from a scouting party; and entering Bulawayo at the head of the advance guard a day before the others. But his main exploit was at the Battle of Bembesi. Before the start of the engagement the horses had been grazing some distance away from the laager and they were driven up to the wagons when the battle was at its height. The grooms, running forward to turn them in, caused them to stampede. "Rushing to the centre of the laager [Borrow] sprang upon one of the few horses which happened to be within the lines, and galloped off to rescue the others, thus exposed himself to a heavy fire at close quarters."⁷⁵ Sir John

1866
De Rade.
Sept 21 1871

My dear Mother
Tomorrow we leave
for what I look upon as a
somewhat risky enterprise
in the collection of the
tribute. I think it is
probable that we
shall be all to the well
shall be entirely successful
still I cannot help thinking
that a great number of
us will in all probability
never return. I have not
made a will but I have
left a will leaving it
to my father. I estimate
my estate as being worth
about 27000 exclusive of
my holding in the
estate of the late Mr. [?]
I have left to my
mother always had the
looking after of them
if ever god will not
take the ordinary pecuni-
ary that I think you
shall take before long
on a business of the

A letter written by Borrow to his mother three months before his death. It is tempting to read a premonition into this letter.
(National Archives)

Willoughby and Trooper Neale rushed forward with him and the horses were turned within a hundred yards of the enemy. The Matabele, firing high, did not manage to kill anyone.

Borrow remained in Bulawayo when Forbes and 300 men made a first attempt to follow Lobengula. He did not expect to be involved in any further fighting: ". . . we shall very soon be able to return to Salisbury . . . I shall probably be here for at least two weeks after the disbandment of the corps as I want to arrange for the purchase of farms, claims &c on behalf of Hirsch & Co. I expect to make some money out of them."⁷⁶ But Forbes, his men short of food and demoralised, was forced to turn back from the Bubi River. Borrow was amongst those sent to reinforce him at Shiloh and, with his crack horsemen, he was amongst the 180 men who pushed on towards the Shangani on the spoor of the King's wagons.

On the night of 3-4th December, Allan Wilson was trying to locate Lobengula. Three men returned across the Shangani from the patrol to ask for reinforcements. Borrow and his men, with Forbes and a "galloping Maxim",

were to have made an attack on Wilson's return, but instead they were despatched to "make him safe"—without Maxim.⁷⁷ The contemporary historian Marshall Hole makes this comment: "To convert [Wilson's] patrol into a striking force far larger reinforcements were demanded. To increase his strength by a small party was to risk additional men without serving any good purpose and to tempt Wilson . . . to brave the overwhelming odds against him and make a splendid but hopeless dash to seize the person of the chief."⁷⁸

It is doubtful if Borrow fully realised the danger of the situation. Forbes says: "Just before Captain Barrow started he asked me if it was necessary for his men to take their full 100 rounds of ammunition, as it was heavy for the horses, and I told him to . . ."⁷⁹ At any rate, Borrow did not apparently envisage a stand against the Matabele. He left at 12.30 a.m.

He joined Wilson well before dawn. Burnham, one of the three survivors, reconstructs a conversation between the officers. Wilson asked them what they thought would be the best move. "Kirton, with a bitter smile, said, 'There is no best move.'

"Fitzgerald said, 'We are in a hell of a fix. There is only one thing to do—cut our way out.'

"Judd said, 'This is the end.'

"Borrow said, 'We came in through a big regiment. Let's do as Fitzgerald says, though none of us will ever get through.'⁸⁰ But Wilson, brave and stupid, overruled them and committed his men to an attack on Lobengula's scherm and to their deaths. Two horses were killed in the fight and it was unthinkable that the mounted men should desert their unmounted comrades. They must face the end together.

Three men, however, did escape. Burnham, Ingram and Gooding were sent back for reinforcements*, and the latter gives us this last sight of Borrow: "When he asked if I would [return] . . . he spoke as though sorry to have to ask a fellow to go . . ."⁸¹

The battle dragged on for several hours so that, according to one witness, "the people who had died in the morning had already blown up in the hot sun by the time the battle was over".⁸² Borrow's last hours on earth were a ghastly nightmare. Reports vary, but it is generally agreed that the horses were tied in a ring and as they fell were pulled together to afford protection for the men. There are descriptions of the wounded loading guns for the able-bodied, and of the able-bodied tearing up bandages for the wounded. Some say that they cheered and sang and some that they called out piteously for mercy. We do not know, of course, how Borrow died. Perhaps it was with a prayer on his lips: "They stood up and covered their eyes with their hands."⁸³ Perhaps he took his own life: "Some of the white men shot themselves with their revolvers."⁸⁴ Or perhaps he was the tall man who, as legend has it, fought alone at the end; Frank Johnson liked to think so: ". . . only one man was left standing, a man taller than the rest, who with an empty rifle, took off his hat and sang a song—obviously 'God Save the Queen'—until he also fell. That was my friend, Harry

* I say "sent back" although it has been suggested that the three men were deserters.

Borrow."^{85*} A more sensitive person might have wished for him to have died early, one of the eight who were found with bullet holes through their skulls. But all we can be sure of is that on 4th December, 1893, Henry John Borrow, in his twenty-ninth year, died a pointless death.

He had found adventure, made a moderate fortune and now he was a hero. Rhodesia felt the loss: ". . . no man in the country had brighter prospects than he . . ." ⁸⁶ runs the official obituary, and it is difficult not to agree. Johnson writes pompously: ". . . of one thing I am sure: in claiming the life of Harry Borrow, [this fight on the Shangani] deprived the country of one who would undoubtedly have played a great and leading part in its development".⁸⁷ Jack Spreckley cries from the heart: "I never knew a man better, and never thought I could feel a loss as I do his."⁸⁸ And finally, there is Gooding's tribute: "Could I hear that Borrow had managed to get away, I would be better pleased than at any other conceivable news."⁸⁹

SOURCES

Primary materials

- JG 3/3 (National Archives). Deceased estate files.
- BO 11 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Henry John Borrow.
- MISC/CA 6 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Mrs. Ella Wood Caldecott.
- JO 3 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Sir Frank William Frederick Johnson.
- JO 4 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). Frank Johnson and Company.
- WI 8 (National Archives Hst. MSS.). R. Foster Windram.

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* At various times the last man to die has been tentatively named as Jack Robertson, Tom Watson, Harry Greenfield or Borrow. There is no conclusive evidence favouring any one of them.

NOTES

The folio numbers refer to the number of the page in BO 11/1/1. W & C stands for Wills and Collingridge.

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| 1. f. 567 | 45. f. 935 |
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| 21. f. 597 | 66. f. 1106 |
| 22. f. 600 | 67. <i>Times</i> , 15th Jan., 1894, p. 6, col. 6 |
| 23. f. 630 | 68. f. 1106 |
| 24. f. 650 | 69. f. 1155 |
| 25. Darter, p. 33-4 | 70. f. 1157-8 |
| 26. Johnson, p. 131 | 71. Tanser, p. 239 |
| 27. f. 745 | 72. f. 1166 |
| 28. f. 643 | 73. <i>Times</i> , 8th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 6 |
| 29. f. 732 | 74. <i>Times</i> , 15th Jan., 1894, p. 6, col. 6 |
| 30. f. 699 | 75. W & C, p. 244 |
| 31. f. 823 | 76. f. 1194 |
| 32. f. 658 | 77. W & C, p. 158-63 |
| 33. f. 675 | 78. Hole, p. 321 |
| 34. f. 762 | 79. W & C, p. 162 |
| 35. f. 768 | 80. Burnham, p. 181 |
| 36. f. 774-5 | 81. <i>Times</i> , 8th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 6 |
| 37. f. 776 | 82. WI 8/1/3, Ginyalitsha, p. 20 |
| 38. f. 784-5 | 83. WI 8/1/3, Siatcha, p. 20 |
| 39. Johnson, p. 154-5 | 84. WI 8/1/3, Ginyalitsha, p. 20 |
| 40. Brown, p. 146 | 85. Johnson, p. 18 |
| 41. f. 794 | 86. W & C, p. 244-5 |
| 42. f. 845 | 87. Johnson, p. 18 |
| 43. f. 865 | 88. <i>Herald</i> , 9th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 3 |
| 44. Johnson, p. 196 | 89. <i>Times</i> , 8th Feb., 1894, p. 3, col. 6 |

The burial of Cecil Rhodes

by J. Charles Shee

Cecil John Rhodes died at his seaside cottage at Muizenberg on Wednesday, 26th March, 1902, and was buried at World's View in the Matopos Hills of Rhodesia on Thursday, 10th April.

Shortly after midnight on the evening of his death, a post-mortem examination was carried out at the cottage by Dr. S. B. Syfret in the presence of Doctors Leander Starr Jameson, Thomas William Smartt and Edmund Sinclair Stevenson.² Meanwhile, a simple teak coffin had arrived by special train from Cape Town and the body was then taken to Rondebosch station and thence by hearse to Grootte Schuur, where it arrived at about 4.30 a.m. on the 27th.

On the same day, all shops in Cape Town closed and the announcement of a State Funeral was followed by a statement from Rhodes' executors that he had left written instructions for his burial to be in the Matopos Hills near Bulawayo. This meant that the remains would have to be conveyed 1,200 miles through country not yet fully pacified in the aftermath of the South African War.

It was at once clear that the arrangements would call for considerable organisational ability. All responsibility was put in the hands of Rhodes' friend, Dr. T. W. Smartt, Commissioner of Public Works³, and was later carried through with superb forethought and timing.

There was a public lying-in-state of the body in Grootte Schuur on Saturday, 29th March (Easter Saturday) and again on Monday 31st. The long avenue of pines was thronged with mourners who were admitted through the front door in small parties, passed into the hall where the coffin lay and so to the garden entrance opposite. On the two days, a total of more than 30,000 mourners paid their respects.

On Tuesday 1st April, the mail ship *Walmer Castle* arrived bringing Frank and Arthur Rhodes, who had been cabled three weeks before, when their brother's illness had taken a serious turn. On the evening of 2nd April, a short religious ceremony attended by relatives and close friends, was conducted at the bier by the Rector of Rondebosch.

The coffin was now placed in three outer shells which on Smartt's instructions had been hastily constructed during the past few days. The two inner of these were of an unspecified metal but must have been very light, as the series of four coffins containing the body was designed to be carried by eight men. The massive outer coffin was constructed from spare planks of "Matabele Teak" left over from the recent rebuilding of Grootte Schuur after the fire of 1896. Attached to the sides were eight handles of beaten brass mounted on plates each with the monogram C.J.R. These were forged and delivered within four days of the order being given. They are well seen in one of the magnificent photographs in Francis Masey's book.

On the night of 2nd April, the remains were taken by road to the Cape

Houses of Parliament for a second lying-in-state. The portico, entrance hall and great hall with its surrounding gallery were heavily draped in black and purple; with piles of wreaths laid down the centre of the hall and hung on the wall draperies. There were only three wreaths on the bier itself: one from Queen Alexandra, one from Jameson and one from Rhodes' brothers and sisters.

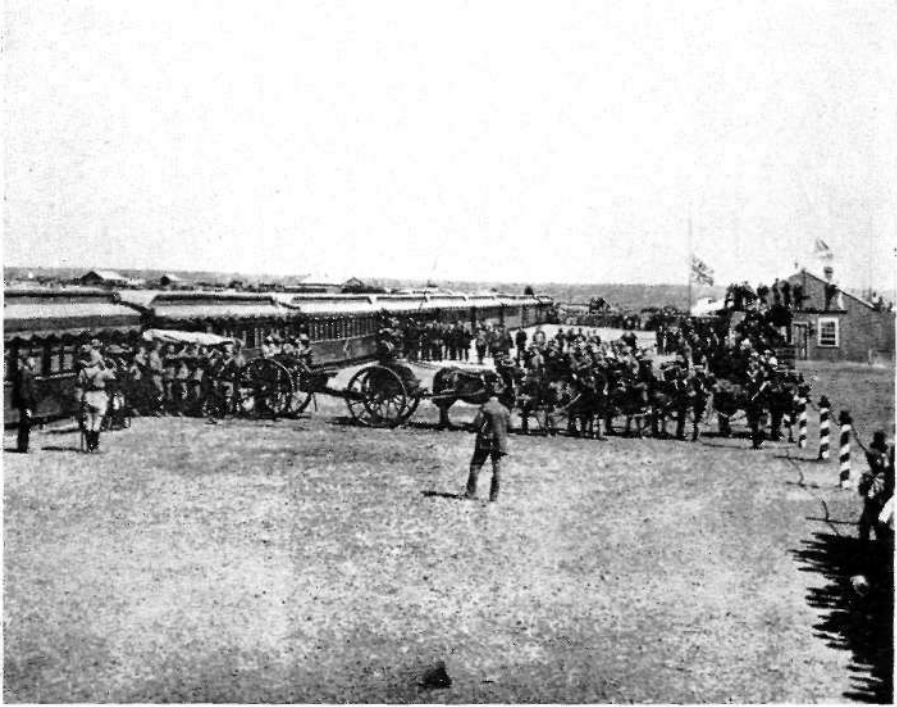
At two o'clock in the afternoon of 3rd April, the coffin was carried from the Houses of Parliament, placed on a gun-carriage and followed by a procession in which practically every distinguished man in Cape Colony was present or represented. There was a party of Rhodesian pioneers commanded by Capt. F. K. Lyons-Montgomery who, being partially paralysed as the result of a head wound received in Matabeleland, was unable to march⁴ and Capt. Feltham took his place. The cortege passed by way of Strand Street, Burg Street, Wale Street and Adderley Street to St. George's Cathedral for a memorial service and afterwards to Cape Town station where the coffin was loaded onto a funeral coach attached to a special train which also carried the chief mourners.

There were touching demonstrations of grief and respect all along the line of rail. At Beaufort West, General French and his staff came aboard to pay tribute. A pilot engine ran before the train to Mafeking and from the Modder River on, an armoured train followed close behind, because the country here was still subject to hit-and-run attacks by De la Rey's commandos, and military block-houses became regular features along the line. A problem was now posed by the ever-increasing accumulation of flower wreaths, some of them already decaying and the train stopped at midnight on 4th April by a spruit with steep banks and here on the dry river bed the wreaths were piled, paraffin poured over them and set alight. The screened position of the fire protected the train from Boer observation; the cards and memorial notices from the wreaths were collected and kept in the funeral car.

At Kimberley on 5th April, the train halted for over six hours and more than 15,000 people filed along the platform past the coffin. Among the mourners was Njuba, a son of Lobengula, employed by the De Beers Company. The next halt was at Vryburg, a town in deep depression, garrisoned by the remnants of Methuen's division which had been cut to pieces by De la Rey a month earlier near Klerksdorp. A cordon of soldiers surrounded the station and only those with special passes were allowed through.

At dawn on 6th April, the train started for Mafeking where the whole population turned out to meet it. The most dangerous part of the journey was now past, but the train was readily recognisable by the black velvet and purple silk hangings of the funeral coach riding immediately behind the two engines and as it passed isolated detachments of troops, the latter stood gravely to attention with arms reversed and heads bowed.

The train now rumbled northwards through Bechuanaland and its armoured escort turned back near Palapye on Monday, 7th April. In the late afternoon they pulled into Francistown where they were met by a group of chiefs, including the youthful Segkoma Khama representing his father. Here the Cape Police, which had formed the escort, handed over their duty to the B.S.A. Police. As the train neared the Rhodesian border post of Plumtree, it was stopped and the



The coffin arrives at Bulawayo Station at 9 a.m. Tuesday, 8th April, 1902.

(National Archives)

wreaths which had accumulated since Kimberley were burnt and the cards and mementos collected and preserved as before. At 9 a.m. on Tuesday 8th, the train steamed into Bulawayo station.

What followed in Bulawayo was very fully covered and reported by the great newspapers of the world, but it is singularly appropriate to quote here the hitherto unpublished description of the proceedings written by the local organiser, H. Marshall Hole, Civil Commissioner of Bulawayo, in a letter to his father in England.⁵

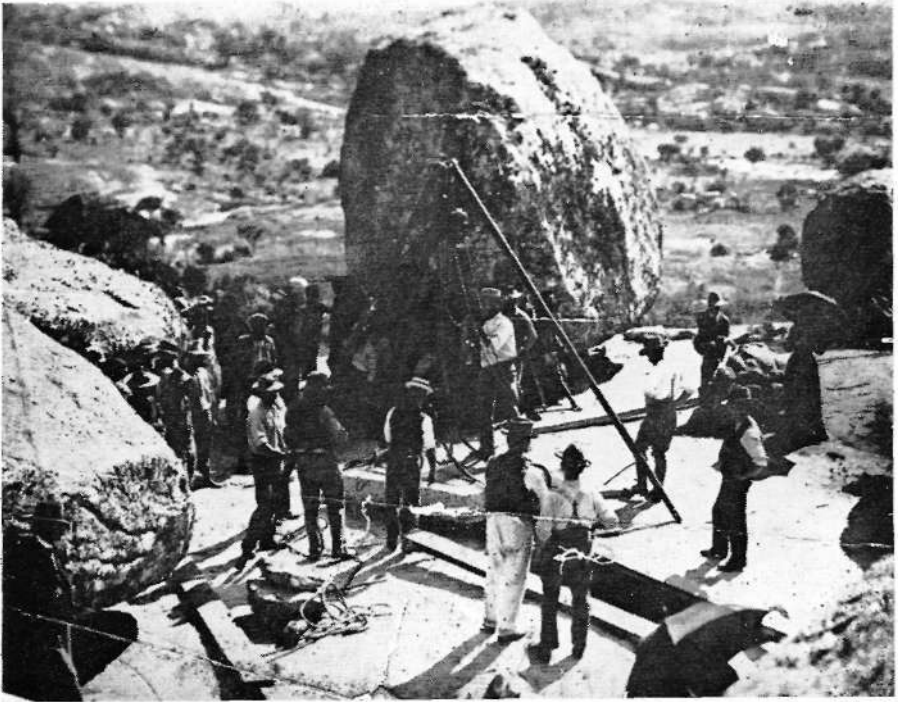
Bulawayo—Sunday, 13:4:02.

My Dear Father,

At last I have a quiet morning which I must dedicate to my private correspondence.

I am sending you newspapers, etc., giving you information as to the great funeral of Mr. Rhodes which has engrossed my whole time for the last fortnight. The newspaper report is very jejune and unsatisfactory, but as there were correspondents for the Times, Standard and other London Dailies, I expect you will have good accounts at home.

As I think I told you in a previous letter, the entire organisation of the funeral was in my hands and I never had such a difficult task in my life. That

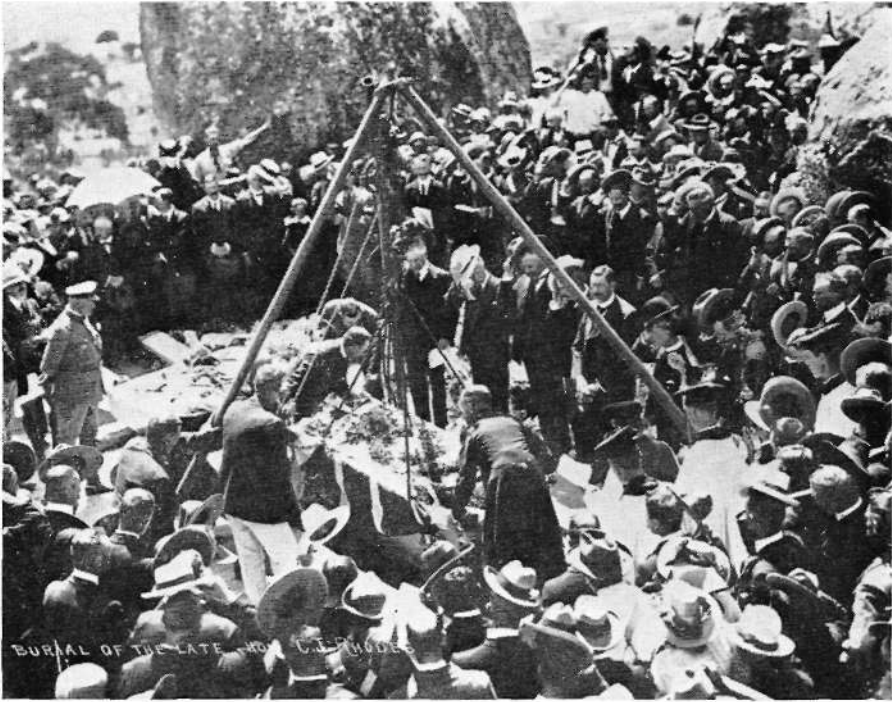


The prepared grave shortly before the burial.

(National Archives)

I brought it off successfully is due largely to the splendid way in which I was assisted by the different people to whom I relegated the details of the proceedings, viz. Col. Chester-Master⁸, Major Straker⁷ and Mr. Douslin⁸. The main difficulties were the shortness of time allowed for preparation, the remoteness of the spot where Mr. Rhodes had elected to be buried, the terrible nature of the only road leading to that spot; the fact that the actual site of the grave was on the summit of a lofty granite hill and the grave had to be dug in solid rock, the difficulty of providing with our limited means for the large number of official and other visitors, both at Bulawayo and more especially in the desolate Matopos where they had to spend a day and a night. However, all these difficulties were successfully surmounted and everything passed off smoothly. From the time of the arrival of the body at 9 a.m. on Tuesday until the act of interment at noon on Thursday, all went off without a hitch and I was personally thanked by Col. Rhodes⁹ and Dr. Jameson while the administrator sent me the letter of which I enclose a copy, as it will interest you.

The papers will give you an outline of the ceremonies which extended over three days, but they can but faintly depict the fascinating almost horrible grandeur of the spot where poor Rhodes' body reposes. The "World's View" was discovered by Rhodes himself on one of his lonely rides some years ago and is about eight miles from the farm where he spent so much of his time



Lowering the coffin into the grave.

(National Archives)

when he visited Matabeleland. The grave is 26 miles south of Bulawayo and when I first went out a fortnight ago, the road we followed was in a ghastly state. I sent our men to explore three other roads but ultimately decided to adopt the one I saw myself, and secured 400 natives at once to put it into repair.¹⁰ The sinking of the grave occupied five stone cutters and a large number of boys for 10 days and nights, working incessantly, and a large granite slab was hewn out of the granite to cover the remains.¹¹ The grave was situated at the summit of a bare solid hill of granite [*indecipherable sentence*]. It is so peculiarly situated that although not a very large hill itself, it commands a view of many miles in all directions. And what a view! As far as the eye can reach, a sea of rugged fantastic boulders piled up in indescribable confusion crowned with grim stones which look like sentinels. One resembles a sphinx, another a negro and it is impossible to realise that they are natural. Nature must have been in a very wild mood when she designed the place. But the chief peculiarity of the World's View rock, is that on its summit is a circle of huge isolated granite boulders 20 to 40 feet high, arranged in a ring like a Druidical Temple, and it is within this ring that the grave has been sculptured—the feet of the body pointing north towards one of the openings between these great monoliths. A more extraordinary and fantastic place it is impossible to conceive. Of course, the difficulty of getting a heavy

coffin up to the top was one of the first things to be considered. To guard against any possibility of accident, I had blocks and hauling tackle arranged at two points, I also had a special carriage constructed on low wheels and I arranged that the body should be taken from Rhodes' hut in the very early morning before anyone was astir, so that if there was any contretemps none should witness it but the escort. You will understand that on Wednesday we had a formal funeral procession from the Mortuary Chapel¹² to the outskirts of the town—then the body was conducted privately under military escort to the Westacre farm (Mr. Rhodes' farm) where it rested for the night in the large open hut which he used as a dining room.¹³ Only the chief mourners accompanied it, the official visitors remained at a large camp which we built about two miles back and at the Hotel where we made special arrangements enabling them to accommodate 60 people (usually it holds 6!).¹⁴

I, myself, occupied a small hut belonging to an engineer who has been working at a gigantic dam which Mr. Rhodes had built.¹⁵ It had three rooms and was suitable for me as it was halfway between the farm and the Hotel where the official guests were and was on a hill commanding a view of both. The hut had three rooms and besides myself, I had arranged for Col. Chester-Master, Mrs. Chester-Master, Miss Ethel¹⁶ and Lord Brooke¹⁷ to sleep there. The two ladies went out by themselves early in the day. On Thursday morning long before sunrise, we began to move the coffin on its gun carriage on to the World's View.¹⁸ No one accompanied it except the military escort of 50 men. A curious thing happened as it got to the first drift below the farm; a little buck, called here a "Klipspringer", jumped out of the grass at the side of the road and ran between the coffin and the escort! so close that one of the men kicked it. The coffin was got without difficulty to the grave about 9.30 in the morning or about an hour before the enormous crowd of mourners had arrived. Another curious thing which I have not seen mentioned in the papers, is this: we had arranged for the natives who wished to see the interment, to be stationed on the side of the mountain in a body, and they came to the number of 100 chiefs and about 3,000 of their men. These all arrived in the early morning and so witnessed what the general public did not, viz. the ascent of the body up the rock. (We were able to dispense with the hauling apparatus and got the coffin up easily on the gun carriage with 12 bullocks and men holding drag ropes.¹⁹ As the coffin went slowly up, the principal chief—Mjaan—who was Lobengula's Commander-in-Chief, stood up and gave the Royal Salute "Bayete" which was immediately taken up by the whole of the assembled multitude of natives. This salute has never been given since the death of Moselikatze, the father of Lobengula, and the founder of the Matabele race which he brought here from Zululand. And now I will tell you one more curious thing before I stop. Six years ago during the rebellion, some young Troops found in the Matopo Hills about four miles from where Rhodes lies, the skeleton of a native in a sitting position in a huge cleft or gash in the granite on the top of a hill. The gash had been closed up with masonry to a point level with his throat so that in his sitting posture, the skeleton appeared to be gazing out over the country. On enquiring from the



At the grave, a natural rock formation with a curious resemblance to a human skull.

(Dr. J. C. Shee)

natives, it turned out that this skeleton was Moselikatze (or Umseligazi) which means "The Path of Blood". The King of the Matabele who had been buried thus, that he might look after death at the country he had founded. Rhodes told me about this himself a year or two ago and said, "It is a fine idea. There is something grand about that old man sitting there and keeping guard over his country!" There sits Moselikatze and there rests Rhodes too, looking out over the country he won for us—if ever a man had a suitable resting place it is this, and there may he and the old native chief rest in peace side by side!

You, of course, cannot realise what Rhodes' death means to us. I personally have worked for him for 12 years and esteem it the highest privilege that has been accorded to me to have laboured for such a man. You can imagine, therefore, that it has been a great honour and privilege to me to have had a principal part in laying him to rest.

Sometimes one feels a sort of despair that he has been taken from us. No one can succeed him. He stood alone—gigantic in his aspirations, towering above others in his strength, his patriotism and his achievements.

Still, he has left behind him a great example and in his passing he has left legacies of advice and standards of patriotic principle which are almost as valuable as his life was.

The motto which I had put over my office on the day of the funeral was

—"*Si monumentum quaeris circumspice*". A feeble piece of plagiarism, of course, but far more significant in his case than it was for old Christopher Wren.²⁰

I have had no time to think about personal matters, but I may tell you that I have arranged with Milton²¹ to come home at the end of July or beginning of August and I will write more fully on this next week.

I hope you will endeavour to arrange that Monica sees something of the Coronation.²² It was a great regret to us that she did not see the burial of Rhodes. Ethel was able to see the last ceremony which neither she nor I will ever forget to our dying day.

Your loving son,
(signed) H.M.H.

The chief mourners around the grave were Colonel Frank Rhodes, Arthur Rhodes, Leander Starr Jameson, Thomas Smartt, L. L. Michell²³ and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The service was conducted by the Bishop of Mashonaland, the redoubtable "Bill" Gaul. The coffin was suspended on "sheer-legs" over the tomb. The Chartered Company's flag and the three faded wreaths, from "The Queen", the "Brothers and Sisters" and "Dr. Jameson" remained on the coffin and as the Bishop read the Anglican Burial Service, it was lowered with a rattle of chains to the depths

After the Bishop had delivered the funeral oration, he read Kipling's moving poem to "C.J.R.", which had been specially written for the occasion. When during the service the Bishop came to "Earth to Earth", none could be found on that arid dome and a few chips of granite were collected and thrown into the tomb.

As the covering slab was moved with difficulty into place on wooden rollers, a final hymn was sung and the funeral ended climactically with another unexpected and enormous roar of "Bayete" from the assembled tribesmen.²⁴

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Seldom does it fall to the lot of the chronicler of an important historical occasion, as long as 66 years after the event, to be able to refer to such an important primary source as Mr. T. H. Cooke, who when a young clerk in the Gold Fields Company, rode out to the funeral on his bicycle and stood at the graveside during the ceremony.

Now with memory and other faculties quite unimpaired, he has been of the greatest help in the compilation of this article and accompanying notes. Mrs. Cooke, then unmarried, well remembers seeing the cortege pass down Adderley Street on its way to Cape Town station.

NOTES

1. Much of the information in the first part of this article was found in *A Chronicle of the Funeral Ceremonies from Muizenberg to the Matopos, March-April, 1902*. This was printed for private circulation by the Cape Times Ltd., in 1905, and compiled by Francis Masey who rode in the funeral train.
2. The original report of the autopsy was known to have been in the Rhodes-Livingstone (later Livingstone) Museum in 1963. For an analysis of the findings, the reader is referred to *The Ill Health and Mortal Sickness of Cecil John Rhodes*, by the present writer in the *C.A.J. Med.* (1965), 11, 4, pp. 89-93.

3. Later the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, Bt., P.C.
4. Colonel A. S. Hickman has promised a full report on Lyons-Montgomery in a future number of *Rhodesiana*, ref. *Rhodesiana* No. 16, July 1967, p. 84.
5. *Fragments on Rhodes*. Livingstone Museum Historical Collection Ref. No. G.9/1/a/5. This has been temporarily mislaid at the museum but it is a large school exercise book filled with manuscripts in differing handwritings, some in ink and some in pencil and consists of personal reminiscences of various people who had known Rhodes. The internal evidence suggests that the collection was made and written down shortly after his death. Included is a copy of the letter signed H.M.H. (H. Marshall Hole) and reproduced here. When the booklet was examined seven years ago, it was noted that some of the handwriting, particularly that in pencil, was becoming indecipherable. This was brought to the notice of the Museum authorities and they had typewritten copies prepared; one of these was made available to the writer. The hitherto unpublished material in *Fragments on Rhodes* has already proved valuable in eliciting the course of Rhodes' fatal illness (see Note 2).
6. In Francis Masey's book, Chester-Master is referred to as representing "His Excellency the Governor of the Cape Colony" at the Railway Station in Bulawayo when the body arrived there. Later the book describes him as being in charge of the 50-man party of B.S.A.P. who were on duty at the grave for the interment. Chester-Master is not mentioned in Col. A. S. Hickman's *Men who made Rhodesia*. Lt.-Col. Bodle was in command of the party of 50 men of the B.S.A.P. who accompanied the remains from the Drill Hall to the grave. It is not clear whether this detachment was the same as that which presented arms at the grave. Mr. T. H. Cooke informs the writer that in Col. Harding's book "Frontier Patrol", Col. Chester-Master is described as Commandant-General of the B.S.A.P. In the same book Lt.-Col. Bodle is described as Commandant and likewise in the same book, again Bodle is mentioned as being in command of the police (B.S.A.P.) from 1903-08.
7. Major M. Straker of the B.S.A.P.
8. H. B. Douslin, Director of Public Works. Responsible for having the road made from "The Huts" (Westacre) to World's View. Assisted by Capt. Jesser Coope.
9. Col. Frank Rhodes, C.B., D.S.O., Cecil's favourite brother.
10. The route indicated by Hole corresponds to the present road from the "Summer House" near to Rhodes Elementary Preparatory School (Reps.) to the right-hand fork at the start of the Circular Drive and thence on to the Lower Outspan.
11. Masey reports that fortunately a large piece of exfoliated granite of approximately the correct size was found near the tomb and chiselled into shape. Rhodes had directed in his Will that his tomb was to be covered with a solid brass plate on which should be the incised inscription "Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes". Such a plate was found in Cape Town, hastily inscribed and brought up in the funeral train. Taken out to the Matopos it was bolted onto the covering slab, which now lay ready beside the tomb to be rolled over when the ceremony was finished.
12. When the coffin arrived at Bulawayo Station at 9 a.m. on Tuesday, 8th April, 1902, it was transferred by mule-drawn gun-carriage to the uncompleted Drill Hall. What Marshall Hole refers to as the Mortuary Chapel, was a square heavily-curtained black canopy beneath which the coffin rested on a dais in the centre of the hall. The term "Mortuary Chapel" had a contemporary popularity through Sir Flinders Petrie's well-publicised adventure in Egyptology, in which science the expression is a usual one.
13. Usually known as "The Summer House".
14. Now the Matopos Hotel, then called "Fuller's Hotel".
15. G. H. Laidman. The sharp downward incline on the road from beside the top of the Matopos Dam wall to the bottom of the river valley below, is still called "Laidman's Hill".
16. The writer is unable to elucidate the identity of "Miss Ethel".
17. Lord Brooke was A.D.C. to Sir Alfred Milner and represented him at the funeral.
18. The gun-carriage was drawn by mules from Bulawayo Railway Station to the Drill Hall on Tuesday, 8th April, and thence on Wednesday, 9th April, to the Summer House and on the morning of 10th April, to the Lower Outspan. Here the mules were outspanned and 12 oxen yoked to the carriage.
19. Many years after, Mr. T. H. Cooke wrote to England to E. C. Weaver who had been Curator of the Matopos Park at the time of the funeral, enquiring as to the role of the oxen. The following reply came from Weaver.
"As soon as it was known that the burial was to be at World's View, I was instructed to train oxen to pull the gun-carriage up to the summit. A gun-carriage was sent out to me carrying the approximate weight of the coffin. I got special notes from Major Straker to pick out black oxen from the B.S.A.P. wagon spans. These I took up twice a day and on arrival of the coffin at the foot of the slopes on Thursday, 10th March, the mules were taken out and I put on the oxen. Col. Bodle, in charge of the escort was dubious of the oxen doing the job so he attached ropes to the gun-carriage. They were never needed,

the oxen easily did the steep haul. On reaching the top, I sent the oxen down to the Outspan and they were never seen again—slaughtered by the chiefs as is their custom."

The oxen doubtless made a splendid feast for the tribesmen that night.

20. The quotation should read "*Si Monumentum Requiris, Circumspice*". The inscription composed by Wren's son is engraved over the interior of the North Door in St. Paul's Cathedral.
21. W. H. Milton, later Sir William, Administrator of Mashonaland from 1896 and of Southern Rhodesia from 1902 to 1914. He was founder of the Rhodesian Civil Service. Formerly private secretary to Rhodes when the latter was Prime Minister of Cape Colony. W. D. Gale in *Heritage of Rhodes* (1950), O.U.P., states that Milton introduced the game of rugby to the Cape.
22. The Coronation of Edward VII was eventually postponed to the following year on account of his attack of acute appendicitis.
23. Later Sir Lewis Michell. Rhodes first met him as a bank manager. He became a close friend and was a trustee and executor of Rhodes' Will. He wrote the official biography of Rhodes which was published in 1910.
24. It had been intended that a volley should be fired over the grave at the funeral. This, however, was not done due to the fact that the Chiefs had requested Mr. H. J. Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner, to see that there should be no shooting on that occasion, as the hill known as Malindizimu (the legendary dwelling place of benevolent spirits) was held sacred by the Matabele. In consequence, the firing party was ordered to "present arms" only instead of the usual volley.

In Tredgold's book *The Matopos*, under the heading *Malindizimu* it is stated—

"This is the native name given to the View of the World hill and means, curiously enough, "the dens in which the spirits dwell" or "dwelling places of the spirits", since it is not a malign phantom but a benevolent shade which is meant. This hill was venerated by the natives as a "holy" place long before it was selected by Mr. Rhodes as a burial place for national heroes."

The Railway comes to Bulawayo

by Louis W. Bolze

The Chartered Company's flag had been flying over Mashonaland a little more than three years when Matabeleland was occupied on the 4th November, 1893. At the beginning of that year the railway from Cape Town ran as far as Vryburg, seat of Government of British Bechuanaland, but the incorporation of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Limited on 24th May, 1893, was followed within a month by a contract entered into with George Pauling for the construction of the line from Vryburg to Mafeking, a distance of 97 miles. The line was completed well within the contract period, and opened to traffic on 3rd October, 1894.

The railway from Cape Town had been extended section by section, having reached Beaufort West in 1880 and Kimberley on 28th November, 1885. The construction of the line from Kimberley to Vryburg, carried out departmentally by the Cape Government and completed in December 1890, was undertaken by the British South Africa Company in terms of its Charter. Although built with monies provided by the Chartered Company, it was taken over by the Cape Government before construction was completed and never formed part of what in due course became the Rhodesia Railways system.

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Limited, held in London on 31st December, 1894, attended by Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Beit, Rochfort Maguire and Thomas Shiels, was able to report that the Vryburg-Mafeking line was already an assured success. It optimistically noted that within the first 74 days of operation it had carried 2,534 tons of goods northwards and 435 tons southwards, with receipts totalling £5,304. The Board stated: "When extended, the railway will form the main trunk line connecting the markets of the Cape Colony with the British South Africa Company's territory and, ultimately, on joining with the Beira Railway Company's line to Salisbury, will afford through means of communication from Capetown to Beira."

In terms of an agreement entered into for one year between the Bechuanaland Railway Company Limited and the Cape Government Railways, the Cape Government Railways undertook to maintain and work the line for £11,000 a year, being £8,000 for maintenance and £3,000 for working two trains a week each way at the rate of 240 gross tons a week.

The Directors noted that the anticipated revenue of the Vryburg-Mafeking section should prove sufficient to yield about 4 per cent on the capital cost of its construction and that the traffic and revenue would increase as the country was opened up. Already further extension had been proposed.

At their meeting held in London on the 21st May, 1896, the Directors of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Limited reported a satisfactory increase in the receipts of the Vryburg-Mafeking line which was grossing of the order

of £2,600 and netting some £1,500 a month. They expressed confidence in the belief that traffic in the future would show further considerable augmentation with the development of Rhodesia.

They noted that the 100-mile extension of the line northwards from Mafeking had been put in hand and that the contractors had made excellent progress. Material for a further 100 miles of line had already been ordered and the contract for the construction of 25 miles of this section had just been concluded. However, Mafeking was to remain the railhead for 21 months, i.e. until July 1896, when Gaberones was reached by the rail.

An advertisement published in 1896 by the Cape Government Railways over the signature of Mr. T. R. Price, Acting General Manager, offered "the cheapest and most direct route to Matabeleland, Mashonaland, Barotseland, and northern territories via Mafeking". Goods rates for the 870 miles from Cape Town to Mafeking, under "Railway Bond", in transit for these countries were conveyed at the following rates per 100 lb.: 10s. 10d.; 9s.; and 6s. 7d.; with special rates at 7s. 8d.; 7s.; and 5s. 2d. The special rate column (A) embraced such articles as agricultural implements, candles, coffee, dynamite, soap, sugar and timber. Column (B) included galvanised iron (plain or corrugated), imported flour and meal. Special rate column (C) covered rough timber in logs, planks, boards, etc., in 5-ton lots.

Rail passenger services from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London converged on Mafeking. The journey from Cape Town took 54 hours, the first class fare being £9 15s. 4d., second class £6 13s. 8d. and third class £3 12s. 6d. Services ran daily. A fast passenger train ran weekly carrying first class passengers only. Meals were available at stations en route from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per head. On mail trains meals were served "in the cars". Bedding was hired out at 2s. 6d.

Passenger travel beyond Mafeking was by coach, which offered a daily service, the coach leaving two hours after the arrival of the train. Most of the coaches were of American manufacture and were drawn by ten mules. The journey from Mafeking to Bulawayo, a distance of 525 miles, was completed in five to six days when mules were in condition, but frequently took longer. Coaches seldom stopped more than an hour or two at a time beyond the time occupied in changing mules.

These apparently flimsy vehicles with their lightly-built frames, spidery wheels, and bodies slung by leather springs to the "C" springs could stand up to much rough usage. In addition to their 12 passengers they carried a ton or more of mail and baggage and averaged at least seven miles an hour over hills and through rivers, changing teams at post stations every 10 to 20 miles. It took two to drive. The famous Zeederberg mail coaches could do 150 miles or more, depending on weather conditions, in a 24-hour run.

Passengers were allowed 30 lb. of luggage, excess being charged at the rate of 1s. 6d. per lb. Heavy baggage was required to follow by wagon and could be up to two months on the road. The following fares applied from Mafeking:

<i>Place</i>	<i>Miles from Mafeking</i>	<i>Fare</i>
Gaberones	103	£5 10s.
Mochudi	131	£7 0s.
Palla	216	£11 0s.
Palapye	320	£15 10s.
Tati	406	£20 0s.
Bulawayo	525	£22 10s.

Meals could be obtained at Mochudi, Palla, Palapye and Tati which were approximately 24 hours travelling time apart. Between Tati and Bulawayo the facilities were more numerous.

After the fast mail coach there was a variety of road transport in operation, ranging from the mule- or horse-drawn Cape cart, to the Scotch cart, mule wagon, ox wagon and donkey wagon. Of these the Cape cart, drawn by four or six animals, was the speediest method of travel. Mules in good condition would travel from 30 to 35 miles a day compared with horses which managed no more than 25 to 30 miles. A Cape cart cost between £70 and £90, mules from £15, and horses from £12. Following the rinderpest which killed off the oxen in their thousands, the mule became the principal means of transport. A light wagon capable of carrying about 4,000 lb. drawn by eight to ten mules, completed 12 to 15 miles a day.

Scotch carts were used for loads of 1,500 to 2,000 lb., such a vehicle taking about 20 days to reach Bulawayo.

Until the rinderpest ravaged the cattle, the ox wagon was the only means of transport of heavy goods north of the railhead, a wagon carrying up to 8,000 lb. and taking two months to reach Bulawayo. They attained 2 to 2½ miles an hour and journeyed for about eight hours out of the 24, much of this being done at night. Travel by this means required the experience of a transport rider whose services were available at £40 to £60 per trip. Transport riders were prepared to carry passengers for about £5, charging for luggage at the current rates of transport per 100 lb.

Slowest of the services on offer was donkey-drawn transport, 18 to 20 of these animals being used to draw a load of about 4,000 lb. They achieved 1 to 1½ miles an hour and at best made 10 to 12 miles a day. However, donkeys had the advantage, for the unhurried traveller, of being free from the diseases which struck the other transport animals; they were relatively inexpensive, costing about £2 10s. to £3 before the rinderpest, although they later commanded up to £6.

A guide book issued in 1896, for the benefit of the traveller making his way to Bulawayo, gave full information on all these modes of travel, and included also hints for those doing the journey on foot, by bicycle or on horseback. "Except walking," the guide book said, "the cheapest mode of travel is on horseback, and considering the amount of food required, it is a question whether walking is much cheaper after all. Horses suitable for the journey can be purchased from £18." A traveller on horseback could expect to average 25 miles a day. Walking was not recommended as an economic method of transport, the cost of food and shoe leather exceeding that of travel by horse. However,

further north, in the fly country, walking was often a necessity, in which event a pack donkey carrying 100 lb., or native carriers, was normally used.

An expert cyclist could get along fairly well on the African footpaths which ran beside the road nearly the whole way to Bulawayo. A man in good training, according to the guide book, could get along on a bicycle as fast as a cart or horses and could expect to get to Bulawayo within ten days. It was pointed out, however, that a bicycle cost as much as two horses.

Before dealing with the details of the actual construction of the line through to Bulawayo it is desirable for a fuller appreciation of contemporary events to examine the African scene of the late nineteenth century, with particular reference to the disposition of the then major world powers on the continent and the aspirations and manoeuvrings of Cecil Rhodes to attain dominance of Africa from Cape to Cairo.

The Cape and Natal were British colonies, with Boer Republics in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the latter being presided over by Paul Kruger. Until 1885, when south Bechuanaland became a British Protectorate, it was something of a no-man's-land which nevertheless commanded a key position relative to development of the interior. The Portuguese and Germans were established on the east coast of Africa and, in 1884, Germany occupied South West Africa. The territory north of the 22nd parallel was ruled over by Lobengula and, in 1890, following a treaty with Britain, Germany extended her sphere of influence to the border of the Congo Free State.

The story of railway construction in Southern Africa is an integral part of the British expansion northwards. It is significant of their close relationship that the Cape Colonists, as early as 1845, talked about tapping the trade of the interior, the short line from Cape Town to Wellington from its inception being regarded as "the main trunk route of our interior trade".

Rhodes, appreciating the fundamental principle behind Colonial railway expansion, planned to use as the chief instruments of his conquest of the continent the railway and telegraph. "If this telegraph is made," he insisted, "it will also give us the keys to the continent. We shall," he predicted confidently, "get through to Egypt with the telegraph, and subsequently with the railway."

In the early part of 1888 the question was being debated as to which one of the Cape trunk lines would become the main artery to the north and whether further extension should be through the Transvaal or British Bechuanaland or both. Rhodes was eager for co-operation with the Boers and had his plans been successful, the extension of the line from the Cape might have run through the Boer State. However, the future development of Bechuanaland and prospects of trade with the far north attracted some Colonists in the Cape. Already the Tati Goldfields on the south-west border of Matabeleland were being worked and prospectors were pushing as far into Matabeleland as Bulawayo. If British Bechuanaland were incorporated in the Cape Colony, as it was confidently hoped would be the case, it was argued that it was logical to bring the railway through territories under British protection or influence thus avoiding Boer interference either from the Orange Free State or the Transvaal.

Following a conference held at Cape Town on the question of Customs

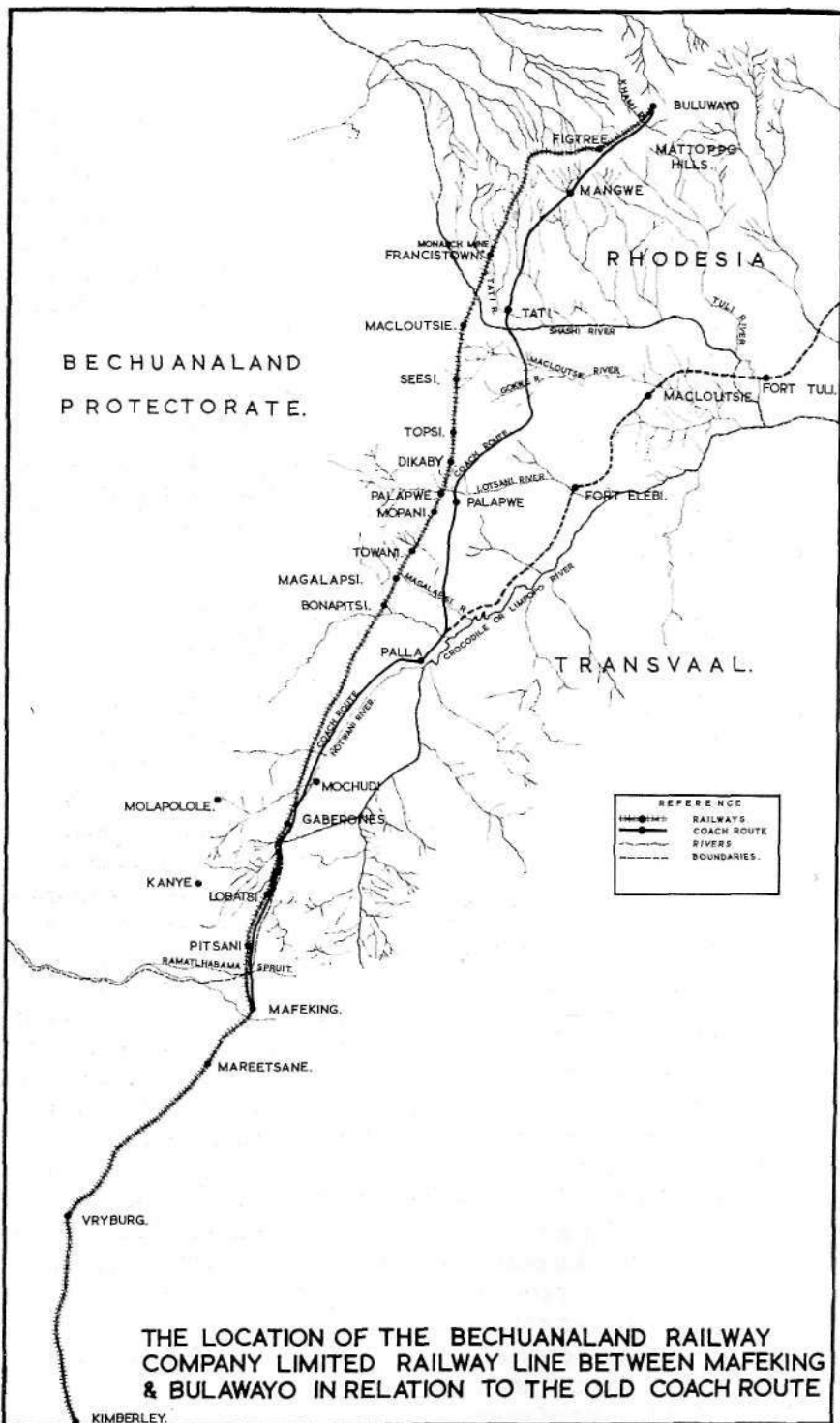
Union and railway extension, and attended by delegates from the Orange Free State and the Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, but excluding the Transvaal, a Bill came before the Cape Parliament providing for two northward extensions: one from Colesberg to the Orange River and one from Kimberley to a point on the north bank of the Vaal River about three miles from the Transvaal border, and 12 miles from the British Bechuanaland boundary. Although there was initially considerable controversy over the line from Kimberley, the Colonists, irritated by the obstructionism of President Kruger whose policy was to delay extensions from the south until his Delagoa Bay line reached completion, voted in favour of the Kimberley extension in the summer of 1888. Alarmed by this development, President Kruger succeeded in persuading the Cape Parliament to delay the Kimberley extension by throwing his weight in favour of the Colesberg line.

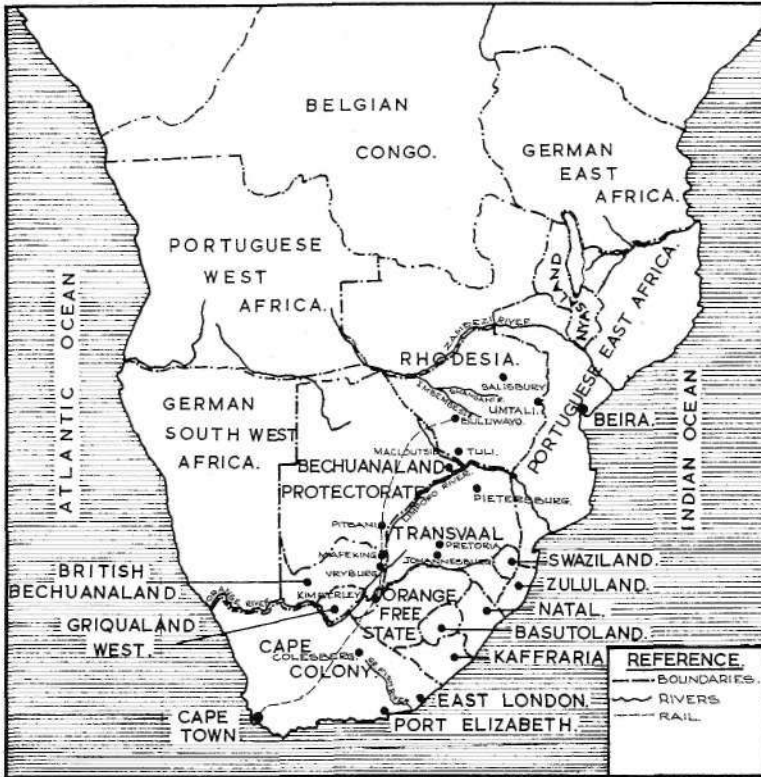
However, the movement towards the Zambezi was too strong to be checked by the wavering policies of the Cape Parliament. Two English corporations, founded in 1888, believing that the railway was essential to the development of Bechuanaland and the north, were ready to take the northern railway problem out of the hands of the Cape politicians. They were the Bechuanaland Exploration Company and the Exploring Company, two allied corporations under the direction of George Cawston and Lord Gifford. The main objectives of these two companies were the development of the country to the north and the construction of a railway through Bechuanaland.

Negotiations for a concession to build a railway from the southern border of British Bechuanaland to the Zambezi were commenced by the Bechuanaland Exploration Company in 1888. R. V. Murray was despatched to South Africa by the company to make arrangements for the project with the Cape Government. At the same time Sir Charles Metcalfe and John Blue, two engineers, were sent out by the Exploring Company to undertake a survey of the line from Kimberley to Vryburg. When Metcalfe accepted his appointment with the Exploring Company he looked far beyond the Zambezi River; he was already dreaming of a railway from "Cape to Cairo". It was with the hope that the Kimberley-Vryburg section might be the first on that great trans-continental line that he set out for South Africa. And so the concept of the "trunk line to the interior" became the trunk line from Cape Town to Cairo.

The Company was favourably regarded by the Imperial authorities and Lord Knutsford, the Colonial Secretary, had already given it the promise "that no offer from any other party for a railway company in British Bechuanaland should be entertained during the period required for making a survey of the route and for the consideration of their proposals". Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of British Bechuanaland, grudgingly assented to the prosecution of the railway scheme. He considered the Company's terms extravagant, preferring to have the railway constructed by the Government.

Metcalfe met Rhodes at Kimberley soon after the cool reception of his railway group at Cape Town. Although Rhodes was opposed to extension of the Cape Colonial line northwards because such a procedure would interfere with his cherished policy of co-operation with the Boers, he was nevertheless





keenly interested in opening up the interior. He saw in the new railway scheme proposed by Metcalfe a way to circumvent Cape politics, and to secure a railway to the north. Whether Metcalfe at this meeting fired Rhodes' imagination with his plans for a trans-continental railway is doubtful. Rhodes, for some time, was inclined to look at Metcalfe's expansive programme as impractical. He was, however, impressed by the immediate prospects of a railway into Bechuanaland and offered to join forces with the new group. But the recommendations of Metcalfe and Murray to the Company at home to accept Rhodes' offer was not received with enthusiasm since Rhodes' own company, the Goldfields of South Africa, was regarded as a direct rival in the race to secure Matabeleland.

The next step forward in Rhodes' scheme of expansion was to occupy the reputedly rich country of the Matabeles north of Bechuanaland. British influence was already entrenched there, Sir John Swinburne's Tati Goldfields Company having been formed in 1870, in the same year that Thomas Baines obtained a concession from Lobengula to prospect and dig for gold. 1884 had seen a number of English trading stations springing up in the territory, and by 1888 concession hunters were invading Lobengula's kraal in uncomfortable numbers.

Rhodes saw in the rush of prospectors and concessionaires an opportunity to apply his favourite tactics of amalgamating, negotiating, bargaining and agreeing. His first move was to persuade Sir Hercules Robinson, the High

Commissioner at the Cape, to obtain a British Protectorate over Lobengula's territory. With his approval, J. S. Moffat, Assistant Commissioner of Bechuanaland, was despatched to Matabeleland and on 11th February, 1888, he got Lobengula to agree to refrain from entering into any treaty with any foreign state.

Having done all he could through the Cape Government, Rhodes set to work to make the occupation of Mashonaland definitely effective through his Goldfields Company. Charles Rudd, Rochfort Maguire and Francis Thompson were sent to negotiate with Lobengula for mineral rights. They were wholly successful in concluding the Rudd Concession on 13th October, 1888.

In the early part of 1888, however, opposition had occurred in the person of Mr. E. A. Maund of the Exploring Company on whom Lobengula had bestowed the Mazoe District. A race then ensued between Rhodes and Maund to make their respective concessions effective. Meanwhile Rhodes was busy amalgamating other conflicting concessions, finally scoring his biggest victory in the game of merging divergent interests by persuading his serious rivals, Bechuanaland Exploration and the Exploring Company, to come in with him in asking for a Charter for the British South Africa Company. Sir Hercules Robinson, an ardent expansionist, favoured the granting of a Royal Charter to a large corporation which would amalgamate the conflicting interests in Matabeleland.

1889 found Rhodes in England taking up the fight for the formation of his new company. On 30th April, Lord Gifford of the Exploring Company wrote to Lord Knutsford submitting the outline of the scheme for the new Corporation. It had for its ultimate object the development of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the countries lying to the north. More specifically the company aimed:

- (1) to extend northwards the railway and telegraph systems in the direction of the Zambezi;
- (2) to encourage immigration and colonisation;
- (3) to promote trade and commerce; and
- (4) to develop and work mineral and other concessions under the management of one powerful organisation.

The Exploring Company promised to proceed at once with the construction of the first section of the railway and the extension of the telegraph system from Mafeking to Shoshong. For the accomplishment of its purposes, the Company proposed to petition for a Charter. At the same time Rhodes signified to Lord Knutsford his Company's willingness to co-operate with Lord Gifford's Exploring Company.

Conditions in Nyasaland in 1887 had played an important role in arousing popular support for the prospective railway. Following trouble there between the Arabs and the natives, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, had sent Mr. Harry Johnston to that country as his agent to safeguard British interests. In conversations with Lord Salisbury in 1888, Johnston used the phrase "Cape to Cairo", which had originally appeared in a pamphlet published by Edwin Arnold, senior leader-writer of the *Daily Telegraph*, in 1876. By 1889, there was talk about a new route to the Shire Highlands through British territory which

was linked with the idea of constructing a railway, free from Portuguese interference, from the Cape to Nyasaland. But funds needed for a proposed expedition to be led by Johnston to Lake Nyasa, with the approval of Lord Salisbury, were refused by the Treasury.

At this critical juncture, Rhodes and Johnston met in London for the first time. The two men discussed their schemes throughout one night and Johnston told Rhodes of his "Cape to Cairo" dream, of Lord Salisbury's sympathy with it, of the Nyasaland situation and of his financial troubles. Rhodes volunteered to supply the money for Johnston's undertaking. "You are to see Lord Salisbury at once," said Rhodes, "tell him who I am, give Lord Rothschild as my reference . . . say that if money is the only hindrance to our striking north from the Zambezi to the headwaters of the Nile I will find the money." Thereupon, he wrote a cheque for £2,000 for Johnston's initial expenses and promised Her Majesty's Government £10,000 a year for the administration of the district on condition that he be granted his coveted Charter.

The Nyasaland difficulties demonstrated how advantageous it would be for Her Majesty's Government to have some great Imperial trading corporation in the field to shoulder the expenses and responsibilities which the Government could not carry. Furthermore, they showed a pressing need for a railway north to the Zambezi so that aid and succour could be brought to the British settlers in the Lake regions without Portuguese interference. Furthermore, there were pretensions on the part of Germany to acquire a strip of territory extending from the east to the west right across the continent north of the Zambezi.

Out of this international rivalry between Boers, Germans, Portuguese and English over the Zambezi region, out of the growing clamour for better communications to develop this country and out of the demands for a railway to the north free from Boer or Portuguese interference, Rhodes drew considerable support for his British South Africa Company. Although the countries just north and south of the Zambezi were the immediate objective, an even more expansive programme crept into the discussions of plans for the new Company. People were beginning to talk about a railway which was to push its way northward not only to the Zambezi River and to Nyasaland but ultimately as far as Cairo. In the meantime a public campaign was under way for a great Chartered Company as a panacea for all Great Britain's troubles in Central Africa. The cudgels were taken up by the British press. The *Pall Mall Gazette* spoke enthusiastically about "the great scheme of a gigantic amalgamated Company" composed of the African Lakes, Lord Gifford's and Cecil Rhodes' companies. The task before this colossal concern was to colour all that was "left of unappropriated Central Africa British red" and ultimately to link the Cape with the Nile. This corporation, it declared, was fostered by the "public spirit of patriotic millionaires who may be ready to subsidise an Empire rather than to allow the backbone of Africa to slip out of our hands".

On the 29th October, 1889, the British South Africa Company was incorporated by Royal Charter signed by Queen Victoria. On the 6th May, 1890—the year in which Cecil Rhodes, now the Managing Director of the British South Africa Company, became the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony—a

Pioneer Column left from the outskirts of Kimberley under the command of Colonel Pennefather and Sir John Willoughby. After crossing the Macloutsie River and passing through Tuli it reached Fort Salisbury on the 12th September, 1890, Pioneer Day (the next day) commemorating the raising of the flag.

The Exploring Company had originally in return for being allowed the first right of building the railway, received certain land grants, mining rights and fiscal privileges. Part of the understanding arrived at in 1889 between that Company and Rhodes was that the Chartered Company should, when constituted, take over the undertaking as to the railway and the corresponding rights, and it was also arranged with the Government that the proposed company should receive, in substitution for some of the fiscal and mining privileges, a grant of 6,000 sq. miles of vacant Crown land in Bechuanaland in consideration of the section from Kimberley to Vryburg, and a similar grant for an extension to Mafeking, together with a fair proportion of any revenue which might result from the discovery of gold within these areas. Soon after the granting of the Charter Rhodes entered into a provisional agreement with Sir Gordon Sprigg's Ministry by which the Cape Government undertook to give facilities for the construction of the line to the borders of the Colony and, after its completion to Vryburg, work the line at Colonial rates, with the right to purchase it outright on certain specified terms. Early in 1890 the Cape agreed to avail itself of this right of purchase during the following year and, a large amount of capital being thereby set free, Rhodes was enabled to make an offer to proceed with the Mafeking section.

RHODESIA RAILWAYS LTD. FORMED

Before extending the line northwards from Vryburg it was deemed expedient that a separate railway company should be formed and the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd. was incorporated in May 1893 (its name was changed to Rhodesia Railways Ltd. on the 1st June, 1899), with the share capital of £6,000 in £1 shares. (This incorporation took place ten months after that of the Beira Railway Company.) Of the 6,000 shares, 2,000 were allotted to the Chartered Company, 2,000 to De Beers Consolidated Mines, and 2,000 to Exploring Lands and Minerals Company Ltd. in satisfaction of rights which they had acquired in respect of this northern railway construction. The capital of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd. was increased to £8,000 in 1899 and the 2,000 additional shares were allotted to the Chartered Company in connection with its guarantee of the £4,250,000 convertible debentures. The finance for the Vryburg-Mafeking section was provided by an advance of £250,000 made by the Chartered Company, subsequently converted into 5 per cent debentures of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd. Part of the land rights granted by the Imperial Government to the Chartered Company were passed on by it to the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd. for the construction of this line.

Rhodes appealed to the Imperial Government for assistance to build northwards from Mafeking to Bulawayo, and the Government, not being able to grant any more land, gave instead a subsidy of £20,000 for ten years to the Railway Company, to which the Chartered Company added the subsidy of £10,000 for



Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart.
(Rhodesia Railways)

ten years. For its somewhat paltry assistance to the extension of the line northwards to Gaborones and Palapye the Imperial Government imposed many restrictive conditions upon the Railway Company and exacted the right to expropriate the line from Vryburg to Palapye at cost price, a right which passed, partly at least, to the Union of South Africa and played an important part in the negotiations for the unification of the Rhodesia Railways system and the conversion of debentures completed in January 1937.

The whole of the line from Mafeking, through Gaborones and Palapye to Bulawayo, was subsequently financed out of the proceeds of £1,750,000 5 per cent debentures (part of an issue of £2,000,000) of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd., interest guaranteed for 20 years by the British South Africa Company. £900,000 of the debentures were issued to the public in September 1895 at par and the balance placed from time to time as construction proceeded at an average discount of approximately £6 per cent.

The capital cost of the construction from Vryburg to Bulawayo was £2,270,628 5s. 10d., i.e. a cost per mile of £3,681. Construction of the various sections was at the following rate: Vryburg-Mafeking (started May 1893, completed October 1894), 96 miles at the rate of 72 miles per annum; Mafeking-

Palapye (started August 1894, completed May 1897), 263 miles at the rate of 93 miles per annum; Palapye-Bulawayo (started June 1897, completed October 1897), 229 miles at the rate of 687 miles per annum.

At the time that work started from Vryburg in May 1893, the building of a line by the Beira Railway Company to provide a connection between Beira and Salisbury had already been in hand for some months. Despite the later start and the greater mileage of track to be built, the line eventually reached Bulawayo 18 months ahead of that linking Beira and Salisbury.

The focus now moves from Rhodes, the inspired visionary whose financial wizardry and drive created the means for the construction of the railway, to those who were prominently involved in turning his dreams into reality.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, a man of outstanding ability and culture, was an old friend of Rhodes from his Oxford days and a fellow believer in an all-British route from Cairo to the Cape. In his scholarly background—he was well versed in ancient Greek history—he shared a cultural interest with George Pauling who himself was able to read Latin authors in the original text. Metcalfe served his Articles with the well-known London consulting engineering concern, Fox & Sons, and eventually became a partner. In 1888 the firm was engaged by Rhodes as consulting engineers for the extension of the railway from Kimberley to Vryburg and thereafter he was continuously occupied on surveying succeeding phases of the Cape to Cairo project. As Chief Engineer, of Rhodesia Railways he made a major contribution, in the practical field, to the realisation of Rhodes' railway ambition. He died in 1928 and is commemorated in Metcalfe Square on which the present Rhodesia Railways Headquarters building in Bulawayo stands.

GEORGE PAULING

Most colourful of the personalities associated with the construction of the railway was the physical and moral giant, George Pauling, head of the firm of that name. His company ultimately completed the building of the line from Vryburg through to the Congo as well as from Beira to Umtali and Salisbury, later to link with Bulawayo. It subsequently added a number of branch lines. He was responsible for constructing numerous railway lines in South Africa, firstly in the Grahamstown area and later between Sterkstroom and Aliwal North, followed by the extension to Kimberley and the bridge across the Orange River. Together with his brother Harry, he joined a Mr. Butler whose firm James Butler and Company built the so-called "Rand tram" line from Johannesburg to Boksburg, another from Johannesburg to Krugersdorp, and a third from Boksburg to Springs.

His engineering activities knew no bounds. At one time he was invited by Baron d'Erlanger to go out from Britain to Johannesburg as a mining expert to represent their firm. For some years his railway contracting activities alternated between Africa and the Middle East where he investigated several projects and built the railway from Haifa to Damascus in Syria. An assignment carried out for Baron d'Erlanger, Chairman of the Channel Tunnel Company, was to go to Dover to investigate and report to him on the preparatory work for that scheme. In his later days Pauling carried out work in China and on the construc-



Mr. George Pauling (left), head of the firm Pauling & Co. Ltd., and Mr. Harold Pauling his cousin who, as the company's agent, was in charge of the railway construction to Bulawayo.
(Rhodesia Railways)

tion of dams for hydro-electric projects in India. The scope of his firm's railway engineering and general contracting work is best summed up in his own words: "In my time I have had submitted to me schemes for work in nearly every country in the World—from Alaska to New Zealand, from Manchuria to Peru."

In 1891 Pauling was summoned by Rhodes to Cape Town from Barberton where he had been gold-mining. Following discussions with Rhodes on the extension of the railway from Vryburg, he and his brother Harry proceeded to Mafeking and he later submitted a proposal on which he was requested by Rhodes to proceed to London for discussions with the directors. However, financial troubles delayed commencement of the work for a time. Meantime, in 1892, he was invited by Mr. Beit to build 50 miles of 2-ft. gauge line from Fontesvilla, 30 miles inland from Beira, towards Rhodesia.

In April 1893 he learned from Sir Charles Metcalfe, then consulting engineer to the British South Africa Company, that it had been decided to commence construction of the Vryburg-Mafeking section. He had as a competitor in his quotation the firm of Messrs. Lucas and Aird. A second tour of the route was made, after which terms were decided upon and a contract entered into through Mr. Rhodes which he recalls "was signed at midnight after a dinner at which Sir Charles Metcalfe and I were the guests of Mr. Rhodes". George Pauling then appointed his cousin Harold who, as a Government servant, had been in charge of the section of the line from Kimberley to Vryburg, to serve as his firm's agent in charge of the construction of the line. Harold subsequently took

charge of all Pauling's railway construction operations from Mafeking through to Bulawayo and on to Gwelo.

In September 1894, Rhodes invited George Pauling to become a member of the First Rhodesian Council and to take charge of the Departments of Mines and Public Works under Dr. Jameson, the Administrator, at the seat of the Chartered Company's administration in Salisbury. He accepted the offer and early in 1895 was gazetted Commissioner of Public Works, in which capacity he was placed in charge of all roads, public buildings and of railways as and when they should be constructed. The following April, the Department of Mines was placed under his control, and later, he also took over the Postmaster-General's Department. In consequence he resigned from the directorate of his firm, serving the Chartered Company for 2½ years—at the time of the Mafeking-Bulawayo construction.

George Pauling and his brother had come to the conclusion that it would be advisable to turn themselves into a limited liability company, and to enter into partnership with a financial house of good standing. They had such friendly and profitable business relations with the House of Erlanger that they proposed to the old Baron that he should join them. This he agreed to do and they never had occasion to regret the alliance. They formed the firm of Pauling and Company Ltd. which was registered in September 1894. Baron d'Erlanger and a group of friends were the largest shareholders in the London and South African Exploration Company Ltd. which owned the freehold of most of the farms on which the Kimberley diamond fields were situated. He financed the construction of an extensive system of railways in the United States and also in South America. Because of his ministerial appointment, George Pauling, the senior and mainstay of the business, was superseded in the chairmanship of the newly incorporated company by the Baron's son, Emile B. d'Erlanger, then but 27 years of age. The original capital of Pauling and Company Ltd. was £80,000 but in 1899 it was increased to £300,000. Erlangers continued to take a hand in the finance of Pauling's various railway projects in Africa and various parts of the world.

In a personal assessment, Emile B. d'Erlanger wrote: "George Pauling was an outstanding character, endowed with a physique that made light of any feat of strength and enabled him to defy fatigue or illness. He was a genius at railway contracting, more especially in new and difficult country where the exigencies of the situation required more attention to be paid to promptitude than extreme accuracy in carrying out the survey. He would ride over a projected route, and without consulting the surveys forecast to his associates the construction costs of the railway per mile; and he was almost invariably within a fraction of the actual figures . . . George Pauling invariably insisted on an aggregate figure being named in his contract, calculated on the assumption that the exact route recommended in the engineers' survey were followed *in toto* but reserved the right to make any deviations calculated to shorten the line without increasing the gradient. His eye for the country was such that he made his contracting profit largely out of the mileage he saved by these deviations while, at the same time, he improved the layout of the railway."

At one time or other, Pauling and Company Ltd. included five members

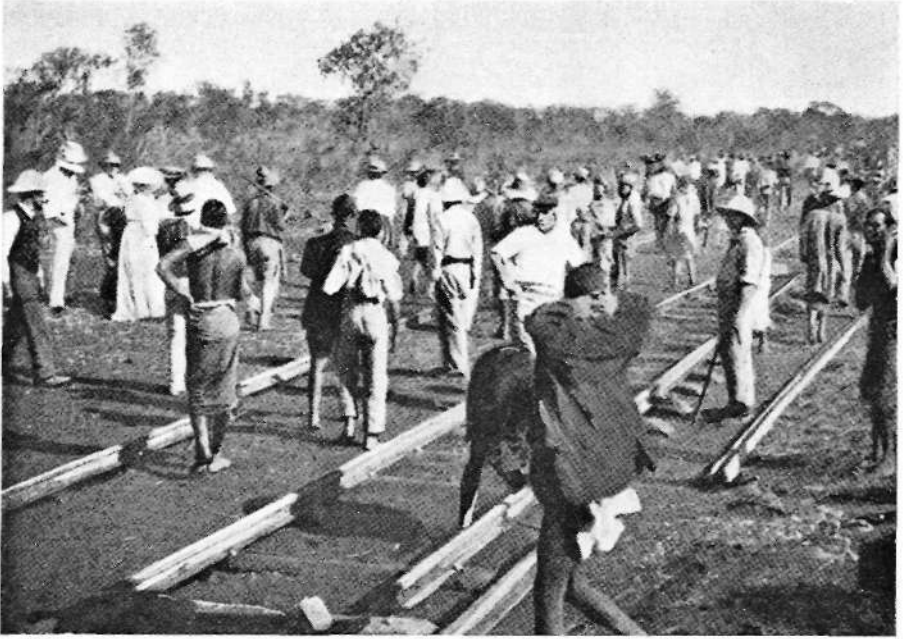
of the Pauling family: brothers George and Harry and cousins Harold, Willy and Percy. Other prominent members of the firm were A. L. Lawley, Pauling's engineer in charge of the building of the Beira-Umtali section and, later, the extension through to the Congo border; H. C. Carter, C. V. Buchan and John Scott. With his cousin Harold rests the honour of constructing the last 400 miles of track into Bulawayo in 18 months. Equally laudable was the economy of construction considering that all the permanent way material and rolling stock had to be transported by ship from England, disembarked at Port Elizabeth, and retransported by rail from the port to Mafeking, a distance of some 700 miles.

Up to this point, the sequence of events leading to the financing and construction of the railway have been viewed in wide and detached perspective, but seen through the eyes of the pioneers in Mashonaland and Matabeleland the matter was one of gravest concern. Their plight during the first years of occupation was distressing and the hardships which they endured heart-breaking. Maintaining communication, conveying goods and provender, and providing them with the means of exporting the produce of their labour was a problem of the greatest urgency. That the subject dominated their thinking is borne out by press reports of the period between 1894 and 1897. For a fuller understanding of their problems the thread of the chronicle is now taken up from Bulawayo.

It will be recalled that when the Pioneers occupied Matabeleland on 4th November, 1893, the railhead was at Vryburg. By 3rd October, 1894, the line had moved forward to Mafeking from which point animal-drawn vehicles served Bulawayo. Early in 1895 the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce was concerning itself with transport problems. It discussed the acute need for speedy and reasonably priced transport of heavy machinery for the gold-mining industry. By October of that year merchants were complaining of a serious transport difficulty and the delay of getting consignments from the south. Owing to the scarcity of wagons they were at their wit's end to fulfil orders in various parts of the country. Bulawayo was by then a distributing centre of the first importance. Mining camps and smaller towns north, south, east and west looked to her warehouses for their necessary supplies.

A report prepared earlier in the year by a Railway Committee of the Chamber recorded that during the previous 12 months "upwards of 2,000 wagons had come into Bulawayo and the cost of transport amounted to £140,000". At about the time of the preparation of the report merchandise in transit for Bulawayo was arriving at Palapye in enormous quantities, a passenger on the mail coach to Mafeking reporting that he had counted over 100 wagons on the road between Palapye and Bulawayo.

Meantime the settlers viewed with some impatience the handling of railway affairs from the Cape. Concurrently a leading article in the *Zoutpansberg Review*, referring to the rush for Bulawayo, took the Transvaal Government to task for not quickly completing a line to Pietersburg so as to keep the Rhodesian trade on that route. But the settlers saw their future in a link with the Cape and an editorial in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of 5th April, 1895, said: "Of all questions that are now agitating the minds of the settlers in Matabeleland there is none so



Unballasted track being laid at the rate of a mile a day north of Palapye.
(Rhodesia Railways)

burning as the question of railway extension to Matabeleland. . .The hope of the country in regard to railway extension rests with the Bechuanaland Railway . . . The Cape has the opportunity of securing the trade with Matabeleland, which even now is not inconsiderable and if they (members of the Cape Parliament) are wise enough they will urge on the Mafeking extension so as to get the first foot-hold, which means half the victory with the free community like Rhodesians. There are rumours of a railway from Walfish Bay, and in fact from almost every part of the coast, but so far they are nothing more than rumours. The Cape has the best chance, and we hope that they will take it, as it confers a mutual benefit."

However, the year 1895 ended rather darkly, for on 29th December Jameson launched his Raid which somewhat "upset the apple cart" as far as Rhodes was concerned. The arrest of the Reform Committee by the Government of the Transvaal in mid-January brought work to a standstill, the contractors reportedly standing idle awaiting developments. At this stage earthworks had advanced between 40 and 50 miles beyond Mafeking.

By the end of February 1896 things looked more hopeful, the survey to Palapye having been completed and the opening of the line for traffic through to Gaborones by July being forecast.

March dealt the settlers two of their severest blows—the outbreak of rinderpest and the Matabele uprising. Both were to take an extremely heavy toll. George Pauling, in his subsequent written account of the building of the line,

estimated that "at least 2,000,000 head of cattle must have died in Mashonaland, Matabeleland and Bechuanaland".

Before Rhodes managed to pacify the chiefs at the famous Indaba of August, 244 settlers were to die in Matabeleland alone. Matters were to be further aggravated by the outbreak of the Mashonaland Rebellion on 14th June. But on 7th March, not being able to foresee this turn of events, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* stated optimistically: ". . . it is this year that we hope to see a large quantity of machinery come into the country, and the long looked-for output take place". It urged that work should be started from both ends of the Gaberones-Palapye section.

Early April brought the good news "from Mr. Rhodes' own lips that every penny required for the Rhodesian Railways has been put up," and the hope was expressed that the lines would be pushed forward somewhat more rapidly than had been the case previously, ". . . that extension we must have, no political matters must be allowed to stand in the way. Every trouble or difficulty which comes upon us shows how indispensable to the country the railway is, for to take the present crisis of the native rising there would have been no delay in the despatch of a further supply of arms and ammunition, and a good deal of fretfulness and heart-burning would have been saved."

Within about six weeks of its outbreak the impact of the rinderpest made itself felt. A trade circular issued by Mr. Julius Weil said that no transport had been permitted to cross the Ramatlabama Spruit. He announced that mule and donkey transport might be offering in a few weeks but that the unsettled condition of Matabeleland caused him to believe that little beyond government supplies and foodstuffs would be able to go forward. The Press forecast an increase in transport costs which, it lamented, would "prohibit the introduction of heavy machinery into the country, and will consequently delay its progress . . . Hard as it seems to ask the Chartered Company to spend more money just now it must be urged upon Mr. Rhodes the absolute necessity of pushing on the Mafeking railway. It is quite as serious as the Matabele Rebellion, for that can be suppressed in a few weeks, but it will take months to build a railway even if there be the greatest despatch . . ."

It is worthy of note that the settlers ranked the loss of cattle and its effects upon transport as of greater consequence than the effects of the native uprising. On 2nd May a Mr. Walker, who had driven up from Mafeking to Palapye, reported that cattle were dying all along the road and estimated that 75 per cent of the beasts belonging to the Bamangwato were already dead. A leading article published on 9th May stated: "An esteemed occasional correspondent has suggested to us that we are far too much absorbed by the native rising and do not impress upon the powers that be the absolute necessity for the railway being more quickly constructed. He says, and rightly too, that 4 or 5 native risings are nothing to the dire necessity of railway communication with the coast, and in this we firmly believe."

A week later the Press reported: "So many conflicting statements have recently received currency concerning the progress of the railroads which are to tap the territories of the Chartered Company that during the past week we

(London edition *Standard and Diggers News*) have been at some pains to discover what is actually being done. We find that the works on the northern extension are some 80 miles beyond Mafeking. 4,000 tons of rails are already at the Cape, 3,000 are on the way, and the balance of 9,000 tons will be despatched within three months. A survey is being made from the end of the present work towards Bulawayo, and is being completed at the rate of 50 miles per month."

By the end of May concern was being expressed over the possible rise in the price of wagon transport which was forecast at £5 or £6 per hundredweight, and a suggestion was put forward that traction engines be used for draft purposes. A leading article of 3rd June was indicative of the testy mood of Bulawayans: "We are glad that our continuous advocacy of the necessity of rapid railway construction has borne fruit, and the combined action of the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Mines will have a great influence upon Mr. Rhodes. As Mr. Scott pointed out at the meeting, the rate of construction which has been followed with the extension beyond Mafeking is almost disgraceful—45 miles in about 9 months—and it would take about 8 years before the railway reached Bulawayo at the same rate of laying down the rails. Mr. Redrup suggested that Mr. Rhodes be asked to start the earthworks at this end so as to give employment to a number of men and to expedite operations."

Interviewed on 20th June on the subject of railways, Mr. George Pauling, Commissioner of Public Works, stated that about 2,000 people were employed upon the works between Mafeking and Gaborone and that the thing that would hinder the line was the inability of the Cape Government to transport the material as fast as required. Men were standing for the want of material. He forecast that the railways would be in Gaborone by the end of July, at Palapye by the end of the following February, and in Bulawayo by the end of December 1897. He added that the contractors were under heavy penalties to complete the work in the time stated.

On 23rd June, Mr. Weil drew the attention of the Cape Parliament to the insufficiency of transport requirements on the railways from Colonial ports to Mafeking, pointing out that the contractors for the Mafeking-Gaborone railway extension were unable to proceed with their contract and that employees were being discharged. Contractors were to receive 200 tons of railway material a day, in fact they were receiving only 60 tons. In July the Press stated that scarcely one-sixth of the permanent way material required for the work was being transported and that plate-layers were standing idle. It took the Cape to task for "driving away a good customer", reminding them that this construction traffic was worth £72 a day or £26,280 a year to them. It would pay the Colony an excellent return on the outlay required for more rolling stock, it stated. Rather wistfully it added: "It is rather a pity for us that the Cape lines do not belong to a company, as they would see in an instant the benefits to be derived from pushing forward the construction and would rush materials through." It would be a wise economy, it stated, to spend an additional £100,000 on rolling stock, and so save six months in the construction.

On 7th October a deputation from the Chamber of Mines handed the following memorial to the Administrator: ". . . That the British South Africa

Company be earnestly requested to use their utmost endeavours to press on with railway communications from Mafeking for the following reasons: that for about 4 months only in the year can transport by wagon from Mafeking be considered available at reasonable rates and then at a tonnage on so small a scale that the equipment of mines is necessarily very slow. The owners of mining and other properties acquired and maintained at great cost, are practically at a standstill until railway facilities connect them with the centres of manufacture of machinery and supply of stock. The substantial welfare, if not the very existence of the country, therefore, demands an extreme effort in speedy completion of railway facilities . . . the interest of the people and of the Company are at one in this important point."

The annual report of the Chamber of Mines presented in August contained a statement by Mr. Rhodes that the Chartered Company had given the contractors £200 extra per mile to accelerate the construction of the line.

Throughout this period press reports on railway progress shared pride of place with those concerning the Rebellion. A special notice published on 22nd August announced Mr. Rhodes' successful Indaba with the Chiefs at the Matopos, bringing to an end the Matabele Rebellion.

Despite the severe handicaps of past months, optimism was not wanting, and on 23rd September a feature article stated that with few exceptions those who had resided in or visited Bulawayo anticipated that with the nearer approach of the railways the magic growth of the town, which had been but temporarily stayed, would be rapidly resumed, until, as some of the most confident believed, Johannesburg itself would hardly be able to compete in size and importance.

Mr. Harold Pauling who was in Bulawayo at about this time stated in an interview that the line was advancing at something like a mile a day. It had reached Mochudi the previous week and should be at Palapye in January. The track would run considerably to the west of the existing coach road, more especially between Tati and Bulawayo where the outskirts of the Mattopo Hills had to be negotiated. The line as far as Mochudi would be equal in finish to any section of the Cape railway but beyond that, in order to reach Bulawayo as speedily as possible, the rivers and gulleys would at first be crossed by temporary wooden bridges, and would gradually be replaced by more solid and enduring structures. He confirmed that as contractors they had been considerably hampered in their work by "the dilatory manner in which the supply of material was conveyed to them by the Cape Government". In May, for instance, 27 miles of track had been laid, but in June only 14, owing to the insufficient supply of materials. By September the position had improved with 35 miles of track laid. Each mile of railway weighed 180 tons. Survey work was well ahead of track laying, the party being a considerable distance beyond Palapye. The difficulty which the contractors had to contend with was the supply of water for native labour, some of it having to be conveyed from 15 miles distance. The labour force, he stated, was 2,400 men. Ten locomotives were employed on the extension beyond Mafeking which, he said, was "none too many for the work" since goods and passengers were conveyed almost to the terminus of the line—Crocodyle Pools. The interviewer was much heartened by Mr. Pauling's report,

concluding his article: "The people of Bulawayo would before long hear the shrill whistle of the locomotive from their own home; be able to visit the seaside when taking a fortnight's holiday; and to look back upon the troubles and vexations of the present slow and expensive transport of goods and provisions with the pleasing consciousness that they are things of the past."

A diversion from railway transport problems occurred early in October when the first tandem cycle ever seen in Rhodesia arrived in Bulawayo from Johannesburg. It was ridden by Messrs. M. Browse and H. E. Jackson with an elapsed time of 14 days and nine days of actual travel.

FIRST TRAINS LEAVE MAFEKING

On 7th November, 1896, the Bechuanaland Railway Company announced that arrangements had been made for the despatch, from an early date, of one regular train a week from Mafeking to the temporary terminus at Mochudi, some 120 miles northward. It would carry passengers, mail and goods.

From the end of 1896 regular weekly reports from the Resident Engineer of the Bechuanaland Railway, Mr. S. F. Townsend, were published in the Press. These gave the mileage for the "end of rails", progress on the building of sidings, stations, bridges, boreholes, etc.

With the advent of the rainy season eagerly awaited, October was a trying and dry month. The report for week ending 31st October stated that Mr. Harold Pauling had refused to carry any goods that week between Mafeking and Mochudi on account of the scarcity of water. This had to be hauled all the way from Mafeking. The water train passed once a day and, including natives, about 800 people had to depend upon getting water from this source. The earthworks sub-contractors said that they would have to stop work soon unless it rained. At this stage they were 14 miles beyond Magalapsi River, some 30 miles from Palapye. The rails were being laid at the rate of 30 miles a month. Road transport rates had firmed, with an upward tendency, Messrs. Musson Brothers reporting from Gaberones siding that their tariff from that point to Bulawayo was 100s. per 100 lb., i.e. £100 per short ton.

And so on to 1897. A telegram received from Mr. James Buchan reported "end of rails" on 2nd January as being 213 miles 25 chains, with the survey lines staked to 368 miles on 5th December. On 8th January the rails had reached Magalapsi siding and it was reported that every endeavour was being made to open the line for passengers, mails and goods to that point by the 15th January. The contractors expected to be opposite Palapye in six weeks from that date.

Local colour is given to the construction scene by a correspondent of the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* who contributed an account of a trip over the railway from Mafeking to the terminus. "The scene at the station at Gaberones," he wrote, "we shall not easily forget, as owing to the water famine, a crowd of natives came down to meet our train, all clamouring for water. Mr. Pauling kindly allowed them to take as much as they could in five minutes. It was the same at every station, and besides we stopped several times to give workmen along the line supplies of water. Mochudi is reached at 6.30 in the evening and we were surprised to see the work that had been done at this large depot, where



In a concerted effort to reach Bulawayo before the rainy season, 1897, the line north of Mochudi was of a pioneer character—unballasted and unbridged. A passenger train crossing the Tati river bed near Francistown.

a month ago a tent was not to be seen. The place almost amounts to a town, large stores and houses have been run up on every side, right in the bush, and everywhere one looks there are great signs of activity. The shops, such as there are, are most primitive, consisting of tin, and one was a comical sight, being in the form of a platform made up of boxes and barrels, from which the dealer dispensed his wares. However, there is plenty of business doing at Mochudi."

"With regard to the character of the line, I can only say that it is one of the best I have seen, the greater portion of it from Mafeking to the point to which it is actually completed being very hard, whilst the ballasting is splendid, and it should be possible if considered desirable to run trains over it at a very high speed, as high indeed as if the line were 50 years old . . . With regard to immediate prospects, the line should reach Palapye by February next, and be in Bulawayo by the end of October, but as soon as it reaches Tati, which should be about May, a considerable traffic will begin, because even when it reaches Bulawayo there will be a considerable amount of ox-wagon transport, thousands of tons of machinery lying waiting to be forwarded."

Mr. Townsend reported from Mochudi that Palapye siding had been linked in on 13th February. He gave the labour strength as 200 Europeans and 2,000 natives for all contracts.

By March 1897 the mood of the Bulawayo public had changed, as was evidence in an account published on 27th March: "The pessimistic gentlemen who prophesied that the railway would not proceed rapidly and that Mr. Rhodes' promise last year would not be kept, must feel rather nonplussed now when it is seen that the end of the rails is some 30 to 35 miles north of Palapye

and the survey party is beyond Tati. The line between Mafeking and Mochudi is all that could be desired; well constructed, with permanent bridges, culverts, and stations. That beyond Mochudi is a contractor's line and has not yet been ballasted. It is, however, well built and will answer all the requirements of Matabeleland until such time as it can be made a thoroughly permanent way . . . On the Lotsani the piles on which the rail runs, instead of being formed of stones as one is accustomed to see, are built up with sand bags, but seem perfectly safe. Altogether the line is much better than could have been expected considering the rapid rate in which it has been laid. The siding at Palapye . . . is a busy centre now—wagons innumerable, hotels, forwarding agents' stores, and all the making of a town. To the traveller it is somewhat of a hardship that after a wearisome journey on a hot day from Mochudi he can get nothing but tea or coffee . . . if Khama were to allow one or two responsible men to have liquor licences it would not only not do harm but would save men bringing up cases of liquor."

"The management of the Mochudi-Palapye section is not all that could be desired. Whether from scarcity of rolling stock, or from whatever cause, there are not enough carriages to take all the passengers, and sleeping on iron rails or travelling in an open truck under the blazing sun is not luxurious. Considering that the contractors are charging £3 10s. fare between Mochudi and Palapye, a distance of 140 miles, we think that some more attention should be paid to the comfort of passengers. At Mochudi station a few natives could be employed as porters, and not leave ladies to run all over the station looking for a stray . . . to carry the luggage from the Cape to the construction train."

During the middle of 1897 the progress reports were signed by Mr. Ernest Moore Wilson, Acting Resident Engineer.

On 1st May Mr. Harold Pauling was in Bulawayo to give a personal account of progress. He said that the route taken west of the Mattoppos would offer no engineering difficulties—in fact the worst portion of the work was now nearly over, that being the part through the Protectorate. From Palapye to Tati, he said, they had had much trouble through scarcity of water, having to drag it as much as 114 miles to feed their engines. The railway company would have to sink deep wells in that part. The line was 328 miles north of Mafeking and within 30 miles of the Monarch Mine. He thought that they would reach Bulawayo about the first week in October. The line would not be of a permanent character, but a pioneer line; nevertheless, it would answer all purposes and was much better than waiting while expensive iron bridges were erected. The rails would run across the beds of rivers, and in the wet season there might be occasional delays, but a few hours would repair any damages done by floods. He had been advised by cable from London that the ironwork for the bridges between Mochudi and Palapye had been despatched, and he expected that the ironwork for the bridges from Palapye to Bulawayo would leave shortly. Asked whether the contractors would immediately on its arrival in Bulawayo start to ballast the line, Mr. Pauling said arrangements had not yet been made. Seven engines had been ordered through the contractors for the railways. He did not think

that there would be any stations in the Protectorate as there would be no local traffic—only through traffic to Matabeleland.

By May, the railway survey party which had started work at Mafeking in October 1895, was encamped at the foot of 14th Avenue, Bulawayo. Chief of the party was Mr. W. Tower, and his assistants, Messrs. G. J. Phillips, Bertram Smith, W. F. Penfold and J. C. Simms. The surveyors succeeded in shortening the wagon road distance between Gaborones and Mafeking—110 miles—by 18 miles, and actually beat the telegraph wire by two miles. Water had been their major problem. Available water-holes were pretty well filled with dead oxen. In one case a tiny pan had 37 dead animals in and around it. No other water being obtainable, the hapless surveyors had to drink it.

On 28th May an agreement was entered into between Sir James Sivewright, on behalf of the Cape Government, and Rhodes on behalf of the Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd., providing for the Cape Government to work and maintain the line of railway belonging to the Company between Vryburg and Bulawayo. The agreement provided that the Government and the Company should each fix the rates applicable to its own lines and the rate for through traffic. The Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd. farther agreed to erect at Mafeking suitable workshops for ordinary running repairs of the rolling stock required for working the line.

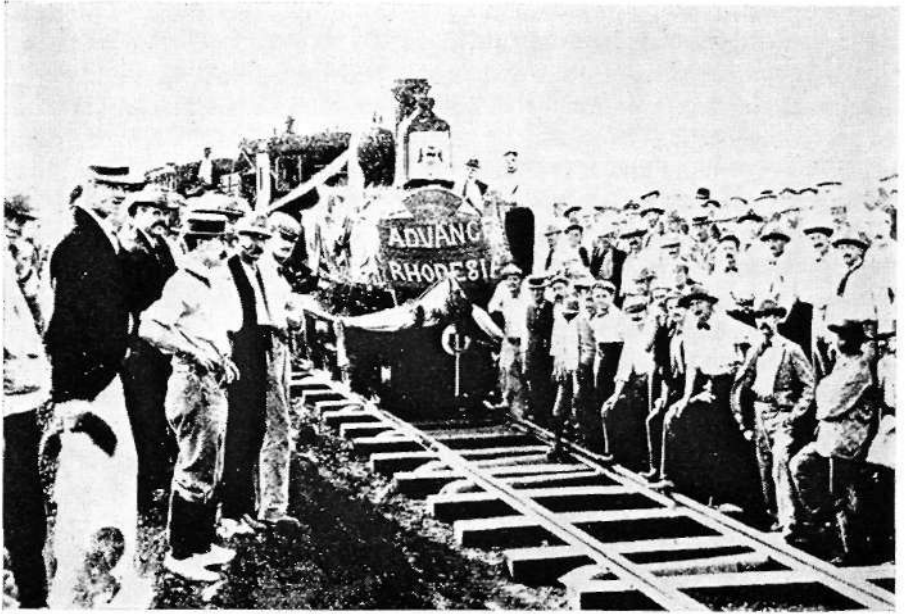
In mid-June, protests were being voiced by the Chamber of Commerce over the delay in opening to the Monarch Mine, or Francistown, for the delivery of goods. The grievance was that the existing rates of transport from Khama's town to Bulawayo enhanced the cost of goods as a result of which consumers felt they were being over-charged by the merchants. It was pointed out that although the railway was 300 to 400 miles nearer than two years previously, owing to the lack of draught animals and the bad country, prices were higher than previously.

FIRST GENERAL MANAGER

From June onwards references, in various contexts relative to railway rates, sole advertising rights, refreshment room leases and cartage rates, are made to Mr. J. L. Bissett, General Manager, Bechuanaland Railway Company Ltd., who appears to have had his office in Cape Town. His was the first appointment to the General Managership of the railway serving Rhodesia.

With railway construction moving apace, representatives from the Sanitary Board, the Chamber of Mines, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Rhodesian Land Owners and Farmers' Association held discussions during July to consider arrangements for suitable festivities to mark the occasion of the formal opening of the railway to Bulawayo. On 21st July, Captain the Hon. A. Lawley, Deputy Administrator, presided over a well-attended meeting of representative public men held in the Stock Exchange to further plans for the festivities. It was later settled that the opening of the railway would take place on Occupation Day, 4th November.

The first accident to which reference is made in the Press occurred on 27th July, about 45 miles on the Bulawayo side of Palapye, when a construction train



The first train to reach Bulawayo—the contractor's construction train—on 19th October, 1897.
(Rhodesia Railways)

with a carriage containing a number of passengers was in collision with an approaching train. Several passengers received a shaking, the most serious being to Mrs. Beachey, wife of Mr. Beachey of Dawsons Ltd., who sustained severe shock and sprained both ankles.

August brought a traffic block of sufficient seriousness to warrant Lord Grey sending to Bulawayo from the Cape a delegation headed by Mr. T. R. Price, Chief Traffic Manager, Cape Government Railways, Mr. McEwan, a Resident Engineer, and Mr. McGraph, Locomotive Superintendent, "armed with full powers to incur expenditure and to summon any men and locomotives that may be advisable for the purpose of coping effectually with the traffic".

In interviews with the commercial community, Mr. Price explained that lack of water for use by the railways was giving considerable concern. Between Magalapsi and the Shashi River, a distance of some 120 to 130 miles, no supply of water for locomotive purposes had yet been found. This necessitated the running of a full water train daily, in addition to the conveyance of water by train between Mafeking and Mochudi, thereby using locomotives which might otherwise be utilised for traffic purposes. Furthermore, it was considered desirable to give priority to the conveyance of railway construction materials, and thereafter to certain quantities of foodstuffs and building materials. In reply to an accusation of niggardliness on the part of the Cape Government with respect to rolling stock, he said that money had not been grudged but that the difficulty was in obtaining engines, not ordering them.

During his week of investigations, Mr. Price met with the Chambers of

Commerce and Mines to arrange priority for the forwarding of goods lying at Mochudi. It was considered by the Chamber of Commerce that preference should be given to building material over foodstuffs in order that the artisans in Bulawayo, whom they did not want to lose, might be able to earn a living. Mr. Price arranged to forward one trainload a week of livestock to Palapye for Bulawayo consumers, and he expressed the view that three truckloads of general goods a day would be quite sufficient to keep Matabeleland going for the time being. Before returning to Cape Town he met with the Deputy Administrator, Rhodes and Harold Pauling. It was decided to place both the goods and passenger stations on the B.A.C. ground, the passenger station being nearer the town. Initially a temporary building would be erected, permanent buildings to follow after the railway construction had been completed. It was announced that it was expected that the Cape Government would take over the line to Francistown on 1st September and that Mr. Pauling would open the line at Figtree on 30th September.

It was reported at a Chamber of Commerce meeting that on 23rd August the rails were 8½ miles within the border of Rhodesia. Meantime the Railway Festivities Committee, which had been joined by Col. H. M. Heyman and Dr. Hans Sauer, had concluded a provisional programme. It announced that estimated subscriptions and guarantees for this programme would amount to about £9,000. Invitations to 340 special guests were being sent out that week and the contract for their accommodation was awarded to Mr. W. R. Paterson, proprietor of the Palace Hotel.

Any scepticism Bulawayans may have had regarding the town's ability to extend adequate hospitality to the considerable number of guests for the opening ceremony—the original list had grown after applications for invitations had been received from numbers of influential people—must have been allayed after publication of a one-and-a-half column long news item detailing the arrangements made by Mr. Paterson for accommodating and feeding the guests. At that date—23rd September—the hotel was still being built. Going up to three storeys, it stood like a giant in the southern portion of the town. Mr. Paterson had just returned from a three-week trip to Port Elizabeth and Kimberley to hurry forward all the extra building material, fittings, furniture and food required. From the list of articles ordered and referred to in the news report it was evident that his shopping list had been extremely comprehensive. Among the items ordered to furnish the 130 bedrooms were 250 spring mattress beds, 500 feathered pillows, 800 sheets, woollen blankets and counterpanes, candlesticks, mirrors, toilet sets, bedroom tables, etc. "He will deepen his well . . . erect about a dozen bathrooms and has ordered tins and towels and brushes galore—of towels alone he has ordered 1,000. After the bath, many of the visitors will naturally require a shave, and a number of professional razor wielders will perform this operation for them on the premises."

Of foodstuffs he had ordered about 1,500 cases of tinned items, 200 turkeys, as many ducks and as many geese, besides 600 fowls, 400 dozen eggs and so on. Fresh fish was to come up from Port Elizabeth and fresh fruit from Kimberley. "The visitors will want something to drink with all this and therefore an order

has been given which among other lubricants includes 100 cases of whisky, 150 of champagne, 65 of beer and 20 of lime juice." He was erecting a temporary dining and banqueting hall to seat some 400 people and it would be suitably floored for dancing. "For the convenience of visitors wishing to visit the local battle-fields and other places of interest, he had ordered 12 large picnic baskets." Also on the indent were 400 cane-bottomed chairs, 800 hat-and-coat hooks, 48 Madeira easy chairs, a dozen rocking chairs and at least two pianos. Special arrangements were made for the railway trucks containing the goods, and labelled "Railway Festivities", to be speeded on their way by the Traffic Managers at Port Elizabeth and Kimberley, by Mr. Pauling and the Station Master at Francistown.

In the third week of September there was a collision between a mail train coming up from the south and a stationary water train. It occurred in the bed of the Shashi River which "it is customary for trains to take at top speed in order the more successfully to negotiate the northern bank . . . the mail train steaming ahead ran swiftly down the incline and collided violently with the rear of the water train throwing many of the passengers from their bunks, smashing the buffers and one of the cylinders, and knocking off the funnel of its engine".

"The driver of the water train seeing the mail train coming upon him put his engine full steam ahead after which he and his stoker jumped off. Unfortunately, the sudden jerk of the engine pulled up the couplings, and it went on without its train for some distance. The driver and stoker ran for all they were worth, and succeeded just in time in getting aboard their run-away engine, which left to itself would have smashed headlong into a goods train which happened to be two miles down the line." This occurred at about 3 o'clock in the morning. Nobody was reported injured and a relief train was sent from Francistown to bring the passengers forward.

By the end of September both the Railways Festivities Committee and the railway construction contractors were working at pressure to have things ready for 4th November. Mr. Townsend's weekly report stated that the contractors were putting nearly all their energies into pushing plate-laying, and not much else attended to. This had been delayed for a whole week for the want of fish-bolts. Meantime the Festivities Committee had arranged with Mr. Zeederberg to run two coaches a day for the eight days of the festivities to the Mattoppos. Visitors would breakfast at Mr. Rhodes' farm, and thereafter proceed to "the World's View".

By mid-October excitement was growing. Said the *Bulawayo Chronicle*: "The time is now drawing near for the great celebration, and there is no doubt that it will be a unique event in the history of Matabeleland . . . The country has been advertised all over the world. Bulawayo is as much a household word as London or Vienna, and the prospects of Matabeleland have been made known wherever the English language is spoken . . . The celebration is nothing more or less than a challenge to the outside world. We ask our detractors to come out to the country to see for themselves what we have to show in the latest addition to the British Empire." Criticism was levelled at the Festivities Committee for putting too much emphasis on races and dances, athletics, sports and rifle

competitions. What was needed, it was said, was to show the visitors something of the mining activities of the country "to inspire in them a desire to invest their savings in this country."

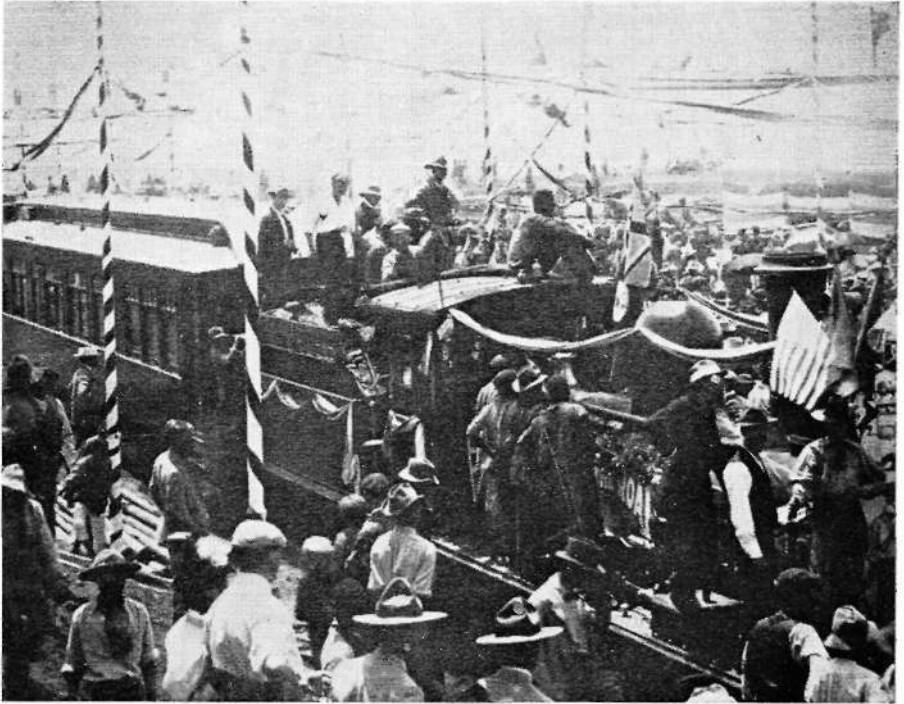
FIRST TRAIN ARRIVES AT BULAWAYO

Tuesday, 19th October, was a red letter day. "A Chronicle reporter went out to the old B.A.C. ground shortly after 2 and sat with a number of others on the banks between the cuttings to await the arrival of the first construction train. The work of laying the rails which has now advanced some distance to the town side of the refreshment room was going on cheerily and expeditiously. At about 3 o'clock the train drew up at the temporary siding about half a mile from the station site to which place for the next month or six weeks, goods and passengers will be brought, commencing before this week is out. The train consisted of a saloon car, a cattle truck, and four or five ordinary trucks. The engine, the same one that has been used for the platelaying all the way up from Lobatsi, was gaily decorated with bunting and greenery. On the front were the words 'Advance Rhodesia', surmounted by the Arms of the B.S.A. Company. Miniature Union Jacks, Stars and Stripes, and Harps of Erin adorned the escape pipe, and a variety of flags were wreathed gracefully round other portions of the iron monster. The passengers by the first train included: Mr. H. W. Pauling, Mrs. Pauling, the Misses (2) Pauling, Dr. Pauling, Mr. R. B. Carnegie and Mr. Buchan, one of the engineers of the Bechuanaland railway.

"The train also brought some of Mr. Pauling's horses, a quantity of timber for the temporary buildings at the station site, and some miscellaneous goods. The rear trucks having been detached, the train moved slowly to the old B.A.C. ground, and the press men just arrived in time to swell the crowd which now numbered over 100 people, to see several photographers taking snapshots at the approaching train, and to join in the cheering with which the new arrival was greeted. Having steamed some distance into the cutting the train came to a standstill and the engine responded to the cheers with a series of shrill whistles. After gazing a while on the wonderful invention, which brings Bulawayo within four or five days of sea breezes and makes progress with giant strides a possibility, the crowd dispersed."

With the official opening of the railway only a fortnight away final arrangements were being made for the eight days of festivities which were to mark this great occasion. But while some were preoccupied with celebrating the arrival of the railway others were already interesting themselves in its extension to the Zambezi. Dr. Hans Sauer, Chairman of the Chamber of Mines, thought that such a line could be built for half a million sterling and be completed in six months. It was intended immediately to approach Mr. Rhodes.

Such a line had been the dream of many, who argued that it would bring the whole of the country south of the great river under the influence of civilising forces. Up to then missionaries had had very little success. The iron horse, it was claimed, was a more potent civilising instrument than the Bible among native tribes. It was well known, it was said, that natives were particularly fond of travelling in trains and this would break up their clannish instincts, and leave



The gaily-decorated engine of the train which brought His Excellency the High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, from the Cape to perform the official opening of the line from Mafeking to Bulawayo on 4th November, 1897.

(Rhodesia Railways)

them to seek their livelihoods in other parts of the country than those in which they were born. "It will also bring out a number of people from Europe, and may open the eyes of some of the philanthropists to the real state of the native and teach them that the South African black is far better off than the English poor."

The Matabele was considered useless for underground work in the mines; they were too near their kraals, and the temptation to run away to see their wives and children was too strong for them to resist. The proposed line would "tap one of the best labour supplies in South Africa, that of the Zambezi", and was expected to divert the stream of immigration, then running to the Rand and Kimberley, into Matabeleland. The railway would also link the Zambezi coalfields.

OFFICIAL OPENING OF BULAWAYO LINE

The 4th November, 1897, was declared a public holiday. Four special trains from the south were scheduled to arrive, namely, 8 a.m., 8.40 a.m., 11 a.m. and noon. The first train included guests from the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Port Elizabeth and East London. The second was made up of guests from

Kimberley and Bechuanaland, the third with those from Cape Town, Graaff Reinet and Grahamstown, and the fourth with distinguished visitors from England and Cape Town.

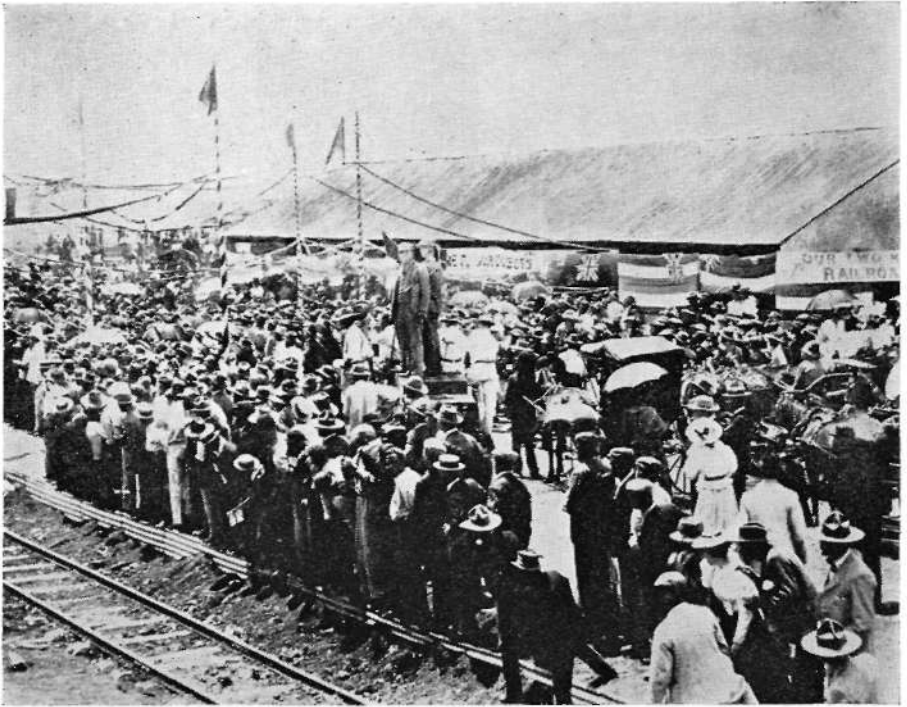
His Excellency Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner at the Cape, and party actually arrived by the first "through" train late on the night of 2nd November, and slept at the station. When it was learned that the High Commissioner's train would not reach Bulawayo until 9 o'clock in the evening a party led by Capt. the Hon. A. Lawley, Deputy Administrator, went to the station, but a three-hour wait ended in disappointment, no news of the whereabouts of the train being obtainable. En route to Bulawayo, the High Commissioner had made official visits to Kimberley, Mafeking and Francistown including the Monarch Mine. His party included Col. Hambury Williams, Military Secretary; Mr. O. Walrond, Private Secretary; and Major du Cane, Military Secretary to General Goodenough. Early on the morning of 3rd November Capt. the Hon. A. Lawley drove the party to Government House where it stayed during the visit.

The engine of His Excellency's train bore on the front a pictorial representation of an old pioneer, with pick and shovel in one hand, and rifle in the other, and over this significant emblem was artistically arranged a shield bearing the Arms of the British South Africa Company: "Justice, Commerce, Freedom." The British, French and American flags fluttered at the head of the engine, while the body was nicely decorated with festoons of tricoloured bunting, wreaths and garlands of laurel, and numerous flags. On each side of the locomotive, in a frame of graceful drapery, appeared the device: "Pride of the Road."

The first special train, with 96 passengers, and the second, with 60 passengers, arrived at 7 a.m. and 7.35 a.m. respectively. They were made up of "handsome saloon carriages, the luxurious and resplendent De Beers coach being especially conspicuous". Train No. 3, however, came off the line three miles before reaching Figtree, holding up train No. 4. The opening ceremony was performed without them, although the main speeches were deferred until the banquet.

The descriptions of Bulawayo give a picture of a town gaily decorated, although this had not been achieved without some prodding from Capt. Lawley. At the station site, with its temporary buildings, the several special trains were ultimately drawn up providing accommodation for some of the visitors during their stay.

"From an early hour a stream of horsemen, cyclists, pedestrians and vehicles of all sorts was passing to and fro between the town and the temporary buildings at the station, all of which was gay with colour. Just before the opening hour the largest concourse of White people, that had ever assembled in Rhodesia, was gathered around the roped enclosure, within which the opening ceremony was to take place. There was a pavilion in the centre with a dais under its roof for His Excellency the High Commissioner. It was adorned with a handsome canopy on which the Royal Arms were conspicuous. At one end of the interior of the building was the motto: 'OUR TWO ROADS TO PROGRESS';



“The largest concourse of white people . . . ever assembled in Rhodesia . . .” The scene at Bulawayo’s temporary station buildings on 4th November, 1897.
(Rhodesia Railways)

RAILROADS AND CECIL RHODES.’ In appropriate portions of the building, were shields bearing the Arms of all the South African States and Colonies.”

The decorations of the Catholic Church and the new Wesleyan Church called for special comment, the latter, not yet complete, carrying the motto: “OUR STRUGGLE ENDED, OUR PATIENCE REWARDED: LET SUCCESS FOLLOW.”

Before officiating at the railway ceremony, the High Commissioner made a visit of inspection of the Memorial Hospital and the Bulawayo Boys’ School, and attended the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone, by the Hon. Mrs. A. Lawley, of the new “Sisters’ School”—the Sacred Heart Convent.

And so on to the ceremony: “. . . a brilliant gathering, including nearly everyone who had anything to do with the extension of the British Empire in Africa . . . the Deputy Administrator and his lady, Sir James Sivewright, and most of the leading citizens of South Africa . . . music provided by the B.S.A.P. band . . . about 150 Matabele, including several indunas . . .”

Babyjane, one of the indunas present, had previously visited Queen Victoria as Lobengula’s envoy and at the station wore a golden bracelet she had given him. In his address of welcome—an illuminated parchment signed by the President and Vice-President of the Festivities Committee—Capt. the Hon. A. Lawley referred to the fact that it was Her Majesty’s Diamond Jubilee year.

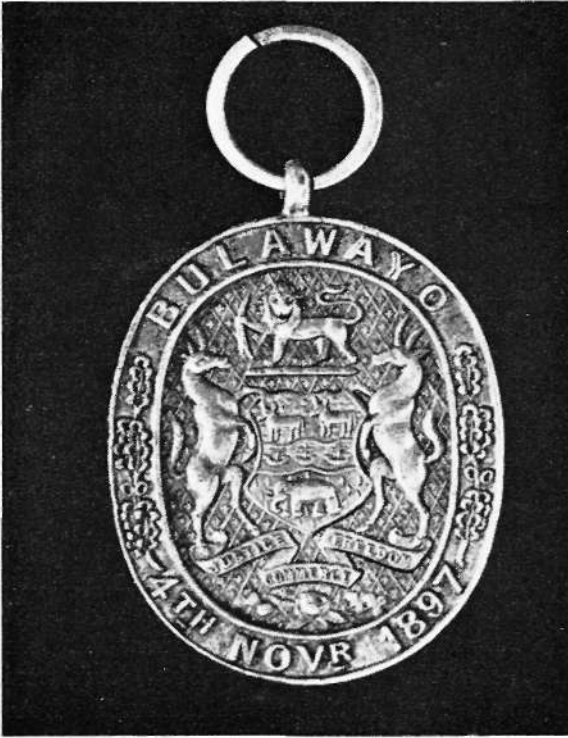
His Excellency, Sir Alfred Milner, read a message of greeting from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies. He congratulated the inhabitants of Rhodesia on the rapid and successful completion of the railway to the north which would afford aid and stimulus to every form of enterprise and would join north and south together. His address was rounded off with three stirring cheers given for Mr. Rhodes, Capt. Lawley, for His Excellency, and a further and final round for Mr. Pauling, the contractor.

His Excellency then, after the gallant action of Trooper Herbert Stephen Henderson in saving Trooper Cilliers from the Matabele had been recited, presented him with the Victoria Cross—the first to be won in Rhodesia. (Trooper Henderson who owned what was believed to be the first traction engine brought into Rhodesia was at one time engaged on road construction and railway sub-contracting.) His Excellency told the assembled company that Trooper Baxter would also have received a Victoria Cross had he survived. He then presented to Sergeant Farley and Trooper J. Lester Distinguished Service Medals. The line having been declared open, His Excellency, escorted by Grey's Scouts and the B.S.A.P., drove off to the formal luncheon.

The third and fourth special trains, which had been delayed at Figtree, arrived between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. On board the third train was the Governor of Natal, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, Lady Hely-Hutchinson, Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, Lady and Miss Rawson, Sir Marshall Clarke, Resident Commissioner of Zululand, Members of the Natal Government and the Legislature, and a number of guests from Cape Town, including: Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Arderne (he was later to bring the first through train of "tourists" from Cape Town to the Victoria Falls on the completion of the line to the Zambezi), Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Cartwright, Mr. R. Brydone, Mr. E. J. Earp, and several ladies. Amongst the guests from England in the fourth train were His Grace the Duke of Roxburgh and Mr. H. M. Stanley, M.P., the man who found Dr. Livingstone.

The luncheon was held at the Palace Hotel, incomplete without its third storey. The guests expressed their delight at the comfort of the appointments and Bulawayans themselves were astounded at the transformation which Mr. Paterson, the proprietor, had brought about. The hotel was to be the venue of no fewer than three banquets during the ten days of festivities. Most of the distinguished guests were accommodated there and it is opportune at this point to recall that some 400 names were on the original invitation list of which more than half actually came to Bulawayo. The complete invitation list was published in the press—and what an impressive set of names it was. Of the gathering, Mr. H. M. Stanley wrote: "In any other continent the opening of 500 miles of new railway would be fittingly celebrated by the usual banquet and after dinner felicitations of those directly concerned with it; but in this instance there are six Members of the Imperial Parliament, the High Commissioner of the Cape, the Governor of Natal, scores of Members of the Colonial Legislatures and scores of notabilities, leaders of thought and action, bankers, merchants, and clergy from every Colony and State in the southern part of this continent."

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* marked the occasion with a special edition on the events of the day. Its later weekly edition ran to 12 pages, with no fewer than



Medallion presented to the official guests attending the Railway Celebrations. This particular medallion was issued to Mr. Edward M. Roshier, a railway engineer who worked on the construction of the Francistown-Bulawayo section.

(Rhodesia Railways)

eight pages of closely set type-matter devoted to the speeches and programme of the week. Published in time for the celebrations were two books: "From Ox Wagon to Railway" by Alexander Boggie—the first book to be printed in Rhodesia. It gave a brief account of the history of the Matabele nation and the White occupation and sold for 2s. 6d. The second was a guide book compiled by Messrs. R. C. Dowie and G. Fitzgerald which, with other useful information, listed the industries of Bulawayo.

Rising to the exalted mood of the occasion, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of 4th November wrote in its leading article: "Today is the parting of the ways for Matabeleland, the relegation of the old method of transport to the past and the beginning of civilisation in its entirety. Up to the present we have been living in a kind of semi-civilised state, at times cut off from our fellows, isolated from the seething world outside . . . the happy-go-lucky methods, so common in new towns, and indeed so necessary in the early days of the settlement, will no longer be possible, for we shall have keen businessmen amongst us, men who are not accustomed, and have no stomach for the pioneering yet who are quite ready to reap the fruits of the work done by those who bore the burden and heat of the day. In many hearts there will be feelings of regret that the old order of things is passing away . . . there will be a greater expansion of trade, the industries will develop, our plains will smile with rich farms, and our exchanges will be busy with gold . . . Today means something more than a holiday, it includes the

commencement of the period in which we shall either become a glorious gem in the British Crown, or a by-word amongst the nations. Let the people see to it."

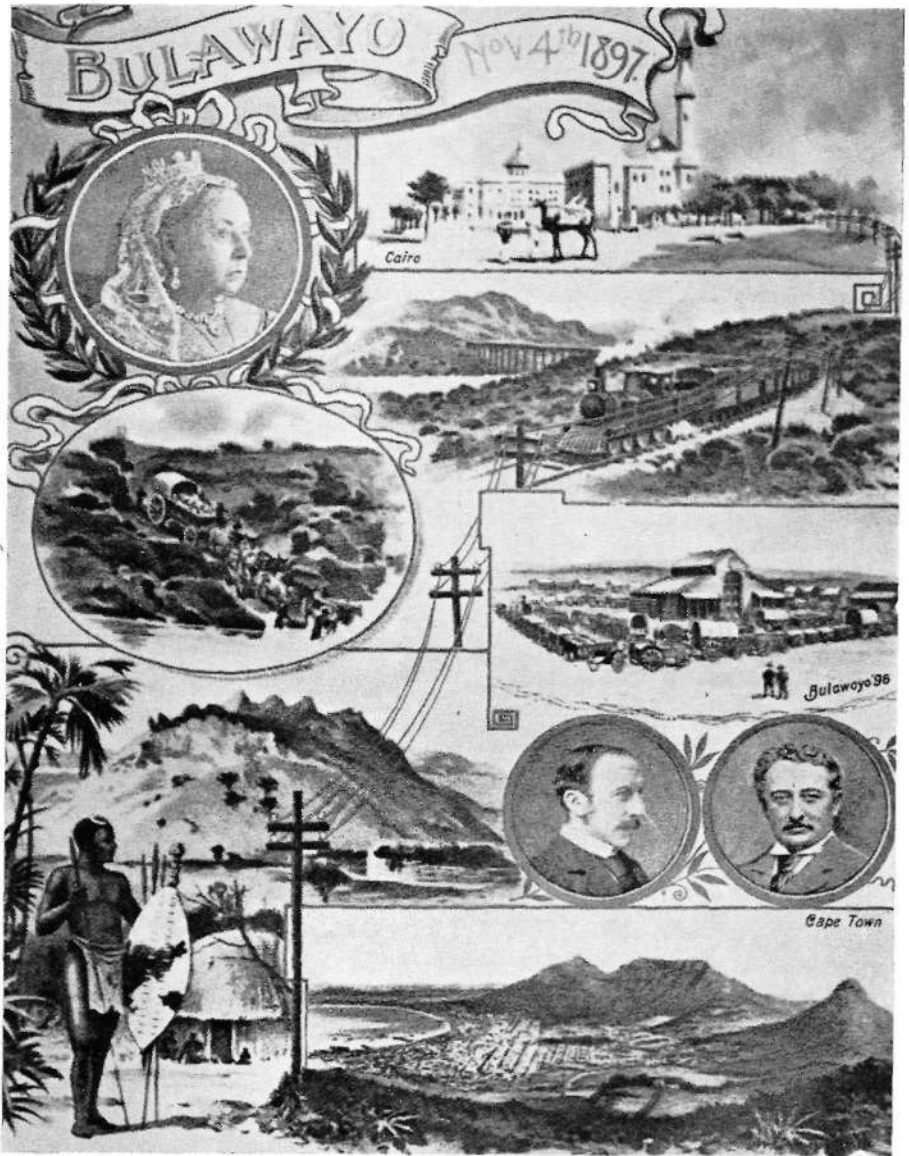
The electric light had been turned on for the first time on the preceding evening, 3rd November. Stores and places of business were closed from 1 p.m. throughout the period 3rd November to 10th November inclusive.

The first of the banquets held on the night of 4th November was an emotionally charged occasion with innumerable toasts, the speakers filled with fervour for the expanding British Empire and praise for the youthful Rhodesia. Nearly 400 people were present. There were no ladies.

Capt. the Hon. A. Lawley, President of the Festivities Committee, proposed the toast of the High Commissioner. Sir Alfred Milner responded proposing, in turn, the toast to the Bechuanaland Railway Company. He said that whatever the prospects before Rhodesia . . . whatever success it obtained, would be due in a large measure to the railways. He paid tribute to Mr. Rhodes, prime mover in the construction of the line and indeed the whole development of the country which bore his name. (Rhodes was not present at the celebrations having contracted "a severe attack of fever in the practically unknown regions north of Umtali while personally supervising the work of carrying on a trans-continental telegraph which will stretch from Cape Town to Cairo".) He apologised to his audience for belabouring them with the native question but said that were it not for the Bechuanaland Railway hundreds and thousands of people, natives of this country, would have in the next few months have died from starvation, whereas their lives would now be preserved as the improved means of communication had enormously cheapened the importation of food.

Capt. Lawley was eloquent on the subject of Rhodes. The Press quotes him as saying: "In the centuries there had always arisen from time to time among the civilised nations some one man, some giant among his fellows, who had striven to penetrate the heart of South Africa and implant the national influence. Let them go up the Nile and they would see what Cambyses had done, what Napoleon did in his day, to carry out their ambitions; go where they would, they would not find that any civilised nation had been able to advance far enough from the coast to leave any permanent work of its life or influence upon the natives of South Africa. What Cambyses, Napoleon, French and German, Portuguese and Dutch had failed to accomplish had been achieved by one man and his name was Cecil Rhodes. He had penetrated 1,400 miles into the heart of Africa, he had introduced the most potent factor for civilisation the world had ever known—he had brought the railway to Bulawayo." He informed the assembly that the following telegram had been sent to Mr. Rhodes: "The Festivities Committee and their guests join in heartiest congratulations on the successful issue of your great enterprise, and in universal regret at your absence from Bulawayo at this eventful time." At this point, Mr. C. E. Prior, J.P., Mayor of Beaconsfield, rose and called for three cheers for the Rt. Hon. Cecil Rhodes. The call was responded to with almost frenzied enthusiasm.

In response to the toast—the Cape Government Railways—proposed by Mr. Townshend Griffin, Commissioner of Mines and Works, Sir James Sive-wright, said of Bulawayo: "This is a city founded and built so far upon faith,



Facsimile of the cover of the programme issued by the Railway Festivities Committee for the opening celebrations. The portraits are those of Queen Victoria, Sir Alfred Milner and Cecil Rhodes.

(National Museum)

and I admire the faith of those who, despite the tremendous difficulties that they have had to contend with, in the face of drought, wars, famines, plagues, and pestilences have shown their faith in the country by putting up a town like this." He referred to a telegram which he had received from Mr. Rhodes in connection with the opening of the railways: "You must come, and we shall meet there. We

are bound, and I have made up my mind, to go on to the Zambezi without delay. We have magnificent coalfields lying between here and there, which means a great deal to us engaged in the practical working of railways. Let us see it on the Zambezi during our lifetime. It will be small consolation to me and to you to know it will be there when we are dead and gone."

A toast proposed by the Surveyor-General, Mr. J. M. Orpen, to the engineers of the Bechuanaland Railway drew a response from Mr. Francis Fox who said that he should not like to have travelled 15,000 or 16,000 miles without having an opportunity of expressing his deep sense of the wonderful skill which Sir Charles Metcalfe had displayed in laying out the Bechuanaland Railway. Linking the name of his brother, Sir Douglas Fox, with expressions of appreciation of the energy and indomitable perseverance of Sir Charles Metcalfe, he said that when they had heard that he had undertaken the almost impossible task of delivering nine miles of survey a week, when they knew that, owing to his energy and that of Messrs. Pauling, 350 miles of railway were constructed in one year and that in less than 17 months they had shipped from England 78,000 tons of steel rails and sleepers, and when they saw the skill with which the line had been laid, he felt that their debt of gratitude to Sir Charles and his able staff of engineers was very great. He remarked that Mr. Rhodes had been pleased to allow five of the locomotives built for the Bechuanaland Railway Company to be sent to Egypt and they had heard from Sir Herbert Kitchener that had it not been for the engines the Sudan expedition would not have been undertaken that year.

In responding, Sir Charles Metcalfe recalled that in 1888 he had called the Bechuanaland Railways the "Central Trunk Line of Africa". Mr. Rhodes had thought that an ambitious title. Now that the line had come through Bechuanaland into Rhodesia and was going on to the Zambezi and probably further, he thought that the title was not a bad one. He said that he had had a letter from Sir Herbert Kitchener in which he expressed the hope that when they reached Khartoum, the Bechuanaland Railway Company would be able to reclaim the five locomotives sent to them.

The contractors of the Bechuanaland Railway Company were honoured in a toast proposed by Mr. E. Ross-Townsend, the Civil Commissioner. Mr. Harold Pauling responded.

The banquet ended at midnight, but not until further toasts had been proposed by the Bishop of Mashonaland to the De Beers Consolidated Mining Company, replied to by Mr. Oats; and to the guests proposed by Mr. Holland and responded to by Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P.

The banquet had been a memorable occasion. For Capt. Lawley, who presided over the proceedings, it provided, according to Hugh Marshall Hole, formerly Civil Commissioner of Bulawayo: "An opportunity such as rarely occurs to young men at the opening of their career. He made several important speeches and magnetised all present by his unexpected gift of oratory. From that moment he was a marked man and from a position of comparative obscurity rose rapidly to one important post after another, until finally he was appointed to the Governship of one of the provinces of India."

The remainder of the festivities provided the visitors with ample interest. Most important of these was the exhibition of minerals staged at the Stock Exchange. Despite the apathy of the miners in sending in exhibits, 26 mines participated. Among the exhibits of ores were specimens of Inyoka tobacco grown by Messrs. Isaac and Halsted.

Dr. Gill, Astronomer Royal for the Cape, lectured on astronomy at the new Wesleyan Church.

Outings by coach were arranged to local scenic and historic points of interest. The children were not overlooked. About 400—with parents and teachers numbering altogether some 600—travelled by train to Khami for a picnic. Before departing for Gwelo, where the arrival of the railway had also been, celebrated in special festivities, the High Commissioner laid the foundation stone of the Public Library, and visited the mineral exhibition at the Stock Exchange, and the Bulawayo Club. Special church services were held in the Roman Catholic Church, the English Church, the Wesleyan Church and the Dutch Reformed Church. Entertainment included a circus, a variety show at the Empire Theatre put on by artists who had come up specially from Johannesburg, race meetings and various sports fixtures. An Indaba which had been arranged and held at Government Houses was attended by 100 or more Matabele Chiefs. Miss Rhodes was the centre of attraction, her marked resemblance to her brother "the Great White Chief," being the "subject of immediate comment and much suppressed gesticulation amongst the Matabele". The effect of her presence was heightened by the gracious manner in which she came forward and made presents to two important Chiefs, Gambo and Sikombo, and to Nyamanda, a son of Lobengula.

At a second banquet for guests and Bulawayans, Capt. Lawley read the following message received through Earl Grey from Balmoral: "The Queen desires me to convey to the people of Bulawayo her heartiest congratulations on the arrival of the railway, and her good wishes for their future prosperity." Several speeches were made by clergymen, but the most memorable was that of H. M. Stanley.

The festivities wound up with a farewell banquet on the night of the departure of the last two special trains. Commented an observer: "No one who looked on the scene would have believed that such a gathering and such a menu could have been found in a city which a year and a half ago was fighting for its life against savage hordes." There was high praise for Mr. Paterson and his manager, Mr. Clothier. One of the speakers, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, said that he had made the journey from Durban in little more than five days.

The first homeward train, which left on Saturday, 6th November, shortly before midnight, met with a mishap at Khami River. It was subsequently reported that it appeared that the points had only been partially driven over, with the result that the train ran onto the tank siding. The electric car and the provision car were both considerably damaged, whilst the saloon containing Mr. Arderne's party was derailed. There were between 50 and 60 passengers on the train but nobody was hurt. The train proceeded on its way in the afternoon.

The last two special trains left in the early hours of the following Thursday morning.

The visitors had been decidedly impressed. Before their departure 250 appended their signatures to a "testimony" in which they expressed their appreciation of "the princely hospitality" and stated their conviction of the assured prosperity of Rhodesia. They recorded their profound regret that "the originator of this vast undertaking was not amongst us to join in the festivities". A visiting special correspondent wrote: ". . . the celebration which with every desire to use moderate language I can only describe as magnificent and in many respects unique . . . The festivities were evidently conceived in a great and comprehensive spirit, and were carried out to the minutest detail in a manner, which showed that those who had taken upon themselves the work, entered into that spirit in the fullest degree."

There was too a valuable assessment from the pen of H. M. Stanley, a widely travelled man. Of his arrival in Bulawayo he wrote: "We saw the crude beginnings of the city that must, if all goes well, grow to a great distinction." Later, meditating on the significance of the arrival of the railway in Bulawayo he recorded: "Bulawayo must tap British Central Africa and the southern parts of the Congo State. That is the position acquired by Bulawayo by the railway from Cape Town. Chicago, less than 6 years ago, had far less pretensions than this town, and yet it has now a million and a half people. Something of what Chicago has become Bulawayo may aspire to." He concluded his observations: "If you step out and look at the town of Bulawayo, and glance at the country, you begin to share the local knowledge of the inhabitants, see with their eyes, and understand on what they base their hopes, and grasp the real meaning of pushing a railway 500 miles to reach the town of 3,000 people."

A report published at the close of the festivities stated that the Cape Government had arranged to take over the line to Bulawayo on 15th November. By early December it was announced that Mr. W. W. Hoy, Assistant Traffic Manager of the Cape Government Railways, stationed at Bulawayo, would leave his temporary office at the siding to open the Cape Government Railways offices in Williams Buildings. The offices would be connected with the siding by telephone and businessmen would be able to obtain all information available about their consignments. By this time goods trains were arriving at the rate of four a day, Bulawayans were taking advantage of the reduced Christmas fares to run down country for a holiday, whilst north-bound trains were arriving with as many as 250 people at a time, "many of them Randites probably driven here by the depression in the Transvaal".

With the festivities over, Bulawayo settled down to the job of development. Reflecting on the celebrations just passed, an editorial in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* on "our deeper life", said: "Beneath the surface flow of flattery and gratulation, which characterised so largely the extraordinary out-pouring of eloquence to which we listened during the week of festivities, there ran an undercurrent more strong and more abiding. Ever and anon the upper stream subsided, and the undercurrent became apparent in forceful words, the memory of which we should retain if we forget all else in connection with the rejoicing. That under-

current was this: that in the complexity of motives, which has brought about the acquisition of this new country and the present stage of its development, the lust for gold has not entirely predominated; that religion, patriotism, the spirit of adventure and other higher incentives have been intermingled in no unworthy measure. And this is true, though our pride in the fact, should be tinged with humility, so that in doing of our future work this deeper and nobler level of motives may enter more and more largely. If Rhodesia is . . . to become one of the brightest jewels in Victoria's Crown, these motives must largely animate the men who are to make it so. For no country ever became truly great, when wealth and pleasure were the chief aims of its people . . . If there was one thing which struck our recent visitors more than any other, it was the stable and peaceful aspect of our town."

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Museum Buildings in Bulawayo

1900-1968

by Roger Summers

Barely seven years after Bulawayo began the present phase of its existence, a group of forward-looking citizens began to plan the establishment of a museum. They were not content merely to have objects on display but from the beginning determined that the museum should be a centre of research and scholarship and this tradition has been followed faithfully throughout the years.

The physical expression of a museum is the building and the public exhibition therein and over the past 68 years the Rhodesia Museum (since 1936, the Natural Museum of Rhodesia) has had five different homes, two in buildings erected for other purposes and three in specially erected buildings.

The centre of a museum is in fact its collections, whether or not these form part of a public display and Rhodesian museums all have their origin in a series of meetings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association in Bulawayo during 1900, when a variety of objects were displayed: geological specimens, stone implements and beetles were the first, later came cases of butterflies and moths, more rocks and minerals and some fossil plants. Cases were bought and other furniture borrowed so that by June 1900 when the Association's first A.G.M. was held, there was a Rhodesian museum: a few cases, some boxes of insects and some photographs of Khami Ruins ranged around the walls of the boardroom of the Chamber of Mines above the Public Library.

This room, which had to serve not only as a boardroom but was the scene of the Scientific Association's meetings as well as those of other bodies, was the museum's home for five years. Nowadays the room still serves as a meeting place and, among other bodies, the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce meets there. The last time it was used for museum purposes was when the South African Museums Association held its annual conference there in 1951.

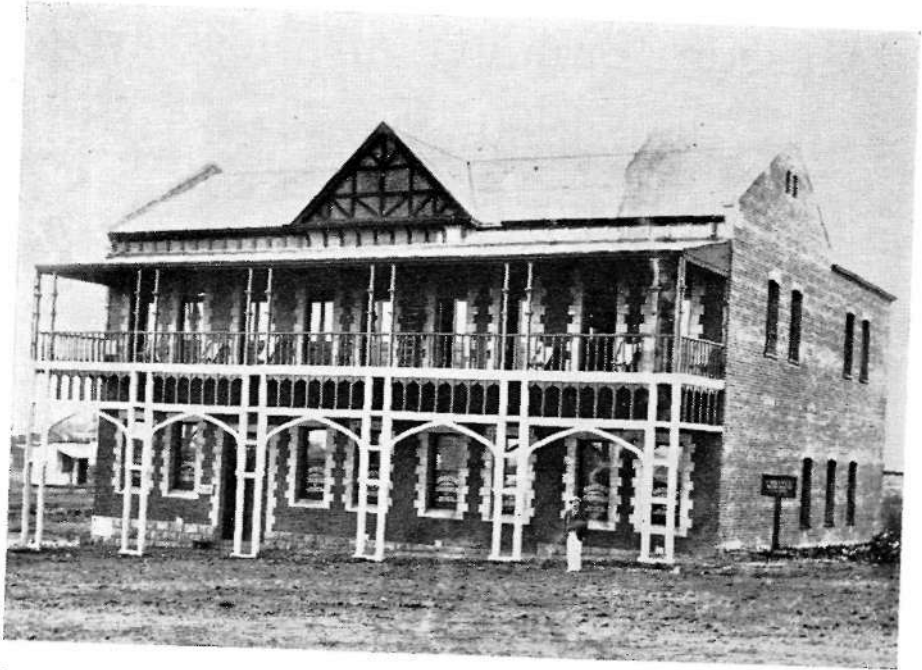
Museum collections, especially of perishable objects, need to be continuously supervised and by December 1901, a full-time curator was appointed. He was the late Frederic Philip Mennell, a pioneer geologist, whose office and laboratory were in a room adjoining the boardroom-cum-museum.

The geological specimens donated in 1900 form the basis of the National Museum's fine mineral collection but the remainder have long since disappeared.

In 1905, the museum moved to larger and more suitable premises in Main Street, where the Committee had bought an abandoned Congregational church.

This building is still standing, although it is much altered.

It was particularly appropriate as a museum building, being lit from high windows thus enabling the maximum floor and wall space to be used. Moreover it was next door to St. George's College (since moved to Salisbury) which not only housed the Jesuit school in the daytime but was used for adult education



The first museum was on the upper floor of this building. 1899 photograph of the Chamber of Mines building, which also housed the public library.



The Chamber of Mines building today. The rusticated stonework and foundation stone assisted identification of detail. *(Bruce MacDonald)*



The second museum, formerly the Congregational Church and now a store room. The cover over the pavement and steel-lined doors were erected about 1954.

(Bruce Macdonald)



Earliest part of the third museum erected in 1910. The doorway shown was made in 1967, the original entrance having been off the picture on the right.

(Bruce Macdonald)

in the evening—this was the germ of the Technical College and Mennell was one of its first lecturers. A close connection still exists between museum and technical college.

Museums are constantly growing and by 1910, the Rhodesia Museum had more material than it could house in the old church. The B.S.A. Company, then administering the country, gave one and a half stands in the government block with frontage to Eighth Avenue and Fort Street, just across the street from the original home in the Library.

The first building on the new site housed all the collections and the staff for 15 years but later it became the Department of Geology only. It is now the Parcels Branch of the General Post Office.

In 1925 the Rhodesia Museum really began to expand. Throughout the First World War and for many years thereafter the museum had been sustained by the efforts of one man—the late Dr. George Arnold—who kept all sides of the museum going, anthropology and geology as well as vertebrate and invertebrate zoology, besides which he was a skilled museum technician (some of his casts of snakes and frogs are still on display) and above all he secured the Rhodesia Museum's research reputation worldwide recognition.

After a long period of lone work, Arnold was joined by other scientists and in 1925 the buildings were enlarged, further additions being made in 1930-31 and 1936 by which time the whole of the available ground had been built up.

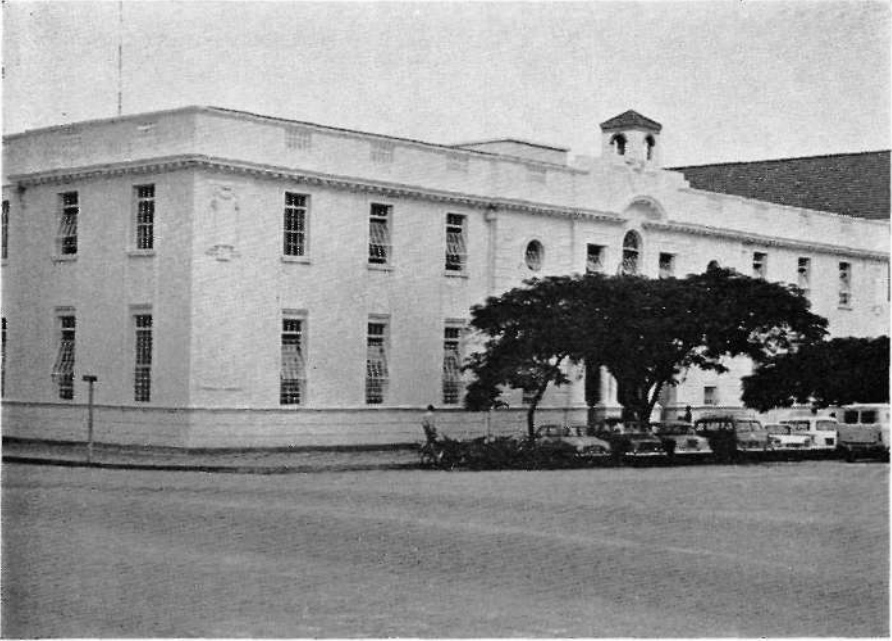
Unfortunately, the plan, which was drawn up in 1925, did not provide for the storage and research facilities which a modern museum needs and accordingly a search was made for a larger site on which to erect modern premises.

This is hardly the place to recount the history of this search, suffice it to say that finally a fine site was given by the City Council in Park Road and a large modern building erected in 1960-62. Whereas the old building had a pleasing exterior and an interior plan which was imposed great discomfort on both staff and visitors, the new building's facade caused a considerable shock to Bulawayo and nicknames like "Colosseum", "Bull Ring" and "Gasometer" were bandied around.

In point of fact the building is round and as it stands in open park land it is intended to be viewed from all sides, so the whole exterior is facade. It is, however, a purely functional building and once the visitor sees the interior, criticism of the external appearance fades away. It is also a pleasant place in which to work.

There is a story (which is quite true) that the architect became so tired of the museum staff's reiterated emphasis on "circulation by the visiting public" that in desperation he cried "Damit! I'll give them a round building" and rushed home to spend a whole night drawing the plan of a building which, with a few alterations, was finally erected.

By 1962, when the museum started moving into its present home, the collections had so far outgrown the Eighth Avenue building that some were kept in Post Office cellars next door, others were in specially erected buildings in Tenth Avenue and yet more in the wards of the old Memorial Hospital in Jameson Street.



The 1930 facade of the old (third) museum in 1968. This is now the Bulawayo Customs House.
(Bruce Macdonald)

The move was complete by 1963 although the necessity for complete re-building of massive displays prevented the public from having access to them until 1964. Even now, four years later, display work is still in progress and the public galleries are not yet complete.

As the buildings in Eighth Avenue ceased to house a museum by the end of 1963, they and the land on which they stood reverted to the Government in the terms of the original grant made many years earlier by the B.S.A. Company.

Various Government departments had temporary accommodation in the buildings, which were still called the Old Museum, but in 1967 the Ministry of Works made extensive alterations so that the Post Office and Customs could be adequately housed. As a result the 1910 building (Fort Street) was cut off completely from the 1925 and later ones (Eighth Avenue). The latter are now called "Custom House".

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The Trees of Old Bulawayo

by G. L. Guy

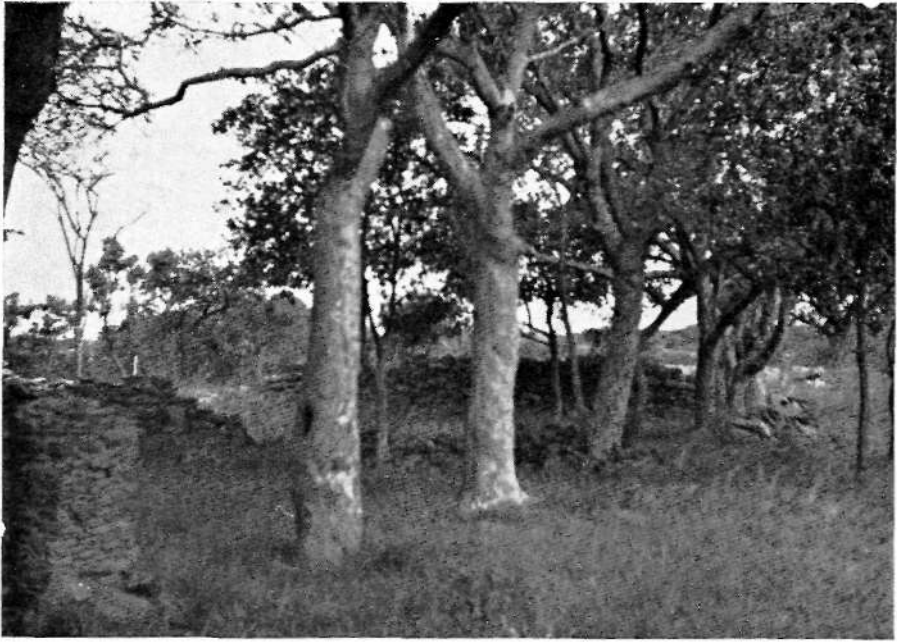
The Abazanzi, or People from the South, who survived the perils of the long years from Zululand to Matabeleland, must have been pleasantly surprised to find so many trees they knew in Zululand growing in their new homeland and this may have been one of the major factors in their decision to stay in Matabeleland.

They may have regarded too, as a favourable omen, the presence of umnca-ga, the royal red ivory wood, reserved for the King's pillow, stool, kerrie and ceremonial assegai and axe handles. Lobengula certainly used the wood, for the Jesuit Fathers refer to his "redwood throne", and there remains a large tree, which was probably reserved for him on what is now Lady Stanley Avenue in Bulawayo.

There must have been some jubilation among the older warriors when they found amangwe-amhlope, for the imiKonto, the dreaded stabbing assegai of the Zulu and Matabele nation. There would have been few of the original women, but some of those picked up on the way, would have been interested to find mangwe for ikuba or badza handles as well. The women would require other woods too, for stamp blocks, grain mortars, trough spoons, etc., and most of the familiar trees of Zululand, umganu, umsinsi, umbandu, umvagazi, umthathi, umgqogqo and many others used for household and medicinal purposes are to be found in Matabeleland. They would have been content with familiar wild fruits such as umthundulukwa and umphafa, the virgin soil grew good crops and there was plenty of fuel.

Fuel was in fact a deciding factor in local migrations, and they literally burned themselves out of house and home: the insatiable demand for fuel spread wider and wider until at last the distances grew too great for the women to keep up with the demand and whole villages would move. Father Croonenberghs records the moving of Gubuluwayo in August 1881 in these words: "After some years, the Kaffir kraals begin to have difficulty in subsisting due to the lack of the necessities of life and the inhabitants must emigrate rather like nomads. After ten or twelve years, all the woods near the village have become despoiled; the trees and shrubs have been used for their fires and it is necessary to go very far indeed to procure the daily requirements of wood for the kitchen. The court burns a great deal of wood, and the stocks become particularly exhausted during the feasts which last one or two weeks. In addition the Kaffirs do not manure their lands and the soil becomes exhausted so that it no longer produces even the poor crop of millet necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. They must then think of moving their tents elsewhere."

Less than a year before the move, the Fathers had written: "With the coming of the first rains everything changes in these fields rendered desolate by the dryness and the heat of the sun. Gubuluwayo is now a veritable paradise . . .



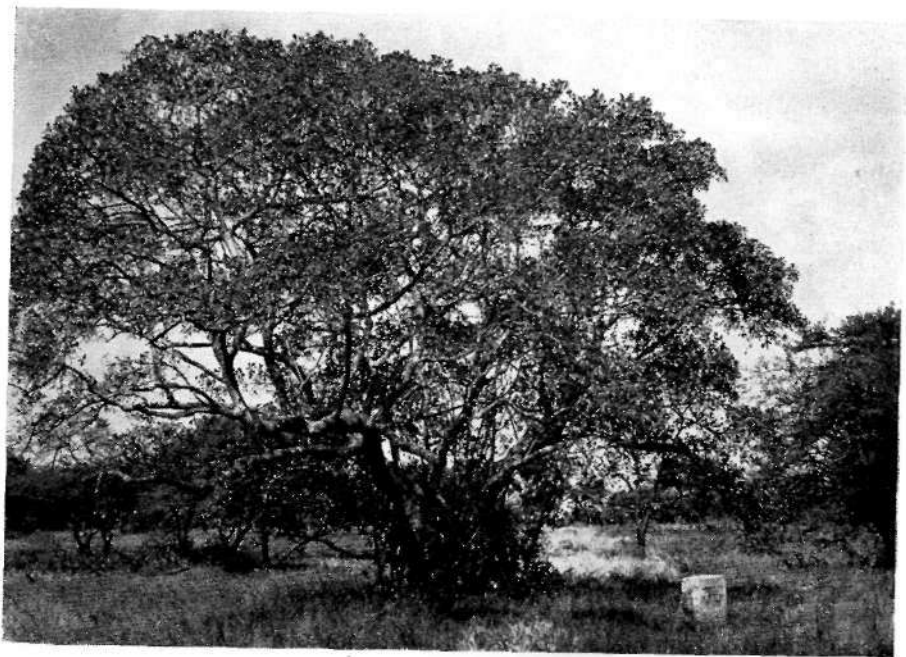
Trees planted by Father Croonenberghs in 1881. They include two species of Kaffirboom and all grew readily from truncheons



Some of the original poplar trees at Hope Fountain Mission. They can be grown readily from cuttings and the whole of the stream is a thicket of young trees. The old orchard lies just to the left of the picture. Planted by Rev. C. D. Helm.



One of the syringa trees still growing in the Old Jesuit Mission. The branch had been broken down by a recent storm. Planted by Father Croonenberghs in 1881. ?



What remains of the Indaba tree at Old Bulawayo has been taken over entirely by Strangler fig. The remains of the old tree consists only of a decaying trunk. The stone in the foreground is a National Monument Notice.



The Indaba tree at New Bulawayo in the grounds of Government House since it has been enclosed by a picket fence. It has grown enormously.

Recently I planted ten big trees in our courtyard: this being much simpler to do than in Belgium. One can saw off the trunk close to the ground, plant it in the soil, and behold, one has a fine tree whose roots grow without even losing its leaves, and which is likely to produce fruit within a year. The natives have brought me four tree aloes in full flower; one is 12 feet high, the others 5 feet. Not far from our house we can admire some euphorbias which are more than 30 foot high: their wide crowns are not unlike those of some of our finest oaks in Belgium."

The Fathers must have sought local advice, or used their powers of observations to some effect. The trees they planted were all species which grow easily and quickly from truncheons and they are still there. One would like to think that the devout fathers planted, at the same time, the syringas still growing in the garden. There is an old tradition at Nyati that Robert Moffat planted the first syringas there and he probably did do so, because he was writing to his wife Mary in August 1859 about planting some "bead trees" at the burying ground at Kuruman and he probably carried seeds with him for his son and daughter-in-law: the Jesuits probably found the trees when they bought the house and land from R. Greite for £500, but they may have planted the syringas to provide beads for their converts' rosaries, for the name "bead tree" is derived from the usage of the seed. The devout of several religious Christians, Copts and Moslems have used the seeds for rosaries in the Middle East for centuries and at the outset the Fathers were full of hope of converts, "we must drag these

people away from their savagery, that is to say their laziness, from improvidence, from a complete lack of industry: we must teach them in a practical manner to enjoy the fruits of Christian civilisation and of Christianity". Two years and many murders, judicial and family, later, the hopes of early converts had faded for we find Father Croonenberg writing that "the distance which separates the White race from the black race is an abyss which only Jesus Christ himself can fill."

Relations between Catholic and Protestant in savage Matabeleland were cordial, more cordial than they would have been nearer civilisation and Father Croonenberg records "the kindnesses of these Protestant ministers who have helped our efforts and who have argued in our favour with Lobengula so that he might accede to our requests".

We can be sure that the Rev. C. D. Helm showed them proudly around his garden and orchards where he had planted, four years previously, cuttings of poplar quince, prickly pears and Spanish reed, and seeds of peach, almond, pear, orange, lemon, apple and walnuts.

The poplars are still rampant along the river at Hope Fountain, and the old orchard can still be traced, plum, apple, prickly pear struggling against the encroaching acacia.

The Royal tree of old Bulawayo was the Indaba tree in whose shade court was held; in those days it was an umgqogqo. In the last two years the old Indaba tree has vanished, killed by a strangler fig which has completely smothered it. Only the rotting trunk being left. There is another in the grounds of Government House, Bulawayo, which is well known to visitors and which has given its common English name to the species "Indaba tree".

Finally, the whole area of old Bulawayo needs research by biologists: we know when it was abandoned and we know that it was almost completely bare of trees and shrubs and here is an ideal opportunity to study rates of growth and soil recovery after impoverishment.

Zulu	Ndebele	
Amangwe-mhlope	Umangwe	<i>Terminalia sericea</i> Burch.
umkandu	ipanza, citamuzi	<i>Lonchocarpus capassa</i> Rolf,
umganu	iganu, munganu	<i>Sclerocarya birrea</i>
umgqogqo	isagogwane	<i>Pappea capensis</i> E. & Z.
umphafa	umpafa	<i>Ziziphus mucronata</i> Wild,
umsinsi		<i>Erythrina lysistemon</i> Hutch.
umthathe	umpahla	<i>Ptaeroxylon obliquum</i> (Thunb.) Radlk.
umtundulukwa	umtunduluka	<i>Ximenia caffra</i> Sond.
umvangazi	umvagazi	<i>Pterocarpus angolensis</i> D.C.
Poplar		<i>Populus canescens</i> not <i>P. alba</i>
Syringa, bead tree		<i>Melia azederach</i> L.

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A further note on the Battle of Shangani

by R. L. Moffat

(From time to time there has been a good deal written in the pages of *Rhodesiana* about the two battles of Imbembesi and Shangani. There was an eye-witness account of Imbembesi in our December 1966 issue. In our last issue, No. 17, there was an authoritative article by R. Summers and C. W. D. Pagden on both battles. The main reason for publishing this article are that it includes an eye-witness account of the battle of Shangani by lengthy quotations from a very rare book. This is "The Downfall of Lobengula: the Cause, History and Effect of the Matabeli War" by W. A. Wills and L. T. Collingridge, published in 1894 *Africa Review*, London). The book has been described by a correspondent as "good Victorian Colonial drama even if rather one-sided", so that even though much of this note overlaps with what Summers and Pagden wrote not many of our readers will have had the opportunity of reading Wills and Collingridge.—*Editor.*)

The Salisbury and Victoria columns, having joined forces at Iron Mine Hill, advanced on Bulawayo and arrived at the Shangani River on the 24th October, 1893. Major P. W. Forbes, who was in command, and Major Alan Wilson, after some difficulty, found a place, where, with a good deal of cutting, two drifts could be made. They left the men at work and rode up the other side to find an open space to laager. The bush along the river and extending for about half a mile was very thick mimosa with deep dongas running through it, but about a thousand yards from the river there was an open ridge large enough to take in both laagers and after the bush had been cleared round it, formed a very good position.

By 3 p.m. the drifts were made and the oxen inspanned. Before moving two mounted troops with two maxims and a seven-pounder were sent to take up positions on two kopjes on the west bank and so cover the crossing. Two mounted troops were also sent across the river, one under Captain Borrow to work down among the hills to the north, and one under Captain Fitzgerald to the south to destroy kraals and seize cattle, thus preventing any chance of an attack being made on the columns while crossing.

The drifts were not good but everyone realised that it was a dangerous place and worked hard with the result that the Salisbury column took 16 and the Victoria column 19 minutes to get all the wagons across, and within an hour and a half of starting they were laagered on the west bank. Each column had 18 wagons which worked out at an average of about a minute per wagon to make the crossing, which was pretty good going to say the least of it.

Incidentally the total starting strengths of the columns was: white men 672, native drivers 155, and horses 414. Apart from rifles the armament comprised:

three galloping maxims, one seven-pounder Gardiner gun, one seven-pounder screw-gun, and a Nordenfeldt gun. By the time the columns reached the Shangani they had with them about 900 natives, mostly Mashonas, who proved most useful in cutting roads, bushing the laagers, making kraals, and driving the captured cattle.

Shortly after laagering, cattle and goats began to come in, sent in by patrols, and by dark these amounted to about 1,000 head of cattle and some 900 sheep and goats. However, very little grain, of which they were badly in need, was found in any of the kraals. Some of the natives who had accompanied the foraging party found at one kraal, Mgandane's, about 30 women and children who had been captured the year before from their kraals, Gutu's and Bira's, close to Victoria, to which some of the natives belonged. The women were delighted to see their own people and insisted on accompanying the columns. They were rather a hindrance but could not be left to the mercy of the Matabeli.

There was not time to make a very strong kraal for all the cattle before dark, but as good a one as time would permit was built about 200 yards from and to the east of the centre of the combined laager. Certain of the natives were not very friendly with some of the others and preferred to camp by themselves, and so made a small kraal about 600 yards from the north-east of the laagers on the rise. But for this fact it is possible that the enemy might have taken columns by surprise in the ensuing attack. Some of the other natives slept beside the cattle kraal and the remainder between the two laagers.

The pickets were doubled and the combined laagers made very strong that night, and Major Forbes himself went round the last thing to see that everything was all right, ten white men and three natives having been posted.

Shortly after dark two rocket signals were sent up, followed by two rockets on the chance of some scouts from the southern column (approaching Bulawayo from Tuli), being in the neighbourhood. Ever since starting the trek both laagers were manned at 4 a.m., an hour before daylight, which is the natives' favourite time for attack, and every man slept fully dressed, and in his boots with his rifle beside him.

The following is extracted verbatim from Major Forbes' account of the battle: "At five minutes to four the following morning we were suddenly awakened by quick firing and realised that the enemy were on us. The waggons were manned immediately, and fire opened all round the laager. It was too dark to see the natives at first, but their position was shown by the flashes that came from the grass all round the laager. I jumped up on the nearest waggon and tried to see into the darkness, but could distinguish nothing but the flashes, which were very close and frequent. The enemy were so close to us that I did not think it safe to stop firing, even if I had been able to do so in the noise that was going on, and I was very much afraid that some of the men on picket would be killed either by friends or enemies, and I was greatly relieved to hear shortly afterwards that they all got safely in. During the first attack Mr. Quested (in charge of the native contingent) came into the laager. He had been sleeping with his natives, and they had received the brunt of the attack, waking up to find the Matabeli right upon them and stabbing them. Quested managed to make a stand for a

short time, and then retired on the laager with the people; he was wounded in the arm and side, and had his thumb shot off. Most of his people managed to get into the laager, although several were wounded. C Troop was inlying picket, and had saddled up their horses at the first alarm; A Troop was on the right and B on the left face of the laager. The first attack lasted about half-an-hour, and then the enemy's fire ceased; it was still too dark to see any distance, but objects in the immediate vicinity were visible.

"As I was afraid that some of our friendly natives might have failed to get into the laager, I sent Captain Spreckley with twenty mounted men to go round the open ground close to the laager, and see if he could find anyone; he brought in several of our natives, and a few shots were fired at his party from the bush, but no harm was done.

"Shortly after they returned, and when it was getting light enough to see some distance, a large number of natives were seen collecting on the top of a small rise about 350 yards to the south-east of the laager. I was standing with Mr. Chappe at the Maxim at the left rear of our laager watching them through glasses, and from the quiet way they were moving about, took them to be some of our natives who had escaped into the bush at the first alarm, and now gone there for safety. There must have been between 200 to 300 of them, and I could see no shields among them. After they had collected on the top of the rise, they opened out and began to walk quietly down towards the laager; I, and I think everyone who was watching them except Mr. Chappe, who insisted that they were Matabeli, thought that they were friendlies. They advanced down the slope in a most casual way, without hurrying or attempting to take cover, and I allowed no firing at them. When they got to the bottom of the slope they suddenly sat down and commenced to fire at us. A very heavy fire was at once poured on them from two or three Maxims and about 200 rifles, and they were forced to retire over the hill much faster than they had come down. The way they advanced was most plucky, and we found out afterwards that they were the Insukameni, the best regiment there. Had the whole of the attacking force come on in the same way, we should have had more trouble than we had. As soon as they advanced firing recommenced from the bush all round; but very few natives appeared in the open, and after they retired the firing ceased again.

"After waiting for some time, during which only a few shots were fired at us at long distances, and it was now broad daylight, patrols were sent out to see if the enemy had retired. Each of these parties found the enemy in the bush within half-a-mile of the laager, and after a sharp skirmish, in which we lost four horses, had to fall back on the laager, towards which the enemy followed them, but were driven back by the Maxims.

"A large number of Matabeli now appeared on a small kopje, 2,000 yards to the west of the laager, and they appeared to be reforming there, but three well-directed shells from the Salisbury seven-pounder dispersed them. Meanwhile Captain Lendy was doing great execution with the Hotchkiss gun, firing at small parties crossing the open 1,500 to 2,000 yards to the south and south-west of the laager. It was afterwards found that one of the one-pounder shells had killed twelve men.

"When the Matabeli were driven back for the third time, it was thought that they had retired altogether, and the mounted parties were again sent out. The one from the Victoria laager found a few natives in the bush, and succeeded in dislodging them, pursuing them for some distance and killing a considerable number. Captain Spreckley found that they had all retired from the side on which he went out, and Captain Heany found none within about 1,000 yards on his side; the latter had just got on to an open ridge visible from the laager, and had dismounted his men to engage a body of the enemy in his immediate front, when he was attacked from both sides by a large force; they were close to him in the bush when they commenced firing, and tried to cut him off, but he managed by retiring at a gallop to get into an open laagte (glade), and halted his troop in the bush on the side nearest to the laager. The enemy at the time were emerging in numbers from the bush about eighty yards in his rear; the troop at once dismounted and engaged them, driving them back into the bush and then, re-forming, returned into laager. He had two horses wounded but no other casualties, although several men had narrow escapes, one having the sole of his boot and another his belt cut by bullets. The natives fell back behind a bushy kopje, from which they attacked, and as they appeared to be in force there, I had the seven-pounder brought to the north face of the laager and shelled their position. At the same time I sent Captains Heany and Borrow back again, the latter going to the east of the kopje. When they got there they found the position vacated, and after going a considerable distance round and finding that the enemy had all retired, returned to laager; this was the end of our first battle.

"We ascertained from a wounded native who was brought in that the force which attacked us consisted of the Insukameni, Ihlati, Amaveni, and Siseba Regiments, and Jingen, Enxna, Zinyangene, and Induba kraals, in all not less than 5,000; that they had been waiting for us in the Somabula forest, but that we had passed it before they knew where we were, and that they had then followed us up, expecting to catch us before we got to the Shangani; that they had arrived shortly before dark on the previous evening, and had been in position ready to attack about ten o'clock, but the rocket signal and rockets sent up had frightened them, and the attack had been postponed until day-break; they were all to advance as close to the laager as possible under the cover of darkness, and then rush in with assegais. It was finding Queded's natives so far away that caused the first firing, and so gave us the alarm. The wounded native was one of the Insukameni, and had been present when they walked down the slope towards the laager, but had been shot through the back when they were retiring; he said that their orders were to attack us on the march and not in laager, and not to use their rifles; he could give no idea of the number killed and wounded but said that there was a very large number. From what we ascertained later there cannot have been less than 500. A considerable number of dead were left on the field, but most of them and the wounded were carried away; several of the wounded hanged themselves or threw themselves into the river to avoid being taken. Our casualties had been very few, owing to their bad shooting; they believed that the higher they put up the sights of their rifles the

harder they would shoot, and consequently nearly all their shots were too high."

Only one white man was lost, Trooper Walters of the Victoria column who was wounded in action and died the same night. Six others were wounded including Trooper Forbes, the Major's brother. One of the drivers, described as a Colonial "boy", was killed. The losses among the friendly natives were heavy, 40 to 50 were killed, including several women and children. As soon as things were quiet Major Forbes rode round the field with Dr. Jameson (yes, he was there too). By Quested's laager they found a large number of dead and wounded, some Matabeli and some friendly. When the Matabeli rushed them they had stabbed indiscriminately, and there was one child, about two years old, stabbed in three places; three women were found badly wounded and five dead. The wounded were taken to the laager and attended to, and two of the three recovered.

The Bishop (Bishop Knight-Bruce of Mashonaland) went round and had all the wounded natives carried up to the laager and attended to, and they were afterwards taken on by wagon. The oxen had been tied up as usual to the trektows outside the wagon and Major Forbes writes that he was curious to see what effect the firing had on them. "I was astonished to see that it had practically none; they all stood up when it began, and after that did not move, standing perfectly quiet although there was heavy firing going on close over their heads, and several of them were killed by the enemy's fire. Ten of the horses were also killed.

"As soon as it was evident that the enemy had finally retired, the pickets were posted and the oxen and horses turned out to graze. As I wished the Matabeli to see that their attack had not interfered with our advance, I decided to move on that afternoon. There was a large open plain about three miles from us and just beyond the hills, and if we could get there safely we need not fear another attack. The open space between the hills along which we had to go was very narrow, and that afternoon's march was the most anxious time I had all through the campaign; if we had then been attacked and had had to laager, the natives could have fired right down into the laagers from the hills, and we should have had great trouble in dislodging them. The two columns moved close together, each in four parallel columns, and as many men as could be spared were kept on the flanks; we got out all right, but I felt inexpressibly relieved when we got round the end of the hills into a large open valley. We headed for the widest part of it and laagered there, having done about three miles." [It is possible that they camped somewhere in the vicinity of where the Shangani Recreation Club is now situated.]

"We had noticed a curious thing that morning, that whenever a shell exploded all the Matabeli near fired their rifles at it; on enquiry from a prisoner we found that they thought that the shell was full of little white men, who ran out as soon as it burst and killed everybody near; we saw this done almost every time a shell was fired during the campaign." [It appeared as if the Matabele anticipated, by some years, the advent of mini flying-saucers.]

"We had one prisoner, a very good-looking boy of about eighteen, being a pure Matabeli; he was shot through the lower part of the spine, which was all

shattered, and was partially paralysed; he was very quiet and gentle, and very-grateful for all that was done for him; he sent me messages on several occasions, warning me of certain localities where we were likely to be attacked, and always gave me all the information he could; we took him to Bulawayo and he was doing well, although he would always have been crippled; but after the country was settled his people came for him, and I heard that he afterwards died at his kraal."

Great courage was displayed by both sides and thus the Battle of Shangani. 25th October, 1893, passed into the history of our country. The columns continued their advance on Bulawayo, interrupted by the Battle of Imbembesi—Bulawayo was found to be in flames and the King had fled to the north. There followed the pursuit of Lobengula and Allan Wilson's last stand which has been immortalised in our history and in the shrine at the Matopos. The whole story from the Shangani River here and back to the river, a hundred miles or so to the north, is a fascinating one, a story of man's greed, endurance, and heroism.

SEARCHING FOR THE SITE

The site of the Battle of Shangani is on the southern section of Shangani Ranch and recently Jim Robertson* and I accompanied an expedition endeavouring to locate the exact spot. The others were Mr. Roger Summers, Keeper of Antiquities of the National Museums of Rhodesia, Col. Hickman, M.B.E., a member of the National Monuments Commission, and Mr. C. W. D. Pagden, lecturer in history at the Teachers' Training College, and a Rhodesiana enthusiast.

With the aid of maps, both ancient and modern, a study of the terrain, and much discussion, the "fundis" decided that they had found the site of the battle and also the old drift constructed for the columns to cross the river. This is situated a few hundred yards downstream from the present bridge on the road to Gwelo.

For Jim and me it was a most interesting morning, and by a coincidence Mr. Summers' invitation to join them came at the time that I was preparing this month's article in your History in our Midst series.

* Manager, Shangani Ranch.

Recent additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

(It has been felt for some time that readers of Rhodesiana might like to know of new publications on Africa which have been added to the National Archives Library. To fill this need the Librarian, Mr. C. Coggin, has offered to contribute a short list of such accessions for inclusion with each issue of the journal.

Entries are accompanied by annotations, which are given when elucidation is considered necessary; such notes are not intended as critical reviews in any way. All books listed are new editions and, for the benefit of those readers who may wish to acquire them, are therefore available through booksellers. And, of course, they may be consulted at the National Archives.—Editor.)

BALDWIN, WILLIAM CHARLES. *African hunting and adventure*. Cape Town, C. Struik, 1967. (xiv) 428 pages, illustrated, 90s.

A facsimile reprint of the third edition of Baldwin's book, first published in 1862. Excerpts dealing with his visit to Victoria Falls in 1860 appeared in *Rhodesiana* No. 14.

DAVISON, EDWARD. *Wankie: the story of a great game reserve*. Illustrated by Penny Miller. Cape Town, Books of Africa, 1967. (vi) 211 pages, illustrated, 37s 6d.

Ted Davison was warden of Wankie from 1928, the year in which it was proclaimed, to 1961.

GODFREY, DENNIS. *Antiques and bygones: notes for South African collectors*. Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1967. (xiii) 123 pages, plates, 35s.

The author of *The enchanted door*, a work on Africana book-collecting, now turns to antiques, paintings and other objects of interest to collectors of "Victoriana".

HOLE, HUGH MARSHALL. *Old Rhodesian days*. London, Frank Cass, 1968. (viii) 140 pages, illustrated, fold map, 42s.

First published in 1928 by Macmillan. Hole's book on the lighter side of Rhodesia's history has been much sought after in recent years. This new impression follows the original format and type very closely and is virtually a facsimile reprint.

KAY, F. GEORGE. *The shameful trade*. London. Frederick Muller, 1967. (vi) 218 pages, plates, 30s.

The story of the slave trade with emphasis on western participation which, the author maintains, began when Prince Henry the Navigator's explorers returned with slaves from the west African coast in the fifteenth century. Slave trading activities in Central Africa are included in this account.

Louis, WILLIAM ROGER. *Great Britain and Germany's lost colonies, 1914-1919*. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1967. (xii) 167 pages, maps, 37s.

British colonial aims during and immediately after World War 1. The

author discusses the reasons why Germany's colonies were not returned at the end of the war.

RAVEN-HART, R. *Before van Riebeeck: callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*. Cape Town, Struik, 1967. (vi) 216 pages, plates, 49s. 6d.

Excerpts from published and unpublished accounts of early journeys to the Cape by explorers and navigators from the time of Bartholomew Dias to Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. An interesting feature is the inclusion of footnotes and annotations in one alphabetical sequence with the index.

RHOODIE, DENYS. *Conspirators in conflict: a study of the Johannesburg Reform Committee and its role in the conspiracy against the South African Republic*. Cape Town, Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1967. 142 pages, plates, 28s. 6d.

This work was originally submitted as a thesis to the University of Pretoria. In it, the author has made use, for the first time, of the papers of Charles Leonard, chairman of the Uitlanders' Transvaal National Union.

ROSENTHAL, ERIC. *Stars and stripes in Africa, being a history of American achievement in Africa by explorers, missionaries, pirates, adventurers, hunters, miners, merchants, scientists, soldiers, showmen, engineers, and others, with some account of Africans who have played a part in American affairs . . .* (2nd ed.). Cape Town, National Books Limited, 1968. (ix) 256 pages, 39s. 6d.

A thoroughly revised edition of the original which appeared in 1938. Accounts of American activities in Africa since then have been brought up to date, much of the original text rewritten, and new illustrations added.

SANDISON, ALAN. *The wheel of Empire: a study of the imperial idea in some late nineteenth and early twentieth-century fiction*. London, Macmillan, 1967. (viii) 213 pages, 30s.

"An attempt to discover the nature and function of the imperial idea in the work of some late Victorian novelists and short-story writers."—author's introduction. An analysis, principally, of the writings of Rider Haggard, Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad and John Buchan.

SOWELEM, R. A. *Towards financial independence in a developing economy: an analysis of the monetary experience of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1952-63*. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1967. 329 pages, 55s.

A study of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and its role in the economic development of the Federation.

VAN DER SPUY, KENNETH REID. *Chasing the wind*. Cape Town, Books of Africa, 1966. 261 pages, illustrated, 40s.

In this autobiography Maj-Gen. van der Spuy, one of the first men to be trained as a pilot in South Africa, tells of his experiences in two world wars and his part in the development of the South African Air and Union Defence forces.

Notes

RHODESIANA SOCIETY DINNER, 1968

In view of this year being the 75th Anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland the Committee of the Rhodesiana Society have decided to hold the Annual Banquet in Bulawayo this year.

Various functions are planned in the week following the 1st November and the Committee of the Matabeleland Branch of the Society are planning excursions for members of the Society and their friends to the Matopos and other places of historical interest during this period. The dinner will be held at the Grand Hotel, Bulawayo, on Friday, 1st November at 7.30 p.m. (for 8 p.m.). Tickets will cost 30s. each and cheques should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, The Rhodesiana Society (Matabeleland Branch), 13 Clark Road, Bulawayo.

MATABELELAND BRANCH OF THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

A meeting of the Matabeleland members of the Society was held on 18th October, 1967, with Mr. M. H. Barry, O.B.E., in the chair. At this meeting it was agreed that it was desirable to form a branch of the Society and the following committee was elected:

Mr. P. B. Gibbs, *Chairman*.

Dr. O. N. Ransford.

Mr. C. W. D. Pagden.

Mr. D. T. Low, *Honorary Secretary*.

On 14th January, 1968, the Committee organised a Field Day which proved very successful and a large number of members and their friends attended. The Field Day consisted of a visit to Old Bulawayo and the Jesuit Mission in the morning and in the afternoon, after a picnic lunch at the Teachers' Training College, the party went on to Government House. There the apartments and grounds were visited and the party then proceeded to "White Man's Camp", and finally to Umvutcha Kraal. The Branch is particularly indebted to the speakers at the various sites during the course of the day. They were: Mr. Cran Cooke of the Historical Monuments Commission; Dr. Ransford and Mr. C. W. D. Pagden. The next function was a Behind the Scenes tour of the National Museum which took place on the 5th April and was well attended. We are grateful to Mr. Graham Guy for his interesting talk and for permitting this excursion. The Committee plans a further Field Day in the near future.

REGINALD BRAY: POLICE PIONEER

Col. Hickman has sent in the following further comments:

Part of the puzzle picture which appeared in *Rhodesiana* No. 16 of July

1967 has now, in my opinion, been solved by an observant parson, who is the third reader to send in suggestions, two of which were printed in *Rhodesiana* No. 17.

The Rev. R. Le B. Johnson wrote to me from P.O. Buffalo Range as follows:

"I have been studying the photograph . . . but presume I am not the first to offer a solution . . . *Rhodesiana* 16 reached me only recently, as it came to me via the U.K. where I was for six months last year.

"My observations are:

Lyons-Montgomery is also probably sitting on the barrel. [I agree. A.S.H.] He is holding playing-cards: one card is visible in the hook of the riding crop. Club or spade? [It appears to be a dark card with two digits visible. A.S.H.]

Two, not three, of his companions are definitely holding glasses half-charged with a very dark drink. Ham is holding a playing-card in his right hand and is just about to play it on to the others which can be seen between his glass and the bottle on the table. He holds other cards in his left hand." [I had mistaken the card in Ham's left hand for a glass! A.S.H.]

I last saw Fr. Johnson when he took the annual memorial service to the Norton family and their retainers at Norton School, followed by a pilgrimage to their mass grave in the grounds of the Morton-Jaffray Waterworks, where B.S.A. Police trumpeters sounded the "Last Post" and the "Reveille", and the head girl and boy laid a wreath. Amongst those who always attend the ceremony was George Talbot, the only survivor. (See *Rhodesiana* No. 3.)

Fr. Johnson has recently been appointed as priest in charge of the Lowveld—including Chiredzi, Triangle and Buffalo Range, a formidable task.

LAST PHASE OF EAST AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, 1914-19—ERRATA

We regret several errors in the article with the above title in *Rhodesiana* No. 17. The errors are connected with the notes.

On the second last line at bottom of page 53, "Mtamacurra" should read "Nhamacurra".

A number of index figures indicating notes have been left out. On page 41. line 16, the figure 4 should appear after the name "Gwendolen". On page 41. line 29, the figure 6 should appear after the name "May". On page 42, line 12. the figure 8 should appear after the words "those days". On page 44, line 24. the figure 19 should appear after the name "Luwina". On page 48, line 1, the figure 28 should appear after the name "Leslie". On page 49, line 37, the figure 30 should appear after the name "Sprangenberg".

HISTORIC BAOBABS—ERRATA

In the article "Notes on Some Historic Baobabs" by G. L. Guy in No. 16 of *Rhodesiana* the Baines' sketch on page 22 is wrongly credited to the Africana Museum, Johannesburg. It should have been credited to the Royal Geographical Society, London. The error is regretted.

**SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL:
A NOTE ON TWO RECENT ISSUES**

In some ways the Society of Malawi, founded in 1946 and with membership of nearly 500, is a similar association to the Rhodesiana Society. The objects of the former are, *inter alia*, to promote interest in literary, historical and scientific matters and to discover and place on record, in the journal of the Society, facts and information about the country and its peoples which might otherwise, in the course of time, be lost.

Like *Rhodesiana*, *The Society of Malawi Journal* is published bi-annually and many of the earlier issues are no longer available.

The January 1967 issue of *The Society of Malawi Journal* (Volume XX, No. 1) contains five articles. The first deals with the history and development of the Nchalo Sugar Estate, which is situated in the Chikwawa District of the southern region of Malawi.

Of interest to ichthyologists are "The Fishes of Lake Chilwa" by R. G. Kirk and "The Lake Chilwa Fisheries" by A. J. P. Mzumara. The lake is the twelfth largest in the southern hemisphere, was visited by David Livingstone in April 1859, and described in his narrative of the Zambesi expedition published in 1865.

The editor of the journal, Mr. G. D. Hayes, who is also a member of the Rhodesiana Society, contributes an article on the Museum of Malawi, which now reposes in a new building opened on 29th June, 1966, and in the establishment of which the Society of Malawi, or the Nyasaland Society as it then was, played such an active part.

The final article gives a brief account of the capture in Malawi of a rare butterfly, namely, *cooksonia aliciae*.

In the July 1967 issue (Volume XX, No. 2) there are six articles including an etymological article entitled "The Name 'Akafula' ", and articles on "The Making of a Dug-out Canoe" and "The Epiphytic Orchids of Soche Mountain."

An interesting article by G. D. Hayes entitled "Nyala and the Lechwe Game Reserve" deals with that rare and beautiful antelope, the nyala, which is found in the Lengwe and Mwabvi game reserves in Malawi and which has been described by early writers on African game and wild life.

The well-known archaeologist J. Desmond Clark contributes "Notes on Archaeological Work Carried Out During 1966 in Northern Malawi". The object of this work, which was commenced in 1965 and continued during 1966, was to examine the Pleistocene lake sediments in the area between Karonga and Deep Bay with a view to finding localities where fossil bones might be preserved in association with early human artifacts, or, in short, to reconstruct the history of man in the Malawi Rift.

The final article, written by B. Pachai and entitled "In the Wake of Livingstone and the British Administration: Some Considerations of Commerce and Christianity in Malawi", is of considerable interest. The article deals with its subject by examining three questions, namely: What were the main consequences of Livingstone's journeys in the Shire Highlands and up Lake Nyasa? What part did the chief Missions play in the opening up of the country? What were

the main issues which influenced the relationship between the British Administration and the representatives of Christianity and Commerce?

The address of the Secretary of the Society of Malawi is P.O. Box 125. Blantyre, Malawi.

M. J. KIMBERLEY.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. J. Charles Shee is a Consulting Physician in Bulawayo. He is a Doctor of Medicine of the National University of Ireland, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London

After war service in the far east, he came to Bulawayo in 1948 and since then, his publications have been mainly concerned with the interaction of Western man and his environment in Central Africa, also on medico-historical subjects in an African context. He makes occasional radio and T. V. appearances, preferably in lighthearted quiz-type programmes. Dr. Shee is a member of the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments. He is married and has six children.

Louis W. Bolze was born in South Africa and educated at Dale College. Kingwilliamstown, and served with the Railway Construction Engineers, South African Engineering Corps, in East Africa, Palestine and Syria, North Africa and Italy during World War II. He left the South African Railways Publicity and Travel Department, in 1952, to come to Rhodesia, taking up an appointment as associate editor, in Bulawayo, with a firm publishing trade and technical journals. For the past four years he has been with Rhodesia Railways as Senior Public Relations Officer. He was co-author, with Klaus Ravn, of the cartoon histories, *Life With UDI* and *More Life With UDI*.

D. Hartridge was born in Umtali. His grandfather came to Rhodesia in 1891. He was educated at the University College of Rhodesia in Salisbury where he gained a B.A., and Manchester University where he obtained a Diploma in Adult Education. He is now employed at the National Archives in Salisbury.

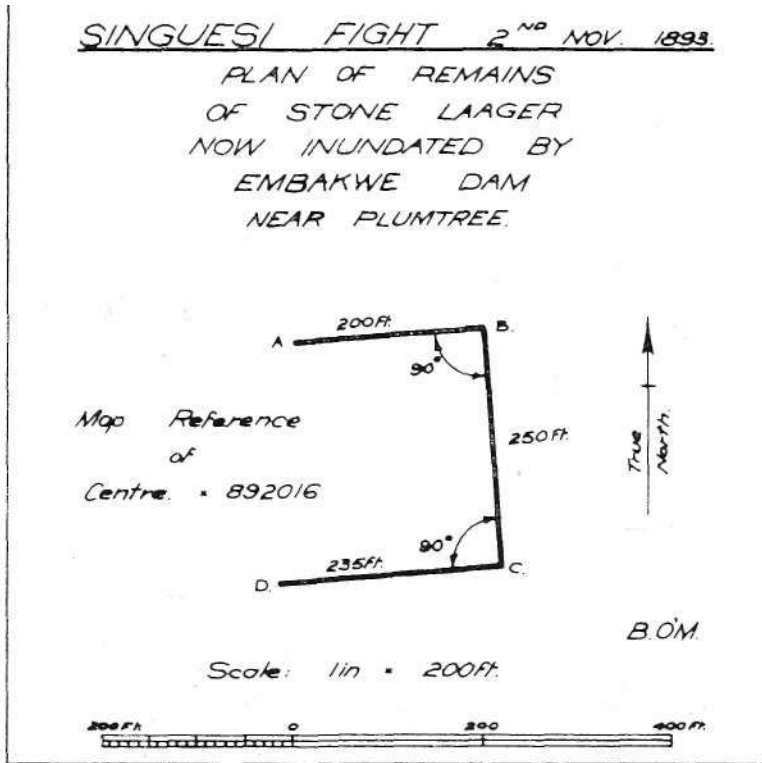
R. L. Moffat is a great grandson of the missionary Robert Moffat and his children are the fifth generation of Moffats to be connected with Rhodesia. He was born in Johannesburg and brought to Rhodesia as an infant. He was educated at Milton Junior, Rondebosch Boys' High School, Cape and Potchefstroom Agricultural College.

During the war he served with the 1st Battalion K.R.R.C. and was with the 7th and then 9th Army in Syria and the Western Desert. He farms near Shangani. He has contributed articles on the Inyati Centenary Celebrations to the *Chronicle* and to the *Forum* of Johannesburg.

SITE OF FIGHT AT SINGUESI

Sir,

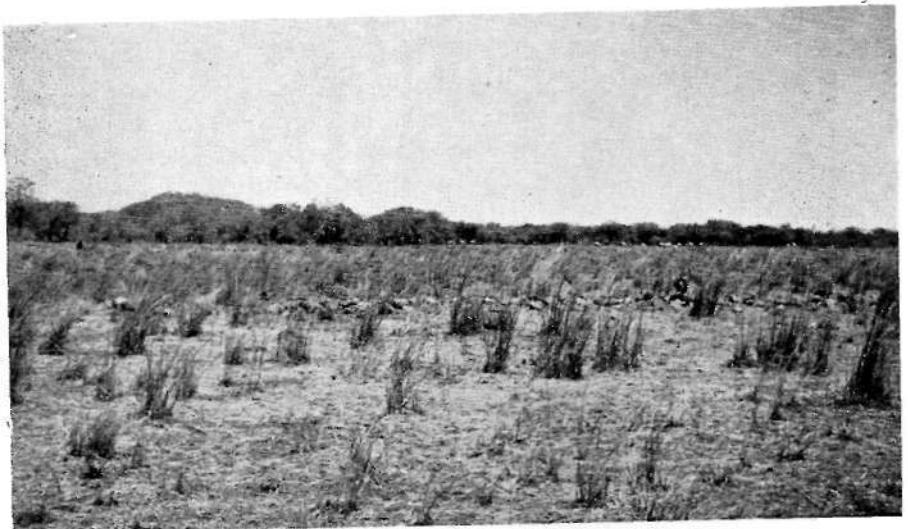
Further to the article entitled "The Southern Column's Fight at Singuesi, 2nd November, 1893", in publication number nine, I have now revisited the site of the fight itself, i.e. site A of the article, and can confirm that the discussion and assumptions concerning the topography of the site therein are correct. I revisited the site purposely during a period of drought and found that the remains of the stone walls of one of the laagers clearly visible on the bank of the river, which had receded to its original course. I attach photographs showing the state of disrepair into which the walls have fallen but it is clear that the walls could never have been very high. Compass bearings fixed the position of the centre



of the laager as being at map reference 892016, which is almost exactly the position arrived at by deduction in our original article. Villagers informed me that the area had been ploughed over for many years prior to the construction of the dam and that this partially accounts for the damage to the stone walls and for the complete disappearance of the earth walls, which formed the laager to the



Singesi Fight: ruins of wall.



Singesi Fight, 1893. "Kopjes to the south and south-east" as seen from inside the walls.

east, occupied by the Southern Column itself, according to tradition. The remains of the stone walls form a three-sided rectangle with one side, backing on to the river, left open as shown on the attached sketch. A search was made for cartridge cases but none were visible.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Cran Cooke, as Chairman of the Historical Monuments Commission, referring to my original correspondence with the Commission which resulted in Fort Adams being gazetted as a national monument and requesting that a suitable cairn and plaque be erected on the edge of the normally inundated area of the Embakwe Dam to commemorate this action.

Yours, etc.,

B. M. E. O'MAHONEY.

AUGUST AND BERTHA GREITE

Sir.

I do apologise for the delay in answering your very welcome letter, and was so thrilled to note that you are interested in my late mother's early life in Matabeleland. (Mrs. Erna van Belkum is the daughter of August and Bertha Greite.—*Editor.*)

Most of these early happenings I overheard her enumerating to a great friend of my father's. My grandfather was an elephant hunter. He spent some time (how long I do not know) hunting in Matabeleland, before returning to Europe to marry my grandmother. She truly did share his life experiences. They arrived in Durban—it took them six months by oxwagon to reach Matabeleland, to the spot where Bulawayo is now. During the latter part of the journey my grandfather called out to my granny one day "Betty do give me a suit of my clothes for a dear friend and co-hunter who tore off all his clothes in his delirium during a bout of fever." My granny mystified by this request, as she, to her knowledge had not seen another human being, called out "Where is he?" My grandfather pointed to Mr. Selous who after months of exposure to the elements had grown a thick fur all over his body. He looked like anything but a human. "Oh", she said, "I thought that was a gorilla that I had heard about that inhabited this wild country."

Lobengula sent out an impi part of the way to bring them safely to their destination. From what I can remember the four children born to them came in quick succession. The four being born in four years. First a son—then my mother—then another daughter—and finally a son. My grandfather I am sure had never touched nor knew anything about babies prior to his marriage and, believe it or not, acted as midwife and delivered all four babies.

They took several trips to Britain and Lobengula's son Pintom—who was about sixteen years, accompanied them—his role, nursemaid. Pintom's first trip abroad with the family was when my mother was a baby in arms. They stayed with a sister of my granny's in London. During this sojourn the African with my mother would disappear daily to my Aunt's neighbour. Naturally on the eve of my grandparents' trip home, my granny went to thank the neighbour for

being so kind to her baby daughter—whereupon the woman threw her arms around the African's neck and wept bitterly and said, "You must not take the black boy away."

When they took these trips abroad they took gifts depicting the country. Queen Amelie of Portugal, my granny's greatest friend, was the recipient of many of these wonderful gifts. The last being a magnificent lion skin karross which was beautifully lined in Perth. I wrote to the Queen not long before her death. She had returned to France to live a very lonely life after the assassination of the King and her eldest son.

Then came the difficult time for my family—when Lobengula called my mother the Queen of Kantor (I do not know the meaning of the word) and said that she would have to finally marry his eldest son. My grandparents had to be diplomatic and act very carefully. They told him the children would have to receive a good education. At a very tender age the four children went to London—the boys to Eton and the girls to a similar school. The headmistress was a Miss Pratt. My mother was christened and confirmed at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Archdeacon Farrar performed the ceremony and gave her a Bible as a gift. This Bible my father had with him during the whole period of the Boer War. I still have it.

My mother was not only a very pretty woman, she was very accomplished—she was a very fine musician and spoke numerous languages fluently. The four children never returned to Matabeleland.

If you would care to accept them I would gladly give you the walking stick, snuff box and bangles that belonged to Lobengula, also my mother's Bible.

Yours, etc.,

ERNA VAN BELKUM.

(Roger Summers, in a letter acknowledging Mrs. van Belkum's offer, gives a little more information about the family. He says, *in litt.*:

"I see from Mr. Tabler's *Pioneers of Rhodesia* that your father first came here with Sir John Swinburne's party in 1869 and that he spent some years mining in Tati near the present Francistown.

"The diaries of the Jesuit Fathers who came to Bulawayo in 1879 mention that your father sold his house to them for £500. This house, whose walls still stand to full height but whose roof is missing, is now a National Monument and is the second oldest European building still standing in Rhodesia. The Jesuits said that your mother and father left to farm at Zeerust early in 1880 and also say how kind your mother was.")

THE FIRST JOURNALIST IN BULAWAYO

Sir,

(The following letter was written to us, in response to a series of questions, by a vigorous old lady of 80 who now lives in South Africa. She is Mrs. Desia Delrai whose first name is taken from the last syllables of the name Rhodesia. She says that her father was the first journalist to arrive in Bulawayo, in 1893. W. E. Fairbridge of the Argus Group had arrived in Salisbury a year or two

earlier, in 1891. Mrs. Delrai also says that Rhodes gave her father a piece of land on the Machisamlope River which is now a park.—*Editor.*)

May I be outspoken like my father was in his NEWSPAPER? Not sheet! Hand-written and cyclostyled, the FIRST newspaper in *Matabeleland*, first issue on 23rd March, 1894.

I am the daughter of both pioneer parents; my father reached Bulawayo Camp at the end of 1893, and mother in August 1894. She travelled up in Sir John Willoughby's wagon, leaving Johannesburg early in May 1894; but overtaking two men pushing a handcart, she let them hook their cart to the back of her wagon, and let them sit with their legs hanging over the back "So that it would be all right!" She was very young, and looked like a school-girl, my father told her. One of the men became ill when they were about to leave Tuli, and she outspanned in the bush, and nursed him for six weeks with enteric. The telegraph had just reached Bulawayo (the new township, Bulawayo), so she was able to have them (at Tuli) wire my father that she was delayed, eventually reaching Bulawayo in August '94. My father had had three rondavals built on the property given him by Cecil Rhodes for his "efforts in journalism". Later a house was built. He was the FIRST Editor and publisher in *Matabeleland*. The *Bulawayo Chronicle* appeared six months later.

Now to answer your questions:

1. My father was William Francis Wallenstein, F.R.G.S. His father was an Austrian Baron who gave up everything to become a naturalised Scot, in order to marry Elizabeth Melrose, a Scottish aristocrat. She died when my father was young.
2. He reached Bulawayo Camp at the end of 1893; but he got stranded for a couple of weeks in Crocodile Valley (awful fever trees there!) and the river came down in spate. He suffered terribly.
3. He came for one reason only: To produce the FIRST newspaper in Matabeleland. He was 35 years of age in 1894.
4. He was in Fleet Street before coming to S. A., and he worked on the Railways (office work of some sort) at East London, Cape Colony. Then in Johannesburg he was in the editorial dept. of the *Standard & Diggers News*.
5. As I have said, it wasn't a SHEET, but a tiny newspaper measuring 6½ x 8 inches, ten pages (at first) price 6d. It later was 8 x 13 inches; and when he brought out the first PRINTED weekly newspaper, a London newspaper was amused because it was much larger than their daily paper! Sorry, my only copy of the first issue was pinched! So was the bound copy of the file copies of *The Matabele Times*, which, in 1896 in London, he had the file copies bound, and took them to show to his good friend, "Dr. Jim" then in Holloway Gaol for his participation in the "Jameson Raid", who said: "This bound copy is very valuable. It is THE only complete record of those days in existence." I can't tell the whole story here. The Weekly was superseded by *The Observer*, just after my father died suddenly at Hope Fountain Mission Station in August 1902; that answers your question, "When did your father leave Rhodesia, and Why?"
6. The piece of land on the Machisamlope given my father by Cecil Rhodes for his "efforts in journalism" had to be sold about 2½ years after his death. Every-

thing had to be sold . . . we had been left VERY well off . . . then nothing! I was told some years ago that the land was on the map as Wallenstein's Plot, so perhaps they made it a park. My little mother died in 1951 as the result of an accident.

Yours, etc.,

MRS. DESIA DELRAI.

J. S. MARITZ AND CHIEF UMTASSA

Sir,

I was interested to read in the July 1967 *Rhodesiana* an article by R. Hodder Williams about the Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion, and feel I should like to write and tell you of an incident in the Old Umtali district at that time concerning my father.

To introduce my father, the late Mr. J. S. Maritz, I should tell you he came through Portuguese East Africa in 1888 at the same time as the late Mr. J. H. Jeffreys and others commemorated on the sundial memorial at Penhalonga. Being fluent in Zulu, he found no difficulty with the native dialects here, and he was a man with a rare understanding of the African and his customs. Umtassa, the Chief, held him in such regard as to make him one of his Indunas. At that time the Portuguese were in occupation and it was obvious that Umtassa had some agreement with them. On occasion they had asked my father to act as interpreter. He had attended a meeting between Col. Paixa d'Andrade and Umtassa for this purpose, so that my father came to be a well-known and influential figure in dealing with the natives in those early days.

In 1896 when the rebellion was spreading Capt. Turner, the Magistrate, sent for my father and asked him what he felt about the situation around Old Umtali, as he himself regarded the position as very serious. He felt the little settlement could not hold out against attack.

Recalling my father's story to us, I quote—"I told Capt. Turner that amongst the natives with whom I was in contact I had not gathered any feeling of impending danger. However, in his position, I was quite prepared to believe he had fuller information than I had. He asked if I would speak to Umtassa and I said I would certainly do so and, as he viewed the matter so seriously, I would go at once. It was late afternoon when I left Old Umtali and I was accompanied by a native, Garafe. I had come in to Old Umtali for supplies when I received this urgent message from Capt. Turner, so I was unarmed and did not even have my overcoat. Garafe implored me not to go. I told him I had a matter of great importance to discuss with the Chief and it was also important to discuss it as soon as possible so that I could turn back. I gave him permission to return to Old Umtali and wait for me there. However, he would not leave me."

My father never forgot that African and his companionship on that journey. He spoke of him with the warmest regard.

Continuing my father's story: "We reached the Royal Kraal very late, about midnight. It was all quiet, but I roused them up. The men were reluctant

to disturb the Chief, but I persuaded them to do so. Umtassa, a moody and vacillating man always, toyed with his snuff box and gave me scant notice. I was very tired and I lost my temper. I raised my voice commanding him to listen to what I was saying and answer my questions. His manner changed and he gave me his attention.

"My horse was exhausted and footsore and, chiefly because of the horse, I remained at the Kraal the whole of the following day and night and returned to Old Umtali the next day. Garafe returned with me. I went at once to see Capt. Turner."

My father was a very reserved man and never himself claimed that he had softened the Chief's heart.

At that time a party of ladies escorted by the Rev. Archdeacon Upcher had recently arrived from England to take up duties in the Mission Hospital. One of these ladies, Miss E. M. Haines, was my mother. My mother told us that the people in Old Umtali, knowing my father had gone to the Royal Kraal and not hearing any news of him for two days, felt that they would probably never see him alive again.

Capt. Turner decided that they should go into laager, but Umtassa at no time attempted to attack them. There was fighting against the Makoni tribe in the Rusape area and the captured wounded were brought to Old Umtali for medical attention.

This visit of my father to Umtassa is related by Kingsley Fairbridge in his autobiography. One gathers the impression that it was regarded as having sealed the peace.

Strangely enough I recently attended a meeting at the Umtali Boys' High School of their History Association at which Mr. C. M. Hulley told them about his early school days here. He mentioned that they had gone into laager in Salisbury. I asked him later why they had gone to Salisbury when there was a laager at Old Umtali, and he said that his father as Native Commissioner considered the situation was so serious that he took his family—Mrs. Hulley and two small boys—to Salisbury where he felt they would be safe.

Perhaps Mr. Hodder Williams would also be pleased to read this account of mine.

Yours, etc.,

Miss STEPHANIE MARITZ.

Reviews

Witchcraft and Sorcery in Rhodesia by J. R. Crawford. (Oxford University Press, 1967. 312 pages, illustrated, price 60s.)

The author was for many years in the Rhodesia Attorney General's department and is now legal draftsman for the Botswana government.

This study is based on the records of over 100 cases that came before the courts in Rhodesia. That material has been supplemented by informants and by the author's obvious wide knowledge of the subject and of Rhodesian tribes. So that, in spite of what would appear to be a restricted field of research, coverage is, in fact, very comprehensive. Most of the allegations of witchcraft and sorcery came to light when the police were investigating serious cases of assault, arson and of suicide so that the "misfortune" that led to the allegation was usually, death. Minor misfortunes and illnesses following accusations would not normally lead to a court case so they are only brought in casually. Most of the tribes of Rhodesia figure in the records although the author concentrates mainly on the Shona. .

He uses the word "wizardry" to include both sorcery and witchcraft but he describes the African distinctions between the two. The sorcerer is usually a man who deliberately uses charms and medicines to harm someone. The witch is usually a woman who is inherently evil; she cannot help herself and her powers are often inherited; she is driven relentlessly to strike and kill haphazardly, anywhere; she acts "psychically" rather than through medicines; she can control the forces of nature, such as lightning, and can even cause soil erosion. The author describes the necrophagous habits of witches and how, and why, they boast in court of riding hyenas at night.

Accusations of witchcraft are less common in the towns than in rural areas. There are several reasons for this. There is the proximity of the police and the magistrate. The death of a child usually brings, accusations of witchcraft and since infant mortality rates in the towns are lower than in rural areas a common cause is thus reduced. Also, serious allegations both among the Shona and Ndebele are usually made by members of the agnatic lineage against those not of that lineage. But in the towns the family tends to be the simple one of man, wife and children, not the extended family gathered in tribal areas.

The author makes some reflections on wizardry as a means of resolving the tensions of social life. Accusations are often made against the misfits, or the exceptionally successful or talented. So it operates as a means of maintaining cohesion and of discouraging change.

A large proportion of the rituals of divination of wizardry nowadays involves the Prophets of the Pentacostal Churches. The role of the diviner, of the forbidden ordeal and of the anti-sorcery movements that periodically arise has been taken by the Prophets. Their divination carries conviction because the Pentacostal Church "speaks with the voice of God".

This is not only a scholarly, factual study of wizardry in Rhodesia today,

it is a demonstration of how the study of written sources, particularly court records, can be of value in the study of an African society.

The Tribes of Zambia by W. V. Brelsford. (Government Printer, Lusaka. 2nd edition, revised, 1968. 157 pages, illustrations, maps, price 15s.)

A book on the tribal make-up of Zambia will be welcomed by readers with a wide range of interests. Tribalism is a topical subject today and one that cannot be ignored and should not be underestimated. Africa has traditionally been a continent looking for short cuts: from Stone Age to Iron Age without the intermediate steps; from tribalism to internationalism. Why did not the Europeans work out wide ranging Pan-European schemes centuries ago? What about a solid Organisation for European Unit? Africa has learnt much from Europeans, has Europe much to learn from Africa? This work does not attempt to give the answers but it does contain a wealth of background information without which it would be folly to even contemplate the meaning of such queries.

The book is a revised and enlarged edition of "The Tribes of Northern Rhodesia" published in 1956 and which is now out of print. Zambian Government official publications list 80 odd tribes in the country. The author lists 99 tribal names, some of which, he admits, may be those of clans rather than tribes. But these figures do illustrate a tribal fragmentation that is not typical, for instance, of Rhodesia. Zambia has been more of a migration route southwards than Rhodesia and, moreover, felt the disruptive effects of slave raiding far more drastically than did Rhodesia.

It is interesting to note that the largest tribe in Zambia is the Tonga (252,938), a tribe with affiliations with Rhodesia, across the Zambezi. Bemba form the largest linguistic group since many surrounding tribes speak only Bemba which is also the *lingua franca* of the Copperbelt. True Bemba number 190,623.

The design of the book (except for the last chapter) is purely historical. The origins, mythical or real, of the various tribes and their relationship with each other are related and there is no attempt at what the author calls "ethnological theorising". Cultural or sociological similarities or differences between tribes have only been instanced if they reflect on history.

The physical characteristics, the coiffures, the dress and personal ornaments that used to distinguish one tribe from another have disappeared. So the illustrations in this book are dated in order to show what any particular person, chief or tribesman looked like at that specific time. There is a large multi-coloured linguistic map and other maps showing migration routes.

The final chapter, "The Tribes in the Towns", was contributed by Peter Harries-Jones, a Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Research Officer now at the University of Wales. It examines the various factors and influences that make not only for the disappearance of certain tribal ties but also for the retention of others in urban, industrialised areas.

This book has proved to be of great use to government officers, missionaries, and others, who have been dealing with tribesmen on a day to day basis and

where work either necessitates some acquaintance with tribal history or is smoothed by such knowledge. Hence the reprinting of this valuable volume. The Zambian Government has obviously kept the price extremely low in order to ensure a wide distribution.

It is a pity there is no such handy volume available on the tribes of Rhodesia.

R. W. S. TURNER.

Three-quarters of a Century of Banking in Rhodesia. (Designed and compiled by H. C. P. Anderson, published by The Standard Bank Limited, Salisbury, 1967.)

This is a lavishly illustrated booklet of some 90 pages produced in two editions, one bound in padded imitation leather, the other in a glossy manila cover. As the title implies it tells the story of the Standard Bank in Rhodesia over the past 75 years; mention is also made of the bank's activities in other countries.

Of all business organisations banks have the reputation of being managed by level, perhaps at times, even hard-headed people. There must therefore be sound reasons why it was considered desirable to expend a good deal of energy, time and money on this publication. It is possible, of course, to side-step these reasons with the plea that some things are impossible to define, and matters relating to sentiment may fall into the category where one cannot nail down the motivating impulse.

Notwithstanding the possibility of having noble sentiments, the Standard Bank was obviously seeking two practical dividends: first, publication of historical material documenting progress would add to the public's esteem for the bank; and secondly, it would give the morale and *esprit de corps* of the bank's employees a worthwhile boost. The booklet will undoubtedly succeed admirably in both these objectives.

Early beginnings are traced in word and photograph from the first steps of establishing the bank in Port Elizabeth in 1857 to the crossing of the Limpopo and the opening of the first branch in Salisbury on 20th June, 1892. The first bank in Bulawayo set up in a tent just six months after the occupation of Matabeleland, and the spread of branches to other centres throughout the country are all recorded. Pictures of rough and ready shacks staffed by confident-looking young men with large moustaches and wearing jaunty boaters or solar topees will bring back nostalgic memories to older readers.

While the bank has drawn on the National Archives of Rhodesia for some of the material, much of the publication is obviously based on its own archives and photographs. One wonders how many other Rhodesian businesses could produce similar publications based on the archives of their organisations. Tragically, many of the business archives relating to the economic, commercial and industrial development of Rhodesia have been swept into the w.p.b. This is a twofold misfortune: the loss of background archives is bad for any business; it is also bad for the country as a whole. This is not simply a matter of being able to produce a glossy publication that will enhance prestige and lead to a better spirit among the staff. Far more important considerations are at stake.

Future policy of all businesses should not be based on incomplete information or human recollections that are frequently misleading. Then there is the important matter of building up tradition within an organisation. Collectively, the archives of business go to form the basis on which a full-scale economic history of Rhodesia will one day be written. Has the time arrived for the setting up of a Rhodesian Business Archives Council which, for a small fee, would help, advise and encourage all businessmen throughout the country in maintaining a proper record of their activities ?

These are some of the thoughts that are aroused by *Three-quarters of a Century*. Collectors of Rhodesiana will look upon it as a handsome souvenir worth keeping rather than an ephemeral publication. The Standard Bank is to be congratulated.

R. W. S. TURNER.

The Mammals of Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi by Reay H. N. Smithers and illustrated by E. J. Bierly. (Published by Collins, 1966. 157 pages and 12 colour plates.)

Although this book was published in 1966 we make no excuse for this late review. This is still the standard work on the mammals of Rhodesia; it is the only Rhodesian work illustrating the species in colour; and it is likely to remain the authoritative book on the subject for many years to come. It is having a new lease of life through considerable sales in East Africa. It should certainly be in the shelves of all collectors of Rhodesiana.

96 species are covered, 92 of them being shown in colour. The paintings were specially done in the field by the American artist E. J. Bierly. There are 60 distribution maps and, something that has not been seen in a book for many years, spoor-tracks, 80 of them.

As well as being indispensable when visiting the game parks this book makes interesting reading.

Wits End by Percival R. Kirby. (Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1967. 371 pages and illustrations.

Percival Kirby is Professor Emeritus (Music and the History of Music) at the University of the Witwatersrand. This delightful autobiography covers a long life of performing, composing, conducting, teaching and research in Europe and South Africa.

His work is well known to Rhodesian musicologists. He was the Otto Beit lecturer to the Women's Institutes in Rhodesia in 1936, touring the country and giving talks. Later on he became an adjudicator at festivals held in both Rhodesias. In 1946 he brought up the U.C.T. (University of Cape Town) Ballet for the first time to the Rhodesias, Kirby himself conducting the orchestra composed mainly from the South African College of Music. He gave a course of lectures to teachers in Kitwe in 1957 and in the same year, at the Centenary Exhibition at Bulawayo, he was President Elect at the Annual Congress of the South African Association for the advancement of science.

Kirby is perhaps best known for his authoritative book "The Musical Instruments of the Bantu Races of South Africa". One of the early influences in the preparation of the book was the recording, at the S.A.B.C. studios in 1930, of the songs of a group of Kalanga from Rhodesia who had been taken down to Johannesburg by Hugh Tracey. Kirby made a number of extra recordings and got the Kalanga to his department at the University to manufacture some of their characteristic musical instruments.

The author has something to say about all these Rhodesian contacts. He is a well-known character of southern Africa as a whole. His influence on the development of musical activities in the sub-continent has been great. But this is a pleasant, eminently readable book for the layman interested in music.

Tribal Peoples of Southern Africa by Barbara Tyrrell. (Books of Africa, Cape Town, 1967. 206 pages, 96 colour plates, 76 line drawings, price R16.00.)

This is a sumptuous volume comprising paintings by the well-known South African artist.

She deals with 24 tribes including the Lozi, the Valley Tonga, the Ndebele and the Karanga from this part of the sub-continent. Her object has been "to present everything of beauty in this book" and she has concentrated on tribal dress and adornment. The pen and water-colour illustrations bring out most vividly the beauty of traditional beadwork, the skilful decoration of skins and the variety of weapons and accoutrements.

She also gives some selected sociological information about each tribe. For instance under Ndebele she describes "women's art" and marriage customs: under Valley Tonga, a funeral: and under Lozi, the Makishi dances and the annual ritual migration in barges from the Zambezi flood plain.

The details of migrations, traditions and customs for particular tribes appear to be accurate so it is a pity she generalises occasionally. For instance, to say that the father is "head" of the family in all Bantu tribes is a somewhat doubtful statement and some of her assertions on ethics could be argued. Miss Tyrrell is a Zulu linguist and some of her knowledge of that tribe has been appended, without thinking, to others.

But that is a minor criticism of a very lovely book. Each of the paintings if of a real person drawn in his or her home environment and the book will form a valuable record of the artistry of Bantu traditional dress long after it has disappeared.

Africa since 1800 by Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore. (Cambridge University Press, 1967. 304 pages, maps, limp cover, price 10s. 6d.)

This is an excellent, scholarly, readable textbook.

The whole of Africa is covered regionally. There is a general, pre-1880 introduction which emphasises that even at the date of the beginning of this Study; 1800, Bantu Africa was still a very secluded region compared with most of Africa north of the equator. The only part of it that had been in long contact with any literate civilisation was the coastal region of East Africa.

So that all the development—"the scramble for Africa", the colonial era, the grasping of freedom from the colonial powers, the one-party states and the military revolutions—have all occurred within less than 200 years, and at what future historians might consider, at break-neck speed.

Rhodesia does not warrant a great deal of space in this comprehensive volume but our history right up to U.D.I. is adequately, if briefly covered. Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister from 1885-92, is given more credit than Rhodes for Britain's share of Africa after the "scramble". Salisbury "disliked and distrusted Rhodes" but both had the same ideal, "all British from the Cape to Cairo", and he was willing to let Rhodes use his wealth and energy in carving out as much British territory as he could. He did not stop Rhodes sending emissaries to Chief Msiri of Katanga in 1889 although he knew the Katanga had been allocated to King Leopold at the Berlin Conference in 1885.

The authors conclude that Africa is no longer the "dark continent" but one like any other, "a cockpit of jostling interests, some internal, some external, each seeking its own advantage in whatever direction the opportunities of the passing moment seem to dictate". It is not likely that any of the great powers "is likely to spend vast sums and risk its security by intervening, for example, in South Africa, or Portuguese Africa, or even in Rhodesia".

There are 35 line maps illustrating movements of people, political divisions and changes, agriculture, mining, communications and economic developments. They round off this valuable contribution to the history of modern Africa.

Africa and the Victorians by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny. (Papermac 131. Reprinted 1965. 491 pages, maps.)

The Rhodesian sections of this volume put a different light on the role of Rhodes in the imperialistic designs of the British Government.

The authors say that Lord Salisbury was not so much interested in the Cape to Cairo railway as in checking the advance of Republicanism from the Transvaal, retaining British imperialism in southern Africa and making sure that Zambesia was colonised from the liberal Cape, not by Afrikaners.

Lord Knutsford, at first, also distrusted Rhodes. In 1889 he wrote to Salisbury—"any suggestion from Mr. Rhodes . . . must be distrusted". But by 1891 he was writing—"Rhodes may be trusted". Both he and Salisbury had supported the granting of the Charter because it was going to carry out their own imperialistic policies.

The Charter strengthened the imperial position in southern Africa: it lent support to the missionaries of Nyasaland: it saved the British government a great deal of expense: and it avoided the possibility of a political clash with the Transvaal, the B.S.A. Company, a private concern, not the British government, would bear the brunt of any criticism. "Rhodes was indispensable to the Empire" say the authors.

But they also say that the granting of the Charter was the first step-in. acknowledging "that the British government was losing its power to shape South Africa's destiny directly".

The Victorians regarded themselves as the leaders of civilisation, as princes of industry and progress. Their spirit was expansive and they were sure of their ability "to improve the human condition" everywhere their imperialistic urges took them.

GENERAL

King of the Hottentots by John Cope. (Howard Timmins.)

It is interesting to speculate what the history of the Cape and of South Africa might have been had a group of English convicts not fallen foul of a Hottentot chief nearly 40 years before the Dutch settlement was established.

The convicts had been sentenced to death by hanging during the reign of James I of England for crimes which today would merit far lesser punishment. Their leader was a member of an aristocratic family who had turned highwayman, named John Crosse, and the idea of reprieving them and settling them at the Cape was conceived by a London financier, Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor of the English East India Company.

He thought they would be able to arrange with the local Hottentots for the supply of meat to the company's ships calling at the Cape on their way to India to counter the dreaded scurvy, which decimated the ships' crews.

But he reckoned without Xhore, the king of the Hottentots, who, strangely enough, had spent a period in England as Smythe's guest. But this did not incline him to favour English ambitions, and the experiment failed. All the convicts came to a sticky end.

It was bound to fail. There was none of the planning and organisation behind it that characterised the Dutch Company's achievement in settling Jan van Riebeeck and his men at the Cape in 1652, and, apart from Crosse, the convicts were of the wrong calibre.

An interesting account of a little-known aspect of early Cape history.

W.D.G.

On Wings of Fire by Lawrence G. Green. (Howard Timmins.)

Lawrence Green writes once again of the country that fascinates him most on the continent of Africa—South West Africa.

His "wings of fire" are the flamingoes that lend a touch of rosy dawn to the coastal lagoons along this fearsome coast. They are also the insignia of a well-known cafe in Swakopmund with its reminders of the old German regime and of the unusual characters that gave piquancy and flavour to life in these desolate places in days gone by.

He tells more of people than of birds—the old Swede who trained seals for the circus (they love circus life) and who divided them into two categories, the snoozers and the barkers. The snoozers were nice and gentle and easy to handle, the barkers were active, nervous, intelligent who could do tricks like riding a motor-cycle. Snoozers are more plentiful than barkers.

Then there is the journalist whose passion was trains—trains of all kinds

but particularly the midget locomotives and rolling stock that at one time, before the introduction of the standard 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, played a vital part in developing various parts of Africa, and especially South West Africa, where they were used to bring out the copper from the mines of Otavi and Tsumeb to the port at Swakopmund.

They were often derailed by kudu or wildebeeste and they covered their passengers in sand and sparks from their smoke stacks, but Green recalls them with great nostalgia.

There are other fascinating chapters on the personalities of old Port Nolloth, on the Bushmen of the Cedarberg, on Dr. Louis Leipoldt and Dr. Peter Nortier. They are brimful of interest.

South West Africa has been well served by Lawrence Green's passion for the unusual and his ability to tell a good story.

W.D.G.

My eerste groot boek oor ons land (My first big book about our country) by Santie Grosskopf. (Cape Town, Tafelberg-uitgewers, 1968. 220 pages, illustrated with black and white line drawings.)

This is a collection of stories from South African history narrated by fictional characters who are supposed to have participated in the events described. The period represented is from 1510 to 1910, and included are such events as van Riebeeck's landing, the 1820 Settlers, the Great Trek, and the discovery of diamonds. Rhodesian interest is largely confined to a description of the battle between Mzilikazi's hordes and the Boers at Vegkop in 1836.

Imaginative writing makes this a very readable book, and it should dispel any ideas a ten-year-old might have about the dullness of history. It is unfortunate, however, that the illustrations are not equally convincing.

C.C.

Also Received

The Little Game Hunter by Bryan O'Donoghue. (Collins, 1967. Printed in Rhodesia by Mardon Printers Ltd.) A small book of 12 short animal stories for children. Foreword by Rupert Fothergill of Operation Noah fame.

Fireside Tales from the North by Phyllis Savory. (Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1966. Illustrated with line drawings by Jillian Hulme.) A book of age-old African folk tales from Nyasaland and Kenya. A companion volume to the same author's collections of tales from the Bechuana, Zulu and Basuto. An outstanding series of its type. The author now lives in Rhodesia.

SOME MAGAZINES AND ARTICLES OF INTEREST

Shelfmark. Bulletin of the National Free Library of Rhodesia. No. 9. Bimonthly, 5s. p.a. P.O. Box 177, Bulawayo.

This roneoed publication performs an excellent and meritorious service in commenting on "Notable New Books" as well as giving a complete list of recent

accessions to the National Free Library. In addition there is always a short article, as well as shorter notes of interest. *Shelfmark* is a "must" for anybody who wants to keep his library of Rhodesiana up to date as well as for those who only want to borrow and read what is being written about the country.

Horizon. Spring 1968. Vol. X, No. 2. A Magazine of the Arts. New York, U.S.A.

This high class publication contains an article by James Morris on "The Imperialists" of the Victorian era. The Proconsuls such as Lugard and Cromer; the explorers such as Stanley and Eyre; the soldiers, Wolseley, Roberts, Kitchener; and "the adventurer"—Cecil Rhodes. It is a harsh portrait of Rhodes. He was "first of all a money-maker" whose "achievements fell pitifully short of his Olympian prospects. His one great political creation, Rhodesia, was presently to prove a disastrous anachronism." But he does concede that Rhodes was "the most genuinely inspired" of all the new imperialists.

Among the lesser imperialists, is included "Bobo" Young, ex-B.S.A.P. and the well-known Native Commissioner of North-eastern Rhodesia. The incident is quoted in which "Bobo" shot and killed 25 attacking Bemba in one fight against this unruly tribe in 1897.

This long, well-illustrated article is the prelude to a book on the same theme of Victoria imperialism.

Nada (Ministry of Internal Affairs Department Annual), 1968. Vol. ix, No. 5.

There are several articles of historical significance in this issue. M. D. W. Jeffreys writes on "The Gold Miners of Monomotapa" and Professor R. A. Dart on "The Multimillennial Prehistory of Ochre Mining".

Articles by H. E. Sumner, "The Mabukwa Graves"; Harold v. Sicard, "The Dumbuseya"; and L. V. Jowett, "The Hungwe People of the Makoni District" add something to the history of tribes.

Other articles maintain the usual high standard of original research into sociological or cultural aspects of the life of Africans in Rhodesia.

Rhodesia Calls. Jan.-Feb. 1968. Price 2s.

This issue contains a short, but fascinating, article by R. W. S. Turner (one of our committee members) on "Rhodesia in Old Maps of Africa". The author says—"This area of Africa has intrigued geographers for centuries. Their maps, admittedly at times drawn with a greater regard for fantasy than accuracy, contain some of the earliest descriptions of the land that was to become Rhodesia."

There are five maps shown, dating from 1540 to 1805. There were earlier maps of Africa than that by Sebastian Munster (1489-1552), of course, the best known being those by Strabo (63 B.C.-A.D. 25), the elder Pliny (A.D. 23-79) and Ptolemy (c. A.D. 127-151). But these concentrated on northern Africa and the mystery surrounding the source of the Nile. Munster's 1540 map, shown here, is probably one of the earliest giving any indication of Rhodesia.

Proceeds and Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association. 1968. Vol. 52, Pt. 2.

Miss Sheila Rudd, daughter of pioneer Rudd, has an article on Rhodesia's National Monument No. 100. It is the preliminary report of excavations under-

taken in 1963-66 at Lekherwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon, ten miles north-east of Marandellas. It is the most easterly site, yet discovered, of the Zimbabwe Ruins complex.

African Music. Journal of the African Music Society. Vol. 4, No. 1, 1966-67. Published by African Music Society, P.O. Box 138, Roodepoort, Transvaal, South Africa. Price 30s.

This issue contains articles on African music in Uganda, the Central African Republic, Malawi and Rhodesia.

Rhodesia is included in an article "Musical Appreciation in Central and Southern Africa" by Hugh Tracey, well known in Rhodesia, editor of the journal and secretary of the Music Society. It is based on a lecture given by the author at the University of Glasgow, last year.

Its main theme is "that far from being just quaint and savage, the musical arts of Africa provide a channel, a veritable fiord, into the heart of African spiritualities which may yet provide a key to much of their distinctive character".

The author points out that no one has ever written a genuine piece of African music. For centuries the whole process has been aural: the music is remembered, not composed, and today's music may not be produced in exactly the same way again.

In another intriguing review article Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys refutes the theory of A. M. Jones (at one time a well-known missionary in Zambia) that African and Indonesian xylophone techniques are so similar that Africa must have borrowed from Indonesia. Jeffreys thinks the possibility is the other way round, that Africa influenced Indonesia through the African slave trade across the Indian Ocean which began very early, before A.D. At the end of the nineteenth century there were over 4,000,000 "negroes" settled in Indonesia and beyond, a fact ignored by Jones.

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE PERIOD 1ST JANUARY TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1967

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions	1,104	1	4			
<i>Rhodesiana</i>	283	12	10			
Advertisements	163	14	0			
First Annual Dinner	196	10	0			
Bank Exchange and Postage Included in Cheques	19	8	7			
Interest on Current Account and Fixed Deposit	46	9	1			
Balance at CABS as at 1st January, 1967	1,813	15	10			
	980	16	7			
<i>Rhodesiana</i> No. 15 (8.50)				528	7	1
Printing and Blocks				7	4	0
Photographic Prints				11	13	4
Typing MSS.				1	5	0
Packing				16	17	10
Distribution						
<i>Rhodesiana</i> No. 16 (9.50)				569	5	9
Printing and Blocks				6	9	6
Photographic Prints				6	13	6
Typing MSS.				7	5	0
Packing				18	0	0
Distribution						
Balance at CABS as at 31st January, 1967						
				601	13	9
First Annual Dinner				191	7	10
Printing of Brochures (3,000) and Wrappers (1,000)				55	12	9
Postage, Stationery, Duplicating and Miscellaneous						
Printing				54	10	8
Bank Commission and Exchange				17	0	11
Pioneers Day Wreath and Donation to P.E.N.				13	13	0
Matabeleland Branch Expenses				12	4	2
<i>Rhodesiana</i> Society Crest				8	16	6
Addressograph Plates				7	15	10
Purchase of <i>Rhodesiana</i> Back numbers				3	15	0
Miscellaneous Expenses				4	14	1
1967 Honoraria				5	5	0
Paid December 1967				26	5	0
Paid January 1968						
Balance at CABS as at 31st December, 1967				1,568	1	9
Current Account				752	9	8
Fixed Deposit				500	0	0
Total				1,252	9	8
				26	5	0

Total: 1967 Honorarium Paid January 1968

£2,794 6 5

£2,794 6 5

	£	s.	d.
1967 Income	1,813	15	10
1967 Expenditure	1,568	1	9
Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1967	£245	14	1

Audited and found correct.
 (Signed) J. S. DENY, A.C.M.A., S.A., A.L.A.C. S.A.,
 19th March, 1968.

Prepared by M. J. Kimberley,
 Honorary Secretary and Treasurer,
 1st January, 1968.

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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.

Rhodesiana No. 2, 1957 (out of print)

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.

Rhodesiana No. 3, 1958 (out of print)

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

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N. M. BRETTELL. Three Rhodesian poets.

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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.

W. F. REA. Rhodesian pioneer.

E. C. TABLER. Rare or little known Rhodesiana relating to the pre-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.

Rhodesiana No. 8, 1963 (out of print)

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.

A. S. HICKMAN. The siege of the Abercorn Store.

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- R. C. HOWLAND. The Market Hall—Salisbury's oldest building.
"Shifts and expedients": extracts from the book by W. B. Lord and T. Baines.
- MRS. M. CRIPPS. Umtali during the Rebellion, 1896.

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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

- J. ELLENBERGER. The Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Boer War.
- F. O. BERNHARD. Notes on the Pre-Ruin Ziwa culture of Inyanga.
- 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

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- R. W. S. TURNER. Henry Hartley, 1815-1876.
- P. S. GARLAKE. Pioneer forts in Rhodesia, 1890-1897.
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- A. H. CROXTON. Rhodesia's light railways.

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 Kopje and Causeway: extracted from C. E. Finlayson, *A Nobody in Mashonaland*, 1893.

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 L. D. S. GLASS. James Dawson: Rhodesian Pioneer.
 A. S. HICKMAN. Reginald Bray: An Addendum.

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 A. S. HICKMAN. Ballyhooly Hotel.
 Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: 1893 Column.
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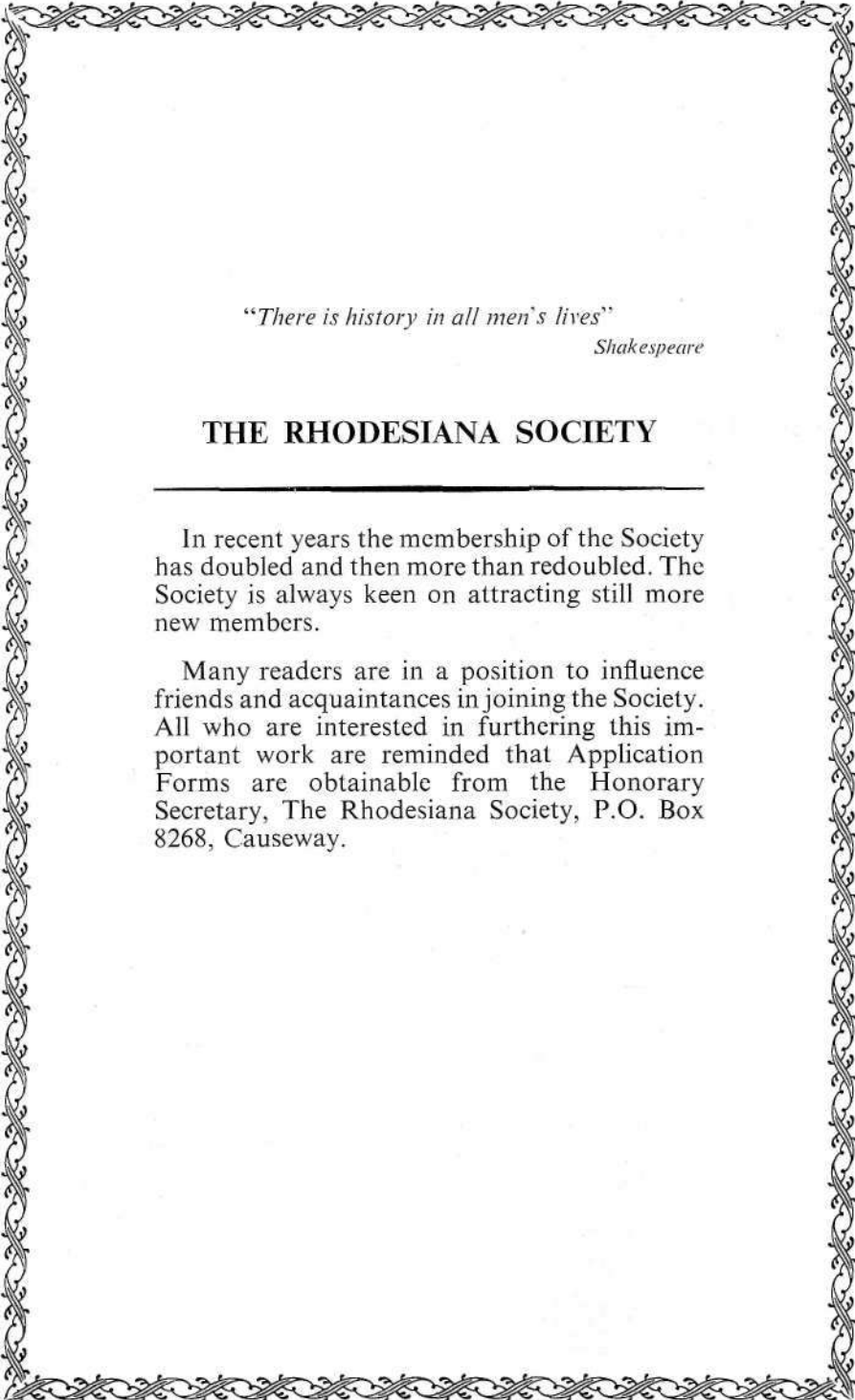


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