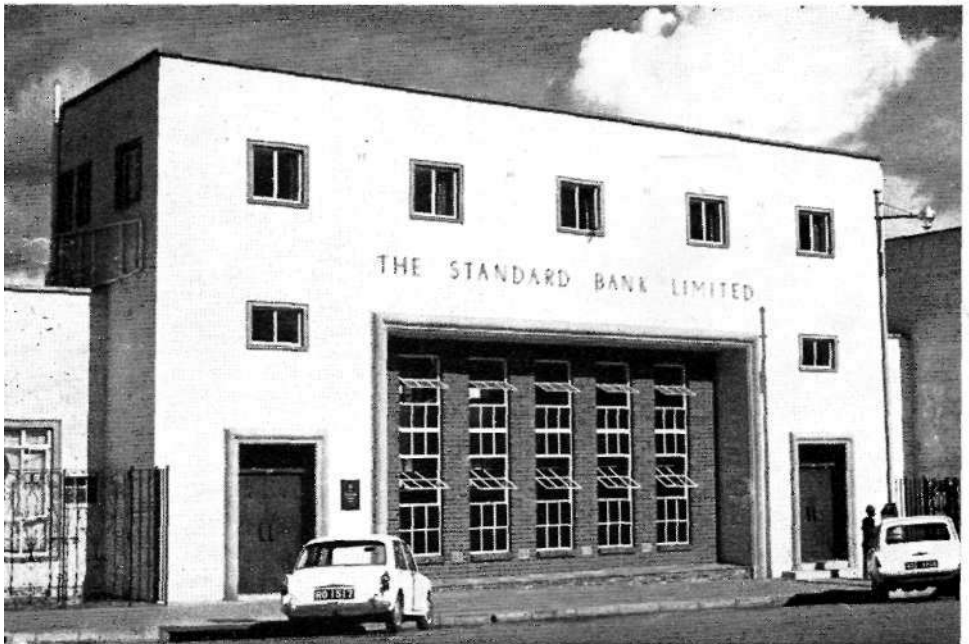




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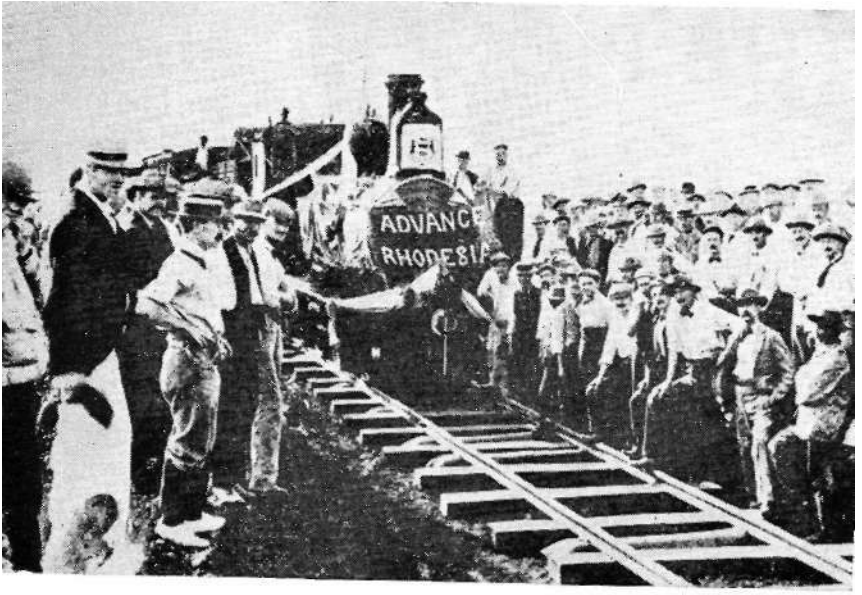
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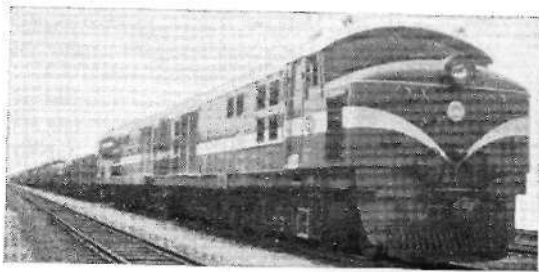
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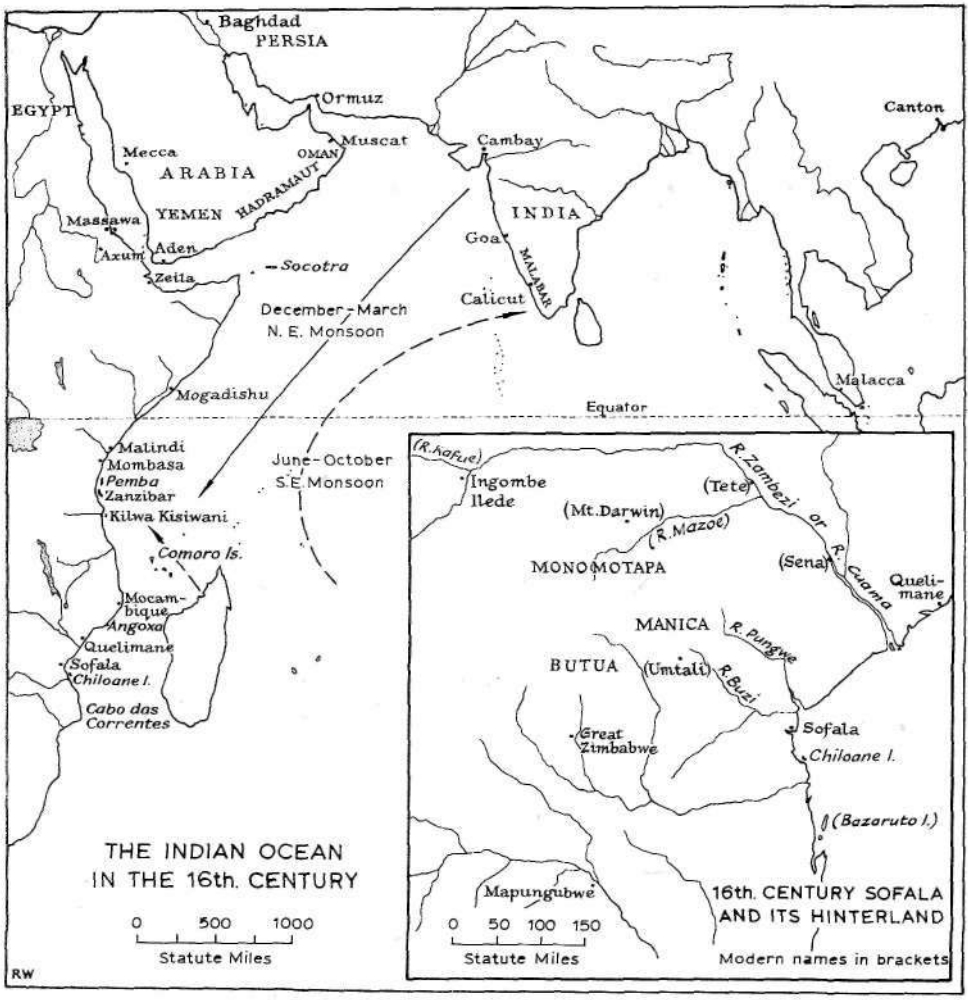
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Map of Sofala and its medieval setting.
 (See article—"Sofala—Gateway to the Gold of Monomotapa" by R. W. Dickinson.)

RHODESIANA

Publication No. 19 — December, 1968

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

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Rhodesia

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



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Antonio Fernandes Rhodesia's First Pioneer

by Hugh Tracey

Part I

Foreword*

Nearly thirty years ago, in 1939, Eric Axelson brought to light an undated manuscript in the National Archives of Lisbon describing two journeys by Antonio Fernandes into the interior, the region between the early sixteenth century port of Sofala on the south-east coast of Africa and the gold-producing regions of the highlands.

By lucky chance, Axelson and I met in Durban that year and discovered our mutual interest in the early history of this part of Africa, my own speciality being a collection of sixteenth century maps of the region. He gave me his translation of the Fernandes document and I was delighted that at long last there was an authentic account of the country which might throw light upon the many mysterious features represented in the maps. There were so many of them which corresponded with our present day knowledge of Rhodesia that Axelson's important discovery presented a challenge which begged for solution. For weeks I compared the Fernandes document with the details on the various maps and the whole account began to make good sense. Admittedly, geographers of the period allowed their imagination to fill in some of the blank spaces in their maps, as Jonathan Swift observed:

". . . Geographers, in Afric-maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps;
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."

But so much of what Fernandes described was patently correct, and this at a time when the young Henry VIII of England was busily fighting the French and subduing the Scots at Flodden Field.

I submitted my findings to the Government in Rhodesia as a possible publication to mark the Jubilee of the country that year, but the outbreak of the war put all ideas of printing out of the question and the project was shelved. However, the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique were interested through the concern of my good friend, Sr. Caetano Montez, the Chief Archivist in Lourenço Marques, translating and publishing the work in the following year under the title of "Antonio Fernandes, Descobridor do Monomotapa".¹

Since that day much work has been done by the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos in Lisbon in co-operation with the National Archives of Rhodesia, making available in English several documents to which I had no

* Written in 1968

access at the time. The translation of my work was greatly enhanced by notes contributed by Sr. Caetano Montez who already had extensive knowledge of material relating to the south-east coast of which I was unaware. I do not have the English translation of his addenda with me to add to the discussion, but have latterly been able to refer in some detail to the four volumes of "Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa".

My original (1939) interpretation is now presented in English for the first time, with one or two minor corrections.

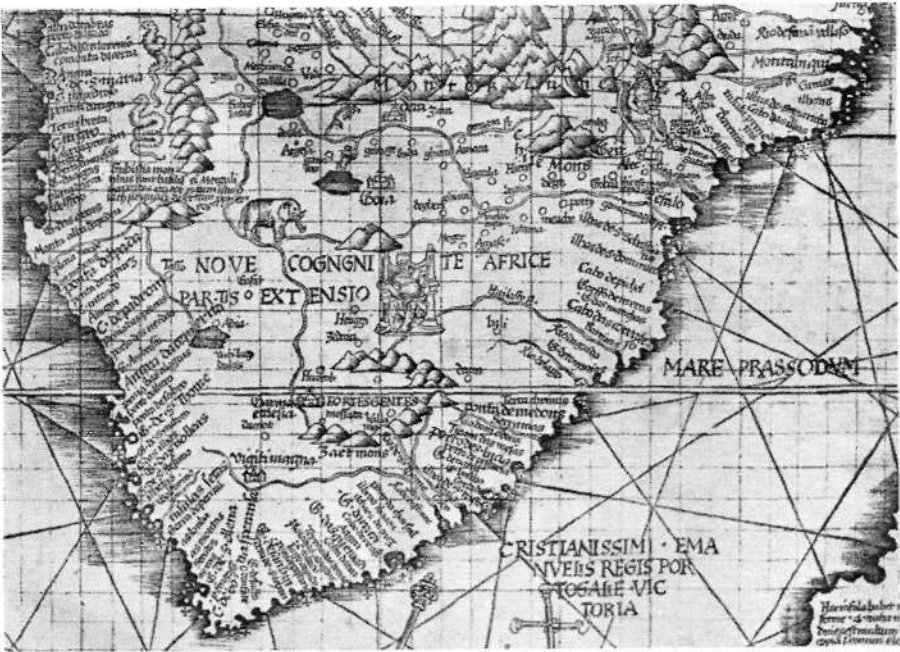
The new translation of the Veloso manuscript by Sr. Freire de Andrade published in the Documents² varies very little in content from the original Axelson translation, with only two important exceptions: Axelson thought that the size of the island in a river, described by Fernandes as *que sera de comprimam de huma carreira de cavallo*³ was "a day's journey by horse" which would have meant perhaps from 20 to 30 miles long; whereas Sr. de Andrade's version reads "as long as a horse race-course", which might well be as short as a mile or two. This has put a different light on a cardinal point in my interpretation and pin-points the island with certainty.

The other moot point is the use by Veloso of the Portuguese phrase *vem ter* when describing the route taken by Fernandes in respect of the river systems. Axelson translated this as "came to meet". Sr. Andrade prefers "runs to". It would seem to be a dialect usage of the term on the part of Gaspar Veloso, the clerk. Any translation indicating that the two rivers actually joined, or separated from a common source, is not topographically correct, as no such junction exists or could have existed in the whole region, with the single exception of the Tokwe and Tokwani south of Fort Victoria. Fernandes is not likely to have imagined such an occurrence. However, many contemporary cartographers of the time seem also to have been deceived by this phrase in the report which no doubt they took literally, and for the next 200 years delineated such a junction on their maps. Among them were such eminent names as Veroneso (1562), Ortelius (1570), Pigafetta (1591), Blaeuw (1630), Sanson (1655), Homanno (1680), Schenck (1690), and Overton (1711).

All the evidence would indicate that what, in fact, Fernandes was trying to describe was the general disposition and direction of the valleys or watercourses and that by following up one river valley you "came towards" the next river system over the watershed. Early travellers were dependant upon river valleys for their daily needs and could not wander far from water. In any case, these natural features would have largely determined their identification of the terrain and the general direction of a large proportion of their marches through the country, between known water-holes or along streams from village to village.

The same expression *vem ter* is used by Veloso in regard to the small river of the district of Amguoge or Angoxe, most likely to be the Buzi, the head of whose valley bends southwards towards the Sabi River if one is thinking in terms of going up, and not down, this river into the interior.

The river styled Angoxe might also have been the Pungwe, but I prefer the Buzi for good reason. The river itself, it is believed, was navigable by canoe for about 60 or 70 miles and so gave an excellent start to itinerant pedlars and their



Carta Marina Navigatori Portugallen by Martini Waldsemuller Ilacomili, A.D. 1516. This map, believed to have been published by a German monk in 1516, is the first to show the confluence of rivers in the Monomotapa region possibly suggested by the phrase *vem ter* in the Fernandes manuscript. It places Sofala (Zefalo) in its correct position and marks the Sabi River as the Gomomager Fl. Only the mouth of the Zambezi is known and marked as Rio de bons sutaers (spelling not clear) and the Buzi/Pungwe as the Rio de S. Vicenti. This map is mainly interesting for the inclusion of a large number of names of what appear to be the Arab trade routes and markets in the interior.

carriers, who had to get out of their boats and walk from the point on this stream where it is crossed by rapids and a natural rock arch (lat. 33.21 E.; long. 19.54 S.). How significant a feature this must have been to travellers on their way up country is clearly demonstrated by the Ortelius map of 1570 which marks the river, without giving it a name, but with short double strokes indicating the rock arch at the end of navigation. The Pigafetta map of 1591 marks the Angoxe district or river in its correct region south of present-day Beira.

The Sabi itself is unlikely ever to have been navigable on account of numerous sand banks, which is still the case today.

The deductions which one may well draw from these two points are that Fernandes was trying to indicate the lie of the valleys and not only the direction of flow of the rivers in the same colloquial way in which nowadays we would say that a certain valley *ran up to* a given feature: (1) that the Buzi valley, the Angoxe, runs up towards the northern edge of the Sabi valley, which is correct; and (2) that the Sabi/Lundi (or Quitengue) valley system runs up towards the watershed of the northern river system, the Cuama or Zambezi, which is also correct. The gold-bearing regions between Queque and Gadzima, extensively worked by the ancient miners, lie on the Zambezi (Cuama) side of the watershed



Africa tabula nova by Ortelius, 1570. The special interest in this map is the marking of the rock's arch in the small river (Buzi) immediately north of Sofala. The Zambezi (Cuama or Zuama) is mistaken for the Sabi and the Fernandes confluence *ven ter* is perpetuated. The simbae of Chief Quiteve is also marked and this is not likely to be the Great Zimbabwe.

and Fernandes wished to imply, so I believe, that the approach to this gold-mining region would best be made via the "river of Quitengue". He is emphatic that this river eventually "flows into the sea sixteen leagues from the bar of Sofala"⁴, the exact distance of the mouth of the Sabi from Sofala, 55 miles.

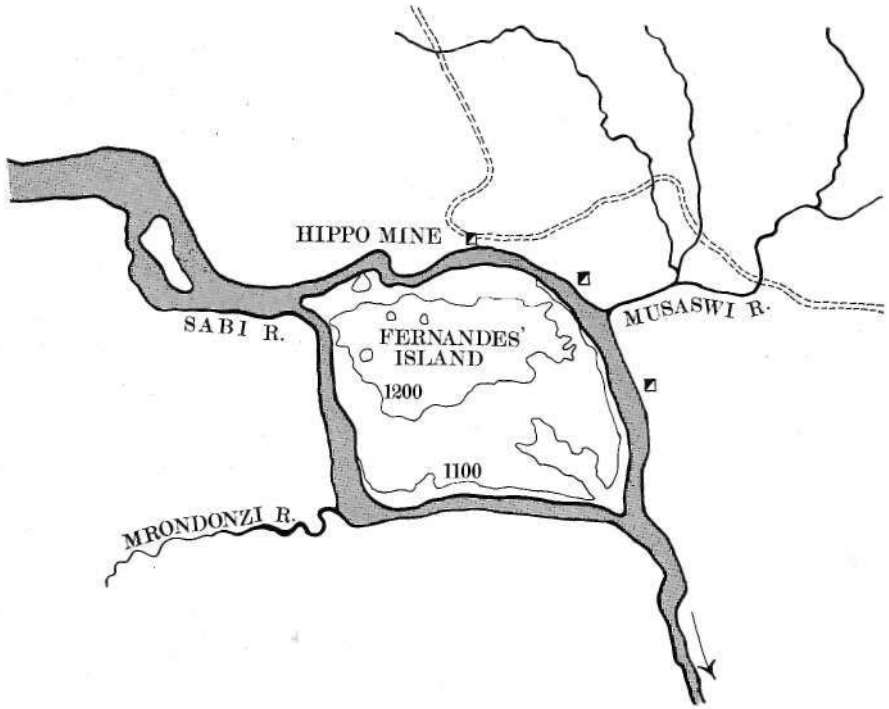
These points alone confirm both the correctness of Fernandes' observations and that he advocated the Sabi/Lundi or southern Moorish entry into the highland of Massapa, a name which persists to this day. Later in the century the rival claims between the relative advantages of the northern, Zambezi, and the southern, Sabi, routes became a serious bone of contention, the Zambezi with its navigable water as far up as Tete winning the day. But at that moment no one knew the course of the Zambezi and it was not until June 1516, possibly after Fernandes' third journey into Monomotapa, that a later Captain of Sofala, Joao Vaz d'Almada, reported that Fernandes had told him of another river, the Cuama, which they had not yet discovered but which they had determined flowed into the sea 40 leagues from Sofala, the correct distance of the Zambezi delta.⁵ The identity of these two rivers, the Cuama and the Quitengue, cannot be mistaken for each other, with such exact navigational observations to differentiate between them.

The small island on which Fernandes had urged the King to establish a



Pigafetta, 1591. *Relatione del Reame di Congo et delle circvicine Contrade*. This map shows several places whose names are still found in Rhodesia and elsewhere nearly 400 years later. They include Ruenia River, Manica, Baroe, and others. It also marks the Angoxe district which figures prominently in the early Portuguese records, and an island in Cuama (Zambezi) which has been mistaken for Fernandes Island in the Sabi. The illustration of fortresses or large boulders on the hilltops of Monomotapa is also interesting to anyone knowing the granite hills of Rhodesia.

factory or outpost was stated to be in the river system of Quitengue, ten days' journey from Sofala. My surmise is that the island was indeed in the Sabi River where just such an island exists, about 2½ miles long and 1½ miles broad (32°19' E./21°2' S.), about 175 miles direct, WSW., from Sofala. On modern maps it can be found about 26 miles south of Dott's Drift, on the border between the lower Zaka and lower Melsetter districts, 17 miles upstream from the junction with the Lundi and opposite the Hippo Mine claims. From the contours on the Geographical Survey map, it would appear to be sufficiently elevated, over 100 ft., to have avoided summer flooding. This would certainly have been a strategic site and had the Portuguese decided to do so, might well have blocked the normal southern trade route up the Buzi valley and across to the Sabi/Lundi system via the chain of stone forts to the Great Zimbabwe and beyond, which had been used, perhaps, for centuries by the Moors and their offspring who were estimated at that time to have numbered over 10,000, living and trading in the highlands.⁶ Fernandes had realised that if the trade with the interior was to be captured, not only would the southern Angoxe route have to be closed to



Fernandes' Island in the Sabi River showing the position of the disused Hippo Mine shafts on the left bank and the contours of the 1100, 1200 and 1300 feet above sea level.
Map from S.R. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 40.

the Arabs but the Zambezi waterway as well, as Antonio de Saldanha, Captain of Sofala, had suggested by "a brace of the smallest caravels".⁷ With both these two entries in addition to Sofala in the hands of the Portuguese, the Moors, he wrote, "could do no damage and would of necessity become friends".

In trying to puzzle out the riddle between the places marked in the sixteenth century maps and the observations of the explorers of the time, it is always attractive but dangerous to try to imagine similarities between the names of places mentioned in the old accounts and those in current use today. I must admit to having stretched a point or two in this direction in my first interpretation of 1939, which more mature thought and reference to the Documents (which only became available starting in 1962), would have modified or omitted altogether. However, a few names have persisted through the centuries, even through the filter of a foreign language notation, and have acted as a guide to my attempted reconstruction of Fernandes' journeys and the possible distribution of the kingdoms or chieftainships such as those of Changamiri and Mbiri. It must be remembered that in Africa, right up to the present day, place names were usually persons' names, a village being called after the name of the chief or headman, and, with the exception of the names of hills and rivers, such as Tafuna Hill and the Ruenia River, they were changed or vanished with the death

of the man with whom they were associated. These are small points, and no doubt will be more accurately determined by future research.

What is more tantalising is the lack of exact knowledge about the identity of Rhodesia's first pioneer himself, though there are sufficient clues scattered throughout the records for us to draw fair conclusions.

The name of our hero was unfortunately as common as Jack Smith in England. It was spelt in a variety of ways with Antonio, Amtonio and Amtoneo being apparently interchangeable, while Fernandes was as often spelt with a "z" as with an "s".

In the several documents of the period now available, no less than 13 Antonio Fernandes appear under one or other version of the name in the nine years between 1505 and 1514, listed here with the date of their first appearance:

1. *Antonio Fernandes*, carpenter at the fortress of Sofala (1506).
2. Antonio Fernandez, clerk of the factory, Kilwa (1506).
3. Antonio Fernandes, keeper of the stores, Kilwa (1507).
4. Antonyo Fernandes, clerk of the galley *Santa Maria da Ajuda*, at Cochin (1509).
5. Antonio Fernandes, blacksmith at Arzila (1509).
6. Antonyo Fernandes, collector of alms of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Kilwa (1509).
7. *Antonio Fernandes, degredado* (exile) at the fortress of Sofala (1510).
8. Antonio Fernandes, steward of the *nao* (ship) *Boaventura* at Canannore (1510).
9. Amtonio Fernandez, unidentified, at Cochin (1510).
10. Antonio Fernandes, unidentified, at Sofala (1511).
11. Antonio Fernandes, resident at Goa (1514).
12. Antonio Fernandes, knight at Goa (1514).
13. Amtonio Fernandez, Esquire of the King's household (1514).

Of all these names two seem the most significant, the carpenter (No. 1) of 1506 and the *degredado* (No. 7) of 1510. If, as I have suggested, Antonio Fernandes undertook his journeys to Monomotapa about 1514-15, the entries in the following year omitting to mention his category as *degredado* are significant. Subsequent entries are coupled with sincere praise for his discoveries, and now list him as "carpenter and interpreter".⁸ This would indicate his emancipation and well-earned recognition as an explorer. By June 1516 he must have already dictated his report to Gaspar Veloso, even if it had not yet been despatched to the King of Portugal to whom his remarks were addressed, for the then Captain of Sofala, Joao Vaz de Almada, in a report to the King refers to him with affection and pride as one of the men who were with Pero d'Anaya, the first Captain of Sofala (1505-06) and builder of the fort there. Fernandes, he states, had "already been to Bonomotapa" where he was held in great esteem, had been an effective peace-maker between tribal factions and was shortly to be given further responsible assignments. In addition, de Almada indicated his agreement with Fernandes' suggestions for the control of Arab trade with the interior, by this remark: "In a notebook I am sending there to Your Highness of the things this Antonio Fernandez saw, you will see how things here can be

righted." If this notebook was indeed the Veloso manuscript, the date of its despatch to Portugal can be surmised with some accuracy.

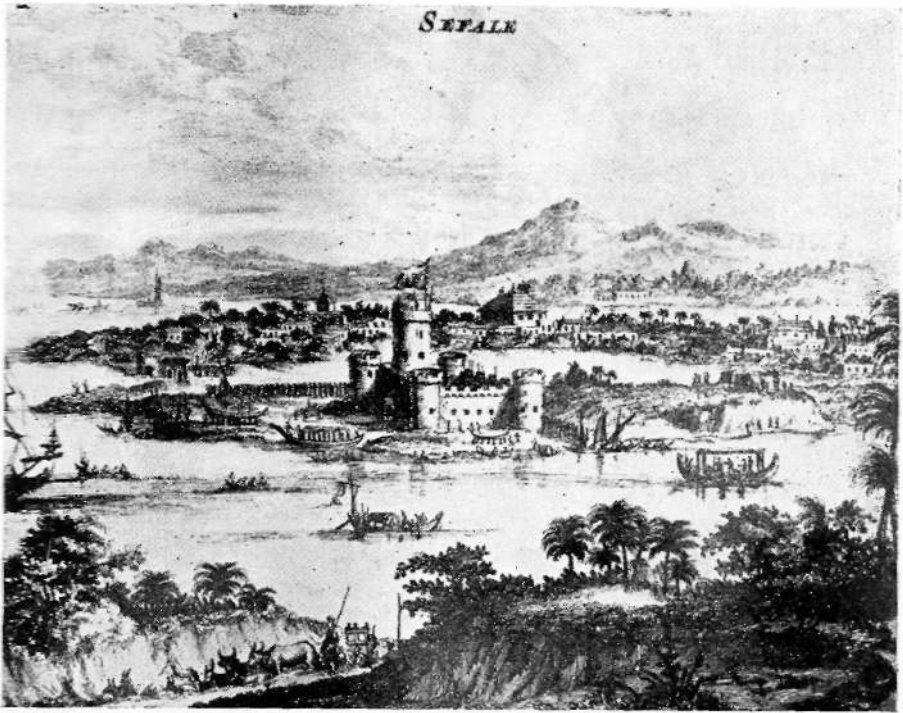
From that data now brought to light through the publication of the Documents, the pattern of his career seems to be fairly well established, and though so many other men of his name are also featured in the various reports, the progress of the one historically important Fernandes can be outlined thus:

Brought to Sofala as a *degredado* in 1505, working on the construction of the fort of S. Caetano as a carpenter and as a member of the garrison. Mentioned again as a *degredado* in 1510, but chosen shortly afterwards perhaps on account of his grasp of the Karanga language to take the risk of the exploration of the interior, a dangerous task to which *degredados* were usually assigned.⁹ The great success of his Monomotapa journeys, his popularity with the Africans and the mass of valuable detail he acquired may have earned for him a reprieve, for not only was he given further responsible duties, but he is never again referred to except as "carpenter and interpreter". It would appear that he never learned to read and write for, apart from his association with the clerk, Gaspar Veloso, in subsequent entries his name is coupled with another man on three occasions, in these words: "Antoneo Fernandes, the carpenter of this fortress, with Gonçalo Diaz, his clerk."

There is a possibility that entry No. 11 might also have referred to our Fernandes, a man who is described in January 1513 as a married man living in Goa, who was given a grant by the Captain-General and Governor of the Indies, Afonso d'Albuquerque, "in the name of the King our Lord, because he discovered for me certain things in the service of the King".¹⁰ It might be that he was sent across to Goa to report in person to the Governor on his discoveries in Monomotapa and to receive recognition in the form of a grant. In this case, the first, if not the second, of his Monomotapa journeys must have taken place as early as 1511 or 1512. How thoughtless of d'Albuquerque not to have detailed the date and nature of the "certain things" which that Fernandes had discovered!

One other set of entries in the Documents would appear to throw some light on Fernandes' movements. His name appears in several lists showing that he drew rations as a *degredado* for every month from June to December 1510, after which his name under that category disappears from the records. Subsequently, in October 1514, the Governor d'Albuquerque mentions in a letter¹¹: "The officials of Sofala wrote me that they had received news of the man they had sent to discover that city of Benomotapa whence the gold comes, and I believe that they will have given a detailed account of this deed to Your Highness there." They may well have done so, but no evidence has survived except the Velsoso manuscript.

As for Gaspar Veloso, clerk of the factory of Mozambique, we know very little apart from this historic document. He is first mentioned in the Documents in July 1512, undertaking his normal duties, handing out supplies to the master of a *nao*, a sailing ship from the stores in that port. He is never mentioned as a member of the garrison at Sofala, so it appears likely that Fernandes had visited Mozambique where he had persuaded Veloso to write on his behalf to the King not only describing his discovery of Monomotapa but also asking to be allowed



An artist's impression of Sofala at the end of the sixteenth century with the fort of S. Caetano which was built in 1505. Antonio Fernandes was the carpenter at this fort and helped to build it. The fort was eventually washed away by the sea about 1898. A stone for the fort carried from Portugal as ballast in the ships and used in its construction is in the Salisbury Museum.

to return to Portugal freed of the stigma of being a *degredado*, or exile.¹² Veloso is mentioned twice again in 1513, and, in 1514, the Provost of Mozambique complained that he suspected him of trading on his own account.¹³

On such slender threads of written evidence hangs the historic evidence of Rhodesia's first pioneer. What better tribute could be given him than by naming his unnamed island in the Sabi, Fernandes' Island.

NOTES

1. Imprensa Nacional, Lourenco Marques.
2. "Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa", Vol. III, pp.181-9—Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos in Lisbon, and the National Archives of Rhodesia.
3. Gaspar Veloso MS.—Item 19.
4. MS.—Item 19.
5. Documents, Vol. IV, p. 289.
6. Documents, Vol. III, pp. 15 and 17.
7. Documents, Vol. III, p. 185.
8. Documents, Vol. IV, p. 571.
9. Documents, Vol. I, p. 45.
10. Documents, Vol. III, p. 413.
11. Documents, Vol. III, p. 561.
12. MS.—Item 19.
13. Documents, Vol. III, p. 531.

Part II

Interpretation of the Gaspar Veloso Manuscript*

Antonio Fernandes, Portuguese explorer and the first Rhodesian pioneer, walked through the country of Monomotapa noting its gold deposits in the year 1514, at a time when the English and the Scots were still fighting each other during the early part of the reign of King Henry VIII.

This Antonio Fernandes was a *degredado*. He had been convicted in Portugal for some unknown offence, but was sufficiently intelligent to be offered a free pardon if he helped his country in its discovery of Southern Africa, and the route to India by way of the Cape. Such treatment of criminals was common in those days and it made excellent use of men who would otherwise have wasted valuable years in prison. But it was a pardon not without its dangers to the *degredado*. Africa was still "Incognita", and the risk of death from malaria or hostile tribes considerable. Little else is known of Antonio Fernandes except that he came to Sofala, a Portuguese outpost on the east coast of Africa, about 1505, where that year he would have helped to build the fort—the first European building in Southern Africa.

In the years A.D. 1514 and 1515 he made two journeys of exploration into the country of Monomotapa, that today is the greater part of Southern Rhodesia.

A most important document setting out Fernandes' account of these travels was recently discovered by Eric Axelson in the Archives of Lisbon, and is not only the first description of Monomotapa by a European, but it describes the country over 50 years before the ill-fated expedition of Baretto in 1572. In the six brief pages of this unique record we have Southern Rhodesia's most ancient piece of historical evidence, and a key to the old maps of the period.

We can fix the date of his first journey with some accuracy, as Affonso d'Albuquerque, Second Viceroy of India, wrote from Goa to the King of Portugal on 25th October, 1514¹ a letter in which he says: "The officials of Sofala write to me that they have news of the man whom they sent to discover the city of Benomotapa, where the gold comes from, that on the way he fell ill and was entertained by the Moors. I think they will have given your Highness a full account of the matter from that place."

Allowing two months for the passage of a ship between Africa and India, the good news would have been sent to the Governor about July 1514, the dry season during which Fernandes must have made his first journey.

It is believed that ships used to call at Sofala mostly during the months of July, August and September, on their way to India, to catch the favourable trade winds.

The account of Antonio Fernandes' journeys into Monomotapa was written for him by Gaspar Veloso, a clerk at the fort of Sofala, and it was addressed to the King of Portugal. It is just the bare outline of where he had been, and what he had found. Antonio Fernandes did not sign the document himself as in all

*First published in 1939.

probability he was illiterate, but the accuracy of his observations will be shown by a study of the manuscript in comparison with both old and modern maps.

Here is Eric Axelson's translation of this document:

Gaspar Veloso in Sofala, to el Rei; no date, about 1515-16; Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, "Cartas dos Vicereis da India", p. 1-162.

These are the kings that there are from Sofala up to the mine of Monomotapa, and the things that there are in each of these kingdoms:

- * 1. The first king, who borders on Sofala, is called Mycamdira; and there is nothing in his land except victuals and ivory.
2. Another king, who is beyond this latter, is called the king of Mazira; and he has nothing except victuals and he is two days' journey¹ from the other written above.
3. The king of Quytomgue is from this latter a journey of three days; and he has nothing except victuals.
4. The king of Embya is from this latter a journey of four days; and he has nothing there except banditry.²
5. The king of Ynhacouce is from this latter another journey of three days; he has victuals and ivory.
6. The king of Ynhacouce is from this latter another journey of five days. He is captain-in-chief³ of the king of Monomotapa. He has a great land. Fairs are held in his land on Mondays, and they are called the fairs of "ssembaza"; there the Moors sell all their merchandise. There flock also the Kaffirs of all the lands. And he also has many victuals. That fair is said to be as big as you can see anywhere. And there is no other money than gold by weight.
7. The king of Manhiqua is from this latter a journey of six days. He has much gold here.
8. The king of Amcoce is from this latter a journey of four days. And he extracts much gold in all his land. And this man saw it being extracted, and says that where the gold is, is known by a grass which is like clover, which grows over it. He says that the chief part is in bars as large as a finger, and in bulky grains. And he (the king) has nothing else except this gold. And whoever extracts this gold pays half to the king. And all victuals come to him from outside.⁴
9. The king of Barue is from this latter another journey of four days. And he has gold which comes to him from outside. And there is much ivory in the land.
10. The king of Betomgua is from this latter a journey of three days. And he has no gold except some which comes to him from outside.⁵

* For reference purposes I have numbered the items.

1. "duas jornadas".

2. "hamdar ao salto".

3. "capitam moor".

4. "Outside" is hypothetical, since there is a hole in the middle of the page, which cuts off three or four letters after a letter "f . . .". It seems safe to suppose "fora".

5. "de fora".

11. The king of Ynhaperapara is from this latter another journey of four days. And he extracts gold from all his land. And he is a great king.
12. The king of Boece is from this latter another journey of five days. And he has gold which comes from outside. And he is a great king.
13. The king of Mazofe is from this last a journey of four days. And there is much gold in his land. And half which is extracted is paid to him.
14. From there he went to Embire, which is a fortress of the king of Monomotapa, which he is now making of stone without mortar, which is called Camanhaya, and where he always is. It is a journey of five days. And from there onwards they enter into the kingdom of Monomotapa, which is the source of the gold of all this land. And the latter is the chief king of all these. And all obey him from Monomotapa to Sofala.
15. Beyond the latter is another king who does not obey him, who is called the king of Butua. And from him (king of Monomotapa) to the latter (king of Butua) is a journey of ten days. He has much gold. This is extracted alongside the rivers of fresh water.¹ And he is as great a king as the king of Monomotapa. And he is always at war with him.
16. The king of Mobara is from Monomotapa a journey of seven days. In this land there is much gold and much copper. And from there they bring the copper to sell it to Monomotapa in ingots² like ours, and also through all the other land. These men are badly proportioned, and are not very black; and they have tails like a sheep. There lies a great river between this king and the king of Monomotapa, which they cross in canoes³ when they bring their merchandise to sell. And they place it on land, and return to the other side. And then come the Moors or the Kaffirs, and take the merchandise if they are satisfied with it, and they leave there the cloths and any other merchandise that they carry; and then come those with tails; and if they are content with the merchandise that has been left, they carry it with them; and if they are not content, they go away and leave it; and they do not return until more has been placed down, or they are brought back by signs. And these people of the tails worship cows. And if any of them dies, they eat him, and bury a cow. And when a negro is darker, they pay more money for him, to eat him. And they say that the flesh of white men⁴ is salter than that of black.
17. The king of Ynhoqua is at war with the king of Monomotapa. And it is a kingdom of much gold. And it is from Monomotapa a journey of five days. And onwards from this kingdom this man did not pass owing chiefly to the wars which there were between these kings; and also because he did not have presents to give these kings, as it is customary in all the land for strangers to do on arrival, for the sake of their security; and if they should want to talk to him they should give him something; and if they do not give it, they cannot speak to him. And the kings give always double in

1 "arguoa doce".

2 "pais".

3 "almadias".

4 "bracos".

satisfaction. And from there he turned¹ and came to the kingdom of Mozambira on his Sofalan journey.² This was not the way he had gone; the only reason was for him to see other lands. In this kingdom are cloths of cotton, which go to be sold in Monotapa.

18. From Ynhoqua he came to the kingdom of Moziba on his Sofalan journey.³ In this land there is nothing except cloths of cotton that are made in it; and they carry them to sell in Monomotapa.
19. From there he came to the kingdom of Quytegue, which is seven days from this latter. In this land there is much gold; the gold is extracted in the land. It borders on Batogua, in which there is much gold and ivory. This gold is extracted in the same territory; and it is very much. And this land has a river which comes to meet⁴ the Cuama, and goes out into the sea sixteen leagues from the bar of Sofala. And in this same river of the land of Quytegue could be built a factory house, on an island which is situated in the middle of the river, which would be about a day's journey by horse in length and as much again in width.⁵ And if this house were built, Your Highness would have the gold of all this land, and also that of Monomotapa; for the latter is a journey often days from the island. And beyond this that has been said, it would be possible to trade much ivory to carry to India or to these kingdoms. And, moreover, the trade of Sofala would be revived, which at present is ruined by a smaller river that comes from Angoxa⁶ towards⁷ this river of Quitegue, whence come many zambucos laden with cloths, which they trade throughout the land. And if Your Highness made this house, it would be possible for a brigantine to cruise about, which would guard these rivers, so that there should pass no merchandise from Angoxa or from any other part; for the Moors of all this coast labour as much as they can to damage this trade of Your Highness, for it seems to them that if they can ruin it, Your Highness will order the fortress of Sofala to be disbanded. And they have great hope of this because Kilwa is being disbanded; and because of the factory that is now being erected at Malindi; since they know moreover of the disbandment of Angediva and of Socotora, it seems to them that Your Highness is going to order Sofala to be disbanded. And if this house were securely established, Your Highness would have the trade of Sofala, and you would have all the gold of this land of Quytegue and also of Monomotapa, for it is very close. And all these things Antonio Fernandes has had in secret; he has told them to nobody here save to me to tell Your Highness. And because he returns to Monomotapa, and runs the risk of dying owing to the many wars that there are in the land, I asked him to tell me anything that would be to your service, so that I could report it to Your Highness. And he has always told

1 "fez volta".

2 "caminho de Cofalla".

3 "caminho de Cofalla".

4 "vem ter".

5 "sera de coprida de hua carreira de cavallo; e outro tamto em largue".

6 "Amguoge".

7 "vem ter".

me that he wants very much to go to Portugal, to tell Your Highness of things of your service.

20. From there he crossed through the land of Betomgua, and came to the land of Baro, where there is also gold. And from this Baro to Betogua is five days' journey. And from there he came to Sofala in twenty days. He brought with him from the first journey kaffirs who had dared to come with him despite the fear which the Moors inspire in them of us; they brought for trade 900 miticals which they traded in the factory; and they brought as a present to the captain 100 miticals. And the second time he returned he brought kaffirs that came to trade, and they brought a present to the captain. (He took) on the journey the first time, in going and returning, four months*. And the second time he took longer because of the wars and floods. And these people do not believe in anything, except the new moon, because the first day that it comes they worship ... (?) They are people that are not very black though they have hair like those of Gu(inea); and those of the tails who worship cows and eat men are shorter than these. And these people meeting those of the tails go about armed with bows and poisoned arrows and assagais and sharpened sticks. And Antonio Fernandes told me about all these lands; he had walked through them and had seen them.

(signed) GASPAR VELOSO

A second document discovered by Eric Axelson also throws light on the journeys of Antonio Fernandes. The material portions are quoted below.

Joao Vaz d'Almada (alcaide-mor of Sofala) to el Rei; June the twenty-fifth 1516; Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronologico 1-20-64.

. . . reference to there being 40 persons in the fortress of Sofala, including *degreddados* . . .

Description of arrival of a mission from Ynhameda with certain requests. d'Almada decided to send a zambuco "and two men** namely Francisco da Cunha . . . and one Joao Escudeiro, a servant of Amrique Coreira, who has been here from the time of Pedro d'Anaia, who knows the language of the land, one Antonio Fernandes, who is from that time, who has already been to Bonomotapa, and has so much credit in all those lands that they worship him like a god".

The zambuco would reach within five days of Ynhameda . . . The mission was a failure because at the port of Ynhameda all fell ill, except Fernandes . . .

Item. "I have learnt from this Antonio Fernandes that one hundred leagues (about 345 miles) from here into the interior was a house of the king, lord of great lands and many people, and land in which there is much money; this land

* The hole which runs through the centre of all the pages here assumes more serious proportions.

** Through lack of punctuation in the original, it is not clear whether there were two men plus Fernandes, or whether possibly Joao the Escudeiro was another name for him. I think the former must be true. E.A.

is four days' journey from where they extract the gold. This king's name is Onhaquuro, and he is in a city hard by a great river.

"This king rejoiced greatly to see him (Fernandes)... with pilots one could sail down that river to the great sea . . . He told him that he could not stay for he was going on to Monomotapa; but he promised to return, and he left a musket and a slave . . . I have discovered by certain information that this river is one which flows into the sea forty leagues from here towards Mozambique. It is called Cuama (Zambezi). It is the chief river in these parts. And I have it for certain that in the interior small rivers flow from the Congo towards this river, towards this city. I tell Your Highness that in this city is sold all the merchandise that is stolen from our vessels by the Moors of Kilwa and Malindi; and we cannot inflict any injury on these Moors."

. . . He asks for permission to use a locally built caravel and some zambucos to explore and exploit the territory. He explains that local people do not know much about the country beyond Monomotapa, where the people are more white than black. But Fernandes was at their fairs and saw the bars of copper that they traded; and the copper came from the rivers of Manicong. Particulars of this trade are written in a notebook. This land, which adjoined that of Monomotapa was called Abar.

Item. "Your Highness will know that Monomotapa is the king from there to the sea. He has great lords . . . Ynhamuda is one, Sono is another, Oboyro is another. These are all in a state of rebellion. They say that they ought to be Monomotapa . . ."

How can we retrace on our modern maps the route taken by the first white man to enter the highlands of Mashonaland? Let us start with Fernandes from the newly-built fort of Sofala, 20 miles south of present-day Beira.

Our first difficulty is to discover why Fernandes took 24 days to get to the mines of Manyika, a direct distance of only 160 miles to Penhalonga and much less to the closer mines on the east of the hills. In later journals it was admitted that Manyika was only ten days away. Two factors may have influenced Fernandes in taking a circuitous route; (1) the hostile country of chief Inyamunda is believed to have lain between Sofala and Manyika on the direct route up the Revue River, and (2) the Moors who traded with Butua, the southern part of the country, used the Sabi River entrance, partly sailing up the river in their zambucos and no doubt also taking the footpath from Sofala which was an Arab trading post, up the Buzi River, to strike the Sabi near its junction with the Lundi. The Buzi is navigable for small boats and canoes up to the natural rock arch—a distance of over 60 miles.

As all evidence of the geography of the land must have come entirely from the Moors and native Africans, it is not surprising to find that Fernandes took the Sabi River entrance into the interior. Inyamunda, as we learn from earlier accounts some years before, was not on good terms with the Monomotapa. He had also been enraged by the behaviour of the Portuguese at the fort, who "grew so overbearing in evil doing that they treated the natives of the country worse than slaves".²

Inyamunda was therefore a chief to be avoided, for the Captain of Sofala had failed to take action against his unruly troops; and Inyamunda had threatened to throw the Portuguese out of the country. The previous insurrection of Inyamunda against his paramount chief Monomotapa, had, we learn, seriously curtailed the trade of the Arabs of Sofala with the interior. All the chiefs on the east of the Manyika escarpment were inclined to be hostile to Monomotapa, and this naturally cut off communication with the coast.

Consequently, when Antonio Fernandes set out, he took for one reason or another the southern route, through the country of Kitewe (in old maps usually spelt Quiteve), whose *zimbaoe*, or great place, was somewhere on or near the banks of the Buzi River under the foothills of the Chimanemane range. This route would make the 24 days' journey to Manyika at Penhalonga about 326 miles, at a reasonable average of 14 miles a day along the footpaths through the veld.

So we can picture Antonio Fernandes setting out from Sofala with a string of African porters carrying his stock of presents, muskets, cloth and beads, for the chiefs of the country. We do not know the exact date of his departure, but it is likely to have been the beginning of the dry season, about April of A.D. 1514.

His first objective was the kraal of chief Micamdira (in modern Karanga spelling more likely to be *Mukandira*). This chief was said to be the local head of the low-lying district round Sofala, and may perhaps have lived on the other side of the Buzi swamps; for it is believed that the Buzi River used to enter the sea at Sofala in those days and not 19 miles nearer Beira, as it does now at Nova Luzitania.

Leaving Mukandira, Fernandes next visited chief Mazira, two days away on the slightly rising ground which lies along the south of the Buzi River.

Three days later he arrived at chief Quitomgue (Kwitongwe).

From subsequent data we find that his *zimbaoe* seems to have been near the banks of the Buzi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day Chibabava, though it is not certain that Quiteve had as yet moved down from the hills. The word *Zimbaoe* must not be confused with the name of the ruins, the Great Zimbabwe. All the great villages of the Karanga chiefs were called *Zimbaoe*, and were not necessarily constructed of stone.

Keeping to the slopes on the south of the Buzi for another four days, Fernandes next came to Chief Embia (Mbia, or Mbeya) which at 15 miles a day would be situated about longitude 33° E. A further three days marching round the southern spur of the range that divides the interior from the coastal belt would then bring him into the Sabi valley and the beginning of his northward trek on the western side of the hills towards Manyika. Here he found an outpost of chief Inhacouce (*Nyakuse*, or *Nyasuse*).

The kraal of the chief himself was encountered five days further on, near the present site of the great single span, the Birchenough Bridge. Fernandes states that Nyasuse was a vassal of Monomotapa and fairs were held at his village each "second day", or Monday, in which the only currency used between natives and the Arabs was gold-dust. The name of the fairs "Ssembaza" may have had a Karanga origin, possibly from "Zi-mbaza" the Great Mbaza (trans-

lation unknown) or "Zi-mbadza" the Great Hoe. The Badza was a common object of barter amongst the natives until recent years. But it is most likely to have been a corruption of the Arabic word "Bazaar".

From here Fernandes had only to walk northwards up the rising country between the Odzi River and the hills for a space of six days, to be in the country of Chief Manhiqua (*Manyikwa*, or *Manyika*). Here he reports for the first time the presence of gold. This was undoubtedly the present-day Penhalonga and the valley of the Revue River.

His next move was to a gold-field four days' journey away, about 60 miles, where he watched natives extracting gold ore from the ground. There is no gold 60 miles away from Penhalonga on the western side, so Amcoce (*Masose*, from the Karanga *sose*, black ants) must have been on the east of the mountains, near the Pungwe River.

Dr. Pires de Cavalho, Director of Mines at Macequece, in P.E.A., confirms the fact that gold exists on the Pungwe where he has personally found it in the sands in recent years (1930's).

From Masose he went north again into the land of chief Barue, four days away, into the district that is still called Barue. Here he found "gold which comes to it from outside". What did he mean by this? Either gold traded from other districts, or more likely alluvial gold. Alluvial gold is still worked by the natives in the small streams, which run down the eastern slopes of the hills, not far from the Inyanga Range on the Portuguese side of the border. As for ivory, herds of elephants remain in the low country below the Inyanga escarpment, where they might well have been hunted years ago.

Four days' march further north he found Betomgua (Betongwa), a district inhabited by the Batonga people, who have lived for centuries in the lowlands of Mozambique, and were supposed to have worked the mines of Manyika³. Here again he found "no gold except some which comes from outside"; referring no doubt to the alluvial deposits in the Ruenia River.

In the second document written by d'Almada, Fernandes is reported to have said, that at a distance of 100 leagues from Sofala into the interior, there was a great king named Onhaquouro (*Nyakwiro*) "in a city hard by a great river. With pilots one could sail down that river to the great sea."⁴

The Cuama or Zambezi is the only river to fit the description, as d'Almada correctly observes. This remark of Fernandes is very revealing; it clearly indicates his route into the interior, which we now follow.

There is a kraal called Nhanquiro marked on the Portuguese maps of A.D. 1929⁵, 31 miles from the Zambezi at the Lupata Gorge. This agrees with Fernandes' account as it is 66 miles from Makaha, or as he says, "four days' journey from where they extract the gold". In that case Nyakwiro was likely to have been the chief of the Batonga, in this district.

His next move from Batongwa, a journey of four days, brought him presumably to the Ruenia River, through the pass in the hills to a place called Inhapera-pera (Nyamparapara, the place of the Sable) which must have been the gold area of Makaha, for the chief "extracted gold from all his land".

From Makaha, as we now know, the gold deposits of Mashonaland lie in

a wide semicircle running west and south. The main centres are these: Makaha; Mount Darwin; Lower Mazoe Valley (Shamva end); Upper Mazoe Valley (Mazoe end); Arcturus; Sinoia; Hartley; Gatooma; Queque; Selukwe; and Belingwe. There are a few smaller areas besides these, notably: Beatrice; Wedza; Umvuma; Felixburg; Mashaba; and Victoria. Of these at least one, Victoria, was not known to the ancient miners, as no ancient working has ever been found in this belt which runs east and west a few miles north of the Great Zimbabwe. Fernandes on his two journeys visited nearly all the important gold-mining districts of Mashonaland, though the mines to the west in Matabeleland were yet to be explored.

To return to Makaha, Fernandes goes on for five days in a north-westerly direction across what is now the Mtoko district to a chief called Boece (Buisi, Bwizi, or Buzi), where again he finds the natives working alluvial gold, most probably in the north end of the present Mrewa district in the Mazoe River.

Passing along up the Mazoe valley for another four days, he arrived at the lower Mazoe gold belt, most probably centred round the Tafuna Hill (half-way between Bindura and Shamva), which is often marked upon the maps of the next century, as Matafuna. The Tafuna Hill had no less than seven or eight gold mines excavated on its sides, most if not all showing signs of ancient working.

Until recent years it has always been customary for visitors to a native district to pay a courtesy call upon the paramount chief for his permission to walk through his lands; and so it must have been when the first white man walked into the country of Monomotapa. Fernandes therefore must have gone to the court to pay his respects to the paramount chief, the Monomotapa who rules over all this country and its mines, from "there to the sea", i.e. the present Lomagundi district to Beira.

There is some uncertainty as to where the Monomotapa was living at the time. It is known that he had several villages in which he lived for long or short periods. During the civil wars or the next century in which the Portuguese assisted the chief they favoured, the Monomotapa lived as far east as the district of Tete near the Zambezi. But from other indications, and from the fact that the body of Father Dom Goncalo da Silveira was thrown into the Umsengedzi River near the chief's kraal (he was put to death on the day before the feast of St. Susanna, 16th March, A.D. 1561) it can be presumed that the site of the Monomotapa's zimbaoe was somewhere in the vicinity of the Mvuradona range near the Umsengedzi. Wherever it was, Fernandes proceeded from Tafuna to the court of Embiri (*Mbiri*) this village of Monomotapa was at a fortress called Gamanhaya (*Kamanyia*, or *Kwa-Manyia*, "to Manyia") "which he is *now* building of stone without mortar".

There are very few stone fortresses in this district that we know of. Fura (Mount Darwin) has several, but that is only two or three days' journey from the Mazoe at Tafuna. There is said to be a fortress upon the hill Tungagore near the Mvuradona range between the Mutua and the Ruiana streams. This would, be approximately the five days' journey from Tafuna, but is 15 miles east of the place commonly believed to be the site of Monomotapa's Kraal. Should there

prove to be a stone fortress upon the hill Runga, further west near the Umse-
ngedzi, or on a hill nearby, it would entirely agree with Fernandes' five days'
journey from Mazoe, and place the site of Monomotapa with some accuracy.*

It is likely that the Manyai, or Munyai people, were the Warosi followers
of the Mambo, who had become Monomotapa. Their district is marked in later
maps such as d'Anville's map of A.D. 1727 as the "Kingdom of Munhai, father-
land of Monomotapa".

Here, Fernandes says, at Monomotapa, was the greatest source of gold in
the whole land. The Darwin area is not a rich gold-field, but if you add the half-
share of the gold that Monomotapa took from all miners throughout his
territory, there must have been a large quantity for barter in that part of the
country.

In his book dated 1516⁶, Duarte Barbosa gives information about the gold
trade, most likely to have come from Fernandes' expedition. The Moors of
Monomotapa, he says, reported that "this gold (of Monomotapa) comes from
a more distant country towards the Cape of Good Hope, from another kingdom
which is subject to this Benametapa" (Butua).

This portion of Fernandes' account raises two interesting points. First, if
the Monomotapa's kraal was called Embiri (Mbiri), then Mbiri was more than
likely to be one of the honorific names of the first of this long line of paramount
chiefs, with whom the Portuguese had dealings.

A chief called Mbiri lives in the south of the Marandellas district today,
near the hill Wedza, and Wambiri people were found by Livingstone on the
Zambezi River near Chicova in 1855. But the name Mbiri is too common today
to draw any conclusion from it.

In a previous letter to the King of Portugal, Dom Manuel Diogo de
Alcova⁷ states that in 1506 the name of the Monomotapa was KweKarinugo
or Kwesaringo (most probably misread in the MSS. and meant to be Kwe-
Karinungo) son of Makomba, who was deposed by Changamiri, who in his turn
was killed by Karinungo. So we know three of the Monomotapas by the time
of Fernandes: (1) Makomba; (2) Changamiri; and (3) Karinungo. Mbiri may
therefore have been an honorific title or another name for Karinungo or his
successor.

Secondly, the Monomotapa's outpost at the fortress of the Wanyai was
manned by Warozwi, the Invaders, who must therefore have arrived in the
country before the beginning of the sixteenth century; as we know, they deposed
the Karanga rulers, and thereafter reserved the right of appointing their chiefs.
If the derivation of the word Monomotapa comes from the root *TAPA*, *MU-
NO-MU-TAPA*, Tapa meaning "Usurp", then the title is easily understood . . .

In the year 1514 the Usurper, the foreign Warozwi, had already taken the
power from the Karanga chiefs and had become their overlords, though the
kingdom was still the land of the Karanga people, and called the Kingdom of
Mocoranga by the Portuguese.

To go back to Fernandes—our explorer must have stayed in the country

* I understand that the ruins of just such a fortress has since been discovered on the hill
Tungakagore.

of Monomotapa a good while on this his first journey, for he made two expeditions from the kraal of the paramount chief to other gold-fields.

One to the very rich gold-field of Butua (Butwa) took him ten days. At his usual pace of about 15 miles a day, this is exactly the distance to the mineralised area of Hartley. The king of Butua, he reports, is still unconquered by the Monomotapa and is at war with him. This remark gives us a clear indication of the extent of the intrusion of the Warozwi (Monomotapa) overlords at this time. Here in Butua, Fernandes says, the gold is extracted alongside the rivers of sweet water, perhaps the Umfuli and its tributaries. Gold mines of our time are "The Giant", and other Gadzema mines, the "Seigneurie" and the "Bay Horse", all of which are within a short distance of the Umfuli River.

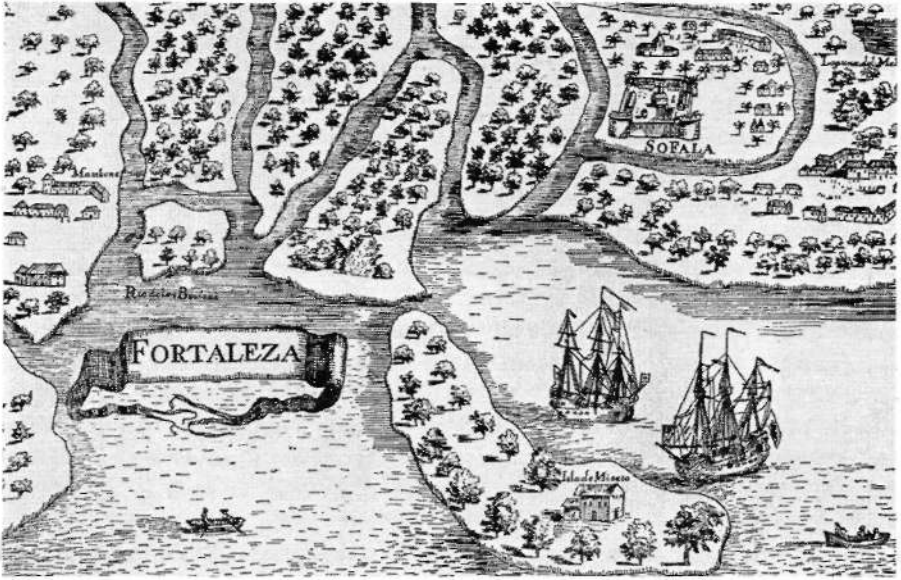
Another of his journeys from Mbiri takes him to Mopara (*Mompapa*), seven days away, where he says there is much gold and much copper; the copper is sold in ingots. Here also there is a large river and ill-proportioned men, who are not very black, with tails (rumps) like sheep. If the fat-tailed sheep are indicated, then the picture of Bushmen is well-drawn. Seven days' journey from Mbiri by way of one of the passes in the Umvukwe Hills, or directly through Sipolilo on the west of the range, takes us to Sinoia, with the copper deposits of the Alaska mine beyond. The "Great River" must then be the lower Hunyani and not the Zambezi, although admittedly the Zambezi is only seven days north from Mbiri. But there are no gold deposits in this direction. It seems possible and even probable that the old map makers relied upon this very account of Antonio Fernandes for filling up this section of their maps.

The unnamed Great River, the Hunyani, has been mistaken for the main stream of the Zambezi, the Cuama, as it was then called, and the country of Butua was marked on the far north-west side of it; a mistake which persisted, for over three centuries until A.D. 1855.

Fernandes' tale of the cannibal propensities of the people of Mompapa may or may not be taken literally, for he can have had little time to confirm this rumour; if these people were Bushmen, it is most unlikely that they were man-eaters. Who then were the people who eat men and buried cattle? J. R. Schofield has an interesting theory that they were the people who trekked down the western side of Rhodesia and ended up at Mapungubwe, just south of the Limpopo—remnants of the Hottentots, perhaps.

Five days from Mbiri lies the land of Ynhoqua (Nyakwa, or Nyokwa). The only gold-belts approximately five days away are in the upper Mazoe and Arcturus districts. At 15 miles a day the Mazoe would be five days away via the Umvukwe plateau, and Arcturus six days. Either may be Nyokwa. There is little to guide us from present-day place names, though there is still a native district called Chikwakwa to the north of the mines at Arcturus.

From Nyakwa "he returned and came to the kingdom of Mozabia on his way to Sofala" and it seems the end of his first journey into the country of Monomotapa. Fernandes gives no clue as to the distance or direction of this kingdom. From what he says, we might be justified in assuming that he returned to Mbiri from Nyakwa and then on to Mdzabia, or that he went straight on into the country of Mozabia between Nyakwa and Sofala. All we know is that



Sofala. Reproduction from an illustration in "Asia Portuguesa" by Manuel de Faria e Sousa, Tome I 1656. This illustration was intended to show an impression of the coast near the port of Sofala and the village of Mambone. Present-day Nova Mambone is situated near the mouth of the Sabi River.

this route "was not the way he had gone"; and that the kingdom had "cloths of cotton". If we re-write Mozabia as Monzambia, we might see a similarity to the name Zambezi, but this would be rather unlikely. The later report from Sofala written by d'Almada states clearly that Fernandes *heard of* a great river which was navigable, and which was believed to be the Cuama "the chief river of these parts", on his way *to* Monomotapa. Had he been into the Zambezi area on his return, he would surely have mentioned it.

The alternative site of Mozabia is the Sabi River valley towards Bikita. This district grows a kind of wild cotton, but it is doubtful if this kind was ever woven; it has also the Baobab tree from whose bark the Africans make fine blankets. Corroboration for Fernandes' statement may yet be found; his evidence seems so reliable that one is loath to doubt his accuracy.

Mention of cotton cloths is frequent in early Portuguese manuscripts, but as a rule no indication is given as to where the cloths were manufactured, though it is often stated that the Arabs traded cloths in exchange for gold.

Dos Santos later in the century found cotton cultivated and woven in the Zambezi valley; this is what he says: "On the banks of these rivers (Zambezi) grow many cotton plants, in plantations which the Kaffirs sow, cultivate, and prune almost in the same way as vines. With the cotton they make pieces of cloth which they call *Machiras*, with which they clothe themselves. These pieces are the same size as a sheet". *Machira* is Karanga, from *Jira*, blanket, and is still used to describe cotton cloth.

One thing we can conclude with some assurance, is that the district of Mozambique cannot be far off the direct route to Sofala (Macheke or Headlands seems indicated), because Fernandes only took four months to do the round trip.

According to his own reckoning, this was made up as follows:

Sofala to Manyika	24 days	
Manyika to Nyamparapara (Makaha) ..	15 days	
Makaha to Mbiri (Monomotapa)	14 days	
		—————53 days
From Mbiri to Butua, and return	20 days	
From Mbiri to Mompara and return ..	14 days	
		---- 34 days
From Mbiri (Monomotapa) to Nyakwa..	5 days	
From Nyakwa via Manyika back to Sofala, about	23 days	
		—————28 days

Total number of days' journey 115 days, or five days short of the four months.

The distance from Mazoe (Nyakwa) to Sofala via Manyika would have been approximately 330-350 miles.

Presumably Fernandes would have spent a few days at the villages of the various chiefs, so he cannot have had many days in which to make a detour and return to Sofala in under five months.

In 1506 the Portuguese had estimated from hearsay that the Monomotapa's "city" was 20 to 24 days' journey away, as they travel in Africa, but only half that time as they travel in Portugal⁹.

On his second journey into the interior possibly undertaken during the wet season of 1514-15, Fernandes admits having spent longer than four months, as he was held up both by rain and by wars between the tribes. He says nothing of the journey up to Monomotapa, but we must assume that he went first to Mbiri to pay his respect's, and then through Nyakwa again on his way south to discover the remainder of the Karanga country. The manuscript does not separate the two journeys. I believe Fernandes' account is rather a description of the country geographically and what he saw, rather than a diary of his adventures. This would account for the omissions, as he would not have described the ground again over which he had travelled before on his first trip.

Leaving Nyakwa he came to Moziba (Mozimba), a district which did not interest him much, as it contained no gold but only the same cloths of cotton, which they carry to sell in Monomotapa. But whatever its trade, the locality was five days' journey from Nyakwa, and is likely to have been the Charter district.

Seven days from Mozimba lay Quytege (Kitenge/Queque). The spelling of the name Queque seems to have given the early Portuguese as much trouble as ourselves.

On most of the maps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the name Queque appears in one or other of its forms, of which Quitecuj, Quiticui, and Chetichui are common. It is here at Queque, that Fernandes is most impressed with the potentialities of the gold trade, and he urges his superiors to establish a factory in the country where both the gold of Butua and Monomotapa can be bartered and exported by the southern route to the coast.

This trade, he infers, would save the depressing slump that had settled over Sofala on account of the tribal wars between the Monomotapa and his vassal chiefs. Several writers of the time reported this state of affairs to the King of Portugal, in explanation of the scarcity of gold.

From the rich gold-mining area of Queque, he goes on to the neighbouring country of Betogua (*Batongwa*) which has both gold and ivory. Batongwa we can assume to be the southern part of the midlands gold-belt around Gwelo and Selukwe, on the watershed between the rivers which run north and south to the Zambezi and Sabi respectively.

But now we strike another difficulty. Baro (*Buro*) which features as often as Queque on the maps of the period is five days' journey from Batongwa. If Batongwa is Selukwe, then we have a choice of five small gold-belts within five days' journey, 70 miles. To the west, Insiza; to the south, Belingwe; to the south-east, Mashaba and Victoria; to the east, Felixburg; and to the north-east, Umvuma.

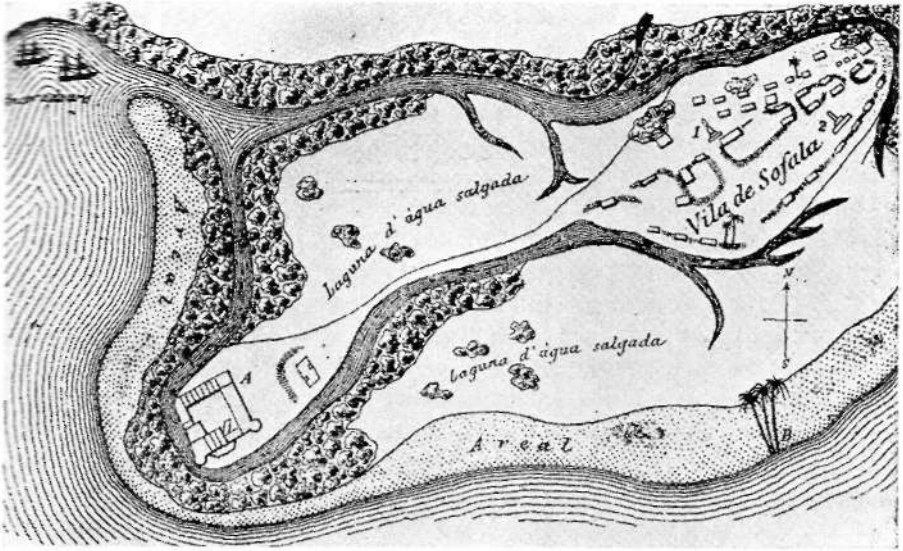
On all the old maps, Buro is marked to the east, or nearer the sea than Queque, so we can disregard the claims of Insiza. Belingwe is on the Lundi River, an important consideration. Mashaba is on the Tokwe, equally important, though the gold-belt of Victoria was never worked by the ancients. Incidentally, Fernandes does not mention the Great Zimbabwe, and had he been in that area, he would surely have remarked upon the building, if it had been recently constructed, or inhabited by a chief of any importance. From this account it appears that he did not pass that way, but some 35 miles further south.

Not a flicker of light is thrown by Fernandes upon the Zimbabwe riddle.

Of the two possibilities remaining, Felixburg is a very small gold-field, and Umvuma is only four days' journey from either Selukwe or Queque. This leaves us with Belingwe or Mashaba as the most likely alternatives. As the richer deposit of the two is on the main stream of the Lundi, it would strengthen the belief that Belingwe was Buro, rather than Mashaba. Belingwe also contains more ancient workings.

From Buro, Antonio Fernandes returned to the coast, he says in 20 days, to complete his second journey. Travelling light without the weight of the goods he took for presents, Fernandes must have increased his pace to 16 miles a day to have done that distance in the time. The mileage from Belingwe to Sofala by way of the Lundi valley, through the south of Ndanga (Zaka) and Bikita, and then across the Sabi near the Chibirira Falls*, to the English-Portuguese border, is approximately 170 miles; and 150 miles from there down, the Buzi River to Sofala ... a total of 320 miles.

If, on the other hand, Buro was Mashaba, it would be approximately 15



Plan of the position of the fort of S. Caetano and the village of Sofala in 1864. This village has long since been abandoned and Nova Sofala has taken its place.

miles shorter. This is slightly in favour of Mashaba, but without further evidence it is impossible to come to any conclusion.

There is one other clue which might favour the claims of Mashaba, and that is Fernandes' suggestion for the site of the Portuguese factory, "in this same river of the land of Quiteque . . . could be built a factory house on an island . . . about the length of a horse race course and as much again in width".

If we consult our modern maps we find no island in any of the rivers near Queque which would fit this description. But in the south of the Zaka district there is just such an "island" in the Sabi River 17 miles above its confluence with the Lundi; since the Tokwe and Rokwane divide. This island would have been right on the trade route to the mines of Butua and those further to the south-west and would have been as good a centre as any at which to establish a depot with roads branching away from it to all the mining areas.**

Even Monomotapa could have sent gold down to this factory, if the southern route was used. The Zambezi at this time was still unexplored by the Portuguese, and Fernandes' idea of taking the gold of Mashonaland to the coast by the Sabi-Lundi route was the more practical. It would also avoid the rebel tribes on the eastern borders. Popular opinion has credited the Great Zimbabwe, only a few miles further north, with a similar function.

Both rivers, the Lundi and the Tokwe, rise on the watershed near Gwelo and the Selukwe gold-field lies between them. These two flow south into the Sabi; but the other streams to the north-west flow away to the valley of the

* These falls are six miles downstream from the Sabi Island.

** This error has now been corrected, and it is a strange coincidence that the dividing of the Tokwe fitted the incorrect translation.

Zambezi. The rivers, Queque and Gwelo, on the north, and the Lundi on the south, rise within five miles of each other.

Fernandes says of this "meeting" of the rivers on the great watershed of Rhodesia . . . "and this land has a river which comes to meet the Cuama (Zambezi) and goes out into the sea sixteen leagues from the Bar of Sofala" (Sabi-Lundi). This land of Batongwa is indeed the country where the tributaries of the Zambezi and the Sabi meet each other. But the old geographers have translated Fernandes' observation to mean that the two rivers joined and were part of the same river, not merely rising from the same watershed.

This error is seen in most of the early sixteenth and seventeenth century maps, which locate Fernandes' Island in the vicinity of Queque. He calls the Lundi-Sabi the "river of the land of Queque", for the southern road to these gold-fields must have followed its course all the way from the coast.

It is interesting to study the old maps with Fernandes' account of his exploration before us, and to recognise the difficulties they must have had in placing the positions of geographical features from such reports. The achievements of both explorer and cartographer are vividly realised.

Fernandes thus completed two journeys into Monomotapa, in the years 1514 and the early part of A.D. 1515. The d'Almada letter to the King of Portugal written shortly afterwards (on 25th June, 1516), describes Fernandes as the man who had already been to Monomotapa, and "has so much credit in those lands that they worship him like a god".

Fernandes' account is so substantially reliable and comprehensive that it is surprising that the Portuguese made no attempt to follow up his discovery for so many years. In the meanwhile, Sofala languished and was abandoned as a trading centre, and Sena and Tete were established on the Zambezi. It may have been that his compatriots considered the word of Antonio Fernandes, the *degredado*, unreliable. But now in 1940, 425 years later, we can confirm the account of Southern Rhodesia's first pioneer.

Had they followed his advice, Monomotapa would no doubt have been opened up much earlier. But as it happened, it was another 50 years before the Portuguese followed Antonio Fernandes into the Karanga Highlands.

NOTES

1. Letters of Dom Affonso d'Albuquerque to the King. Theal Records of S.E. Africa, Vol. III, p. 147.
2. Theal. Records, Vol. II, p. 36.
3. Barros. Decades of Asia (A.D. 1552). Quoted by Father F. Marconnes in Nada, 1935, p. 67.
4. Documents, Vol. IV, p. 287.
5. Colonia De Mozambique. Direccao dos Servicos de Agrimensura. 1929.
6. Theal, op. cit. Records, Vol. I, MS., p. 95.
7. Theal. Records of S.E. Africa, Vol. I, p. 63 *et seq.*
8. Dos Santos. Eastern Ethiopia. Theal. Records, Vol. VII, p. 261. c. A.D. 1590. Incorrectly translated by Theal "Lenco", a handkerchief. This should be "Lencol", a sheet.
9. Theal Records, Vol. I, p. 63 *et seq.* (Documents, Vol I, pp. 389-99). Letter of Diogo de Alcacova to the King Dom Manuel.
"And, Sir, a man might go from Sofala to a city which is called Zumubany (Zimbae) which is large, in which the king always resides, in ten or twelve days, if you travel as in Portugal; but because they do not travel except from morning until midday and eat and sleep until the next morning, when they go on again, they cannot go to this city in less than twenty or twenty-four days."

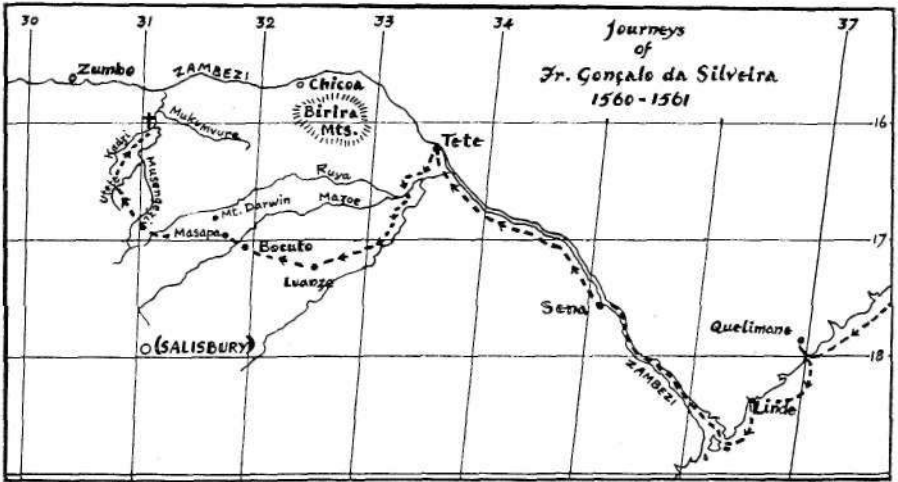
Goncalo da Silveira's journey to the Monomotapa in 1560

by Rev. Father W. F. Rea, S.J.

In 1961 the Rhodesiana Society in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the death of Gonçalo da Silveira, who has often been called the proto-martyr of Rhodesia, was good enough to publish a sketch which I had written of his career. Since then, with the exception of a short account of his death, written in 1564 by Fr. Martin Egusquiza, which was probably in print when I wrote my sketch, though it had not yet reached Rhodesia¹, no new evidence has come to light about his time in Africa, nor does it seem likely to do so. But a remarkable book which came out in 1966 on the history of the Portuguese missions in Mozambique², calls in question what I then said about the route followed by Silveira on his journey from Sena to the Monomotapa's kraal. I suggested that there were three routes that had to be considered. One was up the Zambezi from Tete, past Chicoa to the mouth of the Muzengezi, and then up that river to the Monomotapa's kraal. A second possible route was south-westwards from Tete, through the Briria Mountains to the Ruya, and then down the Mukumvura River to the Muzengezi. The third route, and the one which I considered that Silveira probably followed, was further to the south, and was the normal traders' road. It led through the fairs of Luanze, Bocuto and Masapa. Fr. Schebesta, however, considers that Silveira probably took the first, that is to say that he followed the Zambezi and then the Muzengezi. If this is true, not only is there a possibility that Silveira was put to death outside Rhodesia, as I suggested in my sketch of 1961, but that he never entered Rhodesia at all!

Fr. Schebesta's opinion has to be considered seriously for he has written a valuable and also a rather unusual book. Its origins go back to 1912, when he arrived in Moçambique as one of the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, who had been sent to take the place of the Jesuits, whom the new republican regime had expelled from Portuguese territories two years earlier. But when they were just beginning to get established, Portugal entered the First World War, and as all the missionaries were either Austrian or German, they were interned, first in Moçambique and then in Portugal. It was here that Fr. Schebesta began to develop his life-long interest in Portuguese colonisation and missionary activity and in the ethnology of the African tribes in their East African territories. After 50 years this led to the publication of this book of nearly 500 pages, which will be essential for anyone studying the history of Mocambique from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and useful for anyone interested in the Christian missions then existing in the north-east of the present Rhodesia.

Fr. Schebesta's account of the Silveira's journey from Sena to the Monomotapa runs as follows: "It is hardly credible that the stretch from Sena to



Tete was made on foot, since Coelho the Portuguese, had come with a boat from Tete to Sena so as to bring him back. From Tete onwards Dom Gonçalo would have made the whole journey to the Monomotapa's Zimbabwe in the company of his envoys. That would mean that they chose the shortest way, which at first lay upstream by boat to the Kebrabasa Rapids. Thus far the baggage was probably also sent by boat. If the missionary, together with the Monomotapas' envoys, travelled on foot beyond Tete, they went westwards from it, so as to cut across the bend of the Zambezi. At Chicoa they met the river again. From there, if they had not a boat at their disposal, their way either lay along the river to the mouth of the Muzengezi and then up it to the residence of the Monomotapa; or alternatively they chose the direct route from Chicoa to the Monomotapa's residence in the mountains. This route would have been less frequented by the gold traffickers than the one along which lay the trading posts of Luanze, Bocuto and Masapa, from which the way led in a north-westerly direction to the Zimbabwe on the Muzengezi. Since this was a roundabout way, and tradition makes no mention of the three trading posts in which the Portuguese dwelt, Gonçalo probably chose the shortest way by Chicoa."³

It will be seen that Fr. Schebesta's preference for the Zambezi route, rather than the more southerly and more frequented one, is based on two grounds, that it was more direct, and that there is no tradition that Silveira visited Luanze Bocuto or Masapa.

Apart from any other advantages, Fr. Schebesta's surmise makes one re-read and re-assess the sources on which our knowledge of Silveira's journey must depend. Of these there are two. The first is the letter sent by Luiz Froes from Goa to the Jesuit Provincial of Portugal on 15th December, 1561, and so nine months after Silveira's death. This was printed by Theal.⁴ After describing in some detail Silveira's two months' stay at Sena he goes on, "Gomes Coelho came to the Father, and they travelled together to Tete, and as the journey was now by land they left all their goods to be sent on more slowly." He then

describes how they often had to cross rivers with the water up to Silveira's neck and how once he had to be pushed across in a large pot because he could not swim and there was no other means of getting him over. He ends up, "They reached Chatacuy, which is a place close to the Monomotapa on Christmas Eve." Later he says that Coelho had remained at Tete.

The other authority is the first biography of Gonçalo da Silveira, Nicholas Godigno's *Vita Patris Gonzali Sylveriae*, published at Lyons in 1612. Godigno seems to have used Froes' letter, but he had other information whose source we do not know, according to which Silveira visited what Godiono calls the "town" of Mabate, in which Christianity had survived ever since, and a village called Bamba.⁵ It is impossible at present to identify these.

Fr. E. Biehler in an article in *The Zambesi Mission Record* of 1908⁶ seems to have been the first to identify Silveira's route with that of the Portuguese traders, and he was followed by Fr. H. Chadwick in his life of Gonçalo da Silveira which came out two years later⁷ and by myself in my sketch published by the Rhodesiana Society in 1961, though I was also able to use information acquired through investigations on the spot by the Reverend B. Gasse, then of the Marymount Mission. It is this accepted account that Fr. Schebesta is now calling into question.

Fr. Schebesta's suggestion that the Zambezi route was followed because it was the shortest is not in itself very convincing, for it was not the shortest way that Silveira and his companions wanted, but the easiest one, and the one which would bring them most quickly to their destination, and this certainly would seem to have been the way through the fairs. The earliest accounts we have of the *rios de Cuama*, that is of the Lower Zambezi, speak of this route as a matter of course. Diogo de Couto in his *De Asia*, written between 1597 and 1616 has a reference to Masapa,⁸ while Santos, whose *Ethiopia Oriental* came out in 1609 mentions all three fairs, speaking of Masapa, Luanze and Manzovo as places in which residents of Sena and Tete had houses called churros, where they stored their merchandise, and from which they sold it, and sent it to be sold throughout all the country. He goes on, "The principal of these market places is Massapa, where a Portuguese captain always resides." Later he refers to this official as the Captain of the Gates.⁹ Godigno in 1612 refers to Bocuto and Masapa, both of which he describes as not far from the Mazoe.¹⁰ Antonio Bocarro, Keeper of the Archives and Chronicler of the Portuguese dominions in the East from 1631 to about 1649, writes of the three fairs at length,¹¹ making particular reference to the Captain of the Gates. It is true that the earliest of these works was written decades after the death of Silveira, but the trade that was responsible for these fairs was not new. It had been carried on by the Portuguese before Silveira reached Africa, and had been carried on before that by the Arabs. Once a recognised way had been established, there would seem to be no reason to go to the trouble of making another one.

But, while the road through the fairs was well known, there is no evidence that a way was known along the Zambezi. Santos knew of the Kebrabasa Rapids, and says something about the course of the river as far as Chicoa, where, as he said, the silver mines were situated, but all that he could say of its

course after that was that it was navigable, "no one knows how far".¹² Fifty-eight years later Manuel Barretto, the Jesuit, in his report on the *rios de Cuama*, knew little more, and described the Portuguese territories on the Zambezi as forming a triangle, bounded on the north by the river from Chicooa to Quelimane, on the south by an imaginary line from Chicooa to Sofala, and on the east of course by the sea.¹³ Beyond that was *terra incognita*. Yet, had the way suggested by Fr. Schebesta been followed, Silveira, after reaching Chicooa, would have been obliged to go almost as far along the Zambezi in this unknown world, as he had already come from Tete. In addition there was the journey up the equally unknown lower Muzengezi.

Moreover the Monomotapa had good reason for keeping this route secret from Europeans, such as Silveira, even had it existed, namely the silver mines which were supposed to exist at Chicooa. It is true that, according to Bocarro the Monomotapa in 1609 was to make a grant of them to Diogo Simoes as representing the King of Portugal, but he only did so because he was in desperate straits and needed Portuguese help, and later he made every attempt to prevent them finding out where the mines were. Another expedition to find the mines which was sent in 1614 was more successful, but not until the Monomotapa had done everything he could to frustrate it.¹⁴ So if we consider that the Zambezi route was followed, we have to conclude that Silveira was taken by a way that was little known, if known at all, and which the Monomotapa had good reason to conceal from the Portuguese. On the other hand, he could easily have followed one that was well-established, and whose use would not have embarrassed the Monomotapa.

There is some significance too in the fact that before reaching the Monomotapa's kraal Silveira met Antonio Caiado, whom Godigno describes as the Captain of the Gates.¹⁵ As we have seen, the Captain of the Gates was stationed at Masapa, which was the ordinary way of approaching the Monomotapa's capital. There would have been no point in his being on the lower Muzengezi, by which, according to Fr. Schebesta, Silveira probably came, since that was a direction from which no European had as yet come or was expected to come.

So, though the Zambezi route was the shortest, that provides no reason to think that it was the one taken by Silveira. We are left with the second ground on which Fr. Schebesta favours this route, rather than the one usually accepted, namely the absence of any tradition that Silveira ever visited Luanze, Bocuto or Masapa. In reply it can be said that little of our knowledge of Silveira's journey from Sena to the Monomotapa comes from such general tradition. Rather it appears to be based on the accounts of identifiable people, who were with him at the time. We know a fair amount of what he did at Sena and at Tete,¹⁶ because there he had a Portuguese companion, Gomes Coelho, who could have given information afterwards. We know too in some detail what happened at the Monomotapa's *guta* because again at that period Silveira had a Portuguese with him, Antonio Caiado, who afterwards wrote an account of his death.¹⁷

But from Tete to the Monomotapa Silveira was on his own, except for his African companions, and so it was afterwards more difficult for Froes and others to get information about this part of his journey. Admittedly Silveira would have

met Portuguese at these fairs. But at the time he was in a hurry. The impetuous haste which was characteristic of him is clear from the time he reached Africa in 1560 until his death. Now at last, after such delays, the way to the Monomotapa. and, as he hoped, to the conversion of Southern Africa, was open. It was not a moment to spend time dealing with the Portuguese. It is probable that tradition says nothing about his stay in the three fairs, because he passed through so quickly that there was nothing to say.

In conclusion we must return to Froes' account, already quoted, of Silveira's journey after leaving Sena. "Gomes Coelho came to the Father, and they travelled together to Tete, and as the journey was new by land they left all their goods to be sent on more slowly." Later Froes says that Coelho remained at Tete. At first sight this passage would seem to refer to the journey from Sena to Tete, and it was thus that I interpreted it in my sketch of Silveira in 1961.¹⁸ But after re-reading the evidence it now seems to me that Froes is not here referring exclusively to Silveira's journey from Sena to Tete, but that it is a vague description of his whole course as far as the Monomotapa. For indeed it appears very unlikely that they would have gone by land from Sena to Tete, when the more normal and convenient way of the Zambezi was at hand. As can be seen from the quotation I have made from Fr. Schebesta's work, on this point we are in agreement. By the time of Bocarro the whole journey to Tete was made as a matter of course by water, in spite of the dangers of the Lupata Gorge, about which Santos twice writes feelingly.¹⁹ Therefore, though first appearances are to the contrary, Froes' phrase, "the journey was now by land", seems to apply to the stretch between Tete and the Monomotapa. If they were thus going on foot, it would seem inevitable that they used a well-beaten track rather than the banks of the Zambezi and the Muzengezi, since the chief advantage of following a river is easy water transport, and of that they did not avail themselves.

So there appears to be no reason at all to call in doubt the traditional account of the route followed by Silveira, and though there may be some doubt as to the side of the Rhodesia-Mocambique border on which he was murdered, his title of first Christian missionary in Rhodesia still seems beyond dispute.

NOTES

1. *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu. Documenta Indica*, VI. Ed. Joseph Wicki, S.J. Rome 1960, pp. 240-3.
cf. *The St. George's Chronicle*, Salisbury, December 1962, which contained a translation of the passage on Silveira from the original letter which was in Italian.
2. *Portugals Konquistamission in Sudost-Africa*, by Paul Schebesta. *Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini*. Steyler Verlag, Siegburg.
3. Paul Schebesta, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
4. *Records of South Eastern Africa*, II, pp. 104-28.
5. Godigno, op. cit., p. 113.
6. *The Zambesi Mission Record*, III, pp. 460-2.
7. *Life of the Venerable Goncalo da Silveira* by Hubert Chadwick, S.J. Manresa Press Roehampton, England. 1910.
8. Theal, op. cit., VI, p. 391.
9. Theal, op. cit., VII, pp. 270-1. Manzovo is the Mazoe River, and the fair here referred to is near that river and is more usually called Bocuto.
10. op. cit., p. 119.
11. Theal, op. cit., III, p. 354.
12. Theal, op. cit., VII, p. 254.
13. Theal, op. cit., III, p. 467.

14. Theal, op. cit., III, pp. 395-415.
15. op. cit., pp. 115-16.
16. Froes' account in Theal, op. cit., II, pp. 118-19, and Godigno, op. cit., pp. 109-12.
17. Theal, op. cit., II, p. 99-104.
18. W. F. Rea, S.J. *Gonçalo da Silveira*. Rhodesiana Society, 1961, p. 27.
19. Theal, III, op. cit., pp. 353-4, and VII, pp. 263 and 359.

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Sofala—Gateway to the Gold of Monomotapa

by R. W. Dickinson

(This is the amended text of a lecture given at the University College of Rhodesia on 23rd April, 1968. The notes refer to the Bibliography at the end of the paper.—Editor.)

In 1823 Captain Owen of the Royal Navy expressed surprise at the appearance of Sofala: "The port of Sofala," he wrote, "the Ophir of Solomon, whence his fleets returned laden with gold, almug trees and precious stones . . . We found but a paltry fort and a few miserable mud-huts."

Captain Owen's history would not be accepted today, but any visitor who knows the story of Sofala's past will undoubtedly share his surprise at its decline into a forgotten backwater of the East African coast, roused to spasmodic life only in holiday seasons. For Sofala was not always so quiet. Over a thousand years ago it was the meeting point of a Bantu coastal community and the thrusting Muslim traders from far off Mogadishu. Sofala then began its busy career as the gold port of south-east Africa. 463 years ago this September, the crusading conquistadores of Portugal anchored their caravels off Sofala Bay and opened a new chapter in the history of south-east Africa. (See map of Sofala and its medieval setting as frontispiece.)

Sofala lies 25 miles south of Beira, on a bay vast enough to hold the British navy, but so shallow that you can almost walk across it at low tide. Only short rivers drain into the bay today, but it appears to have been the work of a much larger river in the past: probably the Buzi, which now enters the Indian Ocean 20 miles *to* the north.

Ports which come into the Sofala story are Mogadishu, 2,000 miles north on the Somali coast, Kilwa Kisiwani (or Kilwa "on the island"), 1,000 miles north, on the present Tanzanian coast, and Mocambique Island, 630 miles north,

Barros¹ tells us that the Muslims would never venture much further south than Sofala and he gives the reason that the dhows which were not nailed but sewn together with cords, could not venture beyond Cape Correntes, "a point (which). . . takes its name from the violent current of water which often endangers ships there". He adds that this point is also the limit of the monsoon winds on which the Muslim traffic depended.

The map shows the larger world of which Sofala was an important element—the trading complex of the Indian Ocean with its eastern rim formed by the west coast of India, whose most important manufactures came from the medieval textile port of Cambay. This rim was not closed, but opened at the south to admit the traders from the Spice Islands and China.



Aerial photograph of Sofala Bay.
(Kind permission of Mocambique Gulf Oil Company)

THE ORIGINS OF THE PORT OF SOFALA: ARAB AND SWAHILI SETTLEMENT

Fishing is one of the great occupations of both the rural population and the visitors at Sofala today. It is appropriate, therefore, that the accounts of the origins of the port of Sofala begin with a fishing story. Here is the story in the words of Portuguese chronicler Joao de Barros (he takes the story from the Kilwa chronicle)²:

"A man was fishing in a canoe outside the bar of Kilwa, near an island called Miza, and caught a fish. Feeling from the struggles of the fish that it was not very large, he unmoored his boat and let the fish go which way it would. The fish dragged the boat and sometimes it was carried by the currents so that when the fisherman wished to return to port he was so far from it that he could not find it. Finally, after suffering hunger and thirst, he arrived more dead than

alive at the port of Sofala, where he found a ship from Magadoxo which was trading there, in which he returned to Kilwa and related what had passed and what he had seen of the gold trade.

"As in the contract concerning commerce it was agreed that the Moors of Magadoxo should send there every year certain Moorish young men that there might be a race of them there, as soon as the king of Kilwa was informed . . . he sent a ship thither to establish commerce with the Africans . . . Some of the inhabitants of Kilwa would go there and settle and have a factory for merchandise and they would be glad to take (Sofalan women) as wives by which the people would be multiplied."

Once Sofala was drawn into contact with the Swahili cities of Mogadishu and Kilwa, it became a source of interest to the geographers and travellers of the medieval Arab world. The information in the Arab period is not by any means as extensive as historians would wish.

The first account is in many ways the most interesting. Al Mas 'Udi, the tenth century world traveller born in Baghdad, was sailing East African waters in A.D. 926, and in "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems" he gives an account of what he saw and heard.

"The sailors of Oman . . . go on the sea of the Zanj as far as the island of Kanbalu and the Sofalah of the Demdemah which is on the extremity of the country of the Zanj and the low countries thereabout.

"The sea of the Zanj reaches down to the country of Sofala and of the Wak-Wak which produces gold in abundance and other marvels. It is there that the Zanj built their capital; then they elected a king whom they called WAKLI-MI. . . . The Waklimi has under him all the other Zanj kings, and commands 300,000 men. They call God by the name of MAKLANJALU which means supreme master. The Zanj use the ox as a beast of burden. . . . Their country abounds in wild elephants.

"Although constantly employed in hunting elephants and gathering ivory, the Zanj make no use of ivory for their own domestic purposes. They wear iron instead of gold and silver.

"The Zanj eat bananas but the basis of their food is 'dorrh', which they take from the ground like a truffle . . . they also have honey and meat."

Mas 'Udi lists the markets for East African ivory—"In China, the kings and their military and civilian officers used carrying chairs of ivory . . . Ivory is much prized in India: there it is made into handles for daggers . . . but the biggest use of ivory is in the manufacture of chessmen and other gaming pieces."

Here is the first account available to us in translation of the meeting of Sofala with the Indian Ocean trade particularly in ivory and gold. The references to the African people around Sofala are quite intriguing—they not only have cattle, but use them as beasts of burden. They use iron, but *not gold*—the inference is clearly that gold is reserved for trade. They hunt elephants but do not keep the ivory—that also they trade.

The name of their God has a Bantu flavour to it—MAKLANDJALU—part of the word is surely not so far removed from the modern Shona MUKURU: "the Great Ore".

Al Mas 'Udi gives us a meaning for Sofala—a *shoal*—and this would be most appropriate to the sand-bar which extended from Inhambane to the Zambezi delta.

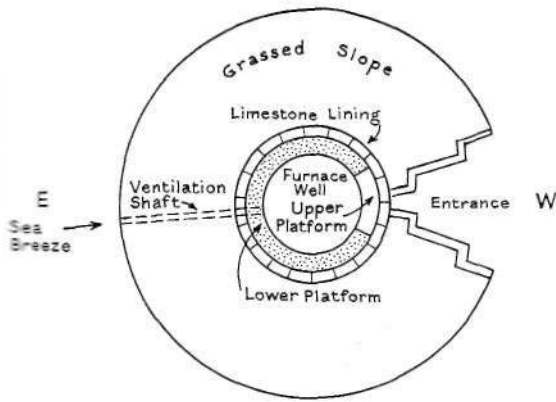
Sofala receives another very brief mention in the tenth century from Bozorg³, a Persian sea captain, who praised its fine harbour. It is a little odd, however, that Bozorg is alone in such a comment. Did he ever see Sofala, one wonders, or is he repeating what he has heard?

The eleventh century Arab scholar Al Biruni⁴ adds rhino horn to the exports which left Sofala for Indian and Chinese markets. Love potions from Sofala, one wonders?

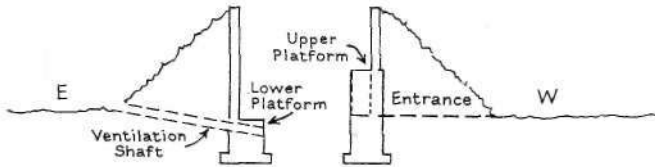
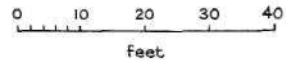
In the twelfth century there seems to have been a decline in the fortunes of Sofala. Idrisi⁵, the Muslim scholar from Morocco who wrote a massive geography for his master, Roger II of Sicily, dismisses Sofala in these words: "The inhabitants are poor and wretched, and have no other means of livelihood than iron working. There are, in fact, a great number of iron mines in the mountains of Sofalah. The people of the Zanedj Islands . . . come here for iron, which they carry to the continent and islands of India, where they sell it for a good price."

Idrisi's geography seems rather odd, for the nearest mountains to Sofala are over a hundred miles away; one is never sure, however, whether he is referring to a specific place or to a vast area. The omission of gold is significant: perhaps wars in the interior prevented the flow of gold to the coast—this certainly happened in Portuguese times.

Nevertheless, if Idrisi is including the present location of Sofala, the mention of iron raises interesting possibilities. Was Sofala just the entrepot for the iron trade as it had been over two centuries for gold, or was the raw product being smelted at Sofala? Idrisi mentions the poor, wretched inhabitants (perhaps the epithets are simply the prejudiced comment of a Muslim scholar commenting on a pagan society) *working* in iron. Now it is probable that only the discipline of archaeology can resolve the problem of the existence and extent of iron processing at Sofala, but there is a tantalising fact to be fitted into the pattern of the past. When I first visited Sofala in 1957 I was intrigued by some odd structures on the edge of the coast at the Praia end of Sofala Bay. They were conical, with a base about 60 ft. in diameter and a central well of limestone 16 ft. in internal diameter. The cone was formed by a circular ramp of earth. On the landward side the well was connected by a horizontal tunnel with the exterior and a sliding door of iron contrived as the entrance, about 6 ft. high. On the seaward side a much narrower shaft pierced from exterior to interior. What were the structures? An old African told me he remembers lime being produced from sea shells there, and the purpose of the two shafts was as follows: the landward entrance was to permit the lime to be shovelled out after the roasting process was complete; the seaward tunnel was to provide the blast of air from the shore which intensified the heat in the furnace. Solomon's metallurgists used this natural device 3,000 years ago on the shore of the Gulf of Aqaba to service the furnaces of the copper smelters. No date can at present be assigned to the lime



LIME KILN
SOFALA 1957.



kilns at the Praia, but my guess would be early nineteenth century and connected with building activities on the prazo that developed there.

How old was this technique at Sofala? There is documentary evidence from the year 1516⁶ describing a hurricane at Sofala which mentions lime kilns in what is almost a humorous episode. "I saw the houses of Duarte de Lemos . . . were about to fall. I told him to go to fetch some props that I had outside the fortress to shore up his house. No sooner was he outside than he was taken up, without setting a foot on the ground, and carried flying for a distance like the gates of Rybeyra and flung into a lime kiln." (Joao Vaz de Almada, Captain of Sofala, to the King.)

Archaeology alone can supply the answer to whether the device of sea breeze ventilation was used in pre-Portuguese times at Sofala: it would be a quite intriguing problem to solve.

The gold trade must have revived in the thirteenth century. Ibn Said⁷ includes both iron and gold in his catalogue of Sofala's exports and describes the Zanj people as praying to idols which they anoint with the fat of a large fish.

In the fourteenth century, the great Arab traveller Ibn Battuta⁸ returned to Tangier, recollected his journeys and dictated an account of them to his secretary. He had been told about Sofala when he visited Kilwa in 1331, and in his memoirs he describes the trade in gold-dust conveyed to Sofala from Yufi in the country of the Limis. Mr. Burke, of the National Archives, in a most interesting paper delivered to the 1960 Leverhulme History Conference at this College, pointed out the similarity of the word Limis to Al Mas 'Udi's name of the Zanj god—

Waklimi. Mr. Burke has also interesting comment on the identification of place names in the Arab accounts: it is worthwhile to expand the lead he has given.

For Al Mas' Udi, Sofala seems to signify a precise place—"In Sofala," he wrote, "the Zanj built a capital and elected their king." The larger area, or perhaps a people, he calls Demdemah—in the phrase "Sofala of the Demdemah".

Idrisi includes in Sofala, mountain country, at least 100 miles off, and he reverses Mas 'Udi's terminology and uses Demdemah to refer to a locality—a trading settlement on the coast.

Ibn Said adds to the confusion thus: "Here, on the sea of Hind are situated the settlements of the Soufalis," which surely indicates a people scattered over a long stretch of coast.

The Arab comments are merely tantalising glimpses of what may well be a rich corpus of historical literature awaiting translation. Nevertheless, a picture emerges of Sofala as the gateway to the gold of the interior and an entrepot with a Swahili community of varying prosperity. It perhaps experienced a period of depression in the twelfth century, but was certainly flourishing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Portuguese annalists add the information that the trade to Sofala was carried on not in the big ocean-going dhows, but small coastal vessels called zambucos⁹—this may well be an indication of the treacherous nature of the Sofala shoal.

Barros¹⁰ comments on the business acumen of the Swahili—"To get the gold from them (the Africans), the Moors who carry on the trade . . . make use of artifice to arouse their cupidity, for they cover them and their wives with cloths, beads and trinkets, with which they are delighted and after they have thus pleased them, they give them all these things *on credit*, telling them to go and dig for gold, with which they agree, and they are so trustworthy that they keep their word."

Inland evidences of trade with the east coast are now appearing in such carbon-date frameworks as the floruit of Ingombe Ilede (A.D. 700-900) and Period III of Great Zimbabwe (c. 1100-1450) with its "bedrock bead" series.

ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

If documentary evidence is slight for the 600 years of Muslim settlement at Sofala, there is no lack of written comment on the Portuguese presence there. The standard work by Theal, "Records of South East Africa", is now being supplemented by the *Documentos sobreos Portugueses em Moçambique*—a combined publication by our archives and Lisbon. A research worker will, however, have to live long to benefit from this publication which after three years has covered only 11 years of history out of 343 years promised!

Vasco da Gama himself was one source of Lisbon's information about Sofala. Although the Admiral sailed past it unawares on his first voyage in 1498, Muslim pilots in Moçambique told him about the gold port. Cabral followed up this intelligence by sending Sancho de Toar in 1501 to present gifts from King Manuel of Portugal to the Swahili ruler of Sofala. The Portuguese gifts were crimson silk, mirrors, hawk trappings, little Flemish bells and transparent

glass beads. The Lisbon promoters of the trade expeditions of the very early sixteenth century had evidently conducted some market research, for the chronicler Gaspar Correa remarks that such gifts "delight the people of Sofala". The Sheikh reciprocated with a string of gold beads worth 1,000 crusados—about £200 in sixteenth century values and perhaps worth £2,000 today, depending on how the gold standard is.

Plans were being laid for a determined crusade against the "Moors". The mood of the people is well-expressed later by the chronicler Barros¹¹, writing of the battles fought under the banner of the Order of Christ: "His name is their war-cry in all battles against the Moors, and properly . . . the Portuguese people may glory in the cause of their conquests, as these are against infidels and because they are assisted in them by so great a commander in chief (i.e. Christ himself), who aids them with celestial legions for the exaltation of the faith, as many times he has appeared in the middle of the army, to the terror of the enemy." This theme is the leit-motif of the epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, about the conquistadores by Portugal's national poet Camoens.

Although crusading zeal was the prime motive of the centuries, there is no doubt that the Portuguese were attracted by the wealth of the Muslim city states in East Africa, and that gifts in gold from Sofala served to seal the fate of Swahili rule in that entrepot. King Dom Manuel's orders to the captain-major in charge of the Sofala expedition were to take over the trade peacefully if possible; if impossible peacefully, then to take it by force. One of the lines of diplomacy was to drive a wedge between the Swahili and the great Bantu kingdoms of the interior.

Dom Manuel had a fleet prepared in 1505 under the general command of Dom Francisco d'Almeida to carry the crusade of Christian Portugal against Islam and its commercial monopoly in the Indian Ocean. There were musical comedy touches amid the pomp and splendour of mustering of ships and men in the Tagus in March 1505.

Portugal was then a tiny nation (by modern standards) of a million souls, and the armada strained the resources of skilled manpower to the limits. There seemed not to be enough competent mariners, and Castanheda¹² gives an amusing account in his "History of the Discovery and Conquest of India" which we might entitle today, "Sailing without Tears".

"As the fleet was going down the river, the pilots called to those at the helm to put it to larboard and to starboard . . . and the sailors were confused, as they were not well versed in such terms as yet, especially those of the caravel of Joao Homen and when they ought to have put the helm to larboard . . . they put it to starboard, which turned the ship to the left. Seeing this, Joao Homen told the pilots to speak to the sailors in terms which they understood, and when they wished them to turn to starboard to cry 'garlic' and to larboard to cry 'onions' and he ordered one of each to be hung on either side of the vessel; and the pilots using these words, the sailors were no longer confused and steered properly."

A small detachment of this grand fleet under a Castilian nobleman called Pero d'Anhaya was commissioned to purchase a concession to trade at Sofala and to build a fortified trading factory, seeking permission for this from the

Sheikh. The captain-major commanded a force of about 150, which included a provost, a factor, a vicar and two chaplains, sailors, bombardiers and men-at-arms, a cobbler, a physician, seven carpenters, seven masons, and, typical of Portuguese expeditions of the time, a small group of *degredados*—men condemned in Portugal and offered their lives if they volunteered for dangerous missions. Pero d'Anhaya's group possibly included in 1505 a *degredado* ship's carpenter who later achieved fame as the first European to visit the gold-fields of Mwenemutapa—Antonio Fernandes.

To complete the tally we have three *degredadas*—lady criminals, brave volunteers to supply comforts to the troops.

But Anhaya's flotilla missed the main procession. His ships were heavily laden with limestone for the doors and windows of the new fort, for the king's intelligence service was well aware that Sofala was devoid of stone. The pre-fabricated material would be of advantage on the voyage, too, in helping the keelless ships to stay upright in the towering waves of the Cape. The ballast was so heavy in the *Santiago*, Anhaya's flagship, however, that it slowly sank in the Port of Belem, and it was not until May of 1505 that another ship, the *Santo Espirito*, was ready for him.

There were very few casualties on the voyage; perhaps the caveat repeated by the chronicler Goes¹³ had been taken to heart: "Everyone, king, prince or lord however great should see that his sons learn the art and exercise of swimming, by which many save themselves in great perils."

On 5th September, 1505, all six ships stood off the Sofala shoal, after a journey of 6,500 nautical miles—a tribute to the seamanship of Anhaya's captains. The three smallest caravels crossed the shoal and anchored in Sofala Bay. In preliminary surveys for building materials, the Portuguese were struck by two marvels¹⁴—the stone that floats and the wood that sinks. Both marvels may still be found at Sofala today. The stone that floats is pumice stone, still scattered along the high tide mark on the beach.

The wood that sinks is not quite so obvious. No heavy hardwood grows within 100 miles of Sofala. What can the wood be? This year I tried the experiment of cutting some mangrove wood which had been thoroughly washed by the tides, and this timber, waterlogged, will sink, and this I am convinced is the marvellous wood that Juan Augur refers to in his Spanish history of the conquests.

The company observed the port and its surrounding villages—the people were black and they worshipped the sun and the stars; they grew rice, maize and sugar cane. Some dressed in painted cloth and others only covered their shameful parts. The women left their heads uncovered (obviously the shocked comment of men whose wives dutifully covered their heads as St. Paul had commanded). They wore brass bangles on their legs and pierced their lips with six or seven holes. A hen cost one mitical (about £1 15s. at the time—one wonders if the price had been raised for the visitors?). 100 leagues inland, learnt the men, lay the Benamotapa kingdom where gold was found.

Pero d'Anhaya had more serious business to attend to than observing the bustling life of the port. He lost no time in seeking an audience with the Swahili

ruler. Barros¹⁵ describes the negotiations and the meeting vividly: "As Pedro d'Anhaya insisted strongly on seeing the sheik, whom his subjects called the King, they endeavoured to avoid it, saying the King was . . . more than 80 years of age, blind and having lost the use of his limbs, so that he could not come to him and still less could the captain go to the King, for from that village to the place where he was, the distance was great and up the river the channel was obstructed by many trees, which would prevent the passage of the ships. Nevertheless, they consented at last.

"The captain . . . took with him all the boats and with pomp and armed, entered the village of the King which was at a distance of half a league and had more than 1,000 inhabitants. The houses were all of wood and laths plastered with clay, according to their usual custom and thatched with palm leaves. The King's palace alone showed that it belonged to the principal person in the land, with its courtyards and large rooms, the largest of which was built as we build the body of our churches, without cross aisles, but with a chapel at the inner end.

"In this chapel, the King lay upon a couch and the place was so small that a couch and its hangings filled it, almost as if it had been a platform from which he might give audience to those in the outer room. . . . He was a handsome man of darkish colour.

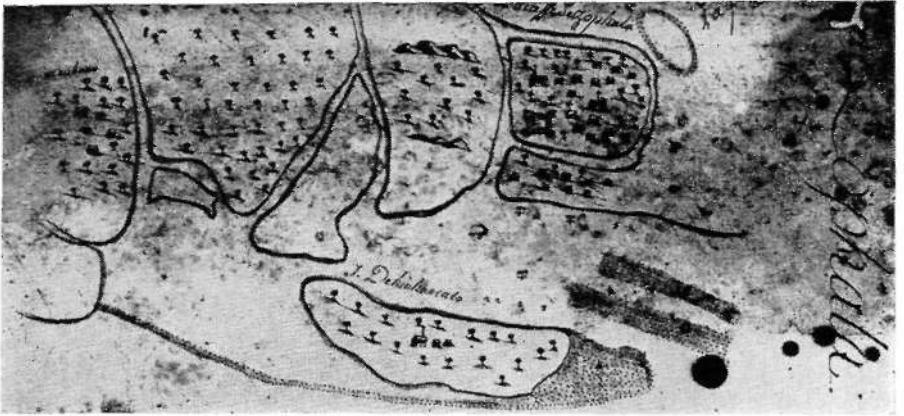
"Pero d'Anhaya informed him that he had come there by command of the King of Portugal, to build a fortress . . . to leave and take in such merchandise as required for the gold trade. (In this fortress) he (= Ysuf) and his people would derive great advantage in safety for their persons and property, for the King had heard that they had suffered many insults through the cupidity of the Africans and in future they would not dare to attack them, for the Portuguese wherever they settled defended both themselves and their friends."

The Swahili councillors were sullen with displeasure as the King gave his consent to the Portuguese proposals, but the Sheikh insisted, and provided the Portuguese with an assistant, Iacote, originally from Abyssinia and enslaved by the Arabs and who had risen to the position of court favourite in Sofala.

This is a puzzling point in the story—why did Ysuf permit the newcomers to have it their own way? The powerful rival of Ysuf, his son-in-law, Menga Musef, was loud in his denunciation of the impotent old ruler. The Swahili required no protection from the Bantu and they were certain to lose a most lucrative trade. Ysuf, however, had good reasons for not provoking a clash at that moment. According to the chronicler Barros¹⁶: "The king opposed their first impulse, saying that they should wait till the climate of the country had affected our men, as when the fever had sapped their strength, they might be easily taken in their house without bloodshed."

Moreover, we might add, the Portuguese, in the words of Hillaire Belloc, "had got the Maxim gun and they had not". In this case the cannons, muskets and crossbows were superior to anything the Swahili or Bantu could produce, although to allow the Portuguese to build their fort first was absolute military suicide.

Another element is that Ysuf might need powerful allies, for he had just declared his independence from the irksome overlordship of Kilwa.



Plan of Sofala in 1575.

(British Museum Addl. m/s 31317 from the *Universatis Orbis Hydrographia* and National Archives 35 mm. document series B.M. 13)

Anhaya and his captains, aided by Iacote, chose a site near the north-eastern horn of Sofala Bay, between two villages and protected by the loop of a small river.

A ditch was dug enclosing a portion about the size of a football pitch. Two parallel lines of mangrove stakes were thrust into the sand and the excavated material from the ditch was packed between, to form a rampart on which artillery was mounted. By November 1505, the trading factory was in full operation ashore and the timber fort was complete. Castanheda reports of that period that the Portuguese, within their palisade, were perfectly at peace with the Sofalans. But it was a deceptive peace. The first rumbling of the storm that was to overtake the Swahili and exhaust the garrison almost to extinction, could be discerned. The Portuguese force was reduced by deaths and as soon as the fortress was ready, by departures on trading explorations up the coast. The depleted garrison itself was weakened by fevers: opportunity was ripe for the overthrow of the interlopers. Moreover, the news from the northern Swahili strongholds was admirably calculated to inflame Menga Musef and his party to challenge the interlopers—Moçambique and Kilwa had been stormed, and there had been "fire and blood" in Mombasa, in the striking phrase of Juan Augur. News travelled fast in the little zambucos and the Swahili of Sofala determined to strike at the newcomers before reinforcements could arrive. A neighbouring African chief, Moconde, was persuaded by promises of loot, to supply warriors to overthrow Anhaya's garrison, but the plan miscarried. Maconde's men boasted too loudly of what they would do, and a party of about 100 Swahili including the favourite, Iacote, doubtful of the outcome of the attack, joined Anhaya in the fort. The plans of the African attack were unfolded and in particular the "secret weapon" Maconde proposed to use—fire arrows to raze the timber structure to the ground. Anhaya took every precaution—thatch was removed, buckets of water and cloths were distributed, cannon were trained

on the carefully cleared area between the fort and the nearest palm grove, and sentries were posted day and night.

The sentries were hardly required, for Moconde's men rushed noisily out of the palm grove, drumming frantically and blowing shrill blasts on animal horn trumpets to terrify the garrison and encourage themselves. Some reached the ditch and threw bundles of reeds into it, some leapt across and tugged at the timbers of the fort, and some loosed clouds of fire arrows to drop into the little stronghold. But weight of numbers was countered soon by superior technology—crossbows and muskets picked off the nearest attackers, and the concentrated cannon fire cut swathes through the advancing mob. Moconde's men fled in panic to the palm grove where they soon became convinced that they fought not against flesh and blood, but against devils, for were not the trees crashing about them with no man at hand to fell them, and were they not being struck down from a distance by whistling thunderbolts and a hail of iron fragments? It speaks volumes for the courage of these men that in such fear they yet continued the unequal struggle for two more days. Then, weary of it all, and disappointed in their hope of easy plunder, they turned for home, pausing just long enough to loot and destroy the homes of the Swahili traders who had persuaded them to engage in such a hopeless fray.

Pero d'Anhaya and a small band of men-at-arms took the opportunity to counter-attack. Rowing by night to the Sheikh's village, they penetrated to the palace without alarming any sentries. Ysuf, blind though he was, sensed danger and hurled spears at the intruders; a scuffle followed in which Ysuf was killed. His head was struck off, carried back to the fort and displayed on a lance "pour encourager les autres". A new Sheikh who was careful to support the new lords of Sofala, took his place.

Anhaya survived his opponent only a matter of weeks—he succumbed to fever and command passed temporarily to his factor, Manuel Fernandes, who inherited the difficult problem of how to strengthen the defences and restore trade. Fernandes must have been very relieved to see two ships bringing reinforcements and supplies, and together the men set about the arduous task of rebuilding the wooden fort in stone, in accordance with the original instructions of King Dom Manoel. The factor was able to complete only part of the design—the two-storeyed tower (called after the first captain-major "A torre de Pedro d'Anhaya) which housed the administration of the fort, gave a commanding view over the bay and flat beach and contained at its base a tremendous cistern, able to supply the garrison with a year's water: an idea originally of Vasco da Gama.

PORTUGUESE TRADE AT SOFALA

Trade was re-established but proved disappointing at Sofala: particularly the gold trade of which the Portuguese had such high hopes. Alcaçova, a visitor to the fort in 1506, wrote that the annual gold trade had fallen below the former figure of a million miticals (= £110,000 on £12 10s. per oz.).¹⁷ No doubt he was grossly exaggerating the volume of trade, or perhaps including plunder from

Muslim vessels in the former total. He gave as the reason for the contraction of trade, the faction fights which had broken out in Mwenemutapa's lands.

By 1513, Sofala's factor, Pedro Vaz Soares, reported that the profit on the gold trade hardly paid the expenses of the establishment at Sofala. In eight months only 7,000 miticals of gold had been collected (= £770).

There were good reasons apart from the strife intermittently raging in the gold-fields for the drop in Portuguese trade. The Swahili had withdrawn a proportion of their trade from Sofala to the Zambezi, and they smuggled gold in their zambucos up and down the coast in defiance of Portuguese trading regulations.

Then there were cases of misappropriation of funds by Portuguese officials, and the royal ordinance that three keys should be needed to unlock the gold chest, held by captain, factor and clerk, was only a successful precaution as long as all three did not collaborate to cheat the Exchequer.

The reputation of Sofala as the gateway to the gold of Mwenemutapa began to shrink, but the Portuguese continued to hope for revivals of the gold trade, even though the command of the coast passed in 1508 to Mocambique as a much better natural port and more conveniently placed as way station for the India fleet.

Ivory, ambergris, pearls, coral and foodstuffs were also exported through Sofala, and Professor Axelson has suggested that if the Portuguese had concentrated less on gold and more on a diversified trade, the fortunes of Sofala would have been brighter.

The imports were a rich assortment of European and Oriental cloths and beads. The Portuguese soon discovered that the market for beads had been firmly conditioned by centuries of dhow-borne commerce, and the Sofalans would have nothing to do with sophisticated substitutes for the crude Indian beads. Cambay cloths and beads were quite evidently status symbols in the African communities who came to shop at Sofala.

The Portuguese introduced one or two status symbols of their own. The first odd items which appear regularly in the trade lists of the Sofala store-keepers are "barretos baixos"—the close-fitting sailors' hats in brightly coloured knitted wool. The second peculiar item of Western Renaissance civilisation which the newcomers tried to foist upon the African market was the brass chamber potty, of German manufacture. Neither items had any sale at Sofala, and the economically-minded captains turned them to good account as presents to trade delegations. So we read of an African queen visiting Sofala being presented with a brass potty, and her retinue receiving their ration of "barretos baixos" in gay colours. Somewhere in remote African villages in Mocambique there must be some quite indestructible evidence of the German brass trade. There were not enough trade delegations to absorb the brass souvenirs which piled up in the Sofala warehouses, however, so some were used for repairing crossbow stocks, others were sent to India to be refashioned by Indian brass-smiths, and one was placed in the hospital at Sofala—why one, I have never discovered.



The Manoelina Arch of Sofala Fortress in 1904. N.B. "Manoelina" = in the style of King Manuel I (1495-1521). The arch and coat of arms was originally brought from Portugal in 1505.

THE FORTS AT SOFALA

Sofala fort was constantly neglected throughout its history, for very soon after the stone construction was begun in 1506, the coral island of Moçambique superseded Sofala as the seat of the Captain-Major.

The hand of man assisted the ravages of the sea in the final destruction of this historic building: in 1903, the mangrove which protected the fort was cut down and a high sea roared through unimpeded to batter down great sections of wall. In 1904, the builders of Beira ran a boat relay to fetch stone for the Cathedral, roads and Justiça building. Convicts armed with crowbars prised out any stones that would yield until the structure assumed its pathetic present-day appearance.

Those few stones on the beach are a testimony to the determination of the Portuguese and incidentally, to the strength of their mortar, for this fort, built on sand, lasted, neglected as it often was, for 400 years.

Perhaps in the ribbons of sand dune which dissect the mangrove swamps and salt lagoons, there lies something just as significant as the often submerged stone ruins: the remains of the Swahili settlements at Sofala. Sofala, as Caton Thompson suspected, may well hold the keys to some of our problems in Zimbabwe dating, and it is quite surprising that no excavation has ever been attempted there. The question is whether the Swahili remains are on land or under the sea. There is no doubt that a good deal of the north shore of Sofala Bay has been consumed by the sea.

The tide has eroded a strip of land half a mile wide on the north-east horn in 137 years and has removed traces of a considerable island which once protected the sea roads at the north of the bay. What similar changes occurred in the six centuries of Swahili occupation we can only guess.

There is, however, to offset this pessimistic picture, a tradition preserved at Sofala by a remarkable African called Mustapha Dines the guardian of a tomb whose form is modern but whose story is ancient. The tomb is that of Abduraman, or in the Bantu tongue Munhu Mukuru—the Great Man. He was a dhow captain from Turkey, says Mustapha, and a saintly man who brought Sha'fi Mohammedanism to Sofala. He died before the Portuguese arrived and miracles were performed at his grave. The site is still a place of pilgrimage. The tomb and a group of similar tombs round about it, with wells close to them set in a grove of trees, is still on dry land and one wonders whether by some lucky chance the remains of the main Swahili settlement are also on dry land.

It is important in this connection to remember the difference in the sites chosen by Arabs and Portuguese at Sofala. The Arabs of Mogadishu and later of Kilwa were in Sofala by *invitation* of the Sofalan community. They came to trade and to marry Sofalan women: they were welcome because they brought oriental goods greatly in demand. The Arab merchants, gradually merging into a Swahili community at Sofala, had no need to choose a defensive site—on the edge of the bay, for example.

By contrast, the Portuguese were coming to a hostile environment, were known to be scheming to capture the Swahili trade for themselves and to overthrow the religion of Islam. They were bound to choose if not an island site, then a site so close to the shore that the fort could be supplied and reinforced by sea. The sixteenth century Portuguese annalists make it clear that the Sheikh's village was scarcely distinguishable from the Bantu villages around it, and there is considerable agreement in the Portuguese documents that Ysuf's capital was half a league inland along a river. Half a league inland from the old shore of Sofala Bay could take one approximately to the tomb of Abduraman.

Sofala will never relive its great days, but it may yet play a distinguished role in the recovery of the African past. I believe it to be a matter of some urgency for investigation to be made along the northern shore of Sofala Bay while it still stands above the encroaching waters—prospecting, if you like, for traces of the past of this fascinating medieval port, once the Gateway to the Gold of Mwenemutapa.

NOTES

1. T.R., vol. vi, p. 234.
2. T.R., vol. vi, p. 273.
3. H.T.A., p. 98.
4. H.T.A., p. 99.
5. H.T.A., p. 100.
6. D.P.M., vol. iv, p. 275.
7. H.T.A., p. 100.
8. H.T.A., p. 101.
9. e.g. Barbosa in T.R., vol. i, p. 93.
10. T.R., vol. vi, 267.
11. T.R., vol. vi, p. 240.
12. T.R., vol. v, p. 377.
13. T.R. vol. iii, p. 111.
14. D.P.M., vol. iii. Appendix, p. 600.
15. T.R., vol. vi, p. 261.
16. T.R., vol. vi, p. 263.
17. T.R., vol. i, p. 66.

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Notes on the Mazoe Patrol and Salisbury Lager Photographs

by G. H. Tanser

It would seem that there are three different photographs of the rescue party which fought its way from the Alice Mine to Salisbury on 18th June, 1896.

A photograph was published in my book "A Scantling of Time", on page 206. The original was lent to me by Mrs. M. M. McLauchlan, the daughter of C. F. Mathews who reached Salisbury early in 1891, of whom a photograph is also in my book. This photograph of the Mazoe Patrol does not, unfortunately, have the names but they can, with a considerable degree of confidence, be provided.

In Marshall Hole's "Old Rhodesian Days", opposite page 120, there is a photograph with the caption "The Mazoe Refugees". Fortunately the persons are named.

There is a third photograph in my possession, almost identical to B. The persons are all in the same positions but some of them have slightly changed the position of their limbs.

For ease of reference in these notes the photographs are labelled A, B and C.

There were 30 men and three ladies in the party which set out from the Alice Mine. The number was made up as follows:

At Mazoe (eight men, three ladies):

Mrs. Salthouse, Mrs. Dickenson, Mrs. Cass.

Salthouse, Fairbairn, Spreckley, Darling, Burton, Pascoe, Stoddart, Hendrick (Coloured).

Arrived with Waggonette (two men):

H. D. Rawson, George (African driver). Blakiston, who had accompanied Rawson, was killed before the party left.

Judson's Party (seven men):

Judson, Pollett, Brown, Niebuhr, Coward, Hendrikz, Honey.

Nesbitt's Party (13 men):

R. Nesbitt, Berry, Arnott, A. Nesbitt, Harbord, O. C. Rawson, Ogilvie, Byron, Edmonds, McGregor, McGeer, Jacobs, van Staaden.

McGeer, Jacobs and van Staaden were killed during the journey, so that there were 27 men who reached Salisbury. Judson, Niebuhr, Hendrikz and Burton were wounded.

When my book was published, Mrs. A. Theron of Umtali wrote to say that she had not previously seen the photograph. She pointed out that Mrs. McLauchlan's photograph complemented the later photographs so that all those who took part in the terrible journey from the Alice Mine, with the exception of the ill and wounded Burton, appeared. It was her keen discernment and detailed study which established the names of those whose identity in the



Photograph A

photograph was not known. As a result of correspondence we finally came to the following conclusions.

The first photograph to be taken was photograph A, that is the one in "A Scantling of Time". There are 22 men and three ladies in the photograph, so five men are missing. Hendrikz, who was wounded severely in the face, does not appear; neither does Burton, who was ill with fever at the start of the journey and was also severely wounded in the face. Darling describes his wound. "Burton was shot through the face, the bullet entering under the ear and making its exit at the cheekbone opposite. He was standing at the side of the coach at the time, and never even fell down, but crawled along and got in." The other missing European is Darling himself. The two non-Europeans, Hendrick and George, are not included.

Pascoe is on the top of the coach. Standing in a line immediately behind the ladies, Mrs. Cass, Mrs. Dickenson and Mrs. Salthouse, who are seated, are the four leaders, Captain Nesbitt, Sergeant Nesbitt, Captain Stamford Brown and Lieutenant Dan Judson.

The man holding on to the waggonette with his right hand is Sergeant Ogilvie. Ogilvie's daughter, Mrs. Smith, is able to identify him.

Arnott is the man between Stamford Brown and Judson. He also has been identified by his daughter.

The two men between the Nesbitts are McGregor and O. Rawson.
Between A. Nesbitt and Stamford Brown is Coward.



Photograph B

On the right of Arnott are H. Rawson, Fairbairn and Berry. Berry can be identified because he appears to have shot from the left shoulder and his bandolier is therefore worn over his right shoulder.

Judson is shown wounded in the hand and wearing a very clean bandage, and he carries no weapon. Niebuhr, immediately in front of him, wearing a cap, is also wounded and his arm is in a striped sling, and the bandage on his thumb is unsoiled.

The whole party wears a harassed and distressed look as though it had recently passed through a period of great trial.

The waggonette appears to be inside the yard of the gaol which has been strengthened by a row of sand-bags. There are no dogs.

It will be noted that Honey is wearing a striped jersey and Judson has a corded jacket with epaulettes.

The arm and hand of a spectator on the left of the picture indicate that there are spectators.

It is conjectured that some time after the first photograph was taken the party was called together for other photographs.

These are the two which have been designated B and C, though it is not possible to discover which was taken first. It would seem quite definite, however, that they were taken within a few seconds of each other.

In both these photographs the wounded Hendrikz, his head swathed in



Photograph C

bandages, appears. The two non-Europeans, George and Hendrick, are present and there are two dogs, a terrier and a pointer. The only reference I have found to dogs with the party is made by Darling who wrote, "a little spaniel at my heels was shot twice".

There is some rearrangement in the seating. Mrs. Salthouse has taken the central position of the three ladies. All of them are wearing the same dresses as in photograph A. This can be understood since they had had to leave so hurriedly from their homes.

The wounded Burton is still absent but Judson's hand has healed. He no longer has a bandage and is carrying a weapon and wearing his bandolier. Niebuhr, without his sling, is wearing a bandolier and has grown a fringing beard.

Berry has changed his clothes but still wears his bandolier over his right shoulder.

There are three Europeans missing from the photograph. They are Stamford Brown, Byron, who wore spectacles, and Stoddart, a civilian; but Darling—a round-faced, clean-shaven fellow, described by Adrian Darter in "The Pioneers of Mashonaland" as "a broth of a boy", appears.

These photographs appear to have been taken outside the laager. The complete disinterest of the figure in the right background supports the contention that they were taken some days after the arrival of the Patrol, when the excite-



Photograph D

ment had died down. Generally, too, there is a more placid look on the faces of the people concerned.

There are slight differences in the photographs. In the C photograph, Edmonds has moved the position of his hands on his rifle; Sergeant Nesbitt has raised his gun and has rested it in the crook of his left arm; the terrier has turned his head from the right to look at the camera and Mrs. Salthouse has put her hand near the terrier's head. Hendrikz, who had been looking to his left is now looking to the right.

Two fresh additional photographs have been made available to me by the courtesy of Mrs. Salthouse of Landfall, Mtoroshonga, who is the wife of Mr Tom Salthouse, the grandson of Tom Salthouse, the brother of John (Jack) Salthouse who figures in the photographs. The older Tom Salthouse was murdered in the Mazoe area and his body was never recovered.

The first photograph (photograph D) shows the three ladies but they are now seated with Mrs. Cass in the centre, Mrs. Salthouse on the right, and Mrs Dickenson on the left. Mrs. Salthouse is wearing a shirt-waist white blouse and Mrs. Dickenson has changed her dress.

In the row behind them is Hendrick, the Coloured driver; Neibuhr, recognisable by his hat and beard; Pascoe, identifiable by his white shirt; Darling,



Photograph E

who is recognisable, though he is now without a coat, and Fairbairn, who has a bandaged finger. In the background is a man in his shirt sleeves, with the terrier dog.

This photograph appears to have been taken at a corner of the laager but not the same as that where photograph A was taken.

The second photograph (photograph E) shows a table placed in the open air, with a table-cloth and a hurricane lamp on it, a cut loaf of bread, a jar of jam, an open oatmeal tin with a spoon protruding from it, and an Armour's bully-beef tin. Seated around the table are the three ladies and three men. The man directly opposite the camera has a little girl on his knee. An African, presumably the cook, is holding in his hand a coffee-pot. He is wearing a buttoned-up coat, collar and tie.

On the left of the picture is Judson, wearing his corduroy jacket and a Scottish-type military cap. On the right of the photograph is Mr. Salthouse and to his right is Mrs. Salthouse. The other members of the party have not been identified. The picture is valuable as showing the way in which meals were taken. Packages, boxes and sacks are stored around the walls, while tarpaulins cover other stores.

Some Banking Characters

by H. A. Cripwell

(In our last issue we published a review of "Three Quarters of a Century of Banking in Rhodesia", the history of the Standard Bank in this country. Mr. H. A. Cripwell writes an interesting follow-up recalling memories of some of the men mentioned in the history.—Editor.)

I think this volume is a remarkable effort, undoubtedly reflecting the place in the affairs of this country of the Bank. The purpose of the volume is expressed by the Chairman of the Bank's Local Board (Mr. E. R. Campbell, C.B.E.) as to look back on the early days and to follow the development through the years—something which our Society was brought into being to do and to draw attention to what had been done so that as many as possible of our peoples should become aware of the past.

I would say that the Bank's earlier efforts in the historical line—*Sixty years north of the Limpopo* (Standard Bank of South Africa Limited, 1953) and *The first hundred years of the Standard Bank* (Oxford University Press, 1963)—might have been more fully drawn upon to augment what we now have. I recall sundry advertisements in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, I think it was, which for interest might have been referred to, even included, in this latest volume. The tale of Alfred Ellenberger "dowsing" for gold at the Glen Rosa Mine, near Selukwe, during World War I might have been repeated from the 1953 volume, for instance—if possible in "Nib" Hughes' very own words!

For most of us all we see of bank officials is across a counter where we pay in our small cheques or change or draw some cash; little do we know of what they do out of banking hours despite the part taken by many of them in the affairs of towns and villages strung all over the country, whether or not they participate at village or town management board or mining company level. A great many activities would have been stifled in the past but for such interest; so it is a very great pity the compilers of these Bank histories did not wander into the fields of private activity. In a way, *A Banking century, 1836-1936*, published by Barclay's Bank (Dominions, Colonial and Overseas) for private circulation, approached that aspect with the three accounts in Appendix II in respect of an incident at Omdurman, a cricket match in Central (East?) Africa and the opening of a new branch also in Central (East?) Africa. Since on page ix of what is now indicated as "the official history" we read "the purpose is not to pass judgement but to describe experiences and then leave the reader to draw his own conclusions"—whose duty is it to provide those experiences?

The many reproductions herein of photographs and documents provide most valuable records for the student or lay-historian. However, I do not think that was the aim of the Bank which seeks to interest the outside world in what

it has done and what it hopes to do; to compare the achievements of yesterday with what can be done tomorrow; and to indicate, in buildings particularly, the tremendous advance that has come about in 75 years. Substantial as this is for our country it is little in contrast with what has been portrayed as having happened elsewhere in the world. So we have a first-class example of business propaganda; in truth, perusal of these pages must stimulate interest in the Bank and produce just what is being sought—more activity channelled into its sphere of operations.

So I feel I must comment how much the members of our Society would have enjoyed quite a lot more from the memories of the Sims, the Byrnes, the Wrights, the Carters, the Atkinsons, the Deans, the Thomsons, the Stills and the Careys. I do not know if the Bank has an archivist; if so he might be able to say whether what is now written is fanciful or factual; such a firm as Pilkington's, the glass people, saw the scope of having one and managed to recruit a one-time member of our National Archives. What is now set out shows how much seems to have been missed of Bank officials at work and at play. In the latter regard they earned for themselves a share never less than that enjoyed by certain branches of the Civil Service or by the Police; one or two of the photographs provide the actors in many scenes and the two Bulawayo groups of 1907 and 1924-25 bring to mind much of interest; just to support memory J. de L. Thompson's *A history of sport in Rhodesia* (Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Bulawayo, 1935) lies handy to confirm what may be said in that line.

M. G. Linnell and R. T. Michell are in both Bulawayo groups—a significant run of service at one branch not usually met with these everlasting transfers. I wonder if there was a "teller" to beat Linnell? When the likes of myself took Native Tax it was usually he who got the job. It happened on one occasion that the Native Commissioner from Fort Usher (Mr. F. G. Elliott, a cricketing crony of Linnell's) had managed to get into the bank one day just before closing time with the main tax collection of the year. He was a very sociable character and (to use his own expression) would "throw in his hat" at anybody's place he passed on his way into town; otherwise his fine team of four Koffiefontein mules and spider would have made short work of the twenty-odd miles. Anyway, his Native Messenger had dumped the bags of revenue on the duty-teller's counter.

Pointing to the clock the teller said it was too late that day to check the deposit and suggested it should be taken away to the Police Station to be tendered again on the morrow; however, he was prepared to hand over a receipt for money-bags said to contain X pounds odd. "Fred" would have none of it—he would neither take away the cash nor accept a receipt for a "said" amount; he was in the building and was entitled to attention. Even Mr. George Sutherland, the manager, could not move him in that attitude and, eventually, he left with a complete receipt. Not for him the piling-up of specie bags as related by Mr. Thomson.

I think J. S. ("Jock") Dunbar of the later photograph was in the Linnell tradition from my memories of Fort Victoria—a deposit was checked in no time and the bearer speeded on his way. It was no light matter in those days of coin, breaking open the rolls of pounds, shillings and pence into which our collections

had been put every evening on checking up. I recall my wonder the first time I took in the Matobo collections and Linnell reached for a scale and just weighed the deposit to tally exactly with what was on the deposit slip; counting the money at Fort Usher had taken a long time where he took only some minutes. An interesting side-affair of those days was to go to the Post Office and insure the remittance after it had been banked.

It happened that one year I was hauled into Bulawayo in time to handle the December paysheets, swollen by Chiefs' subsidies and other sums out of the ordinary run; there was nobody to tell me what to do other than "to see Linnell" which I did. With a grin that accompanied his remark "Now you will see the virtue of my scale in reverse" he indicated the drill for the morrow when I presented myself with the warrants; deposits to credit of various persons' accounts were on one warrant while I wanted something like £1,700 in gold and about £200 in silver on another warrant. The thought of having to count all that money, sometime, frightened me; and any mistake I should have to make good.

Not so, Linnell. Out came his scale when he weighed off X golden sovereigns for the amount demanded; took out a proportion which he indicated as Y coins, a further proportion which he claimed as Z coins which he handed to me, saying "Count them; there should be so many; if so you should have what you asked for." I hope I have got the progression right but that is my memory. He went through the same procedure with the silver. I took his word for it and went back to my office, shared out into bags what I had in accordance with the amounts to cover each paysheet or set of paysheets and it came out just right—I thought it an amazing feat. Linnell was not quite so good on notes, which were issued by two other banks as well as the Standard, on his own admission—I don't think he liked them. All this in support of my idea that the public knows the bank official only over the counter.

In sport I would say that Linnell was the most competent athlete in the history of the Bank in this country; this in regard to the period between the two Bulawayo photographs. He played both cricket and rugby football for Southern Rhodesia; he was a regular member of the Matabeleland and his club teams at both games; I seem to recall it was Queen's (Bulawayo) at cricket and Bulawayo Athletic Club at rugger; he found time to play hockey for Combined Banks prior to World War I; very likely he amused himself at tennis and squash. Two others on the 1907 photograph—Henderson and Shipman—also played cricket for Queen's; Shipman was with Linnell in the Combined Banks side which also functioned after 1918. Peiser was, I believe, a cycling enthusiast with many successes at a time when it was a major sport.

We find G. A. P. ("Gappo") Thomas and E. W. ("Curly") Wright in the 1924-25 photograph; both played rugby for Southern Rhodesia, Matabeleland and B.A.C. or Queen's; at that time prominent players spread themselves amongst the various clubs more than seems to be the case today. Although not on that photograph H. R. ("Bup") Smith was a Bulawayo full-back at Association football for many years. Dunbar was both captain and champion of the Bulawayo Golf Club at one time; really good golfers seemed to be two a penny

those days on sun-baked fairways and sand greens. As for tennis there were many in the top flight—I am not sure which Bank "Vinny" Collins and V. H. van Breda served; there were W. A. Ravenscroft (Umvuma), Donald Mackintosh (Gatooma, and a fine wing three-quarter), "Nello" Parker and Farewell Roberts (Que Que) as Standard Bank staff I recall; the names of D. V. Scully and T. Burger seem to come from Shamva or Bindura. It is more than possible that photographs from other branches will show more of these sporting folk. Some of the tennis players come after 1924-25.

Fishing was the official sport at Selukwe where F. W. ("Freddie") Scott was manager; truly his staff needed some outside objective to get away from the sort of office they occupied and as portrayed in *Three-quarters of a century* . . . When he was moved he went only as far as Gwelo so as to maintain contact with his beloved fishing grounds. Fergus Dean took over and at once interested himself in rugby and the new ground then being built; he went on to Gwelo and Salisbury where I am sure he had much to do with the Municipality's new sportsfields and the Standard Bank's Sports Club on the road to Mazoe—would they ever come up to the standard of Kelvin Grove? Two shottists were R. E. Neville and "Curly" or "Chicken" Rogers from Sinoia, the one a Bisley man who went to Britain for Southern Rhodesia and the other more taken up with Service rifle shooting.

"Gappo" Thomas was a comedian of some merit and in great demand. Who will ever forget the trio at the Empire Theatre, Bulawayo, towards the end of 1914 when he and his two companions did a song-and-dance turn "We've been out with Johnnie Walker"; in plays by Gilbert and Sullivan, and the like, he frequently raised the roof by his interpretation of certain parts.

I wonder if we shall ever know why the Bank occupied premises and the Government a school on mining claims at Shamva when there was the nearby village management board area proclaimed under Government Notice No. 599 of 23rd December, 1921? Interlocking business interests?

If Francis Macauley Steele could see what Umvuma branch now occupies he would rave—45 years ago he had what was called a modern building; now the branch is housed where then was the Government offices and Courthouse—what tales those walls could tell!

The sort of memories that remain to most of us is shown in Mr. Carter's reference to the "charcoal-cooler" at Fort Victoria; there was one behind the bank, built by the bachelor staff (S. H. ("Stan") Heald & Co.?), the first I had ever seen, which provided very cold drinks at a time when Fort Victoria got it's only ice from Gwelo and not too much of that. When we deposited revenue we usually managed to get something from the "cooler".

None of us who were about then when the present General Manager joined the Bank quite realised his capacity but were not surprised when we heard where he had got; MAKOROKOTO in the vernacular or in the words used by another Society *ad multos annos*.

The Fort at Naka Pass

by D. K. Parkinson

(This article is a most interesting and useful piece of local historical research as well as being an example of the meticulous recording of oral tradition. We asked Mr. Roger Summers of the Bulawayo Museum and Mr. E. E. Burke of National Archives to comment and their remarks are given at the end of the article.—Editor.)

I was resident in Chibi district when I read in the article on Pioneer Forts in Rhodesia by P. S. Garlake, in *Rhodesiana* No. 12, and made enquiries among the tribesmen concerning the Naka Pass Fort.

Naka Pass is the range of hills stretching eastwards from the Lundi River called Munaka. The pass is known as Mindamukova but was called Naka Pass in the early 1890's.

In 1965-66 there were two men living near the Munaka Hills who were alive when the Pioneer Column passed through that area. One, headman Chipindu, said he knew nothing of the fort in the pass, the other, Chikati, said he was about nine years old when the Pioneer Column passed through. (His registration certificate No. 2525 Chibi issued on 29th September, 1904, the year registration certificates were first issued in Chibi, tends to confirm this.)

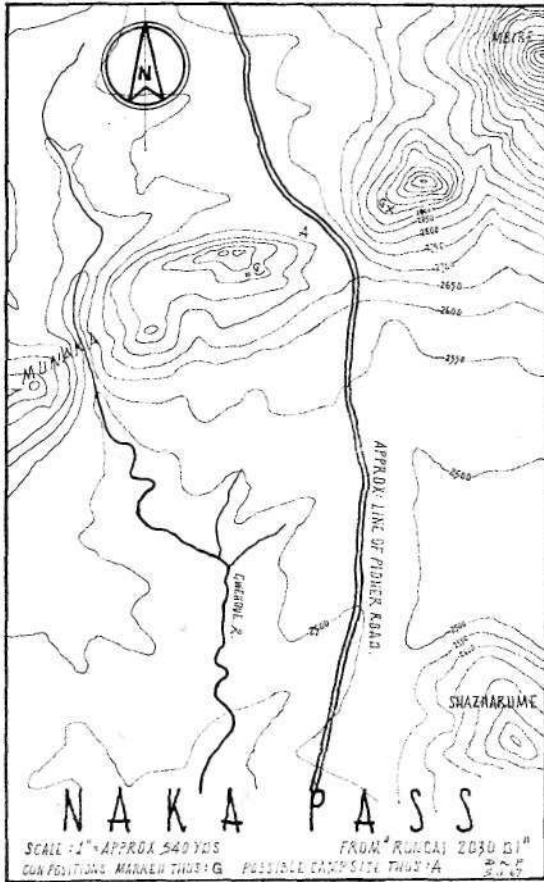
According to Chikate his people had lands to the south of the Munaka Hills as shown on the map. He said: "Sometime after the Pioneers passed through a party of European soldiers came up the road from the south, there were many of them. They took over the Mindamukova Pass in the Munaka through which the pioneer road ran and mounted maxim guns on the hill on either side of the pass. They built low stone walls to hide the guns. On the southern hill slopes all the trees were cut down on either side of the pass, from the road itself up the slopes but not as far as the guns."

Chikate, although questioned, could give no further details, nor could he say where the soldiers actually camped, but it must have been at the foot of the hill for Chikati said, "Whatever they were doing, even if they were eating, when the bugle sounded they immediately went up the hill to their positions."

On at least one occasion the maxims were fired as Chikate said that the soldiers warned them to keep away from the area to the south of the pass for a time and he heard the guns firing. He describes the gun as being the same as the one on the memorial in Fort Victoria which is known as Chigwagwaga from the noise it makes when firing.

Chikati remembered that the soldiers had "many rifles and knives" (bayonets?) and thought that "they were looking for the Matabele".

A relative of Chikati, Jim Nyika, lives some ten miles north of the Munaka. He was in his late teens, or early twenties in 1890 and although he never saw



the fort at Naka Pass he was told about it at the time while working in Fort Victoria. While only hearsay, the information he gave is interesting. He said that the force which occupied Naka Pass was left by the Pioneer Column and that they set up a single maxim on each side of the pass behind low stone walls and near each such gun position was a further stone wall to hide the soldiers. He said there were more than 20 European soldiers and about the same number of Africans who were of an unknown tribe. (Possibly Khama's men.)

Regrettably I only managed to visit the site once. However, as can be seen from the map, the hills immediately to the west of the pass are fairly low, and it is on a slight spur from these hills, overlooking the southern entrance to the pass with an excellent field of view, that I found what remained of the fortifications.

A semicircular pile of stones which appeared to be the remains of a low wall not more than 2 ft. high and 18 in. wide faced south-west in a gentle curve some 15 ft. long. This from Chikati's description was the site of one of the maxims.

Some fifteen yards further west and higher up the spur I found several small piles of stones which were the defensive positions of riflemen referred to by Jim.

On the eastern side the pass is flanked by a steep hill, higher than on the western side. Chikate was vague about the positioning of defences on this side and I did not make a search. However, it appears to have been somewhere in the region of the position marked on the map. There is a slight shoulder at that point where the gradient eases and it seems a likely place to have positioned a maxim. It would have been about 100 ft. above the western position with a superb view of the road south and complete command of the whole pass and approaches, something the western position does not have. It also has complete command of the western position itself. A frontal attack on these positions would have been suicidal.

To the west of the pass is a gap in the Munaka. During the rains the Gwe-Gwehove River flows south through this gap. It is a rock-strewn thickly-wooded gully impassable to a wagon. There are passes to the east, the first being some four miles from the Pioneer Road. Negotiating them with wagons would have meant many miles of road-clearing. The only practical approach, therefore, is straight up the road through the pass which with some 50 miles of fairly open country to the north and south is a strong natural defensive position.

There is no doubt that a force holding the pass in 1891 with at least one maxim, in a position to observe all movement to the south, bearing in mind that the area running some two miles south from the Munaka was cleared and cultivated, could easily do so for several days.

Mr. R. Summers comments—

This is an interesting example of the telescoping which often happens in oral tradition. Chikate says that "sometime" after the Pioneers passed there came a party of many white soldiers and Nyika says there were also Africans of an unknown tribe. These people came from the *south*.

This sounds very much like the second Pioneer party under Willoughby which followed Pennefather's main party at about 18 days' interval, the parties combined at Fort Victoria and all marched together to Salisbury.

The gradient through the pass is so steep that wagons would have had to be double or triple spanned so, in potentially hostile country, Willoughby would have set up his guns in a defensive position. Chikate probably saw this done.

Leonard (*How we made Rhodesia*, 1896) was then commander at Fort Tuli and speaks of preliminary orders to send a party from Tuli to hold a position in Chibi's country to prevent a Boer trek reaching Fort Victoria. This order was received on 11th March, 1891, but it was countermanded on 23rd March (pp. 212, 213). Later he mentions that D and F Troops—probably then in Salisbury—were ordered to Chibi's area on 31st March (p. 225). Nowhere is there any record of Leonard sending troops up from Tuli, he had his work cut out manning the Limpopo drifts.

Leonard went up country in September 1891 and reached the Naka Pass on 28th where he says he met Beit but says nothing about a garrison or camp there, in fact he had to sleep out and got wet through (p. 310).

It seems to me that the Naka Pass was garrisoned in March or April 1891

by D and F troops from the *north*, the garrison being withdrawn when the Boer threat fizzled out in July, certainly it wasn't there in September.

I feel sure Chikate got mixed up between several very exciting events of his youth and confused the passing of Willoughby's party (about 100 whites and numerous Fingoes and other Africans from the Cape) and the garrisoning of the pass by D and F Troops under Lendy. He was also a bit mixed up between the gun on the memorial in Fort Victoria—which is a field gun—and *Chigwagwagwe*—which is a much smaller but more terrifying weapon—a machine-gun. According to Taylor's reminiscences both field- and machine-guns were positioned at Naka Pass, so I feel sure Chikate's memory is sound although it is a bit confused after 75 years.

Mr. E. E. Burke adds further to this—

The possible Boer incursion in question was known as the Adendorff Trek or the Banyailand Trek, which had its origins in 1889. During 1890 there developed a plan for an occupation of Mashonaland in advance of that proposed by the British South Africa Company. In this plan some 2,000 Boers were to cross the Limpopo at the Middle Drift and then trek northwards.

Kruger disavowed the plot and it was postponed, to be revived in March 1891 on the strength of a very dubious concession which, it was claimed, Chief Chibi had given to four Transvaalers, led by Adendorff. Adendorff appealed for "five thousand armed Afrikaners, including the best fighting men South Africa could produce, viz. the Zoutpansberg Boers", to assemble at the Limpopo by 1st June, 1891. The Transvaal Government took strong action as it had no wish to become embroiled in a Central African adventure and Kruger threatened confiscation of the lands of any who took part. The High Commissioner proclaimed that any attempt to enter the territories under Her Majesty's protection would be met by force and the Company looked to its defences. Earthworks were dug to command the various drifts across the Limpopo and detachments of the Bechuanaland Border Police and the British South Africa Company's Police were suitably disposed.

Meanwhile the trekkers mustered about a thousand men in all, with 400 wagons, under the military leadership of Ignatius Ferreira—mostly from the Waterberg and the Zoutpansberg, but as it became clear that they had no support from their own Government and that the British South Africa Company really meant to meet them with force their numbers dwindled. On 24th June a party of 112 armed and mounted Boers appeared at the Main Drift and five of them, including Commandant Ferreira, crossed into Mashonaland, where Ferreira was arrested. Jameson was in the neighbourhood, visiting Police detachments, and he returned with Ferreira to the trekkers' camp on the other side of the Limpopo. Here he assured them that the Company was very ready to admit any immigrants provided that they agreed to recognise and obey the Company's laws. In the event some signed the required undertaking and the remainder dispersed.

Thus ended the Banyai Trek, but the fort in the Naka Pass remains as some

sign of it. In May 1891 D Troop and F Troop of the Company's Police were moved to take up positions to cover the tracks leading through Chibi's country. D Troop was commanded by Capt. E. C. Chamley-Turner, F Troop was the artillery unit, commanded by Capt. C. F. Lendy.

In the reminiscences of Rowland Taylor (National Archives Hist. MSS, TA 4) who in March 1891 set off with four ex-British Bechuanaland Police, to seek employment in Mashonaland, there is an eyewitness account of the building of the fort. He writes: "We crossed the Tobwe River but before we did so we passed through Naka Pass where the Police were making a fort as there was supposed to be a Boer army coming up, the hills on either side of the pass had 7-pounders and maxim guns galore, trees cut down; it would have taken an army to take the position. The young fellows did not appreciate carrying ammunition up the steep hill, and did no end of swearing."

At this period F Troop, the artillery, was apparently based at Salisbury and D Troop at Fort Charter, so their approach to the Naka Pass would have been from the north.

There is a useful account of the Banyailand Trek by Marshall Hole in *The making of Rhodesia* (Macmillan, 1926, and Frank Cass, 1967) on which I have drawn. The author based it on notes made in Mashonaland in 1891 and on conversations that he had with Ferreira and others.

"A Time to Die": A Review of Robert Cary's Book

by D. Hartridge

("A Time to Die" by Robert Cary. Published by Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1968. 179 pages. Price 30s.)

Mr. Cary's book fills a gap. The most famous episode of Rhodesian history has been the subject of scores of fables, but no one has gathered all the evidence together, critically examined it and set it out in one place. We are lucky that the story of the Allan Wilson Patrol has been tackled by a writer as meticulous and as lucid as Mr. Cary.

A Time to Die gives all sides of every move; each character is sympathetically treated; virtually no viewpoint is overlooked. One can, in fact, even criticise Mr. Cary for being too balanced. He rarely comes down off the fence and I think that most people would welcome a summary of events in which the blame was clearly assigned. Such an overview would be especially useful, particularly to those unfamiliar with the ins and outs of the Shangani story, as the narrative is of necessity broken and the main events do not stand out from the rest. A more detailed map, tracing Allan Wilson's movements over the river, would also have contributed to the reader's understanding and enjoyment.

Different readers receive different impressions of what Mr. Cary is saying: but in the case of Jameson his assessment is unambiguous. The Chief Magistrate's underestimation of the enemy's strength and of the logistical requirements of the campaign were inexcusable. Jameson made a characteristic error of judgement (precisely similar to that which shook his career two years later) and relentlessly set in motion the train of events which led to the tragedy. Much of the men's dissatisfaction with Forbes should have been directed at Jameson.

To Wilson Mr. Cary is almost too kind: he is obviously deeply impressed by the man's bravery and qualities of leadership. The risks that Wilson took during the last night of his life in reuniting Hofmeyr and his companions with the main party proved him to be "the sort of man you could die for" (p. 85). He was the stuff that legends are made of, and for Mr. Cary to knock the legend would be churlish. However, Wilson made the same mistake that Jameson did, and, as the man on the spot, must bear the main responsibility for the tragedy. Mr. Cary plays down the fact that Wilson did a stupid thing when he decided not to return to Forbes. And, despite what he says in his introduction (p. 14), there was not much difference between the principles of "the man who sent out the Shangani Patrol" and those of the men who were prepared to die for them.

Mr. Cary is less kind to Forbes, though always sympathetic. Forbes's manner, unfortunately, tended, and still tends, to alienate support: his rationali-

sations after the event make ugly reading and he was not, of course, an outgoing personality like Wilson or Jameson or Lendy. Forbes bungled the first expedition up the Bubi, antagonised two of his most important officers and finally, on 4th December, he made the wrong decision when he sent Borrow to reinforce Wilson: we know that he should have recalled the patrol. However, Mr. Cary shows Forbes's dilemma very fairly. Apart from the military difficulties and Raaff's attitude, there was the additional problem that Forbes's position in relation to Wilson was distinctly awkward: though senior to Wilson, the latter was already a hero with the men, whilst he was regarded as a mundane plodder. Though Mr. Cary makes much of the good relationship built up between Forbes and Wilson, it must have been uneasy below the surface and Forbes was probably scared to give a direct order to the Victoria man. And it must be remembered that Forbes had the worst sort of command, over self-interested and independent-minded volunteers. But when all is said and done, there can be no excuse for a leader who fails.

Lendy, Francis and Raaff were perhaps less sensible than Wilson in their attitude to their commander. Mr. Cary is hard on Raaff, who was the most experienced man of all. At one point he calls him "hysterical" (p. 44), but this is surely an extravagant epithet for a man whose courage cannot be doubted and whose sole fault, apart from being a "dismal johnny", was that he turned out to be right.

Another crucial character is Burnham. With Ingram and Gooding, he was the last man to return from the Allan Wilson Patrol, and so his evidence is vital to the story. Mr. Cary closely examines his credibility and decides that he sometimes embroiders his accounts to the point of dishonesty. Perhaps the author should have gone further into the details of Burnham's other great Rhodesian adventure: his expedition to shoot the Mlimo during the Rebellion which resulted in his killing an innocent oracle instead. Mr. Cary too quickly dismisses the rumour that Burnham and his companions left the Patrol on their own accord and not with a message for Forbes. It is really quite possible that the able-bodied men were given the choice of staying or leaving, and more than understandable if three of them chose to make a dash for it. Apart from this—although it was in Burnham's interests to stress Wilson's courage and to find no fault with his decisions—there is little reason to doubt the American's version of events from the time of Napier's departure.

It is good to see that Mr. Cary kills a story that has had too large a circulation for far too long. He pours scorn on the idea that the actions of Troopers Daniel and Wilson, despicable though they were, had any effect whatever on the outcome of the Patrol. Mr. Cary attacks another "comforting story", that the rising river made it impossible for Forbes to reinforce Wilson. The truth, he decides, is that it was possible but risky, and a deliberate and painful decision had to be made.

So that the book could have been the last word, as well as the standard work, on the Patrol, I would have liked to have seen a little more use made of African accounts, a little more data on the Matabele regiments involved and Lobengula's instructions to his generals and conditions prevailing in the Matabele camp.

Mr. Cary is right to be chary of African accounts of the last stand, for it must have been all too easy for white bosses interviewing African witnesses to put words into their mouths. But as he did use some accounts—those that showed the men dying courageously—he should also have discussed those that told, surely unpopularity, of the white men trying to bargain for their lives, even whining and begging for mercy. The modern reader does not expect fairy tale heroes. And I would have liked to have read more of the earlier battles of the campaign—Shangani, Bembesi and Singuesi—for a knowledge of those walk-overs is necessary to the understanding of the leaders' lack of caution.

The excellent index doubles the value of the work to the serious student. Why then such a scarcity of reference and such a scrappy list of sources? The general reader is not deterred by an extra page or two of references, kept at the end, whilst the research worker benefits greatly. It is not enough to say "B.S.A. Company's papers, letters, records, etc." (p. 174): full references are wanted for archives files and for manuscripts from the National Archives! This omission is particularly regrettable because there is no doubt that the standards of Mr. Cary's research and analysis, within the limits he set himself, are up to the highest academic level.

The publisher can be criticised. The quality of the paper and production (there are quite a few typographical errors) does not justify the price, and the irrelevant twaddle about Guiseppe (*sic*) Maniscalco on the dust jacket—puzzling at first, then infuriating—is enough to make this reviewer, for one, vow never to purchase *Miles and Miles and Miles*.

A Time to Die is not a debunking book, despite the impression given in some reviews. Mr. Cary is nice to the heroes, and the book is more tasteful for it. But more important, he gives his readers all the information they could possibly want for talking and arguing and mulling over the intriguing whys and ifs and buts that abound in the story of the Allan Wilson Patrol. It is a book to be bought and thumbed through. I look forward very much to Mr. Cary's next book on Rhodesian history.

Buildings of Historic Interest

No. 1: The Residency, Salisbury

by R. C. Howland

In September 1894 E. A. Maund, geographer, prospector, and a rival of Rhodes for a gold concession in Mashonaland—he accompanied Lobengula's indunas on their trip to see the "Great White Queen" in London in 1889—purchased four stands (1744, 1745, 1746 and 1747) on the corner of Baines Avenue/Second Street/Montagu Avenue (then Cape Avenue) from the estate of the late A. E. Caldecott.

A year later he had completed Salisbury's first double-storey brick house, with a cellar. It was built on stand 1747 and is the core of the Residency today. The estimated value of the house in the assessment ledgers, first of the Salisbury Sanitary Board and then of the Municipality, was in the region of £4,000. On completion the house was leased by the British South Africa Company as a residence for senior officials of the Administration.

The first occupant was Mr. Justice W. J. Vintcent, the senior judge of the High Court of Matebeleland, which sat, oddly enough, in Salisbury. From December 1895, when Jameson set off on his abortive raid, until the arrival of Lord Grey in June 1896, the Judge also acted as Administrator. He lived in the house until November 1896, when he returned to England on leave.

The house was provided under the terms of appointment offered to him by the Company—a salary of £1,200 per annum and a suitable residence.

At the end of 1896, while visiting Mashonaland, Rhodes lived there. It seems that while Rhodes was in residence on this occasion he was kept fairly busy. His private secretary, Philip Jourdan, describes this visit. "In Salisbury we found the people full of grievances. They asked for redress and assistance on every conceivable pretext. Mr. Rhodes felt genuinely sorry for them, as they had just gone through a very trying siege, and most of them had practically lost everything they possessed. We stayed at the Government Residency, and for three weeks, from early morning till late in the afternoon, there was literally a string of beggars winding their way to the Residency and back. They all wanted something, and I do not think there was a single applicant for assistance who did not get something. My time was fully occupied in writing out cheques, and in a short time he had given away in charity a sum considerably exceeding £10,000." From this time onwards, though he was there for only a little over a month, the house became "Mr. Rhodes' House". He left again for England in the last week of November 1896, to attend the continuation of the parliamentary enquiry into the Jameson Raid which had been postponed so that Rhodes might, because of the Rebellion, return to Rhodesia.

Mr. William Milton, then Chief Secretary to the Administration appropriated it for himself. He shared it with Mr. Justice Watermeyer and Mr.



The Residency, 1968.

(R. C. Howland)

P. Jourdan. On 7th December, 1896, he wrote to his wife, who was holidaying in England: "Judge Vintcent's house which I have collared could be made very comfortable, I have a large bedroom upstairs, facing East, which is cool and pleasant and there is a nice room leading out of it in which Jourdan sleeps. Watermeyer has the other big front bedroom and there is a spare room. Downstairs are good sized dining and drawing rooms and a cosy little study with a good light. We shall be snug here once we have settled down, and I am sure you will like the house."

Sir William, as he was later to become, was appointed Administrator in succession to Lord Grey and took up his post and the occupancy of Government House, Salisbury, in June 1897. It seems likely that Watermeyer and Jourdan continued to live in the Residency until Rhodes' return in December 1897. Rhodes stayed in Rhodesia until July 1898.

As a result of the Jameson Raid the British Government decided that some form of check was necessary to ensure that there were no repetitions of this action. With the Company's concurrence, however reluctant, an Imperial official appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies but paid by the Company, was introduced. The first of these, styled Deputy Commissioner and Commandant-General, was Sir Richard Martin; his duties were roughly a combination of political liaison officer and commander of the Company's armed forces.

The Company was responsible for finding accommodation but Sir Richard



Salisbury. The Residency, Baines Avenue, built by E. A. Maund. The first brick double-storey dwelling, 1897.

(National Archives)

Martin was responsible for paying the rent. He became worried about the cost and in a letter from the Colonial Office to the British South Africa Company, the Secretary to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain wrote on 14th March, 1896; "I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acquaint you that (Sir Richard Martin) has represented to him the hardship of having to pay very high rent in the Company's territories. Mr. Chamberlain does not suggest that the Company should provide Sir Richard Martin with free quarters or with a house allowance, but he would suggest that possibly . . . the Company might meet the difficulty by building suitable residential quarters for Sir Richard Martin and charging him some moderate percentage, say 5 per cent, on the cost of construction."

The British South Africa Company, being under something of a cloud at the time, could hardly be expected to do anything but agree with Chamberlain's not unauthoritarian proposal. Herbert Canning, the Company's secretary, replied on 28th March: "With reference to your letter of the 14th. instant on the subject of a residence for the Commandant-General of the Company's police forces, I am desired by the Board of Directors to say that the Company is prepared to build suitable residential quarters for that officer at Bulawayo, the Imperial Government agreeing that rent equivalent to 5 per cent upon the cost of production is paid."

When Sir Richard first arrived in Rhodesia he took up residence in Bula-



Meeting of hounds outside the Residency, 1908.

(National Archives)

wayo which was then the focal point of the Company's administration. However, when the Administrator, Earl Grey, moved to Salisbury in November 1896, he decided it would be expedient to make a similar move. It fell to the Company, therefore, to provide him with quarters in Salisbury. As a bachelor his needs were not extensive and accommodation was found, though it is not clear where this was.

In 1898 an Order-in-Council, which sought to curb the Company's powers even further, gave the Imperial "watchdog" a new name, that of "Resident Commissioner", and in July that year Sir Marshall Clarke was appointed to the post. The Company then had to find a suitable house for him. The London Office of the Company enquired whether there was a house available. The reply was that Sir Richard's house was available, but that it was not suitable for a family. This seemed to be sufficient as Lady Clarke was not expected to accompany her husband at first. By the time she was ready to come there would be a suitable house built.

However, confusion ensued when it was discovered that Lady Clarke was, in fact, accompanying her husband to Salisbury. The Company had to find suitable accommodation immediately. They chose Mr. Rhodes' house which was at this time untenanted. When Sir Marshall Clarke arrived on 13th October, he moved in at least "until such time as his furniture arrives".

What started out as a temporary measure would appear to have become

permanent for Sir Marshall and Lady Clarke remained there for their term of office and subsequent Resident Commissioners followed suit. The house was to remain the official residence of the Resident Commissioner until the coming of Responsible Government in 1923. Naturally in the early days the house played a prominent part in the social life of Salisbury, being second only to Government House in this respect. Lady Clarke's "At Homes" were as well attended as those of Lady Milton (they were held on Thursday afternoons at 4 o'clock), and the two ladies vied with one another, in the friendliest manner of course, with the size and quality of their receptions and parties.

They also organised tennis parties jointly and the *Rhodesia Herald* of the time also refers to one or two parties which were highly successful.

The second Resident Commissioner (1905-08), Lt.-Col. K. Chester Master, revived the hunt in Salisbury. His was a privately-owned pack known as the Residency Pack. The house had been the centre of the hunt in the pre-Residency days. Col. Alderson, who commanded the Mounted Infantry brought from England during the Mashona Rebellion, says:

"On November 23rd (1896) we had, much to our delight, a look at what Mr. Jorrock calls the 'h'image of war', the hounds meeting at the Judge's house (Judge Vintcent) . . . at six am."

This hunt had soon lapsed, however, and it took Col. Chester Master to start it again. When he retired in 1908 the Salisbury Hunt Club was formed to fill the gap.

The Residency and the ground on which it stands were purchased by the Company from E. A. Maund in 1904. The Company had for some time been paying the rates on the house and deducting them from the rent they paid to Maund. This did not prevent Sir Marshall from complaining that the rent was too high to be met from his own meagre allowances and asking the Imperial Government to increase the latter to cover part of his rent.

The Company continued to own the house until 1923 when it was bought or transferred to the Public Works Department of the new Southern Rhodesia Government as were most of the official residence of the Company's administration. The last Resident Commissioner, Mr. C. Douglas-Jones, left at the end of 1923.

From that time onwards the house has been occupied successively by Ministers of the Crown and a Chief Justice. Major (later Sir) Robert Hudson was the first Ministerial occupant of the Residency, as Attorney-General, moving into it in 1924. Although he left in 1932, he was to return to the house during the war as Chief Justice. The family with the longest single tenure of the house was that of Mr. J. N. Caldecott, one-time Minister of Agriculture in the Southern Rhodesia Government, and Minister of Agriculture and later of Finance in the Federal Government, who lived there for 13 years between 1950 and 1963.

The house, originally a Victorian Colonial dwelling *par excellence*, with a full-length verandah, large porch with ornate carved rails, balcony above the porch with the same type of moulded heaviness, and colossal chimneys rising out of a sharply-sloping, many-angled galvanised iron roof, has over the years

undergone drastic renovation to bring it up to date and, in fact, to prevent it from being condemned.

The verandah has been removed, the porch closed in, the red brick walls have been plastered and distempered, the roof has been tiled. The house now stands in well-cultivated grounds with a tennis court. Stand 1745, on the corner of Montagu Avenue and Second Street has been separated from the others and a large modern house now occupies it.

Occupants of the Residency since 1895

Company Servants, etc.

- (1) Mr. Justice J. Vintcent (1895-96), Senior High Court Judge.
- (2) Mr. (later Sir) William Milton (1896-97), Chief Secretary of the Administration.
- (3) Mr. C. J. Rhodes (intermittent, 1897-98), Company Director.

Resident Commissioners

- (4) Sir Marshall Clarke (1898-1905).
- (5) Lt.-Col. K. Chester Master (1905-08).
- (6) Lt.-Col. J. C. Fair (1908-11).
- (7) Lt.-Col. Burns-Begg (1911-15).
- (8) Mr. H. J. Stanley (1915-18).
- (9) Mr. C. Douglas-Jones (1918-23).

Ministers of the Crown and Chief Justice

- (10) Major Robert Hudson (1924-32), Attorney-General.
- (11) Capt. F. E. Harris (1933-42), Minister of Agriculture.
- (12) Sir Robert Hudson (1943-46), Chief Justice.
- (13) Mr. G. A. Davenport (1946-50), Minister of Mines.
- (14) Mr. J. M. Caldecott (1950-63), Minister of Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia Government and later Federal Minister of Finance.
- (15) Lord Graham (1964-68), Minister of Agriculture.

The Diaries of Harold Cookson

Part I

Discovering the Riches of Katanga

by W. D. Gale

Mr. Harold Cookson was a young man of 26 when he joined the Tanganyika Concessions group organised by Mr. (later Sir) Robert Williams to exploit the mineral riches of the Katanga area of what was then the Congo Free State. He spent almost five years from 1903 onwards under extremely arduous conditions in this primitive country, with none of the benefits of proper communications or organised food supplies, with elementary equipment, among savages whose labour was unreliable and who were constantly feuding among themselves. The depredations of such tribes as the Batetele, the Berenje and the Baluba caused great anxiety from time to time. They also had to contend with wild animals and a morale-sapping climate.

Mr. Cookson also saw the beginnings of Belgian administration and the early attempts to bring an element of law and order into this vast, restless, lawless region. He is completely objective in assessing the methods used by the early administrators to quell the threat to life and property posed by the warring tribes.

In spite of these difficulties Cookson and his colleagues, under the guidance of Mr. George Grey, son of the Earl of Falloden and a younger brother of Sir Edward (later Viscount) Grey, a famous British Foreign Secretary who saw the lights of Europe die in 1914, discovered the Kanshansi mine in Northern Rhodesia and most of the copper mines in Katanga which form the Union Miniere complex and also the alluvial gold proposition at Ruwe. They also found considerable quantities of tin and other minerals.

But Mr. Cookson was more than a prospector and mining odd-job man. He was a keen naturalist and his great passion was lepidopterae. He found many new varieties of butterflies while in Katanga and has innumerable species named after him. His vast butterfly collection is now housed at the Transvaal Museum, Pretoria. He also found, and was the first to describe, a new species of antelope which is also named after him—Cookson's wildebeest.

He kept his eyes open and was interested in all he saw—plants, insects, animals and men. He kept a meticulous diary in a series of notebooks during his years in Katanga, and although most of the entries are concerned with his day-to-day work as a prospector or surveyor or map-maker, they also concern a number of things that aroused his interest in other fields. His diaries give a graphic picture of the perils and tribulations and hardships endured by those hardy, devoted men who pioneered the way for the vast mining empires that were subsequently established in the heart of Africa.

Mr. Cookson is now 91 and lives quietly in the Vumba Mountains of Rhodesia with his butterflies and his books and his memories. He is still tall and slim and mentally alert—a charming host and a venerable gentleman in the truest sense.

Harold Cookson left London for the Congo on 19th May, 1903. He travelled in the *Prinz Regent* from Naples to Chinde, where he arrived on 14th June. The passengers who were to land were swung overboard in a basket on to the deck of the tug, *Kadett*, because the bar at the mouth of the Zambezi at Chinde is "very awkward".

They sailed in the sternwheeler, *Princess*, up the Zambezi and after two days of sailing through flat country reached the hills through which the Shire flows on the 19th. As they tried to sail up the Shire they found the *Princess* drew too much water and had to wait for a smaller boat to take them on.

Cookson was new to Africa and keenly interested in all he saw. As they lay in the river he noted that the native huts on the banks were "made of the stems of a long grass and thatched with palm leaves. Some are square, with verandahs, and some are round. The natives are medium height with darkish skin, though some are light copper-coloured. A great many have ruptured navels owing to carelessness at child birth."

They continued their journey up-river in the *Henry Henderson*—"a very poor and dirty boat"—which frequently stuck on sandbanks, for two days. They then transferred to a house-barge propelled by human power and made better progress. They arrived at Katunga's on Sunday, 28th June, and the next day Cookson and his friends, C. Grey and Eriksson, left the river and cycled the 28 miles to Blantyre in 4½ hours. Blantyre in those days was "a straggling town with some nice houses. It is divided into Blantyre proper and Mandala, the African Lakes Corporation depot."

There they waited for several days for a steamer to take them across Lake Nyasa. The lake was beset by storms and no steamers could sail, and so their stay at Blantyre was extended. They passed the time hunting in the surrounding hills, checking their chronometer and buying stores for their journey to Kambove. On 10th July they went to Liwonde on the Shire and found the A.L.C. steamer, *Monteith*, which took them up-river to Fort Johnston.

When crossing Lake Malombi, between Liwonde and Fort Johnston, he rioted that "a very large quantity of gas is liberated from the bottom of the lake by the steamer as it goes over it. This gas is inflammable. We tried to light it, but it didn't burn. However, in the bathroom, in an enclosed space, it explodes."

They left Fort Johnston on 14th July and crossed the Lake in the *Queen Victoria*. The voyage to Kota Kota took three days. Now the real trek to Katanga was to begin, for every step would take them deeper and deeper into the wilds. They left Kota Kota on the morning of 17th July with 75 boys and 79 loads. There were four of them in the party, all bound for the same destination—Cookson, C. Grey (George's brother), Eriksson and Mumford. They used bicycles but they could not go too far on them because they kept outstripping their carriers, so they were able to do a great deal of shooting along the way.

They reached Fort Jameson on the 23rd and found they would have to stay

there a week owing to a scarcity of carriers. (Fort Jameson was the end of the line for the carriers from Kota Kota.) The town, he writes, "is well laid out, with fine broad roads with trees on either side. We are staying at Chinard and Thorn's Royal Hotel, which is comfortable. We saw Codrington, the Administrator."

They had difficulty getting the necessary number of carriers (or *tenga-tenga*) not only because they were scarce, but because a number of B.S.A. Company men were going up-country "and they have first pick of the boys". By the 30th, however, they had accumulated 60 or so *tenga-tenga*, and they left Fort Jameson at once although Cookson was suffering badly from diarrhoea, which weakened him considerably.

They took the trek to Serenje in easy stages of some 10 to 12 miles a day, which gave ample opportunity for hunting, especially in the vicinity of the Luangwa River with its elephant, buffalo, rhino and antelope, large and small. They had to climb over the Muchinga Hills, which they found "very steep indeed", having to climb 2,300 feet in one and a half miles. It was beautiful country, and at that altitude much colder. On the night of 10th August Cookson's minimum thermometer went down to 35 degrees.

They crossed into the Congo Free State at the Luombwa River on 14th August, with several of their carriers sick and footsore. The next night they had an exciting encounter with lion.

"At 4 a.m. Paddy, Eriksson's dog, woke me by barking very hard. I jumped up and saw by the moon a lion about 15 yards from my bed and walking towards me. It paused and then trotted off. I had my rifle in its cover by me bed, but had not time to undo it and shoot. All the men (*tenga-tengas*) yelled and rushed at us for protection. They saw another lion quite close to them but on the other side of the camp. I have never heard such terrified yells as they gave. The whole thing lasted only about 20 seconds, but was very exciting. We found afterwards that Mumford's little black puppy had disappeared during the night and supposed that the lion had taken it. In future I am going to sleep with my rifle in my bed out of its cover."

Cookson was interested in all aspects of natural history, but his main passion was butterflies, and he found a number of good specimens at various water-holes, particularly at a stretch of stagnant water covered with waterlilies of all colours, especially blue, red, cream and white.

At the Luapula they were troubled by mosquitoes and on the 18th put up their mosquito nets for the first time. They also ran into tsetse-fly. "They are very funny flies," Cookson noted. "One passes through strips where they swarm, and then in a mile or so there are none. There is no game here at all, though in places it looks good game country."

The party covered about 20 miles a day, reaching a village each evening for the night stop, and on 24th August reached the Luapula, "a large, broad river of slow-running clear water with some islands in it". From here Cookson was sent to Luhafu, the head quarters of the Comite Special du Katanga, to get all their guns and ammunition stamped, their first contact with the Belgian administration. "The officials were very good to us and gave us dinner, etc.



1903 in Nyasaland. L. to R.: C. Grey, C. T. Ericksson, H. Cookson, H. L. Mumford.
(H. Cookson)

About 12 days ago there was a large fire at Luhafu which burned most of the place."

From Luhafu they marched about 17 miles along "a splendid road about 16 to 18 feet wide" to the Lufira River. On the way "we met a Belgian who was bringing an Englishman and his wife as sort of prisoners to Luhafu because they had no papers allowing them to travel in the Congo Free State. The Englishman was a missionary called Curry, who has been 15 years in the country and for the last 10 has never had fever. We met a man at Lugafu who had been four years on the West Coast and here, and he had never had fever. So it seems that everyone need not get it, as most people say."

They reached the mining camp at Kambove on 5th September. "The camp is much larger than I expected, and I was given a hut to live in. The mine, of which I saw very little, seemed to be very big and very rich. No vegetation grows where the copper is and so it is easy to find."

In charge of the Tanganyika Concessions operations was Mr. George Grey, a younger brother of Viscount Grey, the British Foreign Secretary. George had been a noted leader of men during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896.

From Kambove they walked deeper into Katanga, carrying out a survey as they went and checking on the work of a Belgian survey party of 200 men (surveyors and carriers) who had depleted the villages of food so that the T.C.L. men had to depend on what they could shoot to keep their party supplied.

Cookson was a particularly good shot. They reached their immediate destination, Ruwe Hill, where gold had been discovered, on 14th September.

Ruwe Hill, about 18 miles from the Lualaba River, "is the place where Hook and Bolton have found a reef of gold-bearing quartzite. It is nowhere rich but is very constant in its gold. They have done a large amount of work in trenches and shafts in the five weeks they have been here."

The region was rich in copper and several mines had been started. At Chimwenlu the mine was "remarkable for the richness of some quartz and malachite" and the mine at Dihurwe "seems a very good one". The best was at Kolwezi. "It is a very rich mine which has been worked by the natives to an enormous extent. There is one very rich seam of almost pure malachite in a soft sort of sand which has been worked for about 200 yards about 10 ft. deep and 20 wide."

The lack of food for themselves and their "boys" was becoming a serious problem, and Cookson constantly refers to it. On 20th September he records: "We are hard up for food for our boys and meat for ourselves." Game was scarce and some of the native chiefs were not very co-operative.

On the 23rd, for example, "we halted at Wapefia's village at midday. Hook knew him very well and so expected to get lots of food and guides from him. He came and saw us after lunch and went back to bring food, as we thought. We waited some time but he didn't come, so we went on past his village, which was quite close. He refused to give either guides or food, but Hook told him he would split his head if he didn't give us guides. We had great trouble in getting them to show us the way, but we finally came to the Kamowa River, a tributary of the Lufupa, where we camped." They dynamited the river to try to get fish owing to the shortage of meat, but only got some small ones.

The next day they reached Lupundu's village. "We had a long talk with the chief about supplies of food and carriers. He has just changed his village and his gardens have not yet grown up, so he is short of food. He said he would talk about men when we return in two or three days' time.

"His village and Wapefia's are both stockaded and all the men have muzzle-loading guns with the stocks covered with brass-headed nails. Lupundu brought us some *moa* (beer), and as is the custom the chief always drinks first to show that it is not poisoned. He is a Walundu, who were the original inhabitants of the country. It is the custom never to drink in the presence of women. Some of his women were behind us, so he told them to lie down and not to look. He then found there were two women of our own men near, so we had to cut some calico to put over his head while he drank.

"A man came in while we were talking, and after the usual greeting by clapping hands he took a little sand in his hands and rubbed it on his chest and arms to show his obedience to the chief, a sort of T gravel to you'."

The region was well served with rivers and streams and Cookson and Hook prospected each of them in the hope of finding gold. In the Katonto they got gold in nearly every pan and concluded that it was "a likely stream as on either side are outcrops". The Dzilala was an even more likely prospect for they found gold for a mile up the river. "There has been a lot of native copper smelting on

this stream and we got lots of copper shots and slag in each pan. The slag is particularly rich in copper and if there was any quantity of it it would be very valuable. There is also a large quantity of iron in the Dzilala."

It was poor game country, however, and they were still plagued by the food problem. They gave their boys 1½ yards of calico each to search the surrounding villages for food, calico being the recognised form of payment. They were away four days and to Cookson's relief returned with supplies, which Cookson managed to supplement with three hartebeeste which he shot on a dambo so that, for the time being, the position was easier.

They could do little work with the boys away and Cookson had time to indulge his passion for butterflies. He found some good specimens and on 6th October recorded the capture of a "big blue and black swallow tail".

The rains were due at any time and were heralded on the 7th by a "most enormous hail and thunder storm. There was a good lot of thunder and the hail was something extraordinary, many without exaggeration one inch long. They broke leaves, twigs and even branches off the trees. Most of the hailstones were oblong and egg-shaped and were made of clear ice on the outside with a white centre." The storm lasted about 45 minutes and the temperature dropped sharply.

They spent some days at the Dzilala trenching and exploring for further signs of gold, but on the whole the results were disappointing. Their route took them in a wide circle back towards Ruwe Hill, where the main gold strike had been found, and as they got closer they found more promising signs of the metal. Their work was severely hampered by heavy rains, but they kept doggedly on. Life was pretty monotonous and Cookson records with great satisfaction receiving mail from England, the first news of the outside world he had had in three months.

Late in October they found good indications of gold on a hill to the north of Ruwe, and pegged the reef. They celebrated their find with a bottle of champagne which Cookson had brought from Kambove and a plum pudding that Hook had. When they poured some whisky over the pudding and set it alight, they caused consternation among their camp boys.

At the end of October Hook left on his way to Bulawayo, a trek of 1,000 miles, and hoped to get there before Christmas. Cookson was instructed to join C. J. Jocks, an experienced Congo hand, at Dihurwe and map the district while Jocks did the prospecting and handled the natives.

Cookson was not only a keen naturalist, but also a keen photographer. At a village he took some photographs of the girls. "We had great difficulty in getting them to stand. Their dress is very scanty, consisting of beads chiefly, with a flap of calico in front and behind. Many of them had covered themselves with oil and were quite shiny. The girls are generally of a lighter colour than the men; they are very fat and of medium height. Most of them have copper bracelets and anklets."

The villages in this area were ruled by the chief, Kawewe, and were all strongly stockaded. They lived in constant fear of attack by the notorious Berenje, who had given Kawewe an ultimatum—either supply a number of

slaves, or fight. Kawewe's men were ready to fight, but the chief himself was wavering.

Cookson and Jocks did not allow local politics to interfere with their operations. They went on with their mapping and prospecting in the region of the Lubudi River, where they found a village that had been raided and partly burned about three months earlier. The villagers had very little food, and none to spare for the white men. Many of the men were armed with bows and arrows.

"The arrows are about two feet long and have barbs on one end and feathers on the other. The bows are about three feet long and the strings are made of cane split down the centre."

The Berenje threat receded. When they reached Kawewe's main village the chief told them the Berenje were a long way off to the north, but were troubling his outlying villages, which were unable to protect themselves. Some time earlier Kawewe and another chief, Kazembe, had joined forces and marched towards the Berenje, but had not seen them. "They say they are awful cowards and won't stand and fight. They believe thoroughly that they are cannibals, but we have an idea they are only raid for slaves."

They had constant trouble with carriers, the *tenga-tenga*. The natives were reluctant to go too far from their villages and the difficulty of engaging successive relays of *tenga-tenga* was a constant worry. They were never able to get enough of them to carry their camping and mining kit, and often those they did get would slip away during the night and leave them stranded. Those that fulfilled their contract were paid in calico, a precious commodity.

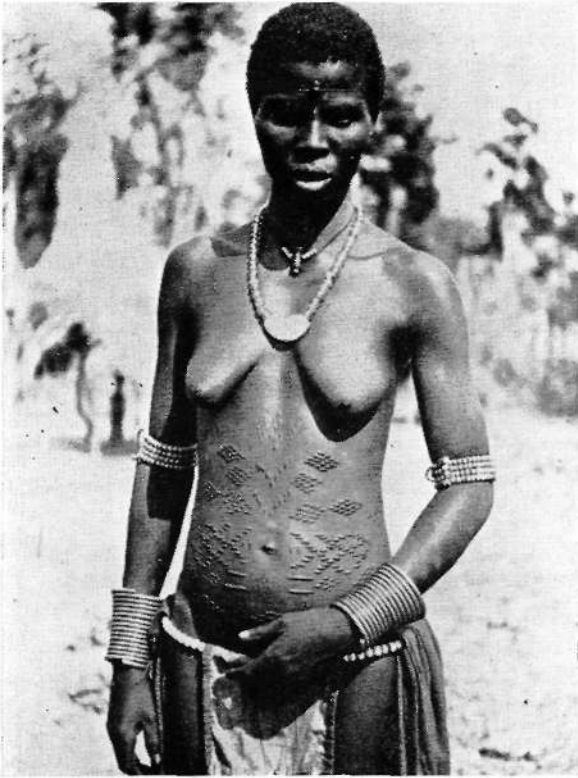
Food was also a recurring worry. Apart from themselves, Cookson and Jocks had to supply their carriers, and in areas where game was scarce they had to depend on what food, in the form of meal and cassava roots, they could get from villages. Frequently their operations were held up while they sent the *tenga-tenga* to different villages to see what they could buy, and often they returned with very little in the way of food and sometimes with nothing at all.

During November they struck a very sticky patch until they reached Chief Kazembe's village on the 24th. Kazembe brought them a goat and two fowls and enough meal to allow the boys two cups each. More welcome still was some green beans, mealies and a little spinach, the first green food they had seen for a fortnight.

They were held up for some days waiting for "our boys" to arrive from Kambove and they spent the time in camp close to Kawewe's village. It gave Cookson an opportunity to observe the local customs. He writes: "Just as we got there (Kawewe's village) some men came in from a village close by and consulted Kawewe about a case of theirs—one man had stolen a gun from another but had returned it, and the owner claimed a slave for all the trouble he had been put to. Kawewe says that as they were 'brothers' he couldn't do more than return the gun. Had they been from different tribes it would have been different."

He also records that on the Sunday (29th November) he made a cake which was a great success. "I have no baking powder, so I used fruit salts."

An illustration of the queer ideas held by the natives: "They told us of a



1904, Buluba woman, near
Lualaba River—Congo.

lake to the north where they say there is a lot of calico. It floats on the surface until anyone tries to get it, when it goes below. They all believe we get our calico from the sea."

Early in December they found themselves among the Balubas at a village called Kalasa. "Kalasa is a very old village and the Balubas live in huts entirely made of grass, shaped like a dome, with a small porch... On the way we several times saw men and women running away, but our guide from Kawewe blew two notes on a whistle made from a small buck's horn, and they at once stopped. This whistle, which Jocks says is also used by the Barotse, is a sign of peace and welcome."

Further on, at Sohele, which was the largest village he had so far seen, Cookson had an opportunity to study the people. "Both men and women are larger and finer than the other natives we have seen. They wear very little—the men in skins or cloth if they have it, the women a square of about 4 inches in front and a little behind. They do their hair rather nicely. The men do it in rounded balls, one above each ear, one on the top and one or two behind.

"The village has a large ditch around it, with the mud from it heaped up into the stockade, which is strong and overgrown with a green creeper. In the bottom part of the stockade, through the mud, are small loopholes for shooting."

The chief, Sohele, told them that he intended sending for the Belgians to come and fight the Berenje, who were bothering him.

After a day or two the women lost their shyness. "They are not so timid as they were and now many come to our camp to see us. When we went into the village we were surrounded by people looking at us, their first white men. We were struck by the number of women and children."

They found evidence of Berenje depredation in the vicinity of the Lubudi River, where they examined two villages that had been raided and burned by them. "The Berenje, during the last three months, have raided all the villages down the Lubudi."

They lost one of their carriers through snake-bite on 17th December in the vicinity of the Kator River. "We were going up a hill from the Kator River all close together. Jocks and I were in front when we heard the *tenga-tenga* shout and run. It appeared that one boy had stepped on a snake, which he avoided. The snake went down hill and bit the next boy on the inside of his thigh. I at once made a tourniquet of my handkerchief, cut the fang marks, of which there were four, and put in potassium permanganate which I had on me.

"The wound did not swell at all for 20 minutes, so we thought he was all right and wanted to go on. But the boy couldn't, so we had to camp. He got very shaky and sweated profusely. I gave him some whisky, which at once made him sick. He got worse, so I injected two charges of anti-venom. About 4 p.m. he still seemed very bad, so I injected one more charge, and now (7.30 p.m.) he seems if anything to be better. He complains of his head going round and round, and he felt a pain in his midriff and neck. When he looked his worst his lips and face seemed very swollen and lifeless.

"The natives consider the snake deadly; it was very large, but we did not see it. I have given directions that he be kept warm by fires, one in front of him, one behind and one at his feet."

The carrier died at sunrise the following morning. "As soon as he died the boys shoved his knees into his stomach and covered him over. They say he came into the world in this position, and he must go out of it in the same way."

They were still having great difficulty in getting additional carriers to take them on from village to village. Many of them were pressed unwillingly into service and absconded at the first opportunity, usually during the night, often leaving their guns, bows and arrows behind them, so that in the morning the two white men would find themselves stranded. Cookson wrote to George Grey asking that they be recalled or alternatively given enough carriers to make them independent of village recruitment.

"We can't go on like this any longer. All my Lufupa boys want to go now—they say they will run away if we don't release them. The reason we can't get boys is that they have all the cloth they want."

Christmas Day of 1903 was spent prospecting in the Mutendele River and was notable for the discovery in one pan of a crystal which Cookson thought was undoubtedly a diamond. "It is a small, very bright, shining crystal, cubic system, 32 facets." Jocks had found gold in the Mutendele and some very heavy stone which they thought might be tin. The finding of the diamond excited them

and they went on panning throughout the day and so had no Christmas dinner. But they found no more diamonds in spite of an intensive search of the Mute-ndele and neighbouring streams.

31st December was "Mother's birthday". Harold Cookson celebrated it by having the dinner he should have had on Christmas Day—"chicken soup, goats, liver and vegetables—beans, potato chips, cucumber and mixed dried vegetables.—plum pudding and whisky".

In broken country overlooking the Lualaba Valley they found extensive indications of tin in a number of streams and traced it to a large outcrop which was rich in both tin and mica. They spent most of January 1904 digging cuttings in all directions to determine the way the reef ran. They sent samples and reports to head quarters at Kambove, and went on prospecting and sampling over a wide area which yielded good results. In a particularly promising area, Cookson estimated that "taking an area of tin two miles long at 4 per cent tin and tin worth £80 a ton, the value works out at £669,000".

Harold Cookson's main relaxation was the collection of butterflies. It helped to relieve the harsh conditions under which he had to live and work—the tedious business of prospecting, the uncertainties of their food supply, the vagaries of their native helpers, the unpredictable attitudes of the local chiefs. He was always on the alert for new specimens, and throughout his diaries he records his pleasurable excitement at finding them.

On 3rd March, for instance, he "caught one of the big white Swallowtails, a perfect specimen, and also another new one". He was horrified a couple of evenings later, as he was looking through his collection, to find "two bugs at one of my best big ones". He spent the whole of Sunday morning putting his specimens in the sun "and covering the boxes well with arsenical soap and carbolic".

In Katanga he found a number of new species hitherto unknown to science and many of them were named after him—"Cooksonii".

He was interested in all aspects of natural history. In the vicinity of the Lualaba, where he caught "another of the fine swallow-tailed white and black butterflies", he noticed a lot of flying white ants in front of the camp.

"Hundreds of birds of all sorts were catching them—black hornbills with white bellies and red bills; black honey suckers with a lovely copper shine; a fine tawny pipit; a roller with two long tail feathers each with a tuft at the end; a red and black sort of bunting; willow wrens and swallows; and a small black and grey bird with an enormously black long tail."

Cookson was still having great difficulty getting the natives he wanted to help with the prospecting work, such as digging cuttings, and carrying his equipment. His entry for 23rd March, 1904, records that when Jocks and he left camp that morning they had nine boys each. He outdistanced his carriers to the Lufupa and crossed the river and then waited for them to catch up. After waiting some time he learnt that six of his nine boys had bolted.

"I had to send the boys back as they came in and finally got all my loads in except the theodolite. It began to rain just as I got my tent pitched. Tomorrow I will send Nyampara and Mukabe (members of his permanent staff) to Chama-

sunga and another small village close by to get boys. Trouble again with boys—I'm sick of it."

The next day he managed to get six boys from the nearby village of Myewa, and on the 25th 17 "good boys from Chamasunga. I sent six to bring the picks and shovels from Kaputi and five to our camp at Busanga to bring back all our loads. The boys from Myewa returned in the evening with six loads and some fowls."

He was worried about two more of his permanent staff, named Blantyre and Puinagiswa, who were out trying to recruit labour, obtain food supplies and noting the mineral characteristics of the country they passed through. They were now ten days overdue. The next day Blantyre arrived with ten boys for him and he learned that Puinagiswa had taken 15 boys to Jocks, so they had done well. Blantyre reported that they had found tin at a hill called Kipoti, five days north of Busanga, and he produced specimens. He said there were four large hills covered with loose quartz close to the Lubudi River, and no white man had been there.

Cookson started off next day to examine the find, and climbed steadily to close on 4,000 ft. "The air here is wonderfully different to that at Chamasunga and the low country. Although the temperature was 85 degrees it felt cool and bracing. It makes me feel far more energetic." But in spite of the climate the hills' mineral properties were not impressive, and so he went on to Ruwe, where the party's main mining activity was centred on alluvial gold.

Because of the rains and the difficulties of movement in the bush, George Grey decided that they should stay at Ruwe and engage in ordinary mining work for a while. Harold Cookson's job was to do the alluvial prospecting and washing.

Life was pretty uneventful for the next couple of months, until on 5th May Cookson received a letter from George Grey saying that he had had a cable from London reporting that the diamond Cookson had found was of the finest quality and suggesting that it should be followed up.

Shortly afterwards he had his first contact with the advance elements of the new Belgian administration of Katanga. He was prospecting and mapping at Kolwezi when he heard from Mr. Grey that "there are a lot of Belgians coming here (to Ruwe) and also 60 askaris and a white man to establish a fort at Kazembe."

A week later Cookson visited Ruwe and found that two Belgians, Baillon and Lemoor, had arrived during the morning. "They brought 60 askaris to establish a new fort at Kazembe, and they also brought in some natives chained round the neck whom, they said rather evasively, they had taken 'dans la guerre'. I didn't see the Belgians, but Caley said they looked most disreputable. They planted two blue and yellow flags in front of the store!"

With the end of the rains, Grey divided his little band into two parties to continue their search for payable minerals, particularly copper and gold. Before they left Ruwe they had a party—"Sandham, Caley, Adams, Blane, Jocks, Eriksson, Constable and myself had a great dinner—lots of gin! All the boys came afterwards and danced."

Cookson's companion was Sandham, who was suffering from fever which meant that the daily marches had to be kept short. Two days and some 25 miles after leaving Ruwe they came across their first sign of the reaction of the local population to the new Belgian administration. "May 31—We came on only five miles and camped at Chamasumba. I was some way in front and found no one in the village when I got there. I told my two boys to call for the people to return, and in about 15 minutes they came in. They had run away from the Belgians."

They reached the Mtendele River on 2nd June, established camp and rigged up a sorting table beside the river to continue the hunt for diamonds. Sandham's fever got worse and he was little help in the monotonous task of sorting the gravel. Cookson did the sorting himself, day after day for two full weeks, but found not a trace of diamonds. During this time an old back complaint returned and he worked in considerable discomfort. But this did not prevent him, in his off-duty moments, from pursuing his favourite recreation of hunting for butterflies, of which he found several unusual specimens. He also caught a chameleon "which turned colours so wonderfully that I have got it in a box alive in camp.

"It turned from a livid green to a darker green covered with intense black spots, to a brown and yellowish colour. It has an enormous mouth and gullet, and when I stir it up with a stick it inflates itself and blows the air out with a hiss. Its feet are particularly funny. It has four claws on its forefeet divided into two sets of two each. Its eyes move independently of each other—one will look behind and the other to the front."

He also noted how his native helpers caught moles in traps. "They get a piece of bark off a branch without cutting the bark and above this they put a bendy piece of wood in the ground as a spring. This spring is connected to the hollow bark by two pieces of bark string; one goes through the bark. The mole eats through it and releases the other string, which has a noose in it and catches the mole.

"The trap has to be set so that the mole enters it from the correct side. When they find a moles' nest the boys make a path up to it for about five yards by clearing away the grass, etc. This is so that they can return quietly up to it and hit the nest, which is just under the surface, with a big stick and so kill the mole."

They were preparing to move on when Sandham's hunting boy reported that the natives had left their villages near the Lubudi River because the Berenje were on the warpath again. "They say they have killed and eaten four men and that they are coming as far as the Lufupa. So our going tomorrow will be put down to our running away from the Berenje again."

Sandham was still very ill, so Cookson made a machila to carry him the 23 miles to Chamasunya, which they reached on the evening of 20th June. At Chamasunya were two Belgian officials, Commandant Jacques and M. Kionde, who were surveying "for a new railway to go through the best mineral district, the starting point being the highest navigable point on the Lualaba.

"Jacques has a splendid outfit—big tent, china plates, glasses, champagnes, wines, etc. We told him about the Batetele (Berenje?) crossing the Lubudi, and

he wrote to Lemoor at the new Kazembe post to ask if he could give him some askari as he is going down the Lualaba. He says the Wambundu have joined the Batetele and are coming to the salt marsh near Ruwe for salt. I wonder if it's true. He says they attacked Sohele and killed seven of his men, but I think if they can't take Sohele they can't be very strong."

The Belgians treated the two Englishmen most hospitably, but after consuming whisky, claret and champagne they did not feel too well next day. They recuperated in camp until 2 p.m. and then moved on only eight miles.

They were in the vicinity of the Musonoi River on 25th June when a boy arrived with a bicycle and a request from C. Grey for Cookson to come in to Ruwe as soon as possible. He left immediately after lunch and saw his first bull sable.

"After going about seven miles I suddenly heard a snort and saw a fine bull sable antelope running away in the bush. I jumped off the bicycle and followed it. On looking round an anthill I saw it about 150 yards off, and shot it behind the shoulder with a split bullet. It ran about 60 yards and fell. It was a perfectly magnificent buck and in fine condition. It had a grand head 39½ inches long and very thick, and its mane was very long. It was a fine dark brown and its shape was that of a thoroughbred animal—fine shoulders and small feet. It is the first I have ever seen."

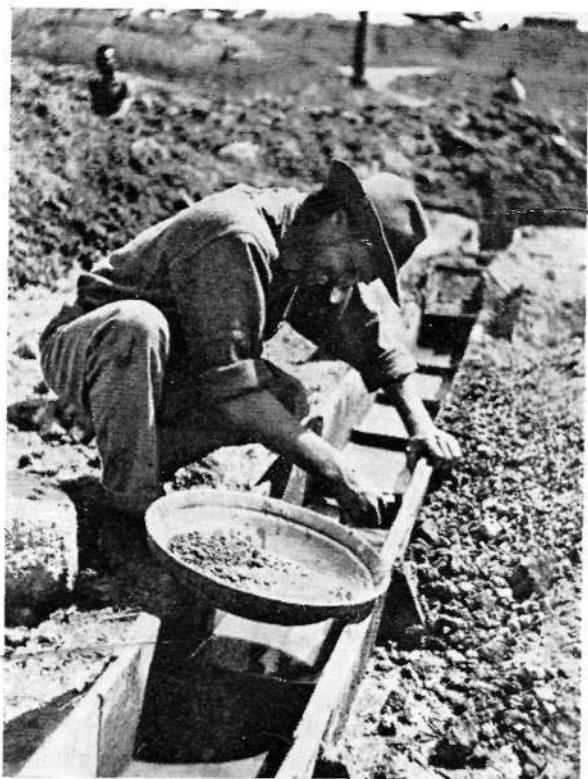
When he got to Ruwe he found Grey excited at having recovered 53 oz. of gold in one day's washing—the record so far.

He returned to his camp and continued panning various streams for gold. He got colours in most of them, but nothing definite—slow, tedious work in which Sandham, still very ill with fever, was unable to help him. After a few days Sandham improved considerably and they decided to prospect their way to Chamasunga and then on to the Belgian post to check on the state of the area.

"July 7: We went to the new Belgian fort of Kazembe, where we found only one Belgian called Lieber, who had fever and couldn't speak English so I was reduced to Swahili. He says Lemoor returns tomorrow. The fort is situated on the north bank of the Mushishi and has a nice view to the south, but in the wet season I should imagine it would be unhealthy and wet."

The next morning he met Lemoor returning from Dimina on the Lufupa and learnt that "a Belgian expedition is coming from the north-west towards here with the object of driving the Batetele in this direction, while Baillon in seven or eight days is coming with 200 askaris and two guns to intercept them. So Lemoor says it isn't safe for us to go to the Mwizi river, and gave us a letter to that effect to give to Mr. Grey. We will prospect about Chamasunga till Baillon arrives and then ask if we can return. Lemoor says the expedition to the north-west, which is under Capt. Dormaire, has been fighting and that the Batetele attacked a white man at Mtumba Mhula."

Cookson's principal African assistant, Blantyre, had been scouting around the villages trying to recruit more helpers, but he returned alone on the night of the 14th. "He says most of the villagers have run into the bush from the Batetele and that the Batetele five days ago robbed one of Blane's ulendos of



1904. C. Grey at alluvial gold site at Ruwe, Congo.

food which they were taking to Ruwe at a village to the west of Mnanga. He says they are all this side of the Lubudi."

They went on to the Belgian post at Kazembe and saw Baillon. "He says the Batetele have gone back and it is quite safe for us to return to the Mutendele. He had 100 askari at Kazembe and 100 more were on the way. He says Dormaire is a long way to the north by west, but they will join forces."

Because of Sandham's intermittent attacks of fever, they moved slowly, prospecting for tin and gold in the various streams, but without finding anything important. They reached the Mutendele on the 25th, where they found the mopani bees "dreadful and make eating worse than ever."

"Another of Sandham's boys is very sick. He started with a bad knee and now it has gone up to his throat and he can't eat or even speak. It is curious—two of Sandham's boys have died from the same complaint: pains in legs going to arms with throbbing, then to stomach and then death. Many boys have been sick, but *no Baluba*. Can they be poisoning the other boys?"

Puinagiswa, a former *capitao* (head boy) of Jocks who had attached himself to Harold Cookson, reached the camp the next day with a sorry tale. "He says that the Berenje took all his loads of food and some beads and calico as they were going to Ruwe, and killed three boys and took one boy. They ate them all."

To make matters worse, Mwenda, Sandham's *capitao*, complained of sore

neck, throbbing arms and bad knees (the same symptoms as the boys who had died). "We gave him mustard and water. It made him sick and loose, and now he is much better. The boy who was sick yesterday died last night."

Their main mining task around this period was to search for diamonds. Day after day the laborious task of washing river gravel went on as they worked their way slowly from stream to stream flowing into the Mutendele, until at last Sandham was satisfied. "He thinks we have proved conclusively that there are no diamonds, or indications of diamonds, from our first camp on this river to its source, so tomorrow we start back to its mouth."

But the mouth of the Mutendele was equally unproductive. On 12th August they abandoned the search for diamonds and went four miles south to a creek where they had earlier found prospects of tin. But this was a disappointment, also, and they moved on.

The Batetele were still giving trouble and the Belgian forces seemed unable to subdue them. Cookson sent his boys to Chamatambu's village to buy food and they returned bursting with news. "They say the Belgians have returned from the Batetele (country) and only took 30 prisoners. They say the askari were afraid and wouldn't fight, so Mwenda's boys did the fighting. They also say the Belgians themselves were afraid. They took and burnt one village only. They say the Batetele are now going back to fight Sohele, and after that they will attack Kazembe and Ruwe! I hope they won't stop us going to the Lubudi (river)."

As they moved from village to village they picked up more "bush telegraph" about the operations. "The people here (Ndomboli's village) say that Baillon is returning with many more askari and another Belgian to Lemoor, whom he left with some askari in the Batetele country, and that Dormaire has gone to fight Sohamtanda. I hope it is true, otherwise we may be troubled again by the Batelele. They also say that Kawewe himself has gone with a lot of his men to help the Belgians."

While the Belgians were trying to pacify the country, Cookson and his new companion, Rogers, pursued the slow, tedious job of prospecting the streams. The Mushushi River gave some good panning results for gold and tin. "So we camped. Along the banks of the river was a lot of alluvial wash and in some of this we got an odd colour." They decided to sluice the gravel, and made a bark sluice.

"In our first wash we got only about 15 pieces of gold about the size of a pin head and also a little tin, but not enough of either to pay. Our second wash was from a hole lower down the river, and in it we got only about 10 specks of gold. So evidently the gravel just here is no gold."

They were still searching for the elusive diamonds, slowly, painstakingly probing every likely geological formation, but with no success. They were still battling with the perennial problem of shortage of food. Game was fairly plentiful and Cookson was a good shot, but they needed more than meat. Other foods were short because of the depredations of the Batetele and the Berenje, and this also interfered with their labour supply. The local natives were afraid to move far from their villages, and they were continually short of helpers. On

Sunday, 23rd October, they found themselves at Sanana's village, and decided to return to the Mwoyizi River to finish the hunt for diamonds.

"October 24: Just as we were leaving Sanana we heard that the Batetele had burnt Nyimbayanzi, Mibanga and the village where I left the goat (a good milker) and that Sohele is at Mtenta. The Batetele are evidently running from Lemoor. Sanana's people asked me to write to the Belgians, so I sent in two boys with a note to them: We camped at Zhimya and found all the people from Nyimbayanzi were here, having run away from the Batetele. They are evidently very close and I hope to God they don't come tonight. Tomorrow we will get to Busanga to the others (members of the prospecting party) and will then be fairly strong.

"October 25: We went about 15 miles and camped at Zhimya. At Kasongo were many natives who had run away from the Batetele, and there were also several at Zhimya . . . The two boys whom I sent to Kazembe Poste were caught by some Waluba at Kazembe near the Lufupa and tied up. One of them escaped and told us about it.

"The Batetele didn't come during the night. At 3 a.m. I was up and by 4.30 we were on the march by moonlight. Our 12 Baluba ran away during the night and I had some trouble arranging the loads. We arrived at Busanga about 8.30 a.m., having come about 14 miles. We found Adams, Harrison and Dominic there. They are building a new camp near Hole 17, the rich hole, and intend to make two dams to catch water.

"October 26: We left Busanga and went 20 miles to Kazembe Poste, where we found Lemoor, Commandant Defonse and a corporal. They kindly gave us a room to sleep in, the first time I've slept under a roof for 15 months! They also asked us to dinner and gave us champagne, etc. We reported about the two boys being caught and at once Defonse sent five askari to bring the remaining boy in.

"October 27: Left Kazembe Poste and camped on the Luila River, about 12 miles on. Before we left Defonse showed us on a map what they are going to do about the Batetele. There are going to be nine new posts—one at Kasonga on the Chahama River (50 askari and one Belgian), one at Kawewe (125 men and two officers), another 30 or 40 miles north (100 men and one officer), and at other places. Luhafu will be moved to Bunhcia shortly to be more central, Tenki is abandoned and the new poste is between Kambove and Kanshansi. So I hope the Batetele will shortly be all gone. There are now at Kazembe one man and 100 askari who are going on in a few days to establish the first poste. Rogers and I are returning to the Mwongezi River to try for diamonds again now that the rains have come."

The area around the Mwongezi proved to be deficient in diamonds, but it was rich in game, particularly hippo. Cookson shot four hippo and reedbuck on the morning of 3rd November and was able to send a good supply of badly-needed meat to Ruwe.

One of the men at Ruwe, Blane, gave him the latest news on the political situation in a letter which Cookson received on 9th November: "Sokamtanda (a Batetele chief) is rampant. Returned to Congo territory with many of the old chiefs and men. Rumour states that he wants to have his revenge on Kazembe

Poste. From the north comes the news that Kawewe and Sohele have been burnt down . . . The Batetele are in two forces now, one on either side of Sanhuni River. Comdt Defonse is stationed at Kaimbe Nuhulu and states that he will not leave the district until a European with a good force is stationed there and a new post opened. He has 150 men or so. Lemoor has 300 or so. I believe that between them they have 300 men. A Sergeant Daconet from Lomani district is near Kawewe's with 60 soldiers. Jacques has gone north via Chamatamba. So there is quite a lot of talk flying around." Cookson adds: "Tonight my *capitao* told me the Batetele were at Wapepa. God grant they don't come to Ruwe, for I'm sure no preparations will have been made."

At sunset the next day, however, a runner arrived from Ruwe with another letter from Blane playing down the sensational news given earlier. "I expect it has mostly been a false alarm," Cookson recorded.

Owing to illness among the company's staff, Cookson spent the next fortnight at Ruwe looking after the store and helping at the sluices. He was back in the field in early December, with the rains at their height. He and Rogers were on their way to Busanga to buy food and shoot meat when he saw the other side of the coin in the conflict between the Belgians and the Batetele.

"December 8: It rained most of the night. We got off about 6.45 when it was still very misty and damp. All the grass and trees were sopping wet. We passed Chamasumba which, when I passed it on our last march, was a fine, big flourishing village, but now has not a soul in it.

"All have been driven away by the Belgian askari who, against all the laws of the country, are allowed to go about with rifles without a white man (in control), and they rob the natives of their food. In some cases they flog the boys, as I know, because they caught a boy of mine whom I got at that village and because he wouldn't give them some meat I had given him, they flogged him and took the meat from him."

At Busanga the company was erecting a large camp to explore the mineral prospects of the area. "They have not even begun work on the dams to collect the water for sluicing and have put all their labour into making themselves comfortable, and they have succeeded. Billin (the man in charge) is making an enormous home—a dining room, a bedroom, a bathroom and a store room!"

From Busanga Cookson went on to Vundavyabu in search of food and game, but was disappointed in both. The Lualaba was singularly lacking in hippo, and the natives seemed to be so well supplied with cloth and beads that they were not keen to sell their meal.

Harold Cookson celebrated his 28th birthday on 17th December, and the next day his luck changed. "We left Vundavyabu about 7.15 a.m. with the chief and one of his men who acted as guide. We followed the Lualaba for about 9½ miles and passed through some good game country, with lots of spoor of puku, waterbuck, duiker and bushbuck. We came on about six waterbuck whose spoor I followed a long way, and finally put up a calf waterbuck which I shot, so now we are once more in meat."

They also heard hippo blowing in the Lualaba and he shot five of them. They all floated in about half an hour, and they recovered three of them at the

crossing at the village that night. The fourth hippo was secured at the village of Mbebe, about ten miles away, where it had floated downstream. The three hippo yielded 30 loads of meat, which were exchanged for meal, and the fourth at Mbebe resulted in another 30 bags of meal, so that when Christmas Day arrived he was well off for food. Vundayabu had made pombe and he celebrated Christmas with ample supplies of food and beer. The Baluba put on a dance—"it is all movement at the hips and they circle round and round the tom-toms"—and he had plum pudding for dinner.

(To be continued)

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 all be consulted at the National Archives.—Editor.)

BARNES, J. A. *Politics in a changing society: a political history of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*. 2nd ed. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1967. x, 245 pages, plates, maps. 40s. 6d.

A sociological analysis of political developments from 1821 to 1949.

BINNS, C. T. *Dinizulu: the death of the House of Shaka*. London, Longmans, 1968. xiii, 306 pages, plates, map. 48s. 3d.

Dinizulu's "unfortunate life . . . saw the final clash between a great dynasty and Victorian imperialism, marked by the usual trail of blood"—dustjacket description.

CLAY, GERVAS. *Your friend, Lewanika: the life and times of Lubosi Lewanika, Litunga of Barotseland, 1842 to 1916*. London, Chatto and Windus, 1968. 108 pages, plates, maps. (*Robins series, no. 7.*) 69s.

A comprehensive biography based largely on primary sources in the National Archives of Rhodesia and in the Zambian Archives.

Dictionary of South African biography, v.1. Editor-in-chief: W. J. de Kock. Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel, for the National Council for Social Research, 1968. 80s.

This is the first part of a multi-volume work which will eventually contain biographies of over 3,500 South Africans who made significant contributions to their country's history. New volumes, each consisting of some 550 entries, will be released whenever sufficient biographies have been compiled, and a comprehensive index will be issued at the conclusion of the main series, to cover "professions, activities and even the chronological order of the careers dealt with".

The editorial policy will allow the inclusion of many names associated with Rhodesian history. For example, this first volume includes those of Robert and John Smith Moffat, Thomas Baines and Lord Baden-Powell.

MCMAGH, KATHLEEN. *A dinner of herbs, being the memoirs of Kathleen McMagh*. Cape Town, Purnell, 1968. 200 pages, plates, 35s.

A sub-title on the cover describes this book as "a period in South African history from the 1800's to the early 1900's". The author's father, and two of her uncles, were involved in the Jameson Raid, one of the latter being Charles Leonard, chairman of the Uitlanders' Transvaal National Union.

MARQUARD, LEO. *The story of South Africa*. (3rd rev. ed.) London, Faber, 1968. 272 pages, plates, maps. 36s.

This revision of a well-established concise history brings the story up to 1967.

MARSHALL, CHARLES BURTON. *Crisis over Rhodesia: a skeptical view*. Baltimore, Maryland; John Hopkins Press, 1967. viii, 75 pages. 14s.

"The focus of inquiry is whether the application of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia represents a justifiable . . . use of the Security Council's powers"—publisher's introduction. The author's conclusion is that it does not.

MEIRING, JANE. *Thomas Pringle: his life and times*. Cape Town; Balkema, 1968. 186 pages, plates, 33s. 9d.

Probably best known in South Africa as the poet who wrote *Afar in the desert*, Pringle in his time was well known in many circles other than literary. In this book the author gives a full account of his varied career as librarian, journalist, and secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

MENZIES, SIR ROBERT GORDON. *Afternoon light: some memories of men and events*. London, Cassell, 1967. x, 384 pages, plates, 48s. 3d.

The Rhodesian question is dealt with on pp. 215-27.

PIKE, JOHN G. *Malawi: a political and economic history*, viii, 248 pp., map. 45s.

A concise history of the country from pre-Colonial times to the present day.

RANGER, T. O. *Aspects of Central African history*. London, Heinemann, 1968. 20s.

This book consists of papers presented at the 1967 conference on Central African history held at Dar-es-Salaam. Chapters of particular Rhodesian interest are those on the Mutapa political system, the nineteenth century in Rhodesia, and African politics in twentieth-century Rhodesia.

REYNOLDS, BARRIE. *The material culture of the peoples of the Gwembe valley*.

Manchester, Manchester University Press, on behalf of the National Museums of Zambia, 1968. xiv, 262 pages, illustrated, plates, folded map. 60s. (*Kariba studies*, v. 3.)

A study of the Valley Tonga.

SELOUS, FREDERICK COURTENAY. *A hunter's wanderings in Africa*. New York, Arno Press, 1967. (4), xvii, 454 pages, plates, folded map. 94s. 6d.

SELOUS, FREDERICK COURTENAY. *Travel and adventure in Southeast Africa*. New York, Arno Press, 1967. (6), xviii, 503 pages, illustrated, plates, folded map. 101s. 6d.

Facsimile reprints of two much sought-after works of Rhodesiana.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A Survey Compiled by Miss A. J. McHarg

Ships Monthly (London)

"As a child J. W. Fairfax-Francklin sometimes crossed the Zambezi at night with showers of sparks from the towering stack blowing away into the darkness." In *Ships Monthly*, vol. 3, no. 6, June 1968, he has written a vivid account of the paddle-steamers of the Zambezi introduced originally by the Livingstonia Central Africa Company in 1878. These steamers share some of the aura of romance surrounding their more famous sisters on the Mississippi and the article makes fascinating reading.

Military Review (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas)

A summary by Lewis H. Gann of the military history of Rhodesia is published in the *Military Review*, April 1968, under the title "From Ox Wagon to Armoured Car in Rhodesia". This has also been reprinted in *Assegai: the magazine of the Rhodesian Army*, August 1968. Military tactics and weapons of the pioneers are described and the article includes the Rhodesian involvement in both world wars and surveys the military aspects of Rhodesia in the 1960's.

Military History Journal (Johannesburg)

A most welcome arrival on the periodical literature scene is the new *Military History Journal* published by the South African National War Museum in association with the South African Military History Society. Rhodesia has featured in both of the issues published to date. There is a short article in vol. 1, no. 1, December 1967, on "Early Rhodesia's Weapons" by the National Archives of Rhodesia (reproduced from the *Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa*). "Early Rhodesian Military Units" by E. H. J. Shaw lists these units with brief notes. The second number of the *Military History Journal*, June 1968, has an addendum, under the same title, by Neville Gomme giving further details of these units. Also in the June issue there is an article by Major G. Tylden, "Further notes on Early Rhodesian Military Units and Early Rhodesia's Weapons".

The Rhodesian Nurse (Salisbury)

Launched to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the Rhodesian Nurses' Association, *The Rhodesian Nurse* is the Association's first annual magazine. In this 1967 issue Prof. W. Fraser Ross of the University College of Rhodesia, in an article "Nursing in Rhodesia, past, present and future" concentrates on trends in the current training programme and likely requirements for the future.

Rhodesian Horses (Salisbury)

Planned as an annual, *Rhodesian Horses*, vol. 1, edited by Philip Jonsson, was published in Salisbury by Art Printing Works in 1967. The first issue includes "Racing reminiscences" by Joe MacArthur which recalls a number of

Rhodesian horse racing personalities, an account of "Polo in Rhodesia" by R. O. C. Townsend, which traces the sport from the first general meeting of the Salisbury Polo Club in December 1896 and material on other features of Rhodesian horse-sports.

Detritus (Salisbury)

The 1967 issue of *Detritus*, the Mennell Society Journal published in Salisbury at the University College of Rhodesia contains an article by M. A. Raath, "Notes on an Occurrence of Fossil Bone in the Sipolilo-Musengezi area, Rhodesia". This reports an expedition by members of the society "to investigate the area geologically and paleontologically" to study indications of dinosaur remains in the Zambezi Valley. The author comments that a "preliminary note on a new area can seldom satisfactorily decide the issues, and it is hoped that detailed study of the Sipolilo finds will help to clear away many of (the) question marks".

Africana Notes and News (Johannesburg)

C. Coggin, Librarian of the National Archives of Rhodesia, has contributed an article to the March 1968 issue of *Africana Notes and News* entitled "*The Rhodesian Weekly Review: an early Matabeleland Newspaper*". The article recounts the activities of Charles L. Norris Newman, originator of the newspaper and its successor, the *Rhodesia Weekly Review of Men, Mines and Money*, giving useful bibliographical information on the form and frequency of the issues of these papers, together with relevant background information.

Rhodesia Calls (Salisbury)

In the last issue of *Rhodesiana* an article by R. W. S. Turner on "Rhodesia in Old Maps of Africa" in *Rhodesia Calls* was noted. This attractive journal, produced by the Rhodesia National Tourist Board, has followed this by publishing a series of articles, also by R. W. S. Turner, on "Rhodesia in Books of the past". This represents a bibliography with colourful and informative notes. The series is featured in the March/April and May/June 1968 issues and is to be continued in future issues.

The July/August number of *Rhodesia Calls* commemorates the 75th anniversary of Bulawayo. Generously illustrated, with a number of glowing colour pictures this bumper edition features historical and contemporary Bulawayo. Oliver Ransford, author of the recently published "Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia", has an article entitled "City's Early Days". The story is taken up by the Town Clerk of Bulawayo, E. S. White, in his article, "City's Phenomenal Progress". This progress is emphasised in the illustrations of early and contemporary Bulawayo. A further article covers the historical associations and features of Bulawayo's City Hall, built on the old Market Square which was the site of the laager during the Matabele Rebellion.

Personality (Bloemfontein)

Personality in its issue of 20th June, 1968, includes a short anonymous article of interest, "Adam Renders—the man who discovered Zimbabwe".

La Revue Francaise (Paris)

No. 209, April 1968, of *La Revue Francaise* is devoted to Rhodesia and is accompanied by a supplement, "Tourisme en Rhodesie". The material for this issue was gathered together by Rene Clerc, the *Revue's* Rhodesian correspondent, and includes an article, "Les Orgines Historiques" by Roger Summers. The production of this journal is in the *de luxe* class; lavishly illustrated this issue must have had considerable impact on its French readers and given them an insight into many features of Rhodesian life. The cover is from a Baines painting of the Victoria Falls.

Miroir de l'Histoire (Paris)

Le Comte and la Comtesse de la Panouse feature in an article in *Miroir de l'Histoire* No. 210, June 1967, "Pionniers Francais en Rhodesie" by Wanda and A. Vulliez. This article concludes, as does R. Isaacson's in *Rhodesiana* No. 14, July 1966, by describing the discovery by Madame Odette Guitard that the Comtesse was at that time, in 1964, still alive, aged 92 years.

Rhodesia World Ploughing April 1968 (Salisbury)

The Fifteenth World Ploughing Contest, held in April at Kent Estate, Norton, Rhodesia, brought many overseas visitors to the country. For the occasion the Ploughing Association of Rhodesia produced an "Official Handbook" edited by Peter Dearlove and Alfred Hall and published by Rhodesian Farmer Publications, Salisbury. In an illustrated article, "This is Rhodesia", Tom Nevin "gives a broad outline of the country's historical background and traces its stormy political passage since it was founded 78 years ago".

Annals of the South African Museum (Cape Town)

A. C. Lawton has written a most comprehensive study entitled "Bantu Pottery of Southern Africa" in vol. 49, part 1, September 1967 issue of the *Annals of the South African Museum*. The author writes "The major work on this subject to date is Schofield's 'Primitive Pottery' (1948). Although ethnological studies were used for comparison, the main scope of the work was archaeological and it was felt that a more detailed ethnological study than Schofield had been able to include was needed before this type of pottery disappears." This 440-page study is well illustrated with plates, maps and diagrams.

Rhodesian Property and Finance (Salisbury)

To celebrate the 75th anniversary of the establishment of Store Bros, in Salisbury, *Rhodesian Property and Finance* published a supplement to its August 1968 number featuring a history of the firm and tracing the development of Rhodesian tastes in fashion. Illustrations show the original shop erected in 1893 in Victoria Street, its successor in Manica Road which is still standing, and the present premises. Another photograph shows the Store Bros. Expedition that set out from Mashonaland, taken outside the Johannesburg Branch.

Abbotempo (Amsterdam)

Abbotempo, a publication of Abbott Universal Ltd., includes in Book 3, 1968, an article by Dr. J. Charles Shee of Bulawayo on "The Heart of Cecil

Rhodes". The editor writes "Dr. Shee's fascination with Rhodes's illness was aroused by the knowledge that Rhodes had so many doctors among his personal friends and also by the discrepancies in the reports of his illness that have appeared in various biographies." This is a subject which Dr. Shee wrote about in greater detail in the *Central African Journal of Medicine*, vol. 11, no. 4, April 1965.

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Notes

P.E.N. INTERNATIONAL AND RHODESIANA COMPETITION

The P.E.N. Centre of Rhodesia in collaboration ran a literary competition in which competitors were invited to submit articles of not more than 5,000 words on some aspects of Rhodesian history which has not already been adequately covered, particularly in book form. Competitors could choose their own subjects and three prizes were awarded—£12 12s., £6 6s. and £2 2s. Prize-winning entries were to be considered for publication in *Rhodesiana*.

There were 14 entries. The winners were:

1st—"Lieutenant-Colonel John Anthony Spreckley, C.M.G.—a short biography" by Col. A. S. Hickman.

2nd—"Digger of ditches and dreamer of dreams: the story of Kingsley Fairbridge", by Mrs. C. Mears.

3rd—"Birth of an airline", by J. McAdam.

The other entries for the competition were (not in any order of merit):

"A short dissertation on the by-products of citrus fruit", by J. O'c. McLoughlin

"Travel in the very early days of Rhodesia", by Mrs. J. M. Lloyd.

"Cynthia Stockley", by Miss A. Harris.

"The life and work of Catherine Mabel Langham", by E. K. Preston and D. Stebbing.

"The Kelsey Expedition: Cape to Cairo by motor car, 1913/1914", by Mrs. E. Wilson.

"The quest for white gold", by P. J. O'Hare.

"The Chirozva Case and the subsequent massacre of the Nyanja leaders by the Matabele", by T. Tsodzo.

"Mbiru becomes Mutekedza", by T. Tsodzo.

"African ideas and the Old Testament", by Mrs. F. V. I. McCallum.

"Thomas Baines and his Blue Jacket Journal", by R. A. Jones.

"Extracts and sketches from the letters of Henry Scott Turner, Magistrate of Umtali", edited by Phillippa Berlyn.

MEMOIRS OF D. G. GISBORNE: ERRATA

On page 34 of *Rhodesiana* No. 17 is an error. T. G. Gisborne, the son of D.G., died in 1967 not 1966. The error is regretted.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Hugh Travers Tracey was born in Devon, England, and educated at Monkton Combe School. He came to Rhodesia in 1921 to join his brother Leonard Tracey, farming in the Gutu district and he farmed and mined until 1931. In 1932 he commenced research on African music in Rhodesia on a Carnegie Fellowship Grant. From 1934 to 1947 he was broadcasting in South Africa, being Regional Director, Natal, from 1935. In 1947 Dr. Tracey founded the African Music Society and African Music Research Organisation and from then on made extensive recording tours in central, east and southern Africa. In 1954

he established the International Library of Africa Music which has published numerous recordings of African music including 240 l.p. discs. He has lectured regularly on African music in the United States, Britain and Africa, and in 1966 was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Music at Cape Town University. In 1968 with the support of the Ford Foundation Dr. Tracey has initiated the "Codification of African Music" scheme.

W. D. Gale came to Rhodesia from South Africa close on 40 years ago to join the staff of the *Rhodesia Herald* and has been engaged in journalism and public relations work ever since. For 20 years he was in the Public Service, as Director, Public Relations for Southern Rhodesia and then as Director of Tourist Development for the Federation. He left the service in 1959 and is now back in journalism.

Throughout his long residence in Salisbury Mr. Gale has taken a deep interest in Rhodesia's history and is the author of a number of books on the subject, including *"One Man's Vision"*, *"Heritage of Rhodes"*, *"Zambezi Sunrise"* and *"The Rhodesian Press"*. He is also the author of a couple of historical novels, *"The Hundred Wagons"*, dealing with the Pioneer Column, and *"Black Sunset"*, dealing with the Matabele War.

Mr. Gale is married and has two grown-up daughters. He is chairman of the Rhodesia Centre of P.E.N. International, vice-chairman of the Rhodesian Gunners' Association and is a member of the Marlborough Town Council. He was awarded the M.B.E. in 1951.

RHODESIANA SOCIETY ANNUAL DINNER, 1968

More than 150 members and guests sat down to the second annual dinner of the Rhodesiana Society, held this year in Bulawayo on 1st November, in the Crystal Court of the Grand Hotel. Bulawayo was celebrating its 75th anniversary and the Society's dinner was one of the officially listed functions. The guests included the immediate ex-Mayor and Mayoress, Councillor and Mrs. Kinleyside; Mr. E. White, the Town Clerk, and Mrs. White; and Mr. and Mrs. Owen Somerset. Mr. Somerset is the President of the Rhodesian Pioneers and Early Settlers' Society.

Mr. Peter Gibbs, the Chairman of the Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society—the hosts for the occasion—welcomed the members and guests, and said he was delighted, on behalf of the Matabeleland members, to welcome so many members of the Society from as far afield as Salisbury, Wankie, Banket, Que Que and even Umtali. His own members really appreciated the enthusiasm and interest shown by these visitors in coming all this way. He said that although Bulawayo was celebrating its 75th anniversary, a great deal of the early history of Rhodesia had been enacted in and around Bulawayo much earlier than 75 years ago. He was sure that even the visitors from that later settlement on the banks of the Makabusi would readily acknowledge this.

Mr. Owen Somerset, in proposing the toast to the Rhodesiana Society, said that both his society and the Rhodesiana Society were dedicated to the promotion of Rhodesian history.

"We must not compete in our endeavours," he said. "Your Society binds

people together by presenting a background and better understanding among the people of this country. The scope of our Society, for obvious reasons, is limited, and the time has come when we must work more closely with the Rhodesiana Society. We must work in conjunction with you and act in the interests of the history of our country ..."

Mr. Somerset said that much had been written about the history of Rhodesia from 1890 to 1968, but there was still an enormous background to be investigated. In the Mazoe valley, for instance, he had seen Africans striking steel on quartz for light. This was something the Africans had learnt from the Portuguese a hundred years ago.

"We have much to learn and record," he said, "and we should do this work together for the good of all concerned." He invited the Rhodesiana Society to join with his members on a journey to the Tati goldfields.

Dr. Jimmy Shee, replying to the toast with inimicable Irish blarney, defined what history really was. He said it was possible, by reading through old newspapers in the births and deaths columns, to bring out a lot of useful information. In that way people could tell by the names the era in which certain things had happened. "We are living," he said, "in an extremely interesting era. Children should be asked to write down the day to day happenings, and in forty or fifty years time their writings would figure as a source of history."

Mr. James Foggin, a member of the Executive Committee of the Rhodesiana Society, brought the greetings of his committee and presented two copies of the lovely Atlas of Rhodesia produced and published by M. O. Collins. Ticket numbers were drawn from the Chairman's old hat, and the two winners were Mr. C. A. Waddy and Mrs. F. Bryce Hendrie—both, happily, members of the Rhodesiana Society.

Correspondence

BALLYHOOLY HOTEL

Sir,

With reference to the article "Ballyhooley Hotel" by A. S. Hickman (*Rhodesiana* No. 17, December 1967) I draw your attention to the following extract from "With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force 1896" by E. A. H. Alderson.

"After burning the kraals, we, under the Judge's guidance, struck across country for Balleyhooley (detaching Roach and St. Aubyn with some men to ride along the telegraph wire). On arriving at the store we found King-Horman already outspanned.

"Ballyhooley, which is a sort of Saturday to Monday resort, a Brighton in fact to Salisbury, is another of Mashonaland's pretty places: it was however very nearly the scene of a double murder. Mr and Mrs Orton were living there when the rising broke out. One afternoon, when he was on the farm, and she in the store, the Mashonas came down. Both the Ortons appear to have jumped on horses independently and ridden for Salisbury, and both were heavily fired at as they rode, Mr Orton getting a bullet into the stock of his gun. He reached Salisbury first and reported his wife murdered; she arrived soon after and said that he had been killed.

"Mr Orton was a chemist, and there were evidences of his profession, in the shape of medicated cotton wool, etc., strewn all over the place. He also had a fine collection of guns and rifles, which the Mashonas got.

"I was told that the Ortons' claim for compensation amounted to £5,000."

Alderson was marching to the relief of Salisbury with a force of Imperial Mounted Infantry.

Yours, etc.,

G. H. TANSER.

HENRY BORROW

Sir,

I have read with great interest D. Hartridge's "Henry Borrow, Pioneer and Hero", in *Rhodesiana* No. 18, and appreciate his acknowledgement that I was instrumental in locating the Borrow letters. I do sincerely congratulate Hartridge on his most painstaking and factual expose of Borrow's somewhat complicated character; in spite of the obvious brashness of youth, here revealed, he still remains my outstanding hero of the early years of Rhodesia.

Perhaps I am biased to some extent because we were both Cornishmen and the sons of Cornish rectors, and there is a considerable streak of tribalism in the Celtic character, but I think readers will be interested to hear how I came by Borrow's letters. I am not writing from home and therefore do not have access to my notes, but I think my memory of the events may serve.

For some years I have been collecting biographical material about members

of the Pioneer Corps of 1890 with a view to compiling a book on the lives of those men who served in the Mashonaland Expedition of that year.

I knew from Wills and Collingridge's "*Downfall of Lobengula*" some facts about Borrow and that his father had been rector of Lanivet, a moorland village near Bodmin. I therefore wrote to the local rector, asking for family birth dates, and explaining who I was. Back came a letter starting with the words "Greetings from a fellow-policeman!"* and giving me the Borrow family information, which clarifies the point that Henry John Borrow was indeed born at Lanivet.

My correspondent was Prebendary Gordon Lawes, who had been commissioner of police of the state of Kedah in Malaya, had been taken prisoner by the Japanese, and had taken holy orders after his release. He could not have been more helpful, passing me on to various members of the Borrow family until I got in touch with Mrs. Nancy Harris, now living in Sussex, who was in possession of all her uncle's letters, but at first hesitated to send them to Rhodesia when the Federation broke up and she felt that Southern Rhodesia might not be a safe resting place. She is, as Hartridge says, a daughter of Jack Spreckley and Beatrice Borrow, was born in Bulawayo, and has a great affection for our country. When I persuaded her to part with the letters I assured her they would be in safe hands, and later she agreed they should be handed by me to our National Archives of Rhodesia.

When her parcel arrived it proved to be a real treasure trove. Not only were the letters sorted in neat bundles, but many of them carried their original stamps—for instance letters written by Borrow from "Bug Cottage" in Matabeleland being postmarked at Zeerust in the South African Republic. In fact I hope that V. F. Ellenberger will one day prepare an article on the postal history of these letters. They include letters written during the progress of the Mashonaland Expedition, and his last, written about ten days before his death, is unstamped "On Active Service".

The Borrow family is of Cornish descent. Henry's great uncle was the famous George Borrow who wrote "The Bible in Spain", and his mother was also Cornish, a Kendall, of a family which played a prominent part for Charles I in the English Civil War.

Young Borrow first went to school at Tavistock Grammar School, where Greenfield, who died with him, had also been a pupil. It was only in his last year that he went to Sherborne and he was seventeen when his father took him to South Africa.

In all his actions in the Matabele War of 1893 he showed initiative and courage, and was obviously a born leader, loved and respected by the men who served with him and yet, as Hartridge points out, he had no aspirations for a military career.

His fiancée, Lucy Drake, later became a Mrs. Jackson, who still lives in England, and takes a keen interest in everything which concerns Rhodesia.

I conclude these notes by drawing attention to the pulpit in the Cathedral of St. Mary and All Saints which was dedicated to Borrow's memory by his two

*I was also a policeman.

friends, Frank Johnson and Jack Spreckley, and which bears the following inscription:

"To the Glory of God and in memory of Henry John Borrow. Killed at Shangani December 4th. 1893. *Tu quoque litoribus nostris aeternam moriens famam dedisti.* Erected by his friends F.J. and J.S."

The quotation is from the *Aeneid* of Virgil, translated by a university friend and Latin scholar as "You also by your death have given to our shores eternal fame."

A fitting tribute to an outstanding Rhodesian.

Yours, etc.,

A. S. HICKMAN.

BAOBABS

Sir,

It might interest Mr. G. L. Guy (his article on baobabs in *Rhodesiana* No. 16, July 1967) that there was a small baobab on the left-hand side of the entrance to the Geological Dept. in Salisbury. That is from the main road just inside the fence. It was planted by Gurwood who was an Assistant Government Mining Engineer in about 1945. It was still growing although very slowly when I last saw it about 1958. I wonder if it is still there?

Yours, etc.,

ARTHUR H. MAWSON,
St. Helena.

(*The Geological Dept. has moved and the roads widened since 1958 and the baobab is no longer there.*—Editor.)

P. PIENAAR COMMENTS

Sir,

(i) "Two men also rode out, John Selous and another, to see if any trace could be found of Capt. Williams" (*Rhodesiana* No. 18, July 1968, p. 5). Did they, or anyone else, ever find Williams, or discover what had happened to him?

(ii) I enjoyed *Rhodesiana* No. 18 as much as any I've read. *The Burial of Cecil John Rhodes*, I found particularly enthralling, and the photographs, and the description of the Matopos and the route followed by the cortege, brought a wave of nostalgia to this ex-Rhodesian.

Anent this excellent article, I'm sure many readers would welcome a synopsis of the article *The Ill Health and Mortal Sickness of Cecil John Rhodes* in C.A.J. Med. (1965) (*vide* Notes 2, *Rhodesiana*, No. 18, July 1968, p. 44), particularly since it is by the same meticulous author.

Yours, etc.,

PETER PIENAAR.

Reviews

Bulawayo: historic battleground of Rhodesia by Oliver Ransford. (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema, 1968. 182 pages, 4 colour plates, 81 illustrations, 22 maps., 55s. and 150s.)

Dr. Ransford, we are told in the publisher's note, joined the British Colonial Medical Service, and then lived in Nyasaland both before and after World War II. He served in the R.A.M.C. during the war and took up private practice in Bulawayo in 1947 where he has been ever since. His interests include military history and the archaeology of Europe and Africa, and he is a member of this Society.

This is a book designed for an occasion—the 75th anniversary of the occupation of Bulawayo in 1893—but its publication is itself an occasion; it serves fittingly and handsomely to mark the City's jubilee and it is, in its authority, a most notable piece of Rhodesiana.

The orientation follows the author's personal interests and is expressed in the second part of the title—"Historic battleground of Rhodesia". Statistically, of the 182 pages the first 50 take the story from the early hominids to the outbreak of the Matabele War in 1893, the next 100 carry it to the turn of the twentieth century, and 14 more bring it to the present day.

Thus the emphasis is on placing Bulawayo in its perspective as the "killing-ground" in the Rhodesian story; where in fact the destiny of the country was settled and its future security established. In the words of the author (p. 2) "Bulawayo is essentially a military town: few places of its size can have seen so many battles fought around it", to which perhaps should be added, to make the statement viable, "in so short a span".

In the 1890's Lobengula and the Matabele presence overshadowed Mashonaland and the fortunes of the struggling Company as Boadicea once threatened Roman London. With his departure from the scene and the occupation of his main kraal the rapid development of Matabeleland and ease of access to the south made Bulawayo the commercial capital of the country—Bulawayo grew as Fort Victoria faded. This position of commercial capital lasted until comparatively recently, but later economic trends are outside the scope of this work.

There are other areas of endeavour in which Bulawayo was a battleground which could be mentioned. Coghlan cut his teeth in the Bulawayo Literary and Debating Society and the politics of self-government in 1923 were largely fought from Bulawayo.

Dr. Ransford carries his narrative along with a verve and ease of writing that was seen before in his *Livingstone's Lake* (1966) and *The Battle of Majuba Hill* (1967). The flashes of expression bring home such moments as those of a hesitant patrol feeling its way through streaky moonlit bush, or of a Matabele dawn attack in the Matopos.

This vivid expression supports a major contribution to an understanding of the country's history. The overall effects of the Matabele Rebellion, its course

and its nearly calamitous consequences have not been told or assessed in this manner before. There is a major piece of historical reconstruction which brings to the man in the street the wealth of incident that has dropped from common sight—such episodes for example as that of "Laing's Graveyard", one of the major Rebellion engagements, or the true greatness of Rhodes at initiating peace talks.

The illustrations are lavish and the maps are generous. There is a splendid folding plate reproducing a water-colour of the great dance of 1877 at Old Bulawayo by A. A. Anderson and the black and white plates are apposite and well-chosen, but I have one question mark. A photograph stated to be of Lobengula taken from John Hays Hammond's *Autobiography* (New York, 1935)—has in fact been disputed on a number of occasions. It was the subject of discussion in the correspondence columns of the *Chronicle* in January and February 1936 when "Matabele" Wilson, Alf "Bulala" Taylor and Cooper Chadwick, who all knew Lobengula, denied any likeness, and also that he had never used the Zulu head-ring it depicts. The matter remained indecisive.

The coloured maps and diagrams are notable for their clarity and the device of relating the old scene on to the modern map by overprinting is very successful.

The main narrative is supplemented by an illustrative appendix on the city "then" and "now", the work of C. W. D. Pagden, contrasting 16 scenes in dramatic manner. A second appendix gives a topographical guide to historical sites in and around the city.

The book is aimed at the general reader and not the historical specialist. It should be required reading for all Bulawayans and is desirable reading for all Rhodesians here and abroad.

E. E. BURKE.

History of Central Africa by P. E. N. Tindall. (Longmans, 1968. 330 pages, illustrations, maps.)

What a field this book covers! Mrs. Tindall, a Rhodesian author, has done us a service by going back to the very beginnings of human settlement in this part of Africa as revealed by the archaeologists and then leading us down the centuries to the present day. From the Old Stone Age to the dissolution of the Federation spans a period of thousands of years, yet all the salient features are given in this very handy book of some 330 pages.

The three territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi) are treated as an entity because of their geographical and historical associations. Geographically they are linked by the Zambezi (in the case of Malawi via the Shire) and historically they have known both Portuguese and British influence. And for ten years, of course, they were politically associated in the Federation. The history of any one of them would be incomplete without reference to the others.

Before around 1500 the story is necessarily scanty, but with the penetration inland from the east coast of the Portuguese traders and missionaries, who have left written records, it becomes more detailed.

The Monomotapa dynasty was established in the early fifteenth century in

the vicinity of Mount Darwin by a powerful Karanga chief, Mutota, who consolidated his authority over a wide area and earned the praise name of "Mwene-Mutapa" (interpreted as "Master of the Ravaged Lands"), which the early Portuguese rendered as "Monomotapa". He and his successors ruled north-eastern Mashonaland and much of Mozambique for the next 200 years, until their power was broken by the Rozwi chief, Changamira, and a new dynasty was born.

It was Chamgamira who unwittingly paved the way for the British occupation of Mashonaland some 200 years later. He was hostile to the Portuguese, who were active over a large part of present-day Rhodesia, and destroyed their settlements and many of their forts. In the face of his hostility, and deterred by a number of other factors such as the difficulty of finding enough suitable settlers, the Portuguese withdrew from Mashonaland and concentrated on their Zambezi settlements below Tete and on the coastal region. Mrs. Tindall clearly shows how widespread was the Portuguese penetration before this happened and how close they came to establishing a hold on the interior.

Yet the Portuguese made little impact on the structure of tribal society in Mashonaland. They were too few in numbers to exert any permanent influence, and the Christianity introduced by their missionaries was but a thin veneer that soon disappeared after their departure.

Their withdrawal coincided with a restless wave of Bantu migrations that affected all three territories. The Bemba came from the north-west to establish themselves in Zambia, the Yaos came from the east to dominate parts of Nyasaland, the Nguni invasions from the south that resulted from the rise of Chaka in Natal brought the Ngoni to Nyasaland, the Kololo to Barotseland, the Shangaans to Mozambique and the Matabele to Rhodesia. They were all fierce, warlike tribes who easily subjugated the indigenous tribes.

In the two northern territories the slave trade flourished, thanks to the influence of Arab traders from the coastal regions, but Barotseland and Rhodesia took no part in this nefarious and inhuman traffic. But the whole of Central Africa was an unhappy, blood-soaked region in which no man knew security and death could come with the next dawn.

Then the missionaries came, this time from the south, led by such giants as David Livingstone and Robert Moffat, and a pale light began to disperse the darkness. The devoted work of the L.M.S. missionaries in Matabeleland and of the Universities Mission in Nyasaland may have made little impression on the savagery around them at the time, but they paved the way for the introduction of civilisation and made it possible for men like Harry Johnston in Nyasaland to do their great work of bringing law and order and security to all three territories.

Mrs. Tindall gives a comprehensive survey of the work of the different bands of missionaries, just as she does of the way of life of the Bantu in the nineteenth century. These chapters make fascinating reading and provide a measure against which the later achievements of colonisation can be assessed. The enormous progress made in the living standards of the indigenous people

of Central Africa in less than 100 years cannot be appreciated unless we know the conditions under which they lived before the civilising process began.

It is abundantly obvious that the white man has no cause to feel guilt in the changes he has made to the traditional Bantu way of life. The benefits he has brought within the span of a human lifetime far outweigh the disadvantages of which the African nationalists complain.

From the missionaries the story sweeps on to the remarkable achievements of Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company in the two Rhodesias and the subsequent political developments that led to the federation of the three territories in 1953, and the tragic collapse of the Federation ten years later. The story ends with the dissolution and the partition of the three constituents into separate states. The colonial era which began in the 1880's had come to an end.

The 70 years of European rule had profoundly affected African ways of thought and tribal customs throughout the region, and many Africans had come to adopt the values of western society, says Mrs. Tindall, and so they are at the beginning of a long and difficult period of adjustment. She concludes: "The process of transformation from tribal to modern society causes considerable tensions and difficulties in Central Africa today, and will doubtless continue to do so for some time to come."

So vast is the canvas on which Mrs. Tindall has worked that it has been possible for her only to give the bare facts to bring it within the compass of a handy book. Had she given any of the drama that lies behind so many of the facts it would have got completely out of hand. But the bare facts in themselves make an enthralling story in which even the reader who is steeped in Rhodesian history will find much of value, as I did. To the newcomer with only a vague idea of Central Africa's story it will be a revelation.

I was able to find only one instance in which Mrs. Tindall was not completely accurate, where she states that W. E. Fairbridge, who produced Salisbury's first weekly cyclostyled newspaper, "had accompanied the Pioneer Column as correspondent of a Johannesburg newspaper". Mr. Fairbridge, of course, did not come in with the Column. He arrived in Salisbury in June 1891, after a three months' trek during most of which he was ill with fever.

But this is a very minor blemish on a magnificent achievement on which Mrs. Tindall is to be warmly congratulated.

W.D.G.

Your Friend, Lewanika by Gervas Clay. The Robins Series No. 7. (Chatto and Windus for the National Museum of Zambia, 1968. 192 pages, illustrations, maps.)

The author was Resident Commissioner in Barotseland from 1958 to 1961 and prior to that he had been District Commissioner in several parts of Barotseland. After his retirement he was Director of the Livingstone Museum from 1961 to 1964.

Of the three great African potentates of the nineteenth century, Khama, Lobengula and Lewanika, the last is the least documented. Gervas Clay has

remedied this deficiency with what must remain the definitive history of Lewanika and his times for a long time.

Lewanika had a long, hard and exciting life. He was born about 1842 in the Nyengo swamps where the royal family had been driven into exile by the Makololo, the invaders from Rhodesia, who had overrun the country. In 1864 he accompanied the Lozi chief Sipopa who drove out the Makololo and he succeeded Sipopa as Paramount. Then he had to flee into exile again as a result of a rebellion but he returned in triumph. He led raids against the Ila and Toka, in the last great raid of 1888 leading an army of 10-12,000 men. And, until he fell under the influence of "his" missionary, Coillard, Lewanika indulged in the routine, never-ending slaughter and torturings of prisoners and people accused of witchcraft.

But he was shrewd. He had learned how Lobengula had failed to stop the flow of Europeans and he found out from Khama how to ask for the protection of Britain so as to preserve his chieftainship and his country. Clay clarifies the part played by Coillard. It has often been said that it was the missionary who persuaded Lewanika to ask for protection but this is not so. On the day after Coillard arrived at Lewanika's capital, as early as October 1886, the chief asked Coillard to write the letter to Queen Victoria asking for protection.

Clay describes Lewanika's feuds with the B.S.A. Co. Rhodes' first envoy, Lochner, did not inspire confidence, being "better adapted for camp life than for diplomacy". And although the treaty with the Company was made in 1890 it was at least five years before the agreed subsidy of £2,000 a year was begun and the first Resident, Coryndon, did not arrive until 1897.

Lewanika emerges from this history as an intelligent, likeable man, a brutal savage in early life but who, under mission influence later in life almost became a Christian and certainly began to act like one. He knew what he wanted and pursued the aim throughout his reign—that was to maintain a peaceful and intact Barotseland.

The author tells of Lewanika's visit to Britain in 1902 for the coronation of King Edward VII. When asked whether he would not feel embarrassed at an interview with the King, Lewanika replied—"When we kings get together we always find plenty to talk about." And they did, on several occasions.

Lewanika died in 1916. At the beginning of the war he had sent £200 to help Britain and in 1915 he had recruited 2,000 men to act as carriers to the fighting forces on the northern border of Northern Rhodesia and sent his son Mwanawina in charge of them. The son was Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, the Litunga (Paramount) of Barotseland who died in 1968.

In addition to narrating all the tribal history, describing the tangled relationship with the B.S.A. Co. and the boundary dispute with Portugal the author paints a vivid picture of life on the great Barotse plain.

The somewhat awkward title arises from the customary form of address in correspondence between officials and the Paramount. Letters begin "My Friend" and end "With Greetings, I am your friend . . ."

The illustrations are pertinent but few in number. It is a pity that a few scenic pictures of the great plain of the Zambezi and its mound villages could

not have been included. The maps are very poor, being entirely lacking in legends.

W.V.B.

Cecil Rhodes by Andre Maurois. (Makers of History Series. Collins, 1968. 140 pages, illustrated.)

This is a reprint of a book translated from the French and first published in 1953.

Although the author makes use of French magazine articles as well as the standard English books on Rhodes there is little that is new in Maurois' work. Its great virtue is that it is written in an elegant style and is eminently readable.

The biography is straightforward, unbiased, and Rhodes is portrayed in a sympathetic light; a not entirely cynical man but one who retained an exaggerated idea of the power of money. He believed every man to have his price but, with his extraordinary combination of prophetic vision, practical experience and ancient learning, Rhodes was a man without a trace of vulgarity. "A millionaire without personal needs, he had built a fortune not to provide himself with mediocre pleasures, but to build a new world."

"He was a great man," says Maurois, and "greatness is not the same as virtue but there is always greatness in it."

This is an excellent introductory biography.

The Material Culture of the Peoples of the Gwembe Valley by Barrie Reynolds. (Kariba Studies. Volume III. Manchester University Press on behalf of The National Museums of Zambia, 1968. 262 pages, illustrations, line drawings, maps, price 55s.)

The decision to build the Kariba Dam meant that many thousands of Tonga, or Tonka as they are known in Rhodesia, on both banks of the Zambezi would be displaced, and it became a matter of urgency to make studies of the life and ecology of the people before their way of life disappeared for ever. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute of Zambia published the first two volumes of the Kariba Studies—"The Social Organisation of the Gwembe Tonga" (1960) by Dr. Elizabeth Colson and "The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga" (1962) by Dr. T. Scudder. Other volumes are planned by the experts who converged on the Gwembe Valley before it was flooded. (Gwembe is the Ndebele name for the Zambezi.)

Barrie Reynolds was the Director of the Livingstone Museum when he made this study and many of the specimens obtained during the survey are housed there.

The Valley Tonga were simple hoe-cultivators "living on a precarious subsistence economy in an unusually isolated environment. Their crafts are underdeveloped and their artistic work is negligible", says the author. There is no dearth of goods—the Tonga manufactured everything that was necessary for their livelihood but there was a marked absence of fine, artistic workmanship. Products were crude, clumsy with the emphasis on satisfactory function rather than on grace or decoration.

The exceptions to this criticism are perhaps, judging by illustrations in the book, beadwork in pleasant geometrical designs, and basketry which exhibited great skill.

In this comprehensive study the author starts by describing the building of a village and the furnishing of a household. He then deals with the subsistence activities, agriculture, hunting, fishing, preparation of food and the necessary implements. He goes on to the crafts and skills developed in order to manufacture objects of iron, wood, pottery, skins, ropes and so on to dress and ornament, musical instruments and toys.

Barrie Reynolds has restricted himself to a purely factual descriptive survey of material culture, although even the generally drab Tonga artifacts could give rise to some intriguing comparative theorising. For instance, are the elliptical shaped stools unique in any way; does the shape follow from the pieces of wood used; are they common among other tribes? Such habits as the wearing of a bead face-veil by a girl at her first menstruation and the use of the water bubble-pipe are known among a few other tribes so a little comparative discussion might have added interest for the general reader. And has the reason for backward and forward pointing barbs on hunting spears ever been explained?

One very puzzling omission from all three books in the series on the Gwembe valley is to that very useful tree of the *Ziziphus* sp., sometimes called the Portuguese Apple. It is known, and indeed may be spreading, in all the hot tropical valleys of the Zambezi basin. In Chinyanja, the fruit, known as *masau*, is distilled into a colourless alcohol known as *kachasu*, forbidden by both Zambian and Malawi authorities. But, the same fruit dried and pounded makes a flour, rich in vitamins that has staved off famine in many a Gwembe village. It does not appear in Barrie Reynold's list of wild foods.

The photographs, mostly taken by Nigel Watt when he was a member of the Northern Rhodesia Information Department are of very high quality and the numerous line drawings by Mrs. Margery Scott Forbes and Mr. Aaron Mubitana are meticulous and attractive.

This volume is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the way of life of the peoples of the Zambezi valley before Kariba, for the people on the Rhodesian bank were the same as those studied by Barrie Reynolds on the north bank. It is also a welcome contribution to a subject that, inevitably, in face of the spread of western technology, is rarely written about nowadays.

W.V.B.

Pax Britannica, The Climax of an Empire by James Morris. (Faber & Faber, 1968. 544 pages, illustrations, price 50s.)

James Morris sets out to describe the largest of empires, the British, at its moment of climax, the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897. At that time the spectacle of Empire was tremendous; "all was sprawling, tangled, contradictory, elaborate. For every idealist there was a rascal, for every elegance a crudity, and the British presence across the world displayed no ordered Roman logic." Although his theme is one of "muddled grandeur" Morris has produced a picture of an empire of wild or romantic places, of strange, great or simple

people and of ways of life bewildering in their variety and that have gone for ever. In this world the proconsuls were the members of the Indian Civil Service, although the Colonial Service maintained caste over a wider spread empire of palm, jungle and desert.

This is history but not of the textbooks. Morris does not concentrate on politics or economics but, in order to pick his way through the "ornate variety" of the empire, he concentrates on people and personalities, eccentricities, art (Frith), literature (Kipling), even music (Elgar) and architecture to emphasise the realities of the time.

Salisbury appears early in the book as an example of a typical pioneering town. Rhodes is portrayed as "the most genuinely inspired" of all the New Imperialists and Jameson is said to be "as odd a doctor as ever took the oath". And, in discussing how basic was trade and profit, the author says—"the possibility of instant fortune, every man his own Rhodes, was essential to the mystique of Empire".

The British carried their peculiar institutions around the world. In every little enclave there were British clubs, sports, schools, parish churches, and the belief that public buildings must be imposing led to the erection of some extraordinary edifices, such as the Residency in Zomba. "Art for Empire's sake", says Morris. But the British did develop "to a new pitch of finesse the art of living in tropical countries" and they did invent the sundowner.

One of the most enviable advantages of being a Britisher at this period was the wide range of adventure that was offered. "There were still pirates to be intercepted in Chinese waters, slave-traders to capture in the Persian Gulf, Nandi tribesmen with poisoned arrows in East Africa." Even in the older bases of Empire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa there was still something exciting, new to be found.

It was an age of challenge and response. And to Queen Victoria on her Jubilee day her Empire must have seemed indestructable. Yet, only two years later the outbreak of the Boer War made the first tear in the fabric.

This is a splendid, exciting book. It gives a colourful, vivid picture of Empire and although the treatment is sympathetic, because the morality of dominance was not in question at the time, it does not try to hide the superciliousness and occasional brutalities of the age. Written in a lively, journalistic style this is a fascinating book which stirs an emotion that perhaps the author never intended—a faint pride.

Birds and Wild Africa by William Condry. (Collins, 1967. 192 pages, map, illustrations.)

There is no end to the stream of books about big game and the animals of Africa but there is a comparatively tiny trickle of books about African birds, insects and trees. This book attempts to redress the balance. It also has another value in that it is about a part of Africa not very well covered from the natural history point of view. The author's base was Abercorn, close to the northern border of Zambia and from there he travelled round the southern shores of Lake Tanganyika, both on foot and by boat, around the plateau, to the Kalambo

Falls and the mountain country of southern Tanganyika and to the remote Lake Rukwa just over the border in that country.

The pretty town of Abercorn, with Lake Chila on its outskirts, is the headquarters of the International Red Locust Control, to which Rhodesia and South Africa subscribe, and Condry was able to utilise the services of the organisation in visiting such places as the Rukwa area. Lake Rukwa, with no outlet, fluctuates in size according to the rainfall and the alternation of open water and swamp make it an ideal breeding place for the Red Locust. The author does not say much about this plague but his descriptions of the terrain of this wild, little-known area, its birds, fish, insects and flora are most fascinating.

Lake Tanganyika, one of the deepest lakes in the world, its bottom 2,172 ft. below sea-level and isolated "for maybe a million years", has become a distinct world with a fauna of its own. No other African lake has such a specialised fauna. Of the 236 species of fish recorded here, 180 exist in this lake alone. Condry tells of huge turtles, electric fish, poisonous fish and jellyfish.

The Kalambo Falls, close to Abercorn, and reputed, perhaps wrongly, to be the highest single drop fall in Africa at 726 ft., are eerie and magnificent. No botanist or naturalist has managed to study the deep, rain-forested gorge. It is one of the few places in Africa where the Marabou Stork breeds and from the lip of the gorge the observer looks down on them, gliding beautifully in the eddies or standing, looking ugly, by their nests on ledges in the chasm.

The illustrations, all by the author, are close-up photographs of birds, insects, flowers and butterflies. They are very good but it is a pity that the book could not have included a few scenic pictures to set a backdrop. However, that is a minor criticism of a delightful book about an unspoiled and beautiful part of Africa.

W.V.B.

Chirimo: a thrice-yearly review of Rhodesian and international poetry. No. 1.

Edited by C. T. E. Style and K. O. Style; published by the Berry Trust Company (Pvt.) Ltd.)

To paraphrase from their preface, the editors feel that our poetry has matured enough to be compared with work by recognised poets from outside Rhodesia, and that it needs, too, a cross-fertilisation of literary influences between the races here. They have, therefore, included poems by such known overseas poets as Ginsberg, Enright, and Abse, poems from Britain, America, South Africa, and Czechoslovakia, placing them alongside those by Rhodesians like Brettell, Gingell, Chivaura, Mazani and Sigogo. The poets of Rhodesia show up remarkably well in this distinguished company; and the poems from the Shona and the Sindibele have something of the early-morning freshness of a literature new to the written word. The range of styles is considerable, from the colloquial "toughness" of Dannie Abse and the more-than-Whitmanesque wildness of Ginsberg to the classical grace and control of Brettell and the almost Biblical gravity of Chivaura's poem. Themes and mood are equally varied, from the chilling science fiction glimpses of Lucie-Smith's "In the Future", through Holbrook's compassion in "On the Brink of a Pit", to the

market-research poem (an extraordinary but successful venture) of Colin Style and the Hans-Andersen innocence of Mazani's "To my Mother". All in all, this is a volume worth putting on your poetry-shelf. In passing, the name "Chirimo", finely evocative, if one knows Shona, could lead the casual browser to expect ethnology within instead of poetry—a subtitle on the cover, perhaps.

H.L.F.

GENERAL

Smuts—The Fields of Force—1919-1950 by W. K. Hancock. (Pub. by Cambridge University Press, 1968. 590 pages, illustrations, price 70s.)

This second and final volume is a tightly-packed, scholarly and beautifully written work, covering the years of conflict in which Smuts was twice Prime Minister and spent as many years in active opposition, and follows "The Sanguine Years" 1870-1919.

The author, Sir Keith Hancock, F.B.A., joined the Australian National University at Canberra in 1957 and has written several books on the British Commonwealth. He has held chairs at Adelaide and Birmingham and was Chichele Professor of Economic History and a Fellow of All Souls at Oxford before becoming director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in the University of London in 1949. He is an historian whose subject is vividly alive; whose prose makes even constitutional issues and parliamentary debates eminently readable.

Content owes much to meticulous research and to Smuts' letters—for almost every week of the last 30 years of his life, one long letter in his own hand has survived. An absorbing tapestry of South African and world affairs is woven round the figure of Jan Christiaan Smuts, a many-faceted, much-honoured, much-maligned man.

Legends are dispelled. The Smuts whose "footsteps dripped with blood" is vindicated in the searching and fully-documented section dealing with the massacres of Bulhoek and Bondelzwarts, and the Rand strikes which were quelled with many casualties in 1922.

A visiting Rhodesian delegation heard the argumentative and abusive "strike" debates; it may well have had second thoughts about incorporation with these quarrelsome neighbours. A brief mention is made of Smuts' attempt to incorporate the Rhodesias with the Union. He visualised a South Africa with far-flung borders, and mineral resources which might even embrace Katanga, but felt that Rhodesians "were afraid of our bi-lingualism, our Nationalism . . . the sooner they are assimilated by the Union, the better for them and for us". Despite the tour he and his wife made shortly beforehand, the Referendum, by a majority of nearly 3,000, decided against incorporation. In a letter to Bonar Law, Smuts stated that South African financial aid would eventually lead to incorporation, for "Rhodesia as a separate state struggling vainly with her impossible task is sure to become an embarrassment to the British Government in the end".

As a founder of the League of Nations, he was emphatic in his loyalty to the Commonwealth. This loyalty was never more apparent than in 1939, when

Smuts carried South Africa into the war by 13 votes. We read of Smuts' immense achievements for the next four years of war; thereafter, with Africa secure, he could spend more time on domestic affairs and preparations for the coming peace. Attacked by the Nationalist and Ossewa-Brandwag parties on almost every crucial issue, and as the only cohesive factor that held his own party together, he was bearing an intolerable burden of work.

In 1945 he attended the Conference of the United Nations, which was formed along the lines of the now defunct League. He could not satisfactorily adjust South Africa's home policy to the requirements of external policy, and received rough handling by the Indians, who were demanding better treatment for their countrymen in South Africa.

In certain circles at home and abroad, he was branded a hypocrite, but, as the author points out, Smuts could not resolve the conflict of his loyalties—"he was both a humanist and the author of the Preamble to the United Nations Charter, and a South African, proud of his heritage of civilisation and determined to maintain it". He felt that South Africa was a unitary and dynamic economy within which the Afrikaans, English and Africans had no option but to work together; in the post-war elections, fighting against the Nationalists and their slogan "Apartheid", and their eager, professional campaigning, his party lost. Smuts accepted the seat for Pretoria East, leading the opposition till shortly before his death.

Even this fall from power gave him little chance to indulge in his mountaineering, his studies of botany, pre-history, archaeology and palaeontology, philosophy and religion, on all of which he had written copious and authoritative works, or to follow up the publication of his philosophy "Holism and Evolution" with a second volume. His flow of letters was a means of clarifying issues troubling him, and, in later years, almost his only literary output. His wife and his old, noisy, untidy home, Doornkloof, were his solace, where he could relax and enjoy his grandchildren.

Throughout the book, the history of parallel development, or apartheid, is developed. It had its origins in a policy of Rhodes', who instituted an "experiment in Native self-government" in part of the Cape in the late nineteenth century, and which, as time passed and "separatism" evolved, many came to feel was a possible solution to the racial problem.

This book is highly recommended to those who wish a clearer knowledge of their neighbours' political evolution, and of the part played by the statesman Smuts, whose message to an Alamein Dinner in London is indicative of his own philosophy: "It is a symbol of life itself, of not succumbing and accepting the inevitable, but of fighting back and in the end winning through."

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

Also Received

Die Afrika-avontuur van Mary Kingsley: uit die lewe van 'n ongewone vrou by Kurt Lutgen. (Mary Kingsley's African adventure: from the life of an unusual woman.) (Cape Town, Tafelburg-uitgewers, 1968. 16s.)

Originally published in German, this translation makes an interesting addi-

tion to the biography of Mary Kingsley. Although apparently not based on original research (no documentary sources are cited), it appears to be an accurate account of her life, with particular emphasis on her arduous scientific expeditions in West Africa.

C.C.

Positiewe nasionalisme (positive nationalism) by D. J. Kotze. (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1968. 120 pages.)

A succinct analysis of Afrikaner nationalism, with practical suggestions as to how South Africans can live up to its ideals and project a favourable image of their country to the rest of the world.

Jerseys of Southern Africa by Dr. G. D. Nel. (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1968. 287 pages, illustrations.)

An odd book perhaps to be noticed in a historical periodical but this book does include the history of this breed of cattle in Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi, and lists the main bloodlines in these countries. Although introduced into South Africa in 1880 it would appear that the first pedigree Jersey herd did not appear in Rhodesia until 1944. Rhodesia has always been considered a progressive farming country and it would be interesting to learn why there is this long particular time lag.

Shelfmark. Bulletin of the National Free Library of Rhodesia. Nos. 11 and 12. June and August 1968. (Bi-monthly, 5s. p.a. P.O. Box 1773, Bulawayo.)

Anyone interested in reading, collecting, buying or borrowing books, particularly about Rhodesia, should be a regular subscriber to this bulletin.

It gives short, factual notes on the more important books and always has one or two articles.

Rather surprisingly, librarians do not, according to an article in the June issue, spend all their time sitting down reading books. They are professionals whose job is to be able to make available the raw materials of their craft to the multitude of enquirers, who want to find a book about something or other. So the image of a librarian is that of a man with "an agate stare" who can find a book with a classification number running into eight figures at the drop of a hint.

The August issue emphasises that the National Free Library of Rhodesia is a lending library, not just a reference library, existing to serve people in every part of Rhodesia, however remote. All its books, of whatever category, can be borrowed by anybody, anywhere. There are no shelves marked as for reference only.

Publications of the National Museum of Rhodesia

Arnoldia. A Series of Miscellaneous Publications.

This series, initiated in memory of the late Dr. George Arnold, Keeper of Entomology and Director of the Bulawayo Museum, comes out so frequently that it is not possible to review all issues. Thirteen numbers had appeared this

year up to 1st September. They cover a variety of subjects as is shown by the following typical shortened titles; all of the current volume 3:

- No. 26. "A New Race of the Bokmakierie from the Chimanimani" by M. P. Stuart Irwin.
29. "A Review of the African Cobras of the Genus *Naja*" by D. G. Broadley.
33. "Thorn Bagworms" by Elliot Pinhey.
34. "Test Excavations at Mapela Hill" by P. S. Garlake.
35. "An Examination of five Iron Age Structures in the Umguza Valley" by K. R. Robinson.
38. "The Flora of the Black Shale and Coal Group (K2) in the Mid-Zambezi Basin" by Geoffrey Bond.
39. "The Early Stone Age in Rhodesia" by C. K. Cooke.

To anyone wishing to keep up to date in such a wide spectrum of sciences as ornithology, entomology, zoology, geology, archaeology and many others must be aware of this series.

A Check List and Atlas of the Mammals of Botswana by Reay H. N. Smithers, O.B.E., Director, National Museums of Rhodesia. (Pub. by Trustees of the National Museums, 1968. 169 pages, limp cover, maps, line drawings.)

This is an interim report of the Botswana Mammal Survey which has been made possible by grants from the government of Botswana, the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, and by Mr. C. S. Barlow of Johannesburg, with the Trustees of our National Museums bearing the cost of this report.

Four years were assigned to complete the fieldwork with a further year to write up the results. With 12 months of fieldwork still to be completed it was thought that an interim list would act as a stocktaking of the Survey's activities and stimulate criticism and correction.

There are numerous line drawings of specific anatomical features and distribution maps on every other page showing material and visual records of all the species described.

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The total membership at December 31st, 1968, was 960.

Publications of the Rhodesiana Society

Rhodesiana No. 1, 1956 (out of print)

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

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

W. V. BRELSFORD. Northern Rhodesia.

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

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

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

H. POLLETT. The Mazoe Patrol.

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

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

N. M. BRETTELL. Three Rhodesian poets.

Rhodesiana No. 4, 1959 (out of print)

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

Rhodesiana No. 5, 1960 (out of print)

A. S. HICKMAN. The Mashonaland Irish.

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

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W. F. REA. Rhodesian pioneer.

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

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

Rhodesiana No. 7, 1962 (out of print)

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"Shifts and expedients": extracts from the book by W. B. Lord and T»
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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.

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

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

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

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 A. S. HICKMAN. Reginald Bray: Police pioneer.
 D. K. PARKINSON. Chief Chibi, 1890.
 P. BERLYN. On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie.
 Kopje and Causeway: extracted from C. E. Finlayson, *A Nobody in Mashonaland*, 1893.

Rhodesiana No. 16, July 1967

- J. MCADAM. Pat Judson: First Rhodesian Born Airman.
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 R. HODDER-WILLIAMS. Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion.
 O. N. RANSFORD. An Historical Sketch of Bulawayo.
 L. D. S. GLASS. James Dawson: Rhodesian Pioneer.
 A. S. HICKMAN. Reginald Bray: An Addendum.

Rhodesiana No. 17, December 1968

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 A. S. HICKMAN. Ballyhooly Hotel.
 Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: 1893 Column.
 L. A. RUSSELL. The Last Phase of the East African Campaign, 1914-18.
 Annotated by H. A. Cripwell.
 R. F. H. SUMMERS and C. W. D. PAGDEN. Notes on the Battlefields at Shangani and Bembesi.
 E. E. BURKE. Archives and Archaeology.
 P. C. D. EATON. A Modern Historical Safari.

Rhodesiana No. 18, June 1968 (*Special Issue. 15th Anniversary of Occupation of Matabeleland*)

- Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: Occupation of Matabeleland, 1893.
 O. N. RANSFORD. "White Man's Camp", Bulawayo.
 D. HARTRIDGE. Henry Borrow: Pioneer and Hero.
 J. CHARLES SHEE. The Burial of Cecil Rhodes.
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THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

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The first coal train leaving Wankie in 1903. This photograph was found in the papers of the late Mr. Harold Clarkson Fletcher, one of the founders of *Johnson and Fletcher* which supplied mining and engineering equipment to the colliery in the early stages of development. Mr. Fletcher was a close friend of Mr. "Wankie" Thomson, manager of the colliery from 1908 to 1933.

WANKIE COLLIERY COMPANY 1903-1968

Loaded coal trucks at Wankie colliery where annual production is now more than 3,250,000 tons of coal and coke. The colliery, administered by Anglo American Corporation, uses modern mining methods and is equipped with mechanised high-extraction machines.

