

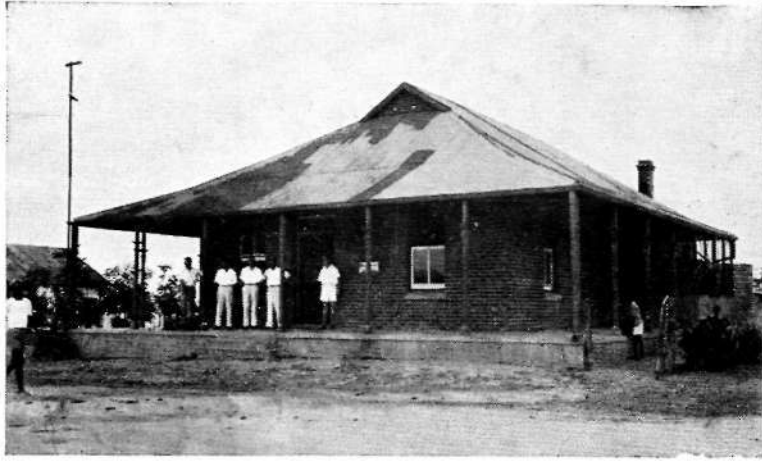
RHODESIANA

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 22 — July, 1970

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

Salisbury
Rhodesia

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
OBITUARY: H. A. CRIPWELL AND THE FOUNDING OF THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY. . . . .	.1
THE GWELO LAAGER, 1896. . . . .	.6
MEMORIALS: MATABELE REBELLION, 1896. . . . .	.16
SOFALA AND THE SOUTH EAST AFRICA IRON AGE, BY R. W. DICKINSON. . . . .	.19
"DISCOVERER OF SIMBAYE": THE STORY OF KARL MAUCH, 1837-75, PART 2, BY F. O. BERNHARD. . . . .	.27
DHLO DHLO RUINS: THE MISSING RELICS, BY C. K. COOKE	44
THE GRAVEYARD AT OLD MARANDELLAS: ADDENDUM ..	52
AIR VICE-MARSHAL SIR QUINTIN BRAND: CO-PILOT OF THE FIRST AEROPLANE TO LAND IN RHODESIA, BY J. MCADAM	55
SOME RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. COMPILED BY C. COGGIN. . . . .	.69
PERIODICALS AND ARTICLES OF INTEREST. A SURVEY BY ALISON MCHARG. . . . .	.72
THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1970. . . . .	.74
NOTES. . . . .	.77
CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	.84
REVIEWS .. .. .	.89

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."



The Rhodesiana Society

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

There is no entrance fee; the subscription is S3.00 Rhodesian currency (\$5 U.S.A. or R3.30) a year, and this entitles paid-up members to those numbers of *Rhodesiana* issued during the year. There are two issues in each year, dated July and December.

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For information about Branch activities please write to:

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H. A. CRIPWELL, 1969

Founder Member and first National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society.

(Photo by Rhodesia Herald)

OBITUARY

H. A. Cripwell and the Founding of the Rhodesiana Society

Harry Archie Cripwell, one of the founders and the first Chairman of the Rhodesiana Society, died in St. Anne's, Salisbury on 30th May, 1970. He was 73.

Dr. R. C. Howland and Mr. B. W. Lloyd have supplied some biographical details.

Harry Archie Cripwell was born in Ilkeston, Derbyshire, England in 1897. He arrived in Bulawayo at the age of one when his father attested in the B.S.A. Police in December 1898. He attended St. John's Preparatory School before going on to St. George's Public School where he matriculated in 1915.

He entered the Southern Rhodesia Native Department the same year but soon left to enlist in the B.S.A. Police Service Company. He served with that unit and with the Northern Rhodesia Police Service Battalion in German and Portuguese East Africa (1917-19). He was mentioned in despatches (*London Gazette*, 5th June, 1919). He was at Abercorn when the German General, Von Lettow-Vorbeck surrendered to the British.

He took a keen interest in military history and wrote, *inter alia*, about the operations around Mpepo, German East Africa, in 1917 for *Rhodesiana* No. 10.

After the war he continued his career as a Native Department official serving in various districts until he retired as Provincial Native Commissioner in 1957. Mr. Lloyd says—"When Archie was in Gutu-Chikwana in the 1930's he was known as a champion of better roads for the backward areas. In fact, Africans there referred to roads as 'Man' roads, 'Clipwell' roads or 'Muneri' roads (bush tracks used only by the missionaries). He was held generally in great respect".

Mr. Lloyd goes on:

"When I first met Mr. Cripwell at Fort Victoria in 1949 we often discussed Africana collecting, as we were neighbours in the old fort, my office having been built about 1891 for Major Allan Wilson. Later in Salisbury, after he became Provincial Native Commissioner in 1952, we discussed the possibility of founding a Society along the lines of the van Riebeeck Society in Cape town, whose constitution we studied. Others who were approached by us were of like mind; resulting in the calling of a meeting on 2nd June, 1953, in the cinema of the Information Department.

"The Rev. Fr. M. Hannan, then working on his Shona dictionary, took the

chair and with the following present the motion to form a Society was passed: Mrs. B. W. Lloyd, Messrs. W. R. L. Packham, M. Cawood, G. H. Tanser, S. E. Aitken-Cade, J. J. M. van Heerden and myself.

"The resolution read: 'The Rhodesiana Society has been founded to further the interests of collectors of Rhodesiana and to assist in the preservation of books and documents relating to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in particular'.

"It is interesting to note that one of the first functions of the Society took place on 2nd September, when Major W. R. Foran, a well known writer and hunter visiting the Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo, addressed the Society in the Cathedral Hall (now demolished) on 'African hunters and explorers'.

"In 1957 'Archie' retired to Salisbury and began to take a leading and active part in the work of the Natural and Historical Monuments Commission and in the Rhodesiana Society, as already described. Despite several severe illnesses he edited and continued to write most of the Newsletters of the Society issued to members from 1954 (No. 4) to No. 27 in 1964. His forthright and honest appraisals of books and articles contain many terse Cripwellian remarks. To quote but one of these from my valued file of his Newsletters: 'Was not the L. Hoffman who was a pallbearer when Mr. Rhodes' body was taken to the Cathedral in Cape Town the Louis Hoffman of Enkeldoorn and a prominent personality there for years? Was he not at Sigara's Kraal outside Enkeldoorn in 1896? Did not Mr. Rhodes turn up shortly afterwards? Such questions enter my mind . . . (H.A.C.)'

"This illustrates his ever-questing, exacting search for truth in our local history, and for sifting it from the chaff of fallible memory. His long years of service, his phenomenal knowledge of African relationships and tribal history, added to a meticulous insistence on detail in our annals, were all characteristic of the man.

"The worldwide membership (over 1,400) of the Rhodesiana Society today is a fitting tribute to his many years of devoted service to its growth and work. Its publications bear witness to his efforts as Chairman from 1953 to 1970."

He wrote three articles for *Rhodesiana*, one under the *nom de plume* "Regulus" and supplied many notes and comments. He was a keen supporter of NADA (Native Affairs Department Annual) and wrote five articles for the journal all under the *nom de plume* "Regulus". They all displayed his vast knowledge of African language and customs. The last two, in the 1969 and 1970 issues, were on "Native Names and Native Places".

He was a Member of the Natural and Historical Monuments Commission of Rhodesia and he served as a High Court Assessor continually from his retirement.

FURTHER TRIBUTES TO H. A. CRIPWELL.

Colonel A. S. Hickman, now National Chairman of the Rhodesiana Society, writes:

"Because Archie Cripwell, our National Chairman in 1969, was away at the Cape, I took the chair as his deputy at our Annual General Meeting at the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, on 24th February, 1970. In my report on his



Archie Cripwell, aged about 20, in the East Africa Campaign 1914-18 War.
(Photo: National Archives).

retirement, which appears elsewhere in this issue, I paid tribute to his devoted work in the establishment and development of our Society. He had been our chairman since our foundation and only relinquished this position due to his continued ill health. In fact he had gone to the Cape with his wife, as was his usual habit yearly, in the hope of some relief.

"Following our A.G.M. the *Rhodesia Herald* published a fine photo of Archie wearing his double terai hat, (reproduced as frontispiece here—Editor) but because the notes beneath this picture were very brief I sent the paper a quotation about Archie from my report and also wrote to him to tell him how he had been elected as our Honorary President with acclamation as a tribute to his outstanding service to our Society.

"Archie died on the 30th of May and we have lost a true friend to whom the interests of the Rhodesiana Society were paramount. The last committee meeting over which he presided was on 2nd October, 1969, so he was active in our affairs almost to the last. In the early years of our magazine he used to

contribute anonymously under the pen name of 'Regulus', and it was only in 1964 that I was able to persuade him to use his own name which he did in his contribution on 'Operations around Mpepo, German East Africa, 1917'. As No. A.313 Sgt. H. A. Cripwell, he had served in Murray's B.S.A. Police Service Column during that campaign but did not consider referring to the fact that he was mentioned in despatches in the *London Gazette*, on 3rd June, 1919!

"He was a glutton for historical research and on that account was a familiar figure at our National Archives. I know that further facts have been recorded in his brief biography, but mine is a personal tribute to one who earned our respect and affection. Those of us who could attend the service conducted by the Rev. Frank Mussell of the Methodist Church, at the Warren Hills Garden of Rest on the afternoon of 1st June, where the Chapel was crowded by Rhodesians from many walks of life, including former colleagues of the old Native Affairs Department, some of whom were African Messengers, together with his widow and family.

The Rev. Mussell's address was so outstanding that I asked him for a copy which here follows with the consent of Mrs. Sonny Cripwell, for whom we have the deepest sympathy.

"May he rest in peace."

Extracts from a tribute paid to the late Harry Archie Cripwell by the Rev. F. Mussell, at the Service held in the Warren Hills Crematorium Chapel on 1st June, 1970.

"We are gathered here to pay our respects to a very good man, and a great Rhodesian.

"I said at the beginning that he was a good man. His goodness, honesty and uprightness was the result of his deep faith in God. He was not ashamed to call himself a Christian. The proof of his dependence on Divine Inspiration and strength was seen in the Bible which he read every day, and which through such constant use needs completely rebinding.

"It was because of his Christian concepts that he developed his most outstanding characteristic—a sense of justice. In all his dealings with other people he endeavoured to be as just as he knew how to be.

"It was his experiences on the Bench which gave him a feeling of compassion and led him to scrutinize so carefully what he did in his relationships with others.

"As a result of all this he attracted to himself all sorts of people who went to him for counsel and guidance.

"His interests were wide. He was an authority on Rhodesian history and contributed articles on this subject in Rhodesia and throughout the world. He was a founder member of the Rhodesiana Society.

"He was also an authority on the flora and fauna of this fair land, and it is

clear from the many letters he received, that by the impartation of his knowledge and enthusiasm he awakened in those who worked with him and under him, an interest in the trees and animals found here.

"He was fluent linguist in Shona and Sindebele, and was highly respected by the Africans with whom he came into contact.

"He was a cheerful man, and during his eleven years of suffering which resulted from a heart malady, he was never heard to complain. He faced his last few weeks of extreme physical limitation and anguish with extraordinary courage and fortitude.

"Rhodesia is the poorer for the passing of such a loyal citizen as Harry Archie Cripwell."

The Gwelo Laager, 1896

(This article was submitted by Mrs. A. Hurrell of Gwelo who says: "The article on the laager is simply a typewritten copy of a pencil written diary which Mr. Peter Folk's daughter, Mrs. Klimczak, had and believes to have been written by her father who was in the Laager in 1896. White ants have been at the diary and some of the words eaten away, hence the gaps every now and then". Editor.)

Life was a quiet uneventful business in Gwelo until the 25th March, 1896, when rumours of a native rising were wired to us from Bulawayo. There was a public meeting held in the morning and one of the members was sent round to warn all the families which were then 8 in number to be prepared for the word, which meant go *into* laager, meanwhile the men here took things into their own hands and gave themselves good . . . in case war did break out, and began moving wagons, etc., to form a laager and sending out warnings to the miners and prospectors all round the Gwelo district to come in at once. In the afternoon women went about condoling with each other, and some who had experienced laager life before (having been in Victoria during the last war) rather looking forward to it as "good fun". In the evening few undressed for bed as the call to laager might come any time, so the children went to sleep in their clothes, and the elders anxiously waited. At 11 p.m. a sharp knock at the door and "into laager as good as you can", was the order. Wraps, rugs, pillows, etc. were hastily put together, and then for laager, which was composed of private offices and Govt, buildings which faced each other, and wagons drawn across the open ends.

The excitement was intense, every face anxious, both of men and women, as they all knew the ammunition would only last 15 minutes if a rush were made by the natives.

The women and children were all put in 1 large and 1 small room leading, the large from the verandah which opened into the laager square and the small one out of it. There were 8 women and 11 children, the latter varying in age from 2 months to 14 years of age. Never were a braver set than these though they knew what the consequence would be if the natives attacked that night.

The window of the large room was thrown open, and some of the women sat at it all night chatting quietly to the men, who were all in the laager square with their rifles, revolvers and bandoliers.

Beds were made up on the floor of the room for the children, and those of the women who could sleep; and really, the behaviour of all was truly grand. Some of the women had been too hurried to bring even a rug, or pillow, and these were at once lent by others who had come well provided, so that women met and were as one in the common trouble though never having exchanged a word before.

The men were on the qui vive all night as there were so few, and so the day slowly dawned, and all thanked God for their safety.

After the sun was well up they were allowed to return to their homes, but told to be ready to run for laager on the least warning and to be back with proper bedding at 2 p.m. It was a strange scene, all the men and women and children separating and going to their homes, looking not very fresh and bright after their night's watching.

On reaching their houses very few native servants were to be found, they having almost all returned to their kraals of which the greater number were in this district. So another trouble awaited the poor tired women. However, there was nothing for it but making the best of things and the cheerfulness of all was remarkable.

The inhabitants near Gwelo now began to come, and from then till a week after, the wagons, light traps, scotch carts and indeed every kind of conveyance in the District came pouring in.

At 2 p.m. according to order the inhabitants all reassembled in the laager which had been assuming a most formidable aspect, and found that they were all allotted rooms or share of rooms, two families consisting of 2 mothers and 6 children sharing 1 average room and so on.

There was time given for preparations for the night, and orders were again given to all, be back before dark, as the natives here don't like attacking by day; and their movements are always guided by the moon.

In the afternoon of 26th the residents and miners from Selukwe, 25 miles off, arrived, most of the men walking and the women and children on wagons; all looking very jaded and travel-stained and glad to get here. Then came the difficulty of housing them, but by degrees between putting up tents and drawing the tented wagons in close, they were all accommodated.

Meanwhile wires were coming in of murders on all sides, and the excitement was dreadful.

One of the police was sent with a volunteer in one direction in order to warn a few men in the Maven District, 18 miles away, of course both fully armed and on good horses. On their way they fell in with natives who fired at them but missed; they returned the fire and the natives fled, and a lucky thing they did, for in the last shot, the policeman's revolver jammed, and on his opening it to find the cause, the charge exploded and went right through his right hand.

Here was a dilemma, the policeman could not mount, and the volunteer did not wish to leave him, not knowing when the natives might return. At last they decided the best thing was for the volunteer to return for aid. When he arrived, this was another excitement, for the natives were not known to be so close. Immediate help was sent and a cart; and when the escort guided by the volunteer reached the place where he had left his companion, they saw his cloak under a tree, and not the man. They at once concluded the natives must have returned and murdered him, when fortunately they heard a cry, and looking in the direction of the sound there was the policeman who had got under a tree both for protection from savage and sun. The wounded man was weak from

loss of blood, but fortunately there were good surgeons and his hand was eventually completely cured.

Next day a messenger came from the same direction, saying that there were 6 whites and some Cape boys, 8 miles out, and they could not get any further, being foot sore, and worn out. Help in the shape of a light trap for 6, with 10 mules and an escort were sent to them; and they arrived about 6 hours after with a terrible tale:

One of these was a Govt. Mine Inspector who had received an assegai wound in the shoulder, and he told us of how it happened.

He had been inspecting mines in a camp which also boasted a store, and in the evening the different miners and the . . . and to the store for a chat, having heard nothing of the rising. They were all together having a chat, with the exception of a young Govt. Land Surveyor who had retired to his tent a short distance away. The first warning the men in the store had was a bursting of the door and a body of armed natives trying to rush the store, one of them flinging an assegai at the Mining Inspector, whose back was to the door and who had not time to turn. This would have been fatal, had not the store man . . . the arm of the thrower, and so spoiled his aim. As quick as lightning almost, the whites rose and seized their guns which are always handy here, there being so much game, and no sooner did the natives see the guns than they turned and fled. After their astonishment had cooled a bit, the men thought they would go and warn the young fellow in the tent, and when they reached the place and looked in, there was a ghastly sight.

The poor young fellow had two spear wounds, one in his heart and one in his throat, so death must have been instantaneous.

There was neither time nor means for burying the poor boy properly, so they did their best, and then started (in the middle of the night) for Gwelo. One young fellow was in such a hurry he could not find his boots, and the only one with a horse was a Mine Inspector, so he gave his boots to the one who had none, took a track across country to avoid the natives who were probably near the roads and tramped through the long grass, as quietly as possible. When you know that lions are common in all these parts, then you may imagine how these men felt.

They came to within 6 miles of Gwelo like that, then sent the least tired man on the horse, to ask for aid. The one man's feet were dreadfully cut by the long grass, and the Mine Inspector's wound, though luckily only a flesh one, was very troublesome for some time.

Things like this happening every day and wires of fresh murders between here and Bulawayo where the natives placed grass on their victims' faces, after they had chopped them all over, and set fire to the grass, so that the features would not be recognised, set all the men, and I am afraid, the women too, longing for revenge.

As soon as possible the local authorities wired to Bulawayo for ammunition and if possible, men, the answer was, "not sufficient ammunition for ourselves, and no men can be spared as the natives are in open rebellion here and in the Matopos; ask Salisbury".

Reply from Salisbury was "will send officers, 2 maxims, sufficient ammunition at once".

As Salisbury is 180 miles away, and nothing but mule transport, it took 4 days to come, and there we were during all that time in a fever of anxiety, knowing if attacked boldly, it would be all up with us.

As soon as possible the Hospital was put in order. The way this was done, was to take the Govt. Offices which we had used the first night in laager, and put beds etc. in them ready for either fever or wounded patients. Most of the ladies did good service in this department, as, until the Dominican Sisters arrived, they did all the nursing. The Doctors also were anxiously doing their best, and as this was the fever season, there were soon a good number of patients to attend to.

Then there was the provisioning of laager, so the Ct. took over the contents of the three stores in the place, and started rationing the people.

There were thousands of cattle close in on the commonage, having been brought in by the farmers in the District and as these were also taken over by the Ct. at a certain price, there was no lack of meat, and in fact there was too much of it, heaps being wasted, even by the native servants, who as a rule cannot get enough meat to satisfy themselves with.

Then the rinderpest arrived on the scene. It had been in Matabeleland, but not reached us before.

The cattle (oxen, cows and calves) were driven into an immense kraal at night for safety from the natives, who might otherwise have easily driven them off any dark night, and as their only wealth lies in their cattle, this was something to take into consideration.

Well the rinderpest arrived, as I said before, and at once played sad havoc among the cattle; sometimes as many as 80 and 100 carcasses having to be pulled out of the kraal in the morning; this was bad news for us all, and the milk which we had all been getting from the cows had to be discontinued, as the Doctor did not think it advisable for it to be used; then some persons got the idea that the flesh of these animals, thought perfectly well when killed, must somehow have the disease also; and as there were so very many down with fever, which had several new symptoms, they said the meat was the cause of it, and that the people were really ill with a sort of rinderpest.

Another large party now arrived from Shangani. This river and district will be remembered as the scene of Major Wilson's death, and also of another battle higher up the river. Several wagonettes and wagons, the former belonging to Willoughbys, of men, made a good addition to the laager both in numbers and ammunition etc.

There was a family, in a wagon, consisting of parents, grandparents and four children with this party, and the women told that they had a lovely farm in Shangani District, and had it stocked, and were very comfortable when one morning while resting quietly at breakfast, a messenger rode up in hot haste to warn them. He said the natives were not far off; so these poor things started up from breakfast, and while the father had the mules put into the wagon, the mother and grandmother got some bedding and a few clothes together, and the

family started in a very short time. As they left the farm, in the distance, they saw thick columns of smoke rising, and knew by that sign that the natives had arrived, and finding their buggy gone, had at once fired the place, which being thatched with grass, was soon in flames. The woman said the loss she and her mother, who belonged to one of the good old Dutch Cape families, mourned most was a box of very old silver that had been in the family for generations.

They also told me of the murder of her husband's sister who was married and living on the next farm to them, and who had been warned, but too late—for afterwards her body was found lying under a bank of the river, where she must have run to hide, and the bloodthirsty savages followed her footprints, and simply chopped her about so that if it had not been for her rings, she would never have been identified.

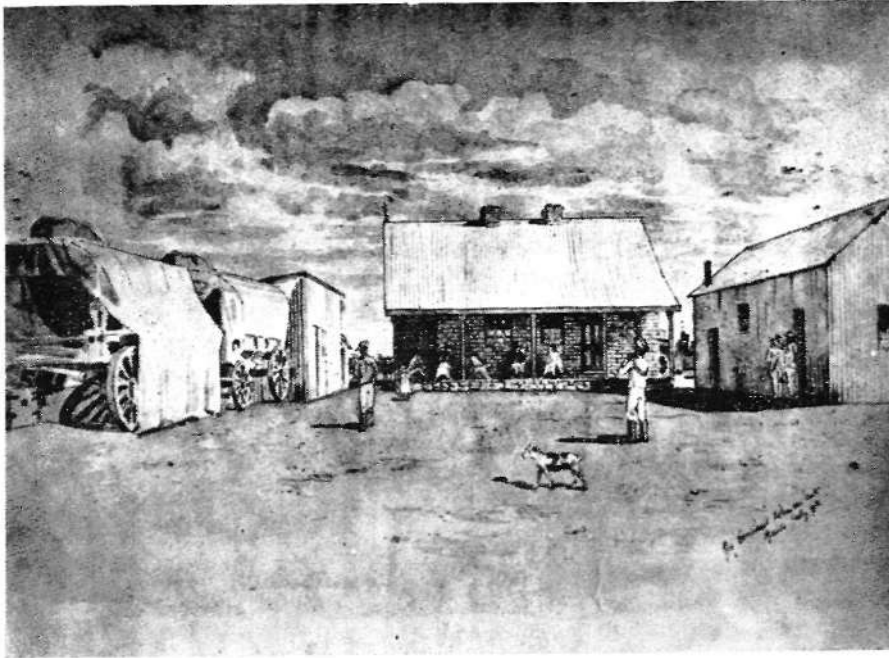
After such things as these can you wonder at any ill treatment the natives may receive, though I know now, that the war is almost over, and these same natives will be sent as servants, to us all, that their lives will be very easy lazy ones, the whites being most forgiving. The coach with officers and maxims arrived in good time, and you may imagine our joy and relief; was also sent an Imperial Officer to take charge of the District, so things which had been "going slow" now moved fast. The first thing he did was to find out which men were Volunteers and which Burgers, and as all the men in laager now numbered 400, there was quite a good show.

The Dutch of the settled inhabitants remained Burgers, though this officer did his best to enrol them as Volunteers; the reason being that much more control can be exercised over Volunteers than over the Burgers. The latter only serving for the defence of the place. The Burgers, among whom were some of the best men, were very indignant with this officer, who said they were "only camp followers". However, he remained long enough with us to regret his words.

An order was now given, which has since been regretted; this was to pull down all the houses within a certain distance of the Laager, so as to leave no cover for the natives, should they attack us. So, as Gwelo was not a large village, this reduced the houses to quite one half. They were mostly wood and dagga, a mixture of clay, and thatched, so a few fatigue parties soon demolished them, but the burning of these houses gave the natives courage, as we afterward heard them saying we must be afraid of them to pull down our houses.

Almost every morning there would be native servants missing and of these, . . . went to their own tribes nearby, with the latest news. You may ask were we not afraid to have these men near us; but we had not the least fear of them singly, the danger lay in the masses they would meet us with.

The order for this rising, we heard since, was sent to all the different Indunas or Chiefs, and this was, that when the moon had reached a certain stage, each man who was in service should rise on this particular night and murder his master, and then the country would be their own again. As the natives were in such tremendous majority this could easily have been accomplished and it would have meant total annihilation of the white population. Fortunately there was some misunderstanding as to the exact date and so these murders took place at different times; but almost all within the first week.



Information from Mrs. A. Hurrell. Looking towards the western side of the Gwelo Laager from the Parade Ground, July, 1896. Left to right: Cecil Rhodes's waggonettes; the Officers' Mess; Percy Brown's office, later purchased by Jack Ferguson, added to and formed residence on the corner Lobengula Avenue and Fifth Street; Sergeants' married quarters; Guy Hurrell at left centre; Mrs. Hurrell's dog in right foreground.

(Photo: National Archives).

Of course in a place like Laager where everything one did or said was generally repeated, with, as you may be sure, no deductions, there soon arose a sore feeling, and as the so-called Military were in fact Volunteers, only one was an Imperial Officer, who tried to make a distinction between the masses. This was a great mistake and I know some, though they said nothing, felt it very keenly; but we all know 'a little power is a dangerous thing'.

The next excitement, some queer incidents arose, for instance . . . About the day after the Public Houses (they are not worthy of the name of hotels) were burned down, the boarders at the different Inns had to find new homes. One of these came to a friend's house early in the morning and asked in a very pathetic way if they would give him a cup of coffee and a bit of bread. Well you can imagine what the feelings of this man must have been as he was very refined and sensitive, to have to do that. He was at once chided for not coming before and taken as a member of the Mess; for this he is even grateful yet. The B.S.A. Co. behaved splendidly and gave us all necessities free, and in that and other things they have been so generous that I am sure few Rhodesian settlers have anything against them; excepting taking the Police away.

Our Imperial Officer was a very thorough, hardworking man, and commenced a flag signalling class from hill to hill, and in drilling the men both

Infantry and Cavalry every day, until they began to have quite a martial appearance—if it were not for the clothes. I remember an incident relating to clothes . . . I think it was when Mr. Rhodes, our uncrowned King was expected. The men were all on parade and the Officer asked them to put in as good an appearance as possible, and to wear coats. Several remarked, *sotto voce*, "We have no coats and there are none to spare." So they were forced to appear in shirtsleeves. These men had been forced to leave everything and fly for their lives at the Outbreak. Mr. Rhodes then arrived with Officers, Volunteers and Dominican Sisters after a tedious journey; the cattle dying by 50's all along the march; and their having to be replaced caused the journey of 170 miles to take weeks instead of days. All Gwelo turned out to meet "Our Hero" for, let outsiders say what they like, he is that to us all.

The arrivals all looked very fit and drew up in good order. Our men were standing at attention and when Mr. Rhodes drew up and began to make a short speech, everything was as quiet as that, if we had been contained in a room, you would have heard the proverbial pin drop. The women were seated on a huge mound of hay close by, and as usual, there were some who preferred to hear their own voices, so there were occasional cries of "hush", etc., from those who were desirous to hear what we knew was of the utmost importance to us . . .

The Sisters at once took over the Hospital and from then on until they left Gwelo some months afterwards there was nothing but intense love and gratitude for them; they made no difference of sect; they were like Wesley in a way though instead of "all the world being their parish"—all the sick were their patients. The order these dear women kept on the rough men in hospital was marvellous, if you must please remember that miners and others as a rule don't belong to the class of Vere de Vere and are apt to make themselves heard, not agreeably sometimes.

One night about 12 p.m. in the large ward containing nine patients there was a terrible uproar and cries of "Where's the guard?" Before the guard could get there one of the Sisters appeared and quite quietly ordered every man to his bed. The order was obeyed at once. Then enquiries resulted in this: One man could not sleep so was allowed a night-light to read by, another complained that this light kept him awake and jumped up to put the light out. Sympathy was on the side of the sleepless man and the rest who were able, jumped up and went for the offender. (Puts one in mind of a bolster fight.) When this had been explained the Sister went round to each one, and the rest of the night passed quietly.

Another instance: I overheard one patient ask another to have something that the Doctor had forbidden and the answer was "I don't care a damn for the doctor, but I won't do it because Sister asked me not to, and I would deny myself anything to please her."

Among our number was an English M.P. and his son who had been on a hunting trip and were fortunate to have heard of the "rising" in good time to get into Gwelo. These, I am afraid in the eyes of Gwelo, did not add lustre to their class, as they were anything but brilliant specimens. There was occasion for a speech on the unfurling of the Union Jack and we were all assembled to

witness it. The M.P. then took the chance of saying some things which Punch would put as 'things which one would rather have left unsaid'. He as much as told the women and children that they were 50 too many—that being their total number. His son was merely a volunteer Trooper and told off for fatigue work in turn with the others; and when the oxen were being cut up for biltong he with others was put on for some hours. This was too much and it sickened him so terribly that three days in hospital was necessary to help him to recover.

After a night in Gwelo Mr. Rhodes and the contingent, from Salisbury, and a good number of our men and all our best horses started for Maven's Kraal, about 18 miles north of Gwelo from which most of the murderers came.* On arriving they found the Kraals deserted and started to hunt around for the owners. One of the volunteer Captains with his men came suddenly on a number of natives, when he turned on his men at once and said "We were not told what to do in a case like this; we must go back to the camp for instructions." So off the men went, much against their wills. This is how the story was told on their return to the Laager. However, between the crowd they managed to shoot a few natives and then returned to Gwelo en route to Bulawayo. Between here and Shangani they found the telegraph line literally torn up; poles (wooden ones) pulled up, cut in pieces and carried some miles away. This accounted for our being cut off in the way we were at the commencement of Laager.

The natives used to be afraid of the telegraph line and would not touch it in the last wars, saying the devil was in it. (When a thing is beyond their comprehension they always put it down to evil influence.) But a telegraph line had recently been laid to Selukwe 25 miles S.E. and natives had been employed on it, and had become accustomed to handling and using the materials, and thereby losing all fear of them.

After the first few days in Laager the wire was cut on both side of us but fortunately our friends had already heard we were all safe, so the effects were not so keenly felt as they would otherwise have been; but it was a terribly lonely feeling that the handful of us were in touch with no place on earth.

The funerals during laager were many, not from wounds, but fever and dysentery, and were very sad. No attempt was made to fix coffins and the bodies were just sewn up in a coloured blanket, placed on straw in a covered Scotch cart drawn by four oxen. This was guarded by a number of volunteers fully armed, and taken to the Cemetery, about 1¼ miles from Laager. The service was read by the Church of England clergyman, a volley fired over the grave and then the grave filled up and the march back. One woman said it was a disgrace to bury their dead in blankets when wood was available for coffins; and said if she died and was buried without one, she would do her best to haunt those who had the ordering of it. She was then told that it was the proper way to bury a soldier. To this she would not agree saying, "Yes, if killed in action and no time for proper burial", and I think she was right.

Life was very monotonous, a scare now and then at night caused by some

* The late Mr. H. A. Cripwell commented that E. R. Miller, the Assistant Native Commissioner, had successfully escaped from Maven to join the garrison.

piquets having accidentally let off their guns, etc., and as all lights were ordered off at 9 p.m. I can assure you it was anything but lively.

Gambling was carried to excess by the men and as cards were very scarce and no means of obtaining more, cards were sold at £2 a pack. In fact, everything was painfully expensive.

I am sorry to say some of our officers were anything but capable and the wonder is how the men put up with their bullying in the way of orderly room punishments, pack drills, court martials, etc., as they did.

Things went on like this for about 5 months, with now and then about 40 married men and officers going to the nearest kraals, on patrols, but little or no good was done in this way, the natives returning into their fortresses in the koppies. About this time Govt. sent a circular to all the families here telling them, if they would leave the country, they would have free passage to Mafeking. This was done in view of the difficulty of transport, and as there were no more cattle left after rinderpest, there was nothing to live on. Many families took advantage of this offer, but I heard that when the official went to one home, the mistress just took the paper and wrote an emphatic "No". When asked the reason, her answer was "I have undergone that journey too lately—having only arrived from the Colony 2 months before the rising—I don't intend to try it again". But this exodus was a very good thing as camp fever and typhoid were showing themselves. Not long after, the few of us who still possessed homes were allowed to sleep there, with strict injunctions to make a rush for laager as soon as the alarm went. People began to leave by every convoy now and very soon there were only left sufficient men to garrison the place and a few families who intended making Gwelo their home.

Gradually we got back to civil life and customs and then came details of Mr. Rhodes in the Matopos; I hear this from an eyewitness. When Mr. Rhodes went to confer with the chiefs they were very dilatory about making terms, and our uncrowned king remained there for 3 weeks giving the chiefs the same answers day after day, and never once showed impatience. So he conquered at last. The story goes of the witch doctor or Milemo, that he questions the trees and the air on any important event, and voices answer him. He is evidently a ventriloquist and a very clever one, and it is by this supernatural power that he controls the tribes. At the beginning of the outbreak, rain was wanted badly, so he told the tribes to kill some white men, they did, and it rained, but not sufficiently, so they went to him again, kill some more white men, and they did it, and more rain came and so the story goes.

This is just New Year, and the police have arrived and their headquarters are to be Gwelo, with several forts in this district, so the military rule ends, and we once more take up the thread of our lives and place them in God's hand, knowing that whatever He does is best.

On Xmas Eve 1896 there was another scare that the natives were massing 2 miles from us, and as they cover distance quickly, there was immediate danger. In the evening there were shots near the village, and a move was made to call us into laager. Laager now was the market place, as all the fortifications were gone, danger being out of sight—and only a few iron sheds round the one brick

building. We were still under military sway, so bound to obey and were now assembled in one room, 9 women 9 children and a few men to cheer the rest, the door and window being open as the night was very warm. There was not much . . . fear that I could see, but presently the civilian in charge of the Maxim found it filthy, and jammed. Then the women made way and the deadly instrument was carried in to the middle of the room and attended to. The only lights were 2 candles and a girl stood on either side of the Maxim holding these, the effect was a grand subject for an artist of strong powers. Then the cartridge belts were now filled for the Maxim, and another of the women offered to do this. You will see by this incident that habit is second nature, and things that would frighten a novice, became only part of a tried woman's existence.

A great number of native children were abandoned by their parents during the war, and evidently sent in here, as no one knows better than these natives how good the whites are to them. These picannines were then taken by residents, fed, clothed, and taught and most humanely treated.

"A HISTORY OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA"

A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934 by L. H. Gann was published by Chatto and Windus in 1965. It has long been out of print and it has now (1969) been reprinted by the Humanities Press of New York. The only change is that the map has been left out.

The companion volume, also by Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*, published in 1964, is also to be reprinted by the Humanities Press.

Both volumes were sponsored by what was the National Archives of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nysaland where Gann was Historian.

Memorials: Matabele Rebellion, 1896

Mr. C. K. Cooke, Director of the Historical Monuments Commission, came across the following letter from Leo Robinson, an early Native Commissioner.

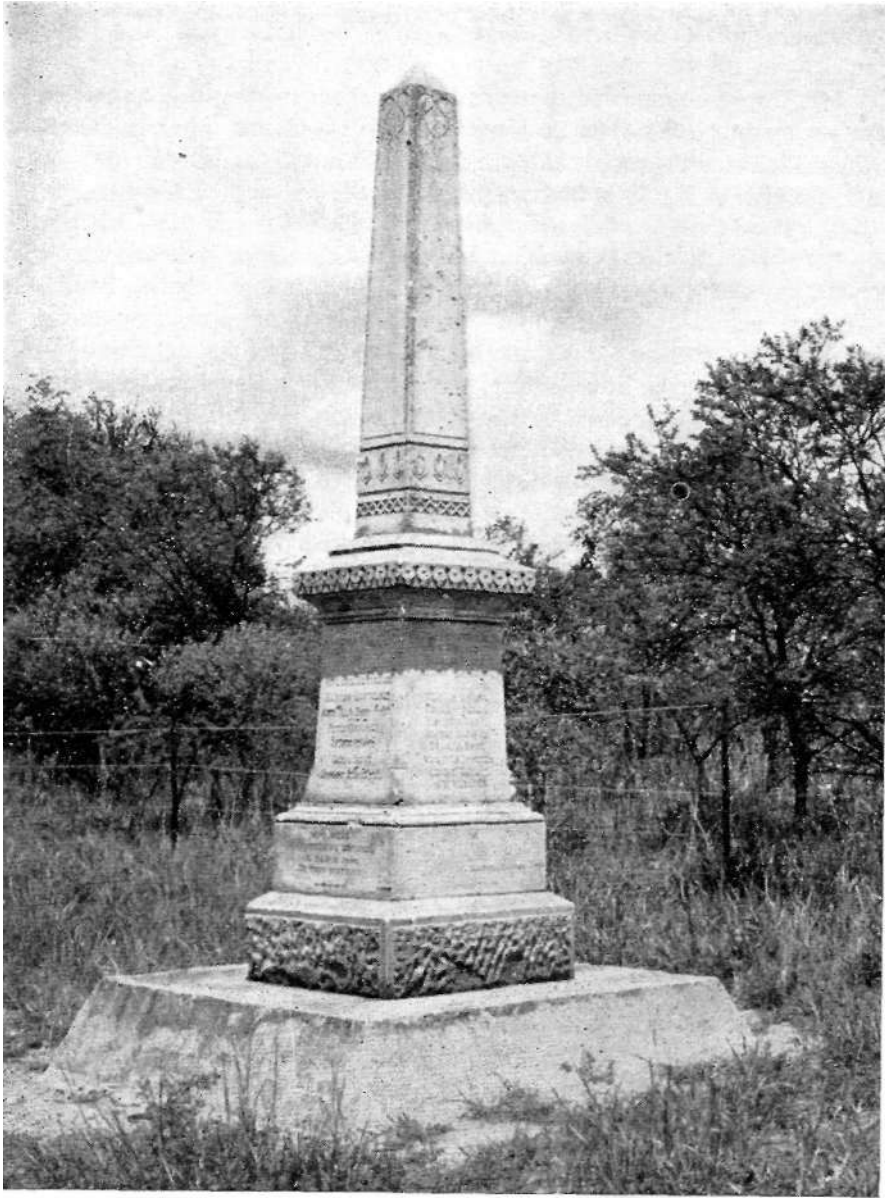
From Leo G. Robinson,
P.O. Bushtick,
S. Rhodesia.

22/1/44

"As far as my memory serves me there were no memorials erected to anyone murdered in Mzingwane District during the 1896 rebellion. Foster was killed on the Edendale or Allendale claims on Essexvale Estate near Crocodile Valley boundary and was buried by Herbert Rorke and others on patrol. A white man was killed by Sihona while on his way walking on the road from old Fort Balla Balla to the Tuli main road—I never found his body or bones but Sihona was arrested. Three (or four) men were murdered on the Malungwane Hills on the "Queen of Malungwane" reef but I failed to find their bones. Percy Eaglestone was killed by Mandhlani where the stream joins the Ncema at Red Rose Mine below the present drift. The body fell into the river and was never recovered, but I found the bones of his servant—a Zambesi boy—about half to three-quarters of a mile away and Mandhlani was sentenced but died before being hanged. Alex Anderson was killed by Zinto on the Good Hope claims—now Ringstead Mine—and I found his bones in the stream nearby. Zinto was killed in the rebellion. Sharp and Grant were murdered near Zinjanja's Kraal on Essexvale ranch about 3 miles from the present homestead (Mr. Glass's house) and I buried their bones but no murderer was ever arrested for this crime. Maqotula committed one of these murders in which no one was arrested and was not caught until *after* the rebels and murders had been pardoned.

"The only memorials I have come across in the early days were: one at 'Pongwe' near Shangani on Howard Moffat's farm; one at 'Claremont Mine' and one at old Filabusi Hotel and store—all in old Insiza District.

"I might mention in passing that O'Connor (whom I met in 1897/98) was attacked and practically left for dead by the natives after he had got into a shaft in Filabusi District. He recovered his senses and walked up the Mzingwane river. When he got to Lulapa's Kraal, (somewhere below the Matabele Sheba Mine) the chief of the Mkitika section, the natives wanted to murder him, but Lulapa (one of my indunas in the early days) would not allow the 'young bloods' to do so but told O'Connor to continue up the Mzingwane river until he got to the Tuli road, near Dawson's 'white' store, and then take the main road to Bulawayo. O'Connor did so and got to 'Traveller's Rest' Hotel and store, 13 miles from town and from there to Bulawayo in safety. Lulapa and his neighbour Hamela, chief of the Engodweni, were typical Mandebele and although they did not join the white people against the rebels, they were real gentlemen Zulus and against the Mandebele rising of 1896. I have mentioned this



The Pongo Memorial.

(Photo: National Archives).

because I felt that very little is heard of the native side of the rebellion and there must have been many instances where the natives did their best to shield and protect the early settlers of Matabeleland.

"I hope you will not 'take this as twaddle' but it is true as far as the natives are concerned."

Mr. Cooke commented that this letter was in answer to a questionnaire sent out by the late Dr. Neville Jones during 1937. At that time enquiries were being made about the people killed in the Rebellion and the decision to proclaim the memorials as National Monuments was made.

The late Mr. H. A. Cripwell commented as follows:

"While we do not know what was in it it seems to me that when Dr. Neville Jones sent out the circular to which Mr. Robinson replied, both may have been unaware of (more likely, had forgotten) the activity in this very matter embarked upon many years before; in fact I feel that information was actually being sought in regard to memorials over isolated graves, for such members of the Commission as Lionel Cripps and W. A. Carnegie had been very much concerned with the 'special' memorials. Dr. Jones could not have been unaware of the monument at the junction of Main Street and Selborne Avenue, Bulawayo, 'to the memory of those 259 pioneers of civilisation who lost their lives during the Matabele Rebellion, A.D. 1896'; today I refuse to rise to the bait of how and when Seventh Avenue became Selborne; or from where did the funds come to set it up; or why it has not been declared a National Monument. There are several other instances of that nature.

"Perhaps it would be as well to say that a 'Rhodesia Memorial Fund' was set up in 1896, meetings being held in Bulawayo on 12th October, and in Salisbury on 27th, with the avowed purposes of setting up both general and personal memorials to those who had been killed or died during the Rebellions, to provide for the relief of those who had suffered wounds or destitution and to erect or extend libraries, museums and hospitals. There was a Central Committee with the Administrator as President and subcommittees at Salisbury and Bulawayo; the members of the latter were Townsend Griffin, Sydney Redrup, P. D. Crewe, J. Mudie-Thomson, E. Ross Townsend, G. S. D. Forbes, Father Daignault, S. J., C. C. Grenfell, E. Clement Wallace, Colonel J.A. Spreckley, C.M.G., and J. C. Knapp with C. Arnold as Secretary. Griffin was Commissioner for Mines and Public Works, there were three members of the first Bulawayo Municipal Council of 1897 in Redrup, Crewe and Spreckley, the Civil Commissioner in Townsend and three prominent mining men in Forbes, Wallace and Grenfell must have formed a powerful team. For background Spreckley had been a member of the Pioneer Corps in the occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, in the Salisbury Horse for the occupation of Matabeleland in 1893 and on the staff of the Bulawayo Field Force in the Rebellion of 1896, receiving the C.M.G. for his services. He later became Commandant of Volunteers in Matabeleland; he was killed in action at Pienaar's River in the Northern Transvaal on 21st August, 1900, with the Rhodesian Regiment. Redrup and Wallace had been in the Bulawayo Field Force while Crewe had been in Grey's Scouts and Knapp in

Gifford's Horse. Both Townsend and Forbes received the 1896 Rhodesia medal for services in an administrative capacity; both became members of the Legislative Council; in the South African War, 1899-1902, Forbes earned a D.S.O. and was awarded the C.M.G. in 1910. It was to such knowledgeable persons that the matter of providing and erecting memorials was entrusted. Unfortunately there seems to be no record of their meetings as is the case with the Salisbury subcommittee.

"Just as Dr. Jones must have been aware of what had been put up in Bulawayo so Mr. Robinson must have known of the Memorial Fund, for shortly after his appointment as a clerk in the Native Department it would have been getting into its stride with enquiries as to where bodies might be found and in which the Native Commissioners and their assistants must have taken a leading part. Bulawayo would have been a very small place in which everybody knew everybody else.

"In the end we find that memorials were erected at four points in the outside districts of Matabeleland, three of them as Mr. Robinson says in the Insiza District. These four memorials can be identified by the words 'Rhodesia Memorial Fund' carved in the base. They are Pongo (National Monument No. 33), Filabusi (No. 56), Mambo (No. 57) and Fort Rixon (Cunningham or Claremont) (No. 58). At that time the two Native Districts of Insiza and Umzingwane had only recently been demarcated (Government Notice No. 121 of 3rd August, 1897) and it can be that the Bulawayo subcommittee considered there was no appropriate place for a memorial in the latter district or that one was not justified since only six deaths had been reported. Unfortunately I have been unable to discover if they were publically unveiled and, if so, on what date.

"I have not the names recorded on the Filabusi Memorial but it is more than likely those named by Mr. Robinson are on it; the official casualty list shows Foster (Wilson Foster) was murdered at Makupene on 25th March, others at that place were Henry Claasen and Percy Eaglestone, also named by Mr. Robinson; Alexander Anderson was murdered at Boola Boola on 25th; while Robert Sharp and J. McInnes Grant met their end at Filabusi the same day. It is interesting to get Mr. Robinson's more detailed information; if his 'Queen of Malungwane' reef is the 'Queen's Reef' of the casualty list then the names of J. E. Morrison and J. J. Rowlands are recorded as having been killed there on the 29th. Malungwane peak is so near the present Balla Balla that anyone killed there could easily have been included in the list for the latter. These claims were held by the Rhodesia Exploration and Development Co., Ltd., and were described as being in the Malungwane District.

"Memorials generally should provide a base for a most interesting essay."

Sofala and the South East African Iron Age

by R. W. Dickinson

ABBREVIATIONS

D.P.M. *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mozambique*, published jointly by the National Archives of Rhodesia and the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon, 6 volumes, 1962-69.

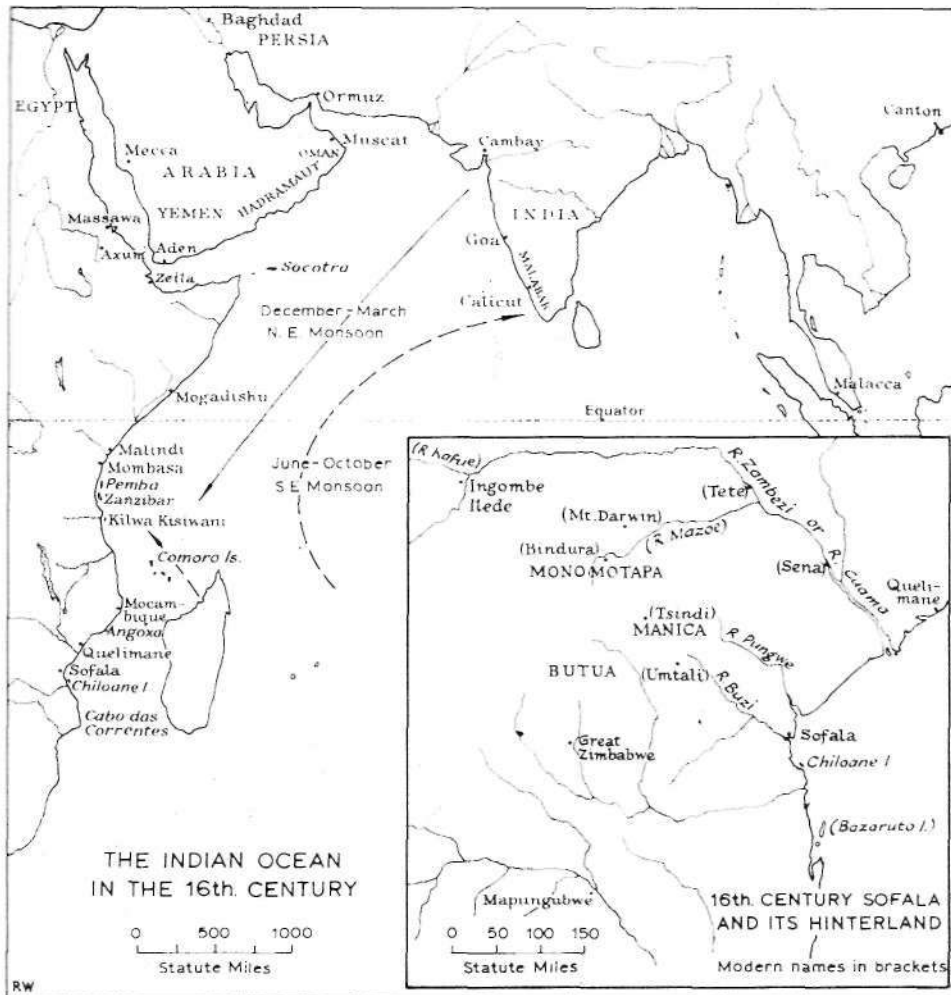
J.A.H. *Journal of African History*, published by the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University.

R.S.E.A. *Records of South East Africa*, by G. M. Theal, published Cape Town, 9 volumes, 1898-1903.

Sofala provides a window through which a vital sector of African history may be viewed, and the moment is appropriate for a new appraisal of the importance of the port in pre-Portuguese days. The work of archaeologists on medieval sites of the Tanzanian littoral, of Rhodesia, Zambia and the northern Transvaal is gradually focusing into a coherent pattern. Great Zimbabwe's Iron Age history has very recently received critical review which makes a convincing case for its terminal date being the fifteenth rather than the eighteenth century. This interpretation accords well with the ethnohistory tracing the development of Karanga and Rozwi chiefdoms in Rhodesia.² Caton-Thompson considered Sofala and the river route of the Sabi vital to the understanding of Great Zimbabwe's history, and made a vain attempt to visit the ancient port.³ Preliminary archaeological work at the site began in June 1969 under the direction of the author, and this essay is his attempt to assess the significance of the Sofala which developed before 1500.

From information collected by Gama at Mozambique on his first voyage into the Indian Ocean, that Sofala provided the gold abounding at Kilwa, from which Gama exacted a lavish tribute, and from gold gifts presented to King Manuel I by the sheikh of Sofala, the Portuguese were convinced that Sofala and Kilwa must be the first points to seize and fortify on the east African coast. One clerk at Sofala informed his sovereign that in times of peace, a million miticals (over 14,000,000 with gold at \$25 per oz.) or more left Sofala annually.⁴ This greatly exaggerated estimate harmonized with the view of King Manuel I that his navigators had found at Sofala "the richest mines known, whose wealth no man can measure". The mood was that of the European concession-seekers in Gubulawayo in the late 1880s, confidently predicting a second Rand. In both periods, there were writers who associated Sofala and its hinterland

1. P. S. Garlake, "The value of imported ceramics in the dating and interpretation of the Rhodesian Iron Age" in *J.A.H.* vol. IX, 1968.
2. D. P. Abraham, "The early political history of the Kingdom of Mwene Mutapa (850-1589)" In *Historians in Tropical Africa* University College of Rhodesia, 1962.
3. G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford 1931, preface p. v & p. 12.
4. Letter from Alcacova to the king, 1506, reproduced in *D.P.M.* I. See p. 395.



with the Biblical Ophir, source of Solomon's gold. How old, in fact, was the Sofala we know, and what were its connections with neighbouring peoples of the African interior and the coasts to the north?⁵

A really convincing answer to this question must await the testimony of the spade at Sofala, where it is hoped that the oldest surfaces may be sufficiently dry to yield occupation layers containing datable oriental ceramics in association with African sherds for comparison with their counterparts in the hinterland and along the coast, as well as carbon for C₁₄ analysis. One distinct area of Sofala has yielded oriental imports which stop at the early sixteenth century, and the same region has produced a green wound bead of the earliest type recorded by Caton-Thompson at Great Zimbabwe.⁶ Red and black burnished and decor-

5. The surviving Portuguese statistics for the period 1506-1518 give Sofala's average gold trade annually as 4½ thousand miticals.

6. Illustrated as 4h on the frontispiece of *The Zimbabwe Culture*.

ated bowls which may indicate the hands of Rozwi potters have been recovered from the beaches, and one fragment has been excavated in the area where imports ceased around the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The names of the dominant chiefs in the Sofalan hinterland mentioned in Portuguese documents, Moconde (1505-15) and Nyamunda (1515-28) have connections with the Ndaou, a Shona people now living around Mount Selinda and at Sofala, and whose folklore claims that they came originally as remnants of a Rozwi host. The history of the Ndaou is imperfectly known at present. From what little is known already, it promises rich reward to research students in the history of the south-east African Iron Age.

Surprising so far, in the investigation of Sofala, in view of the widely held belief that this was a port founded in the early tenth century, is the almost total lack of pre-fifteenth-century pottery, in particular of Islamic black-on-yellow and sgraffiato. Belief in over half a millenium of Muslim presence at Sofala before the Portuguese arrived is based on the inadequate scraps of Arabic writings available in translation. They range from A.D. 926 to 1331 and commence with references to Sofala in *Meadows of gold and mines of gems* by Al Mas'udi.⁷

This author commenting on what he learnt of south-east Africa during his voyage along its shores in A.D. 926, mentions Sofala. Omani merchants, he says, sailed as far as this, the southern limit of the Zanj. The word *Soufalah* he interprets as an Arab name for a shoal. There was plenty of gold and ivory in Sofala, and there the Zanj had their capital. They used oxen for transport and sold their ivory to Persian traders who conveyed it to India and China. The Zanj used iron rather than gold, their ruler they called *Waklimi* and their god *Maklanjalu*.

The difficulty of applying Mas'udi's description to the Sofala we know today lies in the uncertainty as to whether he refers to a locality or to an extensive coastal area. His definition of the word *Soufalah* could fit a strip of coast from the Bazaruto Island group to Antonio Enes, in other words, the extent of shore facing the Sofala Shoal. Abundance of ivory could characterize the same coast abundance of gold indicates, however, the coast flanking the Rhodesian plateau, which narrows the choice to the southern sector of the Sofala Shoal littoral, from Bazaruto to the Zambezi delta. The name of the god has a Bantu flavour, as Meinhof has remarked, and such an observation accords well with the habits of the folk described: elephant hunters, metal workers and domesticators of cattle.⁸

Closely contemporary with Mas'udi was the Persian sea-captain, Buzorg, who wrote of the fine port of Sofala where a shipwrecked Omani crew were entertained by a black ruler and his entourage. Buzorg had never visited Sofala himself, but was in constant touch with dhows captains who frequented Sofalan waters.

For the early eleventh-century Al Biruni, trade between "Sofala of the

7. For a summary of the Arab sources in translation, see E. E. Burke, "Some aspects of Arab contact with south-east Africa" in *Historians in Tropical Africa*, University College of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1962.

8. C. M. Doke, "The earliest records of Bantu" in *Contributions to the history of Bantu linguistics*, Wits. University Press, Johannesburg, 1961.

Zanj" and China included rhino horn. Idrisi, Roger II of Sicily's geographer writing in 1154, treats Sofala as an area whose main commercial centres were Djentama and Dendema. At both centres iron was smelted and gold exported. Two further towns of Sofala are mentioned: Siuna, which because of its similarity in sound has been identified by some historians as Sena, and Bukha.

For thirteenth-century Ibn Said, the name of Sofala is incorporated into that of a people (much as Idrisi applies the name to an area)—the *Soufalis*, with their capital at Sayouna, standing on a gulf into which flowed a river descending from Djabal al Quomr.⁹ The *Soufalis* and the Zanjare mentioned separately, but both have identical habits: praying to idols and exporting iron and gold, which may simply indicate the *Soufalis* as a branch of the Zanj for this author.

In 1331, Ibn Battuta visited Kilwa and there learnt about Sofala, two weeks' sail away. Gold dust was brought to the port from Yufi in the land of the Limis.¹⁰

A Swahili document, existing in sixteenth and nineteenth century versions, the *Kilwa Chronicle*, asserts that Sofala fell under the sway of Kilwa, having formerly had trading links with Mogadishu, 2,000 miles north, in the reign of Suleiman al-Hasan (*regnavit* 1170-88) who beautified Kilwa and built a stone fortress there.¹¹ The *Kilwa Chronicle* statement contains a conflict of evidence, for archaeology indicates the strong probability that the earliest stone building in Kilwa occurred in the mid-thirteenth century.¹² We have thus a choice of accepting that Kilwa took over Sofala in the reign of Suleiman al-Hasan, or in the thirteenth century, when stone building began. The latter is more probable, since it is likely that stone building at Kilwa was the outward sign of increased prosperity based on the profits of the Sofalan gold trade.

A choice of the thirteenth century for the link between Kilwa and Sofala (whether the present site or not cannot yet be determined) agrees with the general pattern of development which archaeology is revealing along the east coast of Africa. Stone building in the first half of the thirteenth century is represented in the construction of the Jamia tower in Mogadishu, firmly dated to A.D. 1238 by an inscription integrated into the building.¹³ This evidence of prosperity may represent the link between Mogadishu and Sofala which the *Kilwa Chronicle* states preceded the union of Kilwa and Sofala.

According to Chittick, Kilwa received in the twelfth century an influx of Shirazi immigrants from the Benadir coast, around Mogadishu, where already it is likely that mixing had occurred between the Shirazi and the Mogadishu Africans.¹⁴ Garlake has shown that in the next century, the great mosque of

9. Djabal al Quomr means "the white mountains" (see *D.P.M.* I p. 33) and the similarity of the name to Cuama, old name for the lower Zambezi, is striking and may add substance to the identification of Siuna with Sena, where archaeological investigation to determine the strength of the evidence of such an association is long overdue.
10. E. E. Burke, *op. cit.* p. 102 has noted the similarity between the word *Limis* in Ibn Battuta and *Waklimi* in Mas'udi. It is tempting to sense a similarity in sound between *Yufi* and *Ophir*—I leave this to the romanticists.
11. The sixteenth-century version is in Barros, *Da Asia*, Decade I, bk. X, ch. II, *R.S.E.A.* VI p. 148.
12. P. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the east African coast*, O.U.P. 1966, p. 54.
13. *Ibid* p. 10.
14. N. Chittick, "Kilwa" in *Azania*, I. O.U.P. 1966.

Kilwa was rebuilt in stone.¹⁵ About ten years before the close of the thirteenth century, Kilwa came under the rule of a new dynasty, immigrants from S. Arabia, who initiated fresh developments in the port.¹⁶

The succeeding century witnessed the *floruit* of Husuni Kubwa, and the closing years ushered in the century-long development of stone buildings at Ras Mkumbua on Pemba Island.¹⁷ In the same period, too, Gedi was first occupied by Muslim traders.¹⁸

One would expect a connection between the rhythms of development on the coast, where traders brought the goods so much in demand by the Iron Age African folk, and those in the hinterland areas producing gold and ivory; indeed, the lack of any coincidence would be very difficult to account for. The first developments we have evidence for are at Great Zimbabwe, but as the centuries of Muslim trading development on the coast progress, so there is a corresponding evidence for activities connected with commerce in the hinterland, from the Zambezi to the Limpopo.

At Ingombe Ilede, near the Kafue confluence with the Zambezi, lie the remains of an African community which grew increasingly wealthy from c. 1340 to 1445.¹⁹ The folk grew sorghum and millet, raised cattle and goats, and possessed dogs. Elephant bones associated with the earliest burials provide a clue to part of the basis on which the prosperity of the settlement was based: trading the ivory of the upper Zambezi valley. The pottery, basically similar to that of the Batoka plateau to the north, betrays increasing Shona influence as the settlement develops. Copper crosses and wire are present, and show another element in Ingombe Ilede's trade. Imports of glass beads gradually increase throughout the life of the community, showing a growing link with the coast. The peak of prosperity is displayed in the lavish use of gold objects in the mid fifteenth-century African burials, Copper objects, as they decayed, helped to preserve both local bark cloth and imported cotton fabric, the latter giving additional evidence of contact with coastal entrepôts receiving goods from Cambay.²⁰

Across the other river boundary of Rhodesia, at Mapungubwe, an eleventh-century community of African subsistence farmers was succeeded by another African community displaying the increasing wealth of a developing commercial centre flourishing in a period closely corresponding to that of the most opulent era at Ingombe Ilede. A layer of black ash separates the two cultures, and the later one is in distinct contrast to the earlier. The presence of increasing numbers of Shona folk is suggested by the pottery finds, in association with which occur clay figurines and daga huts, simple in form on the plain and more elaborate on the hill on whose summit lay a group of richly furnished burials, resplendent

15. Garlake, *op. cit.* p. 56.

16. Chittick, *op. cit.*

17. Garlake, *op. cit.* p. 54.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

19. B. Fagan, *Southern Africa, during the Iron Age*. Thames and Hudson, London, 1965, pp. 96-8. The dating of the Ingombe Ilede *floruit* is amended in D. W. Phillipson and B. Fagan, "The date of the Ingombe Ilede burials" in *J.A.H.* X, 2. (1969) pp. 199-204.

20. B. Fagan, *op. cit.*

with copper bracelets, gold plate, tacks, wire and beads. One burial, with its gold-plated staff and headrest, spoke of ritual. Contact with the coast was attested by the quantity of glass beads associated with the burials.²¹

At Great Zimbabwe, contact with the coast is in evidence from the second major period revealed in the 1958 excavations.²² In the period A.D. 700 to 1000. pole and daga huts appear, occupied by folk whose models of cattle suggest that they ran the long-horned Sanga breed, whose bead acquisitions show some slight contact with the coast, and whose hut-building and ceramic styles suggest the people to have been ancestors of the present Karanga. Around 1100 solid clay-walled huts began to replace the pole and daga ones, and more refined pottery appeared with no cattle figurines, both innovations suggesting the emergence at the site of a new dominant African group. The glass bead series indicates wider Indian Ocean trade contacts, and the building of stone walls ("P" style) on the Acropolis, speak of a growing centralized social organization. Both ethnohistory and ceramic evidence suggest that the terminal date, as an important economic unit, of Great Zimbabwe was the mid fifteenth century; one must allow, therefore, between 1100 and 1450 for the astonishing development in stone building which includes most of the features which so impress the visitor: the great wall, conical towers, platform, and parallel passages in the fine "Q" style. Features in the architecture suggest that the rulers wished to be screened from view in moving about their capital, a practice adopted by the Karanga Mwenemutapa according to an early sixteenth-century Portuguese writer. Elaborate architecture was matched by lavish use of carved soapstone ornaments and vessels, gold plating and imports indicating contact with the Congo and the Indian Ocean. The increasing number and variety of Indian Ocean trade beads is a measure of the rising degree of contact with Muslim trading settlements on the east coast. That Swahili merchants knew Great Zimbabwe, at any rate in the early sixteenth century, is suggested by the account in Barros of the dry stone fortress on the plain of Toroa, with its tower "twelve fathoms high" and its local name of Symbaue.²³ There is, however, no evidence, and this is surprising, of residence by "Moors" at Great Zimbabwe, the only indication of their having been there at all being a small collection of Arab objects recovered by R. N. Hall.²⁴ One possible explanation is that the merchants blended so perfectly with their African contexts, being, as Swahili, to a large degree African, that their material remains, skeletal, ceramic, etc., merge into the remains of the other occupants.

A number of reasons are advanced for the abandonment of an obviously powerful chiefdom, able to command labour to construct mighty buildings, to draw tribute in gold, and developing expanding trade with other African areas.

21. B. Fagan, *Southern Africa during the Iron Age*, pp. 84-5 and 116-119.

22. The outline which follows is based on *Zimbabwe Excavations* 1958, Occasional Paper 23 A of the National Museums of S. Rhodesia, Cambridge, 1961, modified as to terminal date (see the table on p. 329) but not as to sequence, by P. Garlake, "The value of imported ceramics in the dating and interpretation of the Rhodesian Iron Age", *J.A.H.* X, 1968.

23. *Da Asia*, decade I, bk. X, ch. 1, R.S.E.A. VI p. 267. The fortress is described as square, but one must allow for a lapse of almost half a century between the collecting of the information, probably at Sofala, and Barros' publication.

24. R. N. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe*, London, 1905, pp. 132-134.

Abraham drew from African informants that the salt supplies failed at Great Zimbabwe and in the search for new resources, a land easy to conquer, the Dande, enticed the community northward to where the Portuguese found the Karanga in the early sixteenth century.²⁵ Garlake offers a complementary reason in the over expansion of Great Zimbabwe, too dependent on external trade and inadequately supported by local resources. Certainly, Khami, one of the successors to Great Zimbabwe, was a more suitable economic unit and sited close to a prolific scatter of "ancient" workings, whereas very few of the gold mines near Great Zimbabwe seem to have been utilized before the nineteenth century.²⁶ There is possibly a third major reason for the decay of Great Zimbabwe and the move of its people to the Dande: the pressing need to occupy a strategic position close to a vitally important trade highway linking the gold, ivory and copper-producing areas with the Swahili entrepots from Angoxe northwards, reshipping the cloth and beads of Cambay.²⁷ The route was very busy in the early sixteenth century, and diverted trade from Sofala to an extent which alarmed the Portuguese as early as 1508.²⁸ The Portuguese gold trade into Sofala was principally with Manica, so the links with Great Zimbabwe if they existed, were by the early sixteenth century already broken. What provoked the African rulers to compete for the trade of the coast so bitterly is as yet imperfectly understood, although it is known in the sixteenth century for African rulers to want the Cambay cloth and beads to pay their impis. The rising importance of the Zambezi route would compel an important ruler to seek a centre from which he might dominate the trade.

There is a possibility too, that changes in the river access to southern Mozambique contributed to such a move. A tradition that *two* Sofalas existed in succession was collected by Blake-Thompson, the earlier being at the mouth of the Sabi River, providing a more direct route from the coast to Great Zimbabwe than the present site of Sofala.²⁹ The silting of the older port and its replacement by one nearer the gold resources of the Manica plateau could well have robbed Great Zimbabwe of a significant proportion of its trade, and placed its communication with the coast in danger. Just before the close of the fifteenth century, Changamire's revolt cut off communications between the Karanga capital and the coast.³⁰ A similar situation obtained under Chief Moconde at times between 1505 and 1515, and an even more complete break occurred under the powerful chief Nyamunda, especially in 1528, which eventually drove the Portuguese to establish their own "factory" at Sena to provide access to the goldfields of Rhodesia and to control the competitive Swahili trade of the Zambezi. In the cases of Moconde and Nyamunda³¹ it is clear that a trade war was in progress between themselves and the Mwenemutapa. It seems that

25. Abraham, *op. cit.* p. 62.

26. Roger Summers, *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia*, Museum Memoir No. 23, Salisbury, 1969, Table 5 on p. 139 and pp. 50, 70 and 71.

27. The Ingombe Ilede evidence suggests the use of the Zambezi as far as the Kafue confluence from c. 1400: see Phillipson and Fagan. *op. cit.* p. 203.

28. Letter from Duarte de Lemos to the King, 1508, *D.P.M.* II, item 14, p. 297.

29. R. Summers, *op. cit.* p. 205.

30. Alcacova, letter to the king, 1506, in *D.P.M.* I. See p. 395.

31. Both Moconde and Nyamunda were theoretically vassals of the Mwenemutapa, and controlled lands extending to Sofala, through which traders had to pass to reach the Rhodesian plateau.

conflict between rulers inland grew with developing trade—a situation similar to that in pre-Scramble west Africa between the Fante and the Ashanti. The roots of conflict are to be sought in the period of expanding trade, at Great Zimbabwe, between 1100 and 1450, when possibly the Karanga were forced to do what the Portuguese did later, to follow the largest volume of trade to the great Zambezi waterway since powerful chiefs on the coastal plain were determined to acquire the Sofalan trade for themselves.

At other places within Rhodesia, there is evidence of policies able to organize the raising of impressive stone-girt capitals at dates which harmonize with the rhythms of commercial development at other centres mentioned. At Tsindi Hill about twenty miles north-east of Marandellas, impressive walls similar to the "P" and "Q" styles at Great Zimbabwe stand over occupation deposits of the late fourteenth century, and within the walls lie the remains of rather elaborate daga huts.³² Near Bindura, a "P" and "Q" style walled Zimbabwe with clay huts including one of elaborate design similar to the Tsindi series appears also to date from around 1400.³³ What is surprising in both cases is the lack of quantity in the glass bead recoveries, giving only the slightest evidence of contact with the east coast. Was it that these centres, following a fashion of surrounding a chief's capital in stone which developed at Great Zimbabwe, grew at the end of an epoch, when the arteries of trade had changed course into the channels of the Zambezi, and in the ensuing competition to gain control of the new route, trade was completely dislocated for a long period, the end of which saw the entry of the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean, heralding yet another disturbance to the old patterns?

In Sofala itself we have at the end of the fifteenth century another paradox, a gold port without splendid buildings, as incongruous as a bank headquarters operating from a wooden shack. The first Portuguese at Sofala found the Swahili sheikh and his scimitar-sporting entourage assembled in a lengthened version of an African pole and daga hut, defended by a thorn hedge.³¹ In this instance, however, two explanations can confidently be offered. There were no stone buildings in Sofala because there was no good local supply of stone. Anhaya had to bring stone from Portugal and his successors sought supplies from the demolition of Kilwa, 1,000 miles away. Furthermore, there was no opulent display in Sofala because the profits were absorbed in Kilwa which waxed fat at Sofala's expense.³⁵ Estimates of Sofala's merchant population compared with those for Kilwa and Mombasa suggest a small outpost rather than a flourishing entrepot.³⁶ If Gama had not burst into the Indian Ocean, it is possible that the port might have begun to flourish in its own right, for Sheikh Isuf, impatient at being bled by his Kilwa overlord had just declared his independence. Unfortunately for him, other patterns were being woven on the loom of history.

32. S. Rudd, "Preliminary report of excavations 1963-1966 at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill" in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesian Scientific Association*, 1968. vol. 52, p. 49.

33. *Rhodesia Herald* for 4th September, 1969, p. 7.

34. See the description in Castanheda's *Historia*, in *R.S.E.A.* V p. 386.

35. Alcacova, letter to the king, 1506, in *D.P.M.* I p. 397.

36. *Ibid.*, gives the Sofalan "Moorish" population as 800; a member of Almeida's expedition of 1505 estimated the population of Kilwa as 4,000 and Mombasa as 10,000. See Account of the voyage of . . . Almeida, *D.P.M.* I pp. 525 and 537.

'Discovery of Simbabwe'

The Story of Karl Mauch 1837-1875

by F. O. Bernhard

Part 2

The first part of this article was in the last issue of Rhodesiana. No. 21. December 1969—Editor.

Up to now Mauch had always had European companions—Hartley, Jebe or Leal—on his travels outside the Transvaal. But now he really was his own master, leading 15 natives. He began to meet with difficulties very soon after his start. His alleged knowledge of the Zulu language was of no use to him in these parts of Africa. He had to rely on a very unreliable interpreter and his own intolerant character certainly did nothing to endear him to the still savage people through whose countries he was travelling.

Mauch describes his travelling outfit and today, when bushshirt and shorts are the standard clothes to be worn on safari, it is difficult to understand how Mauch could walk from the Zoutpansberg to Sena in his one and only leather suit. He must have looked a fantastic sight, for this is what he wore: a very loose-fitting suit of suede leather, a kind of leather deer-stalker, underwear of the thickest flannel he could get, no socks but extremely heavy boots with a triple sole and heavy nails. His coat had numerous pockets to hold all his instruments, pocket knife and the like. A long hunting knife and a revolver were dangling from his belt, a large knapsack hung over his shoulder and then there was his heavy gun which, as he says, had to be good and accurate enough to kill both a rabbit and an elephant. In addition he carried a powder horn and a bag with lead and, last but not least, for protection against the scorching sun he carried an enormous umbrella that, on occasions, also had to serve as a tent.

Mauch writes of himself that he must have looked like Robinson Crusoe's twin brother. What the natives who rarely or never had seen a European thought of this strange apparition, can be imagined. Possibly there was some apprehension at first, but their inherent quick appraisal of any stranger must soon have made them lose their fear. Much to Mauch's disadvantage, for at the first chief's place at Lemondo's, on the slope of the Zoutpansberg, all sorts of obstacles were put up to force Mauch to remain at the kraal, so as to enable the inhabitants to beg incessantly for, or better still, to steal, whatever took their fancy.

Mauch gives an interesting and detailed description of this minor chief who must have been of a quite extraordinary ugliness, and Mauch assumes that he was not against tasting human flesh.

Sewaas, the next chief on his route, also kept the party back for several days and it was not till the 10th August that Mauch reached the Limpopo. He

crossed this river some miles up from his 1868 crossing point and continued on his former route as far as Chief Umkoko's. There he picked up a bag that Paul Jebe had left behind in '68, containing a wallet, photographs, a meerschaum cigar-holder, unpaid bills and a coat and socks. Coat and socks Mauch thought he would keep for himself, the other items he intended, so he says, to restore to their owner. Little did he know that Jebe had died shortly before on the Umfuli where he had been camping during the rainy season with George Wood's unfortunate party.

What Mauch also could not know when he made these entries in his diary, was that all of Jebe's effects would be stolen by chief Shumba's people only a few days later.

From Umkoko the party, now consisting of 40 persons, as Sewaas had attached a crowd of his people to the expedition, left Mauch's 1868 route and continued directly northwards. At Dumbo's kraal he safely delivered the five kidnapped children. One of them was a son of Dumbo himself and Mauch is greatly offended by African ingratitude. He shows complete ignorance of African customs and habits and, although the women at the kraal showed exuberant joy at the return of their lost children, Dumbo only had a kindly smile for Mauch but did not express his gratitude in the manner Mauch expected of him; yet he made him a present of a tusk weighing 15 pounds. The following day Mauch departed in disgust but ran into real trouble at the next chief's kraal.

He pitched his camp near chief Shumba's village to spend the night there and intended to proceed to the big chief Mapansure the next day. While he was making observations not far from his camp, some of the local natives grabbed their chance of robbing Mauch of most of his goods; in fact, when Mauch returned he found a great many things missing, among them everything that once had belonged to Jebe. Worse was to come. While he was sitting by the fire, gun on his knees, guarding what was left of his outfit, two men approached him carrying a pot of beer. However, Mauch was in no mood to accept this offering as he suspected the brew to contain poison. Rudely he upset the pot and sent the two men on their way. Worn out and depressed beyond words by this treacherous behaviour of his hosts, he thought that surely his end was near and that there was no way of escape from this hopeless situation.

The big chief, Mapansure, of course, was well aware of Mauch's presence at his neighbour's, so to Mauch's great surprise, seven of Mapansure's people arrived to guide him to their master the following morning. Greatly relieved, Mauch followed them and was kindly received at the kraal and supplied with ample food. Yet he was again disappointed, for, instead of beholding a mighty warrior-chief, he only met a wizened, old wretch of a man and, what disturbed him most, he was given to understand that now he had to stay at Mapansure's as his permanent guest. Tragedy once again.

However, there was still a ray of hope, for Mauch knew that Adam Render lived near to Mapansure. That Render had settled somewhere north of the Limpopo was common knowledge and that at this point Render's "home" was not far away, Mauch must have learned from the local inhabitants.

This is what he wrote in his journal the day before the two men met: "A white man who, unfortunately, belongs to the German Nation and who has sunk to the state of a kaffir by marrying two black women, lives just beyond Mapansure."

Reluctantly he decided to send a note to the "white kaffir" and, on the evening of the same day, 29th August, this maligned character arrived in person and Mauch writes: "A weight fell off my chest for, firstly, we could converse in the mother-tongue and, secondly, I found him to be quite a different man to the one who had been described to me."

From here on—but, typically, not for very long—Mauch calls him "Herr Render".

Like Albasini, Adam Render is another of those legendary characters who, now and again, are mentioned in connection with pre-pioneer history.

All that is known about him is very controversial. He has been described as an American sailor who deserted his ship in Durban. One of his sons supplied some data on his father's history and life¹ that are pure fiction. The only man who knew him intimately and gave us some facts is Mauch. Render was clearly a German, and the two men always conversed in their mother-tongue.

Render had arrived in the vicinity of Zimbabwe in 1867 where he hunted elephants and traded with the inhabitants. He lived together with a native woman and, according to Mauch, had at that time a son by her. He had settled at his "father-in-law's" kraal and lived like a native. He was still in touch with a merchant in the Zoutpansberg to whom he sold his ivory and from whom he bought trade goods. But, he never returned to the Republic for the very good reason that, not only had he left his wife and four children behind, but also because he was wanted on various charges by the Transvaal authorities. Render may be said to be the real discoverer of Zimbabwe. He certainly knew the ruins well, trading, in their shadow, as it were, but it is equally certain that this rough and uncultured man never made their existence known to the world at large and there can be no doubt that the man who did this for the first time is Karl Mauch. This, by the way, was also Mauch's own conviction. Not for one moment was he in any doubt as to who was Zimbabwe's discoverer and he completely ignored the fact that Render actually led him to the ruins.

According to his diary Mauch now settled down at Render's eyrie high up on a ledge of Chigaramboni mountain, about 11 miles south-west of Zimbabwe. For the first time he appears to have been really happy and contented. His new friend told him right away that there were ancient ruins fairly close by and that tradition had it that white people had been living and working there in days gone by. He also mentioned a native legend of a mysterious four-legged pot that haunted a near-by kopje—in short, Mauch's romantic interest was raised to fever pitch. He could not wait, and three days after his arrival at Pika's kraal he went to explore the kopje of the legendary pot.

He always refers to Render's "father-in-law" as Pika. Yet, of Pika nothing is known. According to Hall who published his "Great Zimbabwe" in 1905

1. Boggie, J. *First Steps in Civilizing Rhodesia*. Bulawayo, 1953. pp. 204-206.

and who had met and talked to a former servant of Render, Render lived at Magoma's village on Chigaramboni Hill, the actual site being known as "I-Baku". Mauch's rendering of native names was never precise, for instance: he uses five different spellings for chief Charumbira, so it is quite likely that he corrupted I-Baku into Pika and also called Magoma by this name because he lived at I-Baku.

Mauch's search for the four-legged pot was unsuccessful.² He, Render and some of Pika's sons climbed the kopje (probably "Mufurawasha"), the natives, however, very apprehensively; but on the summit it was in all probability Render who pointed out a distant mountain on which high stone walls had been built. There, now, was Mauch's ultimate goal and there he would go as soon as possible. Mauch's excitement knew no bounds and he exclaimed: "Bravo! This is what I have been looking for since 1868, what luck and how unexpected! The Lord be praised!"

Two days later Mauch saw the Zimbabwe Ruins for the first time in the company of Render. This 5th September, 1871, has come down in history as the day when Zimbabwe was discovered.

There appears to have been continual bickering and even strife among the local tribal sibs under their numerous headmen and minor chiefs and Render had to take this into consideration whenever he ventured into another chief's domain. So, when reaching the hill on which the Acropolis is situated, he had first to notify the headman, living among the ruins at the top, of his presence as the whole ruin complex fell within Chief Mugabe's area. (Mauch calls this chief Mangapi). While Render waited at the bottom of the hill for a reply, Mauch explored the Elliptical building and became almost lost in it among the rubble and dense undergrowth. There was no time for him to investigate closely as he was required to climb the hill to meet its occupant. What this "caretaker's" name was he does not tell us. As this was only an exploratory visit with a view to obtaining permission for a further one, Mauch and Render did not stay there for more than a few hours and returned to their home. Mauch was full of plans for further discoveries in this ancient city and anxious to re-visit it in a few days time. Chief Mugabe had in the meantime been notified of Mauch's presence and a token gift of friendship had been sent to him.

Six days later the second visit to the ruins took place and Mauch's description of both the Acropolis and the Elliptical Building is of great historical interest.

On this occasion Mauch made three finds: a decorated soap-stone plinth, an iron double-gong and a broken soap-stone bowl. The latter he found in the cave just below the Gold Furnace Enclosure, on the hill, which even now is almost filled up with rubble of banded iron stone that must have been brought there from afar. It is surprising that Mauch, the geologist, does not appear to have noticed this quantity of mineralogically alien rubble in the cave. He unsuccessfully tried to sketch a plan of the interior of the Elliptical Building which, at that time, was completely covered by undergrowth and trees. He did succeed however in reaching the top of the tower by hoisting himself up on a climbing

2. This pot was later discovered by Harry Posselt.

liana. As he had not seen any sign of an entrance to the tower from the ground, he was anxious to see whether it was solid or not and he threw some of the top layers down, how many he does not state, but he was soon satisfied that the tower was solid. Because of Mauch's destruction the original height of the tower will forever be unknown.

The present north entrance to the Elliptical Building was still undamaged at that time and Mauch noticed a wooden beam across it, supporting the stone wall above. Another such beam he describes as stretching over an undefined passage on the Acropolis.

Highly satisfied with his discoveries and full of wonder he returned to Pika's where he and Render busied themselves with building a comfortable hut, as Mauch realised that he would have to stay there for a lengthy period. The rains were about to break and without any trade goods he could not hope to carry on with his intended trip to Sena on the Zambesi.

Mauch now settled down in his new home after these few exciting days of discovery. His stay there was going to last for almost nine months, a period of comparative inactivity hard for a man of his temperament to bear.

This prolonged isolation did nothing to improve either his physical or mental state of health, for gradually his erstwhile friendship with Render waned and in the very rare instances when he mentions his companion at all, HERR Render is contemptuously demoted to, simply, Render. Intellectually Render certainly was no match for Mauch, but what we do not know either is what his reaction was to the discoverer's overbearing attitude and Mauch was not the man to waste his time or any ink in describing such an inferior creature.

Their isolation from civilisation at Pika's was real to a certain extent, but by no means complete. There existed definite trade routes in many parts of the allegedly unknown interior. One of these led from Zimbabwe down to the Zoutpansberg and Render was in the habit of sending messengers along it from time to time to exchange his ivory against trade goods at John Watt's store in the Zoutpansberg. About thirty days were needed for the round trip.

Another such trade route connected the region of Zimbabwe with the Portuguese settlements of Tete and Sena on the Zambesi. However, it is not known that white Portuguese traders used it themselves, yet they frequently sent their black or half-caste agents to the south to obtain ivory, black and white.

No sooner was Mauch installed in his new home than he sent some of Pika's men south to get a fresh supply of beads, blankets, etc., from trader Watts—the bill to be paid by Herr Gruetzner, his missionary friend at Matlala, who, in his turn, would be reimbursed by—of course—Dr. Petermann. Mauch, once more, was without any funds, but full of unlimited trust in the generosity of his sponsor to whom, after all, he had sent his map of the Transvaal before leaving the Republic.

Two letters, dated 12th and 13th September, 1871, the one to Gruetzner and the other to Dr. Petermann, were published in the *Geog. Mittheilungen* in 1872. Both contain descriptions of the ruins and thus brought definite news of Zimbabwe for the first time to the world at large. Although Mauch had only seen Zimbabwe during two short visits which, of necessity, did not allow him

opportunity for any closer investigation, his description of the individual structures are well observed and very matter-of-fact. They formed the basis for Thomas Baines' two drawings of Zimbabwe. It is unfortunate, indeed, that Baines himself never visited the ruins, for his two highly imaginative drawings show clearly that he must have misunderstood some of Mauch's descriptions, as they appeared in the German journal. Mauch states that the tower was cylindrical in shape up to a height of 10 feet and from there on conical up to its summit, which is well observed, but Baines exaggerates considerably so that his tower looks very different to the actual structure. Mauch also mentions that the stone beams were probably let into the walls to strengthen them, though how a vertical beam in a wall could do this is hard to see, Baines took it that these strengthening beams, some of them with incised ornaments, were protruding horizontally from the walls and therefore gives an absolutely mistaken impression of the Zimbabwe walls in his second sketch.

Mauch's messengers to the Zoutpansberg returned exactly one month after their departure, bringing with them almost everything he had ordered.

At last, Mauch was now in a position to make plans for his journey to the Zambesi as soon as the rains were over.

It is rather strange and not a little suspect that he does not mention any further visits to the ruins till his last one shortly before his final departure to the North for, on the 25th October, he met his old acquaintance George "Elephant" Phillips, who was on a trading trip in the vicinity. Phillips had written a note to Render offering to buy any ivory in his possession. He was quite unaware that Mauch was living there with Render, but Mauch was terrified that his presence would become known to Phillips' Matebele companions. He wrote a rather panicky note to Phillips and arranged for a secret meeting across the Tokwe river. Phillips wisely appeared alone and stayed with the two white men for five days. It was then that the three of them went to visit the ruins. Yet, this fact is never mentioned by Mauch but has been told by Phillips himself.

Because of the rains there were only a very few opportunities for the exploration of the surrounding country. The furthest point reached on one occasion was Mashaba mountain and the environs of where Fort Victoria now stands were also visited and mapped by Mauch.

It is more than likely that, as week after week, passed, even month after month, little mutual esteem for one another remained between Render and Mauch. Render does not give one the impression of having been a great conversationalist. His thinking and his scope of interests appear to have been on the simple side and he could not have been a source of inspiration to his companion who kept more and more to himself.

As far as Mauch was concerned, Render reverted to being just a white kaffir, living with Pika's daughter and their two year old son.

Mauch now consoled himself with writing at length about all aspects of Makaranga life and customs.

However, his first "essay", obviously written while everything still looked new and fascinating to him, is a detailed description of his new home, the hut he and Render had built and its picturesque site. He acts as guide to an imaginary

friend who arrives by ox-wagon for a visit. He explains the minutest detail of the interior of his hut and it is surprising to read in his description, that he even had coloured prints hanging on its walls. From this, one may assume that the theft of all his belongings at Shumba's kraal could not have been as complete as he gives us to understand in the earlier pages of his diary.

What Mauch really concentrated on during his enforced stay was the study of Makaranga tribal life, customs and religion. For this study he had ample opportunity and his chapter on the life cycle of a boy and a girl from before birth till after death is of great interest. This was published in Petermann's *Ergaenzungsheft* and subsequently translated into English. (*Rhodesiana*, No. 12, September 1965).

He also writes at length about Makaranga agriculture and economy in general. His list of all the grains and vegetables grown in their fields, the method of preparation of lands and harvesting is most illuminating. Only his observation of wild life is rather superficial, but then, Mauch was never much of a hunter. That, as he states, baboons were sneaking into the mealie lands *at night* to cause immeasurable damage, is more than questionable.

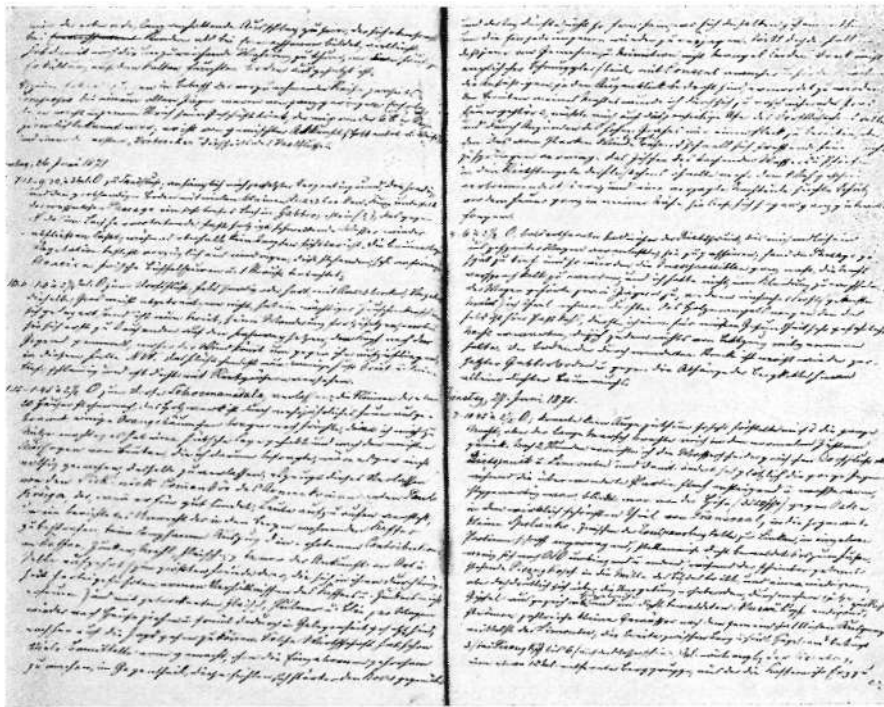
While on one of his infrequent excursions in the surrounding country Mauch had the chance to witness a "mampula hunt", a tribal hunt when game is driven into a long line of nets. His description of this hunt, told with emotion and excitement and with many exclamations is a little masterpiece, by far the best of his literary efforts.

Dancing and, especially, music intrigued the former schoolteacher of course. He writes a whole chapter on the m'bira and even puts down the score of some of the melodies.

Of greatest interest to Mauch was the religion and the rites of the Makaranga, not least, because through their study he hoped to get closer to an answer to the riddle of Zimbabwe.

After questioning all the old people in the kraals around the ruins he, at last, was able to contact, as he writes: "the one and only man who could give him authentic information about the sacrifices that were made in the old times at Zimbabwe". This man, Bebereke by name, now became his oracle. He was apparently the son of the last of the Roswi "high-priests", called Tenga, who, about 40 years previously was murdered by the Mugabe of that time. Bebereke still remembered most of the details of the three-yearly great sacrifice of the Roswi at Zimbabwe and Mauch's information, though not his interpretation of the ceremony, is of great importance. He, of course, was convinced of the great antiquity of the ruins, and full of the romantic notions of his era. He even proves, later on, after his last visit to the ruins, that these buildings must have been erected by the Queen of Sheba. However, Mauch's very thorough description of the Mwari cult of the Roswi and the rituals of the time before their dispersal by the Nguni in 1830 is history at its best.

He is not so successful when he tries to write about Makaranga law cases. In his short chapter on how the Makaranga enact justice he is rather vague, that is, the few cases he describes are so complicated—not to say nonsensical—that it is doubtful whether Mauch was quite sure of his facts. This chapter he



Mauch's Diary.

(Photo: National Archives).

wrote towards the end of his stay at Pika's, after some bouts of his old illness and at a time when he was anxious to be on his way and in a very bad mood because of all the frustrations when trying to obtain porters from the old headmen and chiefs. These certainly were fully aware that Mauch still had an ample supply of beads, brass bangles and the like and so they put all kinds of obstacles in his way with a view to keeping him near them, and thus eventually receiving these items in exchange for food and beer. Mauch became daily more despondent and angry with, as he puts it, this "bestial race" with which he was forced to abide.

It is during this time that Mauch's mental state can plainly be discovered in his manuscript, for his handwriting becomes at times almost illegible. Also his outbursts of unreasonable hate become more frequent.

That he despised the Boers, he had made clear in his diary when at Albasini's. When, on the return of his first messengers to the Zoutpansberg some of the items he had ordered were missing, he blamed the "arch-scoundrel" Albasini. Later, when another supply of goods arrived from the South and with it a letter from his former friend St. Vincent Erskine, but minus the prismatic compass and the watch he had asked him to send on, he not only reviles Erskine, calling him contemptuously the "Natal Livingstone", but expresses his feelings towards everything English in the following words: "Must even here, far

removed from the English, my contempt for them be transformed into veritable hate as a result of my experiences and contacts with them?"

The months of long isolation at Pika's, in spite, or because, of the close contact with Render, do not appear to have improved Mauch's moody character.

Two months before his final departure, however, Mauch visited the ruins for the last time, once more in Render's company. For a long time he had been under the impression that his previous visits had been highly suspect by the local inhabitants and he even states that, because of them, quarrels had been started between different headmen and, further, had resulted in the death of an innocent person. Be this as it may, on the 6th March, 1872, he was at last enabled to make a sketch of the whole ruin complex from a position near what is now called Posselt's Camp.* This sketch was later published in the *Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie*, v. 8., (Berlin). It gives a fairly good impression both of the Elliptical building and of the Acropolis hill. Mauch had never forgotten the two wooden beams he had observed during his earlier visits. He cut off a piece of the "temple beam" while Render, on his suggestion, obtained a splinter of the one he had seen on the Acropolis. These two pieces of wood now confirmed his theory of the Sabaean origin of Zimbabwe, for when rubbed the wood exuded a faint odour, very similar to the one of his pencil when he sharpened it. Now, this pencil was of cedar wood. Therefore, here was irrefutable proof that the Zimbabwe beams were also cedar wood and cedars only occurred in the Lebanon. It was from there that King Solomon obtained the beams for the building of his temple, and what could be more obvious than that Solomon supplied the Queen of Sheba with some of this timber which, of course, would be used by that Royal Lady when she began building her city in the Land of Ophir, in other words, at Zimbabwe?

It was as simple as that.

Mauch now tried hard to obtain porters for his journey to the Zambesi. It took him about one month to collect the necessary number.

On the 9th April, 12 porters were available, six of whom were needed to carry Render's store of ivory. Render had made up his mind to accompany Mauch on his trip in the hope of selling his ivory at Sena and, possibly, of travelling to Europe with Mauch and thus sharing in Mauch's glory as the joint discoverer of the fabulous ruins. At least, that is Mauch's version of Render's true intentions. On the other hand it is quite obvious that Mauch dreaded a repetition of his misadventures with the inhabitants during his journey from Albasini's to Mapansure's, and Render, in spite of his crude nature, was a very useful man to have around as interpreter. On his own admission, Mauch's knowledge of Chikaranga must have been rather limited.

So the party started off, but did not get very far as Render's porters soon began to complain about the weight of the ivory. A few days later, everybody being discontented, they heard that a Matabele impi was invading the country. The porters were unwilling to proceed any further and the whole party turned back and reached Pika's again ten days after it had set out.

In the meantime a party of "Bazungu", black agents of a Portuguese

* See p. 79-80 for a note on this sketch—*Editor*.

trader, had arrived from Tete and Mauch got in touch with them, having sent to them his first letter written in the Portuguese language. He hoped that he would be permitted to accompany these men on their way back to the Zambesi, only to hear a few days later that they had by-passed Pika's on their return journey.

It was, of course, a great disappointment for Mauch that, after all the preparations for his long trip, everything had come to nothing and that, once more, he had to go to all the trouble of hiring porters.

His temper got worse and worse and he must have had several unpleasant arguments with Render. Some very unfriendly remarks about his companion are witness to this.

To pass his time, he now tried another style of writing. He amuses himself by assuming the role of a front-line reporter and sends—to himself, presumably—a series of highly impassioned telegrams reporting on the course of the bloody Matabele invasion. Numberless chiefs and headmen are supposed to have been murdered, kraals burnt down and cattle stolen. He can even see the fires burning from his home.

Then, in the entry following the telegrams, everything is made light of as all the exciting reports had been imaginary, the impi having not entered the immediate surrounding country at all, but had raided the region between the confluence of the Pokuleke and the Mtilikose, about 25 miles NE. of Pika's.

Once again, the search for a fresh lot of porters began and it was not till the 26th May, that he could actually start on his final trip.

From what had been published about this by Petermann it had previously been thought that Mauch walked to Sena all by himself, accompanied only by one faithful servant, Mudzuru, a son of Bebereke, whom he promised to take with him to Europe so that he could be taught all the niceties of sacrificing in the old Roswi manner!

The facts are slightly different. Render, this time without his ivory, was again in the party, together with ten porters, among them Mudzuru. To the porters Mauch had promised a gun each when they would reach the Zambesi. But Render's hope of a trip to Europe was not to be realised.

The journal from here on is one long tale of misery, sickness, hunger and bad temper. There is only one exception when Mauch gives a charming description of the Qua-qua arm of the Zambesi, at the end of which lies the old settlement of Quelimane.

Mauch was repeatedly suffering from renewed attacks of his old illness on this trip, and Render's ill-health, too, was twice responsible for halting the march for a few days. The provisions for the whole company had, if at all possible, to be bought from the local inhabitants and Mauch's stock of trade goods was no longer plentiful. Somehow they did get nearer to their goal, the two white men shooting game on rare occasions to replenish their rations. Mauch mentions twice how he won some headmen's trust by curing sick members of their families. His one and only remedy for fever, diarrhoea and almost everything else was chlorodyne of which he appears to have had an unlimited supply.

Weak in body through his attacks of fever, his notes become more and more

erratic and confused.

On the 7th June he writes: "the chief had 6 children and 2 wives who had been afflicted by diarrhoea for some time. All were cured by means of chlorodyne."

On the 19th June one reads: "2 wives and 6 children of the chief, all afflicted by dysentery, were cured." This appears to be a strange coincidence, indeed!

The party appears to have kept close to the trade route from Zimbabwe to the north, crossing the Devuli, the upper reaches of the Sabi and skirting Wedza mountain to the East. The watershed between the Sabi-Limpopo and the Mazoe-Zambesi was crossed somewhat to the east of Theydon, near Marandellas, at Mbeleka's kraal, on the 17th June. From there the trade route divided, one arm leading straight on to Tete, the other in a more easterly direction to Sena. The local chief was unwilling to supply guides for the Tete route, but readily agreed for some of his men to accompany Render and Mauch to Sena. However, they had to make a slight detour to the North, as on the direct route Makoni and Chifamba u Siku were at loggerheads and fighting had been reported. Chifamba u Siku was the name by which the then chief Mutasa of the Manica was known.

Now Mauch began to hear many tales of gold washing on the lower Nyangombi-Ruenya and his interest was once more aroused. He continued his journey down along the Nyangadzi river, attempted to find a kopje which was reported to be riddled with old mine shafts, without however, being successful. Finally he reached the northernmost point of his trip at chief Shamali's kraal, close to the Makaha Fort, from where his route changed its direction to the East.

As ever, he was very observant and made notes of the vegetation and the geological formations of the regions he traversed. The ruined terraces of the north-western parts of Inyanga did not escape his notice, but, compared to the ruins he had discovered earlier, they meant little to him. All he has to say about the terraces is: "Plenty of quartz in small pieces has been piled up into small terraces or, else, it lies scattered around in small heaps. It has certainly been put out of the way by the hoe when cornfields were being prepared." He passed through this part of Inyanga, unfortunately, just at a time when he, once again, was suffering from a serious attack of fever and, furthermore, there was the reported goldfield lying not far off and to him this was very much more important than any stone heaps and terraces. The information that the natives had given him proved to be correct and Mauch thus discovered the Makaha goldfield, as it is known today, just to the north of where the Nyangadzi joins the Ruenya. Mauch had to lie low for several days at Samali's kraal and describes pathetically how, at one moment, he feared the worst and believed that he was dying. Yet, on the day following his tragic entry in his journal he discusses religious beliefs and rituals with the chief and appears to be his old healthy self again. He is still very much intrigued by the legends about white people who once lived in these regions and, finding a sacrificial hut, built of grass, he immediately connects this with the ancient cult of Zimbabwe and is convinced that the Sabaeans and Jews had once occupied this part of the country as well.

For the first time he gives a name of his own to one of his discovered goldfields. With patriotic zeal he calls this region the: "Kaiser Wilhelm Gold-

field" and the two prominent mountains to the North and South of it he named Bismarck Berg and Moltke Berg, (Susamoya and Nhani respectively, on modern maps).

With his health somewhat restored he now started on the last part of his journey, turning east, and, after having crossed the Gaeresi river, entered the kingdom of the dreaded chief of the Barwe, Makombe, who lived quite independently of the Portuguese who had never been able to subdue him.

Mauch could, of course, not by-pass the Royal kraal and, fearing the worst, he was obliged to enter the vast stockade, only to be received in a very friendly manner by the king. To Mauch and Render's great surprise they were served with tea on a tray with china cups and tea pot and, as he says, were "regaled" with biscuits. He was even asked to take what was left over away with him.

Mauch describes the kraal in detail and sees a great likeness to the old Mosilikatse in Makombe. Quite contrary to his apprehensions, he and his party were given a comfortable hut for the night outside the Royal enclosure and, instead of being foully murdered, they were allowed to proceed towards Sena the following day.

Their route now led to the north-east through flat and unhealthy country. Two days later the first contact with the Portuguese was made. This took place at a trading station in no-mans-land, as it were, in that region west of the Zambesi where Makombe's people and the Portuguese maintained an uneasy peace. The unfortunate Portuguese trader was just then in acute fever agonies, did not know how to get better as he only had some quinine and castor oil in his medicine chest and so Mauch, of course, cured him almost instantly with a dose of his chlorodyne.

On the 16th July, the Zambesi was reached some miles north of Sena. Mauch was now in Portuguese Territory proper. But he did not feel at home there at all. From now on his diary is painful to read. To start with there is the first entry: "16 July, 1872. 4.30 to 5.15, ESE along the bank of the Zambesi or Nuantsi to a small village where a Bazungu (a half black one, however, from Goa) has for many months laid sick with syphilis. A fine introduction to the actual colonies of the Portuguese". This attitude towards the people whose guest he was from now on does not, unfortunately, change at all.

One has to envisage this strangely dressed, bearded, selfpossessed giant, accompanied by a no less wild-looking Render, mixing with meticulously uniformed Government officials, not to mention the local Governor and the Governor-General of Mocambique, and all the while treating these with unbelievable arrogance, not to say contempt. Small wonder Mauch's plans mis-fired and all that was finally left to him was to set sail for Europe a few weeks later.

But what were Mauch's plans? Two years earlier he had expressed his intention to explore Africa north of the Zambesi right up to the equator, yet, it appears that at the back of his mind there always was the thought of making further discoveries in Portuguese East Africa. While still in personal touch with his friends in the Republic, he had already decided that, instead of crossing the Zambesi and advancing further north, he would go down to Quelimane,

otherwise, how could he be so disappointed and quite illogically disgusted with the Portuguese when, on arriving at that port, he did not find any letters waiting for him? Letters he had expected to find there from Dr. Petermann, Thomas Baines and the Chevalier du Prat, the Portuguese Consul in Cape Town, who had issued a passport to him in 1870.

Mauch's unpleasant troubles started right at Sena, when a minor official discovered that his passport was no longer valid. Render, without such a document, apparently, was not questioned at all. Mauch demanded to see the Town Captain to whom he explained who he was and that he intended to proceed to Quelimane, where he hoped to meet his old friend Barahona de Costa who, as Governor of Quelimane, had led the earlier mentioned Portuguese Commission in Pretoria in 1870. Unfortunately for Mauch, Barahona had by now been replaced and Mauch was thus left without any friends or even acquaintances in the territory.

The Capitao Mor of Sena, however, arranged everything for Mauch and Render's trip down the Zambesi as far as Mazoro (now Vila Fontes Velha) and from there along the Qua-qua arm of the Zambesi to Quelimane.

Mauch left all his porters and most of his baggage at Sena, taking only Render along with him. The trip was uneventful and took five days.

For the last time there is an entry in his journal that reminds one of Mauch's gift for charmingly describing a part of a country he really did like and appreciate. The description of his boat trip down the Qua-qua with its three "lakes" is quite beautiful and his information on the plant and animal life and the effects of the tide on the river's lower reaches is of great interest.

After this short description there is nothing but hate and frustration to be found in the pages of his journal, right up to the end.

Mauch and Render arrived in Quelimane late in the afternoon of the 27th July. After wandering around in the dusty streets, Mauch, at last, found the local Governor's house, where just at that time, the Governor-General of Mozambique also resided. He was kindly received and even asked to stay for dinner, in spite of the fact that he was still wearing his rather odd looking and soiled leather outfit that he had worn continually for the last two years. Mauch now made an unforgivable mistake. He refused to dine with Their Excellencies, stating bluntly that he preferred the simple food that Render would prepare for him. It is more than likely that this refusal was considered the height of rudeness and Mauch was going to feel the consequences in no uncertain way. Before his refusal to dine with the Governor, Mauch had had a long conversation with him and had told the Governor-General about all his wanderings and discoveries. He had also broadly hinted that he would be prepared to assist him in his punitive expedition against Bonga. This minor war was just then in preparation.

Bonga, at that time the head of the notorious, coloured, prazo-holding da Cruz clan, held sway over a large tract of country on the western bank of the Zambesi, from his fortified town of Massangano above the Lupata Gorge. He was a continuous menace to Portuguese trade along the river between Tete and Sena. For a number of years the Portuguese had sent one punitive expedition after another against Bonga. Governor Juval's planned expedition that Mauch

desired to join was one of them. However, all of them were unsuccessful and it was not until 1875 that Bonga was finally subdued.³

Mauch also suggested to his hosts that he would be just the right man to open up the country between Quelimane and Sofala for the Portuguese. To his dismay, the Governor General's answers were rather evasive.

During the following day Mauch hoped to meet His Excellency again, but he was disappointed as the Governor preferred to spend the day in isolation on his war-sloop, anchored in the river.

On the third day, however, Mauch met the Governor General once more and tried his best to get his permission to stay in the territory, only to be coolly snubbed and given to understand that his stay at Quelimane could not be prolonged indefinitely.

That, of course, was a terrible blow to our eager explorer. Fortunately he had met an agent for a French Trading Company in Quelimane, a young Swiss. Gottfried Hoehn, with whom he naturally could converse in German. Hoehn tried to help Mauch as best he could and introduced him to a Senhor Paiva Rapozo to whom Mauch, for unknown reasons, confided all his worries and, also, his parlous financial position. Rapozo took pity on him, arranged for Mauch to stay at a friend's house and, actually, lent him the sum of £35 to pay his way—and his porters at Sena.

Mauch stayed for a while with a Senhor Moraes, but he felt ill at ease because his host was in an advanced state of consumption. Mauch had to retrieve his effects from Sena and was now in the possession of the lordly sum of £35. He set out for Sena again and notes in his journal in his inimitable and "charming" manner: "I had not come down to Quelimane to entertain a consumptive and so I left soon after for Sena."

There may be something in being honest, but *C'est le ton qui fait la musique*.

On his trip to Sena Mauch had one further reason to increase his hate for the Portuguese, for bad luck would have it that just when he came to Mazoro the Governor-General also arrived there on his way to Sena and promptly requisitioned all available river craft, so that Mauch was forced to stay behind for another day.

Mauch remained at Sena for eight days during which, as he notes, he never once asked for an audience with the Governor-General who, as he was told, had enquired after him. This could hardly have hurt His Excellency.

Now, his faithful black companions of the long trek were going to get their rewards. Ten natives and Render were going to receive what was left of Mauch's borrowed £35.

There is a note in Mauch's "Rough Journal" stating what his requirements were after having borrowed this money; however, in his final journal he does not give any detailed account of his rewarding his former companions. From this note one may assume that Mauch bought goods to the value of approximately £32. There were bales of cotton cloth to pay his boat crew, 13 guns at about

3. *The Aringa at Massangano* by M. Newitt and T. S. Garlake. *Journal of African History*, VIII, 1967.

£1 10s. a piece for his black companions, and for Render one hat and two shirts, valued at £1. 5s.

The long tramp, obviously, does not appear to have been a financial success for poor Render!

Mauch's parting with his men and his saviour-friend-interpretor-cook (in this sequence) is best quoted, without comment, from his diary:

"My porters from the interior received their pay and I suggested to my erstwhile interpreter Render, who had always remained a suspect personality to me, and I had noticed that he tried to cause trouble and dirt behind my back, that he should go and retrieve his ivory, for it would not be possible for me to carry him along with me everywhere, as such a costly companion!" What a pity that Render did not keep a diary as well!

Mauch was back in Quelimane on the 8th September and was staying with his friend Hoehn on this occasion. He now met the captain of a French sailing ship waiting at Quelimane for the first occasion to cross the sand bar. He arranged to return to Europe on it. But he had to wait in Quelimane for another month as the heavily laden *Goelette*⁴ *Yarmal* was only able to cross the bar between the town and the open sea on the 5th October.

During this period of waiting Mauch suffered again from a serious attack of fever but he used this time to complete his route maps and his journal.

On the 15th January, 1865, a hopeful, penniless but healthy young Mauch had set foot on African soil for the first time. On the 5th October, 1872, an embittered, fever-ridden and destitute explorer and adventurer, left his beloved black continent, never to return.

Adam Render and Pika's men found their way back to Zimbabwe where Render, presumably, carried on with his trading. It is believed that he died there a few years later.

VI

In the *Geographische Mittheilungen* of 1870, Petermann reported on Mauch's earlier journeys and it was only in 1872 that a short notice appeared in that journal telling that Mauch had found the legendary Ruins in Banyailand.

Mauch had sent a letter to Petermann from his "home" at Pika's, without, however, giving any detailed information. This had to wait till his return to Germany.

Having left Quelimane at the beginning of October 1872 on the small sailing ship, it is likely that he arrived at Marseilles towards the end of the year or the beginning of 1873.

Now, at long last, he would meet Dr. Petermann in person. He hurried as fast as he could to Gotha. It may have taken Dr. Petermann quite some time to realise that the strange man he now had before him really was the Karl Mauch whom he had sponsored so energetically during the last seven years and whom he

4. *Goelette*: French for Light Schooner.

had built into a kind of national hero. Mauch's two journals had now to be studied and his extraordinary discoveries brought to the notice of the world.

Petermann must have quickly realised that Mauch's journals could not be published in full. He either asked Mauch to write about his travels in Africa under his supervision or else Petermann himself compiled what appeared in the *Ergaenzungsheft*, making use of those parts of the manuscript only that would not show up the author's failings. All unpleasant details were omitted, but that Render's presence during the walk to Sena would have been completely ignored is almost unbelievable.

During 1873 Mauch was introduced to various people and societies interested in geographical discoveries, yet only three talks are known to have been given by the explorer, all of them in Stuttgart.

Mauch still suffered at intervals from feverish attacks. He had hoped that on his return it would be easy for him to find employment at a University or a museum, but, partly because of his lack of academic training and partly because of his strange character, no work could be found for him. Dr. Petermann, once more, came to the rescue. He arranged for Mauch to accompany a Dr. Kuntze on an expedition to the Carribbean and the two men set out for the West Indies early in 1874. Mauch must have kept a diary on this trip, for some details of the expedition appeared in Mager's book in 1895. Knowing Mauch by now, it is of little surprise to learn that his partnership with Dr. Kuntze did not last for very long. At Caracas Mauch left Kuntze and returned alone to Germany in June.

Petermann must have been most disappointed. As for Mauch, all hope for any further expedition had to be abandoned.

At last he found employment in the cement factory of Spohn Bros, at Blaubeuren in his native Wuerttemberg. He apparently was quite content with his work. He took up his lodgings in a first floor room in the railway station, and lived a very quiet life, but his health was steadily growing worse.

His untimely death occurred as a result of a fall from his bedroom window. During the night he fell onto the cobblestones of the road below and some hours later was found with multiple injuries and a cracked skull.

He was transported to a hospital in Stuttgart but nothing could be done for him. He died on the 4th April, 1875, in his 38th year.

He was buried at Stuttgart where a simple stone slab adorns his grave bearing the inscription: *Karl Mauch, Afrikareisender*.

His former colleagues at the Teacher Training College at Gmuend later honoured their friend by placing a portrait plaque in the wall of their college.

Karl Mauch's achievements were considerable, some of his observations and certainly his maps are of lasting and outstanding value. But soon his fame was on the wane, not least in that part of Africa that had been his field of activity. The reason for this may well be that none of his fellow travellers could have felt any companionship for that difficult character and there were few of these to cherish his memory.

On the whole, Mauch was rather a tragic figure. He always desired to be

acknowledged as an equal or even as a better, by everybody he came in contact with and no thought ever occurred to him that he could possibly be wrong in any way. He was a lonely man, unloved and, as he was convinced, never sufficiently appreciated by his fellow men. The once feted pioneer and explorer had to experience the bitterness of gradually being forgotten by the world that once, though for a short time only, had looked at him as a new, bright star in the field of African exploration.

And yet, almost one hundred years after his first visit to the Zimbabwe ruins, he has come to life again through the publication of his very personal journals, and has re-joined the long line of African explorers of pre-Pioneer Rhodesia and the old Transvaal Republic.

(Concluded)

NATIONAL MUSEUMS PUBLICATIONS

Since our last issue Nos. 32-5 of Vol. 4 of the occasional publication, *Arnoldia*, have been received.

These are, shortened titles, on the *Phenomenon of Unilateral Implantation in the Right Uterine Horn of the Common Duiker* (32), by R. B. Symington and N. J. Paterson; *Mobile Attractants for Tsetse Flies* (33) by G. A. Vale; *Breeding and Feeding Habits of Barn Owls* (34) by V. J. Wilson and on a *New Dinosaur Fossil Locality in the Sipolilo District* (35) by M. A. Raath, C. C. Smith and G. Bond.

Dhlo Dhlo Ruins: The Missing Relics

by C. K. Cooke

In various early reports on the Dhlo Dhlo Ruins situated in the Fort Rixon district mention is made of the possessions of a Catholic priest and certain Portuguese cannon.

In an endeavour to locate the whereabouts of at least some of them a letter was written to the Editor of the *Chronicle* in Bulawayo seeking information. A reply was received from Mr. T. H. Bredenkamp through the newspaper:

"I knew Mr. (Quig) Ryan very well and we had a lot in common. Prospecting minerals, past history of pre-Rhodesia, etc. In 1926, I met Mr. Ryan on Helvetia Farm and he brought me a letter of introduction from his brother Harry Ryan who was farming somewhere between Shangani and Insiza. I knew Mr. Harry Ryan very well since 1915. During various discussions we had the finding of a chalice and various other finds which you do not mention in the letters. I was told where these relics were sent to. I know one of Mr. Quig Ryan's sons is still living somewhere in Rhodesia, either Gwanda or Filabusi. I have a friend at Filabusi who saw Mr. Ryan shortly before he died a few years ago. I will contact him and find out where Quig Ryan's son is."

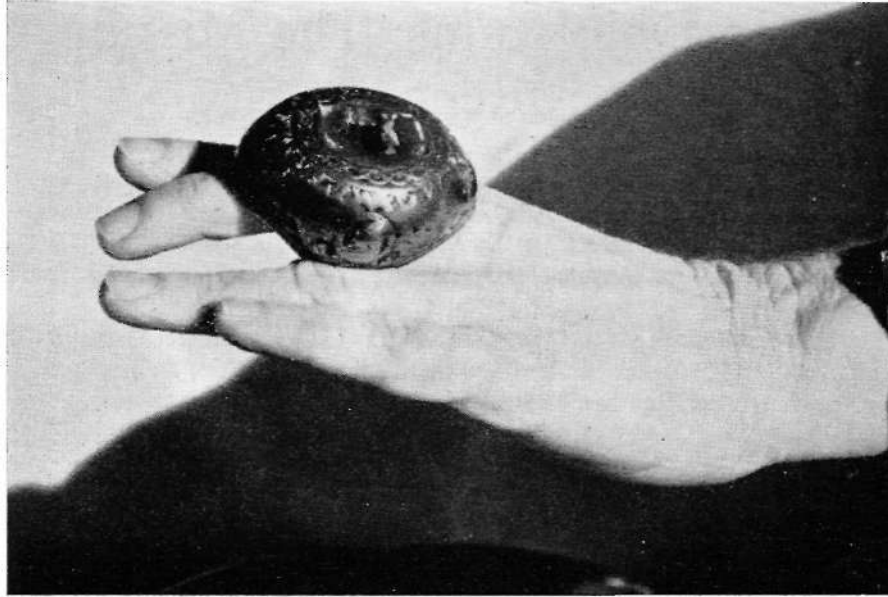
The following day I heard from Mr. Ryan's son who said that his father had recovered the following items whilst he was prospecting during the years 1907-11:

1. A silver chalice inscribed in Latin.
2. A silver ewer also with an inscription.
3. A silver priest's ring.
4. A Crucifix, silver mounted on wood, or iron.
5. A gold chain, probably for the above.

He suggested that these were either at the Victoria and Albert Museum or in the British Museum where they had been deposited by R. N. Hall who was working in Rhodesia about that date.

Soon after this I had a further letter from Mr. Bredenkamp as follows:

"I thank you for your letter of 31st Jan 69. I am glad you heard from Charlie Ryan as he may have a lot of information to give you. I met Mr. Q. Ryan during 1926 on Helvetia Farm. My wife met Mr. Q. Ryan before I married her somewhere between 1912-15 on their farm in the Greystone area together with his brother Harry. From what my wife told me Mr. Q. Ryan must have been prospecting the Insiza area about 1914 onwards, and came across these relics. As far as I can remember these relics were found in the Insiza district. He told me he found a chalice and some other object which he did not mention, but the great find was the chalice and a Brass Cannon (*sic*). These relics as far as I can remember were given to some Boys' College run by the Jesuit Bros. I am not quite sure about the name but this institute was functioning when he gave it to them



The Priest's Ring from Dhlo Dhlo Ruins.

(Photo: Secretary to Prime Minister of South Africa)

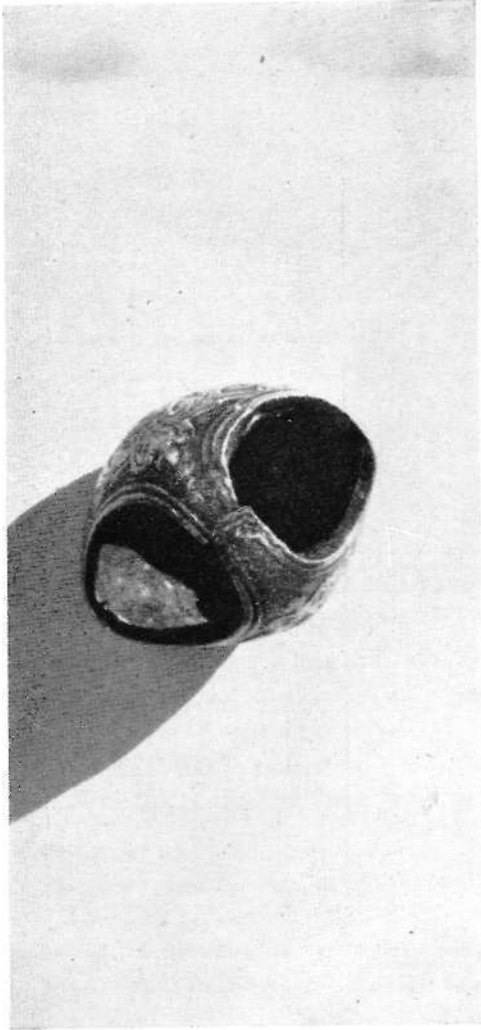
as they had a small private museum of their own. I can assure you that these relics never went elsewhere except to some institute in Byo. Mr. Q. Ryan turned to be a Catholic and he naturally gave these relics to the Father. Now you shall have to be very diplomatic when you search for these relics as those in possession of them will be very loath to part with them. Find out first what institutes in Byo have a private Museum. You can then proceed with your search.

"Incidentally Mr. Ryan found those Emeralds in Belingwe before 1926. He gave me some in 1926 but I was not interested in precious stones. He also told me of a hill of Lipidolite but I never made use of this information. If ever you come to Selukwe drop in and see me and I can tell you a lot about Zimbabwe. Something that all you clever men know nothing about."

I also had a long telephone conversation with Mr. Charlie Ryan, son of Thomas Gordon Quig Ryan. He told me that he was a boy at St. George's College, Bulawayo, and remembers the cannon and some other items from Dhlo Dhlo being in the school museum. St. George's College was transferred to Salisbury. Further knowledge of the relics was unobtainable from the school.

Mrs. J. Greaves, daughter of T. Dechow, with whom Hall and Neal* used to mess, gave me a similar account, but included the information that the incense burner and seal belonged to one Father da Silveiro. She said "I remember my father recounting that Cecil Rhodes sent the Hon. A. Wilmot to Lisbon to search the archives and there he found letters sealed with the seal which was found at

* Hall and Neal were early investigators at Zimbabwe and members of the Ruins Exploration Co.



Another view of the Priest's Ring.

(Photo: Secretary to Prime Minister of South Africa)

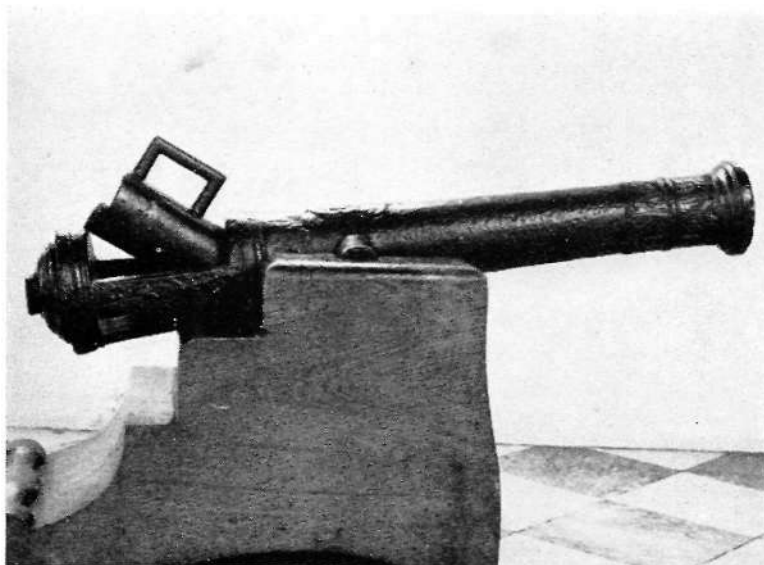
Dhlo Dhlo. I seem to remember that the incense salver and seal were returned to the Portuguese."

Enquiries were made from the National Archives in Salisbury with the following result:

"CATHOLIC RELICS FOUND AT DHLO DHLO

"Apparently there were two major groups of finds at Dhlo Dhlo, one in 1895 by Neal and Johnson during the operations of the Ancient Ruins Company, and one in March 1911 by the Ryan brothers (see Marconnes, in *Nada*, 1933).

"The 1895 finds are listed in Hall and Neal's *Ancient ruins of Rhodesia*, (1902), p. 146-147.



Cannon "A" at Groote Schuur.
 (Photo: Secretary to Prime Minister of South Africa)

"They included:

- '87 Two cannons: one bronze breech-loader, one iron muzzle-loader both with the Portuguese coat of arms (Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes)'
- '88. Gold coin or medallion . . . (Last in the possession of Dr. Jameson)'
- '97. Section of bronze bowl, size of ordinary washing basin (Captain Rixon)'
- '98. Bronze Egyptian oil lamps'
- '99. Portion of bronze incense censer'
- '100. Portion of bronze key.'
- '102. One bell with handle'
- '103. Priest's private seal. (Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes)'
- '104. Three feet of gold chain, broken; part of priest's regalia, with mass of molten silver attached, probably the cross'
- '108. Section of silver plate embossed with vines, probably Sacrament plate.'
- '109. Pieces of silver plate, embossed.'

"The 1911 finds, according to Marconnes, were:

- a muzzle-loader cannon about 3' long, 1½" bore
- the butt end of another, about 15" long
- a copper cup or small urn, with pedestal, about 6" high and 3" or 4" across.

"There is an interesting note in a guide to the Rhodesia Museum, by R. N. Hall, of 1911. He states:

'PRIEST'S ALTAR FURNITURE FOUND AT DHLO-DHLO

'Unfortunately, the collection of articles once the possession of a priest of the Jesuit Order at Dhlo-Dhlo, 50 miles east of Bulawayo, discovered by Messrs.

Neal and Johnson in 1895, at present in the Museum, appears to have been broken up, and some of the articles lost or mixed with other relics from elsewhere.

"The original collection consisted of:

(1) A Jesuit priest's signet ring issued by a missionary college in Portugal, believed by experts to have been Evora, with which college several of the Jesuit missionaries, who laboured in what is now Southern Rhodesia from 1505 to 1760, were connected. This ring was in the possession of Mr. C. J. Rhodes.

(2) A small bell of bell metal (crushed), with portion of ebony handle attached.

(3) Portions of a bronze incense censer.

(4) Sections of broken silver-plate, embossed with vines, pronounced to have been a sacrament plate, also sections of silver-plate engraved with "fleur-de-lis" design.

(5) Bronze altar lamp (intact in 1902, but since broken).

(6) Portion of a bronze key, and pieces of bronze believed to have been parts of a small box.

(7) Three feet of gold chain, broken, with mass of molten silver attached, most probably a cross, part of a priest's regalia.

(8) Gold medallion, size of a five-shilling piece, embossed on one side with two birds fighting over a heart. (Last in the possession of Dr. Jameson).

(9) Captain Rixon, in 1902, had a section of a bronze altar ewer in his possession, and this was found at the spot where the other articles of the priest had been discovered.

(10) In March, 1911, Mr. H. Ryan found, at about 100 yards from the spot where Messrs. Neal and Johnson made their discoveries, a bronze cup, the handle and spout of which had been broken off, which the Fathers in Bulawayo claim to have been used for holding holy water.

'Thus, the articles originally found practically complete the altar furniture of a Jesuit missionary at Dhlo-dhlo. The date of a missionary station at this ruin, as also at Sebakwe, Khami and elsewhere in Southern Matabeleland, is shown by the date of the college signet ring, which experts assign towards the end of the sixteenth century or very early in the seventeenth century.'

"From all this it would seem that the Catholic relics found by Neal and Johnson were dispersed into various hands, including the Museum. Hall's no. 88, the gold coin, is apparently the catholic medallion of the Sacred Heart which went from Jameson to Rhodes, to the Rhodes Trustees, then to the National Archives and is now on permanent loan to the Museum from us.

"On the other hand all that St. George's could have got would be the small cannon and the copper holy water urn found in 1911. The school was not in existence at the date of the earlier finds.

"A. Wilmot was a member of the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire and a South African historian. He antedated Theal in the exploration of Portuguese literature and archives and also, particularly, those of the Vatican. On his own suggestion he made a research expedition to them, the costs being divided between the British South Africa



The Portuguese Coat of Arms on Cannon "A"
(Photo: Secretary to Prime Minister of South Africa)

Company, Rhodes and himself, and the results were published in his *Monomotapa* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1896). I have not come across any reference in this to the seal found in 1895 and its presence on Portuguese documents but I have not had time to read it closely and I may have missed it."

Because of the mention of C. J. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson in the letter quoted above a letter of enquiry was sent to the Secretary to the Prime Minister of South Africa.

The following was the result of this letter.

"RELICS FROM DHLO DHLO RUINS

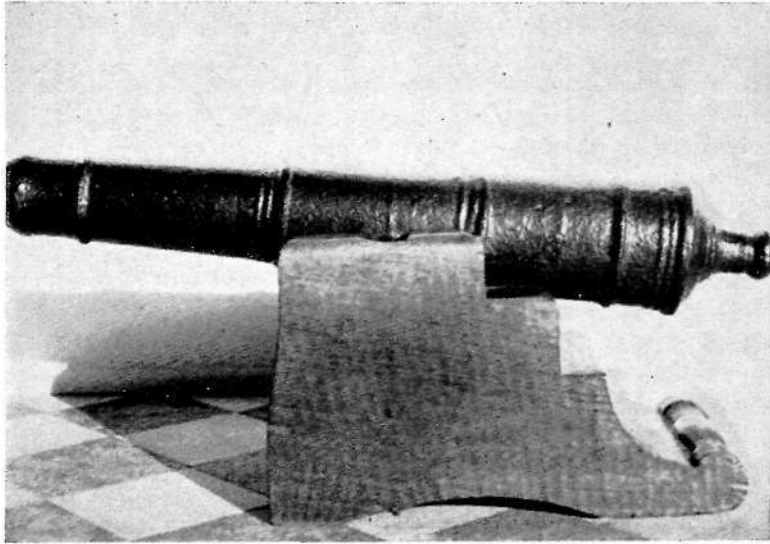
In reply to your letter (Ref. 13/5/69) of the 24th March, 1969, I enclose photographs of the cannons and ring which would appear to be the relics referred to by you.

"The cannons have been placed on either side of the main entrance to the Prime Minister's Residence, Groote Schuur, Cape Town. Only the cannon marked 'A' on the photographs bears a coat-of-arms which might be that of Portugal.

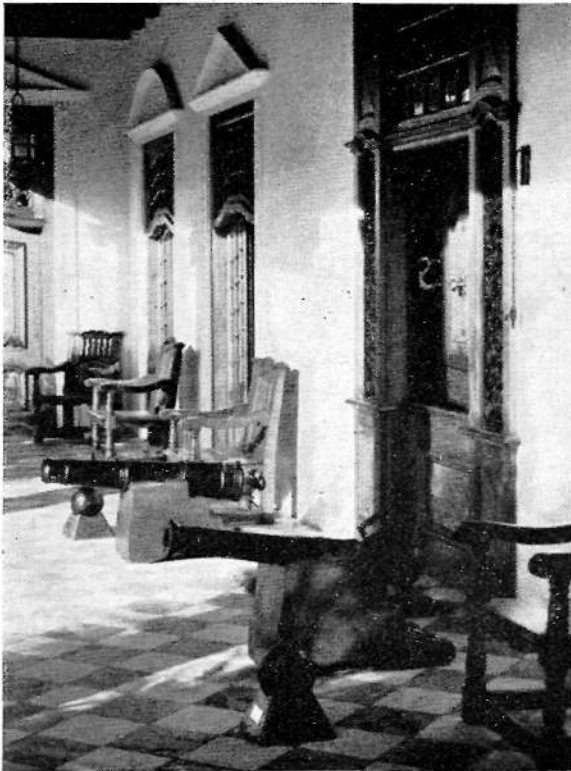
"The ring is at present in a display cabinet in Rhodes' bedroom, Groote Schuur."

Of all the items listed in the letter from the National Archives of Rhodesia only the following have so far been traced.

- 1 Cannon with Portuguese Coat of Arms;
- 1 Cannon with no identifying marks;
- 1 Gold Coin or medallion (No. 88 on list);
- 1 Part of an oil lamp (National Museum, Bulawayo);
- 1 Priest's Thumb Ring (No. 103 on list);



Cannon at Groote Schuur.
(Photos: Secretary to Prime Minister of South Africa)



**Present position of the Cannons
at Groote Schuur.**

1 Part of the Breech block of a cannon (National Museum, Bulawayo);
1 Gold chain.

The important items still missing are the Chalice, Ewer and minor altar furniture. Enquiries in Lisbon and at the Vatican Museum have revealed nothing further about their whereabouts.

There seems little doubt that Dhlo Dhlo was an early Portuguese mission centre. It is not known when the mission was established, it could have been as early as the sixteenth or as late as the eighteenth century.

Dhlo Dhlo is one of the most interesting ancient buildings in Rhodesia: unfortunately much was destroyed by the early treasure seekers who developed the settlement as a goldmine. The first European other than the Catholic priest to see the ruins was probably the American scout Burnham. He is said to have recovered 2,000 ounces of gold afterwards selling the "mining claim" to John Willoughby (later Sir John) for \$3,000.

The ruin was proclaimed a National Monument (No. 5) on 16th July, 1937. and is now completely fenced.

Although the church relics were found at Dhlo Dhlo it is not absolutely certain that a priest lived there. However, all seem to have been in one cache making it reasonably certain that Mass was celebrated on this lonely hill.

Cannon do not necessarily mean that there was a Portuguese garrison stationed as far west as Dhlo Dhlo; these artillery pieces may well have been a present to a friendly chief.

RHODESIAN AND NYASALAND AIRWAYS

Mr. J. McAdam, who wrote *Birth of an Airline: Establishment of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Airways* in our December 1969 issue, says that "the gremlins have been at play" in the article.

The word "Rhodesian" in the name of the organisation has been erroneously spelt, without the final "n", in the Contents on page vii, in the heading on page 46 and in the centre of page 47; Also in the note on the *Society of Malawi Journal* on page 35—all this in spite of the author's stressing that it is a common error, on page 47.

Graveyard at Old Marandellas: Addendum

Mr. J. D. White writes: "Reference the article 'The Graveyard at Old Marandellas' by R. Hodder-Williams in the December 1969 issue of *Rhodesiana*, the answers to the author's queries may be found in Mr. W. Edward's memoirs in *Nada* No. 39 of 1962. Unfortunately the extract relating to the submission of Manyepera's people is omitted as "of no particular interest" but it does mention the death of Lieut. Morris, and others. See also "Recollections of the Rebellion 1896" (*Nada* No. 14 of 1936/37) which is not so specific.

Mr. D. Hartridge comments:

"The section of 'Wiri' Edward's reminiscences omitted from the article in *Nada*, 1962, no. 39, as 'of no particular interest' included the following account of Morris's death:

" 'On October 2nd a force of eighty men under Capt. Pease was left to deal with Manyepera and other rebels in the vicinity. I accompanied the patrol in my capacity as Native Commissioner and acted as a guide. We found Manyepera's kraal and several others in the same locality deserted; it was evident from signs in the kraals that the rebels had only gone a few hours before we arrived. My Messengers were looking round for spoor and found that tracks from all the kraals led to a small stream about two miles from Manyepera's. We followed up the spoor and found that the stream went below a large flat rock which covered the stream for about one hundred yards of its length and forming a cave below. There were no natives to be seen, or heard, but all spoor led to the place and both entrances, up and down stream were barricaded up. On the downstream end a stockade of poles had been built across from bank to bank of the stream, about ten yards down from the entrance to the cave. In this stockade a cow was tied up to the fence. We went to select a site for camp on the far side of stream, leaving pickets at the cave. Lieut. Leigh Lye of the Umtali volunteers who was with the picket, decided he would get the cow out from the stockade, so he jumped down from the rocks into the enclosure and had just reached the cow when a shot was fired from the cave and he fell wounded in the leg. Lieut. Morris and Fichat who were present jumped down and were lifting Leigh Lye on to the rock when another shot was fired and Lieut. Morris was shot in the thigh. Both were carried to camp and were attended to by the Doctor. Leigh Lye's wound was slight, but Morris had been shot in the thigh with a charge of slugs, and the femoral artery was severed.

" 'Unfortunately the Doctor had not the necessary instruments with him with which to operate. A man was sent back on horseback to Marandellas to get them, but before he returned Morris was dead.' "

(National Archives of Rhodesia. Historical manuscripts. ED 6/1/1)

"Mr. Hodder-Williams did use the reminiscences in writing his first article, "Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion", (in *Rhodesiana*, no. 16).

"Incidentally, Mr. D. N. Beach of Salisbury has drawn attention to a reference which indicates that the Heine children and Greyling were buried in Marandellas after all:

" 'Major Brown, Marandellas, to C.S.O.. Salisbury: 16 June 1897

Morris and Moberley returned this morning with the remains of A. Greyling and 3 children of Mrs. Heins (*sic*), they were found (*sic*) 15 miles from Marandellas. Will be buried today.' "

(National Archives of Rhodesia. RC 1/7/1)

We have also received the following letter from Mr. T. P. Gilbert:

Sir,

Referring to the article in Publication No 21 *The Graveyard of Old Marandellas* by R. Hodder-Williams which I have read with interest I would like to correct him about the deaths of Major Evans and Lieutenant Herbert Morris.

I was the Regimental Sergeant Major of the two engagements at Gatzi's and Manyabeera's Kraals so know that the engagement at Gatzi's Kraal took place before that at Manyabeera's so that makes the date of Major Evans's death before Lieut Morris.

Major Evans, a Commissariat Officer, took command of our force at the request of our other officers. At the time he was on his way to join Col. Alderson in Salisbury. As far as actual details of the dates of our patrols are concerned I do not remember them, but I am certain Gatzi's Patrol took place a fortnight before the other one. Major Evans was shot by a BSAP native who had deserted and took his rifle with him.

The Major was standing at the top of the kraal, which was on a slope, telling everyone to take cover when the kraal was surrounded early in the morning of our arrival there and made an excellent target; by his side was Lieut Dove who was also going to Salisbury with him. He died immediately he was shot.

I am certain Trooper Earnshaw was not shot then. We only lost Evans that day but another trooper was wounded when standing next to Lieut Dove later in the day. I think his name was Siebert. The shot that wounded him was fired at Dove but ricocheted off his rifle which he was holding in front of himself. The police boy was shot soon afterwards by a trooper on guard during an attempt to escape at night.

Lieut Morris was shot at Manyabeera's Kraal when he was trying to help Lieut Leigh-Lye who was wounded whilst looking round the cave in which the natives were. Morris got the full charge of a Tower musket shot from a close entrance to the cave in front of which Leigh-Lye fell. Morris died before daylight the next morning. No doctor was with us, in fact we did not have any medical kit with us. We sent two Coloured men to Marandellas that night for bandages and whatever they could get. The men who volunteered were a Zulu, Tom, and a Coloured man, driver of our wagon. It was an epic ride; they rode horses belonging to Ernest Morris, the Native Commissioner, Herbert's brother, and

Edwards, also a Native Commissioner. I asked them how they found their way there and back. They told me they knew the horses knew their way to the Old Marandellas Store (there was no hospital there) so they let the horses take them there and on the way back they followed the spoor of the wagon and seven pounder we had with us.

Two of his brothers, Dave and Goth Morris, lived here in Salsibury. Dave was a cattle inspector, I think. If either is still alive he could confirm my version of their brother's death.

If Major Evans died on the 19th October then Lieut Morris must have been shot on or about the 2nd of November—not October.

I did not keep a diary in those days but am certain the Gatzi Patrol was the first one we carried out. We were kept there for ten days waiting for dynamite to blow the cave up.

I am well into my 95th year but remember those patrols very well. I was a Troop S.M. of B Company, Umtali Rifles, at the time but was made Regimental for the Patrols as we had a mixed force at Marandellas.

Trusting these facts will be of use to you.

Yours etc.

T. P. Gilbert

amaNDEBELE HISTORY

Although Harold Child's booklet *The History of the amaNdebele* was published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1968 it was not noticed in *Rhodesiana*.

It is more than just a straightforward historical narrative although the complete history of the tribe is told. It deals also with the political structure of the tribe and its modern administration. It covers traditional law, customs, beliefs and superstitions. Daily life and the agricultural economy are described fully and there is a final section on language with a selected agricultural vocabulary.

In 123 pages Mr. Child has packed a wealth of factual and authoritative information about this important tribe.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir Quintin Brand

K.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., D.F.C.

Co-Pilot of the First Aeroplane to Land in Rhodesia

by J. McAdam

Flight-Lieutenant Rich Brand, nephew of the late Sir Quintin Brand, led a squadron formation of Royal Rhodesian Air Force Hawker Hunters over Bulawayo on March 5th, 1970, to mark the 50th anniversary of the flight described in this article. Flt. Lt. Brand, aged 30, had been in the Royal Rhodesian Air Force for twelve years.—Editor

The pioneer airman, Sir Quintin Brand who, with Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, piloted the first aeroplane to land in Rhodesia, died at his farm "Quo Vadis"¹ in the Old Umtali area on Thursday, 7th March, 1968.

After 27 years of service life in the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Force he retired, towards the end of 1943, to his home in Surrey, and thereafter bought a small farm in Sussex, which he developed over several years, with the ultimate aim of specialised fruit growing; then, early in 1951, he moved with his family to the Eastern Districts of Rhodesia. During the following 17 years he established and developed his farm, leading a tremendously energetic life, though nearly 60 years of age, and became one of the pioneers of viticulture in Rhodesia. He died after a short illness, a few weeks before his 75th birthday. Lady Brand, his two daughters Mary and Veronica (the latter had flown from America) and his son John were at his bedside.

Thus was severed another link with Rhodesia's early aviation history.

Christopher Joseph Quintin Brand was born at Beaconsfield, Kimberley on 25th May, 1893. He was the son of Inspector E. C. J. Brand of the South African C.I.D., a great grandson of Sir Christoffel Joseph Brand, first Speaker of the Cape House of Assembly, and a grand nephew of Sir John Henry Brand, President of the Orange Free State from 1864 to 1888.

He was educated at Marist Brothers College, Johannesburg and at Peterhouse, Cambridge, Upon the outbreak of war in 1914, being already a territorial in the Witwatersrand Rifles, he served in the German South West Africa campaign. He was commissioned, in the field, to the rank of 2nd Lieutenant.

After the termination of the S.W.A. campaign he travelled to England at his own expense to join the Royal Flying Corps. He had, since early childhood,

been possessed of a particular keenness for aviation and, while still a schoolboy, designed and constructed a model helicopter or "flying wing";² and, in his mind, had planned a flight from South Africa to England. Before leaving he was presented with a "lucky" golden sovereign by his former headmaster.

Upon arrival in England he went without delay to R.F.C. headquarters to enlist as a pilot, but was bitterly disappointed to learn that only qualified pilots were acceptable. "But" promised the recruiting officer "as soon as you show me your flying certificate, I will take you on".

Undaunted by this set-back he went immediately to Hendon where he found a lodging and enrolled at the Beatty Flying School, where instruction was given on Beatty-Wright and Caudron bi-planes. While ground instruction presumably proceeded according to plan, his flying training was seriously interrupted by bad weather and aircraft unserviceability. For three months he waited at the aerodrome determined not to miss any opportunity that might occur of getting into the air, and at long last the weather cleared sufficiently for him to make his first flight with the owner-instructor, Mr. Beatty. After a couple of dubious landings young Brand suggested that he might put up a better performance if he were on his own, and promised not to wreck the machine. Evidently Beatty was reasonably confident of the fledgling pilot's ability, and allowed him to go solo and, to the intense relief of instructor and unbounded jubilation of pupil, a safe landing was performed. He was passed as a qualified pilot and was awarded Flying Certificate No. 2685. During the last week of his training his financial reserves dwindled to the point where he was forced to part with his lucky sovereign.

Young Brand lost no time in returning to R.F.C. headquarters where, weaving through a forest of junior officials, he sought out his friend the recruiting officer and triumphantly produced his precious "ticket". He was immediately accepted for service in the R.F.C. and was commissioned in the Special Reserve on 15th March, 1916. He was then posted to No. 11 Reserve Squadron, R.F.C. Northolt, for advanced instruction in aviation, and graduated on 14th May, 1916. This marked the commencement of a distinguished war service and post-war career in the Royal Flying Corps (which, in 1919, became the Royal Air Force) and in the British Air Ministry.

He served in France as a fighter pilot and then, on 26th April, 1917, was awarded the Military Cross "for conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty whilst on patrol with one other machine. He attacked a formation of five hostile machines and shot one of them down in flames. On another occasion he brought down two hostile machines. He has at all times shown great courage and initiative".

He later returned to England and was posted to No. 44 Squadron, Hainalt Farm, which was equipped with Sopwith le Rhone "Camel" aircraft, hitherto used exclusively as day fighters.

In view of the intensifying enemy air raids on London, however, it was agreed that they be employed as night fighters. The first such experiment was made on the night of 3rd September, 1917. H. A. Jones, in his historical work "The War in the Air", writes: ". . . Three pilots who took to the air were making



Air Vice-Marshal Sir Quintin Brand about 1942.

a pioneer effort. Major G. W. Murlis-Green, commanding No. 44 Squadron, chafed at the thought that he must keep his pilots on the ground while the night attacks were in progress. No. 44 Squadron had been formed to fight the daylight

raids, and contemporary opinion considered that the unstable Sopwith "Camel" quick to respond to the controls, was entirely unsuited for night work. Major Murlis-Green, however, sought and was given permission to try the "Camels" at night. During the attack on 3rd September, therefore, three pilots of this Squadron (Major Murlis-Green, Captain C. J. Q. Brand and Lt. C. C. Banks) took off. They got into the air safely, patrolled for forty minutes and then made good landings. The news spread at once, and other day-fighting pilots began to practise night-flying".

In December 1917, Captain Brand was mentioned in despatches and then, on 31st May, 1918, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order for shooting down a Gotha which he encountered near Faversham while flying in a Sopwith "Camel" of No. 112 Squadron. The citation read: "For conspicuous gallantry. While on patrol at night he encountered an enemy aeroplane at a height of 8,700 feet. He at once attacked the enemy, firing two bursts of twenty rounds each, which put the enemy's right engine out of action. Closing to a range of twenty-five yards he fired a further three bursts of twenty-five rounds each, and as a result the enemy machine caught fire and fell in flames to the ground. Captain Brand showed great courage and skill in manoeuvring his machine during the encounter, and when the enemy aeroplane burst into flames he was so close that the flames enveloped his machine, scorching his face". The heat was so intense, in fact, that his eyebrows were burnt off.

In September 1918, while on a second tour of duty in France, Captain (Acting Major) Brand was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. At this time he was in command of No. 151 Squadron, which was described as "the premier night-fighting squadron of the Expeditionary Force". The citation read: "On the night of 15/16 September this officer attacked an enemy aeroplane at 8,000 feet. In the combat that ensued his tracers burst the sump of one of the aeroplane's engines and the oil from it covered his machine in a black spray. Almost blinded by this he still continued the engagement and eventually drove the enemy machine down to 200 feet when, owing to intense hostile machine-gun fire from the ground, he was compelled to break off the combat. There is every reason to believe that this machine crashed. The foregoing is only one of many gallant deeds performed by this officer, who by his indomitable spirit and example has raised the efficiency of his squadron to a very high level."

During this combat a bullet penetrated his left upper arm before taking off one of his fingers. It was necessary for him to clamp down on the arterial bleeding with his other hand while returning to his base aerodrome. He managed to land safely then promptly fainted from loss of blood, and was subsequently grounded for several weeks while recuperating.

During the 1914-18 conflict, Captain Brand brought down 13 enemy aircraft, of which six were "kills", and he thus qualified as an "ace".

Upon the termination of hostilities he was appointed to assist in supervising the despatch to South Africa of one hundred aircraft and ancillary equipment presented by the British Government to form the nucleus of the South African Air Force.

During this period, since it was becoming clear that aircraft would play an increasingly important role in civil transportation, the route between Cairo and the Cape was examined by ground survey parties, and landing grounds were established at various points along the route.

At the end of December 1919 the Air Ministry declared the route to be open, and during the next few weeks several aircraft departed from the United Kingdom in the hopes of being first to blaze the trail from Cairo to Cape Town.

Not long before this Captain Brand had, at the Air Ministry in London, met Lt.-Col. P. van Ryneveld, D.S.O., M.C, another South African pilot who had served with distinction in the R.F.C., and they had been introduced to each other as fellow South Africans. Van Ryneveld knew of Brand's reputation as an expert night fighter-pilot, and in the course of conversation remarked that he had been asked by General Smuts to fly to South Africa; then he suggested that Brand join him in the venture.

Many times during the recently-ended conflict had he been confronted by superior odds, and had successfully overcome them. Here was a new kind of challenge; the flight across Europe and the Mediterranean and down the continent of Africa would indeed be a test of endurance and skill. None of the available aircraft had been designed for protracted long-distance flying, and their performance in tropical conditions was an unknown quantity. Quintin Brand was eager to prevail over the dangers and difficulties which would undoubtedly be encountered. He accepted van Ryneveld's offer with alacrity since he saw in this projected expedition the very fulfilment (in reverse direction) of his boyhood dream.

Both men were expert pilots and, although they were not of equal rank, it was agreed that each would take his turn at the actual piloting of the aircraft; also that, should there be any difference of opinion during the flight, it would be settled by the toss of a coin. (In the event, this became necessary on only one occasion, which will be referred to later).

The aircraft sponsored by the South African Government, at the instigation of General Smuts, was a converted Vickers Vimy bomber,³ registration letters G-UABA,⁴ named "Silver Queen".

Accompanied by two technical men to attend to the maintenance of airframe and engines, van Ryneveld and Brand took off from Brooklands on the morning of 4th February, 1920⁵ and reached Taranto in Southern Italy soon after midday on the 6th. Their flight over the Mediterranean, during which they encountered the most atrocious weather, lasted from 9.30 p.m. on 6th February, until 8.30 a.m. on the 7th, and was the first non-stop air crossing from Italy to North Africa.

Later one of the pilots was said to have referred to it as "an unforgettable nightmare" and the other to have remarked that it was "an ugly impression which they would like to obliterate from their minds". In an editorial on 18th February 1920, the *Rhodesia Herald* wrote: "Their grit and stamina were put to the severest test in that terrible voyage across the Mediterranean, the first to be accomplished in a single bound. Their eleven-hour struggle against adverse

atmospheric conditions will live in aviation history . . . as one of the most noteworthy achievements."

After a two-day delay at Solium, repairing some damage caused by a boulder on the airfield, they arrived at Heliopolis, near Cairo, at 8.25 p.m. on 9th February. They left for Khartoum at 11.30 p.m. on the 10th, and about five hours later their luck deserted them; all the cooling water in the radiator of the starboard engine was lost due to a draining tap having vibrated to the open position, and the engine had to be switched off immediately to prevent it from seizing up.

Brand, who was at the controls, tried to continue on one engine but they were too heavily laden, and they were forced to land without delay in the pitch pre-dawn darkness. The *Telegraph* of 9th March, 1920 reported: "The airmen were not aware that they were on the Korosko side of the Nile, and without any direct reason Captain Brand turned towards the opposite bank. They subsequently realised the providential nature of this action; Captain Brand had turned away from a series of hills on one bank to more or less even sand on the other."

(It would seem, however, that Pierre van Ryneveld thought differently for, many years later, after Sir Quintin's death, he said, in a tribute to his old colleague and life-long friend "Brand's cat's eyes certainly saved us that night").

The landing itself was well-nigh perfect, but by sheer bad luck they ran into a group of isolated boulders and, while the crew were virtually uninjured, the aircraft was wrecked beyond repair. (It should not be forgotten that aircraft of the day were generally constructed of wooden framework covered with ply-wood and/or "doped" linen fabric; also, that the Vimy's landing speed was of the order of 45 m.p.h. Under such conditions, while an aircraft might be irreparably damaged in an accident, the occupants could well escape serious injury).

The *Telegraph's* report went on: "Viscount and Viscountess Allenby,⁶ who were returning (to Cairo) by river from Wadi Haifa after their tour in the Sudan . . . stopped their steamer at Korosko and showed the utmost kindness to van Ryneveld and Brand, bringing . . . supplies of food. The encounter with the famous Field Marshal will live long in the minds of the two pilots."

Since "Silver Queen's" engines were apparently undamaged, the airmen managed to trundle them to the river using parts of the aircraft's undercarriage as improvised "wheelbarrows". They then returned by surface transport to Cairo where, after tests, the engines were found to be in excellent condition, and were fitted into another Vimy, subsequently known as "Silver Queen II", which was provided by the Royal Air Force, Middle East, at the request of General Smuts. The team left Heliopolis in the replacement aircraft early on Sunday, 22nd February.

In the meantime, only one of four other machines which had set out for the Cape had made any worthwhile progress. This was another Vickers Vimy, sponsored by the *Times* of London, which had left Brooklands twelve days before the "Silver Queen", and had enjoyed a relatively trouble-free flight to Egypt. But when this party encountered the warm atmospheric conditions prevalent in the Sudan, they were plagued by defective cooling systems and overheating engines. After countless delays and emergency landings they reached Nimule,



Wreckage of Silver Queen at Korosko, 1920.

near the Sudan/Uganda border, on 21st February and left there, bound for Kisumu, early on the 22nd—at about the same time, in fact, that "Silver Queen II" was taking off from Heliopolis.

The South Africans made good progress as far as Khartoum, but then found it necessary to delay for 24 hours (24th February) in order to overhaul their engines. Here they learned of the *Times* party's tribulations and, in true sporting spirit, took on some engine spares for the latter aircraft, in case they should overtake it.

No further trouble was encountered until 27th February, when, some while after leaving Kisumu bound for Abercorn, they were forced by engine trouble to land at Shirati on the shores of Lake Victoria, in North Western Tanganyika. Next morning, the defect rectified, they left for Abercorn intending to fly over Tabora, in Central Tanganyika, which was not far off their track. After about two hours' flying, and approaching the vicinity of Tabora, they agreed to differ as to the identity of a certain geographical feature and for the first (and only) time, tossed a coin to decide which route to follow. However, the winner of the toss selected the wrong course; they must have crossed the central Tanganyika railway a few miles west of Tabora, and thus failed to see the wreckage of the *Times* Vimy, which had come to grief there the previous afternoon. An engine had failed completely while attempting to take off, and the machine swerved into trees, sustaining irreparable damage. Fortunately none of its occupants received more than a severe shaking.

But for the slight navigational error on the part of the South Africans they would undoubtedly have sighted the wrecked aircraft, and would certainly have landed to render assistance to their fellow airmen and the "V.I.P." passenger, Dr. P. Chalmers-Mitchell,⁷ who accompanied them.

"Silver Queen II" reached Abercorn early in the afternoon of 28th February, and Ndola at midday on the 29th. After a 1½-day delay due to heavy rain and a waterlogged airstrip they left for Broken Hill and Livingstone on Tuesday, 2nd March, arriving at the then capital of Northern Rhodesia early that afternoon. Before landing, they flew over, and took aerial photographs of, the Victoria Falls, the first time in history that this was done. At Livingstone they were again delayed by inclement weather, and postponed their departure until Thursday, when they took off at 9.30 a.m. but, owing to a defective engine, almost came to grief in doing so, and they returned immediately to the aerodrome. The *Livingstone Mail* reported: " 'Silver Queen' ran the whole length of the ground before being able to rise, and just cleared the top of the surrounding bush . . . due to the tricky wind and sticky ground." Van Ryneveld later remarked: "Poor old Brand had a bad time as, not being pilot today, and sitting beside me, he could see all that was going on."

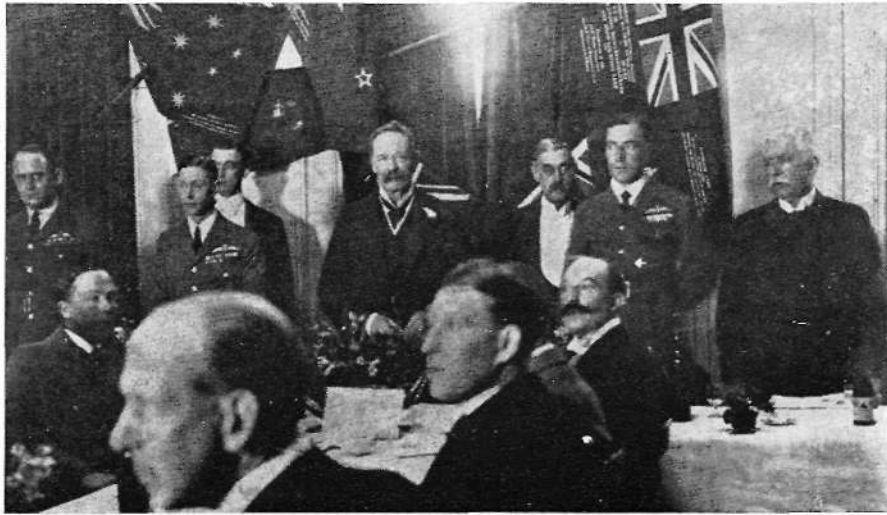
Next morning, Friday, 5th March, the party took off successfully from Livingstone at 8.40 a.m. and set course for Bulawayo. A stiff south-easterly breeze was blowing and progress was slow; at times their ground-speed was less than 60 m.p.h. Wankie 9.40 . . . Dett 10.20 . . . Ngamo 11.10 . . . Sawmills 12.00 . . . Nyamandhlovu 12.29.

In Bulawayo excited crowds thronged the race course which was to be used as landing ground; earlier, the authorities had given warning to townsfolk by gun and hooter that the aircraft was on its way. In anticipation of the need to control the crowds Major A. J. Tomlinson and Lieut. D. McLean of the British South Africa Police took charge of this aspect at the race course.

At 12.40 a speck in the sky to the north-west heralded the approach of "Silver Queen II" and a few minutes later the Vimy touched down smoothly on the grass—the first aeroplane to land on the soil of Southern Rhodesia. Formal addresses of welcome were then read by Mayor James Cowden and Acting Town Clerk F. Fitch, after which the party proceeded to the Grand Hotel for a Civic Luncheon.

The following day, shortly before 8 a.m., "Silver Queen II" took off *en route* for South Africa but evidently the field was not large enough for the aircraft; she became airborne with insufficient flying speed, and after a few moments sank to the ground and was completely wrecked. As the machine came to rest, van Ryneveld narrowly escaped serious injury, or worse; Quintin Brand reached over to switch off the engines as a precaution against fire, and van Ryneveld moved sideways to allow him to do so. At this instant a large splinter from one of the disintegrating propellers flew past van Ryneveld's ear and, had he not moved, it would almost certainly have struck his head.

Fortunately, however, none of the aircraft's occupants was seriously hurt and they returned despondently to the town to await developments. Messages of sympathy soon began to arrive from far and wide; without doubt the most welcome of these would have been the telegram from General Smuts advising them that a replacement machine was soon to be provided. This was a D.H.9 named "Voortrekker" (one of the 100 aeroplanes which van Ryneveld and



A Luncheon given at Connaught Rooms, London, on 5th May, 1920, in honour of the two airmen. Standing on extreme left is Sir Pierre van Ryneveld; next to him is the Duke of York (later King George VI). Sir Quintin Brand is standing second from right.

Brand had themselves despatched from the U.K.), which reached Bulawayo on the afternoon of 16th March.

Early next morning the two pilots⁸ left Bulawayo on the final stages of their epic flight and at 4 p.m. on Saturday, 20th March, 1920, after four days of trouble-free flying, landed at Cape Town's Wynberg aerodrome, where they were accorded a tremendous welcome by their fellow-countrymen. Waiting to meet them was General Smuts, prime motivator of the project, who introduced them to the Governor-General, Lord Buxton, and to Lady Buxton.

Both officers were later knighted for their magnificent achievement, while their technical companions, Flight Sergeant E. F. Newman (R.A.F.) and Mr. F. W. Sherratt of Rolls Royce Ltd., each received the Air Force Medal for his part in the pioneer flight.

Van Ryneveld and Brand returned by sea to England where, later in the year, King George V conferred the order of K.B.E. on both. Sir Quintin was married not long afterwards (he had become engaged some time before the historic flight).

Sir Quintin decided to continue his career in the Royal Air Force and attended Cambridge (Peterhouse) and London Universities where, after a thorough study of aeronautics, he qualified in 1924 as an aeronautical engineer specialist. He was then posted to the famous Royal Air Force station, Biggin Hill, and while there his elder son, Tony, was born. (Later, following in his father's footsteps, Tony became a pilot with the R.A.F.). In 1926 Sir Quintin was transferred to the Air Ministry, London, and appointed Senior Technical Officer in the Research Department, dealing with the design and modification of aircraft and equipment, and working in close liaison with aircraft designers

and manufacturers. (He was personally responsible, *inter alia*, for the invention and development of the Fairey gun-mounting).

In March 1926 Sir Quintin was amongst those who flew out from London to escort Sir Alan Cobham on the final stages of his flight from Cape Town when racing the liner "Windsor Castle" (a race which Sir Alan won by two days after a 15-day flight).

In 1929 Sir Quintin was promoted to the rank of Wing Commander and was posted to Egypt, where he was engaged on technical duties at R.A.F. Station, Aboukir; then, in 1932, he was appointed Director-General of Aviation, Egypt, with the rank of Group Captain. As such, he was responsible for the efficient operation of all aviation, both service and civil, in that country and, as a result of his organization and recommendations, the civil airlines began to thrive. He co-operated wholeheartedly with the Egyptian Government, even to the extent of wearing a tarboosh at conferences and official functions (as was the local custom).

In 1936 Sir Quintin returned to London to become Deputy Director of Repair and Maintenance at the Air Ministry and, before leaving Egypt, King Fuad conferred upon him the honour of Commander of the Order of Ismail in recognition of his services to aviation in that country.

In June 1940 he was appointed Air Officer Commanding No. 10 Fighter Group, Royal Air Force. (It is interesting to note that G. W. Murlis-Green, his World War I comrade-at-arms, also served in this group). He maintained his earlier interest in night-fighting, not on active flying against the enemy—since this would not have been permitted by virtue of his rank, but in such activities as co-operation with searchlight squadrons, etc. He was instrumental in developing a method of triangulation whereby three searchlights in different positions would all focus on an enemy raider to "pinpoint" him and hold him illuminated until the anti-aircraft artillery and/or the fighter squadrons could tackle him. Sir Quintin co-operated with the famous night-fighter pilot John "Cat's-eyes" Cunningham—a former colleague and "star pupil"—in this technique, which proved extremely effective in practice, but which, to his disgust, was discontinued due to a "change of policy" by higher authority.

Another World War II development in which he played an active part was training in, and use of radar, soon after it was made available to the armed services. He participated personally in these exercises, flying his own Spitfire.

During the Battle of Britain he had eight squadrons and one half-squadron under his command; these were in four sectors, stretching westward from the Solent to South Wales.

In July 1941 he was appointed Air Officer Commanding No. 20 (Training) Group, and he retired from the Royal Air Force in November 1943 with the rank of Air Vice-Marshal. His wife had died in 1941, and he re-married not long before his retirement.

Soon after leaving the Air Force Sir Quintin bought a farm in Sussex, where he and the second Lady Brand⁹ remained for several years; but they found that life in post-war England was becoming increasingly frustrating due to the never-ending "red tape". (Perhaps Sir Quintin cast his mind back to the days of his youth

when, during the Boer War, he helped to manage the family farm in South Africa; there were few restrictions in those days). He must also have remembered, perhaps somewhat wistfully, the comparatively temperate climate of Southern Africa, and there seems little doubt that he was beginning to entertain the idea of establishing a home elsewhere.

In December 1949, therefore, he came by sea to South Africa and Rhodesia on a six-month tour of "reconnaissance", accompanied by his wife and 3½ year old daughter Veronica. He investigated the availability of land suitable for grape-growing at the Cape, but found that exorbitant prices were being asked for mediocre property. During the tour they spent a week in Rhodesia and, although only one day of this was devoted to the Umtali area, it evidently left a decidedly favourable impression in Sir Quintin's mind.

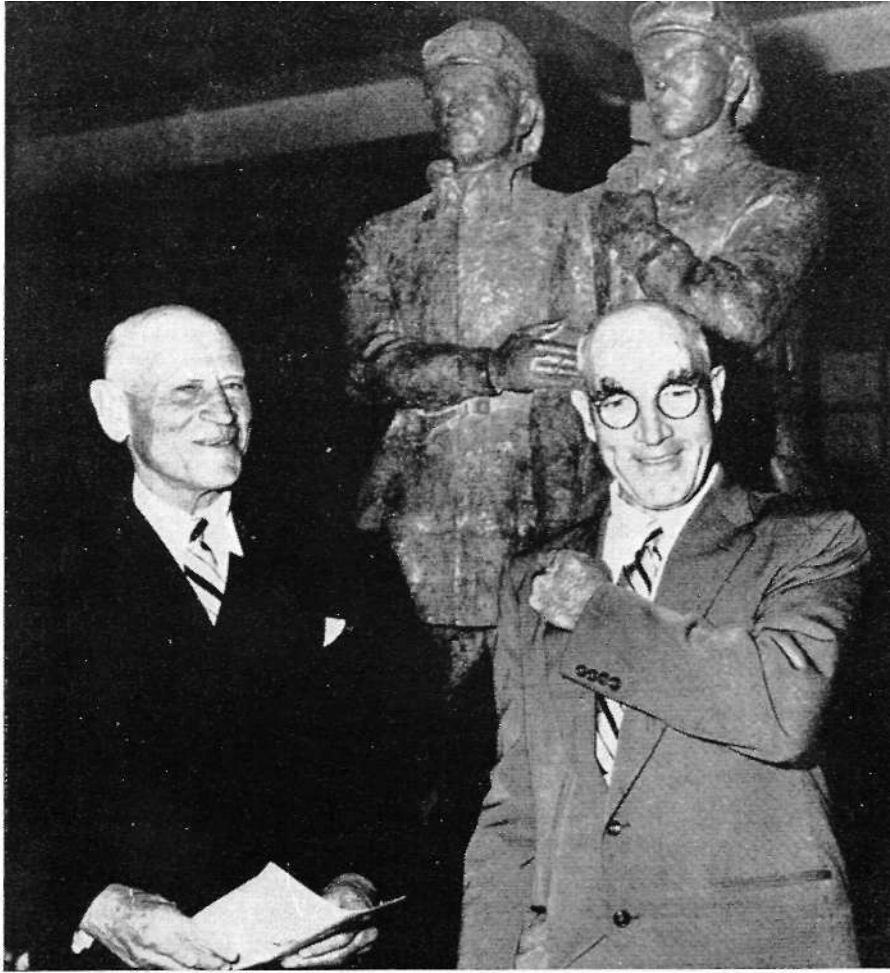
No firm decision to leave England had been made when the Brand family returned from their tour in June 1950, but it was not long before they found that further obstacles were being placed in the way of agricultural development, and after careful and prolonged evaluation of the pros and cons of the situation Sir Quintin and Lady Brand arrived at the conclusion that a move would have to be made.

Thus, in October 1950—accompanied this time by his younger son, John—he visited Southern Africa. They came by air, in a "Solent"-type flying boat of B.O.A.C., and flew down Africa along a route which for much of the way followed that which Sir Quintin and his colleague Sir Pierre had pioneered 30 years earlier; hence the journey was of particular interest to him and his schoolboy son.

They resumed the search for suitable land in South Africa, mainly in the Transkei and Northern Transvaal—since the Cape had been investigated during the earlier visit—but again found that iniquitous prices were being demanded for land of an indifferent quality.

The impression of Umtali, gained on his previous one-day visit, evidently prompted him to return there and he must then have come to the conclusion that he would not be likely to find a more amenable environment than this in which to establish a new home.

Sir Quintin still regarded Africa as a challenge—different in nature, perhaps, from that over which he and Sir Pierre had triumphed in 1920 and, in view of his age and family responsibilities, possibly a greater one. He was convinced of his ability to start from scratch and to build up a successful and productive farm, and a home for himself and his family. He had always been a lover of the land, and was particularly interested in fruit-farming; and his brief acquaintance with the Eastern Districts of Rhodesia must have been sufficient to satisfy him that here would be his future home. Lady Brand writes: ". . . so, having tried to find suitable land in his own country, and having abandoned mine (we both loving the compromise of Rhodesia) he searched, and found some untamed bush land adjacent to the Odzani River with, as he believed, all the desirable characteristics of a pleasing country home plus his objective of pioneering vineyards."



Sir Pierre and Sir Quintin at the unveiling of the Memorial at Jan Smuts Airport, 20th March, 1956.

Sir Quintin and young John returned to England where he wound up his affairs, and in January 1951 the family came by sea to South Africa on the first stage of their move to Rhodesia—to a new and different life.

Three months later—in April—came the tragic news of the death of his elder son, Tony, in an aircraft accident in England.

The property which Sir Quintin purchased was a 400-acre tract of virgin, undeveloped land in the Old Umtali area and, being the idealist and perfectionist that he was, himself supervised the building of the homestead, much of which he did with his own hands. The family moved in in June 1951 and, until the homestead was ready for occupation, they "roughed it" in tents in the true spirit of Rhodesian pioneers.

Then he set about developing the farm; he had always been interested in the growing of grapes, and believed that vines would flourish there. Since little had previously been done in this field, he felt that here again was a challenge which he could not ignore, and was confident of his ability to master it. He determined to establish vineyards on his small estate and to prove that a success could be made of such a venture. He imported vine cuttings from Italy and from South Africa, and slowly but surely he established himself as one of the pioneers of commercial viticulture in Rhodesia. How proud he must have felt when the first boxes of grapes bearing the "Quo Vadis" label were marketed.

Sir Quintin made a great success of growing his grapes, but the marketing and selling of his products was one aspect for which he did not have any particular flair.

He felt that there was much to be gained by greater co-operation between the "small" farmers, and would have liked to have seen a closer association amongst their community. Lady Brand writes: "He was not altogether understood by his fellow-farmers as, true to character, he disregarded his own comfort, standing and interests when his eyes were set on a target—usually a "principle" affecting the community, or future development of land and people."

On 20th March, 1956, the 36th anniversary of their triumphant arrival at Cape Town, Sir Quintin and Sir Pierre, who throughout the years had remained the closest of friends, attended the unveiling of a monument at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg in commemoration of their trail-blazing flight in 1920.

Quintin Brand was a devout Christian—a staunch member of the Roman Catholic Church. In a tribute to him after his death Sir Pierre van Ryneveld said: "To my mind the great factor in Brand's approach to life and events was that he was a man with great unswerving faith." Lady Brand says of him: "Faith was the basis of his living and all his undertakings."

The 50th anniversary of the termination of the pioneer journey in the two "Silver Queen's" and "Voortrekker" fell on 20th March, 1970; how proud would Sir Quintin and his family and friends have been had he lived to celebrate that memorable day.

NOTES

1. Literally translated: "Whither goest thou?*"
2. Perhaps the model designed by Quintin Brand was the prototype of a similar device constructed by the author and some of his friends whilst at school. A strip of sheet metal, shaped aerodynamically, could be propelled into the air by means of an "engine" consisting of a cotton reel mounted on top of a short handle, and spun by a length of cord.
3. Some technical details of the Vickers Vimy aircraft:
Engines: 2 Rolls Royce "Eagle" VIII.
Span: 67 feet.
Length: 42 feet 8 inches.
Height: 15 feet 3 inches.
Gap: 10 feet.
Chord: 10 feet 6 inches.
Full speed near ground: 105 m.p.h.
Full speed at 6,000 feet: 100 m.p.h.
Cruising speed: 80-90 m.p.h.
Laden weight: 5½ tons.
Fuel capacity: 512 gallons.
Maximum range: 1,400 miles.

4. This is reported to have been the first aircraft to bear a South African registration.
5. Further information concerning this flight will be found in the article "Early Birds in Central Africa", in *Rhodesiana* No 13.
6. Field Marshal Viscount Allenby was Britain's High Commissioner in Egypt.
7. 56-year-old Dr. Peter Chalmers-Mitchell, C.B.E., D.F.C., LL.D., F.R.S., Secretary of the Zoological Society of London, carried a letter from King George V to Lord Buxton, Governor-General of the Union of South Africa.
8. The D.H.9 being a two-seater aircraft, technicians Newman and Sherratt travelled to the Cape by rail.
9. The author is greatly indebted to Lady Brand and to Miss Mary Brand for assistance in the compilation of this article.

BINDING OF VOL. 1. 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 the first eleven numbers, in half-leather with the title and other details gold-blocked on the spine.

The cost is \$8.20 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 bound in at the front of the volume. The price quoted also includes the cost of this list.

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 can be cut out.

These arrangements only apply, at present, to the binding of Volume one.

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.

ARNOT, FREDERICK STANLEY. *Garenganze; or, Seven years' pioneer mission work in central Africa*. New edition, with a new introduction by Robert I. Rotberg. London: Frank Cass, 1969. Illus. xxiv, 276 pages. \$8.40.

Arnot was the first man to spread the gospel in what is today Zambia and Katanga, establishing, in so doing, a chain of mission stations in those countries and also in Angola. His approach to his vocation was a vigorous and enthusiastic one, inspired to a marked degree by the example of David Livingstone. The present volume is the first to have been published since the original edition of 1889.

FREESTONE, BASIL. *The sea is not full*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1968. 221 pages. \$3.36.

The theme of this novel is Barreto's military expedition to the empire of Monomatapa, launched in 1569. Based on contemporary accounts, including the "war diary" kept by Father Monclaro, it is an interesting reconstruction of all the frustrations, conflicts and sickness which bedevilled the expedition from its start to its untimely interruption, when the Portuguese army had to withdraw to Sena. Freestone attributes the failure of the expedition largely to the battle between the old fears of medieval orthodoxy and the new ideas of the Renaissance fought over in Barreto's mind, aggravated by the "gaunt, menacing priest corrupted by the lust for power" who cramped every move Barreto made.

GALE, W. D. *Rhodesia, 1890-1970: Eighty years onwards*. Salisbury: H. C. P. Andersen, 1970. 104 pages.

A comprehensive outline of Rhodesia: its history, development, and prospects. In the first named category there are sections on the period up to 1953, the Federal era, and post-1963 events.

Golden Dawn. Salisbury: Sabi-Limpopo Authority, 1970. 48 p. Illus.

This attractively produced booklet, published on the fifth birthday of the Sabi-Limpopo Authority, describes much of the outstanding development carried out in the Lowveld so far, and prospects for the future. The text and graphic photographs (many in colour) first give a broad picture of the story, and then go on to describe specific aspects of it, for example the different crops which are being and will be produced, projected irrigation complexes, and industrial development in the area. The publication is an impressive addition to the literature of Rhodesian agricultural history.

GRAHAM, ALEXANDER J.P. *The capture and escape of Winston Churchill during the South African War*. Salisbury: the author, 1965. 15 pages. Illus.

This is an interesting, albeit brief, account of Churchill's capture and escape. According to the author, his object in presenting the account is in order to correct certain misapprehensions which have arisen in connection with this period of Churchill's career, partly because of the fact that "owing to wartime security risks Churchill had to omit full details of his experiences or alter names of persons concerned for their own safety."

LEE, D. N., AND WOODHOUSE, H. C. *Art on the rocks of southern Africa*. Cape Town: Purnell, 1970. 165 pages. \$10.00.

This is a beautifully produced work surveying the rock art of 137 sites extending from the Cape to the Zambesi. A feature is the wealth of coloured illustrations, all reproductions of photographs taken by the authors themselves, and an indication of their standard is given in Professor Raymond Dart's foreword, in which he says that the authors' photographic technique "has . . . introduced a new and fertile dimension into the study of all prehistoric art".

The arrangement is thematic, a feature which will no doubt be very popular with the general reader. Under headings such as Animals, People, Clothing, Mythology and so on, are paintings illustrating the lives of the prehistoric painters and the events, objects and people they observed. A geographical index enables paintings at specific sites (including many in Rhodesia) to be singled out, while a more general index and a bibliography add to the book's value.

NIENABER, P. J. *Taal en beeld: die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse taalbewegings*. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1970. 94 pages. Illus. \$2.10.

A pictorial history of the movement which led to the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language of South Africa. Numerous facsimiles of early examples of Afrikaans literature and photographs of those who contributed to it are linked by a succinct yet informative commentary which makes this a fascinating book, both for children and adults.

SINCLAIR, JOHN. *Zambezi south: an explorer's view of Africa south of the Zambezi*. Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland, 1970. 207 pages. Illus. \$12.00.

A lavishly-produced miscellany of text and photographs reflecting the beauty and fascination of southern African scenery. A clue to the author's approach, and to the arrangement of the book, is given in the foreword, written by the Chief Conservator for Natal, who says that Sinclair's photographs and

illustrations "serve as signposts to encourage us to retrace the routes mapped out for us by the pioneers".

WALTER, EUGEN VICTOR. *Terror and resistance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. xiii, 385 pages. \$7.20.

The sub-title of this book is "A study of political violence, with case studies of some primitive African communities." The author elucidates on this, in his preface, saying "this book does not investigate movements to overthrow established systems of power . . . but limits the study to the *regime of terror*, which is a system maintained by established power holders". Within the bounds set by this definition, Walter examines several nineteenth century societies dominated by rule of fear, including the Matabele nation.

RHODESIA HERALDRY AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

The Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogical Society has recently been formed, with branches in Bulawayo and Salisbury. Briefly, the aims of the Society are to further the cause of heraldry and genealogy in Rhodesia, to give instruction in these subjects, to be available as consultants on the design of heraldic devices and to assist in tracing pedigrees. Enquiries should be addressed to the Honorary Secretary, Rhodesia Heraldry and Genealogical Society at:

Bulawayo Branch. P.O. Box 5, Bulawayo.

Salisbury Branch. P.O. Box 881, Salisbury.

The annual subscription has been set at \$2.00. Readers of Rhodesiana, and others interested in the history of Rhodesia and in Rhodesian families, will be welcome as members.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by Alison McHarg

Property and Finance (Salisbury)

The January 1970 issue of *Property and Finance* contains a supplement, "Transport in Rhodesia, road, rail, air" which includes several historical articles on this aspect of Rhodesian history. One topic which has received little attention, the history of the country's aerodromes, is treated, and there is an article by J. McAdam, "Argosies of magic sails: the safa of Rhod. (*sic*) air services."

Observer (London)

Brian Gardner, the author of a recently published account of the siege of Kimberley entitled *The Lion's cage*, has contributed two articles to recent issues of the *Observer's* colour magazine dated 19th and 26th April, 1970. These are a profile of Rhodes, the first entitled "Think big, think British" and the second "Cecil Rhodes: a fatal fiasco called the Jameson raid".

You (Salisbury)

Two recent editions of this women's magazine have contained studies of Rhodesian women. The May 1970 issue featured Beryl Salt and the April 1970 issue, Barbara Tredgold, a remarkable Rhodesian personality who recently retired after 37 years work as a missionary.

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (Salisbury)

Illustrated Life Rhodesia continues to publish historical articles, providing at a popular level much material which must be new to younger generations of Rhodesians. In the issue dated 15th January, 1970, Tony Tanser writes on the history of Kingsway, Salisbury, and in the following issue, 29th January, he gives a racy account of John Pascoe who "came to convert the early settlers, (and) stayed to become one of Rhodesia's most distinguished citizens." In an article in the issue of 12th February, Jack McAdam writes on the early aviators in Central Africa in the 1920s and 1930s.

Horizon (Ndola)

This monthly journal of the Roan Selection Trust group has ceased publication with the April 1970 issue. Since 1959 it has been noted for its high

standards of production, design and illustration. Originally published in Salisbury, the journal moved to Ndola in May 1964. Over the years it has published a wide range of articles relating to the copper industry, education, the arts and local history to name but a few subjects covered. Far more than a "house magazine" it has been a noteworthy item of Africana.

Tourama {Salisbury}

While not reflecting a historical view of Rhodesia, the new periodical *Tourama* projects contemporary Rhodesia and in particular its awakening interest in the potential of the tourist industry. It is the official journal of the Hotel Association of Rhodesia and the Society of Travel Agents of Rhodesia.

Society {Salisbury}

This new periodical is published by the Sociological Association. The first issue contains an article on "Caste among Indians in Central Africa" by D. J. Devchand and a study by A. K. H. Weinrich (Sister Mary Aquina, O.P.) of "Rhodesian African elites".

Rhodesia Calls {Salisbury}

The Diana's Vow rock paintings and Harleigh Farm ruins are the subject of an article in *Rhodesia Calls* January-February 1970, by Martin Travers. The origin of Rhodesian place names is a subject of constant interest. Phillippa Berlyn has contributed an article to the March-April 1970 issue entitled "Colourful place names of Rhodesia and their origin."

Zambezia {Salisbury}

Sub-titled "A journal of social studies in Southern and Central Africa", this periodical made its appearance in January 1969. Vol. no. 2 is planned for publication in the second half of 1970. Professor G. Fortune has an historical article "75 years of writing in Shona" in the first issue and C. J. Wortham writes on "The state of theatre in Rhodesia".

Outpost {Salisbury}

The November 1969 issue of *Outpost*, the British South Africa Police magazine is rich in historical reminiscences. L. S. Glover recalls Kimberley, 1898-99, there is an account of the "South West African campaign—Fort Namutoni, 1915" and G. W. Pierce gives his recollections of early Fort Victoria.

The Annual General Meeting 1970

The Annual General Meeting of Members of the Rhodesiana Society was held at the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, on Tuesday the 24th February 1970, at 5.15 p.m.

Present: Colonel A. S. Hickman (National Deputy Chairman—in the Chair); Mr. M. J. Kimberley (National Honorary Secretary) and 40 Members.

Apologies: Apologies were received from 22 members.

1. *Minutes of Previous Annual General Meeting*

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of Members of The Rhodesiana Society held on the 19th March, 1969, which had been published in *Rhodesiana* No. 20 (July, 1969), were confirmed.

2. *Chairman's Report*

The Chairman's Report on the activities of the Society during the year ended the 31st December, 1969, was read and adopted. (*See below*).

3. *Financial Statement*

The Audited Financial Statement concerning the transactions of the Rhodesiana Society during the year ended the 31st December, 1969, copies of which had been circulated, was adopted.

4. *Election of National Executive Committee*

The following Members were elected to serve on the National Executive Committee for 1970:

<i>National Chairman:</i>	Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E.
<i>National Deputy Chairman:</i>	Mr. G. H. Tanser
<i>National Honorary Secretary:</i>	Mr. M. J. Kimberley
<i>National Assistant Honorary Secretary:</i>	Mr. D. Hartridge
<i>Additional Committee Members:</i>	Mr. W. V. Brelsford
	Mr. E. E. Burke
	Mr. A. M. Ewing
	Dr. R. C. Howland
	Mr. R. Isaacson
	Mr. R. W. S. Turner
<i>Matabeleland Branch Representative:</i>	Mr. L. W. Bolze
<i>Manicaland Branch Representative:</i>	Mr. P. G. Deedes, C.M.G.

5. *Election of Honorary President:*

In terms of Clause 6 of the Constitution, Mr. H. A. Cripwell, who had served as Chairman of the Society for 17 continuous years from its formation in 1953 until this Meeting, was elected Honorary President of the Society.

After general discussion on sundry matters which the Chairman indicated would be examined by the incoming Committee, the Meeting terminated at 5.45 p.m.

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1969

1. Committee

Miss C. von Memerty resigned early in October shortly before her marriage and her duties as Honorary Treasurer were carried out by the Honorary Secretary until the 31st December, 1969.

In view of the tremendous growth of the Society and the considerable amount of work involved in collecting, receipting and banking subscriptions and in order to guarantee continuity in the management of the Society's financial affairs, your Committee appointed a firm of Chartered Accountants to handle all the duties hitherto carried out by the National Honorary Treasurer.

In the circumstances, when electing a National Committee for 1970, it is suggested that an Assistant National Honorary Secretary should be elected in place of a National Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. Foggin resigned from the Committee at the beginning of November, upon his departure for South Africa.

I extend to all members of the Committee my grateful thanks for their support during the year, and in particular thanks to our Honorary National Secretary, Mr. M. J. Kimberley, our member for Membership and Advertising, Mr. R. W. S. Turner, our Convener for Mashonaland, Mr. G. H. Tanser, and our versatile editor, Mr. W. V. Brelsford, for their devoted services. You have, all of you, accordingly as the need arose, contributed with your talents to the advancement of our Society.

2. Retirement of National Chairman: Mr. H. A. Cripwell.

I have to announce the retirement of our National Chairman from the position he has occupied since the formation of our Society in June 1953, until now, 4th February, 1970.

I have been associated with him throughout this period, and know what prolonged and devoted effort he has given to our development. He is indeed the father of our Society and we owe him a sincere debt of gratitude for his sustained efforts. He will be proud that we have advanced to the position we now hold, and although his health will no longer permit him to hold office, I feel we should elect him as our Honorary President in terms of paragraph 6 of our Constitution and this will be referred to later in the proceedings.

3. Publications

During the year under review two issues of *Rhodesiana* were published, namely, No. 20 dated July, 1969, and No. 21 dated December, 1969, and sent to all paid-up members of the Society.

An Index to the first 21 issues of the Rhodesiana Journal is in the course of preparation by Mr. E. E. Burke, and should be available early in 1971. His self-appointed task is much appreciated.

The regular production of the Society's bi-annual journal *Rhodesiana* depends on sufficient suitable material being submitted to the Society 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 therefore, to advise the Society of any suitable material in their possession or which they are aware of, with a view to its publication in *Rhodesiana*.

4. *Membership*

Membership of the Society continues to increase and paid-up members now exceed 1,250. Two members of the Society have recently become life members by paying the prescribed fee of \$25. Mr. F. W. W. Bernard of Jersey and Mr. R. H. James of Salisbury.

5. *Finance*

The Society's financial position is extremely sound and income from subscriptions and the like is sufficient to meet all expenditure and still enable a reasonable profit to be made and invested on fixed deposit so as to be available for the day when it is possible to produce more than two issues of *Rhodesiana* during a year. Perhaps the time might even arrive when the Society wishes to have its own premises.

6. *Rhodesiana Society Tie*

The Society tie is now available and may be purchased by paid-up members from Meikles Departmental Stores in Salisbury and Bulawayo upon production of a written authority obtainable from the Society. The development of this attractive tie is due largely to the efforts of Dr. R. C. Howland.

7. *Branches*

Branches of the Society have been established in Matabeleland, Manicaland and Mashonaland and continue to flourish in these areas. All paid-up members of the Society are automatically members of the Branch nearest to their place of residence and are entitled to participate in functions organised by branches such as tours, dinners and the like, particularly in their own areas. It goes without saying that members of any one branch are always welcome to functions of other branches.

On behalf of the Society as a whole, I extend to all members of Branch Committees many thanks for their efforts during the year.

8. *Rhodesiana Society Medals*

This project is proceeding and members will be advised of further developments in due course. As mentioned in *Rhodesiana* No. 21 (December 1969) it is intended to produce, for sale to members every decade commencing in 1970, bronze decade medals. In addition silver medals will be produced for presentation to persons who have rendered outstanding service to the Society or to the study of Rhodesian history.

A. S. HICKMAN
National Deputy Chairman.

Notes

JAMES DAWSON

Dr. L. D. S. Glass sends the following note:

I am grateful to those kind people who responded to my invitation to write to me in connection with my article on James Dawson.¹ They were Mr. E. C. Tabler, Mr. R. Cary, the Rev. R. le B. Johnson, and Mrs. Ruth Abbott who wrote to me some months before the article was published.

Mr. Tabler has pointed out to me that his account of Dawson's career prior to 1880 does not agree with mine. He writes: "I have found no mention of a brother who was in the 'far interior', and the only one with the given name 'Alexander' I can remember from the pre-pioneer period is Alexander Deans." In my own account I have written: "In 1876 he sailed to Cape Town and, as he put it, 'at once' established himself at Shoshong where his brother was already engaged in trade."² Tabler, on the other hand, says he "went to S.A. in 1870 and worked briefly in a Grahamstown solicitor's office". He goes on: "Dawson went to Bechuanaland c. 1872 and for a time was Khama's secretary until he quarrelled with that chief. Then he began working at Shoshong for Cruikshank, and he visited Matabeleland in 1873."³

Here is the rest of Tabler's account of Dawson's career before 1880: "Dawson was at Bulawayo in early 1874 and two wagons sent there to him by Cruikshank were Lee's on 1 February. Fairbairn and Dawson loaded them with ivory and took them to Tati during March, Selous and G. Wood accompanying them. Wood remained at Tati while Selous and Oates and the two traders went on to Shoshong, 4 to 11 April. Dawson, who was in charge of Cruikshank's business at Shoshong during his absence, was at that town from April to November 1875, in March and April 1876, and in June 1877. Eventually he went to work at Bulawayo for Fairbairn . . ."⁴

Against Tabler's account we must set what Dawson himself has told us. On his return to Scotland in 1894 he informed interviewers that he came to South Africa in 1876 and (as I said above "at once" established himself at Shoshong.⁵ To the representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* he said: "I went out first of all to my brother who was trading at Shoshong in Khama's country."⁶ He has told us, too, that he remained at Shoshong "for about eight years" and that he went to Bulawayo in 1884: ". . . after a time trade got bad at Shoshong; my brother came down country and I went up country to Bulawayo".⁷ The brother's name was Alexander, sometimes given as Aleck.

Now let us turn to the sources used by Tabler. Among them is H. Stabb's diary. Stabb tells us how he slept at Dawson's and Cruikshank's store at Shoshong on 18th June, 1875.⁸ Another source was Frank Oates, a naturalist who in April 1874 met a trader at Shoshong: "a man named Dawson".⁹

Let us assume that Dawson was correct when he told the press that he went to South Africa in 1876 to join his brother. This means that the Dawson referred to by Stabb and Oates was not James but the brother. Neither Stabb nor Oates, so far as I can see, used any initial for Dawson, and Tabler accepted that the Dawson they referred to was James. It is far more likely that it was Alexander. The extracts given above from Tabler (except the last sentence) would therefore refer to Alexander. It seems likely that one of the early pioneers, Alexander Dawson, has been quite overlooked due to confusion with his better known brother, James.

Mr. R. Gary has taken me to task over my assertion that Henry Borrow was the final member of the Wilson patrol to die.¹⁰ In this I erred, having never questioned the old legend. Having looked into the matter since I must agree with Mr. D. Hartridge that we cannot be sure of the identity of the last man to die.¹¹

Mrs. Abbott tells me that she made a search (some two or three years ago, I gather) for Dawson's grave in the Mongu cemetery, but without success.

No-one has volunteered any details on Dawson's life after 1905, and for the present this gap must remain. But it would be interesting to have some information, however unimportant it might be historically.

NOTES

1. L. D. S. Glass, *James Dawson: Rhodesian Pioneer*, Rhodesiana, No. 16 July 1967, pp. 66-80.
2. *Ibid.* p. 66.
3. E. C. Tabler, *Pioneers of Rhodesia*, p. 36.
4. *Ibid.* p. 37.
5. *The African Review*, 25th August, 1894, p. 269.
6. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22nd August, 1894.
7. *Banffshire Journal*, 4th September, 1894; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22nd August, 1894. (Cuttings in Nat. Arch. DA 7/1/1/4 Vol. 4.)
8. E. C. Tabler (ed.), *To the Victoria Falls via Matabeleland*. The Diary of Major Henry Stabb, 1875. (Struik, 1967) p. 22.
9. F. Oates, *Matabeleland and the Victoria Falls* (1881) p. 151.
10. Glass, *op. cit.* p. 74.
11. D. Hartridge, *Henry Borrow: Pioneer and Hero*, Rhodesiana, No. 18, July 1968, p. 35.

MR. T. P. GILBERT

Mr. T. P. Gilbert, whose interesting letter on incidents in the 1896 Rebellion, is quoted in the article on *The Old Graveyard at Marandellas*, is 95 years old. He lives at Nazareth House, Enterprise Road, Salisbury and he writes: "If anyone would care to call and see me I shall be very pleased to meet him or her. Our meal hours are 7.30 a.m., noon and 5.30 p.m. I am here most of my time but, if anyone does care to call, please phone first to find out if I am in as I do go out occasionally and I am not here on Saturdays and Sundays."

Mr. Gilbert was born in London in July 1875, and came to Rhodesia in 1895. He knew Cecil Rhodes. In his later years he was a well-known sports administrator. He is busy writing his reminiscences.

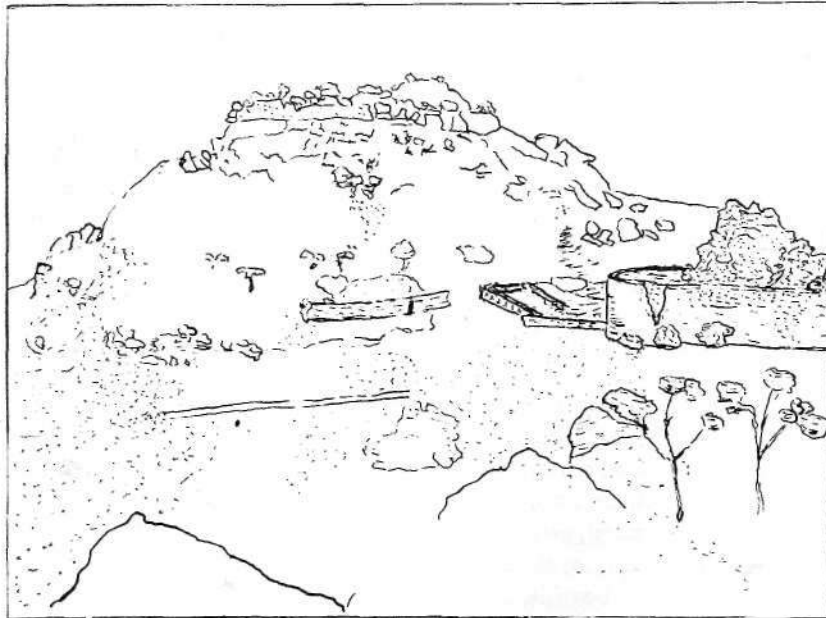
THE FIRST SKETCH OF ZIMBABWE

In September 1968, Mr. T. W. Baxter, Director of National Archives, visited the Linden Museum in Stuttgart and arranged for the loan to Rhodesia



From Mauch's sketch book—Zimbabwe in 1871.

(Photo: National Archives)



An interpretation of Mauch's sketch by F. O. Bernhard.

of some of Mauch's original papers and relics. They included his diary from 1869 to 1872, a collection of maps, a compass, a watch, and a sketchbook, which were put on exhibition in the National Archives from January to June 1969.

The sketchbook contained a number of drawings and watercolours of scenes and plants, the scenes being unidentified. The small volume was heavily stained in places and there was some overall deterioration and general discolouration of the paper. Some of the pages appeared at first sight to be blank, but as was pointed out by Mr. F. O. Bernhard, they bore some faintly discernible traces of pencil sketching and one such, on closer examination, he identified as a general view of Zimbabwe.

The sketchbook appeared to be contemporary with Mauch's journey to Zimbabwe in 1871 and this drawing would therefore be the earliest representation of the ruins to have been made. It therefore became important to recover as much of it as possible. Chemical means of restoration were ruled out, as there was no guaranteed recipe for success and the possibility of damage could not be allowed. There remained photography. The first attempts at copying were made with the use of a deep red filter and a high contrast film in a very strong light, and then with a yellow filter. These revealed considerably more of the sketch than could be seen with the eye but parts were still obliterated by patches of decay and stain.

Mr. P. H. G. Attwell, the Senior Photographer in the National Archives, made additional experiments using an infra-red film to produce a negative, but unfortunately these added nothing which could not already be seen on the print made with the use of the yellow filter. This print then represented the best result but it was difficult to interpret.

Possibly this is the sketch made on 6th March, 1872, when, to quote the author: "I went alone with my sketchbook and armed with my revolver to the House of the Great Wife. I was well hidden from possible observers by the tall grass, and I soon found out, struggling through thick grass intertwined with leguminous creepers, a suitable boulder from which I could obtain an overall sketch in the shortest of time."¹

It seems to have been the basis for the illustration in an article by Mauch, published in 1876 after his death. However, this illustration seems to have been re-drawn and in the process some of the detail has been distorted.²

Mr. Bernhard has interpreted the photograph of the original sketch and both are published here for their general interest.

E. E. BURKE

1. *Journals of Carl Mauch. 1869-72* (National Archives, 1969), p. 188.

2. The posthumous article appeared in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, etc.*, Bd 8, 1876, p. 186. The illustration to it was reproduced in *Journals of Carl Mauch*, op. cit., at p. 154.

THE MURIEL MINE: ERRATA AND ADDENDUM

Mrs. Merna Wilson writes:

Shortly after my article *The Muriel Mine and Those who Built It*, appeared in the December 1969 *Rhodesiana*, it was pointed out to me that I had not included the period of great expansion on the Muriel Mine, between 1951 and the present day, while the title obviously implies too wide a scope.

I would like to record a correction of title, then, since the scope of the article was obviously between 1932-39, to *The Muriel Mine and Some of Those Who Built It*.

Page 59, line 11: Captain Gordon owned the Lone Cow Ranch . . should read: Captain Gordon and two partners owned Kashao.

Page 55: Mention of Black Rock Mine should in fact be BLUE Rock Mine. In this connection some further interesting material has come to my attention since the writing of the article. From *The Umvukwes: A Historical Record* (published privately by the The Umvukwe Women's Institute) I quote extracts from the Early Impression of Jack Fraser-Mackenzie of the Lone Cow Estates:

"Mention of the Muriel Mine reminds me of another memory of the past. I've mentioned Bill Colling of the one arm, who lived across the Umvukwes from the Lone Cow and was a cheery friend to everyone and a pioneer to boot. Travelling in his mule cart and a pair of mules which he used to manage himself to drive over shocking roads with the reins over his stump of one arm, whip in his other hand and, as often as not, a bunch of violets stuck in the hatband of his very battered old Stetson for my wife . . .

"An old, old prospector himself of the early days, he had originally pegged out the May Mine and another he called the Blue Rock; this was close by. Often he used to tell me about this mine and said how rich it was, and why did I not go to look for it, etc.

"I told him I was looking for the mine and so were the rest of us. . . but in the thick bush and over the lapse of years there was little hope of finding the remains of Bill Colling's notice board . . ."

He then goes on to say that he and Tom Paget of the May Mine actually set out with shovels, boys, etc., to search for the Blue Rock Mine and they found the area being ploughed and stumped . . . "This of course put an end to our venture and we gave it up."

Later the May Mine was purchased by Mr. Fraser-Mackenzie's brother who investigated the history of the May Mine. "Finding nothing in Salisbury Mines Office he was recommended to try Gatooma Mines Office, and there it was they dug out the then moth-eaten files . . . old papers of the May Mine, among them the prospecting papers and plans of Bill Colling's famous Blue Rock Mine. From the positions shown there can be little doubt that the old Blue Rock and the present Muriel Mine are one and the same mine."

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The Editor puts on the back of the title page of each issue of *Rhodesiana* a note that "Copyright is reserved by the Society". This means that the Society owns the copyright in articles which it prints in the journal but that it has no objection to reasonable extracts or reprints being taken or made, provided that the Society's ownership of that copyright is acknowledged.

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is no breach if extracts are reprinted for ordinary purposes of research or review. However, abuse is possible if, for example, someone reproduces the whole of an issue or an article for sale or for profit. The Society would then take objection.

Anyone wishing to reproduce either in print or in photographic facsimile any substantial part of an issue of *Rhodesiana* is advised to contact the Secretary.

E. E. BURKE

RHODESIANA SOCIETY GOLD AND BRONZE MEDALS

The Society has decided to award not more than three gold medals a year to persons who have made some outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society, or who have made a major contribution to Rhodesian history. Members of the Society are invited to submit names of persons who they feel should be considered for a gold medal award.

As indicated in the last issue of *Rhodesiana* the Society is going ahead with minting bronze Decade Medals. These will be about the size of a crown (1½ inches diameter .110 inches thick) and will be in attractive green velvet-covered presentation cases. Medals may only be purchased by members of the Society who may, however, purchase additional medals for their wives and children.

No two Decade Medals will be the same as each will have a different serial number. The Society will publish a medal roll wherein will be recorded the names of all holders of the Decade Medals as well as the serial number of the individual's medal. Medals will be issued every tenth year, beginning with 1970, to commemorate the founding of Rhodesia.

The price of the 1970 Decade Medal including the presentation case will be \$3.50.

A brochure describing the medals and an application form will be sent to all members. Members are requested to please refrain from sending any money for the medals until they receive these forms. It is hoped the medals will be ready for issue by September this year.

NOTES FROM THE NATIONAL HONORARY SECRETARY

Binding of "Rhodesiana"

As mentioned on page 81 of *Rhodesiana* No. 21 (and again in this issue) and in response to numerous requests, arrangements have been made with Messrs. Mardon Printers (Pvt.) Ltd., of Salisbury, for the binding of members' sets of *Rhodesiana*.

To date this facility has not been well supported and it seems appropriate again to draw the matter to the attention of members.

Rhodesiana Society Tie

The tie is now available from Meikles Department Stores in Bulawayo (P.O. Box 61), Salisbury (P.O. Box 287), and Umtali (P.O. Box 99), upon production of a written authority obtainable from the The Rhodesiana Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury. The price of the tie is R\$2.10 plus 10 cents sales tax.

Back numbers of "Rhodesiana"

This is the 22nd issue of *Rhodesiana* and at the present time all issues of the journal are out of print except for Nos. 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

As the number of new members increases so also does the demand for back numbers.

The Committee wishes to consider whether or not to reprint all or some of the out of print back numbers.

To assist the Committee in reaching a decision on this matter it would be appreciated if each and every member would advise the Society, in writing:

- a. what back numbers of *Rhodesiana* he or she requires, and
- b. whether or not he or she favours the idea of reprinting out of print back numbers.

Branches of the Society

As most members are aware, branches of the Society have been established in Matabeleland, Manicaland and Mashonaland for the purposes of arranging and organizing functions such as tours, lectures, and the like, for the particular benefit of members of the Society who reside in the provinces concerned.

If any member is not receiving communications regarding the functions arranged by the branch established in the area where he resides, or resides outside but visits that area from time to time, he should please advise the appropriate branch secretary (*Matabeleland*: P.O. Box 192, Bulawayo, *Manicaland*: P.O. Box 50, Penhalonga, *Mashonaland*: 16 Fleetwood Road, Alexandra Park, Salisbury).

Does the Society have your correct address?

In view of the considerable amount of work involved and the lack of volunteers to do the work, all financial matters, including the issue of receipts for annual subscriptions, are now attended to by a firm of Chartered Accountants in Salisbury. When effecting payment of subscriptions members are asked to attach their cheque, which should include the appropriate bank exchange, to the Society's statement. The statement will be returned with the Society's receipt. Statements are normally sent out in the same envelope as the December issue of *Rhodesiana*.

Contributors' copies of Rhodesiana

The author of any article published in *Rhodesiana* is entitled to receive a specified number of copies of the issue of *Rhodesiana* in which his article is published. This number depends on the size of the article. Authors who require copies should apply to the Society.

Material for "Rhodesiana"

The regular publications of the Society's bi-annual journal *Rhodesiana* depends on sufficient suitable material being submitted to the Editor.

Members of the Society are earnestly requested to advise the Editor (P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury) of any material in their possession, or which they know of, with a view to its publication in *Rhodesiana*.

M. J. KIMBERLEY

Correspondence

UMTALI AND LIVINGSTONE TRAMWAYS

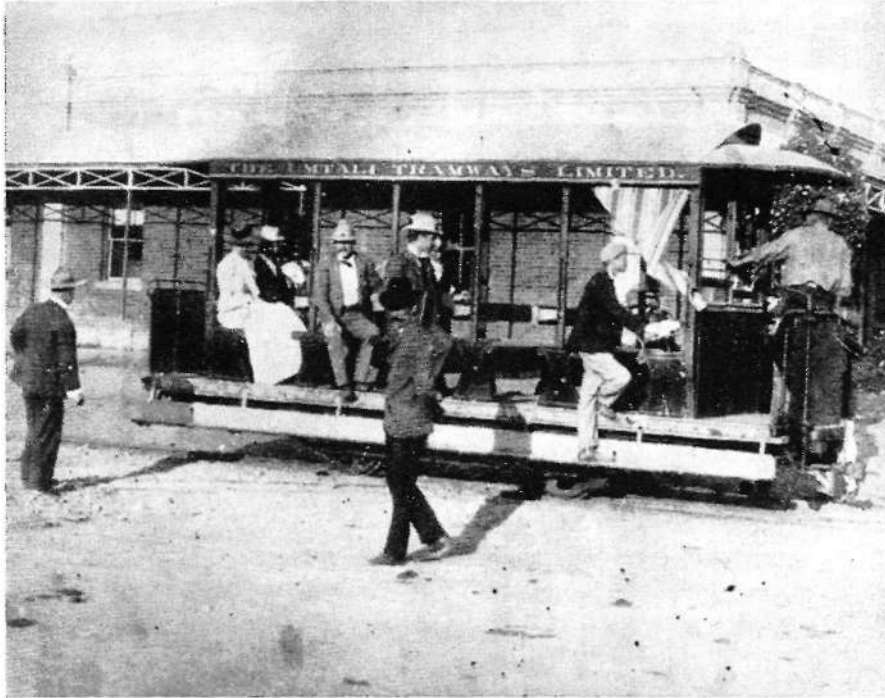


Photo: National Archives. The Umtali Tramcar.

Sir—Many will have enjoyed Mr. Shoebridge's article on Rhodesia's only tramway company. Old Umtali residents have told me that while animal haulage was always provided for the goods trollies going up town from the railway station, it was quite common for the local schoolboys to mount the "flat" wagons and coast down the main street at a fair speed to the terminus, unless they came off en route into the road deep with dust

On page 3 Mr. Shoebridge refers to the arrival of the railway. May I correct him by recording that the Beira Railway was originally built to the 2 ft. gauge (not 2 ft. 6 in.) and that its length was 222 miles from Beira to Umtali, which was shortened to 204 miles when the line was converted to the standard 3 ft. 6 in. gauge in 1900.

Might I suggest that you publish the photograph of the passenger tramcar from the National Archives collection ? . . (See above—Editor).

Another "tramway" for goods traffic was in use for many years at Livingstone, where the business area developed some distance from the railway station in very similar circumstances to Umtali. This tramway was, as far as I know, entirely man-handled, the flat trollies being loaded with goods at the station and

pushed by Africans to Pitt and Anderson's mill or up the hill to the stores, etc., near the present Museum site. It boasted of a double track alongside what became "Mainway", one line for "up" traffic and one for "down". Opposite the station the lines were joined with points and from thence a single line ran for some three miles to the bank of the Zambesi river, this section being used by the local residents, many of whom owned their own trollies, for access to the river for fishing and picnics. These trollies had transverse seats and canopy awnings. On one occasion a trolley broke a flange and somersaulted, killing a child and breaking a woman's leg . . . this was about 1917-18.

Shoebriidge is an accountant and is touring the world to get more experience and at the same time enjoy his hobby of "Tramways". He is a member of a society interested in trams at Sydney, Australia.

Yours, etc.

A. H. CROXTON

THOMAS BAINES DIARIES

Sir,—You may be interested to know that I have one of the original holograph copies of the Diaries of Thomas Baines covering the period approximately May 1869 to April 1870. This comprises virtually the whole of Vol. 1 and about one-third of Vol. 2 of the *Northern Goldfields Diaries of Thomas Baines* published by the Government Archives of Southern Rhodesia in the Oppenheimer Series. My copy is roughly 50 per cent pencil and 50 per cent carbon.

I have recently been comparing my copy with the published edition and I have found in the Introduction, section 2. Page 19 of the Oppenheimer series, it is stated in paragraph one, *inter alia* "The destinations of these sheaves cannot be exactly identified, for no existing collection known to the present editor is complete. Doubtless he sent a full series to the secretary of the South African Gold Fields Exploration Company, and he is known to have sent a note to his mother . . ."

In my copy I have a blank sheet folded in the form of a covering envelope and on what is obviously the outside is written in Baines' handwriting:

"The Directors of the S.A.G.F. Co.,
Care of E. Oliver Esq., Secty.,
South African Gold Fields Exploration Company,
41 Threadneedle Street,
London."

This would seem to prove that one copy was in fact sent to the S.A. Gold Fields Co. and it would seem the bulk of this copy would have been the pencil version.

Yours, etc.

F. W. HOSKEN

Mr. E. E. Burke, of the National Archives, comments:

Baines, a pioneer in many things, was early in the use of carbon paper. In the book written jointly with W. B. Lord, *Shifts and expedients of camp life* (London, Horace Cox, 1876) page 17, he notes "The traveller will, perhaps.

wish to send home one or more copies of his diary as correspondence, and it is absolutely necessary that he himself should retain a perfect copy. Ink he cannot at all times carry, nor could he use it, for the drying up of the fluid, the clogging and corroding of his pens would be insuperable difficulties; and besides this, as his time is not sufficient for him to write in detail, even for the first time, all that he wishes, how shall he obtain a copy? In answer we will simply state the plan we have successfully adopted. Pen and ink we discarded altogether, and trusted simply to the powers of a good HH pencil and a supply of thin white foolscap interleaved with semi-carbonic paper . . ."

It would seem that Baines took carbon paper into use in 1869 commencing with the diary of his journey to Matabeleland. I cannot trace any evidence that he used it earlier for this purpose, nor the date when "carbonic paper" first appeared on the market.

It is of interest that Mr. Hosken's evidence now seems to show that, as one would expect, Baines sent the original or top copy to his employers, the South African Gold Fields Exploration Company. One copy was sent to his mother, one he retained himself, and there was possibly another for the Royal Geographical Society.

H. A. DE BEER: 1895 BULAWAYO EARLY SETTLER

Sir,—May I take the opportunity of drawing attention to an error in *Rhodesiana* No. 21 in the article on the late H. A. de Beer. The article states that the late Mr. de Beer was born in Johannesburg in 1867, but this, of course, would have been impossible. The Witwatersrand Goldfields were only proclaimed in September, 1886, and the village, as it then was, of Johannesburg, was established in November of that year. Prior to 1886 the population of the area now comprising Johannesburg consisted of four or five farmers and their families on scattered farms in the district. I may say that these facts are very well known to my family since my father arrived at the location of the future city as a boy of thirteen with his parents in May 1886 before the goldfields were proclaimed, but the facts can be verified in the book on the history of Johannesburg by G. A. Leyds. It would be interesting to know where the late Mr. de Beer was in fact born, particularly if he was the son of one of the Witwatersrand farmers of the early days, though it could not have been one of the farmers who was on the site of the present day Johannesburg since the names of all those are well known and do not include de Beer.

Yours etc.

H. L. ROSETTENSTEIN.

Mr. de Beer replies as follows: "I am grateful to Mr. Rosettenstein for the information contained in his letter—in discussions with my late father I had always gained the impression that my Grandfather had been born in Johannesburg—in preparing my article I had access to various obituary notices which confirmed this fact—consequently I made no further enquiries in this connection.

"Immediately I received notice of this letter I wrote to Mr. Clyde de Beer—

of Johannesburg— a nephew of my Grandfather— and he writes that in fact the de Beer family came from Caledon in the Eastern Province and that 'H.A.' and his brothers and sisters were born there. He continues, that after leaving school and qualifying 'H.A.' and his brother Charles—father of Clyde de Beer— both moved to Kimberley—where Charles and not 'H.A.' became Secretary of the Kimberley Hospital—thereafter 'H.A.' came to Rhodesia whilst Charles went to Johannesburg where he became a Stockbroker. Here again my information regarding 'H.A.'s' association with the Kimberley Hospital was gleaned from his obituary notice.

"It would therefore appear that my Grandfather's association with Johannesburg only began when he left Rhodesia in 1902.

"I am also grateful to Col. J. de L. Thompson, O.B.E., E.D., of Bulawayo who has written to me—I read with great interest your well-deserved tribute to your Grandfather, "H.A.", in last December's issue of *Rhodesiana*. When I was at Milton School in the 1920's I recall that for some years your Grandfather brought a Bulawayo Club side to play the School's First Eleven. This was an outstanding event in the season. At the end of each match, he presented a bat to the best performer among the school boys. Incidentally, on one occasion, I was lucky enough to be the recipient'."

GONA-RE-ZHOU

Sir,—I am endeavouring to compile a history of the region known as the Gona-Re-Zhou which is a fascinating tract of Lowveld stretching along the Mozambique border in the vicinity of the lower Lundi, Sabi and Nuanetsi Rivers. Like many others I am confident that this area will soon be one of Africa's great National Parks.

I should be grateful if you would publish this letter as an appeal to your readers to make available to me any information they might have concerning the area. I am interested in anything to do with European or African occupation or use of the land, hunting, labour recruitment, policing, wild life, poaching, exploration or even folk-lore or anecdotes of personal interest. All contributions will, of course, be acknowledged.

Yours etc.

Dr. C. R. SAUNDERS
Lowveld Lodge,
P.O. Box 17,
Triangle.

MR. J. B. L. HONEY COMMENTS

Sir,—You may be interested in the following comments on articles in *Rhodesiana*, No. 20, July 1969.

John Norton-Griffiths, pages 23 and 24.

Honey's Scouts, of which Norton-Griffiths was the Sergeant, was raided and commanded by Lieutenant Wilfred Halstead Louis Honey, my husband's father. The sheet of original signatures on B.S.A. Company headed paper,

dated July 1896, at Umtali, is in the National Archives, and was found after Mrs. Honey's death, in 1942, among her personal effects.

Certain of the Imperial troops travelling from Wynberg Camp at the Cape to Mauritius on board the S.S. *Garth Castle*, were diverted by Colonel Alderson at Beira, and led by Honey's Scouts, marched to the relief of Salisbury, arriving 25th August, 1896, (see Wilfred Honey's Diary of 1896, also lodged in Archives).

Wilfred Honey was Magistrate at Tuli in 1897.

The Ivel Tractor, page 60.

In 1964 I sent Colonel Wemyss' article about the Ivel Tractor to my old school friend, Miss Joan Godber, the County Archivist of Bedford, as the Biggleswade Works are in that county. She was very pleased to know about it.

Paul Kruger. (Book reviews) Page 105.

Among items loaned by me to the Queen Victoria Museum is a linen Scrap-book made for me by my Father as books for children were unobtainable in Pretoria after the Boer War. An excellent caricature of Paul Kruger by my Father is on one of its pages.

When my Father, Captain T. T. C. Purland, took up the position of Director of Prisons in 1900, he found in the waste-paper basket of his new office in the Palace of Justice, Church Square, Pretoria, a large quantity of original documents signed by Kruger. Amongst these were the Death Warrants of the Reform Committee involved in the Jameson Raid. I was able to present these to the Archives in time for some to be exhibited in the Rhodes Hall at the Centenary Exhibition.

Yours, etc.

Mrs. J. B. L. Honey.

Reviews

The Warriors, by R. Summers and C. W. Pagden. (Books of Africa. Cape Town, 1970, 181 pp., illus., maps. Price R5.00.)

The authors quote in their preface a comment by a Matabele some years ago—"We cannot now remember our own history and we look to you to remember it for us." This book, they state, is an answer to that challenge. It is, however, not a history of the Matabele in the widest sense of anthropology, culture or politics but in the more limited scope of their military prowess. It is in fact, a history of the Matabele army, its traditions, equipment, methods and training; and its successes and failures. The stance taken is an imaginary one, in that the authors have tried to put themselves into the position of Matabele soldiers in telling the story.

This said, it can be rated as a very notable contribution to understanding the Rhodesian story. There is much research, substantially from Matabele sources, from their oral history recorded by European writers and by a few of themselves, and from those still available within recent years who had some memories of participation in the last actions of the Matabele impis.

A description of the warrior's weapons and dress indicates a remarkable degree of regulation; it is in fact possible to speak in terms of a "uniform" and of "dress regulations". This disciplined organisation is again apparent in the Matabele regimental system which appears to have been highly sophisticated. It is thus possible for the authors to use familiar military terms in application to the Matabele army and for these terms to be appropriate. The same feature can be seen again in connection with the analysis of Matabele tactics.

After the description of equipment and of the country itself the authors analyse "Indaba Yogulwa" or "The business of fighting", the method of obtaining recruits, and creating the regiments, of strategy and tactics and there is an examination of the effect of firearms on their traditional mode of warfare.

There follows an account of Matabele operations from their flight from Zululand into the Transvaal, up to the final battles of Shangani and Bembesi (known to the Matabele as Bonko and Egodade respectively) which receive a detailed reconstruction of Matabele motivations.

There is a particularly interesting table of Matabele raids between 1871 and 1893 which shows their devastating range and also that in 1893 while the British South Africa Company was organising Mashonaland as a growing community the Matabele were, apart from the raid into the Victoria district which precipitated the Matabele War and final overthrow, also operating against Sipolilo in northern Mashonaland and across the Zambezi in the Monze area.

The picture of a military power which emerges (though the power had been watered down since Mzilikazi's day) shows good cause for the feeling amongst the settlers that their livelihoods were far from secure and that they suffered a permanent threat to their existence. Lobengula's personal attitude of non-

aggression to the Company's developments was not then as widely known as history has indicated, but in any case, though some knew it then, he would not live for ever, and the threat would endure.

The authors' calculations of strengths, and of Lobengula's disposition of his impis for maximum defence of Matabeleland, give a new dimension to the studies of the period. As the "official" history of the Matabele War, that by Wills and Collingridge, says: "Ferocious, cruel and treacherous, they undoubtedly were; but on the other hand they possessed prime virtues of courage, and the capacity of work . . . To considerable powers of organization and habits of discipline they at various times displayed great capacity for planning and carrying out a settled and continuous policy".

Research is evident again in the Appendices giving historical notes on 68 Matabele regiments, estimates of regimental strength in 1893, and a gazetteer of the regimental towns and identification of their sites.

The book is well produced with adequate maps and illustrations and some pleasing colour sketches by Barbara Tyrrell. It is no fault of the authors that the publishers have reversed the maps of Shangani and Bembesi on the end papers.

E. E. BURKE

The Rock Art of Southern Africa by C. K. Cooke. (Books of Africa, Cape Town 1969. 166 pages. Maps. Illustrations in colour and monochrome. Line drawings. Price R3.35.)

Throughout Rhodesia there remains a wealth of ancient pre-historic art in the form of paintings and carvings on the rock surfaces of caves and shelters.

The art is a rich heritage of importance, its origins going back many centuries and providing a wide field for study. Therefore, each new contribution bringing a closer understanding of the art, is a valuable achievement.

The Rhodesian archaeologist and artist C. K. Cooke, equipped with a sound background of knowledge and wide experience, has brought forth a book of high worth under the title of *Rock Art of Southern Africa*, a handy-sized volume containing a great amount of informative matter, many valuable references, explanations of the types, styles, classifications and distribution of the art. The work has been written in an interesting and comprehensive manner, to throw light on many facets of the art. The book will be of real assistance to a host of both students and laymen.

Enthusiasts of rock art have waited for a work of this kind for several years, and they will be grateful and surprised about the wealth of information in a concise form, which the new publication offers.

In such a treatise, the illustrations are of paramount importance; therefore, it is a pleasing feature to find them of a high standard, adding substantially to a full appreciation of the contents.

The commencing chapter is a stimulating introduction to the wide-ranging subject of the book and to the meaning of pre-historic art in Southern Africa. Consideration is given to the paintings found in Spain, France, North Africa, across the Sahara, and thought given to whether the fascinating paintings of the Tassili Mountains were originated by early hunters and food-gatherers, or

invading new-comers introducing neolithic elements and practising magico-religious cults: Thence to the Horn of Africa, followed by comments on Tanzania and Malawi examples, before dealing with the main areas of the art in Southern Africa, a considerable part being devoted to Rhodesia.

No doubt those who engage in studying examples of the vast number of paintings found in this country will feel more at grips with the subject, when they are able to refer to the separate styles and periods described in the book.

In regard to the chapter on Zambia, it is pointed out that the number of known sites there is small when compared with those of Tanzania and Rhodesia, but more may well come to light during further exploration.

The paintings and engravings of South Africa, considered with those elsewhere, are fully discussed by Mr. Cooke, who has studied numerous sites in the Republic and in South West Africa where, in particular, he had the opportunity of making an examination of the remotely-situated painting of "The White Lady of the Brandberg", which in recent years had received wide notoriety as a controversial figure, resulting largely from the pronouncements by the late Abbe Henri Breuil, following upon his study of the painting in the year 1947, when he gave his view that the representation was that of a woman of Cretan origins. In the author's opinion the figure is that of a youth, and of this there appears to be little doubt. Accompanying figures show Negroid features and the frieze is probably the work of a Bushman artist, and the scene represents an initiation ceremony of one of the tribes at that time living in the Brandberg.

In the vast area of South West Africa are many paintings and, in general, the author finds that they show close affinities to those of Rhodesia.

Discussing the Elephant Cave in the Erongo Mountains, the author shows how care is necessary in the scrutiny of paintings, to discern the correct sequence of superpositions, which in certain instances can be very misleading.

Again, returning to Rhodesia, ceremonies such as initiations and burial preparations are mentioned, and the danger of misinterpretations pointed out; however, there is little doubt that happenings of such a nature are commemorated on the rocks.

Note is made of one remarkable development in Rhodesian Rock Art, namely, the painting of landscape indications.

It is related that most likely there were great artists practising within limited areas to execute paintings; it is a debatable point, but one is sometimes able to detect, at two different places, the "hand" of the same artist or "master artist".

A number of pages contribute shortly and very helpfully to outline the different industries of the Late Stone Age of Southern Africa, 9,000-1,700 B.P., prompting one to follow the author's well-made case for regarding it as "almost certain that all the paintings were executed during a later phase of the Wilton period".

The position of those people who skilfully engraved the rocks in widely-separated areas of Rhodesia, presents a somewhat different problem, and there may be some hesitation in falling entirely in line with the author when he says "that there is little doubt that the same people who were responsible for the

pre-historic paintings also made the pre-historic engravings". Standing before an engraving, one may be impressed with a direct, arresting effect, quite removed from that of the paintings.

One may incline understandingly to the author's conclusion when facing the fine, naturalistic animal motifs engraved in many areas south of the Limpopo, in contrast to the engraved rocks of Rhodesia, which quite frequently consist entirely of geometric motifs.

Illustrations of very fine examples of naturalistic animal carvings in South Africa are included. The author points out that even in the animal engravings foreshortenings are represented. There is discussion of different areas south of the Limpopo, concerned with various styles; also, accumulations of geometric and semi-naturalistic motifs.

The non-representative art is mostly based on geometric forms, circles, radiating lines, etc; but there are those who will not agree that this can be compared with children's art.

It is hoped that in time close studies of the engraving type of art expression may be carried further, to ascertain more clearly the identity of these artists.

In his summing-up chapter, the author states that from skeletal material and the evidence to be deduced from the paintings, it appears that a steatopygous people, living a nomadic hunting life, were responsible for all the early or classical styles of art. These people could have been ancestral to the present-day Bushman, but it is by no means proven.

In company with the author, we may feel "the tragic fate of the rock artists and their gradual disappearance from the continent of Africa, where the tide of negroid and European civilisation proved too strong for them".

E. GOODALL

Ancient Mining in Rhodesia and Adjacent Areas by Roger Summers. Museum Memoir No. 3. (The Trustees of the National Museums of Rhodesia. 1969. 236 pages. Illustrations, maps and drawings. Price \$4.50.)

Roger Summers, until recently Senior Keeper of Antiquities for the National Museums of Rhodesia, has put together a fascinating story of ancient mining and trading in minerals over many centuries. To do this he has drawn upon the records of the Mines Department, the recollections of prospectors and miners, the findings of geology and archaeology, the writings of old Arab and Portuguese chroniclers and the tribal memories of Africans.

In mining law the term "ancient working" applies to any working that was in existence before the Occupation in 1890 and in Rhodesia, and in areas close to our borders in adjacent countries, there are probably no fewer than 4,000 ancient gold and 500 ancient copper workings. Almost all the modern gold mines of Rhodesia are situated on ancient workings the most extensive series being in the Gaika Mine area which has 160 separate stopes.

Mining was certainly taking place in Mashonaland and Manicaland during the years A.D. 75-1220 and in Matabeleland from A.D. 1065-1480 with some trans-Zambesi trade into Zambia in gold and copper taking place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mining at some of the workings went on beyond the

fifteenth century, for example, those at Gaika being worked until the incursions of the Ngoni in 1820. The author calculates that over a period of 1,200 years, up to 1890, the total output of gold from workings and from alluvial deposits was probably between 20-25 million fine ounces.

A distribution map of ancient workings and ancient ruins shows an almost "complete concord". During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries an aristocratic group appears to have arisen which took charge of the local political organisation and erected stone houses and buildings in order to protect and watch over the gold mines.

Summers is most interesting on the question as to how the ancients in Rhodesia learned to mine. North of the Zambezi there are few ancient workings, mostly of copper. In East Africa there are no records of workings. There are in the Sudan and Egypt but the mining methods differed from those of Rhodesia. The nearest ancient workings that resemble those of Rhodesia are in India in the State of Mysore and Summers suggests that Indian prospectors began to come to Africa about A.D. 600-700 in search of a new source of gold to replace their own dwindling supplies. At that time Rhodesia had been producing gold for some centuries by primitive methods, probably from alluvial deposits on the edges of reefs, and the Indians could have heard of this from Arab traders and sailors. This would explain why the Rhodesian methods of shaft sinking and stoping are so like those of India.

This is a most comprehensive study. The geology and archaeology of the workings are covered: lists and descriptions of the ancient workings are given: the techniques and methods of prospecting and mining are pictured in detail: there is a comparison with ancient mining elsewhere in Africa: the economics of the ancient trade in gold are considered: and there is a discussion on the early trade routes to the East Coast.

This volume considerably widens the background to Rhodesian history and is a most valuable piece of Rhodesiana.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Aspects of Central African History. Edited by T. O. Ranger. Third World Histories Series. (Heinemann. 1968. Limp cover. 291 pages. Maps. Price \$1.80.)

This volume comprises ten papers prepared for a Conference on Aspects of the History of Central Africa held at the University College, Dar es Salaam, in 1966. Although the book is intended primarily for teachers the general reader will find a great deal of interest in most of the papers.

The opening paper is by Edward Alpers on "The Mutapa and Malawi political systems" up to the time of the Ngoni invasions of Malawi in the early 1880's. There follow papers by Isaria Kimambo on "The rise of the Congolese state systems" and by Walter Rodney on "European activity and African reaction in Angola". The nineteenth century in Zambia, Malawi and Southern Rhodesia is covered by Andrew Roberts, John McCracken and Terence Ranger respectively. The same three writers contribute similar chapters on the African political history of the same three countries during the twentieth century. The

last chapter is "African politics in Congo-Kinshasa to independence" by John Masare.

All the papers are based on the theory that what is needed most urgently is an account of the specifically African side of Central African history. There are plenty of conventional colonial histories so the authors represented here concentrate, especially as regards the nineteenth century, "on the dilemmas and responses of African societies rather than on the initiatives of white explorers, missionaries and soldiers".

The earlier chapters deal at length with the resistance put up by African peoples to European dominance, which, point out various authors, actually began almost with the advent of European colonisers and has continued up to the present day. The first rising in Angola took place as early as 1575.

The generalisation is most sweeping and could be disputed perhaps by some particular instances of welcome and non-resistance that lasted for long periods.

Ranger's remarks on the nineteenth-century relationship between the Ndebele and Shona in Rhodesia are interesting. He disagrees with the assessment given by Selous and Father Hartmann. The Shona were not, he says, in danger of extermination by the Ndebele at the time of the European occupation. It is true the Ndebele often raided the Shona but only those communities that did not submit or offer tribute. There were large groups of Shona who lived either among the Ndebele or in close proximity to them and who paid tribute so were left alone. Full scale wars, such as those waged by the Ndebele against Khama or Lewanika, were never waged against the Shona. Ranger points out that such strong, non-Ndebele chiefs as Mangwende, Mtoko, Makoni and Mutasa found time to carry on their traditional feuds against each other and still remain strong enough to keep the Rhodesian plateau free from the slave traders that infested Portuguese territory.

The chapters on the political history of the twentieth century in Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and the Congo are most valuable documentaries. They summarise the histories and growth of movements such as welfare societies, indigenous churches, *cercles d'evolues*, workers' trade unions and tell of the personages involved. Many of these movements were, in essence, claim the authors, continuations of the anti-colonial resistance that had earlier shown itself in armed rebellions, and out of them grew the modern African mass political parties.

The attainment of independence by four of the territories is described and the influence of economic frustration during colonial rule is particularly emphasised. The most dramatic example comes from the Congo. In 1959 in Leopoldville alone there were 25,000 urban unemployed. They rioted in that year sparking off a series of disorders in other towns. The Belgians banned the Abako political party and appointed a parliamentary committee of inquiry. The result was the granting of independence to the Congo in 1960, only one year after the riots.

Although there are now many separate, territorial studies of recent political

activity in central Africa this one volume forms a most useful historical synthesis of events—as well as some radical interpretations of them.

W. V. BRELSFORD

African Societies in Southern Africa: Historical Studies. Edited by Leonard Thompson. (Heinemann under the auspices of the African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles. 1969. 336 pages. Maps. Price 50s.)

The fourteen papers by different authors in this volume are the results of a conference held at the University of Zambia, Lusaka in July 1968.

The theme of the conference was what Professor Thompson calls, in his introduction, "the forgotten factor" in southern Africa history. Until recently the history of southern Africa has been mainly concerned with the activities and social structures of the white communities. The history of the African peoples before they were subjected to white over-rule, "the forgotten factor", has been treated very cursorily. Moreover these African societies have been more studied by archaeologists and social anthropologists than by historians. The object of these papers is to show how, by making use of published works on African societies, of the revelations of archaeology and of the relevances of linguistics, the historian can create a new point of view on the pre-conquest African societies.

The peoples studied here are the Sothe-Tswana and Nguni of South Africa and off-shoots such as the Ndebele of Rhodesia.

The first chapters deal with pre-history. There is now a fairly consistent picture of the Early Iron Age over a huge area of East and southern Africa, except in Mozambique where archaeological research is lagging. A widespread series of settlements have been unearthed, all with similar features and all dating from the early centuries of the first millennium A.D. In the latter half of this millennium people of the Late Iron Age were infiltrating, not in mass migration, from the west and it is probable that these Late Stone Age people were Bantu-speaking.

It has always been assumed that the first Bantu-speaking peoples crossed the Limpopo at approximately the same time that Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652. But archaeology has revealed a number of Late Iron Age sites in the Transvaal that date from prior to A.D. 1,000 and Bantu settlements in the Transkei and Ciskei have also been dated as being prior to Van Riebeeck's landing. Apart from the evidences of archaeology, Portuguese survivors from the ship *Sao Joao Baptista*, wrecked near the mouth of the Keiskama river (south of East London) in 1622, told, in their published narrative, of meeting Bantu-speaking African as well as Khoi (Hottentots).

The history of the various groups concerned is brought up to the end of the nineteenth century. Richard Brown, a lecturer at the University of Sussex, writes a chapter on "The External Relations of the Ndebele Kingdom in the Pre-partition Era" and deals with the relations of the Ndebele with other tribes and, later, with the Europeans. The Ndebele retained a structure closer to the parent Zulu pattern than any of the other off-shoots. To begin with, the kingdom in Rhodesia was no more than an army until it began to assimilate other peoples.

Like the Zulus, although their army was all-powerful, the Ndebele did not destroy the traditional pattern of political organisation of the conquered peoples although constant raiding of these who did not submit was necessary in order to maintain the army.

Richard Brown says there is some evidence that the Ndebele, in face of the infiltration of white men into Matabeleland, would have liked to continue their migration and cross the Zambezi, as the Ngoni had done. But the prospect of strong opposition from the Kololo in Barotseland, and the belt of tsetse fly country to the north, dissuaded them.

The editor comments that "terminology has been a source of great confusion in southern African history". He particularly singles out the names "Bushman" and "Hottentot" which, he says, were coined by white people and now have a derogatory connotation. The authors here use the indigenous names "San" and "Khoikhoi" for these two peoples.

The study of pre-conquest Africa is already undertaken by a synthesis of various disciplines and the contributions to this volume certainly show how the methods of the historian can be a valuable aid to those of the archaeologist and the anthropologist.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840.
Volume VI. 1519-37. (National Archives of Rhodesia and Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, Portugal. 1969. 510 pages.)

The *raison d'etre* for this series has been explained in the reviews in *Rhodesiana* of the earlier volumes.

Like the others, this volume contains a variety of official documents. There are reports from the Factors of Sofala direct to the King of Portugal; lists of receipts and expenditure from the Keepers of the Store at Sofala; diaries and routine returns. A feature of this volume is a very lengthy and detailed set of rules and regulations governing the duties of the Factors at Sofala and laying down the methods of conducting trade in ivory and gold.

One of the most interesting sections contains the instructions to the Ambassador who is being sent to the court of Prester John. (In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Prester John was identified with the King of Ethiopia.) The Ambassador is instructed to try and catch a unicorn, to find out where the Nile rises and whether the Cape of Good Hope lies within the "lordship" of Prester John.

One boastful Captain of Sofala writes to the King of Portugal that nobody is better fitted to serve the King than he is because he has brought in more ivory and slaves than any other Captain. A Factor writes to the King asking for a "provostship" in Goa after twenty-five years service for he "dare not" go back to Portugal. Yet another Factor complains that after spending a life-time in the service of the King he will return to India a poor man and he asks for the post of Captain of the Guard to the King of Ormuz. (An island in the Persian Gulf captured by the Portuguese in 1507.)

There are hints of many human stories in this collection of seemingly factual documents.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Chirimo. A Rhodesian and International Journal of the Humanities. Vol. 2. No. 1. Sept. 1969. Edited by Colin and O-Lan Style. (Published twice yearly by the Edinburgh Press Rhodesia Ltd. 25 pages. Illustrations.)

This journal has certainly improved, and expanded, since its beginnings in 1968 and its claim to be a Rhodesian and International Journal of the Humanities is fully justified.

The international aspect is covered by an article by an outstanding poet of the 1960's, Iain Crichton-Smith, who writes about his own poetry and by a wide selection of poetry from various countries. No. 3 of the series "Rhodesian Poets in Profile" is of N. S. Sigogo. D. E. Finn contributes a short life of Arthur Shearly Cripps, "the father of Rhodesian poetry".

The main feature of this issue is the text of "Courage This Day", the play by Gregory McLune that was the Play of the Year in 1969 and that was produced at REPS. It is a psychological study of a small group of soliders isolated and cut off from their main body during a war—any war.

Matthew White writes knowledgeably about African music, on the decay of the traditional modes, the introduction of jazz and of how young African musicians are "reaching back into their traditional music for new ideas to incorporate into jazz".

Colin Style studies the Tengenenge Art School "in depth". He points out that artists from different tribes have different sculptural approaches and gives illustrations of this. His interpretations are spiritual and psychological whereas a case could be made to explain these differences in terms of historical, tribal history and the presence or absence of stone or wood in the environment. For instance the areas where traditional stone sculpture is found are few and far between in Africa and most tribes carve in wood which gives rise to different styles from those in stone. The Rhodesian school is contemporary and the artists naturally show traces of their particular tribal culture.

There is Part 2 of an article by an anonymous writer on "The Face of the White Rhodesian" in which he scrutinises the white Rhodesian in a somewhat sarcastic fashion. We are, apparently, complacent; comfortable but competent; uncultured but civilised; religious in a respectable bourgeoisie fashion; and we have not yet achieved a "special national character", individuals remaining British or South African or European.

Chirimo is now a high quality, intellectual and thought-provoking journal. There are two criticisms. The price in Rhodesia is nowhere stated although the price in U.S. Dollars, Swiss Francs and South African Rands is given. And the long, oblong shape makes it awkward to handle. It makes for attractive lay-out but the format is more suitable for a tourist brochure than for a serious magazine.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Mangwe—Gateway to Matabeleland. (The Marula Womens' Institute. 1969. Limp cover. 36 pages. Illustrations. Price 6s.)

This booklet contains a series of articles on the early history of the Mangwe Pass and Marula area.

It tells of Henry Potgieter's commando coming into Matabeleland from the Northern Transvaal through the Mangwe Pass in 1847 (See *Rhodesiana* No. 5.) and of John Lee the pre-pioneer of the area making his first camp near Mangwe in 1858.

There is a foreword by Sir Patrick Fletcher, K.B.E., C.M.G., then a history of the area before 1900. The story of the settlement of Marula is told with yarns of the early hunters and the Zeederberg brothers. There are descriptions of Mangwe Fort and cemetery and of the Old Figtree Fort and hotel. Colonel Hickman relates some personal experiences of the area. The development of education is outlined and, finally, the growth of the Marula Farmers' Association and other local institutions is described.

This is an excellent example of a local history that is both interesting and historically valuable.

W. V. BRELSFORD

GENERAL

Who really discovered South Africa? by J. Burman (C. Struik, Cape Town, 1969. 170 p., illus. Price R.4.95.)

There is a certain nicety in the customary use of the word "discover". Was Livingstone the "discoverer" of the Victoria Falls or Mauch of Zimbabwe? From time to time the arguments are produced that neither has the claim attributed to him, for in the one case maybe some far travelling Portuguese or some Boer hunters saw the Falls before Livingstone and in the other case a German wanderer from the Transvaal, one Renders, was at the ruins before Mauch. And then of course in both cases the local inhabitants had known them for as long as may be. Quite recently Livingstone's place as the "discoverer" of Lake Nyasa has been similarly attacked.

The Oxford dictionary is however quite firm—to discover is to "disclose, to expose to view, reveal, make known" and so on. And if it is accepted that the process of making known should be taken a step further than telling one's friends, taken in fact as far as publishing some account in book or journal or newspaper, then the traditional claims all make sense.

In this book the author has taken an original look at the history of travel in South Africa. In spite of his title (in the light of the above) it is an investigation of who got where first. He takes twelve journeys ranging from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The earliest is a remarkable episode. In 1593 Nino Velho Pereira led a party of castaways from the wreck of the *Santo Alberto*, at a point near the Umtata River, into Delagoa Bay, where they were picked up by another ship. 117 Portuguese survived the three-month journey out of an original 125, a success due entirely to the character of the commander, and an enormous contrast to later tragedies. One reason was that rather than follow the coast they took a route well inland where food, water and guides were available, as far from the sea as present Pietermaritzburg.

Of Rhodesian interest are Van Riebeck's attempts to make contact with

the Monomatapa. We know now that the Monomatapa's chieftainship was at that date centred between the Zambesi and the central highlands. According to the intelligence available to Van Riebeck however the golden empire was only a few hundred miles over the northern horizon. Six expeditions between 1550 and 1663 took the northern route, parallel to the Atlantic, and the last ended some 50 miles beyond the Olifants river.

Van der Stel had the same notion of the proximity of the Monomatapa and an expedition that he mounted penetrated to the Great Karroo. But the nearest that any of them came to Rhodesian territory from the south in those embryonic days when all Africa was new was in 1723 when one Lieutenant Stefler crossed the Lebombo Mountains from the present Lourenco Marques. Apparently he had reached, when he was killed, a point within the eastern Transvaal.

There are twelve such episodes in a well produced book, well illustrated and mapped, and good reading.

E. E. BURKE

The Africans: An Entry into Cultural History by Basil Davidson. (Longmans. 1969. 367 pages. Map. Monochrome illustrations and line drawings. Price 50s.)

Basil Davidson sets out to destroy the myth that "Africa has no history". He points out that most anthropologists now agree it was in Africa that the emergence took place of the basic stock from which grew the two separate branches of apes and man. Africa was the centre of the Stone Age and probably the most populous continent at that time.

In the centuries that followed the Stone Age, Africa, apart from the Nile valley, Ethiopia and the Mediterranean littoral, remained in isolation, cut off from the rest of the world. But the Africans, with no fertilising influences from outside, tamed a continent that is probably the most testing of the land masses and, though developing only simple manual techniques, achieved highly complex social and cultural structures.

Davidson tells what is known about the great empires of the western Sudan, the Chad and Nigeria; kingships such as those of Ghana, Mali and of the Ibo and Yoruba peoples. From archaeological and other evidence it appears that kingships appeared in these areas about the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. (the same time as did the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish kingdoms) and some of them lasted a thousand years. Following the Muslim conquests in North Africa in the eighth century A.D. Muslim traders seeking gold and ivory visited these kingdoms and left written accounts of their size and splendour. The well-known surviving bronzes of Ife and Benin give some indication of their high artistic achievement.

Few definite causes for the disintegration of these kingdoms can be pinpointed. Their very success, leading to great increases in population, may have led to pressure on the land, soil erosion and so the scattering of the people and migration of groups to more fertile, unused lands. Taking an example from another part of Africa, Davidson says this was certainly the cause of the break-up of the Nguni people in south-east Africa. One certain cause affecting the West

Africa kingdoms was the great expansion of slave trading after 1650 when kings and chiefs joined wholeheartedly with the European slavers, obtaining guns and indulging in constant warfare against each other in order to obtain slaves.

So, contends Davidson, the Africans have developed the same as any other people with the same basic assumptions of logic or morality only with different forms, just as those of one country differ from another. Their intricate kinship systems aimed to preserve an "ideal equilibrium" that fitted a rural and agricultural way of life. The cult of ancestors is not confined to Africa and it supplies a comforting sense of affiliation and continuity. All the African peoples had a "social charter" based on what they thought right and natural, a set of beliefs confirmed and elaborated by ritual, by a wide range of arts and by religious explanations.

Thus, concludes the author, the colonial era did not mark the beginning of civilisation in Africa. It was an interlude, an institutional void in a long history and whatever emerges now will be a modern variant of an old civilisation.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Afrikaners by John Fisher (Cassell 1969. 380 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Price 50s.)

The author's aim in this book is to fit the story of the Afrikaners into the wider field of South African history as a whole, to tell how they began, how they have become what they are today and so fill a gap in the knowledge of the history of South Africa that exists not only in Britain but in many other parts of the world. He does not aim to award praise or blame in connection with historical events nor to seek heroes or villains but "to offer a logical account of the circumstances and events which, as an outsider sees them, have confronted the Afrikaners and thus influenced their characters, abilities and accomplishments". The history starts with Van Riebeeck and ends with John Vorster as Prime Minister.

Who were the first Afrikaners? Not Van Riebeeck and other Dutch-born administrators of the Cape. They retained their ties with Holland and they returned there after terms of service. The first step in the creation of a new people was taken in 1657 when Van Riebeeck allowed nine married men of Dutch or German stock to leave the employ of the Dutch East India Company and take up farms, given to them freely, of thirteen morgen each close to Cape Town.

The name "German" was very elastic at the time and described anyone coming from a wide district north or east of the Rhine and would include Flanders and parts of Switzerland. The Germans of the day spoke a language more like Dutch than the German of today and easily gave up their Lutheran religion for that of the Hollanders. Most foreigners who joined the Dutch East India Company and who sailed from Dutch ports were "Germans" and Van Riebeeck was specifically instructed to employ only Dutch and Germans at the Cape.

By the end of Van Riebeeck's stay, 1662, there were thirty-nine of these "freemen", i.e., men released from Company employ, or burghers, plus their

families and some followers. It is the descendants of these Dutch and Germans who were the first Afrikaners, people born in South Africa and with no other home. When Simon van der Stel arrived as Governor for the Company in 1679 the number of freemen had only increased to eighty-seven. It is from such small beginnings that the Dutch and German freemen, leavened in the late seventeenth century by Huguenots, grew into the Afrikaners. The author notes that the first use of the name "Afrikanders", later to become Afrikaners, for these Dutch, German and Huguenot people, was in 1707.

There is still controversy as to exactly how and when Afrikaans, the language, first developed. The basis was High Dutch, German and Flemish with peculiarities from the dialects of the Low Countries and it remained unharmed for generations, only a few words from Malay-Portuguese creeping in. But, the author says—"as generation after generation grew up, virtually isolated from Europe, and perhaps even from the Cape, old words from north of the Equator assumed new meanings". The country, the flora, the fauna and the scenery were different from Europe and the Afrikaners invented new words which widened the gap between their language and High Dutch. It became a live language and spread, says the author, because in its early years it was never committed to writing and had therefore no traditions or precedents to hold it back. Even before 1750, strange "mistakes" of grammar and spelling began to appear in letters written in Dutch to officials in the frontier districts—mistakes that gradually increased in number and variety and so became part of the new language. But the first Afrikaans grammar did not appear until 1876.

The author traces the whole history of the Afrikaners as a constant struggle for freedom to rule themselves and to retain their political philosophy as the dominant factor in their homeland. Their protests against the oppressions of the East India Company began as early as 1706; by 1795 they had their own armed forces to beat off the Xhosas. The "Great Trek" was a response to what they felt were British injustices. Then came the two "Wars of Independence", as they call the Boer Wars, the rebellion during the First World War, the deep split in Afrikaner opinion during World War Two and the triumph of apartheid as the dominant political philosophy. Also since the end of the last war the picture of the typical Afrikaner has changed. He has sought and gained controlling interests in finance, industry and commerce and he is as likely to be a sophisticated city dweller as a Boer (farmer).

From that position, says John Fisher, "the Afrikaners should have lived happily ever afterwards". On the contrary they are little understood by the outside world and instead of relaxing in the promised land they are fighting to survive in a hostile world.

The book was badly needed. It does explain why, after three hundred years of history the Afrikaner is ruthless in politics, over-sentimental about his homeland, full of fierce self-confidence yet, at the same time, most anxious about world opinion. It is an excellent example of a history written with a motive and a purpose and Rhodesians, as close neighbours, will enjoy reading it.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Scotty Smith by F. C. Metrowich (Books of Africa. Cape Town. 1970. 226 pages. Photographs and coloured plate. Price R3.75).

Scotty Smith (born Geroge St. Leger Gordon Lennox and possibly heir to a Scottish title) became a legend in his lifetime in South Africa. He has been described by various writers as the King of the Kalahari, The Robin Hood of the Veldt, the Captain Starlight of the Frontier and as ranking with Dick Turpin, Ned Kelly or Jesse James "in the rogues gallery of the world's most picturesque and cunning gentlemen of the road".

After a veterinary career in the Indian army and Australia Scotty Smith came to South Africa in 1877 to join the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, but he soon left to gain undying fame as a horse-thief, cattle-rustler, thief, bandit and outlaw. But he was a likeable character, even the police did not dislike him, because he never harmed women and children or the poor and he performed many a quizzotic act of kindness. In this life of Scotty Smith the author relates scores of yarns about his illegal activities. The most extraordinary feature is that the police rarely seemed to go after him and he lived quite openly in various towns and villages. His one sentence of four years was commuted to one year and shortly afterwards he was created a J.P.

He served as a British imperial spy and intelligence officer before and during the first world war and the Germans of South West Africa put a price on his head.

Although, naturally, Scotty dabbled in I.D.B. Cecil Rhodes once employed him to clean up a complete settlement of tough I.D.B. gangs. His other Rhodesian connection was when, in Mafeking, he rustled a hundred remounts which a young officer and two troopers had bought for the B.S.A. Police. Afterwards, meeting the dejected and very dispirited young officer in a bar Scotty was so taken with him that he returned the horses. Late in his life Scotty came to hate Rhodes, blaming him for his sentence of imprisonment.

Scotty died peacefully in his bed in 1919. No doubt many of the stories that have gathered round his name are apocryphal. But if only the half of them is true he must have been a remarkable man and it is certainly hard to think of him as a criminal.

The author has performed a major piece of research in unearthing so many stories and details of the life of the enigmatic Scotty Smith and he has produced a fascinating biography of one of South Africa's most colourful and rumbustious characters.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Johannesburg: Some sketches of the Golden Metropolis by A. A. Telford. (Books of Africa (Pty.) Ltd. Cape Town, 1969, 94 pages, illustrated. Price R3.50).

This is a light, enjoyable and highly informative book, providing a comprehensive picture of bewildering, bustling and unforgettable Johannesburg. Every facet of the city is examined in short, entertaining chapters, illustrated with vigorous line drawings—landmarks, schools, parks, mines, museums, hotels, banks and people.

The early history of the city is briefly told—the first settlers, the discovery of gold at the Witwatersrand by the Streuben brothers and George Harrison, the early mining methods, contrasting so sharply with those of today, and the formation of the Stock Exchange. Law and order emanated from Marshall Square, the Police Headquarters, built in 1899 on the Market Square of Marshall's private township, while the Fort (now the jail) was begun after the Jameson Raid by President Kruger. Bristling with armaments, it was never used for defense of the city, as the Boer commanders surrendered Johannesburg unconditionally. Religious, social and racial aspects are briefly outlined—and there is even a map of the city centre.

Paging through this book will evoke nostalgic memories for those who know Johannesburg, and provide an incentive for the visitor to explore the fascinating Golden City, and see it in perspective for perhaps the first time.

R. C. KIMBERLEY

France and the Africans 1944-60 by Edward Mortimer. (Faber and Faber. 1969, 390 pages. Illustrations and maps. Price 55s.).

Since the end of World War II thirteen French colonial territories in West and Central Africa have gained their independence. This volume is a factual study of the events, personalities and politics involved in this achievement.

The author says that if relations between Africans and Frenchmen are easier and better than relations between Africans and Englishmen that is due not only to De Gaulle but also to the Fourth Republic, before De Gaulle,—“in which France found it normal and reasonable to be represented by African deputies and governed by African ministers”. Britain may have been more realistic in her colonial policies but she was more condescending. “She would never have accepted the presence of Nkumah and Kenyatta in the Macmillan cabinet . . . Yet the equivalent is what France accepted.” Both Britain and France were anxious to spread civilisation but only France expected to “assimilate” its colonial subjects to the state where culturally, legally and politically they could actually be Frenchmen.

So that, after the war when changes became inevitable, the achievement of independence took on a different aspect from that in British territories. French African politicians were more sophisticated and although there were some disturbances, particularly in the Ivory Coast, the campaign for independence took the form, to begin with, of struggles between political parties, some under communist influence, for greater representation in local assemblies. Later there were debates in the French and local assemblies and arguments between political parties both in the colonies and in France mainly about the form of association with France that autonomous states could maintain. That there should be some association was taken for granted.

The author relates with great detail the events in each colony and telling how each of the colonies became independent. In 1960 France sponsored the admission into U.N.O. of twelve out of thirteen of her former colonies, all as independent Black African Republics.

The author finds his way among the political complexities of so many countries with great ease and he writes with confidence. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of contemporary history.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Novels of Chinua Achebe: A Commentary by G. D. Killam (Heinemann 1969, 106 pages. Price 25s..)

Nigeria has produced the largest crop of African writers in English and of them, Chinua Achebe is the greatest exponent. Half a million copies of his books in their English editions alone have been sold.

G. D. Killam, Associate Professor of English in York University, Toronto, with a background of teaching in Nigerian Universities, gives us an enlightened commentary on Achebe's novels and short stories. The publishers rightly claim that the book will answer the needs of Universities and schools where Achebe's works are studied and increase the comprehension and enjoyment of people who read his books purely for pleasure.

The four novels are described as, basically, a study of the traumatic effects of colonialism on a subject people, but throughout, Achebe is strongly conscious of his integrity as a writer. He resists the temptation to extol the good points of his people's traditional culture and pretend the bad never existed. Likewise, some of the benefits as well as the bad points of British colonialism are acknowledged. Achebe considers the writer's duty "is to explore the depth of the human condition". His books are primarily about people, "the plight of the individual in a world characterised by uncertainty, pain and violence. In this he reveals a perception about people and how they think, feel and react, and an extraordinary skill in the use of dialogue," we are informed.

Things Fall Apart, Achebe's first novel, published in 1958, describes the cultural pattern of nineteenth-century Ibo life just prior to and after the arrival of the white man. The crushing blows levelled at traditional values by an alien and more powerful culture cause the traditional society to fall apart.

No Longer at Ease reveals the extent to which things have fallen apart in the days immediately prior to Nigeria's independence, throwing the spotlight on widespread bribery and corruption.

Arrow of God features a man who sees the value of the changes being wrought around him. The tragedy is that he comes to the same sticky end as those with opposite views featured in the previous books.

A Man of the People is about post independent Nigeria and a comment on the degree to which acquisitiveness and unrestrained corruption had come to dominate Nigerian life.

Achebe's skilful use of the English language to convey an essentially African atmosphere and attitude is fascinating. The liberal use of apt and thought provoking traditional proverbs and idioms enhances his smooth flowing prose.

G. D. Killam feeds us with delightful tit bits from Achebe's literature. The appetite of this reviewer, for one, has been wetted to go for the feast that remains to be enjoyed.

E. w. KROG

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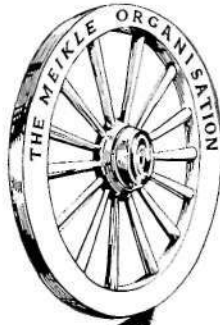
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Shakespeare

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In recent years the membership of the Society has doubled and then more than redoubled. The Society is always keen on attracting still more new members.

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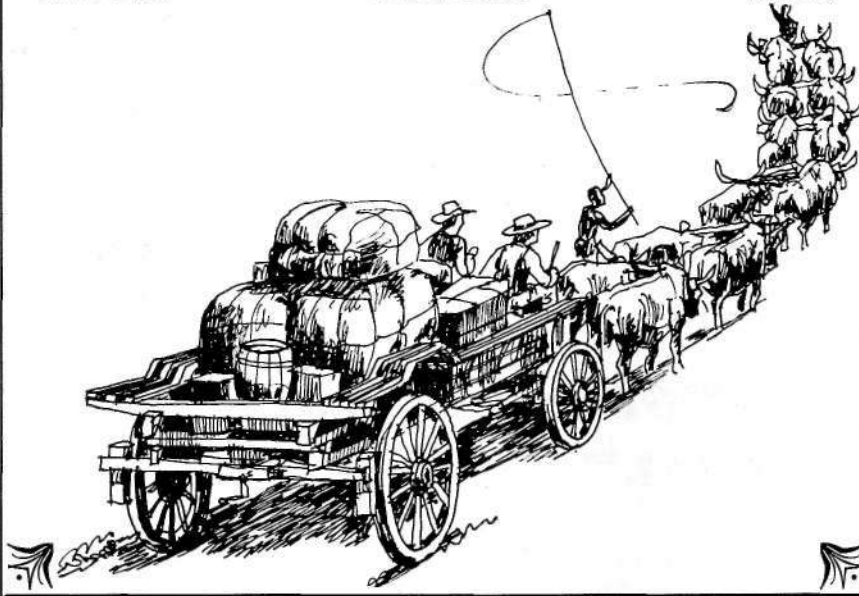


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