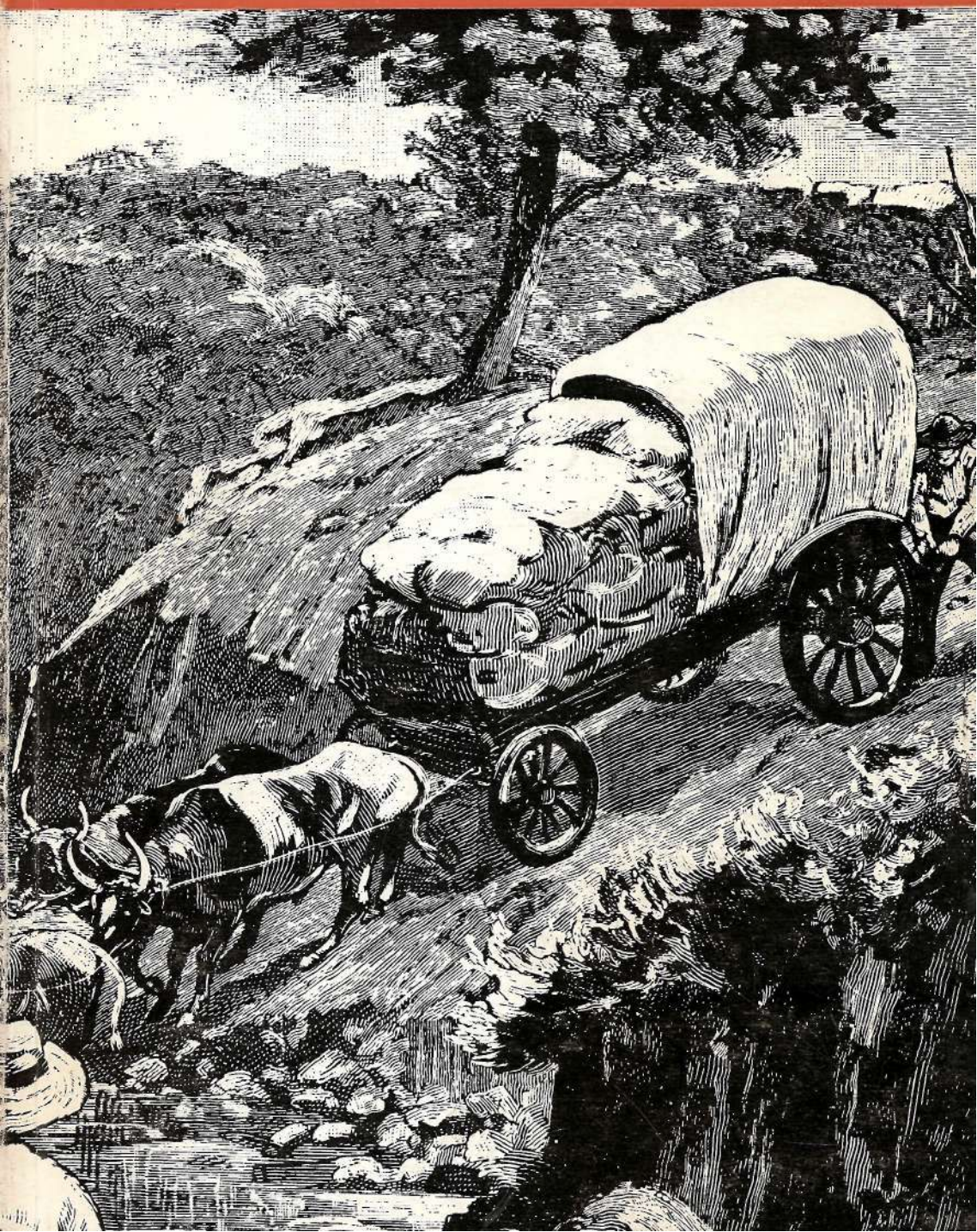


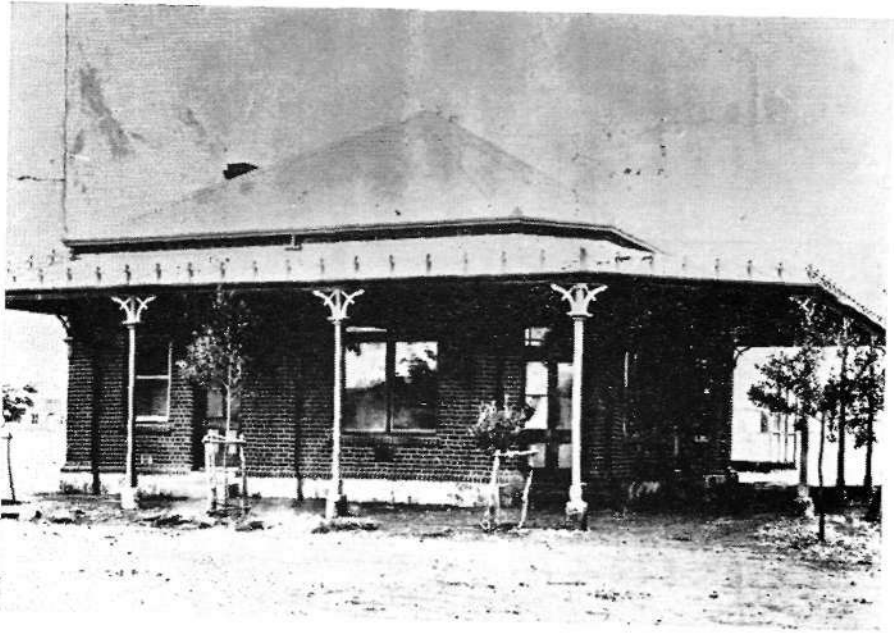
RHODESIANA

PUBLICATION No. 21

DECEMBER, 1969



Circa 1906



The Standard Bank Limited,
Gwelo

1931

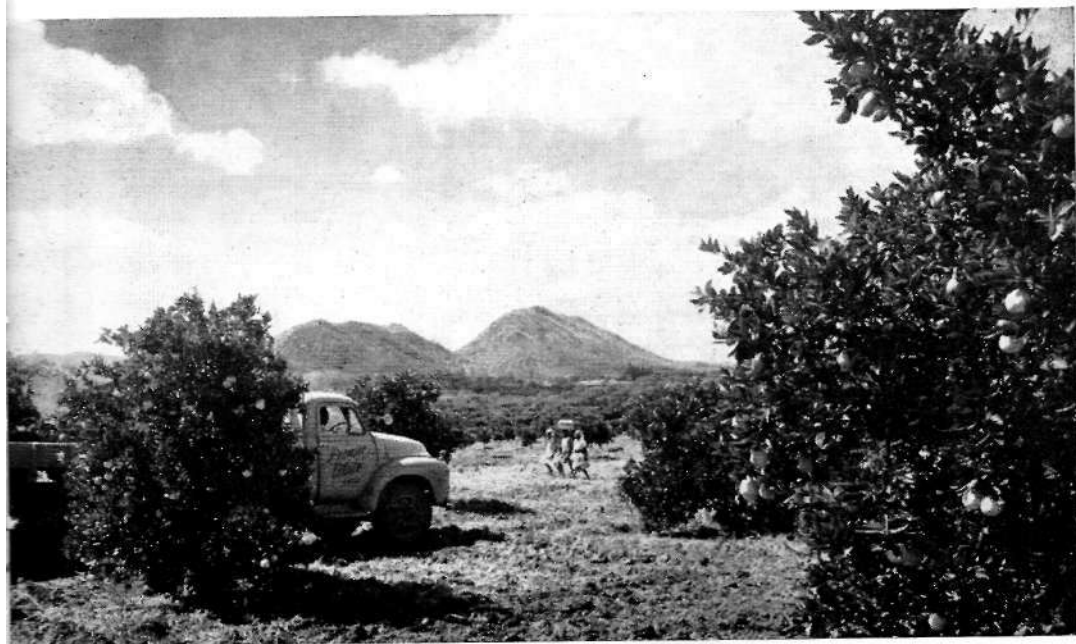


The above building is shortly to be demolished to make way for a new Bank building on the same site.

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 21 — December, 1969

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

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Rhodesia

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The cover picture is from the Illustrated London News of December 13th, 1890, page 741, and shows—"British South Africa Company Police crossing a stream."



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

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The Umtali Tramways Limited

by Clyde L. Shoebridge*

Introduction

The town of Umtali, nestling mid the rolling hills of the Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia, southern Africa, once possessed a tramway. Any such service which actually functioned as an important means of developing a town to the way which we know it today, deserves to be recorded before the history is forgotten and lost forever. This is the story of that tramway service, the only street tramway to operate in this country; its formation, life and prolonged demise.

The first settlement in this district was at Fort Umtali in 1890 by the British South Africa Company. The following year a town was built at this second site and then the railway from the coast at Beira, 210 miles away in Mozambique, was under construction. Due to engineering difficulties it was not practical to bring the line through the existing town. During a visit to Umtali in March 1896 Cecil John Rhodes told the towns people of this decision and advised them to move their town to a new site on the railway whist his company was willing to pay them compensation. He said the alternative was for the town to die and business to drift across in natural succession without compensation.

New Umtali

Some nine miles away a site was selected and laid out to be similar to the former town. Neighbours secured stands (building sites) next to their old neighbours to resettle. New Umtali was ambitious and it was even before the railway had arrived and the town moved that the tramway venture was mooted.

Company Formation

On the 26th January, 1897, the Umtali Tramways Limited was registered under the British South Africa Ordinance No. 2 of 1895. The objects of the company were to acquire the sole rights to construct a line of tramway and to work the business of a tramway company on the commonage (an area within, on the edge of, or surrounding a town) and in the public thoroughfares of the New Umtali township. It was stated that they intended to at once lay down a two-foot-gauge line and introduce rolling stock for the conveyance of building materials and other necessary goods immediately required for the erection of the town.

The prospectus showed the capital at £5,000 divided into 25 per cent on application, 25 per cent on allotment and two other calls on 1st April and 1st

* Clyde L. Shoebridge comes from Sydney, Australia, and wrote this article in South Africa during a world tour which included Rhodesia in September 1968.

July 1897. The signatories of the memorandum and articles of association, consisting of 66 pages foolscap of neat handwriting, were: Charles Goldring, store-keeper; A. Tulloch, auctioneer; C. Weipenborn, farmer; Alfred W. Suter, merchant; J. A. Cope-Christie, architect; W. H. Lane, clerk; and James Henry Jeffreys, mining engineer. Each subscribed to 100 shares, the public issue, together with another local company of the same time, The Umtali Brick, Tile and Lime Co. Ltd., was greatly oversubscribed.

Tramway Agreement

A memorandum of agreement was drawn up on the 19th February, 1897, between the British South Africa Company and Alfred William Suter of Umtali granting him the sole rights in the concession of building and operating a tramway in the New Town of Umtali from quarries at one end and the brickfields and railway at the other end. This also set out that the gauge was not to be less than two feet, certain powers for renewal for 21 years from January 1900, after which expiration the tramway had to spend a sum not exceeding £20,000 on tramway improvement. Was it a coincidence that this was to be the life of the tramway?

The freight rate was set at 4s. per ton which on 13th July the same year was altered to a sliding scale of under 500 tons per month, 10s. per ton; to 950 tons 7s. 6d. and over 5s. per ton. Provision for a passenger service was made at 6d. per mile and for the purpose of their operation a stand of land was granted; No. 647 on Main Street at East Avenue corner.

Lapse of Time

The affairs of the township and that of the new town were managed by a sanitary board as was common with other early Rhodesian towns. *The Rhodesian Advertiser*, published in Umtali, said on the 25th December, 1896: "If Messrs. Tulloch, Suter and Weipenborn are to occupy their seats on the Sanitary Board it is their bounded duty to, for a time at least, relinquish all active voice in the Umtali Tramway Scheme, or to choose between the Board or Company."

The matter of approving or otherwise the grant of exclusive rights was extensively discussed at a meeting of the Sanitary Board on the 13th January, 1897, and eventually granted with slight alterations to the clause which would have penalised the company for not laying its tracks by a set date. The board did not mind when they were laid, provided the rails were properly laid and did not interfere with traffic.

First Meeting

The first statutory meeting of the company was held on 3rd June, 1897, in Old Umtali. Mr. A. W. Suter had left for Europe on the last coach the previous day; it was stated that he was suffering ill health, perhaps from exertions in founding the company. (He died in Salisbury on 10th February, 1909.) In his absence Mr. A. Tulloch presided and advised the meeting that the company's plant and rolling stock had been shipped from Europe in April and was daily



Main Street, Umtali, 1904. Taken from Methodist Church Tower, tramway siding in the foreground.

(Copied March 1953 by E. T. Brown)

expected at Beira. "If it had not already arrived", indicates the poor communication. The shareholders were congratulated on having such a valuable stand of land in Main Street, "generously made available by the British South Africa Company".

The plant was actually landed at the coastal port in August but owing to the exorbitant freight charges, the railway not yet being completed all the way, the necessary material was not brought to Umtali immediately.

Most of the town was in the process of removing to the new site and so on Wednesday the 25th August the newspaper moved its offices to New Umtali to reopen on the 1st September.

Tenders were called for survey of the line from the east side of Umtali to the brickfields and connection with the railway station on the 30th October and early in 1898 for earthworks, platelaying and ballasting of the proposed tramway together with the erection of a bridge over Blackwater Creek. That year was forecast to be a prosperous one for Umtali with the railway nearing completion, many new buildings going up and the tramway in course of construction.

Railway Arrives

The first train arrived on Friday, 4th February, 1898, but the official opening was not held until the last week of April. The railway was of 2 ft. 6 in. gauge, and not converted to 3 ft. 6 in. gauge until 1st August, 1900, the operation taking six months for 175 miles of track. Perhaps this delayed the plant being brought from the coast where it would have been rusting away.

The railway brought modern entertainment even at the complaint of high freight rates, and on the 5th March, 1898, the "Cinematograph" was to be exhibited at 8.30 p.m. in the Cecil Hotel Room. However, the entrepreneur, Mr. Pigeon, was compelled to disappoint his audience on account of "damage to his limelight equipment". He refunded the 5s. charge for a later successful demonstration.

It was not known until the railway arrived where the station would be situated. It was thought it would be built on what was known as Orange Grove, adjacent to Park River. For this reason Messrs. Snodgrass and Mitchell had erected the Cecil Hotel on its present site in 1897 on the corner of Main Street and what is now Victory Avenue. Due to engineering difficulties of excess expense the station was built at a location called Paulington, named after the engineer constructing the railway, and it then became apparent what route the tramway would take.

A great depression hit Umtali in November 1898, postponing further the tramway activities until tenders were again called for the laying of the line on the 14th July, 1899. Apparently no progress was made and on 4th July two years later tenders were invited for laying of the line from the station to the Umtali Club.

Mr. Horace Freeman, tramway secretary, submitted plans showing the proposed route and street crossings to the Sanitary Board on 25th June. Permission was given to ease the gradient of the road leading to the station by removal of 2 ft. of stone. It was formally resolved that permission be granted to the company to lay a tramway in accordance with the plan submitted. The board empowered a sub-committee to "watch the interests of the Board when the rails were being laid".

A stock exchange company was formed about the same time as the tramway company and built a then outstanding brick structure, which at the date of writing is still in existence, but not reserved for the preservation it deserves. Although share floor trading actually never took place brokers advertised their services in the transfer of shares. At this time tramway company shares were offered at 2s. 3d. each but there were no sales. Investors' confidence must have been at a very low ebb due to all the delay. The assets had been idle for nearly three years.

Construction

At last work was started on laying the track on Friday, 12th July, 1901, by Mr. George Hall, the contractor for the tramway company. He carried out the work smartly, admitting that he secured plenty of labour at the right moment and the line was practically completed by Saturday, 20th July. On the next day, Sunday, 21st July, 1901, at the invitation of Mr. Hall, quite a number of residents made the journey over the new track on construction trollies. Thus the first passengers were carried on a street tramway in Rhodesia. Ballasting took a couple more weeks and the line was ready for the official opening. The first passenger car was run on Thursday afternoon, 22nd August, 1901, under the supervision of Messrs. F. Clayton and A. Snodgrass. A number of citizens accepted the invitation for the trip which the newspaper said, "passed off smoothly". The gauge of the line was 2 ft. and the motive power was oxen; however the gradient was sufficient to allow rolling stock to run by gravity in one direction.

The Sanitary Board agreed to level Main Street to the tramway which was right in the middle of this street. In October 1901 native convict labour was

employed busily filling up the road, a subsidiary tram-line being laid from the temporary quarry into Main Street.

Passenger Cars

The two passenger cars supplied were built by Jackson, Sharp & Co. (1863-1901) of Wilmington, Delaware, U.S.A, and were approximately 19 ft. long on a rigid but sprung four wheels of 24-in. diameter tramway contour. Capacity was 18 seated passengers on six cross-benches, the end platforms being reserved for the driver who commanded a brass goose-necked handle working four cast-iron brake-blocks. The motive power was usually two mules coupled to the drawgear. The cars were said to be too heavy for the track, the contractor wanted lighter and more suitable cars. These cars never eventuated and the cars supplied provided the passenger service to meet the twice-weekly passenger train. Whether many fares were collected from real passengers is doubtful, and when they made their last journey is not recorded. The author considers that the passenger service did not continue after 1910.

The line mainly carried goods and merchandise, the purpose for which it had been constructed, the passenger-carrying part only being added to glamorise the venture, and make Umtali seem like all other towns of that era which were receiving tramways.

Freight Service

The flat four-wheeled goods trollies were unsprung and could be derailed and run across the pavement to the rear of stores where no connections were provided, and made two trips per day or as required. There was a low loading platform outside the Club and at the railway station the tramway ran close enough for the exchange of freight from railway wagons.

In 1904 the Sass and Nelson travelling Theatre Company used six trolleys to convey their effects from the Cecil Hotel to the station. Revenue for the first year of carrying goods was deemed quite satisfactory, the operation of the tramway was left to contractors paying rent to the tramway company.

Proposed Extension

On 4th December, 1902, application was granted for rails to be laid down Second Avenue connecting the main line with the Umtali Saw Mills; however, it was never constructed.

Financial

The land granted had been valued at £500 and the plant and rolling stock at £4,107 which included heavy freight charges. Depot buildings costing £300 had been constructed on the land by 1904. The auditors gave their certificate subject to the plant and rolling stock being the values stated.

The seventh annual report states that there was a depression but, notwithstanding, progress had been made and the lessees continued to operate the



Tram track, Main Street, Umtali, 1899 or 1900. Building with tower on the right is the Umtali Club, still in use as such.

(Photo: National Archives)

line. The bank overdraft was guaranteed to the Standard Bank to the extent of £654 by the British South Africa Company.

In 1906 the company was able to take up and relay the line between the top of Queen Victoria Place and the Club, about three-quarters of the line, and was able to reduce freight rates. The lessees Messrs. Hodgson and Van Riet renewed their lease to operate the line for another year. By 1907 the debt to the Standard Bank was entirely extinguished. There is no record of any dividend being paid up until this date and a policy of providing for depreciation was followed. After this date no further financial reports are now available, so just what profits were distributed is only recorded by those who received them.

Complaints

The Sanitary Board started to complain in 1909 about the condition of the lines laid. By June 1913 they were enquiring about the legalities of the tramway company so as to enforce them to maintain the line. On the 13th December, 1913, Sir Starr Jameson visited Umtali and was informed of the tramway company's failure to maintain the line and the Board asked the government for details of its position with regard to the agreement entered into between the British South Africa Company and the Umtali Tramways Limited.

"Sir Starr in reply stated that he appreciated the Board's position and promised that on his return to Salisbury he would go thoroughly into the matter and if he found that the South Africa Company had made an error it would have to pay for it."

The Board's reply to this on the 7th January, 1914, was that they considered the tramway concession should be terminated. The tramway company claimed £3,675 for the cancellation from the authorities.

"Sir Starr did not feel himself able to recommend to his fellow directors that this sum be paid."

Municipal Council

Umtali became a municipality on the 11th June, 1914, the first meeting of the newly-formed council was in August and it took over the affairs of the Sanitary Board. Of course, it took over the tramway problem, for that is what the rails in the centre of Main Street had apparently become.

Objections

In October 1914 the tramway company agreed to the tram-line being moved to one side of the street 15 ft. from the centre line but at the council's cost. This was never carried out and that section of Main Street from the tram terminus received its first surface of macadam during November, council demanding a contribution towards the cost of the work being done close to the side of the tram-line. To this demand the tramway company offered to contribute £25 but the council wanted £50 per annum for the maintenance of either side of the rails but not in between them.

Apparently the council decided to attack the financial stability by applying a rate and sat as a "valuation objection court" on the 28th June, 1915. It had to decide whether to apply the rate as a land valuation or as a building valuation. The valuation of £2,750 being placed upon the tram-lines. Eventually it was decided that the tramway could only be rated on the valuable stand with 100-ft. frontage where the depot stood in Main Street. This was assessed at £650 and yielded a rate at building valuation of £37 7s. 6d.

The Decline

The council actually carried out the maintenance on the road surface around the tramway for which it received £25 per annum in 1916.

In considering the system of poles and wiring for the lighting of Main Street in 1917 the experts had to bear in mind that there was a single line of tramway along the centre. No thought of electric traction for the tramway was entertained.

Gradually more and more motor lorries appeared on the streets to cart goods about, the tramway which was in earlier years considered a great tribute of stature to the town, turned into a hindrance. It is the author's considered opinion that the service at this stage was very limited, and perhaps non-existent, certainly no business was dependent upon the tramway as they had been in earlier years. The passenger service was apparently then only ceremoniously provided annually, which was an occasion for great celebration at the Club.

Abandonment

So on the 24th October, 1919, the council appealed to the British South Africa Company to terminate the tramway company's concession, pointing out that it was impossible to keep Main Street in a proper condition because of the tram-lines and "that it was a hindrance to the development of the town".

The haulage of freight had ceased gradually as motor lorries took over and the tramway was out of use and the tramway property falling into disrepair. No actual date has been discovered for the last official journey, and the author contends that there was a continual decline from 1913.

Some behind the scene correspondence may have gone on from the British South Africa Company, for the council received a request from the tramway company for the lines to be taken up on the 16th July, 1920. It lost no time, as this was the request it had awaited for years and by the end of that month the rails were taken up. The track-bed was filled and rolled by the council's steam-roller by the 13th August, 1920.

Liquidation

During the liquidation of the Umtali Tramways Limited, Mr. A. F. Ternouth, LL.B. (Lond.), the liquidator, tried to secure title to the company stand so as to realise it as the asset it was thought to be. The British South Africa Company smartly said that the title was a "grant of land for tramway purposes and not as a bonus", so would have to be surrendered. Due to the heavy freight costs on the plant and equipment there was very little to distribute and there were only four of the eight remaining shareholders who could be traced. No records are now available showing details of the winding-up. On the 23rd May, 1921, the final meeting was held and the company struck off the register as notified in the *Government Gazette* of the 15th April, 1921.

Summary

In the "Reminiscences of John Meikle" (1868-1936), a prominent townsman, director and shareholder, he says *inter alia*:

"Great things were expected of it (the tramway) as a dividend paying proposition, true optimism. Looking back afterwards one wonders that people should be so mad as to subscribe to an undertaking which required for its success a population in the vicinity of fifty thousand. Umtali boasted about five hundred inhabitants including railway officials, and yet sufficient shares were taken up to enable the project to be launched . . .

The forwarding and delivery agents provided the necessary motive power . . . two oxen being used . . . (They) were also the lessees of the tramway and charges for delivering goods were arranged on a basis of two thirds for the lessee and one third for the owners of the tramway. So that actually it was this arrangement which made it possible for the tramway to continue working for over fifteen years . . ."

Remains

Very little trace remains of this enterprise. The steady gradient down what was Queen Victoria Place, near where the Customs House is now, and the

general evenness of Main Street, which is wide, can be attributed to the tramway. The depot buildings appear still behind a commercial development on the former tramway stand.

In the Umtali Museum are two seats, one from a freight trolley the other from a passenger car, together with a brass brake-handle and a bell reputed to have come off the passenger cars. The two cars were sold and used as out-houses. During a visit in September 1968 the cast-iron remains of one passenger car were rediscovered in the council yard with the help of Mr. H. Went. These included a set of wheels and could be preserved before someone unwittingly discards them as scrap. The trolleys were said to have been dumped in a nearby creek, and the rail would have been used in many a local construction.

"Umtali can boast of being the only town in Rhodesia that once possessed a Tramway Company and a tramway."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are made to the following: the National Archives of Rhodesia; the Town Clerk of Umtali; the Director of the Umtali Museum; the Editor of the *Umtali Post*; and various townspeople of Umtali interviewed during research.

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"The Reminiscences of John Meikle". (In the National Archives of Rhodesia),

POETRY RHODESIANA

Since 1952 the Poetry Society of Rhodesia has produced nine numbers of its magazine. The early numbers are out of print and are now being sought by collectors of Rhodesiana. The Society claims that these early numbers contained the first published poems by Africans.

To coincide with the 1970 Festival of Arts the Society is offering a prize of ten guineas for the best folio of five poems submitted by one poet. Anyone living in southern Africa is eligible to enter and the judges are Professor Guy Butler and Miss Ruth Harnett, co-editors of *New Coin*, South Africa. Particulars of the competition can be obtained from: The Chairman, Poetry Society of Rhodesia, 22 Bradfield Road, Hillside, Salisbury.

The Graveyard at Old Marandellas

by R. Hodder-Williams

I

Four miles to the south of the present town of Marandellas in the grounds of Ruzawi Preparatory School lies a graveyard in which are buried several people who lost their lives during 1896 and 1897 (photograph one). This graveyard, which was only dedicated on 2nd November, 1967, was laid out in 1936 under the guidance of Robert Grinham and Maurice Carver, then headmasters of Ruzawi School, in approximately its present form. Until their coming, the graveyard remained unkempt, the only change between 1898, when the photograph (photograph two) was taken, and 1936 being the erection of iron crosses in the place of the wooden ones. No one knows who carried out these alterations or when they happened; by the time the Loyal Women's Guild compiled their register of graves in 1909 the iron crosses were already there. I have already sketched out the background to the period 1896-97 in an article in *Rhodesiana* No. 16 so that only the briefest survey of that time is needed to understand the rest of this article. Old Marandellas, which was situated where the present Ruzawi School now is, was the centre of military operations during the Mashona Rebellion and part of the inn there was used as a military hospital. From this base patrols were sent out into the neighbourhood to dislodge various African chiefs and their followers from their kraals which were usually situated on kopjes. Places were named after the chief or headman whose kraal was there.

It must be admitted that this article is really a piece of historical ephemera of little or no intrinsic importance, although I suppose there is always some virtue in uncovering the truth of even the least important events. But there is, I think, something more substantial to be gained by the kind of detection work I have undertaken. In the first place, this article suggests how unreliable many of the old records are and how carefully historians of *Rhodesiana* should treat some of the published records let alone some of the traditional assumptions based largely on hearsay. In the second place, it indicates the wealth of material available in the National Archives for those people who want to delve into the minutiae of early Rhodesian local history.

There are fifteen iron crosses and three marble memorials in the Old Marandellas graveyard.¹ Plate two is a photograph taken at some stage between 1897 and the arrival of the memorial to Barnes which is now situated where the tree in the photograph then stood. If the crosses are counted, it will be seen that at the time the photograph was taken, there were two marble memorials and twelve crosses, but, since the picture was taken obliquely and does not include quite all the graveyard—the wire boundaries can be clearly distinguished—it is



Photograph No. 1. Graves of the Mashona Rebellion. Marble crosses are those of two officers. The rest are of civilians including women and children.

(Photo: Miss M. Brenmand)

possible to imagine two more crosses being there, one in the back row on the right and one in the front row on the left, but no more. When S. H. Gilbert rode there in 1900, there were sixteen memorials.² The conclusion from this photograph is that there were no more than sixteen people, and possibly only fourteen, originally buried there. This gives a certain credence to the commonly held belief about the graveyard, nowhere that I have found substantiated, that some memorials were later added to the cemetery, presumably after 1900. But we still have to discover who these were.

At this stage caution must be exercised. We do not know whether the crosses represent people actually buried there or whether they merely commemorate people who died or were killed in the district. This will become important later on. It is usually assumed that each cross represents one individual, but it is possible, especially if they commemorate people rather than signify their actual burial place, that one cross may represent one family, say a mother and her young children. I think it is clear, however, that most of the crosses, the fourteen to sixteen deduced from the old photograph, do represent people actually buried there. E. A. H. Alderson, who commanded the Imperial troops in Mashonaland in 1896, wrote only two years later that the body of Major Evans "was taken to Marandellas and buried in the little cemetery there, beside poor Barnes, Morris, and others".³ The letters of George McDougal substantiate this.⁴ And so the assumption is made that, once a little cemetery was started, the normal course of events was to bury those who died in the district alongside one another. There is evidence that this was so because Henry

Runciman was definitely buried in the cemetery during the afternoon of 5th October, 1897, right at the end of the period under discussion.⁵

We come now to the question of who was actually buried there. The obvious sources are the lists of those who are supposed to be buried there. There are essentially three of these. The Ruzawi School records (hereafter R.S.R.) actually include two separate lists, which differ alarmingly in details like spelling and initials, but are in substance the same. The source for these lists was a letter of 17th November, 1932, from E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe, who saw active service himself in the Marandellas district in 1897, to Robert Grinham. His information in fact originated from Mrs. Groves who was at one time Honorary Secretary of the Loyal Women's Guild and was deeply involved in their work concerning Pioneer graves. These lists contain nineteen names for the eighteen graves. The second source is the Graves Register of the Loyal Women's Guild (hereafter L.W.G.) which was compiled in 1909, ten years after the end of the Rebellion.⁶ The list contains only seventeen names, all of which appear in the Ruzawi School records although slightly altered as to spelling and dates. But there is no evidence to show from what sources the Loyal Women's Guild compiled their list. Finally there are the records of the British South Africa Company's Police (hereafter B.S.A.P.R.).⁷ These lists indicate neither the date of compilation nor the sources of information. One of them mentions the existence of both iron and wooden crosses together in the graveyard while the other, after stating that there were fifteen unknown crosses, later names seven people as being buried in the Old Marandellas graveyard.

To sort the inconsistencies of these lists out and to corroborate certain details contained in them requires further evidence, from memoirs, diaries, letters, records of the B.S.A.P. and other sources. These are mentioned in the text as they occur. Of course, to be eligible for the correct final list a person must have died during the period 1896-97 or been moved to the cemetery afterwards. Naturally, therefore, the British South Africa Company's published *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia 1896-97* (hereafter cited as *Reports*) must be consulted, especially its casualty figures. It will be found that in many respects this publication is inaccurate.

What I have tried to do is to take each name that appears on any of the three main lists purporting to show who is buried in the Old Marandellas cemetery and, as it were, examine their credentials. This work cannot be conclusive and I am sure that there are other sources which might be tapped to confirm or deny certain of the statements I have made. I would be grateful if anyone could point them out to me.

II

1. *Lieutenant William Edward Barnes* of the Army Service Corps on 10th August, 1896, at Gatzi's. Some sources put the date at 13th August, but this conflicts with the diary of the Mashonaland Field Force kept by Alderson.⁸ He was killed, in Alderson's words, "incautiously looking into

- the mouth of a cave" while reconnoitering for grain and was buried two days later.⁹
2. *Transport Rider Michael Jolliffe* on 17th August, 1896, near Marondera's. He was killed by a sniper while returning from sacking Ushewekuni's kraal. His name appears on all the lists and the date of his death does not vary. Only his initials do.
 3. *Private William Frost* of the 3rd Battalion King's Royal Rifles serving with the Mounted Infantry on 14th September, 1896, at Marandellas Hospital. According to the records of the Imperial Forces he had been wounded by a bullet above the knee on 3rd September about twenty miles to the west of Marandellas (at Thenford Farm—B.S.A.P.R.); his leg was amputated at the thigh on 6th September and he died of wounds eight days later. Some sources (R.S.R. and L.W.G.) confuse the date of his death with the date of his injury. The deaths register of the Master's office gives his place of death as Salisbury Hospital, but this was compiled from information provided two months after the event.¹⁰ Since he was a member of Jenner's column en route from Salisbury to Charter via Marandellas and the records of the Imperial Troops mention a despatch from Jenner concerning the seriousness of his injury it seems more likely that he died and was buried at Old Marandellas.¹¹
 4. *Lieutenant Herbert John Morris* of the Umtali Volunteers on 3rd October, 1896, at Marandellas Hospital. Morris was shot in the thigh while attempting to rescue a fellow officer at Manyabeera's on 2nd October and was rushed to the Marandellas Hospital where he died of an uncontrollable haemorrhage.¹² Alderson states in his book that Morris died the same evening (p. 193) and others have put the date of death as 2nd October (R.S.R., L.W.G., B.S.A.P.R.), but the casualty lists report that he died on the following morning. This is substantiated by George McDougal, but Adams-Acton wrote in his diary: "The doctor was standing near and attended to Morris first. Although it was only a few seconds before the bleeding stopped he lost so much blood that he died during the night."
 5. *Major Francis Studdert Evans* of the 1st Battalion Sherwood Foresters (Derbyshire Regiment) serving with the Mounted Infantry on 19th October, 1896, at Gatzi's. Nearly all sources put the date of death as 20th October but I am sure this is wrong. In his book Alderson writes that on 19th October there was a move to Gatzi's and that "it was while reconnoitering these that poor Evans was shot through the heart and died instantly. In the rush on the kraal Trooper H. P. Earnshaw . . . accidentally shot himself dead."¹³ The diary of Adams-Acton makes it quite clear that the reconnoitering and the attack on the kraal took place on the same morning as they had marched from Marandellas and that the two men died on the same day. Since all sources state that Earnshaw died on 19th October, I prefer to suggest that Evans was killed on the same date. The confusion probably arises from the fact that the burials did not take place until the following day. There is added confusion as to the exact circumstances under which Evans was killed, as this extract from Adams-Acton's diary



Photograph No. 2. Graves of the Mashona Rebellion. Marble crosses are those of two officers. The rest are of civilians including women and children.

(Photo: National Archives)

suggests: "Then Major Evans jumped on a rock to tell us not to rush all over the place but he had hardly shown himself when a bullet got him in the heart and he fell forward dead." An additional point to be borne in mind is that the casualty returns for this encounter were not written until 19th November, 1896, and do not mention Earnshaw at all, so that I feel they must be treated with some reserve.

6. *Trooper Henry Popplewell Earnshaw* of the Umtali Rifles on 19th October, 1896, at Gatzi's. The official records and Alderson's book states that he was accidentally shot in action, tradition having it that he was actually shot by one of his own men. I believe this stems from McDougal's letters but I have not been able to check this. One must choose between the tradition and Adams-Acton's vivid account quoted above. See No. 5 for a fuller appraisal.
7. *Private John Beaty* of the Medical Staff Corps on 29th October, 1896, at Marandellas Hospital. The report for the Medical Officer in charge of the Mounted Infantry, dated 15th November, 1896, states that Beaty died of rheumatic fever and heart disease.¹⁴
8. *Trooper William Henry Bremner* of the Umtali Rifles on 14th February, 1897, at Marandellas. The only details given occur in the errata of the list of casualties (white men) printed in 1898 but which is not identical to the list of casualties published in the B.S.A. Company's *Reports*. The cause of

death is given as suicide which is confirmed in the register of deaths kept in the Master's office.¹⁵ Bremner's name is one of the two decipherable ones in plate two and there can be no doubt, the suicide notwithstanding, that he is buried in the cemetery.

9. *Doctor Joseph A. C. Molony*, surgeon attached to the Umtali Rifles, on 2nd March, 1897. The last three letters of his surname and the initials of his surgical qualifications can be discerned in plate two. The published *Reports* are the only source to give the date of his death as 12th March. The register of deaths gives 2nd March, 1897, and states that he died of fever.
10. *Trooper James Hastie Stoddart* of the Umtali Rifles on 17th April, 1897, at Soswe's.¹⁶ There is no doubt that he was killed in the Marandellas area but there is some uncertainty about where he is buried. There is a memorial to a Studdart (*sic*) at Paradise, four miles to the north of Old Marandellas, alongside several men of the Rhodesian Field Force who died in 1900 and this is mentioned in the B.S.A.P. lists and in the register of the Loyal Women's Guild, the date being an unspecified day in March 1897. It is highly unlikely that Stoddart was buried there because Paradise is further from Soswe's than Old Marandellas and it is surely improbable that men of the Umtali Rifles should carry one of their fellows past an existing graveyard to bury him separately four miles away. My explanation is that the name of Stoddart (or Studdart as it is in some sources), because it appears at the bottom of the Old Marandellas lists and at the top of the Paradise lists, was incorporated by error into the list of those people who were buried at Paradise rather than at Old Marandellas. But there is more to the problem than this. The Ruzawi records, which are derived substantially from those of the Loyal Women's Guild, do include the name of Stoddart, in fact two Stoddarts, a Lieutenant F. Stoddart, whose date of death is given as March 1897, and a Farrier Stoddart, who is supposed to have died on 21st October, 1896; the B.S.A.P. records also include two Stoddarts, Major F. Stoddart (date of death 20th October, 1896) and Lieutenant Studdart (date of death March 1897). Farrier Stoddart and Major F. Stoddart are surely confusions for Major F. Studdart Evans (No. 5) who was thought to have died on 20th October, 1896. The other Stoddarts are almost certainly the same person as Trooper James Hastie Stoddart; only the month, as it is in all the lists, is one out. Finally, when the B.S.A. Police from Goromonzi carried out an inspection of the Old Marandellas graveyard in August 1912, they found that on only one of the crosses was there still a decipherable name and that was Trooper Stoddart. On all the others the paint had been worn away by rain and sun.¹⁷
11. *Trooper James McCormick* of the B.S.A.P. on 11th May, 1897, at Marandellas Hospital. The order book of the B.S.A.P. records his death of fever on that date but the B.S.A.P. list is curiously the only list not to include him.¹⁸ The Loyal Women's Guild refers to him as McCormack.
12. *Trooper George Taylor* of the Umtali Rifles on 28th May, 1897, at Marandellas Hospital. He was wounded on 26th May on a patrol against Chief

Soswe and died two days later. The B.S.A.P. lists put his death on 20th May but the B.S.A. Company's list of casualties agrees with the dates I have chosen.¹⁹

13. *Trooper Albert Fish* of the B.S.A.P. who was found dead on the veld near Marandellas on 7th August, 1897; this is the date which is usually given for his death. His name appears on all the lists but it is curious that no mention is made in the B.S.A.P. order book about losing him from strength.
14. *Henry Runciman* on 5th October, 1897, at Marandellas Hospital. Runciman was not a casualty of the Rebellion. He was taken by a trooper from Major "Maori" Browne's B.S.A.P. troop out of Conductor Webb's wagons a few miles west of Marandellas on 2nd October, 1897, with a temperature of over 106. He died three days later of fever catheria and alcoholic poisoning and was buried the same day.²⁰

III

There are five "claimants" for the remaining crosses and in all cases we must entertain some doubt as to whether any of them were actually buried at Old Marandellas. I have dealt with the duplicated Studdart of the Ruzawi records under No. 10, and I am sure we need not be detained further by that confusion. This leaves four claimants; by 1936 there were four "vacancies", whereas in 1900, the more important date, there were only two. This should not be forgotten. All lists contain the names of Amelius Greyling and Mrs. Heine and her three children and we should perhaps deal with them first.

- (a) *Corlina Martina Heine*, a widow, and her three children, *Mary*, aged 6, *Thomas*, aged 8, and *Frederick*, aged 3. This family is supposed to have been murdered by the Mashona about 20th June, 1896, twenty miles from Charter. The only other reference to them which I have discovered is in a B.S.A. Company's unpublished list of casualties.²¹ It is here stated that their bodies were recovered and buried on 14th and 15th July, 1897. The suggestion that it took two days to recover and bury them indicates either that they were taken some way before being buried, a journey which involved a night stop en route, or that they were buried separately and this took some time. Cornelius Greyling, discussed below, is always mentioned with this family and his body too was recovered and buried on 15th July. The idea of the long journey seems unlikely because Greyling appears to have been buried on the same day as he was discovered and I think it is reasonable to assume that the same patrol dealt with all five people. In addition, the idea of taking bodies which have been lying in the veld for thirteen months a distance of twenty-odd miles to be buried strikes one as very unlikely. The most rational assumption is that the patrol which discovered them buried them individually, the business taking two days, mainly because the Heine family was discovered late in the day. But it is quite possible that memorials to them were later erected in the graveyard

at Old Marandellas. Indeed the only names which Gilbert records after his ride to the graveyard in 1900 are the three officers and Mrs. Heine and family.²² Possibly their crosses were erected after the photograph in plate one was taken, one in memory of Cornelius Greyling and the other in memory of the Heine family; I am sure we must take these five people together.

- (b) *Cornelius Greyling*, a farmer, about 20th June, 1896, twenty miles from Charter. All records have Amelius as the Christian name but his death certificate and his executors' correspondence refer to him as Cornelius and I feel that those are the most reliable sources.²³ Twenty miles from Charter is still a long way from Marandellas and much the same strictures apply to Greyling as applied to the Heine family.
- (c) *Trooper J. Montiman* is supposed to have died on 20th May, 1897. His name appears in both Ruzawi School lists, in both the B.S.A.P. lists and I have presumed that the Trooper Houliman in the graves register of the Loyal Women's Guild is the same person, especially as his date of death is given as 20th May, 1897. His name, however, appears in no casualty list at all nor does it appear in the Register of deaths held by the Master of the High Court. Every other name connected with the Old Marandellas graveyard is included in the central registry of deaths; in other words, although Montiman is assumed to have been buried, there is no evidence at all that he either lived or died.
- (d) *Captain Henry Bremner* of the 20th Hussars on 20th June, 1896, at James White's farm, Mendamu. Bremner was murdered by the Mashona. Major Watts, writing about the Mashonaland Column of the Matabeleland Relief Force, notes that "before leaving (Mendamu) we buried poor Bremner in front of the house as decently as was possible under the circumstances". This was 26th July, 1896.²⁴ The B.S.A. Co. Records state that Bremner's body was discovered on 5th August, 1896, but I suspect that there has been a confusion between James White and Harry Bremner.²⁵ In any case, I prefer the eye-witness account, especially since Watts never went in that direction again and is unlikely to have fabricated the story. The question arises therefore: was Bremner exhumed and reburied at Old Marandellas? Or was a cross erected there in his memory, seeing that he was buried so far from the beaten track? We do not know. The Ruzawi records include his name, but give the date of death as 2nd June, 1896, which is about a fortnight before the Mashona Rebellion began. The earliest B.S.A.P. list states that a H. W. Bremner of the 20th Hussars was buried there, who had died on 14th February, 1897. Trooper W. H. Bremner (No. 8) did die on 14th February, 1897, and *was* buried at Old Marandellas and it seems likely that this list confused the two Bremners.

My conclusions are, somewhat hesitantly, as follows. In 1900, there were sixteen crosses or marble memorials. These commemorate the fourteen people numbered 1-14 in this article and they were actually buried in the graveyard. Two further crosses are memorials to, but not the actual resting place of, Mrs. Heine, her three children, and Cornelius Greyling. Sometime between 1900

and 1936 two further crosses were added; I suspect that, since all the iron crosses are similar, these were added when the wooden crosses were replaced sometime before 1909. This takes care of the tradition that two of the memorials are later accessions. But I cannot guess to whom they refer. I am not yet convinced that Montiman ever existed and I feel certain that the gallant Captain of Hussars is buried elsewhere (although a simple memorial to him may possibly have been erected later). These last two, however, still remain a mystery.

NOTES

1. The present cemetery at Ruzawi (photograph one) contains graves dating from the 1920's and 1930's as well as the Old Marandellas graveyard.
2. S. H. Gilbert, *Rhodesia and After* (being the story of the 17th and 18th Battalions of Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa). London, Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.. 1901.
3. E. A. H. Alderson, *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force 1896*. (London, Methuen, 1898), p. 239. See also p. 114 for reference to Barnes's burial.
4. The letters of George McDougal were in the possession of Mr. Forshaw when I first saw them in 1965, but they have unfortunately been mislaid since then. This is why there are no direct quotations from them.
5. Captain R. Nisbett, B.S.A.P., to the Master of the High Court, Salisbury, 7th October 1897. (National Archives of Rhodesia, hereafter N.A.R., JG 3/3/59.)
6. The correspondence of the Loyal Women's Guild is to be found in N.A.R. GU 1/1/1. It appears as though iron crosses had been erected before the compilation of the register.
7. N.A.R. S 152 and S 153.
8. N.A.R. BA 7/1/1.
9. Alderson, op. cit., pp. 112-14.
10. N.A.R. JG 7/1/3 and JG 3/3/43.
11. N.A.R. BA 7/1/2.
12. The sources here are Adams-Acton (N.A.R. Hist. MSS. AC 1/1/1), McDougal and E. G. Howman's unpublished cyclostyled article *Some notes about Rhodesia*.
13. Alderson, op. cit., pp. 237-8.
14. N.A.R. BA 7/1/2.
15. N.A.R. JG 7/1/3 and BA 7/1/2.
16. I have chosen the month from Percy Inskipp's resume of patrols carried out by the B.S.A. Police in 1897, reprinted in *Reports*.
17. O.C. "B" Troop, Goromonzi, to Secretary Loyal Women's Guild, 8th August, 1912. N.A.R. GU 1/1/1.
18. See N.A.R. BA 6.
19. N.A.R. BA 7/1/2.
20. Captain R. Nisbett, B.S.A.P., to the Master of the High Court, Salisbury, 7th October. 1897. N.A.R. JG 3/3/159.
21. N.A.R. BA 7/1/2.
22. Gilbert, op. cit., p. ?.
23. N.A.R. JG 3/3/41.
24. H. C. O. Plumer, *An irregular corps in Matabeleland*, (Kegan Paul, 1897), p. 220.
25. See R. Hodder-Williams, "Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion", in *Rhodesiana* No. 16, p. 34-5.

"Discoverer of Simbabwe"

The Story of Karl Mauch 1837-1875

by F. O. Bernhard

Part 1

From a wall of the Teachers' Training College at Schwaebisch-Gmuend in Wuerttemberg the stony image of Karl Mauch looks sternly out into the world. The legend below the plaque reads: "Discoverer of Simbabwe". As such his name was perpetuated not only in his native Germany but also in Africa and for many people Mauch and Zimbabwe were synonymous.

Undoubtedly Mauch was the first white man who brought factual news of the great Rhodesian ruins to the world, but it is equally evident that the honour of seeing Zimbabwe as the first white man must go to Adam Render, for it was the latter who showed the ruins to the German explorer on the 5th September, 1871.

Mauch is occasionally mentioned in contemporary diaries of travellers and hunters, but nobody appears to have taken the trouble to find out what kind of man he really was. Although he was a prolific letter writer and diarist, his writings, with two minor exceptions, were never translated into English.

As Mauch wrote in the German Gothic script, which is practically illegible to anybody outside Germany and, furthermore, as his handwriting is particularly difficult to decipher, all that was published in Dr. Petermann's *Geographische Mittheilungen* (Geographical News) were excerpts from letters and reports by Mauch to Dr. Petermann and various German missionaries.

Dr. Petermann never published Mauch's diaries in full. For good reasons, because over the years he had built up an image of this truly German explorer that conformed to the growing German national pride of that era.

The true Mauch, however, as revealed in his diaries, with all his very human faults and weaknesses, was anything but an heroic figure. Therefore, Mauch's journals were never made public. In 1874, shortly before Mauch's death, Petermann published the *Ergaenzungsheft No. 37* to the *Geographische Mittheilungen*, a shortened and severely edited account of Mauch's work in Africa, with the sub-title: "Karl Mauch's Travels in the Interior of Africa."

At the height of German Colonial expansion, in 1895, E. Mager published a biography of Mauch, *Karl Mauch, Lebensbild eines Afrikareisenden*, that, up to the present, has been the standard work on the explorer, and from this stems almost all the misconceptions relating to him.

Since 1904 Mauch's manuscripts were lying in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart, his journals Nos. 3 and 4 must be especially mentioned as they cover his trip to Zimbabwe and to Sena on the Zambezi. A photographic copy of these two volumes was presented to the National Archives of Rhodesia in 1955, but not until these could be transcribed from the Gothic into our roman script and subsequently translated into English, did the reason for their never having been published become apparent.

These journals were written by Mauch for himself, for possible later use as the basis for a book on his African travels. Such as they were, they could never have been made public in their entirety for besides being written in a deplorable style they also show up Mauch's real character which was, to put it mildly, rather controversial.

Having read Mauch's letters to Dr. Petermann, as published in the *Geographical News* from 1867 to 1872, and the very personal diaries of 1869 to 1872 there cannot be the slightest doubt that Petermann actually selected everything that was advantageous to Mauch's reputation and—not to be forgotten—to the young German Empire. This mixture of facts and blatant untruths, coupled with omissions of important details, such as the names of many of his travel companions, has come down to us in the above-mentioned *Ergaenzungsheft* 37.

I

To a child born into a family of very modest means living in a little German village in the first half of the last century, the prospect of becoming famous was extremely slight. Then, much more so than at present, it was almost impossible for any one to attain a higher social position and to grow out of his environment. A child's future life was guided by tradition and also by the kind of education parents were able to afford. Of course, there were exceptions and among those one must count Karl Mauch.

He was born on the 7th May, 1837, at Stetten, a small village in the valley of the Rems, not far from Stuttgart, the Royal capital of Wuerttemberg. His father was a hardworking carpenter whose only aim was to bring his four children up in a God-fearing way to the best of his abilities. Karl showed himself to be a very bright youngster when attending the village school. He was extremely interested in everything concerning nature—and he was ambitious. He was not interested in learning any trade and it was decided that he should become a school teacher. His father somehow managed to send Karl for a further two years to high school in Ludwigsburg. It was during these years, as Mauch states, that, at the age of 15, he became obsessed with Africa, a continent inhabited by savages and wild animals and with many blank spaces on the map. In short, a part of the world that held out great promise for exciting adventures—provided one could get there. And *to* go there eventually, to explore and to discover, was henceforth his only aim. How he would go about it, of course, he did not know, but he would persevere.

After high school he entered the Catholic Teacher Training College in Gmuend and two years later he became an assistant teacher in the small town of Isny. Yet, the annually repeated course of teaching the same subject to children never satisfied Mauch. He was too much of an egotist and individualist to be a good psychologist and schoolmaster. The longer he taught the more he was obsessed by his urge to become an explorer and he spent all his spare time endeavouring to advance his knowledge of geography, geology and astronomy, much to the displeasure of his principal, to whom it soon appeared evident that Mauch's vocation lay not in teaching. So he was allowed to quit his appointment with little regret on the part of the school authorities.

But, how to get to Africa and by what means was still an unsolved, almost unsolvable, problem.

Mauch was fortunate, indeed, when he received an affirmative answer to his application for the position of private tutor to the children of a well-to-do engineer, a Herr Kment, of Teschen, in present-day Czechoslovakia. He remained with this family for close to five years, from 1858 to 1861 in Teschen and then till 1863 at Marburg near Graz in Styria. Here, too, he spent all his spare time in furthering the studies he considered necessary for a future explorer and concentrated especially on astronomy and land-surveying. Besides this he collected plants and minerals and read all the papers and journals containing articles on Africa he could lay his hands on. These he found mostly in the libraries and the museum in Graz which he visited whenever he had an opportunity. The *Geographische Mittheilungen*, edited by Dr. Petermann in Gotha, supplied him with all the African news he could wish for: Von der Decken's disastrous expedition in East Africa, Gerhard Rohlfs's explorations south of Algeria into the Niger-Chad area and many more.

The more he read, the more he was drawn towards the African continent. For some obscure reason he even attempted to learn Arabic, or so he wrote to Dr. Petermann. He prides himself in his writings on several occasions on being an accomplished linguist. This may have been so, although it appears to be rather doubtful when one reads in his diaries his frequent allusions to interpreters he needed. During the four years as tutor to Mr. Kment's two sons Mauch hardly touched his salary and in 1863 he decided to leave his post and to set out as an African explorer. He wrote his first letter to Dr. Petermann, explaining his wishes and his plans but he did not get a very encouraging answer.

Nevertheless, Mauch, for some reason, left for Trieste, but where he went from there, or what he did during the following year, remains a mystery.

In his first letter from Africa to Dr. Petermann in 1865 he mentions that, relying on the promises of an untrustworthy individual—he gives no name—his immediate departure for Africa had been made impossible. He is extremely vague about his whereabouts during 1864, but towards the end of that year he turned up in London where, so he says, he improved his knowledge of natural science by visits to Kew Gardens and the Crystal Palace:

At long last, in November 1864, he could set sail for his promised land, Africa, working his way as a deck-hand on a German sailing ship bound for

Durban from Southampton. On the 15th January, 1865, he landed at Durban and he was not to leave Africa till his return to Germany seven years later.

II

Mauch stepped onto the soil of Africa practically penniless but with the conviction that now, come what may, he would join the long line of African explorers for his own personal satisfaction and for the greater glory of his Fatherland. It is evident that he believed in his mission, not only as an explorer of Africa, but as a *German* explorer of the continent.

His first letter to Dr. Petermann from Africa is dated March 1866, and not much can be learned about his travels in the Transvaal Republic from the time of his arrival to that date.

In Durban he was a stranger in a strange land, a lonely man who did not know anybody in that town, or in all Africa for that matter. But he soon heard of a German settlement not far off, which was then known as "Little Germany". He accepted temporary hospitality at the home of an unnamed settler from where, carrying a letter of introduction, he set out for Pietermaritzburg after a few days. There he got employment as a private tutor from a fellow German, Herr Bergtheil.

Shortly after, he was given the chance to accompany an ox-wagon across the Berg to the high veld of the Transvaal Republic, experiencing for the first time this mode of African travel, with which he would become well accustomed in the future.

Arrived at Rustenburg, he met Consul A. Forssman, a Swedish trader who was soon impressed by Mauch's enthusiasm for exploring the practically unknown interior. It must have been this gentleman who introduced Mauch to his brother, Magnus Forssman, land surveyor to the Government of President Pretorius.

Where Mauch actually started his own surveying of the Republic is not certain, but it appears to have been in the region to the south-west of the Crocodile River (Limpopo) and, very likely, he did so at first in the company of Magnus Forssman.

At Potchefstroom Mauch was introduced to Friedrich Jeppe, a German settler in the Republic and the founder and editor of the *Transvaal Argus*.

Short of funds, Mauch started to collect plants and, especially, minerals which he tried to sell to interested or plainly benevolent people. He also started working on a map of the country, drawing on his own observations in respect of the south-western part and for the eastern area on those of Jeppe and the Rev. Merensky of Lydenburg.

He mentioned to Petermann that he had great hope that the sale of this map would enable him to acquire all the surveying instruments he so badly needed and, also, supply the necessary funds for greater expeditions. His wanderings up to then, throughout the Republic, he only considered as training exercises for what he intended to accomplish in the future.

The map to which he attached so much hope, unfortunately, was not a success as its tracing and printing was bungled by the printing firm in Cape Town. It was later re-drawn and improved upon by Jeppe and Merensky at the time when Mauch travelled north for the first time.

However, one fortunate result came from this unfortunate enterprise. His letter to Petermann and his promise to send a copy of this map as soon as possible really aroused Petermann's interest in this enterprising young man. Germany, particularly at that time when the All-German idea began to take roots, could well do with a new and, possibly, successful German explorer. There existed local geographical societies in many towns of the various German states and to these Petermann appealed in his widely read *Mittheilungen* for contributions to a fund for this new explorer, so as to set him properly on to the adventurous road he had chosen for himself. This appeal was very well received, and a sum of 1,233 Thaler (about £180) was collected, though Mauch only received this money two years later.

In the meantime he continued his restricted wanderings—restricted in comparison to what he later did, and at Lydenburg he met the man who was to become his close friend, the missionary A. Merensky of the Berlin Mission station at Botsabelo.

On one of his trips to the Marico district Mauch met Henry Hartley, the famous elephant hunter who was then returning from one of his annual hunting expeditions in Mosilikatse's country.

Hartley invited Mauch to accompany him on his next journey to the north and Mauch eagerly accepted this offer.

III

Mauch's difficult character reveals itself particularly in his journals Nos. 3 and 4. He was a man plagued by emotionalism, always willing to accept, seldom giving and utterly incapable of getting along with anyone for long. His aptitude for self-pity is astonishing and his capacity for hate, be it for an individual or for a foreign nation as a whole, is nothing short of unpleasant. As will be seen, there is not one travelling companion during his seven years of wanderings who is not treated with scorn and insults after a time. Henry Hartley is the first in the line of Mauch's fellow-travellers whose kindness was repaid with gross ingratitude and libel. Two more differing *men* can hardly ever have travelled together in the interior of southern Africa; Mauch, the self-centred and ambitious German, and Hartley, the grand old man of African hunting, whom Mauch, in his first enthusiasm, describes as: "the splendid and cultured Mr. Hartley".

Hartley's annual hunting trips up north were quite an event, the party consisting of several white people. On this one, Mauch's first experience, it included two of Hartley's sons, Christian Harmsen, Mauch and, possibly, one or two others. Mauch is very vague about the members of any particular party and fails completely to discuss or to describe any of his companions. A short

remark that he learned much about hunting from Harmsen is all that he has to say about that experienced hunter and Hartley himself is seldom mentioned, and, after all, it was he who enabled Mauch to discover gold.

It was obviously not given to Mauch to draw a pen-picture of his fellow men, but his descriptions of the regions through which he passed are often most interesting, well observed and at times even beautiful.

During his wanderings in the Republic in 1865 he made use of the chance to improve his knowledge of astronomical observations, topographical survey and he concentrated on mineralogy. It is astounding with what fervour he used his newly acquired special knowledge. Not only did he observe accurately the country as a whole, the geological peculiarities of its mountain ranges, the course of the rivers, its flora and fauna, he also mapped his route with the sole help of a pocket compass. At that period his mapping was far ahead of all previous attempts.

Mauch could take only a very few belongings with him as passenger on an ox-wagon, a fact which he bemoans, for he was allowed to place only a small box on it. He would have liked to have taken a collection of mineral samples back with him, but this Hartley could not permit.

Hartley's party advanced far beyond Mosilikatse's residence. Its northernmost point was near the Umpuli River. All the while Mauch concentrated on geological and topographical observations and when, in January 1867, the party returned to Hartley's farm Thorndale in the Magalisberg after seven and a half months away, he sent a detailed report on his expedition to Dr. Petermann. Excerpts from this were published in the *Mittheilungen* of 1868.

Mauch returned from Thorndale to his friends in Potchefstroom and stayed there for just over two months before setting out on his second trip at the invitation of Hartley, in March 1867.

This trip was to produce one of the highlights of Mauch's career: the discovery of several gold-fields.

The route followed almost exactly the one of the previous year, the turning point being a few miles north of the Umpuli. There took place the discovery of gold which has acquired the character of a legend. Whether Hartley discovered the veins, or Mauch, is debatable. Certain it is that Hartley was not interested in developing any possible discovery of the precious metal, as this could have caused trouble with Mosilikatse and would have interfered with any further hunting. Mauch, on the other hand, was anything but a keen hunter; he realised that he could never compete in this field with the old hands, but the discovery of gold would certainly enhance his reputation as an explorer.

Hartley, on wounding an elephant, had followed the stricken animal and, coming up with its carcass, he noticed several pits dug into the ground. The story that the elephant fell on top of a gold reef and that a native showed Hartley a rock-sample containing visible gold does not appear to be true, in spite of the fact that Thomas Baines painted that scene.

According to Mauch this is what happened:

On returning to the camp Hartley told him about the numerous pits he had come across when following the elephant and mentioned that extensive

mining must have taken place thereabouts in earlier days. This, of course, was music in Mauch's ears. The next day he left camp accompanied by a Mashona, ostensibly to go honey-gathering. Mauch was very wary of the Matabele who accompanied the party as Mosilikatse's spies. By a devious route he found the site of Hartley's pits and at once recognised these as old gold-workings. After completing his survey of the reef, he returned to camp with some rock samples, highly excited with "HIS" discovery. His appetite for prospecting was now wetted and he actually discovered gold on three more occasions during the return journey to the south. Two of these gold-fields were not far from the original site on the Umfuli, only slightly to the south-west on the Umzweswe and on the Sebakwe.

The party came to an enforced temporary halt at Mosilikatse's residence. In his report to Petermann Mauch gives a very interesting description of the Matabele people, their customs and of the old king himself.

Continuing on their return trip, Mauch made his most important gold discovery on the Tati River. This, soon after, caused a considerable stir in the mining world.

All this prospecting by one of his companions and, worse, the discovery of gold must have worried Hartley a lot and it is likely that after the Tati excitement Hartley's attitude towards the impetuous Mauch became somewhat cooler. In any case, Mauch parted from Hartley on his return to Thorndale in December 1867 and never mentions his host of two extended trips further, except when, years later, he told Dr. Petermann personally, that: "the old Hartley was a traitor to him and that, because of his and Jan Viljoen's intrigues he, Mauch, could never risk again being seen by the Matabele".

IV

The interval between this last trip and his next was full of satisfaction for Mauch. He had left Thorndale for Natal, but his fame as the discoverer of gold "up North" had spread before him like wildfire. Here it must be mentioned that Mauch was never out to make a fortune; he was too fanatical an explorer, and not for a moment did he consider accepting the offer of chairmanship of a goldmining company that was to be floated in Natal for the exploitation of the northern gold-fields.

To his pleasant surprise he learned that the money collected for him in Germany by Dr. Petermann had, at last, arrived. Now he was able to equip himself with everything he needed for his future expeditions. Of the 1,233 Thaler (approximately £180) he spent only £70 for personal effects, the rest he used to buy surveying and astronomical instruments.

He was befriended by the Colonial Secretary for Natal, Mr. Erskine, who helped him along in every way and also enabled him to check all his instruments at the Pietermaritzburg observatory. During this time Mauch contacted Erskine's son, St. Vincent, a surveyor by profession, and they decided to undertake a journey to the north of the Limpopo together later in the year.

Mauch returned to Potchefstroom in April and began with the preparations for his projected trip. His intention was to walk from Potchefstroom via Lydenburg to Inhambane and from there to follow Rita Montanha's route of 1856 to the Zoutpansberg and from there, once more, across the Limpopo and on to Inyati from where he intended eventually to advance to the Equator. From this plan it does not appear that he lived in terrible fear of the Matebele, for he certainly could not expect to visit Inyati without Mosilikatse being aware of his presence there.

Beside St. Vincent Erskine there was another man who wished to take part in this journey, a newcomer to Africa, Paul Jebe from Schleswig in Germany, a highly-cultured civil engineer, who also had been fascinated by the free life and the adventures of African wanderings into the unknown. Jebe died of black-water fever two years later near the Umfuli as a member of G. Wood's disastrous hunting party.

Mauch and his companions started on their way to Lydenburg and remained there at Merensky's mission station for a while. On this occasion Jebe and Erskine named the highest peak in the Drakensberg "Mauch Berg", by which name this mountain is known to this day.

This, now, is mere supposition, but it appears that the rather Teutonic atmosphere of the mission station may have raised doubts in St. Vincent Erskine as to whether it was worth his while to spend weeks and months in the bush in company of the two Germans. On such a trip, more so than on any other occasion, familiarity breeds contempt and nerves become easily frayed. The bare fact is that at Lydenburg Erskine left the party and set off by himself to explore the Limpopo delta.

As usual, Mauch describes in his letters and in his journals only what had happened to him personally, what *he* had done or suffered and, for all one can learn from his writings, he might as well have been travelling all by himself. All we know from Mauch concerning the unfortunate Jebe is, that he gave him his marching orders when they reached Inyati as Jebe was a spoilt "softy" and not fit to take part in such a trip through the wilderness.

From Lydenburg Mauch and Jebe started on their journey north, passed Origstad which then was deserted because of its unhealthy climate. They descended the steep fall of the Quathlamba range into the low veld of what is now the southern region of the Kruger Park. Mauch made frequent topographical and geological observations along the whole of the route and he elaborates on the hardships *he* had to suffer and how little food *he* was able to obtain. A pack-ox which had been given to him by Merensky and Nachtigal at Lydenburg fell victim to the tsetse just short of the Limpopo and his only dog also died—of hunger!

The description of this particular trip, though extremely interesting in various details, is, on the whole, one long and sustained tale of woe.

Proceeding along the Bubyee, north of the Limpopo, they came to a country in the grip of a prolonged drought and they certainly must have suffered many privations. The local inhabitants had not enough food for themselves as game had been almost killed off, so that Mauch and Jebe were reduced to subsisting



Mauch's compass and route map.

(Photo: National Archives)

on roots. Mauch even states that he was forced by hunger to eat the soles of his shoes which were made of buffalo-hide. Maybe!

About half-way between the Limpopo and Inyati the travellers met with a party of roving Matabele who promptly took Mauch and Jebe prisoners.

Mosilikatse had previously had troubles with Dutch poachers in that part of his country and consequently had closed it completely to travellers.

The Matabele at once marched Mauch and Jebe to Inyati, in a great hurry and almost without a stop. This had one advantage, in that poor Mauch no longer had to go hungry, for his captors knew only too well how to obtain food from the wretched Makalanga. Yet Mauch was very unhappy and cross because he was never given a chance to make topographical observations on this last part of his expedition; neither could he gather any information about the rumoured Egyptian ruins that he thought were close by.

Arrived at Inyati, he found that the Rev. Sykes had left the country and that Mr. Thomas was in charge of the station. Thomas advised Mauch against leaving the country before the new Matabele king had been installed.

Mosilikatse had died two months earlier, so Mauch settled down at the mission station for an indefinite period, but he was soon summoned to appear before N'gumbat, the induna in charge of affairs of state during the interregnum. He was very scared for, as he writes, he suspected that Jan Viljoen had intrigued against him while the old king was still alive. He covered the distance of 45 miles from Inyati to the royal kraal in two days, expecting the worst, but, apart

from being kept there for three days, nothing untoward happened. As Mauch had been brought to Inyati together with Jebe, it is reasonable to assume that the latter also had to appear before N'gumbat, yet in typical Mauchian fashion Jebe is not even mentioned by Mauch any further, except when he tells that he sent Jebe on his way at Inyati.

As Mauch had received funds from Germany in 1868 he was now free to explore the unknown interior whenever he thought it time to do so and wherever his fancy took him. At the back of his mind existed the plan to advance eventually across the Zambezi right up to the equator. His trip to Inyati would merely be the first step. As the journey was done on foot with only a few porters, he had, before he set out with Jebe from the Republic, arranged to have his heavy luggage sent on to Inyati by any hunting party proceeding north to Mosilikatse's. He was convinced that he would find all his boxes waiting for him, but this arrangement came to nothing for he soon realised that his goods not only had not arrived in Matabeleland but had never been despatched there at all.

Therefore he was more or less stranded at Inyati, for the rainy season was about to begin. He made some short trips to the north and east of the station, the farthest up to the Umniati, but continuous rains made it impossible for him to do any serious topographical work.

At the mission station he was able to make improvements and to add fresh details to his map of all the parts of Central Africa that he had travelled over during the two trips with Hartley, from the Umfuli in the north down to the Magalisberg in the south.

In his letters and reports to Dr. Petermann in Gotha and to missionary Nachtigal in Lydenburg, Mauch describes the country and its inhabitants, both the Mashona and the Matabele, in a very interesting way and his pen-picture of the old Mosilikatse is of great historical importance, while his adventure with elephants is written with a quite unexpected sense of humour.

After the royal succession had been settled and Lobengula installed as king, Mauch managed to accompany a wagon-party leaving for the south and he returned safely to Potchefstroom, without giving any information as to the people who made up this party.

V

Karl Mauch had a difficult character, to say the least, but one must not judge him by any common standard.

He had grown out of his native, small environment when still a boy, and, on becoming a school teacher he should have reached the height of his possibilities. Yet he was not satisfied and his ambition spurred him on to greater things. He was an autodidact and, with his somewhat limited educational background, he was bound to suffer from a feeling of inferiority later on when he met and mixed with more cultured people. He was destined to become a very lonely man, being unable to get on with hardly anyone because of his arrogance

which, however, was no more than a defensive shield for his intellectual shortcomings, probably without his realising it.

Of loyalty to his fellow men, except possibly Dr. Petermann, whom he must have felt was the man who helped him to fame, he knew nothing. It becomes evident from his writings that only he himself, and his Fatherland, mattered to him.

As frequent outbursts of emotionalism and sentimentality are to be found in the pages of Mauch's two diaries it is all the more strange that he not once mentions his old parents at home, and it is evident that during all his years in Africa he never wrote a letter to them.

A letter by his old father to Dr. Petermann, asking him for a copy of all reports in the *Mittheilungen* concerning his son, makes pathetic reading. The old man writes that he had never had any news at all from Karl and that, with his meagre pension, he was unable to pay for a subscription to the *Geographische Mittheilungen*. When Mauch finally returned to Germany he first went to meet Dr. Petermann in Gotha without even letting his parents know that he was back again. Mauch's lack of gratitude has already been mentioned, but his abuse of almost all of his travel companions as well as of people who helped him along, like Albasini, Leal and Render is, at times, almost unbelievable. His capacity for hate knows no bounds. In his diaries he expresses in no uncertain manner his distaste for the English, the Boers, the Portuguese, not to mention the Africans whom he simply calls a "bestial race". One wonders what all these thought of Herr Mauch!

While one cannot help admiring Mauch's topographical and geological work, his conduct in the veld—and in the field of human relations—has nothing endearing about it. That the still very primitive Africans with whom he came in contact and among whom he had to live at times, ran rings around him, goes almost without saying. Mauch's weak points must have been just too obvious to these intuitive black people, the more so, as Mauch often appears to have been rather scared of them.

Physically Mauch was extremely well fitted for his work. He was exceptionally tall, broad-shouldered, immensely strong and of perfect health, at least during his first four years in Africa. He was full of energy and hardships meant little to him as long as he had not to go hungry. Unfortunately, he often ran out of food on his journeys, as his frequent laments in his journals show time and again.

Mauch's last journey from the Transvaal Republic to Sena eventually made him known to a wider public, for, on this trip he "discovered" the Zimbabwe ruins, or, rather, he was the first white man to give a factual description of the ruins to the world.

Except for excerpts of Mauch's letters to Petermann, Merensky, Gruetzner and Nachtigal which Petermann deemed suitable for publication in his *Mittheilungen* and in the *Ergaenzungsheft* of 1874, everything else that was known about him stems from Mager's biography of the explorer, published in 1895. Mager, obviously, must have had access to the diaries as he mentions several episodes of Mauch's travels which are not found in Petermann's earlier reports.

But Mager, too, withholds many facts just as Petermann did twenty years earlier, and for the very same reasons. The German explorer had to be presented as a kind of national hero and, therefore, everything that would show up the explorer's inherent weaknesses had, naturally, to be kept out of any biographical study.

Now, almost a hundred years after Mauch's wanderings in Central Africa, it is he himself who allows one to form an unbiased opinion of his character.

On his last journey from the Zoutpansberg to Quelimane Mauch kept two diaries. One contained his rough notes, jotted down while actually travelling. This "Rough Journal", as he called it, consists of loose leaves, now partly damaged by moisture. At intervals, or whenever he had time to spare, he used these notes to write his final journals, adding further details or descriptions of various incidents that had occurred since his last entry.

From the first entry in his Journal 3, dated 30th September, 1869, to the last one in Journal 4 of the 5th October, 1872, he reveals himself as being a very controversial individual and it becomes evident that towards the end of his African adventures the hardships of his journeys and a mysterious illness had definitely reduced his intellectual powers to an extent that must have puzzled and shocked Dr. Petermann when he met Mauch for the first time on his return to Germany. By then Mauch was no longer the heroic discoverer of Zimbabwe who had been held up as an example of German enterprise and toughness in adversity, but a poor, confused wreck of a man who could not possibly be integrated into the society to which he had always tried so hard to belong.

Journal No. 3

From October 1869 to April 1870 Mauch travelled widely in the western and northern parts of the Republic, exploring by himself the little-known mountain ranges from the Blauwberg and Hangklip mountains in the north to the Waterberg and Pilands mountains further south, mapping the regions through which he passed and describing the flow and the directions of the rivers he had to cross.

He met with all kinds of odd people on isolated farms and, although hardly any reminiscences of these meetings appear in his journals, he must have remembered many incidents which he told Dr. Petermann later on and of which Petermann made use when editing the *Ergaenzungsheft*.

Mauch was always at his happiest when he could stay with some German missionaries, of whom there were quite a number spread over the country, and, as this was just at the time when Prussia had invaded France there were always ample reasons for the patriotic discussions of which he was so fond.

Not much contact, however, did he have with the simple farmers of the backveld whom he could hardly understand; neither could these make out what kind of man this bearded giant was, who tramped the wild country on foot. A thing no self-respecting Boer would ever dream of doing.

Mauch clearly did not like the Afrikaners as a whole, but this dislike appears to have been mutual as he frequently met with a very unkind reception when he approached one of these lonely farmsteads.

He had already mapped the eastern parts of the Republic during the previous years, relying for some details on the earlier observations of Jeppe and Merensky, but now he was able to add details of the hitherto unmapped north-western part. However, he did not complete the map until 1871, when he sent it off to Dr. Petermann while he was on his way to the north and to Zimbabwe.

It is unfortunate that Mauch had neither the will nor did he feel the urge to portray any of the personalities he came in touch with, for in between his topographical excursions he met almost every well-known man in the Republic: Pretorius, Burger, Kruger and many others.

In the first half of 1870 there was a Portuguese mission—Commission for the Colonisation of the Portuguese Possessions on the Zambesi—headed by the Governor of Quelimane, Barahona de Costa, in the capital, Pretoria, and matters concerning the two countries were discussed with Pretorius and his cabinet. Mauch hints at the fact that Pretorius suggested that he accompany a member of that commission who was about to return to Lourenço Marques via New Scotland with the view of spying out the land between that port and Lydenburg on his return.

There were some plans afoot for constructing a direct road from the Republic to Lourenço Marques, which latter was considered by many well-placed persons in Pretoria to be the natural port for the Republic. Whether Mauch really was asked to act on behalf of the government is not clear, for he certainly never mentions that he reported back to the President on his return from that trip.

Mauch set out from Pretoria in the company of Lt. Leal, a member of the government delegation, on the 8th June, 1870. These two men were not exactly a well-matched pair. Leal was a Naval Lieutenant and as such must have been of a good family and well educated and he was not inclined to rough it excessively on his march to Lourenço Marques so that Mauch complains right from the start of the unfitness of *his* companion for such an expedition. Paul Jebe comes to one's mind! Mauch, in typical manner, gives one to understand that this was *his* expedition and that *he* was burdened with Leal's company.

From Lydenburg the route passed through the recently occupied New Scotland—present-day Swaziland—in which many Scots farmers had been settled according to McCorkindale's scheme. Near Derby he met St. Vincent Erskine again, but he hardly mentions his erstwhile friend. After descending from the Drakensberg the party crossed the Lebombo range and made its way across the unhealthy coastal plain to Lourenço Marques.

As always, Mauch was very observant on this trip and his description of the region, its fauna, flora and geological peculiarities are of great interest and his description of a particular hunting adventure is decidedly comical. He had almost been trampled by buffaloes, missed a rietbuck at point-blank range, finally shot some feathers off a bustard and then ended up in felling a sapling with one bullet, returning to camp hungry and, therefore, in a very unpleasant mood.

He complains bitterly of the length of time the party took for this trip: 83 days, of which only 35 were spent in travelling. His entry in the journal when

they arrived at Lourenço Marques finishes with: "Thanks be to the Lord! I am free of his (Leal's) company!"

Mauch was not very impressed with Lourenço Marques, nor with the sixteen white Portuguese inhabitants, including the Governor, Simoes.

Because of the unhealthy climate the Portuguese lived there without their wives and Mauch is terribly shocked at the moral debasement of these white colonists. Even the Governor himself kept a black "housekeeper" in place of an understanding housewife! Yet, Mauch was treated with every kindness by the Governor; he was even given the chance of visiting Inhaca Island which, however, impressed him still less than Lourenço Marques and he feels that if only *one* white non-Portuguese, clearly a German, were put in charge of the town, development would be quick and spectacular.

He stayed with the Governor for three weeks and left for his walk to Lydenburg on the 29th August, not without emotionally mentioning the almost tearful farewell from his good friend Leal.

It is from this date on that Mauch appears to become more and more inconsistent, more emotional and confused in his writings. On his march back to the Republic he is at great pains to describe the agonies of hunger he had to suffer and that he was without any food at all for six days. Yet he also writes that on the third day of absolute starvation he had shot a francolin and made "delicious soup" of it. It may also be doubted whether his porters would have carried on with him without getting any food for six whole days. It was just then that Mauch felt that something was not as it should be with his physical condition.

For the first time he appears to have realised that even a physically powerful and healthy man is not immune to the ravages of tropical Africa. He felt feverish, but knowing that he was not far from Lydenburg where he would get attention from the good missionaries, he forced his march, only to collapse shortly before reaching the first farm on his route. His porters had to carry him to the homestead. He was immediately transported by cart to the mission station at Lydenburg where he was nursed back to health by the resident missionary, Herr Doering.

In the second week of October Mauch travelled to Pretoria on the wagon of a Dutch clergyman. In his journal he expresses his eternal gratitude to Herr Doering, as he had saved his life. It is strange to note in this respect that Herr Doering is never mentioned by name in either the *Ergaenzungsheft* or in Mager's biography. In both these works it is simply stated that Mauch was helped by a missionary at Lydenburg, yet, both Petermann and Mager had access to Mauch's journals. Mager even goes so far as to suggest in an additional note that this missionary probably was Herr Nachtigal!

There are no entries in Mauch's journal from the 16th September, 1870, to the 3rd April, 1871. Mauch recuperated during this interval, however, in a most original manner, for in December he started on a solitary boat trip down the Vaal River from its junction with the Mooi River to Hebron, a distance of approximately 350 miles.

His friend, Mr. Forssman, had intended to descend the Vaal on a large raft

but as the course of the river had not been properly surveyed at that time, nor had the feasibility of navigating the river at all been ascertained, Mauch proposed to see for himself, using a small, leaking, 10-ft.-long boat, and hoping that this trip would restore him fully to his former health.

Fearing possible ship-wreck he did not take his journal with him, but after he had returned safely on foot to Potchefstroom, he wrote a lengthy letter about his excursion to Dr. Petermann which subsequently appeared in the *Mittheilungen* of 1871. In his description of the boat trip he shows himself again a very observant traveller. The manner in which he paints a picture of the riverine landscape and, especially, its bird life has great charm.

Mauch used the time in between short excursions to formulate and perfect his plans for the future. He was still intent on exploring the unknown north—he even hoped to progress as far as the Equator.

In the meantime, however, he had become fascinated by reports and tales of mysterious ancient towns in "Banyailand" across the Limpopo.

That extensive ruins of a town, built in stone, did exist north of that river was not only guessed but known for certain as quite a few black hunters had been there and had reported on them. But no white man had as yet given any evidence of having seen them, though it may well be that some inarticulate Dutch hunters had seen the ruins during a hunting expedition across the Limpopo. However, the ruins were believed to be relics of either an Egyptian or Sabaeen period of occupation. This conformed, of course, with the romantic notions of the mid-nineteenth century.

All these tales and theories greatly influenced Mauch's plans. He just had to be the discoverer of the ruins during his journey to the north. He paid another visit to Merensky at Botsabelo, near Lydenburg, and stayed there for about a month. Merensky was well aware of the existence of the fabled ruins. He himself had attempted to reach them a few years earlier but was obliged to abandon his trip because of an outbreak of smallpox in the valley of the Limpopo and the resulting unwillingness of his porters to proceed any further.

At Botsabelo Mauch's plans took on definite shape and, as Merensky was unable to travel with him because of troubles with the surrounding tribes, he proposed to set out by himself.

In the meantime he had acquired all the trade goods he thought necessary for his long trip, but as he intended to travel light as far as the Zoutpansberg, he sent his luggage ahead directly to Albasini's residence, east of Schoemansdal on the south slope of the mountains.

As he writes, besides earnest discussions of the ruins and their origin, the favourite theme was the Franco-Prussian war, and patriotic feeling must have run high.

On the 9th May he started for the north in a straight line for the Zoutpansberg. But he had not reckoned with Chief Masserumule's hostility towards all missionaries and people who he thought were connected with them for, on arriving at the chief's kraal, he was not even admitted to his presence and neither guides nor porters could Mauch obtain. There was nothing else to do but to return to Botsabelo and to start afresh on a different and longer route. Mauch

was fortunate in getting a lift on a wagon carrying goods from Botsabelo to the Berlin Mission station of Matlala, a little north of Marabastad, where his friend Gruetzner was in charge. All went well till, in the vicinity of Makapansgaat, the box containing his scientific instruments fell off the wagon and most of the instruments were severely damaged. This, of course, was a great and serious loss for him as now, once again, just as on his first journeys with Hartley, he had to rely for any observations solely on his pocket compass. Mauch stayed with Gruetzner for several days and then he learned that the Rev. Hofmeyr would be passing by on his way to his station, McKidds, at the foot of the Zoutpansberg. When this gentleman arrived Mauch was invited to accompany him on his wagon. Arrived at the deserted Schoemansdal Mauch took the road to the right and reached Albasini's place on the 27th June.

Albasini was surely one of the most picturesque characters living south of the Limpopo in the second half of the nineteenth century. His real name was Giovanni Albucini, but this was corrupted into Joao Albasini by the Portuguese. He was the son of an Italian merchant-navy captain who had left him in Lourenço Marques to explore the hinterland with a view to starting up a trading post there.

Albasini settled first on the Sabi River east of Lydenburg, but after a few years he moved on to the Zoutpansberg where he conducted every kind of business, legal or not so legal, traded in white and black ivory and even became the chief of a Knobnose clan. He also held the position of a Portuguese Consul, though for what reason nobody seems to know as the Zoutpansberg and the Spelonken district had never really come under effective administration of the Transvaal Republic. He was more or less king in this part of the country and was certainly at times a thorn in the side of the Transvaal authorities. Nevertheless, as long as he was left in peace or, rather, was allowed to do what he liked, he never interfered directly with the Boers and their non-existent administration of this north-eastern corner of the Republic.

Albasini had built for himself a veritable castle, impregnable to any native force. According to Mauch, this fort must have been a unique structure with towers at all the four corners and in place of a pair of real cannon Albasini had two large iron cooking-pots placed above the main entrance.

To this fort Mauch had sent his effects which, on his arrival, he found in good order. He stayed with Albasini for almost a month as his guest. He completed there his comprehensive map of the Republic and sent it off to Dr. Petermann. He also wrote to St. Vincent Erskine, asking him to forward a new set of instruments—to be paid for by a draft on Petermann. When Mauch had time on his hands he liked to write about all sorts of subjects and in his journal he paints a very interesting picture of Albasini's fort and the people living in and around it—except of his host.

Mauch appears to have been too engrossed with his own person to have been able to describe and characterise any white man he came in contact with. To state the name and, possibly, the profession of any of his companions was good enough for him and so one need not search his writings for any personal details of his "friends" who, in any case, sooner or later became his enemies!

The only people he ever described are native chiefs and headmen, people well below his standard and, as such, no danger to his reputation.

Now that he was about to leave the Transvaal for good, he felt it his duty to pronounce judgement on the Boers among whom he had lived for five years. He does this in a rather unpleasant manner. Under the heading "Bad Times" he strongly criticises the way the Boers were running their state, accuses the authorities of corruption, ridicules their commandos and describes at length the abomination of the alleged traffic in slaves. Though he may not be entirely wrong in all of his criticisms, as a parting gesture this essay is typically "Mauch"!

While staying with Albasini he put all his effects in order and bought some more trade goods, but he had some difficulties in getting the nine porters he needed for his journey. He also describes touchingly how he was able to free five children from beyond the Limpopo who had been kidnapped and how he was going to take them with him to restore them to their families.

At long last he was ready to start on his historic journey into the unknown. He left Albasini on the 30th July, 1871, accompanied by his nine porters, one guide and interpreter and the five wretched children.

The last paragraph in his Journal No. 3 is well worth quoting: "In view of the re-united Fatherland, standing in the forefront of all the Nations, and, with the image of the Kaiser, crowned with victory, may now the most valuable and important, the hitherto most mysterious part of Africa be tackled: The Old Monomotapa or Ophir! May God help me!"

One can almost see him goosestepping across the Limpopo!

(To be continued)

SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

Vol. XXII, No. 2 of July 1969 of this journal contains one article of historical interest. It is "The Growth of the Transport Network of Malawi" by John Perry. It mentions the road links with Rhodesia and also the air links through such organisations as Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways and Central African Airways. When Central African Airways was dissolved in 1967, Air Malawi came into being the following year. At present it aims to provide rapid links with neighbouring countries such as Rhodesia rather than to establish a comprehensive internal system.

There are articles on the grasslands of Malawi, reptiles, cattle in Malawi and an interesting study on the rice development scheme on Lake Chilwa. Here, demonstrators from Taiwan work plots side by side with Malawian plot-holders.

Birth of an Airline Establishment of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways

by J. McAdam

INTRODUCTION

The first aircraft to land on Rhodesian soil—the trail-blazing Vickers Vimy "Silver Queen II," flown by Van Ryneveld and Brand, with two mechanics—arrived at Bulawayo on 5th March, 1920 after an epic flight across Europe and down Africa.¹

Little more than a month later—on 8th April—Rhodesia's first enterprise to concern itself with aviation, Airoad Motors, was registered but never acquired any aircraft or other vehicles, and went into liquidation after a few months. During its brief existence, however, it acted as agents for the visiting "barn-stormer" pilots Thompson and Rutherford, who toured Southern and Northern Rhodesia during the period 23rd May to 8th October, 1920, and whose Avro 504K aeroplane "Rhodesia" was the first ever seen by thousands of Rhodesians and conveyed hundreds on their first flight.

During the winter of 1922 Rhodesia's first operational air company, Rhodesian Aerial Tours, was established at Bulawayo by the pioneer South African airman, Major A. M. Miller, D.S.O. A little over two months later, on 13th August, 1922, the company's only aircraft—an Avro named "Matabele"—sustained moderate damage while attempting to take off from an improvised landing ground at Rusape. The machine was never repaired, and the company went into liquidation soon afterwards.

Then came a five-year aeronautical vacuum in Rhodesia during which the sole activity seems to have amounted to a sum total of three aircraft which passed through Bulawayo. In July 1925 two D.H.9 machines of the Union (of South Africa) Defence Force flown by Captain C. W. (now Air Vice-Marshal Sir Charles) Meredith and Captain Tasker transited Bulawayo en route to Livingstone for a survey of the Okavanga Swamp area in connection with Professor Schwarz's Kalahari irrigation scheme. Then, in January 1926 Mr. (soon to become Sir) Alan Cobham, flying a D.H.50 aeroplane, spent a few days at Bulawayo in the course of an air route survey which he was conducting on behalf of Imperial Airways Ltd.

Such was Rhodesia's aeronautical background when, early in 1927, Captain J. Douglas Mail, A.F.C. (known to friends and acquaintances throughout southern Africa as "Duggie" Mail), came to Bulawayo from Natal to join Mr. B. M. Cairns' Motor and Cycle Supply Co. (M.C.S.).

RHODESIAN AVIATION SYNDICATE

Douglas Mail brought with him, by rail, a war-surplus D.H.6B aircraft which he had been operating in Natal. For several weeks he devoted his spare time to unpacking and assembling his aeroplane at the home of Mr. Aston Redrup, another enthusiast for aviation. Then, on 9th August, came the announcement in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*: "Bulawayo Flying Scheme—Commercial Aviation Should Be Established in a Few Days. The Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate has been formed, chiefly financed by Mr. Harry L. Stewart, Filabusi mine-owner and rancher. Other members are Mr. A. G. Hay, Capt. J. D. Mail and Mr. A. S. Redrup (Secretary); Mr. John Coghlan is acting in a legal capacity. The three-seater aeroplane was the property of Captain Mail."

A week later, on 16th August, the *Chronicle* reported: "The D.H.6B named 'Baby Tank' took off from the race course on its first flight in Rhodesia soon after 4 p.m. on Sunday (14th August). Mr. J. Norman swung the propeller and then got into the front seat."

Five weeks later the syndicate received a cable from the aircraft's manufacturers, de Havillands of England, which read: "Congratulations on getting D.H.6 into the air. Must be only about four left in the world."

On Tuesday, 20th September, the aircraft was chartered by the Duc de Nemours to fly to the village of Plumtree, some 60 statute air miles south-west of Bulawayo, where the Duc was to dine that evening with Mr. R. W. Hammond, headmaster of Plumtree School. Captain Mail and his passenger took off from Bulawayo race-course in the D.H.6 at 4.30 p.m., but when less than ten miles out they were forced, due to loss of engine power, to land in a clearing. One of the aircraft's wings sustained slight damage, and they had to walk back some miles to Bellevue suburb.

The damaged aircraft was transported back to Bulawayo, where it was stored at the Drill Hall, pending repairs. But it never flew again, and it seems to be generally accepted that the machine was under-powered for successful operation at Bulawayo (average elevation 4,500 ft. above sea-level).

As Mr. A. G. Hay was in London at the time, the syndicate cabled him requesting that he order a Moth aircraft from de Havillands to replace the D.H.6. At about this time, too, it was arranged that the syndicate would assume the agency for the de Havilland Company in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. This was reported to be the first de Havilland franchise in Southern Africa.

While in London Mr. Hay took the opportunity to interview Sir Henry Birchenough, the Duke of Abercorn and Sir Otto Beit, directors of the Chartered Company, regarding what was termed "flying prospects in Rhodesia". (Presumably this meant that he made an unsuccessful attempt to touch them for some financial assistance on behalf of the syndicate.)

Then, on 12th October, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported: "New Aviation Company—A meeting to consider the flotation of . . . a company to be called 'The Rhodesian Aviation Co., Ltd.' was held recently in the offices of Mr. J. C. Coghlan. Those present: Mr. Francois Issels (Chairman), Dr. S. H. Freeze, Messrs. A. C. Thornton, J. C. Coghlan, Major C. M. Newman, Captain J. D. Mail, Major Grant Duncan and Mr. Aston Redrup, Secretary of the Rhodesian



Avro 504K aeroplane (named "Matabele") of Rhodesian Aerial Tours Ltd. at Bulawayo in June 1922. The pilot, Major A. M. Miller, is in the front cockpit and Mr. W. E. Lansdown sits in the passenger (rear) cockpit.

(Photo: W. E. Lansdown)

Aviation Syndicate. The resolution was adopted that 'a limited liability company be formed to carry on aviation in all its branches in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Union of South Africa and elsewhere'. Provisional directors to be Messrs. John Austen (Que Que), J. H. Bookless, A. G. Hay, F. Issels, H. L. Stewart, A. C. Thornton, Dr. S. H. Freeze, Major Grant Duncan, Captain J. D. Mail and Major C. M. Newman. Mr. Aston Redrup to be Secretary, Mr. J. C. Coghlan legal adviser and Messrs. Woodthorpe & Fraser auditors."

Soon afterwards it was announced that negotiations were in progress with the Government of Southern Rhodesia with a view to the establishment of air services connecting Bulawayo with Fort Victoria, Lonely Mine and Johannesburg; also services between Salisbury and Fort Victoria and between Umtali and Melsetter.

But these plans did not materialise; the projected company did not come into being until nearly two years later, and then, in modified form.

The Moth aircraft ordered by Mr. Hay was shipped to Durban and flown from there to Bulawayo by Captain Mail, arriving on 30th December. Later it was given the name "Bulawayo".

On 11th January, 1928, the new aeroplane was chartered by Mr. Harry Crewe, brother of Mr. P. D. Crewe of Nantwich Ranch in the Wankie district, to fly him urgently to the ranch. This was probably the first aircraft private

charter flight in Rhodesian aviation history (apart from the Duc de Nemours' abortive attempt to fly to Plumtree).

A month later, on 12th February, Captain Mail flew the Moth to Salisbury, where he made some local sight-seeing flights and gave a display of aerobatics, possibly the first ever seen by residents of the capital.

At the end of February Douglas Mail² left the Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate and joined the Aircraft Operating Company, which had secured the contract for an extensive aerial photographic survey in the western province of Northern Rhodesia. The post of survey pilot had become available due to the resignation of Captain Roxburgh-Smith, who had been employed by that company for the previous nine months or so, and was now returning to the United Kingdom.

Captain Mail's post in the Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate was filled by a pilot named Wright. On 4th March he took off from Bulawayo in the Moth, with Major Newman as passenger, bound for Salisbury. Shortly after taking off the aircraft hit a tree and crashed in (as reported by the *Bulawayo Chronicle*) "thick bush half a mile beyond the new Milton School". Neither pilot nor passenger sustained serious injury, but the machine was wrecked and the syndicate was now without an aircraft. (It seems likely that it was also without a pilot, for nothing more appears to have been heard of Mr. Wright in Rhodesian aviation circles.)

During the third week of March Sir Alan Cobham visited the Rhodesias for discussions with the respective governments in connection with the trans-Africa air route in which the United Kingdom Government was interested, but these talks do not appear to have produced any noticeable results.

Thereafter matters remained static for some months . . . Towards the end of December 1928 Mr. F. Issels, Chairman of the Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate, who had just returned from a visit to the United Kingdom, summarised the situation in the words: "Aviation in Rhodesia . . . is marking time." He added, however, that "the Cobham/Blackburn Company has promised to send an aeroplane out". (This company, whose principals were Sir Alan Cobham and Mr. Robert Blackburn, of the Blackburn Aeroplane and Motor Co., planned eventually to operate a chain of air services linking Cairo with Cape Town.)

The situation was clarified by a letter which appeared in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of 24th January, 1929, above the signature of Mr. Aston Redrup, the syndicate's secretary: "The Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate will shortly be absorbed by the Rhodesian Aviation Company, which will be affiliated with Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines. Great credit is due to Mr. Francois Issels, who in London recently attained the close co-operation of Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines, who have a large interest in the Rhodesian Aviation Company. Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines advise that an aeroplane and pilot will leave the United Kingdom next month."

The pilot referred to was Captain Benjamin Roxburgh-Smith, D.F.C, who, after a distinguished record in the First World War, came, in 1920, to Rhodesia where, for a few years, he farmed near Bulawayo. In September 1926 he sold the farm and returned to England, where he took a refresher flying course with the London Aeroplane Club and qualified for his "A" (private) pilot's licence.

In June 1927 he came again to Rhodesia and was offered the post of second pilot to the Aircraft Operating Company. As a "B" (commercial) pilot's licence was required for this work, he took tests at Roberts Heights, Pretoria, and was issued with the first commercial flying licence in South Africa.

As related earlier, after flying with the survey company in Northern Rhodesia for some months, Roxburgh-Smith returned to England, where he took the opportunity to meet Sir Alan Cobham and Mr. Robert Blackburn and to suggest to them that a small company, subsidiary to Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines, be established at Bulawayo. Cobham and Blackburn, evidently impressed by his aeronautical experience, and his knowledge of conditions in Africa, were agreeable and appointed him as their representative in the company which was to be formed.

RHODESIAN AVIATION COMPANY LTD.

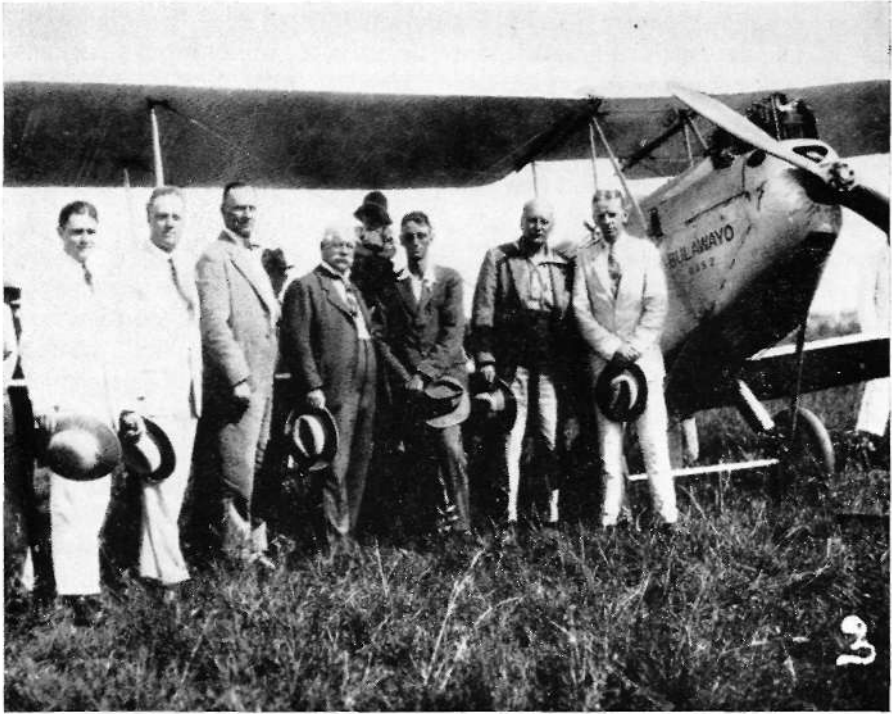
Thus, in February 1929, Captain Roxburgh-Smith returned to Bulawayo and was able to raise sufficient local capital to launch the Rhodesian Aviation Company with, as agreed, the backing of Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines. Directors were: Mr. F. Issels (Chairman), Mr. G. Cecil Roberts, Major C. M. Newman, Mr. H. L. Stewart and Captain B. Roxburgh-Smith (representing Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines, and acting as manager and pilot); company secretary was Mr. Aston Redrup. It was agreed that Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines were to provide a Blackburn "Bluebird" aircraft—a single engined, two-seater, open-cockpit biplane—in return for its value in shares in the new company.

The company was formally registered on 17th April, 1929, but owing to a serious delay in the delivery of the "Bluebird", the commencement of flying operations had perforce to be postponed. Early in June, since there was still no sign of the promised "Bluebird", and a considerable amount of potential business was being lost, a second-hand Avro Avian aircraft was purchased from the Johannesburg Light Plane Club; this machine arrived in Bulawayo on 13th June, and was immediately flown up to Livingstone, where it was put to work operating "flips" over the Victoria Falls.

Early in November Captain Roxburgh-Smith collected a second Avro Avian from Johannesburg. On the delivery flight he was accompanied by young D. S. "Pat" Judson (son of Col. Dan Judson, of Mazoe Patrol fame), who had recently qualified for his commercial flying licence, and who now joined the company as assistant pilot.³

Sir Alan Cobham visited Bulawayo early in January 1930 and, on the 8th, held a meeting with the directors of the Rhodesian Aviation Company, no doubt to consolidate the arrangements which hitherto had been tentatively agreed.

A month later Captain Roxburgh-Smith travelled by rail to Cape Town to collect the long-awaited "Bluebird", which had arrived there by sea, and flew it up to Bulawayo, which he reached on 15th February. At Bulawayo's altitude its performance was disappointing, and it did not prove to be a popular aeroplane.



Directors of the Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate, and their Cirrus Moth aeroplane, at Bulawayo in January 1928.

Left to Right: Mr. S. Aston Redrup, Dr. S. H. Freeze, Mr. Hancock (of the "Bulawayo Chronicle"), Mr. F. Issels, Capt. J. Douglas Mail (pilot), Mr. A. G. Hay, Major C. M. Newman.
(Photo: J. A. Norman)

The Rhodesian Aviation Company's first annual general meeting was held in the Council Chambers of the Bulawayo Municipal Buildings on Monday, 30th June, 1930. The chairman, Mr. F. Issels, told the meeting: ". . . since its inception three years ago—under the style Rhodesian Aviation Syndicate—the Company has had to overcome many difficulties . . . but is at present in a very satisfactory condition . . . the Company is to act as a feeder to Imperial Airways, Ltd. . . . (whose Cape Town to Cairo service) . . . will be coming into operation next year. Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines hold a large interest in the Company . . . and act as its technical advisers, and provide equipment and personnel. The Company operates a regular weekly service between Bulawayo and Salisbury, and . . . has run at a loss of £935 (including depreciation on aircraft) in the last year; but this was covered by the S.R. Government's annual grant-in-aid, and by subsidy of the Beit Railway Trust."⁴

The chairman then thanked Captain Roxburgh-Smith (flying manager), D. S. Judson (second pilot), A. K. Barker (engineer) and Aston Redrup (secretary) for their services to the company.

Early in 1931 Imperial Airways Ltd. took over the African interests of Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines (including that company's shares in the Rho-

desian Aviation Company) and promptly withdrew all financial support of the latter company, maintaining that, until the main air route through Africa was established, no assistance to subsidiary companies would be forthcoming.

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* was evidently not satisfied with the general state of aviation in Rhodesia at this period, for, in an editorial on 17th February, 1931, the view was expressed that "the position of civil aviation . . . is not satisfactory; the application of flying in civil needs has not been undertaken with . . . much thoroughness. Comparatively little has been done by Government."

Then came the news that Lt.-Cdr. G. P. Glen Kidston, described as "a well-known British naval officer, racing motorist and airman, who inherited a very large fortune, and who has business interests in South Africa" was to pay a flying visit to Southern Africa "to investigate the possibility of commercial air services in South Africa". It was also reported that he hoped to purchase a controlling interest in Union Airways Ltd. (predecessor to South African Airways), which was then a private company managed by Major A. M. Miller.

Kidston left the United Kingdom in his Lockheed Vega aircraft early on 31st March and arrived in Rhodesia on 4th April. After a brief stop at Salisbury to refuel the machine, he spent the night at Bulawayo, promising to return within a week or two to discuss future plans concerning aviation. He landed at Cape Town on 6th April, having set a new record for the U.K./Cape flight.

Kidston was joined in Cape Town by another air pioneer, Captain T. A. Gladstone, who had devoted many years of his life to the development of the trans-Africa air route, and had been in charge of Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines' air services between Cairo and Kisumu in 1927. When that air line was absorbed by Imperial Airways, it seems that he threw in his lot with Kidston, and was now described as his "business manager". There can be little doubt that he was destined for high office in the enterprises which were being planned.

After discussions in Cape Town, the pair flew to Johannesburg preparatory to an aerial tour of South African towns to sound out the potential for air traffic. Kidston intended thereafter to return, as promised, to Rhodesia for talks with officials of the Rhodesian Aviation Company and government departments concerned *re* the possibility of embracing the Rhodesias in his development plans, with special regard to a possible air service linking Johannesburg with the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.

Not long after Kidston's brief stop-over in Bulawayo, Captain Roxburgh-Smith announced his resignation from the Rhodesian Aviation Company, to take effect in May. His decision, taken at this juncture, may have been coincidental, but it seems likely that it was in some way influenced by Imperial Airways' take-over of Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines (since he was their representative in the local company), and by developments planned by Kidston, who undoubtedly would have been on the look-out for men with flying and managerial experience, of Roxburgh-Smith's calibre. Perhaps Kidston, while in Bulawayo, had put before him some attractive proposition.

Kidston decided that his Lockheed aircraft was unsuitable for operation from some of the unsophisticated landing grounds on his itinerary, so borrowed

a D.H. Puss Moth—a much lighter machine—from Mr. Glen Bateman of Johannesburg.

At mid-morning on 5th May Kidston and Gladstone left Johannesburg' for Pietermaritzburg on the first sector of their tour, and later that day came the stunning news that the aircraft had crashed while crossing the Drakensberg mountains, on the Orange Free State/Natal border, and that both men were dead.

So ended all of Kidston's ambitious schemes . . . but for this disaster the history of civil aviation in southern Africa would almost certainly have taken a very different course.

On 1st June Mr. Pat Judson, erstwhile assistant pilot, took over as flying manager of the Rhodesian Aviation Company and Captain Roxburgh-Smith, since any ambitions which he might have cherished regarding the Kidston enterprise would have been dashed by the latter's untimely death, returned to¹ England.⁵

At the company's second annual general meeting, held on Friday, 17th July, 1931, the chairman, Mr. F. Issels, confirmed that no further financial support was forthcoming from Cobham/Blackburn Air Lines owing to its absorption by Imperial Airways. "However," he went on "the S.R. Government and the Beit Trustees have continued to grant subsidies to the Company, and have promised to continue to do so. Owing to the energy of the Secretary, Mr. Aston Redrup, in disposing of a parcel of unallocated shares, it has been possible to purchase a 1932 Puss Moth cabin aeroplane, which is due for delivery in a few days' time." Mr. Cecil Roberts, a director, paid tribute to the enormous amount of work done by the secretary and by flying manager D. S. Judson, ground engineers R. T. Launder and A. K. Barker, and accountant Geo. A. Woodthorpe.

During July, Nyasaland's first aviation company, Christowitz Air Services, was established at Blantyre by Mr. C. J. Christowitz, a cartage contractor, using two D.H. Puss Moth aircraft. (Mr. Christowitz was, in October 1930, the first air passenger ever to arrive in Nyasaland, having been flown from Salisbury to Limbe by Pat Judson in the Rhodesian Aviation Co.'s Cirrus Moth.)

Friday, 20th November, 1931, was a black day for the Rhodesian Aviation Company in particular and for Rhodesian aviation in general, for Pat Judson and his flying pupil, "Jock" Speight, lost their lives in a training accident at Salisbury while flying the above-mentioned Moth.

The next development was the "grounding" of all Puss Moth aircraft in southern Africa. Three operators in Central Africa (the Rhodesian Aviation Company, Mr. Roland Starkey of Shabani and Christowitz Air Services, Blantyre)—owning a total of five of these machines—were dismayed to learn, on 24th November, that they were not to be taken into the air until further notice, following a second crash in South Africa. A Puss Moth belonging to Union Airways came to grief near Sir Lowry Pass, Cape Province, in circumstances very similar to those of Kidston's accident.

This was a serious setback, as no other cabin-type aeroplanes were available in either Southern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. Fortunately the ban was effective



First visit to Victoria Falls of RANA's new D.H.89 Dragon Rapide aeroplane, 18th August, 1935, flown by Chief Pilot Captain M. H. Pearce.

(Photo: J. McAdam)

for only a few days, and was lifted on 2nd December. (It was later established that these accidents were due to structural failure of a wing while flying in conditions of severe atmospheric turbulence in mountainous terrain. A total of nine such mishaps befell Puss Moths throughout the world before the trouble was diagnosed and the defect rectified.)

Air travel in southern Africa was stimulated by the inauguration, at the end of January 1932, of the Nairobi/Cape Town section of Imperial Airways' Cairo to Cape route.

Then, on 10th February Sir Alfred Beit, one of the Beit Trustees and a director of Rhodesia Railways, while on a visit to Bulawayo, made a statement which presaged an important development in Rhodesian aviation. He said "the principal duty of the Beit Trust is to improve all communications in Rhodesia and Africa generally". A fortnight later it was announced that the trust had made a grant of £50,000 for "facilitating air transport (in S. Rhodesia and N. Rhodesia) on the Imperial route". The "Imperial route" through the Rhodesias at the time was (Mbeya)/Mpika/Broken Hill/Salisbury/Bulawayo/(Pietersburg).

The Beit Trustees decided that, in order to ensure that these moneys were put to the most advantageous use, a competent authority should be consulted, and on 18th April it was learned that Mr. H. N. St. V. Norman, A.F.R.A.E.S., a director of Airwork Ltd. and of Aerofilms Ltd.—both British companies—had

been appointed "Technical Adviser on Aviation" to the trustees. He was to visit Africa and thereafter would prepare a report upon aeronautical conditions in the Rhodesias.

During the following few months the Rhodesian Aviation Company plodded on without making much headway, and there was some speculation as to what the future might hold. At some stage during this period Imperial Airways Ltd., which was considering the formation of a new company to be called Rhodesian Airways Ltd., approached the company with a proposition (details of which are not known), and during the last week of January 1933 shareholders held a meeting to consider the matter. Colonel Dan Judson made a generous offer to take up an additional block of shares with money accruing from a policy on his late son's life, saying that the company had "reached a turning point in its history". The assembly decided against selling out to Imperial Airways, and then passed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. F. Issels for generous financial help.

A month or two later the company ordered a D.H. Fox Moth with which to operate a new weekly service over the route Salisbury/Bulawayo/Johannesburg. The new aeroplane was delivered in mid-May, and the first service was flown on the 27th, the pilot being Mr. M. H. Pearce⁶, who had joined the company as second pilot after the death of Pat Judson.

Mr. Norman, after returning to the United Kingdom, prepared a most comprehensive and cogent paper—generally referred to as "The Nigel Norman Report"⁷—which was submitted in mid-1933.

"My recommendations" he wrote "are the result of a visit by air to the Rhodesias made during the period of the rains in 1933."⁸ On the journey out and in the course of my visit I flew 18,000 miles in a Gipsy Moth specially prepared for this purpose. I inspected 69 landing grounds and sites in the Rhodesias and examined the whole of the Imperial Airways route from Cairo to Cape Town, and also subsidiary routes extending from the Colonies to Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa and the Belgian Congo."

Mr. Norman's recommendations included:

The construction of additional aerodromes and landing grounds and provision of a government-operated light aircraft to supervise their maintenance.

Provision of aviation maps and pilots' handbooks.

Establishment of additional meteorological and wireless stations.

Provision of night-flying equipment at the main aerodromes and en-route flashing beacons between Salisbury and the Limpopo River.

The report included various detailed maps, sketches of landing grounds, and aerial photographs—taken by himself—of several aerodromes.

Concluding his report, Mr. Norman recommended "the establishment of a properly-constituted aviation company to operate feeder services, etc., in S. Rhodesia, N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This is considered desirable for the following reasons:

- (1) To protect the interests of Rhodesia Railways by assuring them a controlling interest in future air activity.

- (2) To supply aviation facilities required by:
 - (a) the respective Governments,
 - (b) the public wishing to travel by air, and
 - (c) private owners of aircraft, including expert maintenance and repair service.
- (3) To ensure co-ordinated development of aviation in the area and to put an end to unsatisfactory competition between a number of local companies working without proper technical control, and with inadequate financial backing.⁹

In order to place the operation of the new company as soon as possible upon a profit-earning basis it is essential:

- (a) to secure the whole of the turn-over resulting from aviation in this area to the company, and
- (b) to obtain for the company the permanent backing of all the Governments concerned and the whole of the financial aid available in the form of subsidies."

RHODESIA AND NYASALAND AIRWAYS LTD.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that serious note was taken of Mr. Nigel Norman's recommendations, for on Friday, 4th August, 1933, a meeting of Rhodesian Aviation Company shareholders was held in Bulawayo. Mr. Cecil Roberts, a director, took the chair in the absence of the company's chairman, Mr. F. Issels.

Mr. Roberts told the assembly that the company's affairs were to be handed over to a new company whose capital would be subscribed chiefly by the Beit Trustees, which body would have a controlling interest. Imperial Airways Ltd. would subscribe a lesser amount and would be technical advisers, while Rhodesia Railways would have the option of taking a certain number of shares.

Mr. Roberts said that the reason for the undertaking was that in spite of improved receipts the company was still running at a loss, attributable to some extent to the new venture, the weekly Salisbury/Johannesburg service . . . Business was improving, but the possibility should be borne in mind of future competition, or the loss of an aircraft in an accident. He believed that shareholders had put their money into the company more from patriotism than for gain. The chairman of the new company was to be Mr. (later Sir) Henry Chapman, C.B.E., general manager of Rhodesia Railways Ltd. Capital would be £25,000 in £1 shares . . . the £1 shares in the Rhodesian Aviation Company issued before 31st December, 1932, would be purchased for 5s. each, while those issued after that date would be bought for £1 each. The sale would take effect from 1st August, 1933.

A shareholder said that "it would be a pity if the identity of the Company were to be sunk". His fears were allayed by Mr. H. G. Issels, a director, and son of company chairman Mr. F. Issels, who replied that "the name of the new company will probably be 'Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways, Ltd.', and an assurance has been given that the headquarters will be in the Railway offices

in Bulawayo". Another shareholder said that the formation of the new company could be regarded as a first step towards the amalgamation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.¹⁰

Little more than two months later the *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported that "Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways was incorporated at Bulawayo on 12th October, 1933. This date marks the start of a powerfully-backed company for the purpose of speeding up communications in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and adjoining territories, and encouraging the use of air transport. The new company includes in itself the old Rhodesian Aviation Company, which has gone into voluntary liquidation. The policy of the new company is first and foremost safety. As soon as possible new multi-engine aircraft are to be provided. Head offices are in the Rhodesia Railways Buildings in Bulawayo, and an office has been opened at 57, Stanley Avenue, Salisbury. Chairman is Mr. H. Chapman, General Manager of Rhodesia Railways; Other directors are Col. T. Ellis Robins, D.S.O. (later Lord Robins), General Manager of the British South Africa Company, and Mr. Garth Trace, Manager of the southern Africa area of Imperial Airways, Ltd. Capt. G. I. Thomson, D.F.C. has been lent by Imperial Airways as Operations Manager for Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways, and will be resident in Salisbury. He has considerable experience in different parts of the world and has already arrived in Rhodesia. Another representative of Imperial Airways Ltd., Cdr. Galpin, has also arrived to assist in the organisation of the new company."

More often than not the airline was, and still is, erroneously referred to as "Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways". Such authorities as *Jane's All the World's Aircraft* and Mr. John Stroud in his splendid work *The Annals of British and Commonwealth Air Transport* have fallen into this trap.

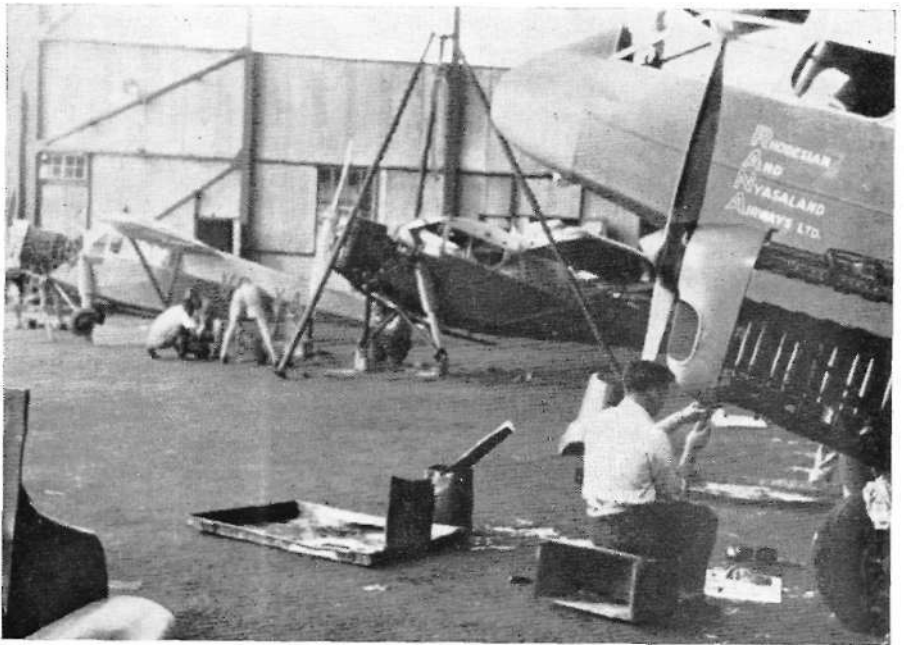
The airline's title was almost universally condensed to the euphonic "RANA", which, in Latin signifies "frog". Later, upon the introduction of the Midlands service (Salisbury/Gatooma/Que Que/Gwelo/Bulawayo), the comparatively short distance between each stop involved a rapid succession of take-offs and landings, referred to in aviation parlance as "puddle-hopping". Pilots in charge of RANA's aircraft on this route were convinced that the airline was indeed appropriately named.

On 4th December RANA announced that it proposed to start new services with multi-engined aircraft and—a prediction which did not materialise—to build up tourist traffic to Victoria Falls and Zimbabwe, and to Kariba Gorge for fishing.

Hitherto, Bulawayo had been the hub of Rhodesian aviation, but now it was anticipated that Salisbury would become an important air centre owing to its favourable geographical position.

CONCLUSION

For a few months the headquarters of the new airline remained at the Railway Offices, Bulawayo, then, early in 1934 all control was, as predicted, moved to Salisbury. The aircraft taken over from the old company formed the nucleus of RANA's fleet and, in mid-February 1934, two more Puss Moths



RANA aircraft being overhauled in the company's workshop at Salisbury Aerodrome in 1938.
(Photo: Mrs. V. Hooper)

were acquired when Christowitz Air Services of Blantyre was absorbed into the new enterprise.

In order to place a multi-engined aircraft on the routes without delay, a Westland Wessex machine was obtained on loan from Imperial Airways, pending delivery of a twin-engined D.H.89 Dragon Rapide which had been ordered. The Wessex was a somewhat unwieldy-looking three-engined monoplane—the first multi-engined public-transport aircraft to operate from a base in Central Africa. (A twin-engined Gloster AS31 was used in Northern Rhodesia by the Aircraft Operating Co. in 1930 for aerial survey work, but not for passenger flights.) The Wessex remained in Rhodesia until the arrival of the first Rapide, in June 1935.

In January 1937 Captain Charles A. Barnard succeeded Captain Thomson as resident operations manager, and in June RANA received a tremendous "boost" when Imperial Airways discontinued using Atalanta-class aircraft over the Central Africa route and commenced operating Short C-class flying boats on the east coast route. This coincided with the introduction of the Empire Air Mail Scheme, whereby all first-class mail on Empire routes was carried (wherever possible) by air, unsurcharged. Imperial Airways was appointed contractor to the British Government, and RANA sub-contractor to the former airline.

During its first four years of operation RANA was subsidised by Rhodesia's aeronautical "fairy godmother", the Beit Trust, to a total of £19,000 but, after the introduction of the Empire Air Mail Scheme, it became—for the first time in Rhodesian aviation history—a viable airline.

While it is not intended to provide detailed statistics, the ever-increasing popularity of air travel in Central Africa during the period under review may be gauged by the number of passengers carried during each year of operation by RANA and its predecessor, the Rhodesian Aviation Company (excepting 1929 and 1930, figures for which are not available).

1931	Rho. Av. Co.	400
1932	Rho, Av. Co.	1,229
1933	Rho. Av. Co./RANA	1,250
1934	RANA	1,925
1935	RANA	2,319
1936	RANA	2,103 (the only year of retrogression)
1937	RANA	2,570
1938	RANA	3,448
1939	RANA	3,579

By September 1939, when World War II commenced, RANA's fleet had been built up to a total of nine aircraft—five D.H.89 Dragon Rapides, one D.H. 84 Dragon and three D.H.85 Leopard Moths.

On 1st February 1940 the assets of RANA, together with many of the ground and flying staff, were taken over by the Government of Southern Rhodesia and formed into a combined communications squadron and airline, the latter being named Southern Rhodesia Air Services (S.R.A.S.). RANA, at the government's request, remained dormant on the files of the registrar of companies in order that, at the termination of hostilities, normal operations might be resumed.

This, however, was not to be. In 1945 it was decided that the interests of civil aviation in Central Africa would best be served by an airways corporation backed by the governments of the three territories then known as Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Central African Airways Corporation came into being on 1st June, 1946) and RANA went into voluntary liquidation on 8th July, 1946.

Thus ended the existence of a happy and efficient little airline, whose safety record is one of the proudest in the annals of world civil aviation. While a few relatively minor aircraft accidents were incurred, no lives were lost nor any serious injuries sustained either by passengers or staff during its six years of active operation.

The *esprit de corps* built up amongst members of RANA's staff may be measured by the fact that to this day (time of writing, January 1968—28 years after the cessation of operations) a happy, nostalgic and well-attended reunion of ex-RANA staff members and their spouses is held at Salisbury in October each year.

NOTES

1. For further details of this flight refer to "Early Birds" in *Rhodesiana* No. 13.
2. James Douglas Mail later flew for an air taxi company in Johannesburg. Upon the outbreak of war he joined the South African Air Force and was killed in an air crash at Kisumu, Kenya, on 19th December, 1942, while flying General Dan Pienaar from Egypt to South Africa.
3. For further details of Pat Judson's flying career refer to *Rhodesiana* No. 16.

4. The Beit Trustees had guaranteed to make good any losses which the Company might incur to an annual maximum of £500.
5. In 1932 Benjamin Roxburgh-Smith was appointed Superintendent of the Salisbury Municipal Aerodrome (later known as Belvedere Airport). He died in Rome in 1951 while on a tour of Europe.
6. Michael Hawken Pearce later became Chief Pilot of RANA and subsequently of S.R.A.S. He retired to his farm at Inyanga after the war, and died in January 1964.
7. A copy of the Nigel Norman Report is held by the Beit Trustees Representative in Salisbury.
8. Mr. Norman arrived in Bulawayo on 27th February, 1933.
9. The companies referred to were: Christowitz Air Services, Blantyre; Northern Aviation, Ndola; Rhodesian Aviation Company, Bulawayo; and Veasey & Son, Broken Hill.
10. Similar sentiments were voiced when C.A.A. was formed in 1946.

GUIDE TO THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF RHODESIA, VOL. I, 1890-1923

This volume, edited by T. W. Baxter, Director of National Archives, and published by that organisation at 42s. is a revised edition of *A Guide to the Public Records of Southern Rhodesia under the Regime of the British South Africa Company 1890-1923* which was published in 1956. Much new material has been added.

These archives consist of the vast array of reports, returns, correspondence circulars, agreements, diaries, registers, court cases, minutes and numberless other written items. All are classified and indexed here in a way that makes it easy to consult and refer to any of them.

Although public archives are preserved primarily for their administrative rather than historical value many general readers will find this volume of great interest. This is because there is a long historical survey of the growth of administration, each section is prefaced by a history of the division and departments and there are notes on government offices all over the country.

Houlton Augustus de Beer - 1895

Bulawayo Early Settler

by B. H. de Beer

In a recent newspaper item it was reported that the Bulawayo City Council had decided to name a new road in the Paddonhurst area of Bulawayo "de Beer Avenue" in honour of the late Mr. Houlton Augustus de Beer, who arrived in Bulawayo in 1895 and was a leading citizen of the city until his death in 1929.

The late Mr. de Beer—or "H.A." as he was generally known—was born in Johannesburg on the 9th August, 1867, the eldest of six children. He attended school in Johannesburg where he excelled on the athletic field, primarily as a long-distance runner and high-jumper. On leaving school he qualified as an accountant and moved to Kimberley where he was appointed Secretary of the Kimberley Hospital in 1889.

Whilst working there he met Cecil Rhodes and George Pauling. In 1895 he married Miss Annie Rennie of Cape Town, whose father had been Adjutant of the Wynberg Cape Rifles. Soon after their marriage "H.A." took the advice of Rhodes and Pauling and travelled up to Rhodesia, arriving in Bulawayo in late 1895.

On his arrival he set himself up in practice as an accountant, broker and estate trustee, operating from a one-roomed office in Stock Exchange Buildings, in Main Street, Bulawayo. In 1898 he was appointed the first secretary of the Bulawayo Board of Executors, which had been founded in 1895, with Messrs. Henry Lamb, W. G. Swanson, Julius H. Pratt and E. J. Simpson as original directors. Their offices were in Albany Chambers, also situated in Main Street. It is interesting to observe that in those early days the company used the present-day spelling of "Bulawayo" and only in later years changed the spelling to "Buluwayo"—the spelling used today.

In 1899 the Administrator, the Hon. Arthur Lawley, appointed H. A. de Beer to be a Justice of the Peace for the district of Bulawayo.

In 1902 H. A. de Beer resigned from the Board of Executors to return to Johannesburg to take up an appointment as general manager of a Rand company associated with the South African financier Mr. Hans Sauer.

He remained in Johannesburg until 1910 when he returned to Bulawayo to become manager of the company Amalgamated Properties of Rhodesia and the Transvaal.

In 1913 he was appointed as a member of the Bulawayo Schools Advisory Council and remained a member for many years, his service being broken only by his absence from the country on active service during the 1914-18 war.



H. A. de Beer on his farm near Bulawayo.

He volunteered for war service at the outbreak of hostilities and saw active service in German East Africa with the 2nd Rhodesian Regiment.

In 1916 he returned to Bulawayo to convalesce from a serious illness contracted in East Africa, and resumed his position with his company.

In 1923 H. A. de Beer rejoined the Bulawayo Board of Executors as Secretary and in 1925 when the position of manager was created he was appointed to this post. In 1927 he was appointed an assessor of the Bulawayo Water Court. He remained as manager of the Board of Executors until his death in Bulawayo on the 10th February, 1929. It is worthy of note that the directors of the Board of Executors at this time were Sir Charles Coghlan, first Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Mr. George Mitchell, a subsequent Prime Minister, Sir Allan R. Welsh, Speaker in the House of Assembly, Sir Melville Heyman, and Sir Digby V. Burnett.

H. A. de Beer was always an active and successful sportsman—he was a member of the Queens Club, Bulawayo, and was selected to play cricket for Rhodesia against Lord Hawke's cricket team in Bulawayo in 1899. He also played rugby for Bulawayo at the turn of the century. In his later years he turned to tennis and remained a good player until the time of his death.

Throughout his life he took a keen and active interest in the welfare of his fellow men.

He was instrumental in the establishment of the B.E.S.L. Club in Bulawayo. At the laying of the foundation stone of the new building—now the headquarters of the Rhodesian Front Party—Sir James MacDonald who laid the stone had this to say of H. A. de Beer: "We have met here this afternoon to carry out a most interesting function—the laying of the foundation stone of the new B.E.S.L. Club. To me it is particularly interesting for I believe that I am one of the few in Bulawayo who know all about the original formation of the present Club. Early in 1916 the late Mr. H. A. de Beer came to see me. He had very shortly before returned from the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment having been sent back from East Africa to convalesce from illness. He said that he had realised how deadly dull it was for all of the young men who had been there and been sent back like himself on sick leave and temporarily invalided, to have no building where they could meet, write letters, read the newspaper, have a game of cards, a glass of beer, etc., etc. He asked me if I would help to secure a place that could be turned into a sort of Club. I naturally said that I would do all that I could to assist and went to see Colonel Heyman who had a building suitable for such a purpose. After some negotiations we secured at a reasonable rental the premises that have for so long been occupied by our members, and it was at once put into use and named the Comrade's Club. The next move was to furnish it—many friends helped in that connection, but I put the onus on this job on two in particular viz., the ever willing 'Tottie' Hay and Mr. William Bridgman, and right well they did the work and the Club soon became a well established and most useful institution, and I hope members will now perpetuate in some way the name of its real originator—the late Mr. H. A. de Beer."

In the early twenties H. A. de Beer purchased a farm situated some 12 miles from Bulawayo on the Victoria Falls Road which he named "Rennydene" after his wife.

He turned the farm into a show place and the then Governor of Rhodesia, the late Sir John Chancellor, was a frequent visitor on his visits to Bulawayo. After his death the farm was sold to its present owner, Mr. T. C. Ricketts.

H. A. de Beer always took an interest in the under-privileged children of Bulawayo and was a valued supporter of St. Gabriel's home for children in Bulawayo—he provided the home with a regular supply of oranges from his extensive orchards.

Mrs. Annie de Beer continued to live in Bulawayo after the death of her husband, until her death in 1939 at the age of 65 years. During her younger days she was an active member of most of Bulawayo's womens' organisations, and was an excellent bridge player.

They had four children. The eldest, Norman Vivian—known as "Billy"—was a pupil of Milton School, Bulawayo, at the same time as the late Dr. Verwoerd. He won a Beit Scholarship and left school during the First World War to join the forces. On his arrival he was accepted as a pupil at the Graham White Flying School, and was one of the first and youngest pupils to get his "Wings". Thereafter he was accepted into the Royal Flying Corps and was

later killed on active service. His name appears on the Milton School 1914-18 roll of honour.

Their second child, Constance, was the first wife of Major the Hon. R. J. Hudson, K.C.M.G., M.C, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice (later Sir Robert Hudson, Chief Justice of Rhodesia). She died a few years after the marriage.

Their second daughter, Dorothy, qualified as a nursing sister and returned to Rhodesia to nurse for many years at the Old Memorial Hospital in Fort Street, Bulawayo—now the Bulawayo headquarters of the Income Tax Department. During the Second World War she took charge of the military wing of the hospital. She did not marry and died in 1947.

Their fourth child, Harold Ward de Beer, lived in Bulawayo until his death in 1968, with the exception of the war years when he served in England with the Royal Air Force (No. 44 Rhodesian Squadron).

It is, therefore, fitting that Houlton Augustus de Beer should be remembered for the part he played in the early development of Bulawayo.

NADA, VOL. X, NO. 2, 1970

The latest issue of *Nada* is a large one with 21 articles plus other features. The practice of having a foreword by a Cabinet Minister has been dropped this year. Professor Christie of the University College of Rhodesia writes in his foreword that more lawyers should "thumb through" the pages of *Nada* and goes so far as to say that "nobody ought to practise law in this country unless he has some interest in the traditions of the African people".

One historical article is mentioned elsewhere in this issue, under Periodicals and Articles of Interest. Other articles of historical interest are: "The Industrial School at Inyati 1919-1933" by D. Flood; "Native Names and Whereabouts of Native Places," Part II, by Regulus; and "Headman Madzima Recalls" by S. H. Fynes-Clinton. Madzima, now about 87 years old, recalls the days of his youth when the Mtoko people fought against a Portuguese, Gouveia, and when he saw the hunter, Selous, "the kneeless man". Selous' knees were covered by trousers, a garment Madzima had not seen before.

The Muriel Mine and those who built it

by Merna Wilson

The claims that were to become Muriel Mine were first registered by Mr. Robert Christie Kennaird on the 9th August, 1932, but legend has it that an old prospector of the early 1920's used to ride into Salisbury from the area, which lies between Mtoroshanga and Banket in the Lomagundi district, and that his supplies of gold were seemingly inexhaustible. He said that he owned the Black Rock Mine. He would spend all his gold on whisky, then disappear again for months at a time. Several interested parties, envying his amazing luck, tried to follow him as he rode out of town on his donkey, but he always eluded them. Nobody managed to find the lucrative Black Rock Mine and the old prospector, having indulged freely and once too often, collapsed and died in a Salisbury bar, his secret and his name dying with him.

Years later, in the Mines Office, an old map of the May Mine locality was found. On this map was an arrow pointing towards where the Muriel Mine is now situated, and written beside the arrow were the words: "Black Rock Mine: 4 miles." So it would seem that there is, in fact, reason to believe that the legendary Black Rock Mine was probably the Muriel Mine of today. The location of the old (now defunct) May Mine is approximately four miles from the Muriel. As for the name "Black Rock", the Muriel is noted for its magnificent sunsets which silhouette the range containing a well-known landmark in the area: Cannon Kop.

Bob Kennaird started searching for gold on Carrick Farm, which then belonged to Lord Graham, in about 1931. An African was out searching the long grass for rats, brought him a piece of gold-bearing rubble which he had discovered on the hill where the present manager's house stands. Excited by the possibilities, Kennaird started trenching the slopes of the hill, but an exhaustive search revealed no definite strike, although there were clear indications of gold. Finally, he trenched and prospected into the *vlei* at the foot of the hill, and here he found what he had been searching for! A 150-ft. strike of narrow gold reef in a rubble-bed, where the present No. 1 shaft now operates. In this area Kennaird said he had found a depression, overgrown with bush and grass, which might possibly have been the old Black Rock Mine of some ten years before, since Kennaird's strike was a mere few feet below the surface crust.

Bob Kennaird is reputed to have spent some £3,000 on his search, and he confessed that he was about to give up and cut his losses when he finally struck the reef. He continued to explore the strike and finally sold the claims to the



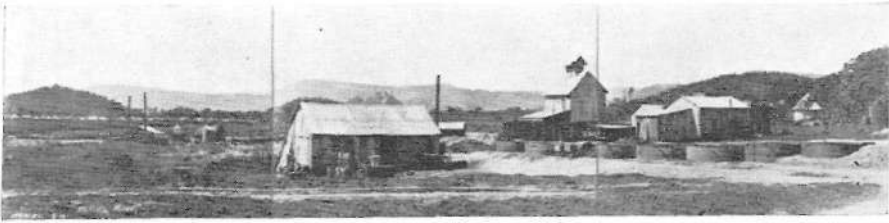
Robert Christie Kennaird and his wife Muriel.

Eastern. Transvaal Consolidated Mines Ltd., a subsidiary connection of the Abe Bailey group, for some £17,000, this transfer being registered on 8th May, 1934.

The first manager sent to open up the Muriel Mine, which Bob Kennaird had named for his wife, was Mr. Ikey Pattison, and production commenced in June 1934. Peter Klemp of the Mandoro Mine came to install the plant, much of which came from the Mandoro at that time. Klemp was assisted by Tiny Deane from the Cam & Motor Mine. Dennis O'Hara, son of another old Rhodesian mining man, arrived in August 1934 to run the reduction plant, and other early staff members were Messrs. Theo. Taylor, Edwards, Stokoe (who was a consulting metallurgist with Lonrho), and Messrs. Young, Bill West, Peterson (a gas engine fitter) and Arthur Austin, who was a miner.

In 1936, Mr. Ronnie Hill, now Deputy Chief Engineer in the Department of Mining Engineering, took over as manager. At this stage, the No. 1 shaft was operative to 4 level. Equipment included, an 80 h.p. gas engine for power (there being no electricity laid on) and a five-stamp mill powered by a diesel Tangye engine. Extraction was by means of a cyanide plant and the steam-driven hoist required an inordinate supply of wood to keep it operative. Mr. Kennaird was given the wood contract and other contracts supplying the mine, and was appointed agent. When the heavy rains came, wood lorries bogged down and, gradually, timber near the mine was cut out to keep the boilers going. After processing, the slimes were dragged away by hand.

In Mr. Hill's time, a 200 h.p. Crossley gas engine was installed, as was a 600 cu. ft. Ingersoll Rand compressor . . . the latter is still giving satisfactory service at the No. 1 shaft today, 32 years later! No. 4 shaft was taken to 4 level when the sulphide zone was encountered, and this necessitated the installation



Muriel Mine in 1934.

in April 1937 of a flotation plant to replace the old cyanide plant. A ball mill and hand-roasters were also in use.

Apart from the Muriel being a very "wet" mine (even in the dry season Mr. Hill says they pumped 9,000-10,000 gallons an hour, and in the heavy rainy season of 1938-39, a record 1,200,000 gallons a day were pumped) there was also the difficulty in reclaiming gold associated with copper in the sulphide zone. For this reason they started shipping copper concentrates to New York for processing. Copper, at that time, only fetched £40 a ton, but this covered the cost of processing and shipping, and the mine was credited with the silver and gold in the concentrates.

Milling 1,000 tons a month, production was then 500-600 ounces of gold, even with the rather crude methods employed . . . values on the Muriel have always been very rich.

The social event of 1937, of course, was the one and only marriage ever to take place on the Muriel Mine. This was when Ronnie Hill married Miss Phyllis Padley, on the verandah of the manager's wood-and-iron house. The Reverend Mark Wisden came from Salisbury to conduct the service, and an altar was especially erected on the verandah for the occasion. The bride was given away by Mr. Humphrey Penman, whose wife, Eileen, was the maid-of-honour, the Penmans being old family friends of the bride. After the wedding there were three ladies on the mine, and social life began to thrive. A tennis court was made, and a nine-hole golf course with sand greens was constructed on the airstrip. With golf, tennis and plenty of game shooting to amuse themselves, the European staff made their own entertainments after working hours.

It was at Christmas in 1937 that the tradition of holding a bicycle race for the African staff was started. Dozens of gaily-decked bicycles were loaded onto the lorry, along with eager contestants, and they were driven the 11 miles to the main Banket-Sipililo road, where the manager lined them all up, started them off, and leaped into his car so as to get to the mine in good time to clock the winners. The post boy, who had to ride to Banket every day, was invariably the winner! The tradition was later expanded into a full-scale sports day, which always finishes with a soccer match between the European and African staff. . . the numbers per side are never very important but a good time is had by all!

To understand what some of the earlier mining men and their families had to endure, one must hear Ronnie Hill's description of the summer months

spent in a wood-and-iron house, with the thermometer registering over 100 deg. in the lounge, night or day. One must appreciate the adventure and risk involved in a simple visit to the outdoor *picannin kia*, replete with spiders, scorpions and snakes, and the dangers of malaria every rainy season, quite often with no doctor able to get through the swollen rivers, and no supplies available, except from the two local stores, Kennaird's, and that of George Germanis. Mr. Hill told me that he shot many a snake underground, and that he had once had to quell great discontent among the labourers . . . a puff-adder had adopted their latrines as his home and nobody could use them.

The manager's wood-and-iron house was, of course, the *creme de la creme* of mine accommodation. It had been dismantled and carted across to Muriel from the Ethel Mine, which had been in operation for some years. The single men lived in rondavels, the married men had two rondavels, joined in the middle by a central room of grass and reeds. Bathing was done in a grass hut, the water being carried in by hand, until someone discovered that empty oil drums make remarkably good geysers. One wonders how the early Rhodesians would have fared without the famous paraffin crates and tins which went to make their shelves, furniture and buckets, and the ubiquitous 44-gallon oil drum!

Lonrho were the consulting engineers and secretaries for the Eastern Transvaal Consolidated Mines Ltd., as they are still, today, for the Corsyn Consolidated Mines Company which now operates the mine. Of course, the famous Sir Digby Burnett (who gave his name to the main Muriel shaft in operation today) will never be forgotten among mining men who knew him. He had a habit of getting bored with office life in Salisbury, and suddenly deciding to fly to one or other of the Lonrho mines at a moment's notice. He would summon the Lonrho plane, in those days a W.A.C.O. four-seater single-engined biplane, and simply take off. The first the manager would know of his coming would be the sound of the plane circling overhead, when a vehicle would have to be despatched to the airstrip (which Bob Kennaird had built) a few miles away, to collect Sir Digby and his party. He would descend from the plane having examined the slimes dam and other workings from the air, and comment on exactly what was wrong with things.

Bob Kennaird was quite a character. I met him in 1955 when he must have been well into his seventies, but one dared not ask. He was a big, leonine man, at that time, with a mane of white hair and penetrating brown eyes. Kind and bluff, but not the man to suffer fools or their questions gladly. A very shrewd businessman, he had many and varied business interests, stocks and shares, mine wood contracts as far afield as the Sherwood Starr Mine near Que Que, interests in trading companies including the old Bechuanaland Trading Company, and even interests in Portuguese East Africa, from where he shipped great mahogany planks. These planks he and his carpenter-boy would make into kists, cupboards, chests and tables of beautiful workmanship and solid worth. In his heyday, Bob Kennaird bought a new Airflo de Soto every year, but in later years he would have none of the new model cars and kept a highly-polished 1937 model Chrysler until his death, in spite of his bank account! He and his wife lived in a dark, rambling house a few miles from the Muriel, a



Muriel Mine, 1968.

house shadowed by massive firs, pieces of which he would give to each mine family at Christmas, so that they would each have a Christmas tree. Ronnie Hill remembers his kindness, too. Whenever he went to town to fetch boys' wages, Kennaird would bring back a pair of kippers for Ronnie, knowing how much he liked them. He was a great raconteur and many people visited him in his last years, he was so alert and alive, in spite of ill-health, until the day he died.

Then there was a Mrs. Smith who owned the Kildonan Ranch and lived entirely alone, keeping a pack of dogs for protection, and carrying a Wild West style .45 strapped to her waist. The Africans were terrified of her and the dogs never left her side, whether she was striding across her lands or riding about in her Cape cart. A Captain Gordon owned the Lone Cow Ranch which is now owned by the Fraser-Mackenzie family, and working for Bob Kennaird, as his farm manager, was Willie MacFadzean. Willie is famed for his bicycle, which he used to ride everywhere in any weather, and which he was still riding in 1960, when they opened the bowling green at the Muriel Sports Club, and Willie decided to take up bowls. He must have been well into his seventies at this time, and now lives at Sunningdale in Banket.

In 1938 Ronnie Hill left the Muriel and "Split-pin" Gay-Roberts took over as manager, his nickname coming from his immensely tall, thin build. Son of the Gay-Roberts who once managed the Bushtick Mine, "Split-pin" was killed in action in the 1939-45 war. Other managers at the Muriel have included Messrs. Stobart-Vallaro, Nathan Landau, Bill Snell and Warwick Bailey.

The Muriel Mine has gone from strength to strength over the years and is, today, a flourishing community under the managership of Ken Hove. Twenty-eight houses and a single quarters house 33 Europeans and the African staff numbers approximately 540, making a total population of some 2,000. The sports club offers swimming, golf, tennis, bowls and badminton for the European staff and neighbouring farmers, and the Africans have a stadium for their popular football league games and sports, they have a school with 10 classrooms and 11 teachers, the school, by 1969, will take pupils to Grade 7. There is also a beerhall and a recreation hall, and some very good modern housing for the African staff.

The plant, today, is capable of processing five times as much ore as it did in 1938, and the mine has now reached a depth of 3,000 ft. This, certainly, is a far cry from the prospecting trench put down in 1934, and the old, nameless prospector, Bob Kennaird and those who hacked a mine and a village out of the wilderness would have reason, indeed, to be proud of the Muriel Mine today.

Society Activities

TOURS OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN SALISBURY

A report by C. W. H. Loades

That I can claim to have been instrumental in inspiring the idea of visits to historic sites is merely coincidental to my being asked to write an article on the above subject. It all started like this: a copy of Garlake's article, Pioneer Forts of Rhodesia (*Rhodesiana* No. 12) came to my attention, revealing the existence, in close proximity to Salisbury, of the historic Fort Martin. As Chairman of the Salisbury branch of the Youth Hostels' Association I arranged an outing of that association to Fort Martin and prevailed on Mr. H. A. Cripwell to come along to provide details of its historical background. This outing was eventually extended to cover Hartley Hill and to include many persons other than Youth Hostellers. The trip was considered a success and was cited at the A.G.M. of the Rhodesiana Society as an example of a form of activity that could well be sponsored by the Society.

The suggestion was followed up, and on 21st April, 1968, the first tour of historic buildings and sites in Salisbury took place. Three bus-loads of people departed from Town House with little or no idea as to what was in store except that tea would, at some stage, be served. The tour was a tremendous success and arrangements were made to explore places of historic interest further afield. A trip to include Fort Martin, Hartley Hill and the graves of the Norton family was planned but because of the onset of the rainy season it had to be cancelled. A second tour of points of historic interest in Salisbury was arranged for Mafeking Day, 1969. Again the tour was well patronised and voted a resounding success, being attended by some 200 persons.

No small part of the popularity of these tours was attributed to the ability of the two commentators, Mr. G. H. Tanser and Dr. R. C. Howland, to clothe the sometimes sadly decaying bones of history with the firm flesh of contemporary anecdote. It must be admitted that many of the sites visited were in areas where no well brought up young man (or woman) would care to be seen after sunset.

It is not proposed to give a detailed itinerary of these tours but to mention some of the highlights without regard to the chronological order in which they were visited.

The Kopje is now a National Monument and indeed, thanks to the Amenities Department, is also a place of considerable beauty. At the time of the Mashonaland Rebellion it was a bastion of Salisbury's defences, there being no less than three forts or strong-points erected thereon. Who had heard of Fort Browne, for example, before the tour?

A traditional activity of courting couples is to utilise trees to record their mutual affection by the carving of their initials. This medium for demonstrating regard pales into insignificance when compared with the achievement of one



Dr. Howland talking outside Store Bros. in Manica Road.

(Photo: Theo. Rudman)

of Salisbury's early lovers, who brought a jacaranda seed from Durban to Salisbury for his lady love. This eventually became not just any jacaranda, but Salisbury's very first jacaranda which now, with all its immense magnificence, bears a plaque testifying to its place in Rhodesia's arboreal history.

After the Jameson Raid and until responsible government in 1923, a Resident Commissioner kept a stern Imperial eye on the activities of Rhodesians. He was accommodated in what was the first brick double-storey house in Rhodesia—the Residency in Baines Avenue. Since responsible government the Residency has been a Ministerial residence. In its time it served as the Salisbury house of Cecil Rhodes. It is in a remarkably good state of preservation compared with the old Government House which, although richer in historic association with Rhodesia's early days, now, having run the gamut from being the residence of the first lady of the land to an old ladies' home, is little more than derelict, with many of its splendid features deteriorating further—often for the lack of a lick of paint. If the tour had no other outcome, it did awaken public concern to the possible destruction of, what it cannot be extravagant to describe as, the womb of Rhodesia's nationhood.

Mother Patrick's name is well-known and revered in Rhodesia (in contrast to her contemporary in Bulawayo, Mother Jacoba) but few people know that the hospital from which she operated still stands. In the old hospital grounds are two cypress trees, now National Monuments, planted by Mother Patrick. It is encouraging to recall that, when Coghlan Building was erected, its original site was moved northwards 6 ft. to avoid disturbing these trees. In the same



Crowd outside Masonic Hotel.

(Photo: Theo. Rudman)

area, it was pointed out that the original nurses' home was situated in happy juxtaposition with the mortuary—happy because the nurses were thus able to hold wild parties without complaints of noise from their immediate neighbours.

Pioneer Street is the nucleus from which Salisbury evolved. The splendour—and this is no exaggeration—of the theatre that formed part of Salisbury's first hotel—the Masonic—is new, regrettably obscured behind a bill-board advertising second-hand bargains. The Masonic boasted Salisbury's first piano, was the venue for one of Salisbury's first hot-gospelling campaigns (by the Salvation Army) and an early "instant conversion". The old Masonic will be remembered by Rhodesians of a more recent vintage—the occupants of No. 1 Training Camp of the 1939-40 era—as the venue for Saturday night dances, referred to irreverently by the troops as the "Whores' Ball". A Federal Prime Minister was born a few doors away from the Masonic. Across the street from it are the Mashonaland Agency Buildings, the hub of commercial activity until the advent of the railway lured development away from Pioneer Street, whereupon these buildings became a boarding house. Again, a Federal Prime Minister's family was closely associated with its management. A sombre note was the recalling that in the year after the Mashonaland Rebellion the Funeral March was the most well-known tune among Salisbury's African population. The remains of those killed in the Rebellion were brought into Salisbury for internment in the Rebellion vault. Each internment was accompanied by a formal funeral and the oft-repeated dirge of the March resulted in the tune being whistled by the local tribesmen.

Many of the buildings at the western end of Manica Road are still little changed from the appearance they presented in the early 1900's.

Salisbury's first undenominational school—the restored building is now the library to Queen Elizabeth School—had an unhappy history. Active and acrimonious disagreements between the two staff members eventually led to the dismissal of the headmaster and a nervous breakdown by the lady principal. This was followed by the summary dismissal of the next headmaster for irregular extra-curricular activities with one of the senior female scholars, who was doubling as a pupil teacher. The original head, on his dismissal, removed overnight all the school equipment and set up a short-lived rival establishment—the Salisbury Academy.

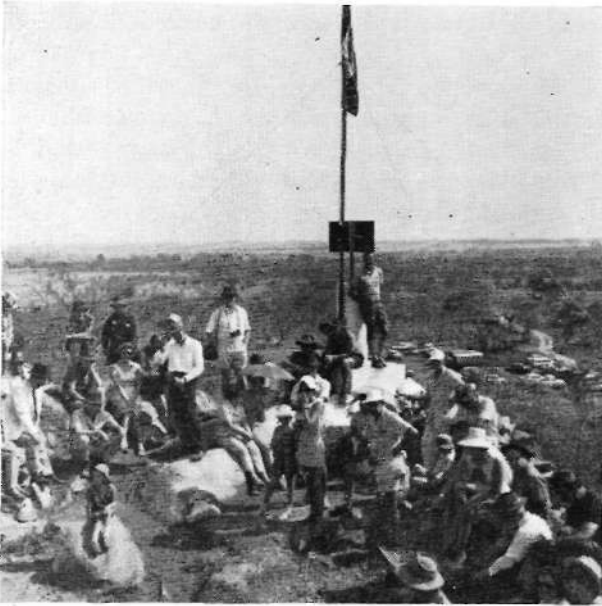
Cecil Square is still the centre of Salisbury and again reflects considerable credit on the Municipal Amenities Department. The Square has been successively the original Pioneer Fort, the Police Camp and parade ground, a cricket ground and a prospective "high density" development area. It is not generally known that it was at Cecil Square that the first European was hanged or that Rhodesia's only public execution took place there. The Houses of Parliament, which overlook Cecil Square, were first used as an improvised barracks for Imperial troops—improvised because the premises, built as an hotel, were still unroofed and an expedition had to be mounted to recover corrugated iron from the farm of the ill-fated Norton family before the place could be made weather-proof.

It is submitted that the persons who enjoyed the two tours arranged by the Rhodesiana Society can claim to be better informed on the subject of Rhodesia's heritage than many people who talk so glibly on that subject. There is little doubt that should another tour take place nowhere else can one obtain better value for ten shillings (or will it be a dollar?)—so roll up all you culture vultures!

A VISIT TO HARTLEY HILLS

A report by C. W. H. Loades

It had become apparent at the Annual General Meeting of the Rhodesiana Society that Mashonaland was out of step with the rest of Rhodesia in not having its own branch—the burden of organising any Society outings in Mashonaland thus fell on the sagging shoulders of the National Committee. It may have been, that the civic conscience of one of our civic fathers was pricked by this situation, or it may have been the National Committee's wish to "get out from under", but steps were taken to remedy the lack of a regional committee on an *ad hoc* basis and a small band of local society supporters met to set up an interim Mashonaland Committee. A number of projects was considered and it was decided that none could be more worthy of support than the Hartley Hill Centenary Celebrations. There being a number of old soldiers on the Committee, the fact that the organisation at the other end was being undertaken by the Hartley Historical Society may well have been a factor leading to this decision.



**Crowd gathered inside Fort
at top of Hartley Hill.**

Photo: Theo Rudman.

The suggestion was welcomed by the Hartley Historical Society and liaison with that body was close and cordial.

It was decided that the size of the Rhodesiana party would be limited by the capacity of three luxury coaches—in fact the support was such that a number of late applicants had to be refused. The convoy of coaches—filled to capacity—moved off from the Town House at 8.45 on Sunday, 28th September, and arrived at Hartley Hills some two hours later.

The Hartley Historical Society had gone to great pains to ensure that all visitors would be comfortable and after a church service the party partook of tea and was then conducted round the area in their coaches with frequent stops to be advised of the particular part each spot had played in Rhodesia's earlier days—or, rather, in the days before there was any Rhodesia. It is not intended to deal with the history of the Hartley Hills area as this will be covered in an article in a later issue. However, there was little doubt that few persons had realised the importance of the area in the pre-Pioneer days.

After an enjoyable picnic lunch the party proceeded to the site of the fort on the summit of Hartley Hill and was given details of its defence by the Hartley residents in 1896. This was followed by the unveiling of the plaques of Hartley and Baines by the Minister of Immigration and Tourism, more tea, and then the return to Salisbury, better informed of our early history and prouder of our past. It is shamelessly admitted that the interim committee of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society did a fine job, but the lion's share of the credit for a most informative and enjoyable day is due to the Hartley Historical Society.

THE ANNUAL DINNER, HELD AT UMTALI

The Hon. Secretary of the Manicaland Branch reports

The third annual dinner of the Society was held at the Cecil Hotel, Umtali, on Saturday evening, 25th October, 1969. There were 76 people present including visitors from the National Committee and from the Mashonaland Branch. The Rev. E. L. Sells, Chairman of the Manicaland Branch, presided.

The welcoming speech and toast to the guests was given by Mr. Gordon Deedes, a member of the local Committee and the reply for the guests was given by Councillor J. C. Kircos, the Mayor of Umtali. In response to the toast to the Rhodesiana Society Mr. G. H. Tanser, a member of the National Committee, gave a brief history of the Society and its activities. The main speaker of the evening was the Hon. Sir Ian Wilson, K.B.E., C.M.G. (*See below.*)

The Chairman of the Society, Mr. H. A. Cripwell, responded to the Speaker and expressed his keen interest in the work and progress of the Manicaland Branch.

The evening closed with the screening of a sound cine film by the producer, Dr. R. C. Howland, on the life and work of "Kingsley Fairbridge."

Sir Ian Wilson's speech. During the course of his speech Sir Ian stressed that there was no time like the present for finding out the facts of our past history and gave credit to *Rhodesiana* for collating so much of historical value. He went on:

"I can remember well as far back as July 1941, as an M.P., that 'the House recorded its deep regret at the loss of the greater part of the Archives of the Colony'. These had been destroyed during the bombing raids over London on the offices of the B.S.A. Company in May 1941. The Company had done its best about these important records and had built a steel-constructed air-raid shelter which had been provided on the sub-ground floor of No. 2 London Wall building at a cost of nearly £5,000 for their storage. It was built to the complete satisfaction of the City authorities and provided reasonable protection for human life against incendiary and high-explosive bombs. The shelter was strong enough to support the weight of the rest of the building if it had collapsed and it was recognised as being one of the best in the City of London and about 45 people habitually slept there.

"On the night of the raid, a bomb penetrated and set fire to a large gas main in the street outside the premises, producing a fierce conflagration, which nothing could resist and which spread to the interior of the shelter from which only the occupants could be evacuated without loss of life. So ended, ladies and gentlemen, the story of many of our priceless records of Rhodesia's past.

"However, I remember saying in the debate which followed this matter in Parliament and which had been introduced by the late Mr. Leggate, that 'here was a matter to awaken the national consciousness of the people and that in the realm of Theosophy it is said that consciousness sleeps in the stone, awakens in the trees, stirs in the animal and comes to life in man. Our progress in the evolution of things cannot therefore be truly measured unless we record each milestone along the road that we pass. That all this emphasised the imperative

need for Government to take the greatest care of its archives which represent the stepping-stones of our maturity, our progress towards better conditions for which we strive. In fact Archives were the very tools of Government.'

"Of course, it is not everyone who has the time or the inclination to keep a diary or to collate experiences of passing events; nevertheless Rhodesia is all the richer in knowledge and experience from those who do.

"It was Capt. Whittington, the then Member for Wankie, and in the same debate to which I have referred, who said he had had a long talk to Alfred Giese, the discoverer of the Wankie coalfield, who, when asked if he had any records of his travels or if he would make some notes, declined to do so. Whittington suggested his records would be very valuable to posterity but Giese retorted by asking what on earth posterity had ever done for him! Now the Government did a great deal really prior to this time about Archives.

"Actually, Rhodesia is very fortunate in its archives, and its archivists from Mr. Hiller to Mr. Baxter. The first building proved unfortunate as there was a basement which flooded in heavy rains and air-conditioning was not really successful but the records are now well-kept in the new edifice on the Borrowdale road outside Salisbury.

"We are but foolish if we do not learn from the history of the sacking of Alexandria and its great library of antiquities, followed early this century by the siege of Peking, vividly described by Peter Fleming, during which the famous Hanlin library and its treasures, laboriously accumulated over centuries, perished in flames in a few hours and again from the loss of records of our Rhodesiana destroyed for ever in the bombing of London.

"History affords no comparable examples of such cultural destruction. You must never be lulled into a false sense of security in keeping historical manuscripts lying around in unsafe places, as this Society as well as the Archives must be the guardians of its Rhodesiana, to be looked upon as a sacred trust."

VISIT TO HISTORIC PLACES AT UMTALI

The Hon. Secretary of the Manicaland Branch reports

On the Sunday morning following the third annual dinner held at Uintah, forty people went on a tour of places of historic interest. These included Mrahwa Hill (with Mrs. Gledhill and Mr. de Villiers as guides) and the Nurses Memorial at Penhalonga (where Lady Wilson spoke).

Tea was served at the Penhalonga Country Club after which a visit was made to the site of Old Umtali where a brief memorial service was held in the church erected in 1895. The tour concluded with a visit to the pioneer cemetery also at Old Umtali.

Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

This is a short, select list of books on Africa, designed to keep readers of Rhodesiana informed of new publications in which they might be interested. Many books on Africa appear every year but, because of their specialised nature and sometimes limited appeal, not all of them are publicised in periodical reviews and advertisements in this country. This list will mention works which, as far as is known at the time of going to press, have not previously been reviewed elsewhere in Rhodesia and which have not been generally publicised here.

Entries are accompanied by annotations where elucidation is considered necessary. All books listed are new editions.

BENNETT, NORMAN R. *Leadership in eastern Africa*. Boston: University Press, 1968. 68s.

In this book, an article which will be of special interest to Rhodesians is one by Per Hassing on the life of Lobengula. There is also a biography of Gungunhana, in addition to sketches of four other African leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

BRADNUM, FREDERICK. *The long walks: journeys to the sources of the White Nile*. London: Gollancz, 1969. 271 pages, illus. 54s.

The journeys referred to are those made by Burton, Speke, Grant and the Bakers between 1857 and 1865. All these explorers published accounts of their expeditions shortly after their return to civilisation. In this volume the author has taken accounts from the original published works and put them into their historical perspective. The result is a very readable narrative of African exploration.

GANN, L. H., AND DUGNAN, PETER (eds.). *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960. Volume 1: the history and politics of colonialism, 1870-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 1969. 632 pages.

HILTON, RICHARD. *Imperial obituary: the mysterious death of the British Empire*. Devon: Britons Publishing Company, 1968. 160 pages.

MANSENGH, NICHOLAS. *The Commonwealth experience*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. xix, 471 pages, illus.

MORRELL, W. P. *British Colonial policy in the mid-Victorian age*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969. xii, 507 pages.

Of late a number of books have appeared dealing with colonialism and the British Empire. The four noted here deal with different aspects of the subject.

The book edited by Gann and Duignan is the first in a four-volume collaborative history of modern Africa, based on the contention that, by and large, the colonial powers tried to follow the ideals set by the Brussels conference of 1890. Subsequent volumes will cover social aspects, decolonisation, and economic issues. Gann was at one time on the staff of the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as editor, and is especially well-known in Rhodesia as the author of a standard history of the country.

In the second work Major-General Hilton, a distinguished soldier and at one time British military attache in Moscow, surveys the origins of the British Empire and gives his views on the "baffling demise of one of the greatest political units which the world has ever seen". He ascribes much of what has happened to religious apathy.

Mansergh's book, one of the History of Civilisation series, "provides a critical account of the development of the British Commonwealth of Nations from its mid-nineteenth century origins to the present". The aim is to show the relationship between the Commonwealth and the nations which composed it. It is a comprehensive work and particularly well-named since every significant "Commonwealth experience" appears to be touched on between its covers. The illustrations, of which there are many, are excellent.

The final volume is more specialised than the others. As the title implies, it is limited to a specific period—1853 to 1872. The writer's intention is to study "the working of colonial self-government and . . . self-defence, as affected by 'race relations' in South Africa, New Zealand, and the West Indies".

JONES, E. MORSE. *Roll of the British settlers in South Africa. Part 1: up to 1826*. Cape Town: Balkema, 1969. ix, 174 pages, illus. 45s.

This contribution to the history of British emigration to South Africa was published under the auspices of the 1820 Settlers Monument Committee, and forms the first volume of what will be a multi-volume work. It includes material, not only on the 1820 Settlers, but also on many who settled at the Cape well before that year. Altogether, details are given of over 2,000 heads of families and individual settlers up to 1826. This book will be an appropriate shelf-mate to Mitford-Barberton's *Some frontier families* and Hockly's standard work on the 1820 Settlers.

KRUGER, D. W. *The making of a nation*. Johannesburg: MacMillan, 1969. vii, 348 pages, illus. 55s.

Sub-titled "A history of the Union of South Africa, 1910-1961" this book by an eminent South African scholar should become a definitive work on the subject.

MARAIS, Eugene. *The soul of the ape*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1969. vi, 226 pages, illus. 25s.

Chacma baboons are distributed widely throughout southern Africa, including Rhodesia. Marais' study of their habits was conducted in the early twenties when he "had the opportunity of living for three years in very close proximity to a troop" of them in the northern Transvaal.

Because the manuscript was presumed lost for many years, the results of his research have only just been published, 33 years after his death. Released

simultaneously in the United States, Great Britain and South Africa, it is likely to become as much of a classic in its field as has the same author's *The soul of the white ant*.

ROBERT, RUDOLPH. *Chartered companies and their role in the development of overseas trade*. London: Bell, 1969. 196 pages, illus. 37s. 6d.

According to the publisher's blurb, the histories of the various British chartered companies "are virtually a complete record of how the British Empire . . . was painfully acquired, developed and run by men who were . . . adventurers as well as traders". This book outlines the formation and activities of all the major chartered companies from 1553 to the present day, and includes a chapter on the British South Africa Company.

RUBIN, NEVILLE, AND WARREN, WILLIAM M. *Dams in Africa: an inter-disciplinary study of man-made lakes in Africa*. London: Cass, 1968. xii, 188 pages, maps. 59s.

Essays by geographers, economists, lawyers and political scientists on various aspects, problems and implications of dams in Africa. Southern Africa is represented by articles on Kariba and the Orange River project.

RUHEMANN, HELMUT. *The cleaning of paintings: problems and potentialities*. London: Faber, 1968. 508 pages, plates. £6 6s.

Although not African, this work will be of value to anyone whose interests include the acquisition of paintings. Written by one of the world's leading authorities on restoration, the book is a mine of information for both the professional and would-be restorer, although readers in the latter category are warned that "far more damage has probably been done by enthusiastic amateur cleaners than by professional restorers".

There are two parts. The first consists of autobiographical and historical notes, the restorer and his training, and an account of the exhibition of cleaned pictures at the National Gallery held in 1947. Part II is a practical guide for the restorer, and many paintings are reproduced in colour and monochrome to illustrate the principles and techniques described.

Appendices give names of institutions concerned with restoration, varnish recipes, and reprints of useful articles on the subject. Finally, there is a comprehensive bibliography by Joyce Plesters.

TOOLEY, R. V. *Collectors' guide to maps of the African continent and southern Africa*. London: Carta Press, 1969. xvi, 232 pages, illus. £6 6s.

The need for a single work identifying, describing and illustrating major maps of Africa has long been felt by collectors, booksellers and librarians. In this guide, the author, a recognised authority on the subject, goes a long way to filling the need.

A full introduction covering many aspects of cartography is followed by an annotated list of nearly 500 maps, giving name of cartographer (often with a succinct biography), size, date, edition, variations and other essential data. As an additional aid to identification there are over 100 full-page reproductions of maps, six in full colour.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by Alison McHarg

Bindura Bull (Bindura)

The *Bindura Bull*, sponsored by the Lions Club of Bindura, is a printed monthly periodical and a credit to this small Rhodesian town. From vol. 1, No. 8, November 1968, to No. 12, March 1969, it includes a series of articles on the "History and development of Bindura" by Jeanette Thompson who undertook the research while a student at the Teachers' Training College, Bulawayo.

Central African Journal of Medicine (Salisbury)

Little has been published on the blood group systems of Rhodesian Africans. R. F. Lowe's paper, "Rhodesian tribal blood groups" which is published in vol. 15, No. 7, July 1969, of the *Central African Journal of Medicine* is based on a study made at Harari Central Hospital, Salisbury, and "describes the results of tests for ABO and Rhesus blood group systems in six Rhodesian, four Malawi and one Mocambique tribes". This may be of interest to research workers studying tribal movements and patterns.

On a more historical note, the *Journal* has featured in vol. 15, Nos. 6 and 7, June and July 1969, extracts from the *Daily Graphic*, 1897, describing hospital life in Bulawayo and Gwelo. In vol. 15, No. 5, May 1969, Dennis M. Krikler has contributed an article on Bulawayo's first doctor, Alfred Goodman Levy. The same issue contains an extract of a letter written by Sister Lucy Welby at the British South African (*sic*) Company's Hospital, Umtali, 1891.

Rhodesian Nurse (Gwelo)

The *Rhodesian Nurse* which was noted in *Rhodesiana* No. 19 as the annual magazine of the Rhodesian Nurses' Association became a quarterly publication in 1969. Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 3, March and September 1969, contain an article, published in two parts, on "Conditions in early health services in Rhodesia" by Miss A. H. Wilson, who retired as Matron of Gwelo Hospital in 1945. The author's experiences as a young Scottish nurse, untrained in "plumbing, setting up of ablution blocks, inspanning donkeys and dealing with paraffin lamps" are recounted most vividly.

Rhodesian Engineer (Salisbury)

T. C. Salmon has written "A short history of Rhodesian roads" which is published in two parts in vol. 7, Nos. 5 and 6, September and November 1969 issues of the *Rhodesian Engineer*. The author travelled over early Rhodesian

roads with his grandparents in an ox-wagon and now as a road engineer is in a good position to record the development of those roads from tracks to modern highways.

Rhodesia Science News (Salisbury)

In an article entitled "First surveys in Rhodesia" in *Rhodesia Science News* vol. 3, No. 5, May 1969, G. Russell gives an account of the men who initiated the work of surveying the country and the problems they faced. "Rhodesia can count itself fortunate that . . . the first essential steps were taken within seven years of the arrival of the Pioneer Column at Salisbury in 1890."

Rhodesian Property and Finance (Salisbury)

Chamber of Mines Journal (Salisbury)

Both the above periodicals have recently published articles on the Bulawayo engineering firm, F. Issels & Son Ltd., which this year celebrates its 75th anniversary. *Rhodesian Property and Finance* No. 163, September 1969, has a brief note on the firm, while vol. 11, No. 9, September 1969, of the *Chamber of Mines Journal* has an illustrated historical survey of the company's origins and development.

Outpost (Salisbury)

The magazine of the British South Africa Police, *Outpost*, has established a reputation over the years as a source for information on local history in addition to its high standard of articles of more general interest. A series of articles currently running which began in vol. 47, No. 1, January 1969, is "Njuzi and the river people", an account of the experiences of three policemen who sailed down the Zambezi to the Indian Ocean in 1968.

Rhodesian Librarian (Salisbury)

Launched at the beginning of 1969 as the Rhodesia Library Association's first printed journal, the *Rhodesian Librarian* has included two articles of historical interest. The editor, G. Dellar, has contributed "The pattern of Rhodesian publishing, 1961-1967" in vol. 1, No. 3, July 1969. This is a survey based on material included in the annual *List of Publications Deposited in the Library of the National Archives*, now entitled *Rhodesia National Bibliography*.

In vol. 1, No. 4, October 1969, E. E. Burke of the National Archives of Rhodesia has contributed "The Salisbury Public Library: a sideline in Rhodesian library history." This traces the development of public library services in the city from the earliest library provision in 1893 to the Queen Victoria Memorial Library which was originated in 1903 and which, with its suburban branches, serves the city of Salisbury today.

Africana Notes and News (Johannesburg)

Robert Moffat Livingstone, son of Dr. David Livingstone, is the subject of an article by G. L. Guy in *Africana Notes and News* vol. 18, No. 6, June 1969. The family life of the Livingstones emerges in a new light. To quote Mr. Guy,

"Dr. David Livingstone, the father of Robert, was a man of many parts, good at many things, but no one who studies his record will ever call him a good parent!"

Journal of Modern African Studies (London)

Dr. Otaker Hulec, Specialist in African History at the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences has an article in vol. 7, No. 1, April 1969, of the *Journal of Modern African Studies* entitled "Some aspects of the 1930s depression in Rhodesia". This aspect of Rhodesian history is not often dealt with by historians.

Rhodesia Calls (Salisbury)

R. W. S. Turner of the National Archives of Rhodesia has contributed a further article to this periodical. In No. 55, May/June 1969, he gives an account of "American links with early days of Rhodesia", drawing the attention of the reader to Adam Render, Capt. Maurice Heany, Frederick Courteney Selous and many others in an interesting and colourful article.

Nada (Salisbury)

The 1970 edition of the Rhodesian Ministry of Internal Affairs annual, *Nada*, has a selection of articles ranging over a variety of subjects including local history, customs and folk-lore of Rhodesian tribes. M. F. C. Bourdillon, S.J., who is currently doing field research in the Darwin district towards a D.Phil, thesis, has written an article entitled "Peoples of Darwin: an ethnographic survey of the Darwin district", with an accompanying map showing tribal distribution and chiefdoms.

Rhodesia Agricultural Journal (Salisbury)

The July-August 1969 issue (vol. 66, No. 4) of the *Rhodesia Agricultural Journal* features two brief historical articles on early Rhodesian agricultural shows, G. E. Gilbert-Green's "Agricultural shows in Rhodesia" and Pauline Turnbull-Kemp's "Home industries section of agricultural shows in Rhodesia", each illustrated with a photograph of an early Salisbury show.

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (Salisbury)

This magazine continues to publish a range of popular articles on early Rhodesia. "Dearest Delphie" (23rd October, 1969, and following issues) is a series of extracts from the letters of Philadelphia Fleming, the young wife of Dr. Andrew Fleming, who accompanied her husband to Rhodesia in 1896.

Military History Journal (Johannesburg)

Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1969, of the *Military History Journal* contains "Further notes on early Rhodesian military units". Another article which will create interest is D. O. Stratford's "Naval ships move overland up Africa", an account of the movement overland from Cape Town of two motor launches, *Mimi* and *Toutou*, to challenge the German supremacy on Lake Tanganyika in 1915.

Readers who find this account of interest may like to follow up the story in greater detail in Peter Shankland's *The Phantom Flotilla: the story of the Naval Africa Expedition*, London, Collins, 1968.

In the December 1968 issue of the same journal Dr. Peter Becker has contributed "A comparative study of strategy in Bantu tribal warfare during the 19th century", surveying the development of organised warfare "which was to tear tribal South Africa asunder until the beginning of the 20th century".

Notes

"SOLILOQUIES AND OTHER POEMS": A PUBLISHING MYSTERY

Mr. E. E. Burke of the National Archives writes:

It has been thought that the first literary work to be printed and separately published in Rhodesia was a pamphlet of 42 pages—*From Ox-waggon to railway, being a brief history of Rhodesia and the Matabele Nation*, by Alexander Boggie. This was produced in Bulawayo on the press of the *Matabele Times* for the celebrations marking the arrival of the railway into Bulawayo from the south in November 1897. It cost 2s. 6d. and the proceeds went to the Bulawayo Hospital.

But it seems that there was an earlier effort, as the following quotation from the *Rhodesia Herald* of 16th September, 1896, indicates:

"A little volume has just been issued from the Salisbury press entitled 'Soliloquies and Other Poems' by Mr. Chas. Austin Collins, a resident of this town. Neat in appearance and well got up, the book is also remarkable for being the first copyrighted in the Deeds Office of the Rhodesian capital. Some of the contents, as the title-page informs us, were composed at Salisbury during the present Mashona Rebellion, and deal with the earlier of the courageous spectacles which our troops have constantly afforded since the outbreak. Mr. Collins' vein is distinctly hopeful, and cheering, and many of his pieces disclose an ardent longing for the socialistic goal or millenium towards which many now believe the human race is slowly moving. But this does not prevent Mr. Collins' muse from seeing worth in the worldly great, and his poems show genuine patriotism, as well as loyalty. The author does not pretend to be free from defects in literary style, but his fervour triumphs over such obstacles, and he has made himself quite a popular versifier. The book is also worth keeping as a memento of brave deeds and a romantic period in the history of Salisbury."

There is a degree of mystery attached to this. Firstly, there is nothing readily traceable of the author, Charles Austin Collins. Enquiry has shown he was no relation to the Charles Collins who founded the firm of Philpott and Collins in Bulawayo and he seems to have left Salisbury without trace, other than this collection of verse. Then secondly, no copy of the work can be found. It is not in the National Archives; the Deeds Office have no record of the copyright procedure which was mentioned; there is no known copy in any of the major libraries in Rhodesia or South Africa.

There were three newspapers in Salisbury at this date; one, *The Nugget*, was produced on a cyclostyle duplicator, while in addition to the *Rhodesia Herald* there was a second printed sheet, the *Rhodesian Times and financial news* issued by the Salisbury Printing and Publishing Company. The *Herald*, issued by the Argus Press, carried no advertisements for the book and the reference in its notice to the "Salisbury press" would indicate the Salisbury Printing and

Publishing Company. Unfortunately copies of their paper, the *Rhodesian Times*, for the period, which might have carried some further clue to the identity of the author, are not on record in the National Archives. *The Nugget* gives some notice of the publication and includes a specimen of the author's verse which would indicate that he would be unlikely to be remembered as a poet.

Has anyone a copy of the first book to be published in Rhodesia—*Soliloquies and other poems*?

REV. ISAAC SHIMMIN: EARLY METHODIST MISSIONARY

On page 38 of *Rhodesiana* No. 17, December, 1967, is a photograph of a group, with Cecil Rhodes, on board ship travelling from Britain in 1897. Included in the group is a minister named as W. Shimmin. This is, in fact, a photograph of the Rev. Isaac Shimmin, friend of Cecil Rhodes and one of the first Methodist missionaries to serve in Rhodesia. The Rev. E. L. Sells says:

"The Rev. Isaac Shimmin came to South Africa from England under the Wesleyan Missionary Society about 1884. He started the Waterberg Mission in the Transvaal in 1885.

"In 1891 he met the Hon. Cecil Rhodes, at that time Premier of the Cape Colony and Chief Director of the British South Africa Company, and suggested that the Wesleyan Church desired to have missionaries in the new country north of the Limpopo River. This was early in 1891, just before Cecil Rhodes made his first visit via Beira to the eastern section of that which was claimed by the British South Africa Company.

"Mr. Rhodes agreed to his suggestion and offered the Wesleyan Missionary Society the sum of one hundred pounds annually towards the expenses of a missionary who would serve in the territory under the administration of the Company. This offer was enthusiastically accepted.

"The Society immediately arranged for the Revs. Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin to undertake this pioneer work. On the 2nd June, 1891, Isaac Shimmin started from Kilmerton, near Pretoria, by wagon and oxen for transport. He was joined by Owen Watkins three weeks later. They proceeded to the Limpopo River arriving on 14th July. They travelled north via Tuli and Fort Victoria, arriving at Fort Salisbury 29th September.

"After arranging for land grants and opening mission work there, they went east to the new site of Umtali which had been given to Cecil Rhodes by Chief Mtasa through the good offices of Bishop Knight Bruce and Chief Saungweme about the middle of October 1891. The buildings for the hospital and police camp were being constructed and were occupied in December. They secured four stands for the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Owen Watkins decided to return to the Transvaal via Beira where he arrived on 3rd December, 1891.

"Isaac Shimmin returned to Salisbury and was alone in the new country until the Rev. G. H. Eva arrived after a year.

"In 1894, the new district of Mashonaland of the Wesleyan Methodist

Missionary Society was organised. Isaac Shimmin was appointed as the first Chairman (General Superintendent) in the Mashonaland area.

"He was a very close friend of Cecil Rhodes and greatly assisted in the ministry to the early pioneers."

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Billy Houlton de Beer was born in Bulawayo in 1932, and educated at St. George's College, Salisbury, and Milton School, Bulawayo. After leaving school he joined the District Courts Division of the Southern Rhodesian Ministry of Justice in Bulawayo. In 1953 he was seconded to the Federal Government and served for two years on the staff of the Federal High Commissioner in London. In 1955 Mr. de Beer was appointed Private Secretary to the Southern Rhodesian Minister of Justice, and in 1956 returned to the District Court Division as Assistant Public Prosecutor, Bulawayo.

Mr. de Beer was appointed as a Magistrate in 1958, and is now a Senior Magistrate. He has been stationed at Umtali since 1965. He is married with five children, and is a committee member of the Manicaland Branch of the Society.

Merna Wilson was born in Que Que, Rhodesia, while her father worked for the old Globe & Phoenix Mine. She grew up in the mining community at Rezende Mine, attended school at Umtali High and matriculated. She is married, with two sons, and her husband works for a chrome mine near Mtoroshanga. Prior to this he worked for nine years at the Muriel Mine where he and Merna personally met and talked to Bob Kennaird and his wife before their deaths.

She is a freelance journalist, Rhodesian correspondent for *African World*, London, and has had stories, articles and poems published in S. Africa, Rhodesia, U.K., U.S.A. and Denmark. Poems in three anthologies.

She has had three novels published by Robert Hale Ltd., London: *Explosion*, *Turn the Tide Gently* and *Reap the Whirlwind*.

Colin W. H. Loades was born in Woodford, Essex, England, in 1918 and was educated at Wanstead County High School. He came to Rhodesia in 1938 and joined the Civil Service. During the Second World War he served overseas in the Western Desert, Crete, Abyssinia, Ceylon and East Africa as a member of the Rhodesian Forces.

On demobilisation he remained active in the Territorial Force until 1964. He has served in the Native Affairs Department in various parts of Rhodesia. He is now in Home Affairs section, head office, Ministry of Internal Affairs. He is Honorary Curator of Military Insignia at the Queen Victoria Museum.

Clyde L. Shoebidge. What little is known about this contributor comes from the Rev. E. L. Sells who says: "My information is that he was a student from Australia and was making a study of tramways in central and South Africa. As to whether this was for a thesis I am not certain. He did research in the National Archives in Salisbury. He came to Umtali whilst I was away on holiday in September 1968 and I have not been able to contact him since his return to Australia."

JOHN NORTON-GRIFFITHS: ADDENDUM

Dick Hobson, the author of the article on John Norton-Griffiths in *Rhodesiana* No. 20, July, 1969, says that since the article appeared, Sir Peter Norton-Griffiths has written to him with the following note concerning the second of his father's great railway contracts in Africa—the Uasin-Gishu Railway in East Africa.

"Fifty years ago, at the end of the First World War, the railway system of Kenya consisted of the line from Mombasa through Nairobi to Kisumu on Lake Victoria Nyanza, with one or two branches. This line had been built at the beginning of the century and had to carry the traffic not only for Kenya but also, through the Port of Kisumu, for Uganda, which at that time was linked with the outside world only by short lines leading from Jinja and Port Bell on the Lake.

"The Colonial Office conceived the plan of linking the whole of Uganda with Mombasa by a railway which would extend through Kampala to the shores of Lake Edward. This railway would also link Mombasa with the Cape to Cairo Railway, which in those days still hovered on the horizon of Imperial thinking.

"The first stage of this vast undertaking was the construction of the Uasin-Gishu (or Trans-Nzoia) Railway, from Nakuru, in the Rift Valley on the Nairobi-Kisumu line, to Turbo, on the Uasin-Gishu Plateau. This railway, 145 miles long, was also to open up new areas of Kenya which were at that time being colonised. The contract with Norton-Griffiths & Co. was signed in September 1921 and the line was completed in August 1925 at a cost of £2,000,000. It was the highest line in the British Empire reaching an altitude of 9,135 ft. at Lake Narasha, with a maximum gradient of 1 per cent.

"Already in 1924 the second stage was started (by another contractor) from Turbo to Mbulamuti, on the line from Jinja, and this was completed in 1928 at a cost of £3,500,000. A glance at the atlas of today will show how this line was eventually prolonged through Kampala almost to the frontier of the Congo, at Kasese.

"There are relevant articles in the London *Times* of 24th September, 1921, and 10th January, 1928."

JOHN NORTON-GRIFFITHS: ERRATUM

In the text of the article on John Norton-Griffiths in *Rhodesiana* No. 20, July 1969, there are 21 *references* to notes. But at the end of the article there are only 20 notes.

In these notes at the end of the article the text of note 16 was left out so that the note intended for number 17 appeared beside the figure 16. All the texts of the other notes were moved up, resulting in only 20 notes instead of 21.

The missing text of note 16 is given below and the remaining notes presently numbered 16-20 must be renumbered 17-21.

16. This information, and the earlier reference to Griffiths' employment on the Rand, was provided by the I.M.M. (who sent a photo-copy of the original application for membership form) and the A.I.M.E. On the application for the I.M.M., Griffiths' proposer is shown as Sidney H. Farrar, and his seconders were Charles J. Alford, Arthur C. Claudet and A. G. Charleton. He was elected a metallurgical member on 30th May, 1900, and resigned in 1925.



Topong Lisiteli

DEATH OF TOPONG LISITELI

Mr. R. L. Moffat writes: "With the death of Topong Lisiteli, recently at the age of about 90, or perhaps he was even older, another link with the early history of Rhodesia is broken.

"Born in Bechuanaland, as it was then called, Topong accompanied my father, the late H. U. Moffat, to Bulawayo with the Southern Column in 1893. He must have been at least 16 or 17 years old.

"Subsequently Topong was employed by the Bechuanaland Exploration Company in Bulawayo, retiring in 1923 when my father left the Company to join Sir Charles Coghlan's first Cabinet. For the rest of his life Topong received a pension from the B.E. Co. He was always very proud of the fact that he was one of the first Africans to register as a voter.

"This photo was taken towards the end of 1968 when old Topong paid his last visit to me. He used to come along at least once a year or more frequently when in trouble. He was wonderfully active until the end of his long life.

"Though not exactly a member, Topong, I suppose, could be described as the last survivor of those who came in with the Columns of 1893.

"Topong was quite a character and had a strong sense of humour. His comments on current affairs in this country were always amusing. I feel that I have lost an old friend."

AMERICAN MILITARY BUTTONS

On 4th July, 1969, the *Rhodesia Herald* carried a story of the finding, by a Bulawayo boy, of an American button on the 1896 Matabeleland rebellion battle site at Beresford's Kopje in the Matopos. The article said that there were five Americans with Col. Plumer's Matabeleland Relief Force and inferred that one of them might have shed the button, which was described as being of copper with the insignia of an American eagle, and a New York button factory name on the reverse.

Col. A. S. Hickman commented in the correspondence columns of the newspaper:

"I fear, however, that there is a much more prosaic explanation, and am very sorry to disappoint the finder. In 1961 I led a Rhodesian Schools' Exploration Society expedition to Fort Matlaputla in Botswana, the main base camp of the Mashonaland Expedition of 1890. Here and in the vicinity we found over a thousand exhibits which I have classified in our report on the expedition. Amongst them, picked up near the old fort, were two American buttons of the sort described in your article, and I have listed them in my report as follows: "B5.—2 U.S. Army General Service buttons, one lettered "L. A. Myers Jr. Inc. Newark N.J." and the other, "City Button Works, New York". *Note.* This type of button was not in general use before 1908.

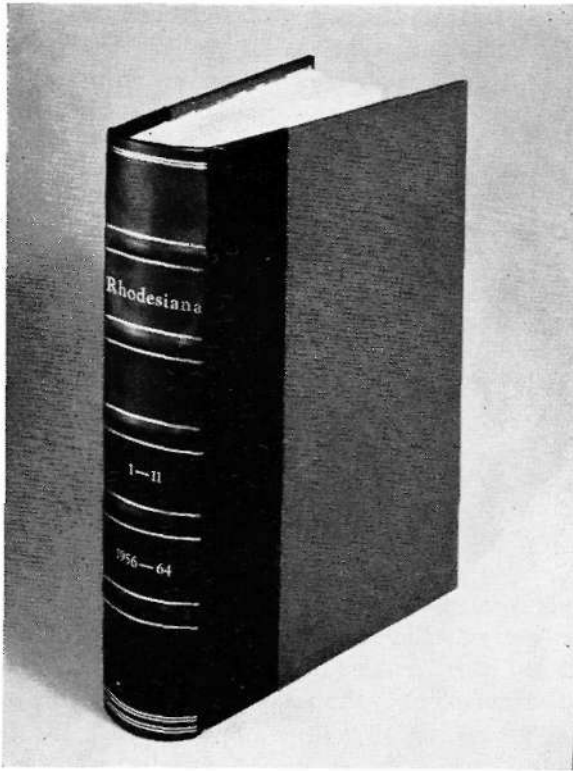
"I had referred this information about our find of American buttons to the Historical Section of the Pentagon, Washington, D.C., and as a result of their reply was able to make the above assertion. I added, from personal knowledge the following explanation. "There was, however, much military uniform, complete with badges and buttons, disposed of after the First World War, and sold in African stores. So more than likely these buttons came from a tunic bought by Bamangwato tribesman who had perhaps herded cattle in this area."

"I should have added that American khaki overcoats were also on sale and were very popular."

HAROLD COOKSON

In the introduction to Part 2 of "The Diaries of Harold Cookson" by W. D. Gale in *Rhodesiana* No. 20, July 1969, Cookson's interest in lepidoptery was noted and it was stated that he had left large collections in both the British and Transvaal Museums.

Dr. Elliott Pinhey of the National Museum, Bulawayo, knew Cookson and his family very well and points out that there is a large collection of hawk moths in the museum which Harold Cookson presented. So some of his entomological work still remains in this country.



NOTES FROM THE NATIONAL HONORARY SECRETARY

Binding of 'Rhodesiana'

Members will be pleased to know that arrangements have been made with Messrs. Mardon Printers (Pvt.) Ltd., of Salisbury, for the binding of members' sets of *Rhodesiana*.

Sets will be bound into volumes, the first volume containing eleven numbers, in half-leather with the title and other details gold-blocked on the spine, as illustrated above.

The cost is £4 2s. Od. per volume provided that lots of twelve volumes are dealt with at a time. This figure includes sales tax, packaging and postage.

A list of articles and illustrations will be printed and bound in at the front of the volume. The price quoted includes the cost of this index.

Messrs. Mardon Printers have agreed that members may send their sets to them at P.O. Box 55, Salisbury, *or* deliver them at their Sales Office in Michael House, Baker Avenue, Salisbury, where they will be held until a suitable quantity has accumulated.

When sending or delivering a set of *Rhodesiana* for binding it must be ensured that the name and address for return is clearly indicated.

In binding the volume, the covers of individual issues will be included unless the member requests that they be cut out.

Rhodesiana Society Tie

Members will recall that during 1968 they were asked whether they favoured the idea of a Rhodesiana Society tie, incorporating the Society's crest, being manufactured. In view of the overwhelming response in support of the proposal, the decision was taken to proceed with the matter. The ties are now available from Meikles Departmental Stores in Salisbury and Bulawayo upon production of a *written* authority obtainable by writing to The Rhodesiana Society at P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury; it is not possible for this to be done by telephone. The price of a tie is one guinea plus sales tax. It goes without saying that the tie may only be worn by members. Any lady member who wishes to give the tie to her husband as a present should ensure that her husband is enrolled as a member of the Society.

Rhodesiana Society Medals

The Committee of the Society recently adopted a proposal involving the sale to members every decade, commencing in 1970, of bronze decade medals, each one numbered and the name of the purchaser recorded in a medal roll. The die for the manufacture of the medals is being made in Bulawayo at the moment and the bronze medals will be available during 1970; details will be announced in due course.

The Committee has also approved of the idea of presenting silver medals to persons who have rendered outstanding service to the Society or to the study of Rhodesian history.

Books of Rhodesia Book Club

Enquiries have been received from a number of members of the Society and from members of the public regarding the Rhodesiana Reprint Library published by the Books of Rhodesia Publishing Company (Pvt.) Ltd. of Bulawayo.

For the information of members, it is mentioned that although a number of our members subscribe to the well-produced publications of this company, and although the company has supported the Society by advertising in our publication and has assisted the Society in its membership drive, the Society and the company are not connected with one another and exist completely independently and separately.

Material for 'Rhodesiana'

The regular production of the Society's biannual journal *Rhodesiana* depends on sufficient suitable material being submitted to our worthy editor for publication. During the past two years no less than four organisations in

Rhodesia have appealed for Rhodesian historical material for publication and this has had an effect on the flow of material to our Society.

Members of the Society are earnestly requested to advise the editor of any suitable material in their possession or which they are aware of, with a view to its publication in *Rhodesiana*.

M. J. KIMBERLEY.

Reviews

Cecil Rhodes and the Princess, by B. Roberts. (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1969. 405 pages, illustrated, price 42s.)

The memory of Princess Radziwill still lingers in the Cape, the woman who set her cap at Rhodes, forged his signature, and by her persecution hastened his death. Thus is the outline of the tale as generally understood, a rather sordid one to which Rhodes's biographers have given little space. Michell, for example, does not mention the matter at all and yet it seems that he had been closely and personally involved in a chain of events that had rather deeper significance and substance than has been realised.

Ekaterina Adamevna Radziwill was indeed a princess, it was no empty or courtesy title. She was descended from a Polish family of ancient lineage but peculiar background. She married Prince Wilhelm Radziwill and lived variously and splendidly in the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin and in Paris. Intrigue seems to have been so much a part of her natural existence that she hardly considered it as other than the norm.

By the time she met Rhodes, in London in February 1896, she had published two books under the carefully maintained secrecy of a pseudonym, "Count Paul Vassili", concerning the more intimate activities of society in Berlin and St. Petersburg. She lived to write 25 more with such titles as *Confessions of the Czarina* (New York, 1918), *Secrets of dethroned Royalty* (London, 1920), and *The Taint of the Romanovs* (London, 1931).

Roberts traces the Princess's career in careful detail. He shows that she tried to blackmail Rhodes through the possession of some sensitive documents, possibly copies of the famous "missing telegrams" which were withheld from the House of Commons enquiry into the circumstances of the Jameson Raid. At this distance of time they hardly seem the material that blackmail is made of, but in the late 1890's anything tending to show that the British Government had actively participated in the preparations for the Raid would be dynamite, for it would strongly influence feelings and sympathies for the Boers at a time when the Boer War was looming. Certainly both Rhodes and Milner were worried, the former strongly enough to foresake England to return to the Cape, against all medical advice and for the worst months of the year. This was in order personally to give evidence in the matter of promissory notes forged in his name by the Princess. His intention appears to have been to ensure the removal of her credibility so that any documents or "missing telegrams" she might produce would automatically be suspect.

Rhodes gave evidence in the preliminary examination in February 1902; he died on 26th March, 1902. The Princess served sixteen months of a two-year sentence in Roeland Street gaol and was then deported. She died in New York in May 1941, aged 84.

The author has added a notable book to the literature of Rhodes, one that investigates very closely his personal relations with others and he has collected

his material from many sources, documentary and oral. They are well used, without sensationalism where it would have been easy to over-dramatise. He is a sociologist and a teacher. He first came to South Africa ten years ago and has taught in Johannesburg and Durban. He has now settled permanently in the Cape, where he is working on another book.

By chance there is one source that apparently he did not come across. Much of his work was in the Cape Archives on microfilms of the papers held at Rhodes House in Oxford. Also in the Cape Archives is a report from the Metropolitan Police at Vine Street in London, dated April 1902, in response to a cable from the Cape Town police. A copy of this report is in the National Archives of Rhodesia to whom the original was brought to notice by the late Sir Henry Low, who recalled it from the time when, as an official of the Attorney-General's Office in Cape Town, he sat through the trials with Sir Thomas Graham, the Attorney-General, and saw all the relevant papers.

Sir Henry Low considered this report to be a document of particular importance. It shows that the Princess was well-known to the Metropolitan Police for reporting the fictitious theft of an expensive collection of jewellery from her rooms in the Carlton Hotel.

There is also a quotation from an informant deriving from a letter of hers to an agent acting for her in London—

"It may be difficult for me to see Rhodes as soon as I should like to and I must therefore have money to go on with. I rely upon you for this as well as letters and telegrams respecting my divorce proceedings so that I may get from him at least another £10,000. Let the letters be on official paper. Your advice as to bills is an alternative and you are quite right but he will never dare to dispute or even to go into court . . . be careful with the signature but I hope I shall not have to resort to this . . ."

This document would add to the author's reconstruction. This book is strongly recommended.

E. E. BURKE.

The Rhodesia That Was My Life by Sir Robert Tredgold. (Allen & Unwin, 1968. 271 pages, illustrated, price 48s.)

This book is written by a Rhodesian, whose antecedents go back to the very earliest days of European missionary settlement north of the Limpopo, for Sir Robert Tredgold's grandfather was John Smith Moffat who opened the first mission in Inyati in 1859. Through his father he inherited another liberal tradition. His great-grandfather was a friend of Thomas Clarkson, who fought against slavery. Sir Robert's second name commemorates this family friendship.

After school the young Tredgold went to England to join the army preparing to fight in the Kaiser's War. On demobilisation he was awarded a Rhodes scholarship and read law at Oxford. He practised at the Bar in Bulawayo and Northern Rhodesia. He was elected to Parliament and became Minister of Justice and Defence. Appointed a Judge of the High Court in 1943, he became Chief Justice in 1950 and was knighted. In 1955 he was made a K.C.M.G. Sir

Robert has presided over numerous commissions of enquiry and acted as Governor of Southern Rhodesia and as Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1960 he resigned from, the office of Chief Justice.

This is the outline of the author's career. It has been widely varied but full of interest and responsibility and the formative influences have made the man what he is and his book is a commentary, partly historical, partly biographical, on the Rhodesia that he has known.

Sir Robert writes his autobiography with restraint, good humour and charm. He has a gentle way of expression which flows easily and gives delightful descriptions of his early days with such characters as Chiliboy and Nan. When he strikes those matters which he found contentious there are short sentences which highlight these polemics.

Born and bred in the law (his father was Attorney-General and then senior Judge in Southern Rhodesia) Sir Robert is able to look back on some of the famous cases in which he appeared as a junior barrister. There was the case in which Rhodes and Jameson and the grandchildren of Lobengula and their female cousin, "Baby" Usher, appear. Another famous case which established at that time a record for the length of hearing, was the Globe & Phoenix Mine versus the Rhodesian Corporation. Sir Robert also appeared in the action which Sir Hugh Williams brought against the British South Africa Company on the ownership of the mineral rights.

Sir Robert's interest in Rhodesia's natural resources and the support he was able to give led to the setting up of the Natural Resources Board despite the delaying tactics of the Department of Agriculture. Future generations of Rhodesians will surely be grateful for the preservation of our country's soil, water and attractions.

His activities as Minister of Defence in Hitler's War led to the recognition by the United Kingdom that Southern Rhodesia with its cloudless skies and remoteness from enemy interference would be an excellent locality for the Empire Training Scheme for airmen, while the qualities of Rhodesians as officers and N.C.O.s in African colonial units enabled them to make a most worthy contribution to Britain's cause.

Through the book there runs the strong thread of liberal thought, transformed at times into action. Sir Robert has a strong feeling for freedom and toleration. There was a conflict between conscience and circumstance and his growing concern about the direction of racial policies made him glad to be leaving the political field. His inability to accept legislation which he considered harsh and unjust led to his resignation from the post of Chief Justice. He had hoped that he would become the nucleus around which those who thought as he did would gather. Some did, but the book tells of the limitations of his success and the reasons for his failure.

Sir Robert Tredgold has established for himself a high reputation as an orator on important historical occasions. He has foreseen the great forces which will be released in Africa and has recognised the difficulty of controlling the movement which these forces will generate even with the most imaginative

leadership. His book expresses a warm feeling for humanity and a keen sense of Rhodesian history. It should be read by all interested in our past, and in our future.

G.H.T.

African Crucible by Michael Gelfand. (Published by Juta & Co., Cape Town, 1968. 163 pages, illustrated, price 45s.)

The sub-title of Professor Gelfand's latest book is—"an ethico-religious study with special reference to the Shona-speaking people". It comprises a series of chapters that appear, at first sight, to be somewhat disconnected. The subjects range from—The African's Faith and The White Man Looks at the African, to The Two Worlds of Health and The African in the Towns. One or two chapters, especially that on The Material Culture of the Traditional Shona, appear to be definitely out of context. On the other hand, the chapter on The African and His Religion on a European Farm breaks new ground and, since such a large proportion of the African population lives and works on European farms, it is a subject that could well be expanded.

The author expounds on the theme that the Shona in his tribal setting is a deeply religious man, "satisfied with his lot". He describes the five main categories of spirits recognised and says that although there is a belief in a creator, all prayer and ritual connected with this belief takes place through the tutelary spirits. (The author says that Father Hannan, S.J., who writes a foreword to this book, disagrees with him on this point and that the Shona believe in God's direct intervention in their affairs.) In any case it is because of this belief in a creator, whether approached directly or not, that the Shona find it easy to follow the Christian faith as well as their own. They move easily from one sphere to the other and back again. Professor Gelfand coins a new description of Shona religion. He calls it "African Conformism", each clan or group being closely knit to its spiritual hierarchy.

Life in the towns is not conducive to the complete maintenance of Shona religious beliefs. For instance, the sacrifice of animals and the brewing of ritual beer is almost impossible. So special urban rituals have evolved and periodic visits have to be made to the rural home to ensure that there is no complete severance from traditional rituals. The same complications apply to marriage. The author gives a long description of urban marriage customs and explains how the new urban features dove-tail into the traditional system. In all his "ethico-religious" behaviour and belief the Shona tries to cling to the best of both worlds, the old and the new.

A wide variety of subjects is included in this volume. The author tells of the almost universal acceptance of witchcraft beliefs even though "in the Shona language there is no word for witchcraft, just as there is no word for magic"—a confusing paradox, if correct. He emphasises the relationship between mental growth, nutrition and disease pointing out that "most Africans have malaria, bilharziasis or hookworm" as well as a deficient diet. The Shona's attitude to sex is described in a factual, statistical fashion and he tries at length to disperse the popular canards that, traditionally, Africans were cruel and dishonest; that

they treated their women like chattels; and that they were ruled by despotic chiefs.

So this "ethico-religious" study covers a very wide spectrum. Like most of Professor Gelfand's books it is factual rather than theoretical and his information is based on a great number of interviews and visits to urban and rural rituals. It is rather a source book than a text book.

Ruzawi: the founding of a School. (Published by Ruzawi Old Boys' Association, 1969. 185 pages, illustrations.)

It is a great pity that more books are not written about schools, the people who started them, nursed them and brought them to fruition. The Ruzawi School is fortunate that its early days have been so well documented. It is hoped that even at this late date, Rhodesian schools, if they have not already done so, will start log-books which will record their activities. School magazines are valuable as source books but they do not give the day-to-day problems and how they are overcome.

In *Ruzawi: the founding of a School* the founders of the school, Robert Grinham and Maurice Carver, and some of the early members of the staff have collaborated in writing a fascinating account of the development of Ruzawi School. It is, however, also a very valuable contribution to our history.

It starts with the erection of Ruzawi Inn, built on twenty acres of land offered by Cecil Rhodes to anyone willing to establish a coach stop and provide shelter and refreshment for travellers and stabling for horses and mules. Around the Inn a tiny settlement called Marondera's grew but the construction of the railway five miles away affected the inn and Marandellas developed.

The inn remained a pleasant place for a quiet holiday until Grinham and Carver, seeking a locality for the special kind of school they were determined to establish, bought the place and made use of the buildings for their venture.

The story of their struggles is mainly told by the co-founders, though there are chapters of sheer delight written by Noel Brettell, one of Rhodesia's best known poets, who was for a time on the staff. The difficulties and problems are told simply, with touches of humour and with generous appreciation of the men and women who shared the years of struggle until the Beit Trust came to the rescue with grants which enabled buildings in the Cape Dutch style to be provided to replace the pioneer buildings.

Ruzawi School was started just over forty years ago and the book is of interest to all Rhodesians because the authors have woven into the history the background of the Marandellas district. Except the article "Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion" by R. Hodder-Williams, in *Rhodesiana* No. 16, little seems to have been compiled about this area. (*The same author has another article in this issue.—Editor.*)

As Brettell states in the opening lines of the book, "The story of a school must always be a complex amalgam of many hands, many loves, many lives", and in telling the story the authors have shown how the boundless faith and the following of Christian ideals have created an institution worthy of those who laboured to build it.

Rhodesia and Independence by Kenneth Young. (Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, London, 2nd edition, 1969. 684 pages, maps, price 65s.)

This journal is not concerned with politics but with history. But history is politics writ large and the political events of the last ten years in Rhodesia must loom large in the history textbooks of the future. It is perhaps fortunate, therefore, that a distinguished writer, both on politics and history, with several serious and significant books already to his credit, should have written such a long and heavily documented study of this particular period.

The first edition was published in 1967. This second edition has seven additional chapters which bring the recital of events up to the aftermath of the *Fearless* talks in 1969, and which discuss the moves taken towards republican status and also the economic changes in the country.

The introduction gives a brief social and economic survey of Rhodesia and the first two chapters cover the period from 1889 up to the end of Federation. There are twelve appendices, mainly quoting documents verbatim, a precis of the Whaley Report and a lengthy bibliography. In addition to using published sources the author has done research on unpublished documents and he also makes use of private statements made to him by some of the leading participants in the events described, both in Britain and Rhodesia.

So that, whatever the shade of one's political opinion, this book must be regarded as an authentic and definitive account of a vital period in Rhodesia's history. The fact that the author's sympathies lie more with Rhodesia than Britain does not detract from the general objectivity in the treatment of events. Moreover, Kenneth Young's lively and vivid style make the book easy and pleasant reading.

The Indian Minority in Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi by Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson. (Yale University Press, 1968. 444 pages, map, price 90s.)

In 1961, the latest year of population figures given in this book, there were 7,253 Indians in Rhodesia, 7,790 in Zambia and 10,630 in Malawi. So that the ratio of Indians to Europeans in Rhodesia was the lowest in the three territories being only 3.3 per 100 Europeans. Even so the Indians form a relatively culturally advanced minority and one that controls most of the retail trade with the African majority. The authors use the term Indian to cover both Hindus and Muslims.

The Indians of central Africa are what the authors term "passenger" immigrants, those who have come here on their own initiative, as opposed to the "indentured" labourers brought into southern and eastern Africa in earlier decades, although a few central Africa Indians did work on the construction of the Beira-Umtali railway. During the period 1901-05 an attempt by the B.S.A. Company to negotiate for Indian labour for the mines in Rhodesia and to operate sugar plantations in the Zambezi valley was foiled by the determined opposition of the European settlers. The Indian in central Africa is now a white collar worker although as late as 1921 in Rhodesia there were Indian market gardeners and even some in domestic service.

The authors discuss how modern life and the fact that an increasing propor-

tion of the present Indian population is locally born are affecting traditional Indian beliefs and institutions. The Indians of central Africa form homogeneous groups, most of them coming from specific and restricted areas of the Indian sub-continent and representing a limited number of families whose names indicate that they are from the middle-strata of castes.

Among the Hindus there is a surprisingly widespread apathy to religion. The Muslims still observe Ramadan but there is no compulsory tax and the pilgrimage to Mecca is rarely undertaken. Caste plays little part in social activities and even in marriage its influence is weakening. The "joint family" in which all adult members have a share in corporate family enterprises is still normal. Twenty per cent of Indian households in Rhodesia consist of nine or more people and bachelors live with the family: there are no Indians living in bachelor quarters. The Western nuclear family is becoming the fashionable type and, in spite of the religious permissions, most Muslims have only one wife and divorce is rare.

The younger generation of Indians is thoroughly secularised and Westernised and no desire to return to the Indian homeland is evident. On the other hand, certain racial characteristics are maintained. The Indians are puritannical, abstemious, hard-working and future-orientated: everything that another minority, the Coloureds, are not. So, the Indians generally dislike, and even fear, the Coloureds as they represent the abyss awaiting them should their standards fall.

The authors dismiss some economic myths. Only a few Indians are wealthy compared to Europeans. Some are "well-off" but all have wide, family financial commitments. Most Indian businesses have been built from local capital and, even in the days before exchange control regulations, very little money was sent back to India.

As to the future, the authors think that integration between the Indians and other groups will remain solely in the economic and political spheres with little desire on the part of the Indians for increased social contacts. The Indians will remain a distinct minority in a plural society, with only those who obtain "professional or entrepreneurial skills of a high order" emigrating to countries where social integration is also possible.

This book is a valuable, balanced and factual study of a permanent significant and race-proud minority in central Africa.

Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840. Vol. V. Edited by A. Da Silva Rego of Lisbon and T. W. Baxter of National Archives, Salisbury. (Published jointly by National Archives of Rhodesia and Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon. 623 pages.)

The documents published in this series of volumes, in Portuguese and English on facing pages, are drawn from archives in Portugal, Italy, France and Goa.

In their introduction to Volume I, the editors wrote—"African historical studies have made great progress. But scholars both in Europe and in the local field have been considerably hampered by the relative lack of published sources,

and the paucity of documentary material has particularly made itself felt in South East Africa, where much work remains to be done. All too little is as yet known concerning the great army of Portuguese explorers, missionaries, soldiers and settlers who first blazed the way into the interior . . ." These volumes will do much to fill the gap. Volume V covers the period 1517-18.

Most of the documents in this volume are orders from the Provost of the fortress of Sofala, or from the Captain and Governor of the fortress of Mozambique, to the Factor, Cristovao Selema. There are lists of foodstuffs which the Factor has to deliver to the residents of the fortresses and to the crews of Portuguese ships and there are annotated lists of wages paid to officials and crews. One Captain, posted to Sofala, had forgotten to bring his certificate of salary from Portugal and he had to sign a document undertaking to make restitution should he get higher wages than he was entitled to.

The captain of a caravel having received a consignment of ivory went on to acknowledge, without a trace of humour, a number of old and broken copper pans to be used for drawing water and leaking copper pots, all of which he conscientiously weighed.

There is a long letter to the King of Portugal from the Captain and Governor of Sofala and Mozambique reporting the misdeeds of a factor who had stolen camphor and pepper. In the same letter the Governor asks for materials for repairing ships as he has to send as far as Kilwa for coir and pitch. Luckily, he says, the "Moors" of the East Coast, except at Mombasa, are so friendly that they "might be Portugals".

Another letter to the King, dated 1518, complains that the so-called hospital in Mozambique has no beds, no drugs and, of course, no doctor.

The most interesting section comprises a long document also dated 1518, entitled "Description of the situation, customs and produce of some places of Africa". It includes a few paragraphs on "the great kingdom of Banamatapa" and the large "hamlet" called "Zimboache" which had "houses of timber covered with straw". It goes on to say there is also "a city" in this kingdom, gold comes from there and the king has a great number of warriors "among whom are five or six thousand women who also take up arms and fight".

There is a wealth of historically interesting material tucked away among these accounts, routine letters and reports.

African Stone Sculpture by Philip Allison. (Lund Humphries, London, 1968. 71 pages, 99 plates, maps, price 56s.)

The aim of this book is to illustrate and describe outstanding examples of traditional stone sculpture found in Africa south of the Sahara.

Stone sculpture is normally an art of the forest fringes, areas easily defended and with regular and good rainfall in which small communities can settle and, undisturbed, develop uninterrupted artistic traditions. In the savannahs, movement of villages is typical, the more open country allows free movement of traders from the outside world, and in the past allowed easy access by raiders. So long-settled communities were rare. "Alone in the savannah, Zimbabwe shows developments comparable with those of the forest fringes." The lack of

suitable raw material is, of course, another limiting factor. The presence of the easily-worked steatite or soap stone was particularly conducive to the development of the art of sculpture although in relevant areas where it was not found quartz and even granite has been used.

The author describes the traditional stone sculpture of six separate areas. Three are in the Guinea-Sierra Leone forest zone; a fourth near the mouth of the Congo River; two on the other side of the continent in the highlands of Ethiopia; and Zimbabwe in Rhodesia.

There is no link between the sculptures of the six regions and any observable resemblances are most certainly due to parallel development and not to cultural diffusion. The earliest recorded reference to the west coast sculptures is in the writings of a Genoese merchant who travelled in the central Sahara region in 1447. None of the sculpture illustrated here has been executed in the period of living memory.

Most of the sculptures are of human beings, either stylised or realistic, and, according to legend, they represent or are associated with chiefs, ancestors, legendary heroes or deities and in some cases the sculptures themselves are believed to be of divine origin. Others are of phalli or of sandstone pillars with incised decorations. In many cases the sculptures are gathered in sacred places where they have remained for untold decades.

Zimbabwe, says the author, is probably the most thoroughly explored Iron Age site anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa. But he does not attempt to theorise as to why Zimbabwe should have been the exception to the general theory that stone sculpture is not an art of the savannahs. The few stylised figurines and the steatite bird pillars from Zimbabwe are relatively minor material survivals compared to those of the other sites described. Some figurines excavated at Umtali are also illustrated. None of these relics, says the author, is of great aesthetic distinction. The great importance of Zimbabwe lies in its buildings, in that its discovery first suggested to the outside world that African history might be a subject worthy of serious attention and that it is an example of a purely African achievement. "The progress made in the elucidation of this particular African mystery, by systematic archaeological excavation supplemented by documentary research and the collection of oral tradition, encourages the hope that similar problems . . . will eventually be solved by the same methods."

The author ends by saying that stone carving in the traditional form is a dead art and that all attempts to revive it either for the tourist or by disinterested bodies have been "disastrous". He mentions a few interesting developments on the West Coast but not the flourishing modern school in Rhodesia.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Contemporary Art in Africa by Ulli Beier. (Pall Mall Press, 1968. 173 pages; 11 plates in colour, 99 in monochrome; price 55s.)

The value of this work to Rhodesian readers is its description of the important niche occupied in contemporary African art by the Salisbury school of artists developed at the Rhodes National Gallery by Frank McEwan, the Director. It is ranked as one of the three most notable art movements in Africa,

the other two being in Lourenco Marques and in Oshogbo in Nigeria. They all illustrate how a meeting of European and African artists can spark off, sometimes with extreme suddenness, an entirely original and fresh movement in art. It is a reversal, says the author, of the process that went out of Africa in the early years of the century when European art was radically influenced by the "discovery" of traditional African sculpture. Over the last ten years there has been a renaissance, a flowering of the arts in Africa in a variety of forms and expression.

"Art forms flourish and decay all over the world and at all times" and some great traditional arts, for example, that of Benin, had died long before the coming of the Europeans. Traditional wood-carving died out in many areas of Africa several generations ago. Nevertheless, the present generation of African artists feels, "either consciously or unconsciously, that the destruction of traditional values has been carried out by others, by foreigners, and the artist sees his own task as one of reconstruction and rehabilitation". So, particularly in West Africa, painters especially, seek to avoid European imposed influences. The themes of many of their creations come from folk-lore, from the dark world of witchcraft and from nightmare visions that only tribal Africa could conjure up. On the other hand, in South Africa, and possibly in Rhodesia too, African painters try to achieve success in terms of European cultures and to compete with European painters on equal terms. For some reason, says the author, this mood of seeking European inspiration has produced, in southern Africa, more internationally known African writers than painters. Only in modern figure sculpture does the general output of southern African artists seek to retain many features of traditional art, the most obvious being the over-emphasis or "blowing-out" of significant physical features.

The author's main thesis is that African art is responding to the social and political upheavals that are taking place all over the continent and that exciting new forms and new styles are creating a rich contemporary African art. Artists of individuality and personality are appearing. Even in the "cultural desert" that is Rhodesia, the author says there are so many artists he would need a book to describe them all. Many are represented in famous art galleries and he says there are over a hundred whose work is known beyond the borders of Rhodesia. He illustrates eleven Rhodesian sculptures and two paintings in colour.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics 1865-75 by W. David McIntyre. (Macmillan. 421 pages, maps, 63s.)

Although this is a study of three specific areas—West Africa, Malaya and the South Pacific, it does contain a good deal of discussion on the general colonial policies of Gladstone and Disraeli and of the political and social pressures that influenced colonial expansion.

The author suggests there were five motives for imperialistic expansion—humanitarian, irrational and emotional, economic, diplomatic, and strategic.

It was soon discovered that in few cases was it possible to make an uncom-

promising design—"extend or abandon"—once Britain was involved in any particular area and a sort of what the author calls an "informal empire" grew. There were five possibilities of keeping order and stabilising the position in the tropical regions where Britain was involved by reason of any of the motives mentioned above. These were—"extraterritorial jurisdiction, residence, chartered companies, protectorates or a claim to be the favoured power".

The author says that Africa "was not valuable for its own sake, but as security for the routes to the existing empire"—India and Australasia. England was drawn into Africa in response to nationalistic movements in Egypt and the Transvaal.

So the creation of Rhodesia fitted neatly into a historical pattern formed by "motive" number 5, "strategic" and "possibility" number 3, "chartered companies". That is, of course, an oversimplification but this volume is a useful contribution to our knowledge of motivations of colonial expansion generally.

Emerging Themes of African History, edited by T. O. Ranger. (Heinemann Education Books, 1968. 230 pages, price 50s.)

This volume comprises the Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar-es-Salaam, in October 1965. There are eighteen contributions including an introduction by the editor and the opening speech by the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Most of the contributions are from universities in Africa, U.S.A. and Europe, including one each from the universities of Moscow and Prague.

A wide variety of themes are covered although there is a preponderance of discussion on the relative chronologies of African history. The editor says that: "Delegates shied away from the idea of an African historiography in the sense of a historiography that embodied 'African' concepts of time or causation: it was asserted that there was an internationally accepted set of historical concepts which it was important for African history to employ." So it was emphasised that the historiography of India and China was of value to historical studies of the East Coast of Africa: Islamic writings after the seventh century A.D. cast light on the state of the central African countries as well as on the Nile Valley, Ethiopia and Zanzibar: and the international discipline of archaeology is beginning to contribute seriously to the dating of African cultures.

The importance of archaeology is constantly stressed. Merrick Posnansky comments: "It is only within the last ten years that archaeology has, except in the Nile Valley and North Africa, and to some slight extent Rhodesia, been seriously considered as a method of direct relevance to African history." Although archaeology cannot detail the social organisation, political economy, language or literature of past peoples it can provide material information on their technology, their basic economy, the rough size of social units, their burial practices and often their artistic achievement. Although the number of ancient sites discovered and the amount of material recovered are increasing regularly the most significant advance in archaeology of recent decades has been in the isotopic methods of dating.

The European historian usually considers the development of a country as a chronologically arranged series of events set in a generally accepted framework of "periods". There is no accepted "periodisation" of African history and one of the most interesting contributions on this subject is by Ivan Hrbek of Prague University. Moving backwards from about 1960, when the granting of political independence to African countries was in full swing, he suggests the end of the nineteenth century up to 1960 as the last completed "period". By the end of the nineteenth century the "scramble for Africa" was virtually over with Europeans controlling the continent except for Ethiopia, Liberia and Morocco. Again moving backwards he suggests the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a "period" during which there had been vast ethnic movements and the rise of new African states such as modern Egypt, Buganda and of the hegemonies of powerful tribes such as the Basuto, Ndebele and Lozi. His next landmark comprises the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during which Europeans appeared on the coasts of both east and west Africa; slave trading began; and empires such as the Luba-Lunda and that of the Monomotapa were established. Prior to that, Hrbek has no suggestions but his last epoch-making date is A.D. 1000 which marked the beginning of a diaspora of iron-working people into the Bantu areas of central and eastern Africa; the beginning of the Iron Age.

A further point stressed is one brought out earlier by Melville Herskovits who said that history is really "ethno-history" which is based on four kinds of sources—"written history, archaeology, oral tradition and ethnology. The first two sources are 'hard', that is, they lead to certainties. The other two are 'soft'. They can only lead to probabilities."

George Shepperson discusses the diaspora of the African all over the world and points out that they are now beginning to affect universal history, some of them, descendants of slaves, returning to influence the Africa of today. The historical pendulum is swinging and some writers are asserting, says Shepperson that the effects of the slave trade on Africa were not so great or deleterious in the long run. The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain likewise had its uprootings and horrors.

It is not possible to mention all the topics discussed at this Congress. Some were controversial and others modern political studies. But there is little doubt that the Congress marked the beginning of a new and significant phase in African historiography. This volume makes stimulating reading for anyone, even laymen, interested in African history.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

. *Settlement Schemes in Tropical Africa: A study of organisations and development* by Robert Chambers. (Published by Routledge & Kegan Paul, International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction Series, 1969. 294 pages, illustrations, maps, charts and tables.)

There are many reasons for the rash of settlement schemes that cover tropical Africa. They include political influences, attempts to relieve natural pressures of population, to resettle people under forced circumstances such as the building of dams, to rationalise land holdings, to combat erosion and to

boost agricultural production either generally or specifically. Although the problems differ from country to country there are certain organisational factors common to many of the schemes and tensions between administrative and technical staff seem to be inevitable in all of them.

In this volume the author does not attempt to analyse or query causes. His object is to study the administration and structure of existing settlement schemes, to discuss organisation, management and staff. In other words the accent is on the "developers", not so much on the people being settled.

Eight schemes are considered ranging from the £23,000,000 capital cost "Million Acre Settlement Scheme" in Kenya, the £20,000,000 Gezira scheme in the Sudan down to the £9,000,000 village settlement schemes in Tanzania, the £3,000,000 resettlements under the Land Husbandry Act in Rhodesia and the £1,000,000 Kariba settlements in Rhodesia and Zambia. One scheme, the £1,000,000 Mwea Irrigation Scheme in Kenya, is discussed in depth, the others are referred to in context in the various chapters. The Native Purchase Area and the Sabi irrigation schemes in Rhodesia are also brought in but the author does not appear to have first-hand knowledge of any of the Rhodesian schemes and he relies on published works and reports.

The author stresses that the various reasons for the inception of settlement schemes must be shown to be fully justified before a beginning is made. In so many schemes apathy sets in and initial subsidies have to be continued in perpetuity because the schemes were not justified in the first place. He says that a dangerous strain of Utopianism surrounds so many settlement schemes. There is talk of building up a class of "yeoman", or "sturdy peasants" or "workers' co-operatives", terms redolent of other times and places but quite out of context in modern tropical Africa.

The most loosely controlled settlements are usually the most successful and in this respect Chambers instances the Native Purchase Area schemes of Rhodesia. They have the lowest "fall-out" of any of the schemes mentioned and he quotes one sarcastic opinion that they are so successful because they have been completely neglected. He emphasises that because so many settlement schemes involve the bringing together of unrelated people on adjacent, individual holdings it is necessary, to ensure success and harmony, to provide some welfare and some opportunity to establish new social relationships or even to forge new kinship links.

This is a thought-provoking book that should interest all those connected with settlement schemes in this country.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Livingstone's Lake: The Drama of Nyasa by Oliver Ransford. (John Murray, reprinted 1969. 313 pages, illustrations and maps, price 35s.)

Oliver Ransford, now a well-known Rhodesian author, was for several years a government medical officer in Malawi. This is not a book about Malawi as a whole but only about Lake Nyasa, as it was then, about the peoples and personalities who have lived on its shores, its history and events that have occurred over the years. He starts with prehistory and ends in 1964.

He waxes lyrical over the beauty of the lake. It is "unbelievably lovely", "a never-ending source of inspiration" to artists, the appreciation of the beauty of Nyasa grows "with intimacy, like the music of a Beethoven string quartet". Such raptures are probably justified. The book ends with a description of the week-long trip around the lake on the *M. V. Ilala II* and all the varied attractions of the calling-places are detailed.

The author reviews the conflicting claims of the Portuguese judge, Candido de Costa Cardoso, and David Livingstone to have been the first to discover Lake Nyasa. He comes to the conclusion that Candido was the first and that he did discover the lake in 1846, fourteen years before Livingstone. Perhaps "rediscover" is a better word because it is possible that the Portuguese Gaspar Bocarro at least saw the lake, even if he did not set foot on its shores, in 1616. Livingstone met Candido in Tete in 1856 and obtained a map of Lake Nyasa from him. Two years later Livingstone denied that the meeting had ever taken place.

This was a curious change of face but then Livingstone was, as Ransford puts it, "one of the most ambivalent characters of his age" and who, as his treatment of Baines and Thornton seems to show, could at times appear "a little unbalanced". But the disagreeable aspects of the explorer's character do not detract from the greatness of his achievements. Livingstone very nearly lost his claim to a little-known traveller. He reached Nyasa only two weeks ahead of the German, Albrecht Roscher, who was murdered on his way back to Zanzibar.

Following Livingstone the missionaries began to arrive on the lake shore "in droves" and for fifty years they dominated the lake country "giving to it an unctuous Victorian flavour that lingered there long after it had vanished from nearly every other part of the world". Ransford tells of the tragedies as well as of the triumphs of missionary enterprise.

One of the highlights of the book concerns the battles against the slave traders. The story of Monteith Fotheringham's long, often unsupported, struggles against Mlozi, the Arab slaver, in the 1880's, is indeed one of the epics of Africa. Karonga, the site of Fotheringham's African Lakes Company station was again the scene of bloody battle when the Germans attacked it, then a government station, in the 1914-18 war. Ransford describes this battle in detail and relates the hilarious story of the capture of the German gunboat on the lake in the same war.

Little of importance in the history of the lake shore is left out. He tells of the disastrous capsizing, with almost total loss of life, of the *M.V. Vipya* in 1946 and of the riots at Nkata Bay in 1959, when territorials of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment had to shoot into attacking mobs. Many a character, from the "little prancing pro-consul" (Sir Harry Johnston) to "the Apostle of the Lake" (the Rev. W. P. Johnson) is described with gusto.

Written in Ransford's flowing, racy style this is a book that can be enjoyed by any Rhodesian whether he knows the lake or not.

The White Impala by Norman Carr. (Published by Collins, 1969. 191 pages, map, illustrations, price 36s.)

In his foreword to this volume, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, in his capacity as President of the World Wildlife Fund, pays tribute to Norman Carr's "long and outstanding work in the field of wildlife" and comments that "his approach to the problems of conservation is realistic rather than sentimental". He says that this book illustrates the new approach to conservation that has evolved in our lifetime.

The author's first book, *Return to the Wild*, was about two lions which Carr brought up in the Kafue and Luangwa areas of Zambia. The book was a best-seller and a Rhodesian-based unit made an excellent film on it.

This book is mainly autobiographical. Carr was born in Malawi. He was posted back there as a soldier during the last war and he tells some exciting stories of how he was called out to hunt down man-eating lions in the Namwera district.

Carr was the first game warden of Zambia's Kafue National Park, one of the largest in Africa. He ran hunting safaris in the Luangwa Valley, also in Zambia, and he describes some of the unusual people he met. He attempts to justify hunting as a natural human instinct. But he is better known as the man who began what is known as "The Wilderness Trail" non-hunting safari. He leads small parties of people on tours through the wild, game regions of the Luangwa Valley in a style that, as he says, has changed little since the days of Livingstone and Stanley. The parties walk through the bush, wading across shallow streams, with a long line of porters following on behind carrying camping equipment and food.

His chapters on elephant control, on conservation and on game management have a relevance to Rhodesian reserves. He explains why game reserves become overpopulated and why cropping must take place. Too many elephant destroy the forest and too many hippo ruin the riverine habitat. He tells how, with the blessing of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations he drew up a game management scheme for the Luangwa. There is an abattoir in the valley now handling the meat of the game that is cropped and ecologists from all over the world make visits to study the scheme.

Although Carr makes many interesting observations on animal and bird behaviour it is these chapters, based on his experiences of game conservation and management, that are the most valuable and that have an application beyond the boundaries of Zambia.

The title was inspired by a beautiful albino impala that was well-known in the Luangwa Valley for many years.

The Flora of Malawi.

With the recent publication of *Check List of the Forest Trees and Shrubs of the Nyasaland Protectorate* (a revised edition of an earlier publication, hence the retention of the name Nyasaland—price 15s. 6d.) by J. Burt Davy and A. C. Hoyle, revised by P. Topham, Malawi now has, in four volumes, "a first conspectus of the whole flora" of Malawi.

The first volume, published in 1955, was Jessie Williamson's *Useful Plains of Nyasaland* (price 15s.). This is a most comprehensive descriptive account,

with line illustrations, of indigenous plants and their uses. Two other volumes followed in 1958. G. Jackson and P. O. Wiehe wrote *An Annotated Check List of Nyasaland Grasses* (price 12s. 6d.) and Professor Blodwin Binns wrote *A First Check List of the Herbaceous Flora of Malawi* (price 25s.). Professor Binns worked for some time at the Government Herbarium in Salisbury and received advice from the Botany Department of the University College of Rhodesia whilst preparing this list.

The range of flora is particularly wide in Malawi because of its physiography and attendant climatic conditions. The rift valley floor containing Lake Nyasa and the Shire River goes down to almost sea-level on the Mozambique border and Mlanje Mountain, 10,000 ft. high, is the highest in this part of Africa. Illustrations of the consequent forest tree range are seen in the Mlanje Cedar (*Widdringtonia whytei*), economically very valuable, which grows between 5,000-7,000 ft., the Juniper which grows on the Nyika Plateau at 6,000 ft. and the indigenous tropical oil palm which grows in the swamps of Kota Kota.

All four volumes are cloth bound and can be obtained from the Government Printer, Zomba, Malawi.

GENERAL

The Land they Left by M. Whiting Spilhaus. (Wynberg, Juta & Co., 1969. 120 pages, illustrated, price R3.)

Next year sees the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the 1820 Settlers in the Cape Colony; an exact date might be the 9th of April when the *Chapman* reached Algoa Bay with the first of the immigrants. At that time the population of the Colony numbered 47,000 Europeans and of these only about 4,000 were of British origin.

An officially sponsored settlement scheme in England brought some 90,000 applications, indicative of the prevailing discontent with conditions in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. Between April and June of 1820 there was an injection of about 5,000 men, women and children into the eastern Cape in a carefully planned operation. While the Settlers were anxious to leave the turmoil of Britain the Colonial government was glad to see the empty spaces on its eastern frontier colonised and defended. The voyagers were organised in groups or "parties" and the heads of these were men of varied standing but generally half-pay officers, professional men, farmers, merchants, a manufacturer, and also working men who had gathered together a number of their fellows.

There is ample literature of the Settlers' experiences, beginning with Pringle's *Some account of the present state of the English settlers in Albany* (London, Underwood, 1824) which related their precarious condition after the failure of three successive crops, followed by a disastrous flood, but in this present work Mrs. Spilhaus has had the happy idea of indicating what Britain was like at the time, what they were leaving behind, and why in fact they left at all. It is thus a short social and political history of England in the decade before 1820. She has gathered her material well and put it to good use but the book is nevertheless an irritating one in that it deserved a better format and better editing; Jane Austen has become "Austin" (page 8), profligate youth has become

"profligate" (page 12), the word existence is consistently spelled as "existence", gaoler as "gaolor", and so on.

Some of the writing, too, is incoherent through erratic punctuation and the book, as a thing to handle, is not one that will enhance the appearance of a collection.

The publishers have pointed out that the same author's *South Africa in the making*, 1652-1806 (Cape Town, Juta, 1966. 422 pages, illustrated, price R7.50) is still in print. This is a work of a very different calibre, carefully produced and well designed by the publisher. It is an authoritative study of the birth of the Afrikaner people in the century and a half between the Dutch occupation of the Cape and the passing of the colony to Britain, a subject not well dealt with by writers in English. Theal has been shown to have undoubted prejudices in one direction and Welch has been charged with permitting evangelism to colour his scholarship. Mrs. Spilhaus gives the impression of being sympathetic but fair.

E. E. BURKE.

Sword in the sand: the life and death of Gideon Scheepers by Johannes Meintjies. (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1969. Illustrated.)

Gideon Scheepers was executed by a British firing squad in January 1902, four and a half months before the end of the Boer War. He had been found guilty by a military court at Graaff-Reinet on several charges arising out of his effective guerilla campaign in the Cape in the previous year.

His execution and interment were carried out in sinister circumstances, not alleviated by subsequent official reticence on the subject. In quest of their son's grave, Scheepers' parents received the first official communication concerning his tragic end only five years after his death, when a letter from the Governor confirmed that his body had been exhumed after the execution and removed to an unknown spot.

Meintjies starts his narrative by recounting Scheepers' career as a heliographer with the Free State Artillery, going on to describe his swashbuckling adventures as the legendary commandant of a force of young Boers in the Cape. The events leading up to his capture and trial are then carefully delineated in the context of the Boer War as a whole.

In addition to the diary kept by Scheepers during his last days, the author has drawn extensively on contemporary published accounts of the Boer War in the compilation of this study, as they are apparently the only surviving sources in South Africa to contain references to him. One wonders, however, whether recourse to the War Office papers of the Public Record Office would not have enabled him to unravel more of the sad mystery surrounding this South African hero.

C. COGGIN.

No Charge for Delivery by C. W. L. de Souza. Published by Books of Africa, 1969. Price 50s.)

For many years, Dr. C. W. L. de Souza had carried with him in his travels a bulky, battered, locked tin trunk, containing Angle-Boer War papers collected

by his father, then Secretary for War. When the lock was forced, a wealth of historical material was found. After painstaking translation and selection, this volume was accepted for publication just before Dr. de Souza died.

This is an unusual and delightful book: a collection of secret and highly confidential telegrams sent during the stormy years of the Anglo-Boer War. These are not abbreviated, penny-pinching missives—when their senders were moved to fury, self-justification or humorous sarcasm, the length and accuracy of their messages pays tribute to the now outmoded Telegraph Department.

Dr. de Souza adds lively explanations and, occasionally, extracts from *The Times* "History of the War in South Africa" to give the British version. The many illustrations by Brenda Lighten are excellent, and add a further dimension to the messages of Smuts, Kruger, Churchill, Baden-Powell, Danie Theron, Steyn, Botha, and the indomitable Lady Sarah Wilson.

This volume provides a moving insight into the lives of the famous and the forgotten combatants in the last of the chivalrous wars.

R. C. KIMBERLEY.

Publications of the National Museum of Rhodesia

Arnoldia. A series of Miscellaneous Publications. Nos. 17-31, Vol. 4.

In No. 18, C. K. Cooke and H. A. B. Simons of the Historical Monuments Commission, describe the excavation results at a Late Stone Age shelter at Mpatu on the Limpopo River near Beit Bridge. The excavation was undertaken by a group of schoolboys of the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society under the direction of H. A. B. Simons.

No. 19, by P. S. Garlake, also of the Historical Monument Commission, describes an Early Iron Age village at Chitope in northern Mashonaland.

No. 21 is the longest of the papers in this particular set. It is: "Some Birds of the Lower Chobe River Area, Botswana" by M. P. Stuart Irwin, P. N. F. Niven and J. M. Winterbottom. The last mentioned is Professor of the Percy Fitzpatrick Institute of African Ornithology, South Africa, which undertook the expedition. The paper is 41 pages long, illustrated and with a map, and ends with a systematic list of 460 birds.

No. 28 tells of the discovery by a group of schoolboys of the fossilised remains of a portion of a Coelurosaurian dinosaur in the Nyamandhlovu district.

There are other papers on reptiles, mammals and lepidoptera.

Also Received

High Tide by Professor J. L. B. Smith. (Books of Africa, Cape Town, 1968. 165 pages, illustrated.)

A fascinating volume of short articles by the man who identified the Coelacanth. Although most of the chapters are concerned with specific fish of southern African waters there are general chapters on waves, protection against sharks, how do sea birds drink, do fish feel pain and how long do they live and other intriguing matters. There are also several chapters on the little known but historically interesting islands off the coast of northern Mozambique.

Publications of the Rhodesiana Society

Rhodesiana No. 1, 1956 (*out of print*)

SIR ROBERT TREDGOLD. 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 Rhodesiana.

Rhodesiana No. 2, 1957 (*out of print*)

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

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

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

H. POLLETT. The Mazoe Patrol.

Rhodesiana No. 3, 1958 (*out of print*)

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

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

N. M. BRETTELL. Three Rhodesian poets.

Rhodesiana No. 4, 1959 (*out of print*)

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

Rhodesiana No. 5, 1960 (*out of print*)

A. S. HICKMAN. The Mashonaland Irish.

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

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

W. F. REA. Rhodesian pioneer.

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

Rhodesiana No. 6, 1961 (*out of print*)

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

Rhodesiana No. 7, 1962 (*out of print*)

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

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

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

Rhodesiana No. 8, 1963 (*out of print*)

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

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

R. C. HOWLAND. The Mazoe Patrol.

Rhodesiana No. 9, 1963 (*out of print*)

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

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

B. M. E. and K. E. O'MAHONEY. The southern column's fight at Singuesi, 2nd November, 1893.

R. C. HOWLAND. The Market Hall—Salisbury's oldest building.
"Shifts and expedients": extracts from the book by W. B. Lord and T. Baines.

MRS. M. CRIPPS. Umtali during the Rebellion, 1896.

Rhodesiana No. 10, July 1964 (*out of print*)

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

C. T. C. TAYLOR. Lomagundi.

R. W. DICKINSON. Sofala.

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

Rhodesiana No. 11, December 1964 (*out of print*)

J. ELLENBERGER. The Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Boer War.

F. O. BERNHARD. Notes on the Pre-Ruin Ziwa culture of Inyanga.

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

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

Rhodesiana No. 12, September 1965 (*Special Issue. 75th Anniversary of formal establishment of our country in 1890*)

H. F. HOSTE. Rhodesia in 1890.

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

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

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

H. D. RAWSON. Diary of a journey from Southampton to Salisbury, 1895.

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J. MCADAM. An early enthusiast for Rhodesian aviation: Mr. C. F. Webb, in 1912.

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EXTRACTS from the South African letters and diaries of Victor Morier, 1890-1891.

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P. BERLYN. Of women who left their mark.

A. H. CROXTON. Rhodesia's light railways.

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P. S. GARLAKE. The Mashona Rebellion east of Salisbury.

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S. GLASS. The outbreak of the Matabele War (1893) in the light of recent research.

The second visitor to the Victoria Falls: extracts from W. C. Baldwin's *African hunting and adventure . . . 1852-1860*.

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

Rhodesiana No. 15, December 1966 (*out of print*)

M. W. BARNARD. The battle of Imbembesi.

G. M. CALVERT. The Zambesi Saw Mills Railway.

- The Diary of Alfred Cross at Old Bulawayo and to the Victoria Falls, 1875.
 J. RICHMOND. Wheels in the bush.
 W. F. REA. Bernard Mizeki: The Devil's Advocate puts his case.
 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.
 G. L. GUY. Notes on Some Historic Baobabs.
 R. HODDER-WILLIAMS. Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion.
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 R. F. H. SUMMERS and C. W. D. PAGDEN. Notes on the Battlefields at Shangani and Bembesi.
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 P. C. D. EATON. A Modern Historical Safari.

Rhodesiana No. 18, July 1968 (*Special Issue. 75th Anniversary of Occupation of Matabeleland*)

- Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: Occupation of Matabeleland, 1893.
 O. N. RANSFORD. "White Man's Camp", Bulawayo.
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JANIE MALHERBE. Rev. Paul Nel. A Rhodesian Pioneer.

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Shakespeare

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Telephone: Salisbury 27894
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RHODESIANA

PUBLISHED BY THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

www.rhodesia.nl

