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PUBLICATION No. 25

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 25 — December, 1971

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

Salisbury

Rhodesia

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



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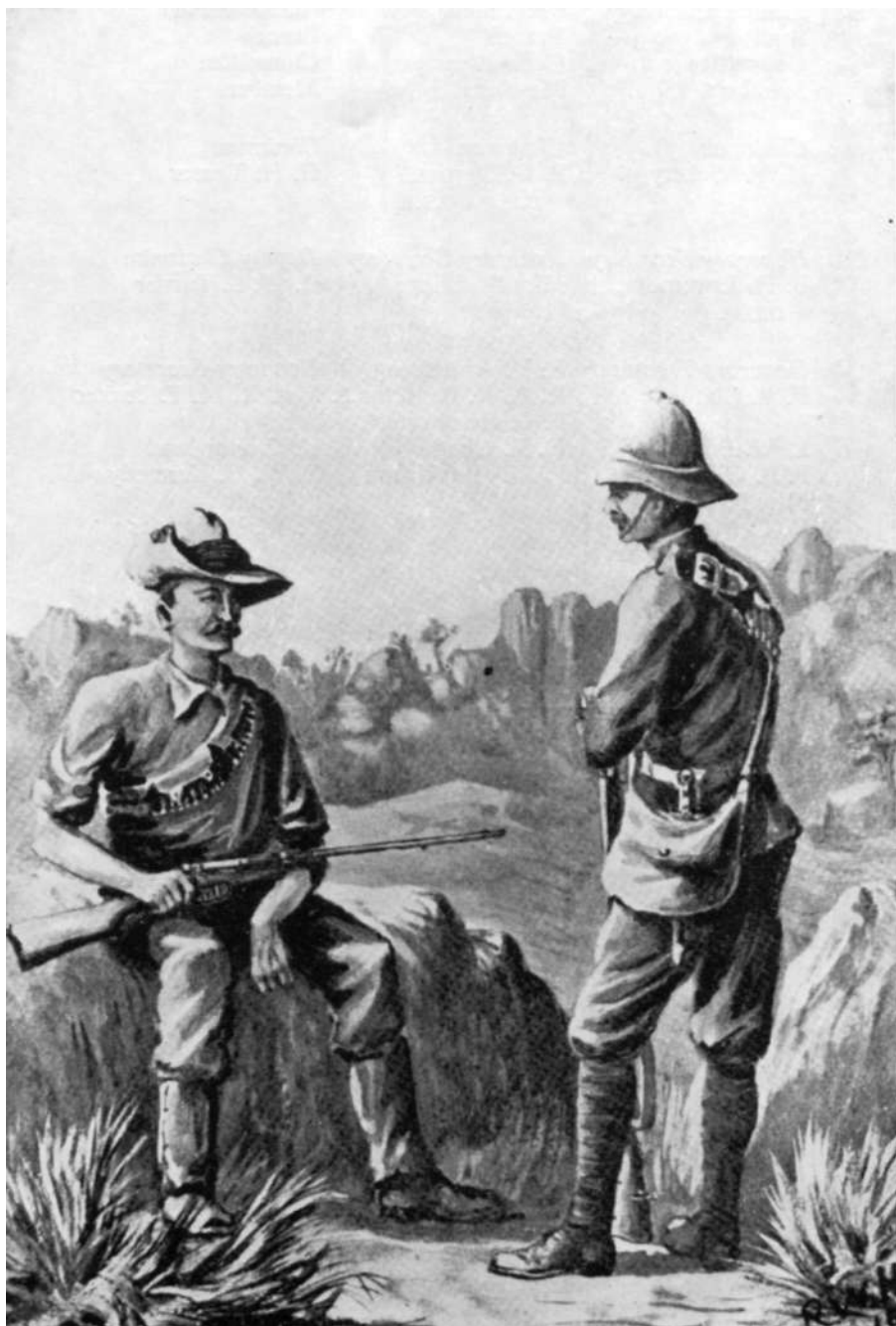
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"Types of the force", from "With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force, 1896", by E. A. H. Alderson. A sketch by Lieut. R. W. Hare, Norfolk Regiment, showing a Rhodesian volunteer and an Imperial mounted infantryman.

(Photo: National Archives)

Mazoe and the Mashona Rebellion, 1896-97

by E. E. Burke

Introduction

There is a large bibliography of works and papers dealing with the Rebellion in Mashonaland in 1896-97 and it might seem that the subject has been well studied.

There are, though, surprising gaps in general awareness of what happened within a very few miles of Salisbury 75 years ago; gaps, too, in knowledge, which deserve explanation. One such gap, for which the word mystery might not be too strong a term, has been the whereabouts of the graves of Blakiston and Routledge. Several memorials to them are honoured each year, but what had happened to the remains of the men themselves?¹ It was from this starting point that interest led to the significance of Fort Mazoe, to the relevance and location of Fort Alderson, to the accounts of the pacification of the upper Mazoe Valley and to attempt some explanation of why no knowledge of these events survived amongst the district's European population.

The enquiries grew, and have become somewhat wider than their original purpose demanded. Their results are presented as a contribution to the history of the Mazoe area in a formative period.

Preparation

The Matabele Rebellion sprang upon a startled population in March 1896, but there was little apprehension of the possibility of its spreading into Mashonaland, where the Africans were regarded as totally unorganised and unwarlike. But, glimpsed in a small incident here and there by a few percipient Native Commissioners, though unappreciated in significance, much was happening.

The relationships in 1896 between the spirit mediums Kagubi and Nyanda, were interwoven with all the intricacies of Shona religious beliefs, and it is doubtful whether the relationships are as yet fully comprehended. It is sufficient for the present purpose to provide an outline of the sequence of events on the Shona side.

¹ There is a memorial at Mazoe, very close to the Mazoe Hotel, and a plaque in the General Post Office in Salisbury. Both were erected, from public subscription, by a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. E. S. White, of Concession, and unveiled on 19th June, 1936. There is a much earlier plaque in St. George's Chapel in the Anglican Cathedral, erected by their "Comrades in the Rhodesian Post and Telegraph Service".

According to some accounts Mkwati, the chief representative of the Mwarikwa cult and the organiser of the Matabele rebellion, sent messages, in April 1896, to Mashayamombe, at his kraal near Hartley,¹ offering Matabele assistance if an insurrection could be organised amongst the Shona.

Mashayamombe consulted with the spirit medium Kagubi, who was granted special "powers" by Mkwati. Thereafter Kagubi based himself at Mashayamombe's kraal from where he sent messengers through central and northern Mashonaland. There was a series of conferences of representatives sent by Shona chiefs at which the recruitment, the organisation and the timing of the outbreak was arranged.

Each tribal area had its *mondoro* or spirit medium, of greater or lesser degree of importance. In the Mazoe valley the spirit medium was a woman, Nyanda, who had her headquarters at Chidamba's kraal in the "Granite Hills".² She became Kagubi's ally, agent and local controller. It was her influence that maintained morale in the Mazoe and created the will to rebellion; it was to her that all loot—cattle, arms, ammunition, personal belongings—was surrendered for redistribution as she thought fit.

Thus during April and May of 1896 the organisation was perfected, to be put into action at a signal—relayed by beacon fires—from Mashayamombe's kraal. When Mkwati sent word, and with the arrival of a Matabele impi, or part of one, at Mashayamombe's kraal to give general support, the signal was given. The first murders around Salisbury were on 15th June.³

There was another prominent figure in the organisation in the Mazoe; this was Mhasvi, a member of the Native Police unit. According to one account he deserted at the news of the first murders and joined the Mazoe chiefs whom he instigated to rebellion, but his exact part is uncertain. However, he, without doubt, did exercise the rebels in the use of their weapons and in how to aim with them, and his presence became well known to the authorities.⁴

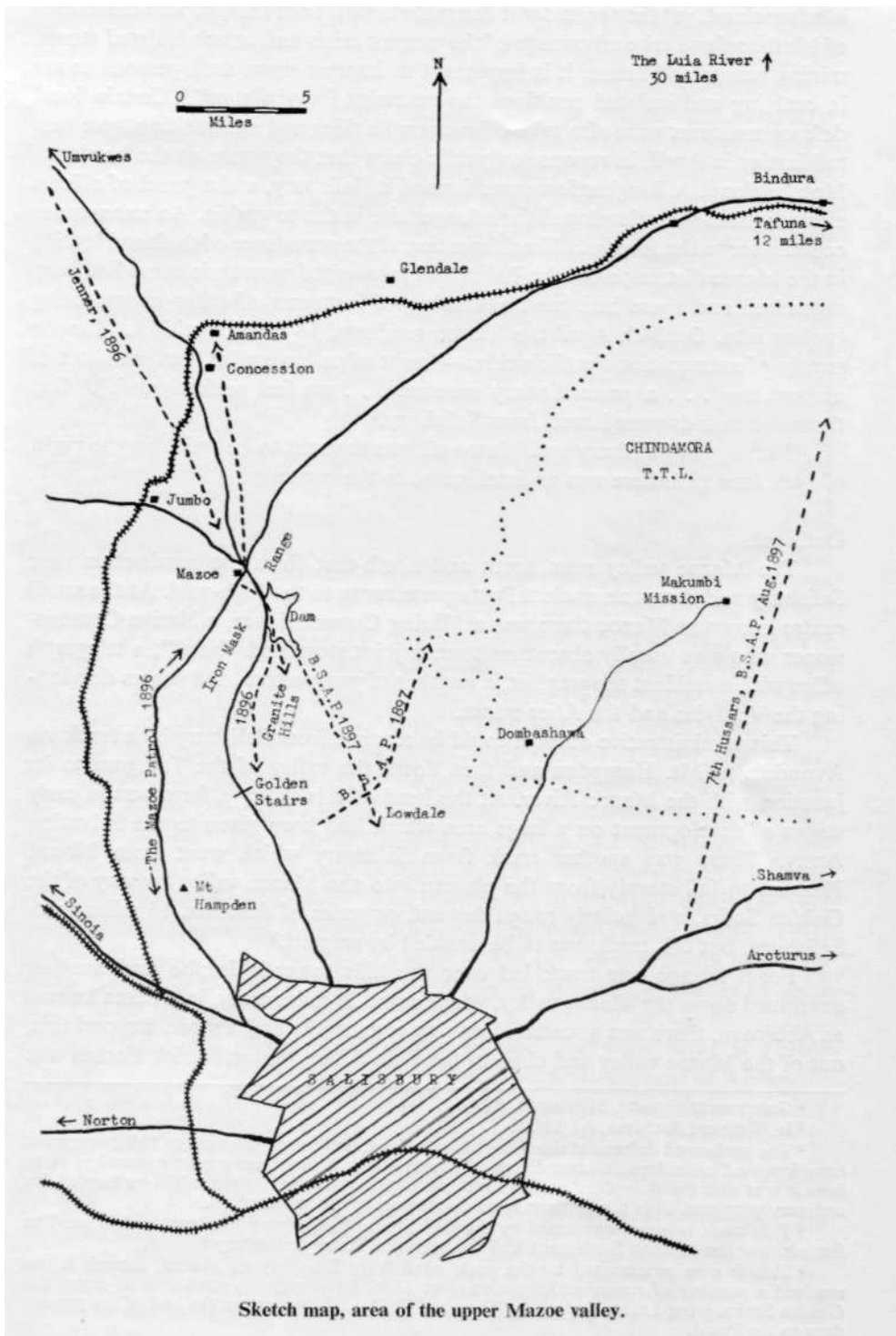
The Administration in Salisbury had been naturally uneasy since the outbreak in Matabeleland in March, not at the possibility of a Shona rising, but at a general spread of lawlessness. Thus on 14th April, 1896, the Executive Council issued a "Notice to Prospectors and others" which explained its thoughts—". . . although His Honour the Acting Administrator and the Council have no reason to believe that there is any probability of a similar rising of natives in

¹ The site of Mashayamombe's kraal, overlooking the Umfuli, was located by Mr. B. S. Marlborough on his farm Fort Martin Extension in 1969.

² The name "Granite Hills" was freely used in correspondence and reports of the period but no map showing their location has survived. From the description of events, and internal evidence, it is clear that they were the hills running due north, on the west bank of the Mazoe, from Christon Bank to the southern end of the Mazoe Dam.

³ According to *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia* (B.S.A. Company, 1898) 119 Europeans were murdered in Mashonaland, 26 of them in the Mazoe district. In Matabeleland and Mashonaland together, L. H. Gann points out: "The settlers lost something like ten per cent of their total number, a staggeringly high figure, infinitely greater than the proportion of casualties suffered by white colonists in the Algerian national rising or the Mau Mau war in Kenya in the twentieth century." *History of Southern Rhodesia* (Chatto & Windus, 1965), p. 137.

⁴ See D. M. S. Sanhokwe, "Mhasvi, rebel policeman: the story of the Hwata people and the Mashona Rebellion" (in *Outpost*, v. 38, August 1960).



Sketch map, area of the upper Mazoe valley.

Mashonaland, yet they consider it desirable to point out that, should the natives of Mashonaland take advantage of the present crisis and attack isolated stores, mining camps and farms, it is important to impress upon such persons as are in outlying and isolated positions the necessity for vigilance".¹ Certain local defence measures were also taken, for example rifles and ammunition were sent to Hartley in April, in response to public claim that they were on the border of Matabeleland. A Burgher force was formed in Salisbury, and a panel of officers elected; plans were developed for a laager site in the township. An anonymous contributor to the *Rhodesia Herald* mentioned the prevalence of theft and looting in the Mazoe district; since the Police had been withdrawn their camp had been ransacked and there had been a number of instances of other camps being broken into. On 24th April the Mazoe residents, 14 in all, petitioned for the supply of ammunition for their rifles—"most of us have rifles, but are short of ammunition . . . a precautionary measure . . . we feel perfectly safe".² One thousand rounds were issued from Salisbury.³

But around Salisbury and Mazoe all was thought to be quiet on the night of 14th June and there was no intelligence to the contrary.

Outbreak

The Mazoe valley runs north and north-east from the headwaters near Salisbury and it was an ancient Portuguese route to the high-veld. At the small centre known as Mazoe there was a Mining Commissioner, a Native Commissioner who was usually absent on tour, a joint store and "hotel", a telegraph office with a resident telegraphist, a number of prospectors, and others developing the Vesuvius and the Alice mines.

This administrative outpost could be reached from Salisbury by a track via Avondale to Mt. Hampden and then down the valley of the Tatagura to its junction with the Mazoe River. At the head of this valley a farm was in early stages of development on a large area which had been given to the Salvation Army.⁴ There was another track from Salisbury which went from Mount Pleasant to fall steeply from the plateau into the Mazoe valley by way of the Golden Stairs, a singularly rough descent, or series of descents, 16 miles from Salisbury, but this track was to be avoided by wagons.⁵

From Mazoe one track led over the hills towards Jumbo and another continued down the Mazoe valley, where some 20 miles away, in an area known as Abercorn, there was a scattered mining community and a store. Beyond this, out of the Mazoe valley and close to the Luia River, Major Patrick Forbes was

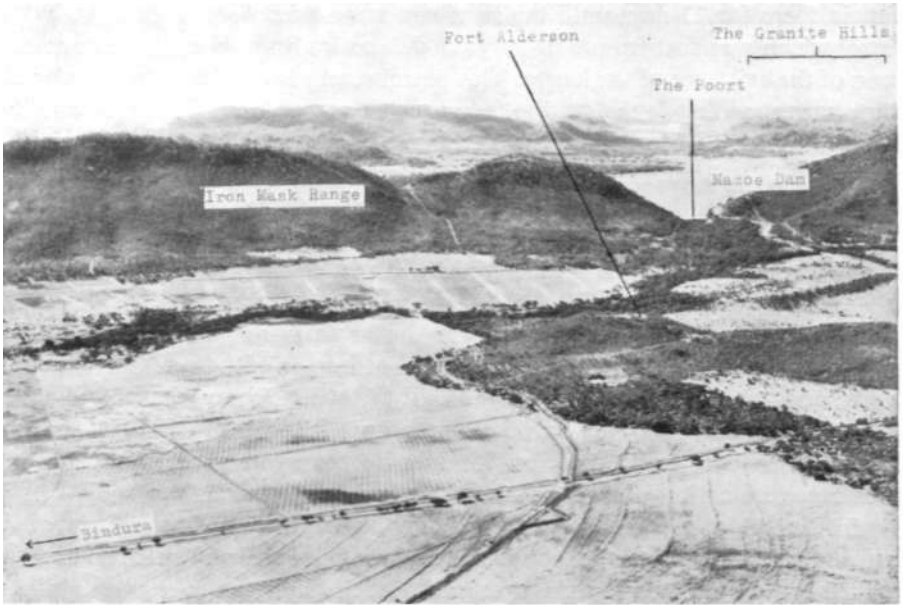
¹ *Government Gazette*, 15th April, 1896.

² In National Archives, AI/12/25.

³ The prolonged defence at the Alice Mine in June, and the withdrawal to Salisbury, must have involved considerable expenditure of ammunition. It has been a minor question as to how it was that the defenders had so much on hand, much more than might be needed for ordinary purposes. This timely issue is no doubt part of the explanation.

⁴ This track is now represented by the Old Mazoe Road from Salisbury to Mazoe. The farm is now the Pearson Settlement and the Salvation Army Secondary School.

⁵ This is now represented by the main road from Salisbury to Mazoe, though it has received a number of major realignments since 1896. Originally the road twisted down the Golden Stairs, passed close under the "Granite Hills", and then across the bed of the present dam to the Poort.



From an aerial view of the Mazoe Citrus Estates, 1960.

(Photo: Anglo American Corpn.)

in charge of a party engaged in building a telegraph line to Tete. This was part of Rhodes's plan for a Cape to Cairo telegraph and the line had reached to this point from Salisbury, with a short side-line to the instrument at Mazoe.

As the signal for rebellion was received so each of the local chiefs—Wata, Chiweshe, Negomo, Nyamweda, Chidamba—with Nyanda as their co-ordinator, made his arrangements. The parties from each converged, the murders commenced about the 18th and continued as the isolated prospectors were found.

At Mazoe itself the news of murders at Beatrice and Norton caused the people to commence a withdrawal to Salisbury but it was too late and they were forced to retire within a hurriedly improvised laager at the Alice Mine. The epic defence of this laager, the deaths of Blakiston and Routledge in sending a last telegraph message to Salisbury, the rescue of the people within the laager by patrols sent from Salisbury, are too much part of Rhodesian history to need relating at length in this context.¹

With the rescue of the Mazoe survivors from the Alice Mine and their departure on Saturday, 20th June, there remained a small outpost at Abercorn. On that same day, 20th June, the local mining population hastily turned the store into a defensive post.² Here 8 Europeans and 10 Africans took refuge,³ to

¹ There is a very full account by R. C. Howland, "The Mazoe Patrol" (in *Rhodesiana*, No. 8, 1963).

² The store was a mile or so south of the present Tafuna siding. See A. S. Hickman, "The siege of the Abercorn Store", in *Rhodesiana*, No. 9, 1963.

³ It is to be noted that the hostility of the rebels was directed not only to Europeans but to their own people who had co-operated with Europeans and to all "foreign" Africans. But there were exceptions; H. H. Pollard, the Native Commissioner, Mazoe, was killed by his own escort of African police, who then joined the rebels. This was on or about 18th June, near Mount Darwin.

remain there for 23 days until the survivors were rescued, on 13th July, by a patrol which was sent from Salisbury on the receipt from friendly Africans of news of the existence of the laager. This patrol reached the Abercorn store by a route corresponding to the road to Shamva that passes Mermaid's Pool, and it returned along the Mazoe and the Tatagura to Mt. Hampden. In the reminiscences of Major Walter Howard, who took part in this expedition,³ he describes a night march past the Alice Mine. They off-saddled at the Gwebi for breakfast on 17th July, after being fired on from Mt. Hampden, but the meal was interrupted by oncoming rebels. Howard estimated that at one time there must have been 2 000 within sight.

The telegraph construction party in the north were isolated from communication when the telegraph line was cut at Mazoe on 18th June. One of their camps was attacked on the 26th when Capt. W. McCallum was murdered and the remainder of the party, who were on the Luia River, then withdrew across the border to Tete from where on 7th July Forbes wrote asking for punitive measures, with no knowledge that the rising had been general.

Thus the Mazoe rebels had achieved their object; there was not a European between Salisbury and the Zambezi. The high-water of their offensive had been reached and passed, and to them it seemed that the fight was over.

Re-occupation of the Mazoe

The possible presence of rebel Africans in large numbers in the Mt. Hampden area and on the Gwebi flats posed a close threat to the security of Salisbury which could not be allowed to continue. It was well known to the Administration that the Mazoe was a focus of the insurrection. It was near at hand, it was readily

On the line of the old track under the Granite Hills.



(Photo: E. E. Burke)

³ National Archives, Hist. MSS. HO 5/3/1.

accessible, and it was dangerous. Hence it was the area to which the Acting Administrator, the Hon. Mr. Justice Vintcent, gave priority in re-establishing his authority.

On 31st July a reconnaissance patrol was sent towards Mt. Hampden. Tyndale-Biscoe notes in his dairy "they found that several hundred rebels had been camped there and had fortified the hill, had left about a fortnight ago".¹

A week later, on Sunday, 8th August, Duncan called a meeting in his office to detail a plan for what was,² in view of the extent of the military resources available, a very major undertaking. The following morning all the available men of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers, under Major H. F. Hoste,³ numbering about 60, together with a 7-pounder gun and a Maxim, left the Nursery Farm⁴ and met Duncan with Grey's Scouts (strength 66) and the Natal Troop (44) and another Maxim, at the crossing of the Gwebi on the way to Mt. Hampden. They laagered there for the night.⁵

On 10th August Duncan moved the column of 170 men, representing most of Mashonaland's mobile military strength at that date, past Mt. Hampden and as far as the Tatagura River just beyond the Salvation Army farm. There they found that a deep ditch had been cut across the track where it led down to the drift through the river. This necessitated making a new one lower down for the wagons and they laagered for the night as soon as they were across; there were no rebels to be seen. They moved again at daybreak on the 11th to shortly encounter another deep hole in the track, with brushwood piled at each side. On the way they passed the bodies of those killed in the retreat from the Alice Mine in June and the column went on to laager "near the small hill between the Alice Mine and the river".⁶ In a report Duncan states that he selected a site for a fort "on hill within 300 yards from the river".⁷ He lost no time, on the 12th August, Grey's Scouts, the Bulawayo men, were put to clearing the hill and building up the fort. Part of the R.H.V. were sent to reconnoitre Amanda's

¹ E. C. C. Tyndaie-Biscoe (1864-1941) had a long and distinguished connection with Rhodesian affairs which commenced with the Pioneer Column of 1890. In 1896 he owned a share in a prospecting and trading enterprise, the Holton Syndicate, which had interests at Mazoe. His diary is in the National Archives, Hist. MSS. BI 3/1/3.

² A. H. F. Duncan, Surveyor-General, was organising the defence in Mashonaland. He served in the Royal Navy, 1868-83; then qualified as a surveyor at the Cape University, 1884; Surveyor-General of British Bechuanaland, 1886-91, and of the B.S.A. Company's territories, 1891-96. Died at Pretoria, 1931.

³ Major ("Skipper") H. F. Hoste (1853-1936). Commodore of the Union Steamship Company; master of R.M.S. *Trojan*, 1883-90. At Rhodes's suggestion joined the Pioneer Corps, commanding "B" Troop; subsequently prospector and miner; second-in-command of the Salisbury Field Force, 1896, under Lieut.-Col. R. Beat; later farmed in the Essexvale area.

⁴ The area on the Highlands side of the Chiripagura stream, from Newlands up to Pocket's Hill.

⁵ An account of the military organisation within Mashonaland is added at Appendix A, and reference may be made to this in regard to the chain of command, and the nature of individual units.

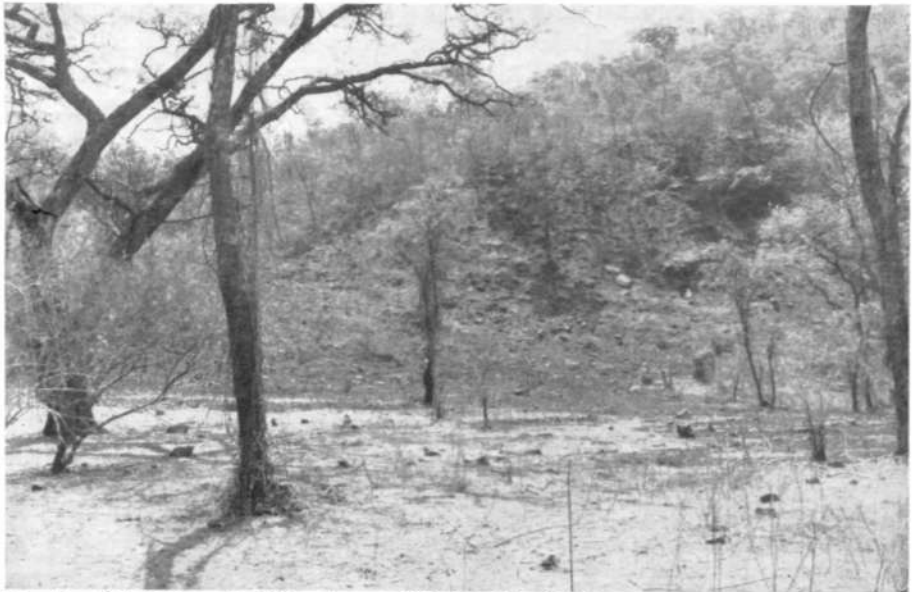
⁶ Biscoe, op. cit. See Appendix B for details of the burial at Fort Mazoe of the remains of those killed in the area, and of the identification of the site in 1968.

⁷ National Archives, Hist. MSS. AL 1/1/1. The fort stands on a small hill overlooking the road from Mazoe to Salisbury ("The Old Mazoe Road") at a distance of 1¼ miles from the Mazoe Hotel; it is signposted. The surviving earthworks provide ditches which are still in places up to 5 ft. deep and enclose an area of about 300 square yds.



The Telegraph Office at Mazoe, 1896; from a photograph taken by Dan Judson. It was from here that Blakiston and Routledge sent their last message to Salisbury.

(Photo: National Archives)



The site of the Telegraph Office, August 1971. The identification was made with the help of the two flat rocks on the slope of the hill, which in the 1896 picture appear below the figure "6".

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

kraal¹ while the Natal Troop saw the first action of the operation. They were sent down to the Mazoe and up through the Poort where the wall of the dam now is, to follow the telegraph line back in the direction of Salisbury and to mend the breaks. The track and the telegraph line followed more or less the centre of the present dam, then close under the hills to the east of the Henderson Research Station and thence to the Golden Stairs where it debouched on the high-veld. The troop was fired on from these hills and forced to retire. That night the rebels were reported in strength in the Poort and the adjacent hills.

A return visit was made to the Granite Hills the following day using almost the full available strength of 150 mounted men, together with a native contingent. The 7-pounder gun was used on various likely places and then the force, European and African, went up and over the hills in a frontal assault. However, the result was ineffective as the rebels quickly retired to caves within and under the rocks.

There was no time given to rest. On the 14th the majority were off again at daybreak, this time to Amanda's kraal. The pattern of the day before was repeated; the troops attacked after a limited amount of shell fire from the 7-pounder but the rebels took refuge in holes and crevices from which they fired back. It was the opinion that the advantage was entirely with the rebels as men could only fire at puffs of smoke and hardly ever had a sight of the enemy. The first casualty occurred in this fighting when Capt. F. K. W. L. Montgomery was severely wounded in the head.² He was operated on at Fort Mazoe the following morning and then transferred to the hospital in Salisbury.

Duncan's column was intended for action and movement, and not as a fixture. As soon as the fort had been put in hand he had asked for a garrison from Salisbury of 25 men to serve in it for a month, and to complete its construction.

Lieut. J. G. W. Fairbairn arrived with this party on the 16th.³ At the same time the Natal Troop worked back along the telegraph line, with some success, as they were able to pass messages to Salisbury on the 17th, but not for long.

Meanwhile Alderson's Mounted Infantry had arrived in Salisbury from Beira and Duncan, with Grey's Scouts, went to meet him.⁴ Alderson on his arrival became the overall military commander in Mashonaland and one of the first results of his assessment was to bring Hoste's Rhodesia Horse Volunteers, which were patrolling from Fort Mazoe, back to Salisbury. Fairbairn remained there with 36 Europeans and a native contingent of 25.

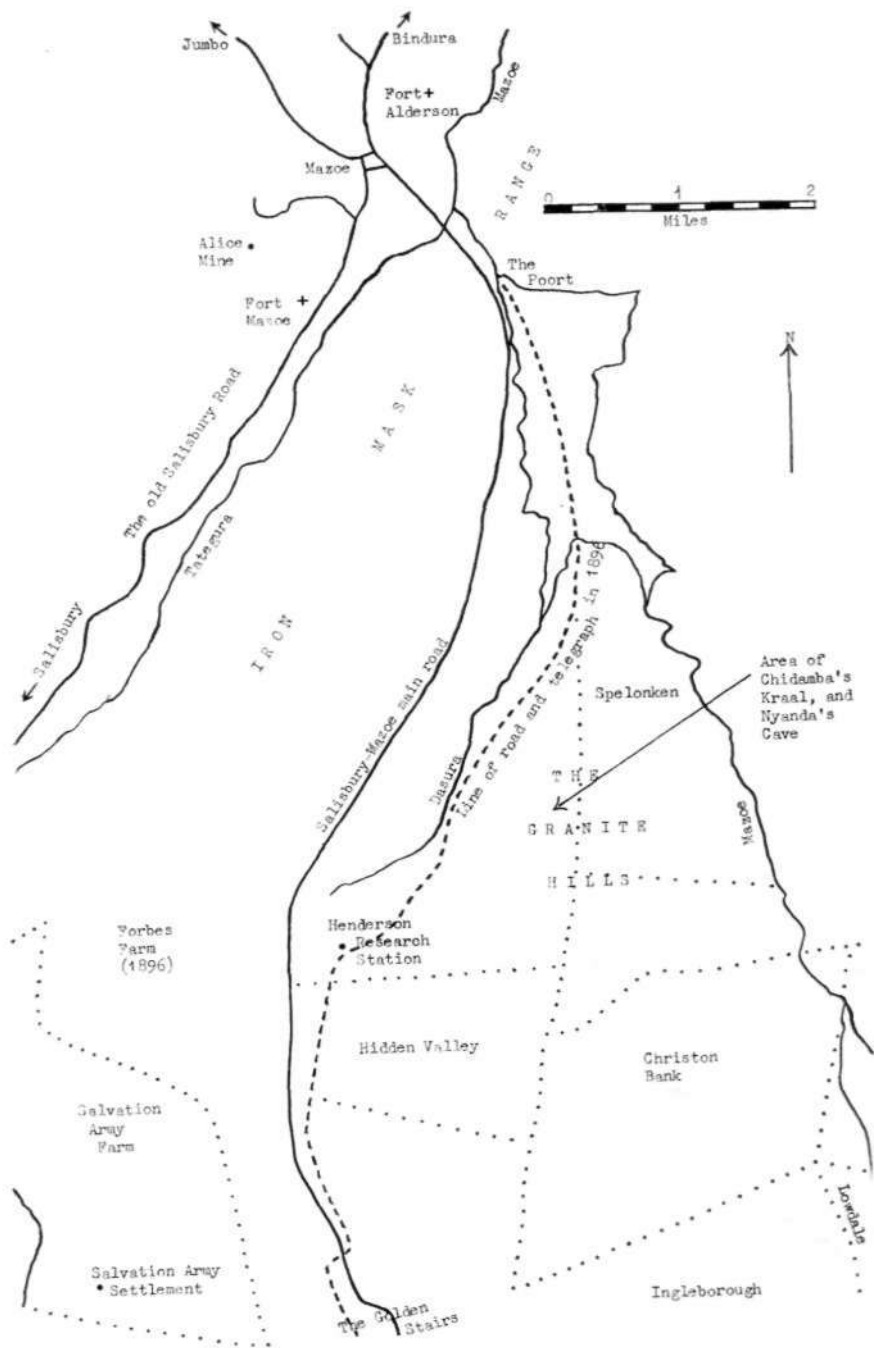
¹ Near the present Concession.

² The operation is briefly mentioned by Pelly in his letters: "I spent the morning in helping the doctor when he operated on poor Montgomery"; the doctor was Surgeon-Lieut. R. J. Wyllie. Montgomery attested as No. 1 in the British South Africa Company's Police in 1889, his original hat badge is preserved in the Officers' Mess of the B.S.A.P. in Salisbury.

The operation left him with a paralysis of the legs and the people of Salisbury subscribed to send him to England for specialist treatment. He recovered sufficiently to serve as recruiting officer in the Cape Colony during the South African War. He died in 1941 in Jersey, during the German occupation of the island, at the age of 82.

³ J. G. W. Fairbairn owned many claims in the Mazoe district and was one of the party who took refuge in the laager at the Alice Mine in June; he therefore knew the district very well. He seems to have sold his claims and left Rhodesia in 1897.

⁴ See Appendix A.



Sketch map, Mazoe to the Golden Stairs.

In its complete form the fort was described as consisting of an ordinary earth breastwork, with a ditch outside about six feet deep and a barbed-wire entanglement. Within the area protected by the breastwork was a small galvanised iron shed used as a guardhouse.¹

Operations from Fort Mazoe

After Fairbairn and his garrison were left on their own all seems to have been fairly quiet for two weeks. Patrols were sent out each day and on 20th August Fairbairn reported an attempt by the rebels to cut off one of these by catching it between one group of about 100 at the Golden Stairs and another group in the Poort—"Corporal in charge reported at least 500 natives, the granite range being alive with them."²

Fairbairn was apparently on leave in Salisbury for a few days at the end of August and on his return to the fort on 2nd September he received a report from Sam, the sergeant in charge of the native contingent there, that some of the rebels wished to negotiate; Chidamba's people had had enough of fighting and wanted to till their ground.

This was immediately reported back to Salisbury where it was received with a measure of relief. Only 12 days earlier Rhodes had had his first indaba with the Matabele chiefs in the Matopos and while the situation there was different, in that those chiefs could speak for the Matabele as a whole whereas there was no equivalent central authority within Mashonaland with which to deal, nevertheless this approach from Chidamba, such as it was, might be the beginning.

Fairbairn followed up quickly and was able to make shouting contact with Mhasvi, the renegade police constable, who promised that Chidamba would be with them on the next day, and would bring a present as a token. Fairbairn returned the next day (5th September) but Chidamba failed to put in an appearance.

Headquarters in Salisbury moved at once to produce a situation which might encourage negotiations and two sections of the Irish Company of the Mounted Infantry, under Lieut. G. S. French (Royal Irish Regiment) were sent

¹ E. A. H. Alderson, *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force*, 1896 (Methuen, 1898), p. 179. The reprinting of this is planned by Books of Rhodesia Publishing Co., of Bulawayo, for December 1971.

Alderson (1859-1927), a specialist in mounted infantry, first saw service at Laing's Nek in 1881, and subsequently in Egypt and in the attempted relief of Gordon at Khartoum. He commanded the considerable forces of mounted infantry raised during the South African War, and in World War I he commanded the Canadian Expeditionary Force. A Lieut.-General in 1914; appointed K.C.B. in 1916.

² Staff Diary AL 1/1/1, p. 82. The orders to the O.C. Fort Mazoe have survived (National Archives, BA 8/2/1). They include:

"1. The object of your post is to protect the men working at the Alice Mine and to keep the district round it free of natives.

"5. It appears especially desirable that patrols should go down the East side of the Iron Mask Range, through the Poort and about 7 miles along the telegraph line to the neighbourhood of Chewe's Hills and Chitamba's so as to harass natives who cut the wire."

to Fort Mazoe.¹ Contact was again made with Mhasvi and this time Fairbairn met and talked with eight or nine of the local chiefs. He reported—"The following indunas were present—Chidamba, Shiwishi, Shitawaro, Kamtaka, Dewe, Gwanzura, Shevanga, Matatawana. The brother of Wata was also there. Wata and Gavanti were in the rocks but were afraid to come down. I gave the message from the Big White Chiefs.² They appeared cowed and listened to all I had to say and also promised to send a present of sheep and goats to the Fort; they would have sent cattle, but they were away in the hills (a day's journey) and the Matabele, who had been there, had taken all the cattle stolen from the white men away to Mashingombi's. They said the Matabele had incited them to rise. They said all the chiefs there would meet the White Chiefs at the Golden Stairs (15 miles from Salisbury by the Poort Road) and that they would bring cattle . . ."³

The next day, Saturday, 12th September, produced contrary information. A native contingent cossack post near the fort brought in a native woman whose husband was in Salisbury where she wanted to join him.⁴ She volunteered that her people were collecting near Amanda's kraal, where Kagubi and Nyanda were, with the intention of first attacking the fort and then going on to Salisbury. They had not much food and no cattle but plenty of guns and ammunition and they meant to fight. There had been a great indaba between the local Shona and the Makorekore, and Mashingombi was coming to join them from the Umfuli. According to her, Chidamba's people had made a plan to pretend to give in until all was ready for the attack.⁵

On this news French immediately took his two sections to forestall the attack. He was guided to a new kraal, in the direction of the present Concession, and found some 200 rebels congregated. He opened fire from a distance of 1 700 yards and then moved in from two directions. The rebels scattered and he was able to break through the stockade and fire the huts. As on other occasions the rebels were quickly away and there was no possibility of them being brought to any decisive action.

French left Mazoe for Salisbury by the Golden Stairs track on 13th September and noted on the way that the telegraph line was down and some of the

¹ Two sections totalled 2 officers and 60 other ranks.

French returned to Rhodesia in 1899 as one of Plumer's staff. He was killed in action in February 1900 near Crocodile Pools, in Botswana, while serving with the Rhodesia Regiment.

² The "Big White Chiefs" were Vintcent, in charge of the civil administration, and Alderson, commanding the Mashonaland Field Force.

³ Staff Diary, AL 1/1/1, p. 107.

⁴ A "cossack post" was an out-guard of three or four men, posting one sentry from amongst them.

⁵ Later, in Salisbury, the woman gave further information on the organisation of the rebellion. It is given in precis in the Staff Diary, op. cit., pp. 137 and 140: "Relic of a god was sent from 'Chuaru' on Umfuli to Nyanda's, said to be a man's arm, Mashonas collected at Choto's but Nyanda repeatedly [*sic*] 'Mondoro' sent to Chipadza to send food and he sent it (2 bags meal) to Choto's. About 100 Mashonas were at Choto's. Messengers were sent by the god at Choto's to the Budza country and the god of the Budza said he was following them with an impi. People at Choto's still waiting his arrival. Many guns at Choto's, some given by Nyanda. Chiefs who sent men to Choto's were Amanda, Cheweshi, Nyanda and Chiripanyanger."



Fort Mazoe, 1896. From a photograph in the Blakiston Papers (National Archives). The original sketch, which may have been in a newspaper, has not been located.

(Photo: National Archives)



Fort Mazoe; from the west, December 1968. *(Photo: Rhodesia Herald)*

posts had been removed. This operation had been handicapped by the poor condition of his horses, but he was soon replaced by a rather larger force—another two sections of Mounted Infantry, supplemented by the Artillery and Dismounted Troops of the Rhodesia Horse together with 50 native contingent—all under the command of Capt. Sir H. McMahon (Royal Welsh Fusiliers).¹

McMahon took his column via the Golden Stairs track, which was now becoming the usual route to Mazoe, to laager around Fort Mazoe. Fairbairn was busy negotiating an indaba and on the 21st two despatch riders arrived in Salisbury with a message from McMahon that Chidamba and the other chiefs would be at the Golden Stairs that same day. Accordingly Vincent, as Acting

¹ Capt. McMahon, commanding the Irish Company of the M.I., was severely wounded at an engagement at Chena's kraal on the Umfuli on 10th October. He was mentioned in despatches and awarded the D.S.O. for his services in Mashonaland. He served in the South African War and again in World War I. Died in 1932, aged 69.

His own very full account of the indaba at the Golden Stairs and subsequent events is in Alderson, *op. cit.*, ch. 11.

Administrator, Alderson, commanding the Mashonaland Field Force, and Sir Thomas Scanlen, Legal Adviser, together with Marshall Hole, the Resident Magistrate, and Campbell, the Native Commissioner, with a suitable escort left at once. They found Chidamba and the others waiting at the Golden Stairs. The peace terms demanded by Vincent included the surrender of all deserters from the Native Police, particularly those who while on escort to the Native Commissioner of the Mazoe district, H. H. Pollard, had been responsible for murdering him. Another condition was that all arms were to be handed in the next day at the fort. The chiefs agreed; the native police were at a distance but Mhasvi, who had not been directly concerned in the murder of Pollard, was present and much to his disgust he was handed over on the spot.

Vincent and Hole went on to the fort to wait for the next day's surrenders while Alderson and Scanlen jogged back to Salisbury with their prisoner and the escort. The next day, Saturday, 26th September, came and went, with not a single weapon being surrendered. Vincent no doubt felt foolish. Whatever their chiefs might arrange the young men refused to comply with it, until they had evidence that Mhasvi, whom they had last seen being taken off to Salisbury, had not been executed. They demanded that he be produced. So Mhasvi was sent out again to the fort and on the Sunday morning was paraded on horseback along the foot of the Granite Hills to the indaba place. This time Chidamba and his associates were given 24 hours in which to carry out the conditions of surrender.

But that night Mhasvi escaped from the guardhouse in the fort. He was handcuffed and the cuffs were linked to a member of the guard, Irishmen of the Mounted Infantry, but Mhasvi managed to slip the knot, evade the guard and the sentry, and escape over the breastwork and through the barbed-wire.¹

The 24 hours expired with no sign from the rebels: McMahon was conscious of the passing time and that any hopes of a surrender maturing were fading rapidly. He moved quickly across to the Granite Hills and at dawn on the 26th attacked into the hills from the north, aiming at Gadder's kraal.² The fighting continued for several hours before the kraal was penetrated and some caves blown in, but as had proved the usual case, there was no decisive result.³ The troops returned to their camp.⁴

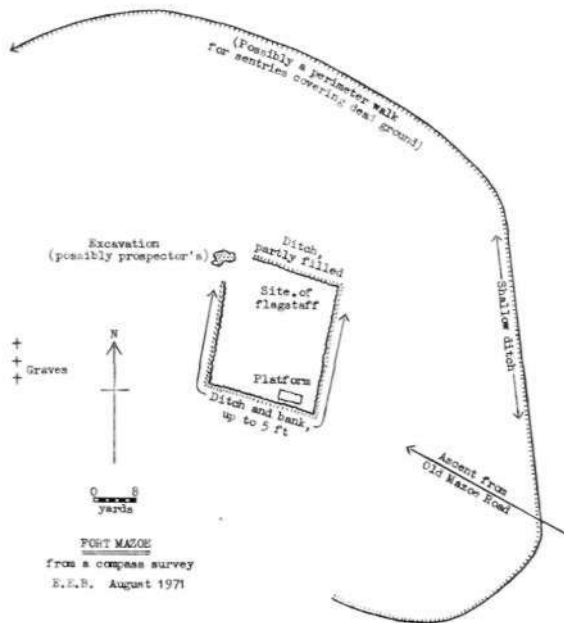
Meanwhile Alderson, as soon as he received McMahon's report of Mhasvi's escape, realised that it was no good thinking of peace for the present, and hurried out considerable reinforcements to McMahon. He may too have had in mind the report from the African woman that Chidamba's tactics were merely delaying ones and that he had no intention of surrendering. The 27th was spent in reconnaissance and at sunrise on the 28th McMahon tried again. He now had

¹ The guard commander, a lance-corporal of the Royal Irish Regiment, was court-martialled and sentenced to 84 days I.H.L. in Salisbury gaol.

² So spelled by Alderson: also spelled Gotora. I am in need of confirmation, but believe that this kraal was on the high ground on the farm Spelonken. The latter name is, incidentally, the Afrikaans for "caves".

³ McMahon's casualties were three wounded.

⁴ The temporary base for these attacks into the Granite Hills was at "Forbes' Farm", across the valley from the Granite Hills.



a full company of Mounted Infantry, the Salisbury Rifles, a troop of the Rhodesia Horse with 7-pounders and Maxims, a detachment of Royal Artillery and a native contingent.¹ But in the interval the rebels had moved off northwards and there was generally only slight opposition. Coming in again from the northern end of the hills McMahon combed the kraals hidden amongst them. The one determined stand of the day was at Chidamba's kraal where was the cave of the spirit medium Nyanda. Eventually it was rushed by a section of Royal Dublin Fusiliers. The cave had been the hide-out for the weapons and goods looted from the camps in the Mazoe. A quantity of property was recovered and the cave was then dynamited.² It was difficult to assess the results of the day's work—some cattle had been captured, the rebels had been dispersed again, huts burnt and some caves blown, but it could not be considered decisive.

There was work to be done elsewhere and McMahon's units were needed for a coming assault on Mashayamombe's kraal.

Alderson had come out to see the result of the action and took the opportunity of going on to inspect Fort Mazoe; meanwhile McMahon led the column back from Forbes' Farm to Salisbury. Fairbairn was left at the fort with his small garrison. There was not much that he could usefully do beyond constant patrolling but the sense that he was punching against air must have been strong; and there was a constant menace.

¹ The total mustered about 300 Europeans and 150 Africans.

² It was then that occurred a well known episode when a member of the Salisbury Rifles, who according to McMahon had found a £5 note and was looking for more, and not knowing in the confusion of the cave's entrances what was happening, was blown out of it and 30 ft. down a rock face. He suffered shock, but was not permanently disabled.

On 3rd October an attempt to repair the telegraph line met with heavy firing and Fairbairn's party had to retire; the rebels were back in the Granite Hills and he was not strong enough to evict them. He continued to watch them with a patrol every second day. On the morning of 11th October the spoor of a party, estimated at about 50, which had crossed the Iron Mask Range the previous night from west to east, was seen. On the 13th the patrol bumped a larger force and were nearly cut off—"In this affair the rebels left the rocks and came out into the open; it is evident that they have been reinforced and encouraged in some way."¹

All was then quiet for a time but on the 23rd Fairbairn was reporting that the rebels were still in force in the Granite Hills and were coming over into the Tatabura Valley at night. Again all was quiet when he reported on the 28th.

Meanwhile Alderson had had difficult operations on the Umfuli, and had received opposition of a much more serious nature than had yet been experienced. But again the actions against Mashayamombe's kraals were not decisive in that the rebels dispersed but came together again as soon as the troops moved on. Alderson next proceeded to the Umvukwes and then split his force into three; one part went on to Sinoa, another marched back to Salisbury and the third, under Major A. V. Jenner (Rifle Brigade), crossed from the Umvukwes to Mazoe; the strength at Jenner's command was a total of 262 men, with two 7-pounders and a Maxim.² He reported seeing no sign of any rebels and they seemed all to have gone into the tsetse areas to the north but at the same time Fairbairn believed that there were still a large number in the Granite Hills and at night many camp fires could still be seen.

It seems that Alderson was dissatisfied with the continued suitability of Fort Mazoe and had instructed Jenner to look for a new site with a greater command of the Mazoe Valley, nearer to the Granite Hills and to the large mealie gardens in the valley, for Fort Mazoe was rather hidden away around a corner.

The garrison of the fort had been changed from time to time, but the final touches to Fort Mazoe, the building of huts and stables, had only been completed on 5th October, and now, on 1st November, a new fort was to be built. Comment at the expense of the O.C. Mashonaland Field Force was no doubt free; Alderson himself relates—"When the orders were issued for the moving of this fort an incident, which could only happen with irregulars, occurred. The garrison of the old fort sent in a round robin to their commander, Lieut. Fairbairn, stating that they were not going to work at building a new fort, as they did not consider this was a part of the 'soldiering' for which they had 'signed on'. Fairbairn brought this precious document to me, and I told him to take it back, parade them all, and tell them from me, that they had 'signed on', and were paid 10/- a day to do as they were told, and that they might think themselves

¹ Staff Diary, op. cit., p. 162.

² Of this expedition a participant remembered: "The old grass was all burnt by now and the new grass had not yet sprung up, so our poor horses and mules had a bad time of it, and a large number fell out—dying practically of starvation. Most of the men were dismounted, and a whole pair of boots was a rarity. This was our shortest time as regards rations also, a three-quarters allowance of flour or biscuit being all that we could run to." From "A Rifle Company in Southern Africa, 1896-97", in *Assegai*, v. 3, No. 11, March 1964.



Fort Mazoe; ditch on the south face, August 1971.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

very lucky to get the round robin back instead of finding it used as evidence against them . . . Apparently the men thought better of it; anyway, no more was heard of the matter, and they *did* build the new fort."¹ But they had some assistance, too, from Jenner's men and on 9th November the Staff Diary records: "Lt. Fairbairn and his garrison evacuated the old Mazoe Fort and occupied a new fort, called Fort Alderson, about 1½ miles away."² Jenner's men left for Salisbury the same day and Fairbairn later reported a sight of rebels about six hours after they had gone.

Fort Alderson

Fort Alderson was occupied for about 11 months, from 9th November, 1896, until September 1897, as a base for military, police and administrative

¹ Alderson, op. cit., p. 241-2.

² Staff Diary, op. cit., p. 194. As with Fort Mazoe, local knowledge of the existence of Fort Alderson disappeared over the years. It was located in January 1970 by E. E. Burke, Col. A. S. Hickman and Dr. R. C. Howland on the top of a hill (known as Camp Hill) overlooking the Mazoe, 1 300 yd. north-east of the Mazoe Hotel. The discernible remnants of the fort are a rectangular enclosure defined by loose stone walling up to 2 ft. high, and various platforms.



Fort Mazoe; from the south, August 1971.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

operations, but it was never exposed to a threat of attack. Although there was spasmodic rebel activity in the area of the Granite Hills it was still found possible to reopen the telegraph office on 13th November, 1896.¹

There followed some significant changes. Fairbairn who had been closely associated with the area since his part in the Mazoe Patrol in June, was relieved at the end of November when a new garrison was supplied from the Mounted Troop of the Rhodesia Horse.² All was quiet around the fort where stabling for 20 horses and huts for a native contingent were being finished early in December; Africans were sometimes seen at a distance in the hills but there was no activity near at hand.³ At the same time the first parties of the new British South Africa Police were arriving in Salisbury and the Mounted Infantry were leaving. There appears to be no available record, but it must have been very close to this date that the duties at the fort were taken over from the Rhodesia Horse by the B.S.A.P.

February and March 1897 saw a revival of attempts to come to terms with the situation, as the B.S.A.P. began to assert control. During February contact was attempted with Chidamba who was then in the "range of hills known as Shenfere, lying on the east bank of the Mazoe", but the chief was arrogant in his refusal of any discussion. Large numbers of armed Shona were seen and also very extensive mealie lands in the valley of the upper Mazoe.⁴

¹ *Rhodesia Herald*, 18th November, 1896.

² Staff Diary, p. 211.

³ Report, Aitken to Staff Officer, H.Q., 9th December, 1896 (in National Archives, A 1/12/25).

⁴ The Chief Native Commissioner to the Administrator, 21st February, 1897 (in National Archives, LO 5/4/2). Shenfere may be the present Singereri Hills, and the mealie lands have been within the present Lowdale estate.

Mealie lands represented food supply for the coming winter and to cut off the rebels from growing areas, or to keep them on the move so that they could not reap the crop, became matters of military necessity. Fr. E. Biehler, S.J., in a report to the Administrator on the general situation, pointed out that as long as Kagubi and Nyanda were at liberty there would never be peace and he gave as his advice that all crops throughout the district should be destroyed.¹

Thus on 1st March a strong patrol of B.S.A.P. left Salisbury. There were 60 Police, two 7-pounders and one Maxim, 50 native contingent and 110 unarmed "friendlies". They moved first against Makombi's and Chinamora's kraals 25 miles east-north-east of Salisbury. Under the command of De Moleyns and reinforced with an additional 100 "friendlies" from the Charter district the column next entered the troublesome Mazoe area.² Operating from Fort Alderson they set about the wasting of the crops in the valley of the upper Mazoe—estimated at about 500 acres—and caused the rebels to retire well across the river.

De Moleyns now moved to a temporary fort or camp closer to the scene of operations and in a Government Notice in the *Gazette* of 17th March the public were notified "that large fields of partially ripe mealies and other crops belonging to the rebel Mashonas are now being gathered in the Mazoe Valley and that His Honour the Administrator had been pleased to approve of the public being allowed to appropriate as much of these crops as they may be able to carry away".³

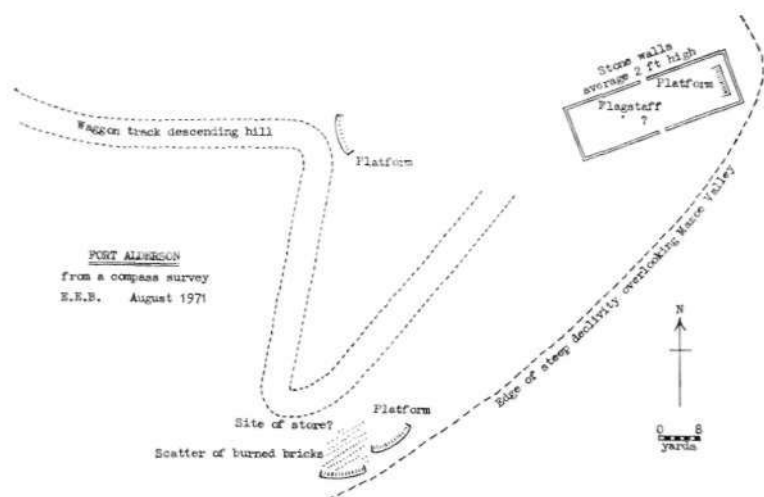
At the same time a further attempt was made to come to terms with the rebels. Colonel De Moleyns with Taberer, the Chief Native Commissioner, backed up with an escort of 40 Europeans, the 7-pounder and the Maxim, crossed the Mazoe. After reaching two miles north-east of the camp, shouts were heard from rebels on a kopje and a long conversation ensued, carried on at a distance. But again Chidamba refused to make any positive move towards an indaba. The *Rhodesian Times and Financial News* reported: "Accordingly an advance of the whole party was made under cover of the artillery fire. The enemy immediately fled, and their position was occupied. A large area of cultivated ground under crops was discovered and the 'friendlies' were at once set to work to secure it. The column then pushed forward to another high and rugged ridge three miles further on, reputed to be swarming with natives. On their

¹ "Report on the present situation", 15th February, 1897 (in National Archives, LO 5/4/2).

Fr. Biehler (1861-1927) served at Chishawasha, 1895-1910, and at Empandeni, 1911-27. During the Rebellion he was a chaplain to the Mounted Infantry and then to the B.S.A.P. He was described as "not only chaplain but scout, interpreter, stretcher bearer and trooper" (*Zambezi mission record*, v. 8, p. 238).

² Lieut.-Col. the Hon. F. R. W. E. De Moleyns, D.S.O. (1861-1923), obtained leave from the 4th Hussars, in which he was a Captain, to join Gen. Carrington's staff in the Matabele Rebellion. He commanded the Mashonaland Division of the B.S.A.P. from 1st October, 1896 to 11th December, 1897. He retired from the army in 1901, and succeeded his father as 5th Baron Ventry in 1914.

³ Directions to reach the area were: "A wagon road across the veld turns off to the right of the main road to Fort Alderson close to where the telegraph line crosses the road, and about a mile on this side of the Golden Stairs. This road leads to Colonel de Moleyn's camp in the Mazoe Valley." This turn-off would be where is now the Lowdale road; the camp was perhaps somewhere on the present Ingleborough.



near approach no serious resistance was offered, the insurgents merely firing a few shots preliminary to a precipitate retreat. Two large, and a number of small, kraals were destroyed. A few of the caves were also dynamited. The number of huts destroyed, many of them newly built, is estimated at 200. Meanwhile, the demolition of the sconces and fortifications of the Kopjes and their entrances (in many instances strong), as well as the destruction of the crops, is occupying the attention of the expedition. The configuration of the country to the north and north-east is open, and affords comparatively little cover or safety to the rebels."¹

The patrol was back in Salisbury at the end of March; the result of its work had been once again to scatter the rebels but this time to press them to a greater distance from the Mazoe and the hilly north-east side of Salisbury. Indeed thereafter the whole area of the upper Mazoe and the surrounding hills became emptied. A report in May put the local population from the Mazoe with Kagubi and Nyanda and "a goddess from Matabeleland" at the Mvumi River, 30 miles east-north-east of Salisbury. They were short of food and it was thought that they would give in if Kagubi were to be captured.²

At the beginning of June another force, 75 Europeans and 40 native contingent, penetrated the Mount Darwin area with the purpose of re-establishing the telegraph and continuing its construction to Tete. However, the line was found to be totally destroyed and although as far as Mount Darwin no Africans were to be seen, beyond that they were still as much in rebellion as ever. Accordingly the route was abandoned beyond Fort Alderson.³

The decisive event in ending the Rebellion in Mashonaland came on 24th July when the focal point, Mashayamombe's kraal, was attacked and destroyed

¹ *Rhodesian Times*, 19th March, 1897.

² A. D. Campbell to C.N.C., 15th May, 1897 (in National Archives, LO 5/4/3).

³ The connection from Salisbury to Tete was later made by way of Inyanga.

by the B.S.A.P., with the aid of the 7th Hussars, brought up from Matabeleland. Mashayamombe himself was killed.

At the time of Mashayamombe's death, Kagubi, Nyanda and Mkwati were reported to be together about 40 miles north-east of Salisbury, in very difficult granite country and with 3 000 to 4 000 well-armed followers.

The last major operation in this story deserves telling at greater length than is relevant here. During August 1897, a force of 7th Hussars, B.S.A.P. and native contingent left Salisbury for operations to find Kagubi and the others, and to clear the north-east. It travelled to Tapsell's farm and from there a force of 35 B.S.A.P. and 150 native contingent, under Harding,¹ made an effort to take Kagubi and the others by surprise. They left Tapsell's at 5 p.m. in the evening of 14th August and with Mashona guides, marched 24 miles by native paths to occupy Kagubi's kraal at daybreak; but Kagubi had gone two or three days before.² The main force followed in support and then continued the constant routine of patrol and search. But resistance was collapsing now that there would be no help from Mashayamombe. There were no exchanges of firing; instead contacts, once impossible, were gained easily and the many chiefs came voluntarily into Salisbury to seek a reconciliation.

Meanwhile events had long passed Fort Alderson by and its usefulness as a defensive position was no doubt overshadowed by the inconvenience of having the administrative post on the top of a rather steep hill. Biscoe in his diary records a visit on 28th September to Eastwood "who is in command of the Mazoe Fort which is being built at the old Mining Commissioner hill", and thus marks the abandonment of Fort Alderson.³ At this stage there were 17 B.S.A.P. at Mazoe and a Native Commissioner, E. T. Kenny.⁴ Kagubi surrendered to Kenny during October and the Mashonaland Rebellion came officially to an end with the publication of an Order of the Day to the B.S.A.P., to that effect, on 27th October, 1897.⁵

Nyanda was arrested in December 1897. Both she and Kagubi were subsequently tried in Salisbury for murder, and were hanged on 27th April, 1898.

¹ Col. C. Harding, C.M.G., D.S.O. (1863-1939), became attached to Alderson's headquarters as a galloper. He was commissioned in the B.S.A.P. in 1897 and promoted to Major (Chief Inspector) in November that year in command of the native contingent. In 1898 he raised the Barotse Native Police. He subsequently served, in the Colonial Service, in West Africa. During World War I he commanded a battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment in France, 1915-16. Author of *In remotest Barotseland* (1905); *Far Bugles* (1933); *Frontier patrols* (1937).

² Tapsell's farm, "Springs", is on the Salisbury-Shamva road (via Mermaid's Pool) near the junction with the Mtoko road.

³ National Archives, Hist. MSS. BI 3/1/4. This, the third fort in chronological order, represents a move from Fort Alderson to a site near the present Mazoe police station. An early P.W.D. plan shows a "Police Camp", rectangular and clearly demarcated by a formal boundary, 300 yd. uphill from the present station. There is nothing readily identifiable with this to be seen today.

⁴ E. T. Kenny was appointed N.C. for Mazoe in October 1896 and in July 1898 was transferred to the new North Mazoe district (Mount Darwin). He continued to serve in the Native Affairs Department until retirement, as D.C. Hartley, in 1925.

⁵ In Harding, *Frontier patrols*, p. 124.—"The 7th Hussars having left the country and the Volunteers having been disbanded, the rebellion may now be said to be at an end. The Police will, therefore, resume their ordinary duties."



Fort Alderson; from the western corner, August 1971.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)



Fort Alderson; gun platform overlooking the Mazoe-Tatagura valleys, August 1971.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

Aftermath and reconstruction

With the Rebellion over there was much to be done. The Africans were scattered far from their customary lands, they had to be brought together again and allocated areas for settlement; arms and ammunition must be collected; those responsible for the initial murders had to be sought and brought to trial; mining was still at a standstill.

Thus, in November 1897, Sub-Inspector J. N. Griffiths, B.S.A.P., from Sinoia, and Eastwood from Mazoe, operating jointly in the Umvukwes, arrested Mhasvi, the renegade policeman.¹ In December Eastwood returned to Mazoe taking with him 46 men, 52 women and 62 children, all refugees from the Mazoe to be handed over to the Native Commissioner, one of many such parties collected together in subsequent months.

Chidamba's people went back to their previous area and in February 1898 were in one large kraal, a temporary one, "at the top of the Golden Stairs"; other locations were assigned to Cheweshe, Gotor, Goramombi and Chiresari, all of whom had been active in rebellion. But there were difficulties, Gotoro and Chidamba, now the heads of the late chief Wata's people, would not co-operate with, or their tribesmen would not obey, the instructions for centralisation, and many continued to live in huts and groups scattered throughout the hills. The situation was also complicated by the allocation of farms and a lack of co-ordination in regard to their boundaries. It was not until February 1901 that various reserves were determined and attempts made to beacon them, when the lack of farm boundaries in some cases immediately became a matter of concern.²

Although farms were allocated there was little occupation. In 1899 the Voters' List shows a population of 13 in the Mazoe district—a clerk representing the Native Department, a sergeant and four troopers of the B.S.A.P., a mining contractor, a storekeeper and five prospectors. But after the South African War came the first major moves in the establishment of a settled population. What was known as "Moore's Concession", the present Concession area, was cut into 22 farms in 1901. C. W. R. Southey has described the beginnings in the spring of 1901, and, he mentions—"There had not been a clod of earth ploughed north of the Iron Mask Range, and only a couple of small plots between that and the Gwebi. On one of these, the farm belonging to Dr. Stewart, I noticed about twenty acres of arable land, and again another twenty acres of land situated near the Golden Stairs Road . . ."³

Mining development recommenced in 1898 and the Alice had its first registered output in 1900. Production closed again for some years after 1901 while work was concentrated on further prospecting and underground development of the Alice, the Bernheim and the Vesuvius.

¹ Mhasvi was, in February 1898, charged with murder, but the charge was subsequently withdrawn.

² The reserves went through a number of variations and reallocations before evolving into the present Chiweshe Tribal Trust Land.

³ In National Archives, Hist. MSS. SO 5/2. C. W. R. Southey (1872-1947) came to Rhodesia in 1898, and farmed at "Sunnyside", Concession, from 1901 until the time of his death.

This account can end appropriately with the first indications of organisation amongst a settled population, settled in the sense that they were there as permanent residents. The Mazoe Farmers' Association, with 20 present, was inaugurated at a meeting in the Mazoe Hotel on 16th October, 1904.

APPENDIX A

THE ORGANISATION OF THE IMPERIAL AND COMPANY FORCES IN MASHONALAND, 1896-97

Before the outbreak of the Matabele Rebellion the British South Africa Company maintained a voluntary force, the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers (also referred to as the Rhodesia Horse), organised in a Matabeleland *Regiment and* a Mashonaland Regiment. Additionally males between the ages of 18 and 50 were liable for military service in an emergency. At the commencement of the Matabele rising the Matabeleland Regiment of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers was disbanded and its members used in other formations; all of the 200 members of the Mashonaland Regiment of the R.H.V. volunteered for service in Matabeleland and 150 were sent to Bulawayo under Lieut.-Col. R. Beal. The European permanent force was limited to those remnants of the Matabeleland Mounted Police and the Mashonaland Mounted Police which had been left behind when the larger part went south to take part in the Jameson Raid in 1895. In all these remnants totalled about 40 men; the senior officer in Mashonaland was Inspector R. C. Nesbitt.

As the significance and gravity of the Matabele revolt became apparent so the Company and the British Government each moved to meet it.

The Imperial Government offered the services of the 7th Hussars (mustering 300), 200 Mounted Infantry and a section of a mountain battery of the Royal Artillery (armed with two 7-pounder "screw guns"), all then at Pietermaritzburg. Additionally four companies of Mounted Infantry, under Lieut.-Col. E. A. H. Alderson, were hurried from Aldershot to Cape Town. Any Imperial troops used in Rhodesia would be at the Company's expense and there was a natural desire therefore on the Company's part to keep their use to a minimum compatible with ensuring the safety of the inhabitants. At the same time the Company commenced the recruitment in South Africa of further units of its own, both European and African.

The Mounted Infantry which were so prominent in operations in Mashonaland deserve an explanation. In some ways their organisation foreshadowed that of the Commandos in World War II. The Mounted Infantry was not a permanent unit but was made up of detachments of specially selected men from certain regular battalions, each detachment consisting of an officer and about 30 men who

had done a special course of training for the purpose. The emphasis was on individuality; to quote Alderson—"The principle on which the Mounted Infantry section, company, or battalion is worked, is one of decentralisation, every man, down to one in every four in the privates, running his own show . . ."¹ He adds that they were essentially an active service corps "and they do not show to advantage when marching past, or at peace manoeuvres; so much is this the case that one is inclined to think that they should never attempt the former". The mounted infantryman was no cavalry soldier, his horse was provided to get him into action so that he could use his rifle; he did not carry a sword.

After the embroglio of the Jameson Raid the Imperial Government established an appointment of Resident Commissioner in Rhodesia in whom the command of the Company's forces was vested and who was to act as a guardian on the Government's behalf. In the emergency that developed the United Kingdom sent a man experienced in African wars, Major-Gen. Sir Frederick Carrington, and he arrived in Bulawayo early in June with a full headquarters staff, to supersede Col. Sir Richard Martin as Resident Commissioner. The civilian administration was in the hands of the Senior Judge of the High Court, the Hon. Mr. Justice Vincent, who was Acting Administrator pending the arrival of Earl Grey who had been appointed in the vacancy created by Jameson's fall from grace. Vincent operated from Salisbury.

Thus at the outbreak of the Mashona revolt there was no local military organisation in Mashonaland of any importance. The only troops immediately available were the 60 or so of those of the R.H.V. which had not been sent to Bulawayo with Lieut.-Col. Beal, and which could be called up at short notice. Fortunately there was a unit, 60 strong, known as the Natal Troop, recruited in Durban by the Company for service in Matabeleland, and having come via Beira it was, at the crucial moment, near Charter on its way south. Additionally there were about 250 men capable of bearing arms in and around Salisbury, but rifles, horses and ammunition were very short.

As the seriousness of the situation was realised martial law was declared and the remainder of the Rhodesia Horse called up. The civilians were organised into a Salisbury Field Force, commanded by Judge Vincent, including two sub-units, the Salisbury Artillery (50 men) and the Salisbury Garrison (about 115). The Natal Troop was hurriedly rerouted and Beal's column of the R.H.V. started back from Bulawayo. With the R.H.V. came Grey's Scouts, a volunteer unit with a strength of 70.

Meanwhile the Imperial authorities moved up their units from Pietermaritzburg to Macloutsie and then to Bulawayo, and at the Company's request despatched the headquarters and two companies of the Mounted Infantry from Cape Town to Beira. These were the "Highland" and the "Irish" companies each containing four detachments from Highland and Irish regiments respectively. They were later joined by the "English" and "Rifle" companies, by a detachment of the 2nd West Riding Regiment from Natal, and details of the Medical Staff Corps and the Army Service Corps.

¹ Alderson, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Alderson arrived in Salisbury on 16th August after two actions on the way from Umtali. With his arrival a Mashonaland Field Force was created to co-ordinate all the troops, local and Imperial, in Mashonaland. Alderson became the commander of this force, with his headquarters in Salisbury, and responsible to the G.O.C., Carrington, in Bulawayo. With his arrival, too, there was no longer danger of the rebels taking any major offensive and many members of the local forces who had been in the saddle since they went with Beal to Bulawayo in March wished to be released to attend to their businesses. Accordingly it was necessary to reorganise the individual units and after this adjustment the Mashonaland Field Force included an Artillery Troop (previously the Salisbury Artillery), a Mounted Troop and a Dismounted Troop of the Rhodesia Horse, with the Salisbury Rifles which was the former Salisbury Garrison under a new name, "and it was time it had one; for, as its members only 'signed on' to garrison Salisbury some of them had refused to go outside the town."¹ A distribution state of the Force on 20th August, 1896, shows a total of 96 officers, 1 461 N.C.O.s and men, and 663 natives in Mashonaland.

This note is intended to comprehend organisation and not operations, and it is possible to go forward to the end of the Rebellion in Matabeleland in October 1896. With this event the forces there were dispersed and the 7th Hussars came north to Mashonaland. The Company was very conscious that costs were mounting, and that unlike events in Matabeleland they were faced in Mashonaland with a long peace-making campaign and a guerilla type of warfare. Different instruments were necessary and these took the form of a reconstituted regular European and African force. Government Notice 111 of 1896, issued on 28th September, notified "for public information that a Police Force to be styled the Rhodesia Mounted Police is at present being enrolled . . ." and Government Notice 120 of 28th October, 1896, indicated a change of title to British South Africa Company Police which very shortly became British South Africa Police. Recruitment was opened in England, South Africa and Rhodesia.

Alderson's Mounted Infantry left through Beira early in December 1896 and the Natal Troop with Carrington and his headquarters staff shortly afterwards. Overall command of the Police and the Volunteers then reverted to Sir Richard Martin who became Resident Commissioner while active command in Mashonaland devolved on the OC. the Mashonaland wing of the Police, Lieut.-Col. the Hon. F. R. W. E. De Moleyns, D.S.O. (4th Hussars).

The event that precipitated the collapse of resistance was the capture of Mashayamombe's kraal near Hartley, in July 1897. Normality was achieved in October 1897, on the surrender and capture of Kagubi and Nyanda; the remaining volunteer units were disbanded and the 7th Hussars, which had been in the country for 15 months, left for South Africa and Colchester.²

¹ Alderson, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

² The Mounted Infantry and 7th Hussars both left as dismounted units; the B.S.A. Company purchased their horses for the new B.S.A.P. Seventy-two men of the Mounted Infantry were permitted to take their discharges and to join the Police.



The graves at Fort Mazoe, 1896. From a photograph in the Blakiston Papers (National Archives).
The original sketch has not been traced.

(Photo: National Archives)



Area of the graves, August 1971. The markers were placed for a visit of the Rhodesiana Society
on 20th June, the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

African participation against the rebels is worthy of notice but demands separate study. The early garrison of Fort Mazoe included 25 "Natives" and a "Native Contingent" is mentioned from time to time in subsequent operations. Some 200 unarmed "Friendlies" from the Charter district joined in operations in the Mazoe in March 1897 and the B.S.A.P. had a "Native Contingent" from its inception. Two hundred and fifty Africans of this contingent were on parade on 12th August, 1897, in Salisbury along with 200 B.S.A.P. and 200 of the 7th Hussars to see Inspector Nesbitt receive the Victoria Cross and Lieut.-Col. De Moleyns the D.S.O. from Sir Richard Martin.²

² The parade was held at the end of First Street, "opposite to the Military Offices" (*Rhodesia Herald*), i.e. at the junction with Jameson Avenue.

APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON THE BURIALS AT MAZOE AND SALISBURY

The victims of the attacks at the Alice Mine and during the subsequent withdrawal of the residents and their escort to Salisbury, were, in chronological order—

18th June, 1896

1. Cass, Edward Thomas. Superintendent at the Salvation Army farm (Pearson Settlement). Aged 30.
2. Dickinson, James. Mining Commissioner. Aged 43.¹
Both murdered while on the way to Salisbury at about three miles from the Alice Mine.
3. Faull, William Paul M. Bricklayer. About 30.
Shot, while travelling towards Salisbury, at some point between the place where Dickinson and Cass were murdered and the Alice Mine.
4. Blakiston, John Lionel. Of the Telegraph Department, Salisbury. Aged 28.
Shot while riding back to the laager from the telegraph office.² An account by R. Harbord mentions the body lying in sight in the open, about 400 yards below the laager. (M. A. Harbord, *Froth and bubble*. Arnold, 1915, ch. 9.) The shooting came from rebels at the store some 600 yards from the laager.
5. Routledge, Thomas George. Telegraphist. About 35.
On the death of Blakiston, Routledge, who was travelling on foot with him, disappeared from sight into the bush, being chased by rebels, and shots were heard there.

Evening of 19th June, 1896

6. Annesty, Charles. Prospector. Aged 31.
Killed, while returning to his camp beyond the Alice Mine; see A. S. Hickman, "The death of Charles Annesty", in *Rhodesiana* No. 12, September 1965, for an account of his death and the discovery, in 1957, of what were considered to be his remains.

20th June, 1896

7. McGeer, Christian. Lieutenant, Salisbury Field Force. Aged 28.
Killed in the withdrawal to Salisbury near the Vesuvius Mine camp, at 2 to 3 miles from the Alice Mine.

¹ The name is sometimes spelt as Dickenson but he customarily signed himself as Dickinson.

² The site of the telegraph office has been a subject of speculation. In August 1969 the National Archives received from Mrs. Mazoe Robbs a photograph of the hut, dated 1896, taken by her father, Dan Judson. The background shows some features which enabled an identification to be made; the hut was just under the south side of the hill (Camp Hill) on which Fort Alderson was subsequently built, a distance of about 13/4 miles from the laager at the Alice Mine.

8. Jacobs, Gileam. Trooper, Salisbury Field Force. Aged 23.
Killed with McGeer.
9. van Staaden, Hermanus Johannes. Trooper, Salisbury Field Force. Aged 22.
Killed in the withdrawal to Salisbury, at approximately 2½ miles on the Mazoe side of the Salvation Army farm.

The column under A. H. F. Duncan which established Fort Mazoe in August 1896, was accompanied by the Rev. D. R. Pelly, an Anglican, as chaplain. He has left copies of long letters in diary form that he sent to his parents, Canon and Mrs. R. P. Pelly, in England.¹ On 15th August he notes: "I forgot to say that yesterday Friday the 14th, in the evening I buried Routledge and Blakiston .. ." On 17th August he describes a day spent in building the fort and continues: "and at night I buried four more men of those killed in this district. The grass has now burnt and the bodies have been easily seen. I believe all but two are now buried." On 18th August he returned to Salisbury with the column: "We started away early and got to the Salvation Army Farm for breakfast picking up on the way the body of another murdered man, whom I buried before we went on."

Thus, to summarise, Pelly buried Blakiston and Routledge in one grave, and four others in a second grave at the fort, while he buried another body near the Salvation Army farm on the old Mazoe-Salisbury road.

The Staff Diary maintained at the headquarters of the Mashonaland Field Force in Salisbury contains copies of intelligence and other reports, movement orders, notes of arrivals and departures and similar operational memoranda.² It includes a copy of a report by Lieut. J. G. W. Fairbairn, as O.C. Mazoe Fort. On 15th August he left Salisbury with a garrison for the fort. Two miles on the Mazoe side of the Salvation Army farm he "found remains of Trooper van Staaden, collected remains and proceeded 2 miles further, where I found the remains of Dickinson and Cass, which were carefully collected and conveyed to Mazoe Fort for burial". In a subsequent report he mentions finding on 19th August the remains of a man identified as Faull which were then "buried by side of other bodies".

Thus there were then three graves at the fort, two arranged by Pelly and one by Fairbairn.

The next documents deserving consideration in this connection are two sketches. They occur as photographs in the Blakiston papers in the National Archives and a close examination of the photographs reveals a "show-through" of printing type in the sketches suggesting that the sketches were cuts from a newspaper or magazine.³

The Blakiston papers were received in the National Archives in 1945 under the will of Lionel's elder brother, the late Rev. H. E. D. Blakiston, President of Trinity College, Oxford, and represent a family collection concerning Lionel.

¹ National Archives, Hist. MSS. PE 3/1/2.

² National Archives, Hist. MSS. AL 1/1/1.

³ National Archives, Hist. MSS. BL 1/4/2. Reproduced on page 13 and 27.



The plaque on the vault.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)



The vault in the Salisbury Cemetery.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

They include a letter of 11th January, 1897, from T. U. Lapham of the Telegraph Department, Salisbury, to Lionel's father, the Rev. Douglas Blakiston, of East Grinstead, Sussex.¹ He states "I send you by same mail photograph[s] of poor John's and Routledge's grave which are amateur productions and best I could secure. You will see by photograph three graves, the one to the left marked X is your son's with Mr. Judson, our Inspector, at head, with Cpts. Ludlow and Fairbairn. I also enclose you one of the Mazoe Fort and one of the Alice Mine. I am afraid they are very bad ones. As soon as transport is improved and we are able to erect a monument I will endeavour to get a photograph of it and let you have one."

These photographs have not survived in the Blakiston papers, nor are there any clues as to the authorship of the sketches. A rough similarity between the sketches and Lapham's description of the photographs sent by him has suggested that, as was common practice at the period, Lapham's photographs may have been given to a newspaper for reproduction by the hand of a staff artist as line-drawings. In such a process details could be enlarged, such as the crosses and inscriptions, or persons omitted, as required to make a good picture. A search has been made of possible newspapers published in Rhodesia, South Africa and London, but without success. It was thought possible that Lionel's father might have given the photographs to the local newspaper, *The East Grinstead Observer*, where he was vicar and Lionel was well known, but enquiry of the publishers has failed as their file of the paper was destroyed by enemy action during World War II. There has not yet been an opportunity of examining the file in the newspaper library of the British Museum at Hendon. The one sketch of the fort has in the upper right hand the edge of a title which in the original spread beyond the edge of the picture, the letters "FORT M" remain. The skyline is remarkably true, as is the outline of the hill itself, the vertical height of the trees and the flagstaff, and certainly the size of the flag, are exaggerated. The sketch has served to indicate the area on the hill in which the burials might be found, and shows a small railed-off enclosure holding three separate graves.

The other sketch shows the detail of the graves and the inscriptions (which apparently contain a degree of artist's licence). They read, from left to right:

- (a) BLAKISTON
& ROUTLEDGE
TELEGRAPHISTS
MURDERED 18.6.96
- (b) FAULL
KILLED IN ACTION 18.6.96
- (c) DICKINSON } MURDERED
CASS }
JACOBS }
VAN STAADEN } K.A.

¹ National Archives, Hist. MSS. BL 1/1/1.

These inscriptions agree remarkably well with the accounts of the burials available from Pelly's letters and Fairbairn's reports. By elimination the man buried by Pelly on his way to Salisbury was McGeer. There is an entry in the burial register of the Anglican Cathedral in Salisbury (or Pro-Cathedral as it then was) that Christian McGeer, "shot in Mazoe patrol", was buried by the Rev. H. H. Foster, on 3rd August, 1897;¹ presumably this refers to a transfer and reinterment in the Salisbury Cemetery where his grave now is, in the Pioneer Section.²

The same register may have been the cause of a past misconception that Blakiston and Routledge were buried at the Alice Mine for it contains entries for them under "Certain burials in the Territories of Rhodesia during the Matabele and Mashona War" but indicating "Mazoe, Alice Mine" in a column headed "Abode" which seems to have been used in other cases to indicate a description of the place of burial. McGeer appears here, too, with "Mazoe, Salvation Army Farm Drift" in this column.

Then silence, and the graves at Mazoe dropped from public knowledge and remembrance, which seems incomprehensible in view of the fame and respect accorded to the memories of Blakiston, Routledge and the others. In the *Rhodesia Herald* of 8th November, 1929, there was a letter by Mr. Alfred Drew commenting on a leader in regard to a project for a memorial. He wrote: "Your leader reads as if the two heroes were buried at Mazoe, but I should like to say that while at Mazoe as Native Commissioner—I transferred there about 10 years after the Rebellion—I tried to find out where they were buried, but was always told that their bodies were never found." Drew served at Mazoe from 1908 to 1920. This letter drew another from J. R. Jarvis, in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 12th November, 1929, which did in fact disclose all that might have been necessary—"I was one of the garrison of the fort near the Alice Mine, and I remember a funeral service which took place there. There were two or more graves, one of which, I understand, contained the remains of these men . . . situated near the bottom of the hill on which the fort was built, below the S.West corner of the fort."

But the existence of the fort and its brief history and purpose had also fallen almost totally from general public knowledge, even within the Mazoe district, and so Jarvis's reference also became associated with the Alice Mine laager, the site of which was well known.

Nevertheless there was one small pocket of local tradition, for in a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* of 22nd December, 1968, prompted by an account of the rediscovery of the site, Mrs. Hepple of Que Que recalled how in 1935 her father, H. G. Bennet, a blacksmith at the Bernheim Mine, near the Alice, pointed out the graves to her: "They were quite close to a path we used to take from the mine to Mazoe and were covered with stones . . . I was about 9½ years old at the time. I remember being puzzled how there could be graves without crosses."

¹ National Archives, Hist. MSS. ANG 6/6/3/1.

² The grave has a very plain iron cross, but no name or inscription.

The author's interest in the subject developed slowly. I remember as far back as 1947 being shown the Alice Mine and learning something of the story of the laager from Fr. O. Victor, C.R., then Dean of the Anglican Cathedral. The apparent loss of the graves was an enigma which gave him concern. There have been various efforts to solve it within recent years, notably those of the B.S.A.P. in 1953, the Salisbury M.O.T.H.S. in 1957, and of Dr. R. C. Howland and of Col. A. S. Hickman, both of whom have been very active in research in the history of the area. These searches were directed to the vicinity of the Alice Mine but the chance reading of a reference in Alderson's book *With the Mounted Infantry and Mashonaland Field Force* (Methuen 1897) indicated that in August 1896 a fort was being constructed near the Alice Mine and this led to a closer, but rather spasmodic, investigation of the available records, as opportunities allowed. Thus the Staff Diary recorded "site for fort selected on hill within 300 yards from the river"; a letter from A. H. F. Duncan, written from the fort, is headed "Mazoe Valley, opposite Alice Mine"; a report from Fort Mazoe showed that it was one and a half miles from the telegraph line. The decisive indication was that it was on a hill within 300 yards from the river. It then became a matter of finding such a hill with a skyline which fitted the sketch in the Blakiston papers.

Mr. J. Foggin and Mr. C. Loades, to whom I am very grateful, helped me in a ground search in April 1968. It was indeed intended to carry out no more than a preliminary reconnaissance to see if there was likely to be any profit in following this line of investigation, but the search for the fort proved unexpectedly and rather dramatically successful because of the clues accumulated, with the identification first of the hill, then of earthworks on its summit, then of the point from which the sketch (or photograph) had been done, and lastly of the site of the graves.

The matter was reported to the Historical Monuments Commission who enlisted the co-operation of the owner of the property, Mr. B. J. Conlon of Iron Mask Farm, and with his enthusiastic assistance the area was cleared of long grass and fenced. The fort was gazetted a National Monument during 1969.

When the area of the graves was cleared it was possible to discern a rectangular area which appeared to have been prepared or specially tended at some time. Within this are scattered stones, with one distinct pile and the remains of what might have been two other deliberate piles. In the same area, partially buried, were three pieces of flattened paraffin tin which might or might not have been used as name boards on wooden supports. One at least was pierced for nailing.

The enigma continues; one cannot be sure from the appearance of the ground that the graves have not at some period—which must necessarily be more than 70 years ago or there would be a local memory—been opened for the removal of the remains elsewhere. On the other hand, they may be intact, and the stones have been scattered by some accident of time. It would probably be the case that the original excavations and containers would not be large, or deep, as the remains had been in the open for two months before being interred and the grass had been burnt off in the interval.

It is now relevant to describe briefly the work of the Salisbury Committee of the Rhodesia Memorial Fund. The fund was established in 1896 to find means of commemorating those who lost their lives in the Matabele and Mashona rebellions, and the Salisbury Committee had various objectives. Three materialised; one was the erection of the memorial in the Salisbury Gardens, another was the placing of iron crosses over the graves of those buried in the Salisbury cemetery or elsewhere, and the third was the concentration within a vault of the relics of those lying in scattered graves in Mashonaland. It is this last one that is of interest in this account.

The Committee's minute book gives details of the arrangements, but only up to a point. In April 1898 it was the intention to place the bones in tin containers inscribed or painted with the relevant name. A ceremony, conducted by the Bishop of Mashonaland, was held on 30th October, 1898, and the *Rhodesia Herald* in its report mentions that the vault, of dressed granite, contained the remains of "about 70 colonists". According to the Mayor's Minute for 1898-99 the figure was "over a hundred".

How the collection was done is not clear and in any case was not consistent, as the grave of Trooper C. T. Stevens, killed in a patrol to Chishawasha on 25th June, 1896, is still on the side of the Arcturus road, 14 miles distant.

Disturbingly there appears to be no record available of the names of those transferred to the vault. A very exhaustive search has been made in the National Archives and the records of the Municipality, but without result. The cemetery registers contain no references to the vault, and indeed it had for long been looked upon as a memorial, similar in purpose to the one in the Park, rather than a burial crypt.

As a result of this enquiry an opportunity was taken of examining the outside of the vault and it was found to extend to seven feet below ground-level. Subsequently the pointing was renewed and in the course of this, I am told, sufficient of the slab was moved to be able to see that it contains metal boxes up to ground-level.

As a finale in a puzzling story I quote a note in a register of graves compiled by the Loyal Women's Guild in about 1908 under the heading of Salisbury Cemetery;¹ "No list has yet been found of those buried under the vault" to which a later note has been added:

"Cass } Mazoe Salvation Army say these two were buried under the
 Dickenson } vault."

Are they—together with the others from Mazoe?

¹ National Archives, Hist. MSS. GU 1/4/1.

H. H. A. de Laessoe:

Pioneer, Administrator and Explorer in Rhodesia from 1896 to 1914

by B. M. Randies

Despite the lapse of years it is still possible to assemble quite a lot of new facts on some old-timers and I have had a fair amount of success with Harold Henry Abraham de Laessoe. When I read the account of his epic journey by boat through the Cahora Bassa Gorge¹ I felt at once that more deserved to be known of this man. Even this remarkable achievement does not seem to be as widely known as might be expected and it seemed to me that such a man must have made his mark in other ways as well. This proved very true with the rather surprising revelation that high achievement on the one hand was offset by events of a tententious nature and certainly in the light of present-day morality, often distasteful behaviour on the other, resulting on one occasion in an official judicial enquiry.

To understand the man it is best to start with his early family background and upbringing. His father's obituary, which appeared in *The Times* of London on 19th May, 1903, is a useful starting point. It reads: "Our Copenhagen Correspondent telegraphs that Colonel Laessoe [*sic*], a Dane, who for many years was in the British Service in India, died yesterday in Copenhagen as the result of a shooting accident. He was officially a Danish Officer and took part as a volunteer in the Franco-German war, on the French side. Later he travelled much in Turkey, Arabia and Persia, and the knowledge he gained of many Asiatic Languages made him a useful interpreter, when in the British service. Colonel Laessoe [*sic*] had recently retired to spend the remainder of his days in Denmark."²

Albert Frederick de Laessoe is described as Captain, late of the Danish Army, C.M.G., CLE., in the India Office Records. He was born 11th June, 1848, and joined the British Service in India on 23rd March, 1881, as "Translator to the Government of India", stationed in Calcutta. He moved widely around India, was with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1884 and on special duty

¹ That this appears at all is due to Mr. Graham Guy, then Curator of the National Museum, Bulawayo. During a discussion on the topography of Cahora Bassa he showed me de Laessoe's account of his journey in *The Proceedings of The Rhodesian Scientific Association*, Vol. VIII, Part 1, read to the Association by the late Mr. F. P. Mennell on 13th August, 1908. I am also much indebted to Mr. Guy for valuable help, guidance and encouragement.

² *India Office Records*, ref. XPR/64, communication dated 6th August, 1968.

with Sir West Ridgeway in St. Petersburg and London in 1887. He retired when holding the post of Political Officer with Sardar Ayub Khan only to meet with the untimely fatal shooting accident a few months later.¹

Harold was born in Teheran, Persia, on 22nd April, 1878,² and seems to have been an only child.³ He was educated in Denmark⁴ and, like his father, was a good linguist.⁵ One can only conjecture as to what brought him to Rhodesia. Probably it was the taste for adventure, amply displayed in much of his life, and perhaps whetted by reports of the country received from British Army Officers in India. The number of such officers who furloughed in Southern Africa was quite considerable, tempted no doubt by the more benign climate and unlimited big game hunting, or assessing the prospects of settling after retirement. Some found themselves on busmen's holidays, caught up in local fighting like the 1896-97 Rebellion (e.g. the luckless Captain Harry Bremner, 20th Hussars, killed at Marandellas).

(The author, in a comment written after completion of this article, says in the "Remembrances of George Steytler", which have been serialised in the South African Library's Quarterly Bulletin, that Steytler mentions, of the period around the 1840's, that officers received full pay if they furloughed in South Africa from India and half-pay if they opted for leave in the United Kingdom. This was an incentive to keep them nearer to India in case of trouble there. Whether this was the case in the 1890's I do not know.—Editor.)

Whatever it was, Harold de Laessoe arrived in Rhodesia late in 1896 and was himself in time to see service with the recently constituted British South Africa Police at Mondoro, near Hartley, and gained the award of the B.S.A. Company medal for operations in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1896-97.⁶

How he spent the period from the end of the Rebellion until December 1899 when he joined the Native Affairs Department as a clerk at Sebungwe is obscure but an entry in the *Southern Africa Dictionary of National Biography* suggests he may have spent this time hunting and exploring in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia today).⁷ By April 1901 he was Assistant Native Commissioner, still in the Sebungwe district,⁸ with headquarters on the top of Chete Hill about 25 miles downstream from present-day Binga and with a splendid view of the Zambezi. Later the headquarters moved back inland to Kariyangwe.⁹ This early association with the mighty river set the scene for his epic journey from the mouth of the Gwaai River to Chinde which was accomplished between

¹ *I.O.R.*, *ibid.*

² National Archives, ref. NB/8/2/1; though *The South African Who's Who*, 1913 edition, p. 99, and *Southern Africa Dictionary of National Biography*, Eric Rosenthal, 1966, at p. 90, give the year as 1879.

³ *I.O.R.* communication, *ibid.* 2 above, states, "I have searched the Baptismal returns for Bengal and Bombay for the period 1875 to 1900 but can find no entries under de Laessoe."

⁴ *S.A. Who's Who*, *ibid.* 4 above.

⁵ Communication from Mr. T. H. Cooke, Bulawayo.

⁶ National Archives. Communications to author, ref. CI/1/119/67 of 21st December, 1967, and 28th March, 1968.

⁷ *Ibid.* 4 above (*S.A.D.N.B.*).

⁸ National Archives, *ibid.* 8 above.

⁹ Communication from Mr. I. G. Cockcroft, of Bulawayo, dated 19th March, 1968.



Harold Henry Abraham de Laessoe¹

(Photo: Combined Publishers Ltd.)

9th August and 7th October, 1903, no mean achievement in the time factor alone. He was accompanied by a European companion and a hand-picked African crew. The former took some surprisingly good photographs along the way and also led the land party through Cahora Bassa after de Laessoe had decided to take only one of their two boats, a robust wooden craft, through the dread gorge. Unfortunately there is no clue as to the identity of this companion/photographer but he was undoubtedly de Laessoe's peer. The normal land route cuts inland but following de Laessoe through the gorge was quite as tough as the boat passage. Of the comparatively short march undertaken by Doctors Livingstone and Kirk to explore the Morumbwa Cataract, believed to be the main obstacle to a passage of Cahora Bassa, Charles Livingstone writes: "It was as tough a bit of travelling as they had ever had in Africa . . .", and gives a graphic account of their trials and difficulties. (*Narrative*, page 59.)

I do not propose to dwell on this fantastic journey as it is available in detail, with the photographs, in the *Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association* and an abbreviated version appeared in *News/Check* magazine of 5th April, 1968. Suffice to say that it was a high achievement with a full quota of perils, mishaps and daring worthy of the best adventure stories and it is my belief that

¹ The photograph of Harold de Laessoe is from the 1913 edition of *The South African Who's Who*, with acknowledgements to Combined Publishers (Pty.) Ltd., P.O. Box 8620, Johannesburg, R.S.A.

de Laessoe's successful passage of the gorge by boat remains unsurpassed to this day. One has the impression that the expedition was well planned but was not over-elaborately equipped, both factors which probably contributed to its success. Like Livingstone and others, de Laessoe's purpose was chiefly to assess the navigational potential of the Zambezi and this aspect of his comments is interesting in the light of contemporary developments at Cahora Bassa as is his comment that the Zambezi Valley is not unhealthy and got a bad name from the deaths of mail-clad knights and other similarly ill-equipped persons who ventured there in earlier days. He also comments on the soil and irrigation possibilities.

It should be borne in mind that the journey was made in the winter months but from the temperature aspect he was conversant with the upper Zambezi Valley throughout the year. There is probably not a great deal of difference except for higher humidity nearer the coast. But within the narrow gorge the temperature was intense even in winter and the black basalt rocks were so hot in the middle of the day that they raised a blister on the skin at the slightest touch, something which earlier explorers had also noted. It is worth remembering that in the months of de Laessoe's passage the flow of the Zambezi would be diminishing from its peak which normally occurs in May. It is difficult to say whether or not this would be the optimum time to attempt the journey but one can reasonably assume that it would have advantages over a period of lower water levels, exposing more rocks on which to founder. In an optimistic moment Livingstone wrote: "... the rise of the water in the gorge being as much as eighty feet perpendicularly, it is probable that a steamer might be taken up at high flood, when all the rapids are [*sic*] smoothed over, to run on the upper Zambezi". (*Narrative*, page 173.) This was clearly wishful thinking engendered by his great wish to open a trade route to the interior which would at the same time carry the Christian message to the isolated heathen.

De Laessoe's leave records at this time, even if a little confusing, give an interesting sidelight. The original allocation was from 15th June, 1903 to 30th April, 1904. This was later amended to run from 15th October, 1903 to 17th May, 1904, all but 12 days of which was on full pay, against 17 days on half-pay in the first entry. The inference is that the value of his exploit was officially recognised and allowed as being done in the B.S.A. Company's time, including an apparent month and a half of preparatory work—i.e. from 15th June till his departure down river on 9th August, 1903.¹

There is a fairly firm indication that he went to England after completion of the Zambezi trip for he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society on 8th February, 1904, giving his address as 29 Queen Anne's Gate. He resigned from the Society on 28th March, 1933, without apparently contributing any papers or reports and in fact leaving only the sparsest information on record there.² One must also bear in mind that his father had died in May that year, less than three months before the start of the Zambezi expedition, and Harold probably had family business to settle in Europe.

¹ National Archives communicated CI/1/119/67 dated 7th October, 1968.

² Communications from Librarian, R.G.S., dated 17th May, 1968.

While stationed in the Sebungwe district apart from a report that de Laessoe flamboyantly claimed allegiance from Africans on both banks of the Zambezi,¹ this seems to have been an era free of controversy but full of his best achievement. In October 1904 came a posting to Belingwe where an unruly element still persisted in an area which had been prominent in the 1896 Rebellion. The authorities believed that de Laessoe's reputation as a strong man with the natives made him the right person to deal with the situation.² For de Laessoe it seems to have been the signal to flaunt all the arrogance and pomp of which he was capable and with his upbringing in India at the height of the era of the British Raj, he did not lack experience to draw upon and it can be safely said that his ensuing behaviour owed much to this environmental background.

Although after this period of time the tales about him are inevitably hearsay, with this reservation, they are worth repeating as an indication of his reputation. He is reported to have travelled in style on patrol with his Great Dane dogs carried in litters or baskets and a portable commode accompanied him everywhere, to be set up at the camping site within a private "skerm" or zareba, where he could sit and meditate undisturbed. His horses were reputedly paraded for inspection every morning at Belingwe and if he spotted a tick the negligent groom had to consume it on the spot. If there was no water at a fancied camping site he ordered out the women and girls to carry water from miles away and would not even forego his evening bath. A favourite punishment seems to have been to make offenders carry stones on their heads and he is said to have punished a group of trespassers and poachers by sending them to Beitbridge and back carrying boxes of stones on their heads. This punishment, quite outside the law, must have disconcerted the Member i/c. B.S.A. Police at Beitbridge somewhat, as he was ordered to see to the about-turn of the party. De Laessoe expected Africans he encountered along the way to stand perfectly still while he passed. If this homage was not accorded him the offender might be made to run in front of his horse for miles with a large stone on his head.³

De Laessoe's native name was "Mapalala" which an old African who actually worked for him translated as meaning "to sweep everything away" in Chikaranga. Another possible meaning is "to scatter" which again gives the impression of a man who swept all before him ruthlessly and was looked upon with awe.⁴ However, a tale for which there is reliable support, despite its supernatural overtones, shows that natural elements can thwart and throw into disarray even men like de Laessoe. Pursuing his policy of instilling fear and forcing his will on the people, de Laessoe conceived a plan to collect tax on the top of Buhwa Hill near Belingwe, a place full of evil spirits and shunned by the local inhabitants. Even he could not get the Africans to carry the paraphernalia up the hill so he had them deposit it at the foot and his messengers were then made to carry it to the top and start building a hut. While this was in progress

¹ Ibid. 11 above (I.G.C.).

² Ibid. 8 above (H.A.).

^{3/4} Various contributed by Mrs. W. H. Orpen, Major H. P. Tice, Messrs. I. G. Cockcroft, E. H. Cumming, F. K. Taylor and H. Filmer, to all of whom I am most grateful.

there was a great roaring sound heralding a landslide from the top and "Mapalala" came hurtling down the hillside shouting and swearing, and from then on he is said to have become even more "bewitched" and brutal. Tax was never collected on top of Buhwa Hill but a tale is told of one messenger who lost most of one buttock in sliding down the hill in panic to escape the catastrophe. He survived the ordeal and lived until quite recently. It seems true that de Laessoe's handling of the Africans now became so bad that the Belingwe people planned to attack the Native Department Station and slay all Government officials. Luckily no man was forthcoming who was brave enough to lead the attack.¹

However, news of the state of affairs that was developing now begun to filter through to official quarters and we can turn to the official record to round off de Laessoe's period of administration at Belingwe. Initially he was to assist the Native Commissioner of the district, W. E. Thomas, but later de Laessoe took over full control when Thomas was transferred to Bulalima-Mangwe. At this time A. A. Campbell was Native Commissioner at neighbouring Insiza and allegations by various Africans were made to him complaining that they had been flogged by de Laessoe or his assistant, R. B. Jupp.

Two enquiries were instigated, the first under Mr. Lawlor, Magistrate at Gwanda, followed by a second and more extensive enquiry carried out by Mr. Justice Vintcent six months later. De Laessoe was suspended and sent on compulsory leave from 18th December, 1906, and finally dismissed on 30th March, 1908, as a result of the second investigation. Besides the flogging of various individuals there were also charges of forced labour and of the flogging of men of a whole kraal following on the escape of a chief's son from custody.

De Laessoe admitted most of the charges but justified himself on the grounds that the district was unruly and that the chief, M'duna, was insolent and a trouble-maker, but Judge Vintcent found he was no more of a trouble-maker than other chiefs and that de Laessoe's allegations that Native Commissioner Campbell was siding with M'duna for reasons of personal advancement and indulging in unwarranted interference in someone else's district were quite unfounded. He concluded that de Laessoe and his subordinates had, in fact, overstepped their authority, although he conceded that Belingwe district had undoubtedly been quieter under de Laessoe. Nevertheless he recorded that "it would be highly inexpedient to re-instate Mr. de Laessoe as Native Commissioner of the Belingwe District" and so his dismissal was duly effected by order of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.²

While at Belingwe de Laessoe had mounted another expedition, this time to explore the Lundi-Sabi valley to the sea. Again the primary object was to assess navigational possibilities but he comments on soil and vegetation and game encountered and also kept a fruitless look-out for ancient ruins in conjunction with which his comments on possible ancient trade routes make interesting

¹ T. G. Cockcroft—letter dated 29th April, 1968, quoting an ancient African at Shabani who actually worked for de Laessoe. This African died a few months after relating his memories. Two other old Africans of Belingwe told substantially the same stories.

² The official account of the Belingwe episode was kindly furnished by National Archives, letter ref. CI/1/119/68 of 28th March, 1968.



Cahora Bassa Gorge

(Photo: Courtesy of Argus Africa News Service)

reading and ties in to some degree with Hugh Tracey writing on Antonio Fernandes, *Rhodesia's First Pioneer* in *Rhodesiana* No. 19, December 1968.

It is interesting to note that his paper¹ reporting this expedition was read to the Rhodesian Scientific Association almost exactly two years before he presented his account of his earlier and more audacious Zambezi journey. On both occasions he was absent and the papers read for him. The expedition travelled down the Lundi and Sabi and returned via Melsetter and it was very much more elaborately equipped with "120 native carriers and servants, one horse, three donkeys and three dogs". A Mr. McEwen and Mr. Wheeler (who appears to have been an administrative colleague at Belingwe²) accompanied him. There were no startling adventures and the account is generally more prosaic and scientifically orientated than that of the Zambezi journey. A lighter touch comes when they reach the coast and are regaled with profuse hospitality by the Portuguese at Mamboni, good Scotch whisky included! Here de Laessoe shows a pleasing humane interest in the welfare of his carriers and servants when he recounts how they too enjoyed an almighty binge on wine which they drank as if it were kaffir-beer. The resulting hang-overs next day gave many of them second thoughts about the pleasures of the night before. Further, the Portuguese kindly provided boats to convey the whole party the eight miles to the sea which none of the Africans had seen before and they all had a swim to round off a

¹ *Proc. Rhod. Scientific Association*, Vol. 6, Part 2, 28th August, 1906.

² National Archives, *ibid.* 19 above.

memorable occasion. It is interesting to note that one of the first camps out of Belingwe was at Buhwa Hill but this may have been before the landslide episode.

Such expeditions must have involved quite a financial outlay and there is no evidence that either of them were favoured by outside sponsorship. At Sebungwe, de Laessoe's basic salary was £360 (R.\$720) per annum and at Belingwe £500 (R.\$1 000). His entry in the *South African Who's Who* lists his hobbies as exploring, big-game hunting and study of ethnology and, given the family background, it seems reasonable to infer that private means were available to permit the indulgence of these hobbies. Upon his retirement his father was netting about £1 700 (R.\$3 400) per annum, quite a useful sum in those days.¹

After leaving Belingwe de Laessoe was appointed Acting Manager for the B.S.A. Company's Estates Office at Bulawayo, so he does not seem to have fallen into complete disfavour with the Company despite events at Belingwe. He was appointed in August 1908 and he seems to have been the first incumbent of this office which was created in that year under the control of the Director of Land Settlement. The department was concerned with applications for land and the promotion of immigrant settlement.²

A year later he was assigned to guide one of the directors of Liebig's, Mr. W. Livingstone-Learmonth, who was touring Rhodesia looking for suitable ranching land and processing sites. In due course Learmonth must have been suitably impressed by de Laessoe's ability and offered him a job, for, in May 1910, de Laessoe begins writing to the Land Settlement Board on behalf of Liebig's and after finalising the selection of land he was appointed manager of Liebig's Rhodesian farms.³ It is said that he first looked at the Matetsi area but rejected it in favour of the present 1 250 000 acres which he selected with great care to include the best water supplies available, to the detriment and hardship of later settlers in the area.⁴ I have not been able to ascertain the absolute truth of the last assertion but another source states that in fact plenty of water was available by sinking wells in an area which most thought to be without water.⁵

In June 1912 an article appeared in the *Rhodesian Agricultural Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 5, written by de Laessoe and giving an account of Liebig's Rhodesian enterprise and telling something of how the project got going. An interesting point is the mention of the precautionary quarantining of new stock coming from other areas and the provision of a motor transport and passenger service with West Nicholson to eliminate the risk of draught animals carrying in disease. Catalonian donkeys were imported and a resident of West Nicholson at that time says he believes these were also introduced because of their resistance and virtual immunity to diseases which affect cattle and so could be used safely as

¹ *India Office Records; The India List* 1903, p. 218 and *ibid.* 3 above.

² National Archives, letter Cl/1/119/67 of 1st May, 1968, and *S.A. Who's Who* and *S.A.D.N.B.* *vide* 4 above.

³ National Archives, *ibid.* 23 above.

⁴ F. K. Taylor, Postmaster, West Nicholson.

⁵ Major F. P. Tice, B.S.A.P.

transport animals. It is said that the influence of this strain of donkeys can be seen in the area to this day where the size and quality of the donkeys is above average.¹

De Laessoe's association with Liebig's continued apparently smoothly until 1914. Whether at this stage Liebig's began to find his autocratic ways too much for them or whether it was merely because the enterprise was expanding and growing, Liebig's decided that a Board of Control should replace the one man management. This clearly did not suit de Laessoe and he is reputed to have cabled the company head office demanding "All or Nothing". The even more laconic answer was "Nothing".² This tale could be apocryphal but it is none the less typical and very much in character. So ended de Laessoe's Rhodesian days and he went off to the War.

He joined the Rifle Brigade, 13th (Service) Battalion, and became a Captain with command of "A" Company. It is thought he may have joined this battalion because of a prior association in Rhodesia with the Marquis of Winchester who was the 2nd in command. (*The Marquis of Winchester, Lord Henry Paulet, who succeeded to the title in 1899 on the death of his brother in the Scuth African War, was resident in Rhodesia from 1893 to August 1894. Although de Laessoe was not in Rhodesia at that time, it is possible that they were acquainted.—Editor.*) Although he went to France with the Battalion he seems to have been transferred to the General List before the Battle of the Somme in July 1916. Old comrades remember him as a very fine horseman but equally as a martinet who earned appropriate army epithets.³ He was awarded the M.C. (1st January, 1917) and the D.S.O. (3rd June, 1918) but both appeared in Honours Gazettes in which there are no citations.⁴ This ties in with the indications that he held a staff appointment for which he was probably selected on his abilities as a linguist. He ended up with the rank of Major.

Home Office records reveal the next chapter in his life with the following: ". . . after World War I, Harold Henry Abraham de Laessoe settled down in Angola in Portuguese West Africa on some property of his own. In February 1939 he returned to England and on the outbreak of World War II offered his services to the War Office, but as he was 60 he was told they would not be required. In October 1939 he obtained a post with the Postal Censorship in Liverpool, but was dismissed from this in February 1940. He then came to London and became a Superintendent at one of the Islington Air Raid Precautions Depots and was so employed until May 1940 when he and Mrs. de Laessoe were interned under Defence Regulation 18B, 1939, because of their association with the British Union of Fascists."⁵

¹ Ibid. 25 above.

² Ibid. 26 above.

³ Correspondence with the Secretary, 13th (S) Battalion, Old Comrades Association, and other members thereof.

⁴ The late H. A. Cripwell gave the lead here, later filled out by courtesy of Mr. J. M. Leslie of the Royal Green Jackets Museum at Winchester, Hants.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. T. H. Cooke of Bulawayo for a lead on his association with the B.U.F. resulting in this valuable Home Office Records Office communication to the author. Ref. ESG/68 404/1/27 dated 5th April, 1968.

"When released from internment in 1943 they took up residence in London and Major de Laessoe was employed as a clerical assistant in the Accounts Department of the Society of Herbalists in Baker Street, London. He was subsequently dismissed from this employment. On 10th January, 1944, at the age of 64 he and his wife left London for Norfolk to undertake farming.

"There is no record at The Home Office of Major de Laessoe's death."

There in Norfolk, regrettably, the trail ends with a lot of tantalising questions unanswered. Who did he marry and when and what sort of a woman would have fitted in with a man of his temperament? The strength of his association with Mosley's Fascists also cannot be satisfactorily answered because both large and small fry were swept into the net in 1940.¹ However, the fact that he was employed on postal censorship for a time may indicate that he was only mildly involved though equally, in the days of the phoney war, it may have been an administrative slip. One fact does emerge; the succession of jobs from some of which he was dismissed, does suggest that he had not changed over the years and that he did not readily get on well with other people or, after years of wielding authority over others, find it easy to accommodate himself to working under others.

It is almost certain that he did not stay in England. A search at Somerset House has revealed nothing nor has a perusal of the Norfolk telephone directory. Farming in Norfolk would seem a very tame existence for a man of de Laessoe's calibre and unless he had changed very much more than is indicated above and mellowed with the years, one feels that Africa almost certainly called him back again although enquiries in Angola have yielded no result. There is a very tenuous theory that he went to another part of the West Coast, possibly Ghana, but there is nothing to substantiate this.

Harold de Laessoe could still be alive somewhere, aged about 91 or 92. Despite his faults, some of which were not so very out of place in his era, he deserves a full measure of recognition for signal achievements and he was certainly not lacking in the qualities of courage and tenacity of purpose.

NOTE ON SPELLING OF CAHORA BASSA

The rendering "Cahora" (rather than "Cabora" which many prefer) has been used in the text, though both Livingstone and de Laessoe employ "Kebra", which Livingstone links with the Portuguese word "Quebra" meaning break or finish, indicating the point of change from water to land travel and vice versa which occurs at this point of the Zambezi. Livingstone notes (also at p. 55 of *The Zambezi and Its Tributaries*) that the word as pronounced by the natives is "Kaora Bassa" which would seem to imply that "Cahora" should be preferred and that the name is of purely Bantu origin, for additionally "Bassa" or "Basa" seems to have no Portuguese basis. Further, the letter "K" has no place in the modern Portuguese alphabet.

The Gorge must be almost unique for the number and variety of spellings and renderings of the name. Yet another encountered on a Portuguese map is "Querabasa", while a 1963 Bartholomew's World Series map opts for "Quebrabasa" and there must be many other variations too.

My own assessment is that the native rendering given by Livingstone should be the basis to follow and "Cahora" should therefore be preferred.

¹ *The Fascist in Britain* by Colin Cross. Barrie & Rockliff, 2 Clement Inn, W.C.2, 1961, at p. 120 ff.

Antonio Fernandes— A Reassessment

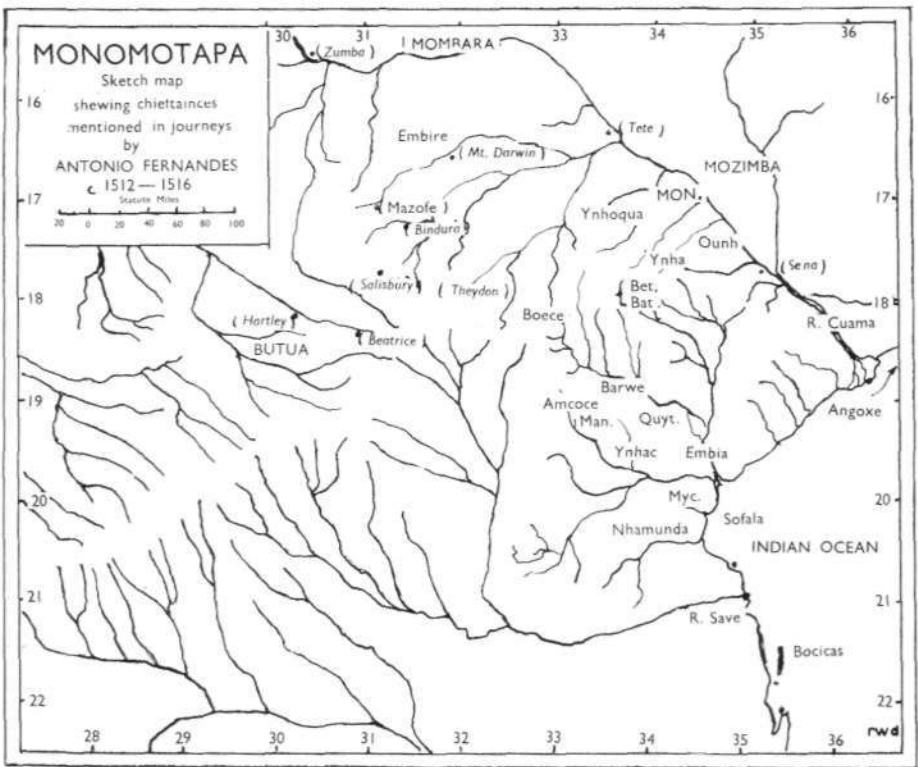
by R. W. Dickinson

Almost 460 years ago Antonio Fernandes, a condemned (*degradado*) ship's carpenter, began his series of journeys into the unknown depths of the Monomotapa's domain, journeys which eventually earned him a pardon for revealing the secrets of the gold routes to the captains of Sofala and their royal masters. Knowledge of the remarkable exploits, so important for subsequent Portuguese penetration from the coast, lay disregarded in the Torre de Tombo archives until Eric Axelson discovered them just prior to World War 11 and offered texts and translations to Hugh Tracey for interpretation.¹ It has long been evident to those who read Portuguese that Tracey's ingenious interpretation is awry in certain important aspects, and this account, profiting by the comments of Godlonton, Schofield, Montez and Lobato, using the full spread of document and map reproductions now available and ethnohistoric information about SE. African kingdoms of the sixteenth century, offers a new look at the travels of the old explorer.

First, briefly, the context of the explorations. The first Portuguese to occupy Sofala, impressed by tales of the gold trade, expected a rich commerce at the port. Although the wild estimates of over a million miticals² of gold annually were soon seen to be exaggerations, the first year of trading brought a total of 8 253 miticals according to extant accounts. This initial burst of trade was largely due to the loot from Almeida's sacking of Swahili trading posts in the north, however, and even this level was insufficient to sustain a garrison which cost over 10 000 miticals a year. Almost a decade later, viceroy Albuquerque was to comment that it was strange that Sofalan gold only covered the costs of the post, leaving nothing for trade. Vital documents for assessing the gold flow from 1507 to 1510 are missing, but the fact that from 1510 to 1512 maintenance payments ceased to be made in gold indicate a drop in Sofala's trade. Why was the famous port producing so little?

¹ The two principal documents are Veloso's (undated) notebook and Almada's letter of 26th June, 1516, reproduced in Axelson, *SE. Africa 1488-1530*, London, 1940, as documents 124 and 62. Hugh Tracey's interpretation exists in manuscript in the Rhodesia National Archives, and was published (tr. and ed. Caetano Montez) in Portuguese as *Antonio Fernandes descobridor do Monomotapa*, Lourenco Marques, 1940. It has appeared in modified form in English in *Rhodesiana* 19 (December 1968).

² Mitical = approx. 1/6 oz. gold.



The reason became increasingly obvious to the Portuguese from 1507 on. Although the usual excuse was wars in the interior, the main obstacle was the flourishing Swahili trade down the Cuama (lower Zambezi) and through their "second Sofala" at Angoche (near the modern Antonio Enes). The Swahili, in short, simply withdrew the trade from Sofala to routes they still controlled further north. It was therefore vital for the Portuguese at Sofala to make thorough reconnaissance of Karangaland where the gold was collected, the routes connecting the plateau with the coast, and armed with this information, to attempt penetration themselves, thus breaking free of the necessity to rely on the Sofala Swahili. At the same time, they were dependent on the Muslims at Sofala for expertise in trade and they were chronically short of ships to check contraband and exploit ivory. In this dilemma, the most energetic captain Sofala ever had, Antonio de Saldanha, initiated vigorous but economic penetration of the hinterland by using the most expendable human means—the *degredados*. The most famous of them, Antonio Fernandes, earned the glowing tribute from provost Almada: "they [African chiefs] worship him like a god. Wherever he goes wars are stopped out of respect for him."¹ Remarkable linguist, diplomat, uncannily immune to all the dangers of sixteenth-century Africa; where did he go?

Lobato has made an entirely credible revision of Tracey's thesis on the chronology of the Fernandes journeys. Tracey treated the two documents as contemporary (i.e. 1516) and the number of journeys as two. Lobato identifies

¹ DPM IV, 283.

three journeys, two described in Veloso, where mention of the closing of Portuguese Kilwa as a recent event (1512) suggests that the journeys recorded took place in 1511 and 1512, and the third, with its much greater detail about the Zambezi, occurring in 1513-14 and described by Almada in 1516.¹

On the geography of the travels, Tracey is relying on proofs no longer tenable in claiming that Fernandes' first route to the Monomotapa was by the Sabi route. He supposes that the Angoche River which Veloso reported to be full of Swahili contraband traffic lay *south* of Sofala. The one map on which Tracey relies for proof is Pigafetta's of 1591.² Other Portuguese maps show what contemporary Portuguese accounts confirm clearly, that Angoche lay *north* of the Zambezi.³ Chief Nyamunda (Inhamunda) whom Tracey places *north* of Sofala ruled territory *south* of the port, and Nyambia (Embia or Nhambia) was ruler of Bangoe, or the Pungwe mouth, *north* of Sofala.⁴

Although ingenious, moreover, it is unwise to make a fairly exact itinerary as Tracey does, basing the distance travelled on Veloso's *Jornada*—the distance travelled in a day—and computing it as about 15 miles of continuous progress. Tracks followed would be most devious and halts, to wait upon the whims of chiefs who all demanded gifts and would be filled with curiosity, of unknown duration. Lobato, furthermore, has questioned the possibility of using Veloso's transcription of Fernandes' oral account as a *route* anyway. The only safe method is to identify what we can and let the pattern emerge. Godlonton provided a quite penetrating analysis and subsequent research has confirmed much of it.⁵

Veloso's account of the first journey begins with Mycamdira, ruler of a region close to Sofala. The name is echoed in that of a chief whom the writer met in 1970, chief Makandara, who lives close to the old Muslim area of Sofala. Of the position of Quytomgue nothing is certain, although the name connects more clearly with the Tonga than with Kiteve (Quiteve) into which context commentators try to force it. The presence today of a chief Amatonga on the route from coast to Vila de Manica, on the upland edge of the coastal plain, as well as the traditional name Amatonga Forest for the densely-wooded line parallel to the coast and running from Pungwe to Sabi may point to inhabitants called Tonga by the Karanga closer to Sofala than those known from sixteenth-century maps to have been in the lower Zambezi Valley. Embya is surely a

¹ Lobato, *A expansao portuguesa em Mocambique, 1498-1530*, vol. 3, Lisbon, 1960, ch. 6.

² Tracey, 1940, 64-5. Pigafetta's map corresponds closely to that of Duarte Lopes, c. 1590 (*PMC* III, 386). Santos was justly critical of this cartographer's skill—see *RSEA* VII, 287, where Pigafetta and Lopes are accused of transposing the position of rivers and kingdoms.

³ See *PMC* I, 39, 49 A, II, 137, 203, III, 322. See also *DPM* 111,14, on the connection between Angoche and "Maena"—the editors equate this with "Cuama" but it is probably the very first Portuguese reference to *Sena* (1511). Factor Soares' letter of 1513 and viceroy Albuquerque's despatch of 1514 both treat of Angoche and the Cuama as close—see *DPM* III, 459-69 and 559-61.

⁴ The name Nyamunda is perpetuated today as a common sib name associated with "Nkomo" in an area SW. of the southern tip of the Chimanimani range. Tradition collected by Miss Corinne Armstrong at Chikore in 1970 and kindly made available to me identify Nyamunda with the important chief Mucupe of today, a Danda ruler of the lower Sabi area. This agrees with the situation revealed in contemporary documents—Nyambia ruling the lower Pungwe (*PM* IV, 149) and Nyamunda gradually ousting him while he rings Sofala round (*DPMIV*, 143).

⁵ See map on p. 46 for areas identified.

variant of Nyambia, ruler of the lower Pungwe. The banditry ascribed to him represents his attempts to make a profit on the trade to Manica. Ynhacoucee, producing only food and ivory, fits into a coastal plain context. Ynhacoucee is called the seat of the Monomotapa's captain-major, but this does not help to locate the place, as two widely spaced localities are known at different times for this official. Its common use as a great Muslim trade fair suggests some point on the route to Manica, gold source for Sofala in Portuguese times. Schofield has offered the limit of canoe navigation on the Revue as a location.¹ Manhiqua names an area which in the sixteenth century extended down the Chimanimani range to the Mount Selinda area. Archaeological evidence so far available, however, would indicate the Vila de Manica area,² and this accords with the evident lack of contact between the Portuguese and the southern Mashonaland area³ and therefore contact rather with the northern plateau and its ruler, the Monomotapa, for gold collection.

The next centre mentioned, Barwe, is most interesting. The Barwe today live amid the Inyanga ruins. Doke believed they were not originally a Shona-speaking people, but related closely to the Sena cluster.⁴ The sixteenth-century site was probably nearer to the Zambezi Valley, for Veloso stresses the abundance of ivory. Rezende placed Baro (= Barwe?) between Sena and Manica.⁵ Betomgua fits into the emerging pattern as a reference to the Zambezi Tonga, suggesting a probe towards the great river, although by the scantiness of information about it in Veloso, it seems certain that Fernandes did not reach the Zambezi at this stage. Ynhaperpera, a gold-mining area ruled by a powerful chief, was later reported as in the region of Sena.⁶ This ruler, to control gold production, would occupy a position on the plateau edge. Boece, probably a variant of "Wesa", would be in the same general area as Barwe, between Sena and Manica.⁷ Its ruler had no gold, but would draw dues from Swahili merchants crossing his land.

From Boece, the upper Mazoe alluvial gold-field lies north-west, and corresponds to the next area in Veloso, Mazofe. Beyond lay the Monomotapa's capital, being surrounded with a dry stone wall when Fernandes arrived, in a district called Embire. No certain identification has yet been made, although it is generally agreed to lie in the area of Mount Darwin. Abraham claims it stood

¹ Schofield, 1946, 86. Since canoe navigation up rivers other than the Zambezi is considered quite impossible by the African boatmen at the coast today—in the dry season too little water, in the wet season rough enough to capsize the vessels, this suggestion may not be of much use.

² Ibid.

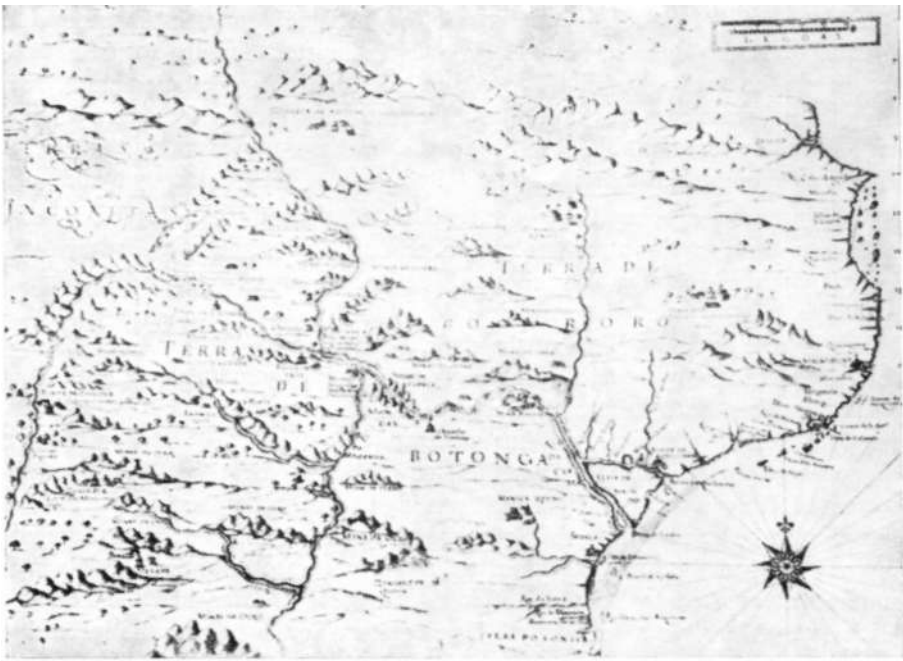
³ The only Changamires mentioned in the sixteenth century, for instance, are those at war with the Monomotapas in 1506. After that, references of trade contact concern those with the Monomotapa in his Mount Darwin area. No reference to the post Great Zimbabwe buildings of Khami, Dhlo Dhlo, etc., occur and the only two descriptions of Great Zimbabwe itself are made in terms which clearly indicate that the Portuguese informants never saw the ruins, e.g. *RSEA* VI, 267-8.

⁴ Summers, 1958, 265-7.

⁵ *RSEA* II, 411.

⁶ *RSEA* I, 26.

⁷ Summers, 1958, 265-7.



Joao Teixeira I, 1630. Map of SE. Africa. The nearest map in time to Fernandes to show so much inland detail in fair accuracy. Reproduction comes from "*Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*", Lisbon, 1960.

on the west bank of the Utete River,¹ Dr. Grilo has recently counter-claimed with a site across the border into Mozambique.² The identification is complicated by the fact that the sixteenth-century Monomotapas moved their capital from time to time.

Veloso next mentions Butua, rich in mined and alluvial gold. This vast area contained Great Zimbabwe (see note 3 on p. 48) and bordered Angola.³ This southern neighbour of the Monomotapa was constantly at war with him, and if Fernandes visited it at all, he must have penetrated only its northern fringe. Mombara, next in Veloso, was separated from Monomotapa by a great river across which light-skinned Africans, reputed to be cannibals, brought copper in silent trade, for they spoke a different language from the Karanga. Now cannibalism north of the Zambezi is well documented⁴ and the area mentioned was probably also north of the great river, inhabited by the Mbara, a folk possessing copper-smelting skills, and who made tiny colonies south of the Zambezi in the Urungwe area of Rhodesia where they were eventually absorbed by Shona-speakers.⁵

¹ NADA 36, p. 64(1959).

² *Monumenta* 4, pp. 15-19 (1968).

³ RSEA VII, 274.

⁴ RSEA II, 408.

⁵ Garlake, 1970. Cannibalism and the location of the copper as in the "rivers of the Manicongo" are lightly dismissed in order to strengthen a case for Rhodesian source of the metal. Since the copper crosses cannot be securely tied to an early sixteenth-century date the case is as yet unproven.

Ynhoqua ("Nyoka"—common Shona word for snake) is impossible to place. From this point on, Fernandes having exhausted his gifts, would have to return via the territory of chiefs to whom he had already presented cloth, even though, as Veloso says, the route was different: the names on the return journey may therefore represent areas rather than chiefs in many cases, and where the area lies beyond the authority of a friendly ruler will be known only by hearsay.

Monzambia processed cotton for sale in Monomotapa: a Zambezi Valley area near Sena no doubt, where cotton production for the Monomotapa was later reported.¹ Mozimba also produced cotton and corresponds to the name of a people known later to be moving down the north flank of the Zambezi, indicating the northern shore of the river. Both areas would simply be hearsay for the explorer. Qyutenge, if it is simply repeating Qyutongue, would fit more naturally after Baro rather than before it. Batongua, contrasting with the previous Tonga reference, now has plenty of ivory and gold: perhaps a lapse of memory on the part of Fernandes, or perhaps indicating a more upland section of Tonga country.² The river "coming to meet" the Cuama and flowing into the sea 16 leagues from the Sofala bar is hearsay comment: Fernandes had not yet reached the lower Zambezi to obtain accurate information. His later statement, reported by Almada, after the explorer had reached the Zambezi Valley, that the river mouth lay 40 leagues from Sofala reflects the increasing mastery over the geography of SE. Africa afforded by the third journey.

At this time, Fernandes thought of the Amguoge (Angoche) as having river connection with the river of Qyutenge. Barbosa 16 years later thought the same, and no doubt in the wet season there could have been water contact.³ The explorer was aware of the busy contraband traffic of Angoche and the lower Zambezi, and from hearsay after his earliest two journeys recommends occupation of some island—undoubtedly for the Portuguese an island in the Sena area would have been the most strategic point to invest.

Veloso gives no detail for the second journey, and it is logical to assume that this also was made by the highland route over the Manica plateau.

The third expedition, described in Almada's 1516 letter, was also focused on the Monomotapa, using a different route. Having been made so aware of the busy Swahili traffic in the Cuama, Fernandes travelled first to "a king, lord of vast lands", Unyaroro (Ounharouro⁴) "whose capital lay by a great river". The river was the Zambezi and the capital of the chief, made great through the dues of the busy commerce, was almost certain to be close to Sena. The experience prompted Fernandes to underline his earlier suggestion of island occupation by adding the features of a river patrol and a second station at four days' journey towards the gold plateau to cut off the rich Muslim-Karanga trade.

¹ *RSEA* III, 229.

² A later reference by Barros to gold production mentions Tongas as the miners of the Manica plateau: *RSEA* VI, 266.

³ *DPM* V, 363.

⁴ A name reminiscent of the people north of the Zambezi near Sena, the Bororo. figured in sixteenth-century Portuguese maps.



Map from Atlas of 1568 by Diogo Homem. Coastal details include Chiluan (Quiloane), Sofala (Cofala), the Pungwe mouth (Benga), the Zambezi delta (Cuame) and Angoche (Angoxa).

Fernandes left Unyaroro and made for the Karanga capital, gaining a more complete picture of the trade in copper with Ambar.¹ He learnt that the metal came in windmill-shaped ingots (*aspas*), originally collected by the rivers of Manicongo.

On his return to Sofala, Fernandes twice visited Nyamunda, on the second occasion spending an entire year at his court, sailing south and journeying five days inland to reach him.² The *degredado* here performed a service to his people as important as his missions to the Monomotapa, for while the Karanga overlord controlled the collection of gold, Nyamunda increasingly became master of the routes by which the metal reached Sofala, and could at the height of his power shut off the gold supply at will.³ Had Fernandes lived on beyond 1527, the blockade of Sofala might well have been avoided.⁴ It was the Nyamunda blockade which eventually drove the Portuguese, belatedly, to use the information won by their intrepid explorer and to follow the Swahili into the Zambezi Valley. Documentation for the date of the Portuguese establishment of Sena is entirely lacking, but it is likely that captain Pegado, whose triennium was apparently extended to over six years (1531-38) had more opportunity than most of his

¹ The name seems a variant of Mombara in Veloso.

² The port to which he sailed, Nyambibe, is remembered by the Ndaus as a coastal name at the mouth of the Gorongosa River, about 40 miles south of Sofala.

³ As he did in 1528. The letter of Antonio da Silveira makes this plain: *DPM V*, MS. 73, wrongly dated there as "post-1518". The reference to the end of the term of office of the captain of Sofala, "Dom Lopo" [d'Almeida], securely dates it to just after 1528, the very year in which Silveira succeeded him.

⁴ His death is recorded in 1527 in *DPM VI*, 289.

predecessors to begin the exploitation of the Zambezi ivory trade which grew so important within the next two decades, and probably in Pegado's term as captain a private trading post was established at Sena. Of this, however, we may be sure, that it was the efforts of Antonio Fernandes that enabled his countrymen eventually to penetrate the interior of SE. Africa along its richest trade route, the Zambezi, transforming in time their precarious coastal toe-holds into an empire in depth.

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SHELFMARK: BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL FREE LIBRARY OF RHODESIA

This publication (50c per annum, six issues, from P.O. Box 1773, Bulawayo) always contains interesting reading material in addition to its list of new accessions and short notices on important books.

No. 28 of April 1971 contains a precis of the report of *The Library Commission* 1970 which gave a balanced and searching review of the existing library services of Rhodesia and made recommendations "for a far reaching programme aimed at welding the scattered elements which make up the library scene today into an inter-locking network of libraries" modelled on the county and provincial services of Britain and South Africa.

Included with No. 29, June 1971, is *Shelf Guides No. 2*, the second in a series of roneod lists covering the stock of the National Free Library. This second number is on *Rhodesian History* and gives classified lists of books on (a) the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, (b) Rhodesia as a separate state and (c) material on the towns and areas of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. This guide is available to readers, free, on request.

The August issue carries some notes on "Reprinted Rhodesiana".

In Search of Macambo

by C. J. W. Fleming

When I first heard that I was to be posted to Lundazi¹ I decided that one of the things I must try and do when I was there was to pin-point the site of the old Portuguese settlement established on the Luangwa in 1827 which was known to be situated somewhere in the south-west corner of the district. The only information I had on the subject at the time came from E. H. Lane Poole's book *The Natives Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia*.² He says,³ *inter alia*, of the colony—

"Major Monteiro and his companion, Gamitto, in 1831 who, on behalf of the Portuguese Government, attempted to repeat the success of the Pombeiros,⁴ left more detailed records. The colony is referred to by them by the name Macambo, a name which cannot today be identified with any existing place. The southern boundary is described as the Muata stream, an affluent of the Luangwa ... He demarcated it on his map as south of the village of Mwanzawamba and it may probably be identified with the Mwatizi."

In due course I went down to this part of the Luangwa Valley and examined the Mwatizi. It was to the settlement on this stream that the Portuguese explorer, Doctor Lacerda, had hurried on the 19th and 20th of August, 1798, in order to observe the occultation of Jupiter's satellites from a place with a known name.⁵ The Mwatizi, I discovered, was a typical sand river coming from the escarpment hills and where it emerged on to the floor of the Luangwa Valley it had formed a large rich patch of alluvial soil studded with great acacia trees which bore eloquent testimony of its fertility. The local headman was called Chipandwe but he was a comparative newcomer, he knew nothing of the early history of the area and, surprisingly, had never even heard of Mwazavamba, the name of a line of Chewa headmen who had occupied the site for over a century and moreover a name well known to all the early travellers. I was later told that the village of Mwazavamba did in fact survive right up to the time when the first officials of the British South Africa Company came and that the then incumbent of the title had concealed his identity and had consequently not been recognised. I combed the fields under the great trees, looked over the foothills, examined both banks of the river and questioned everyone. There was, however, no trace of any ancient settlement and no tradition of an early Portuguese colony anywhere in

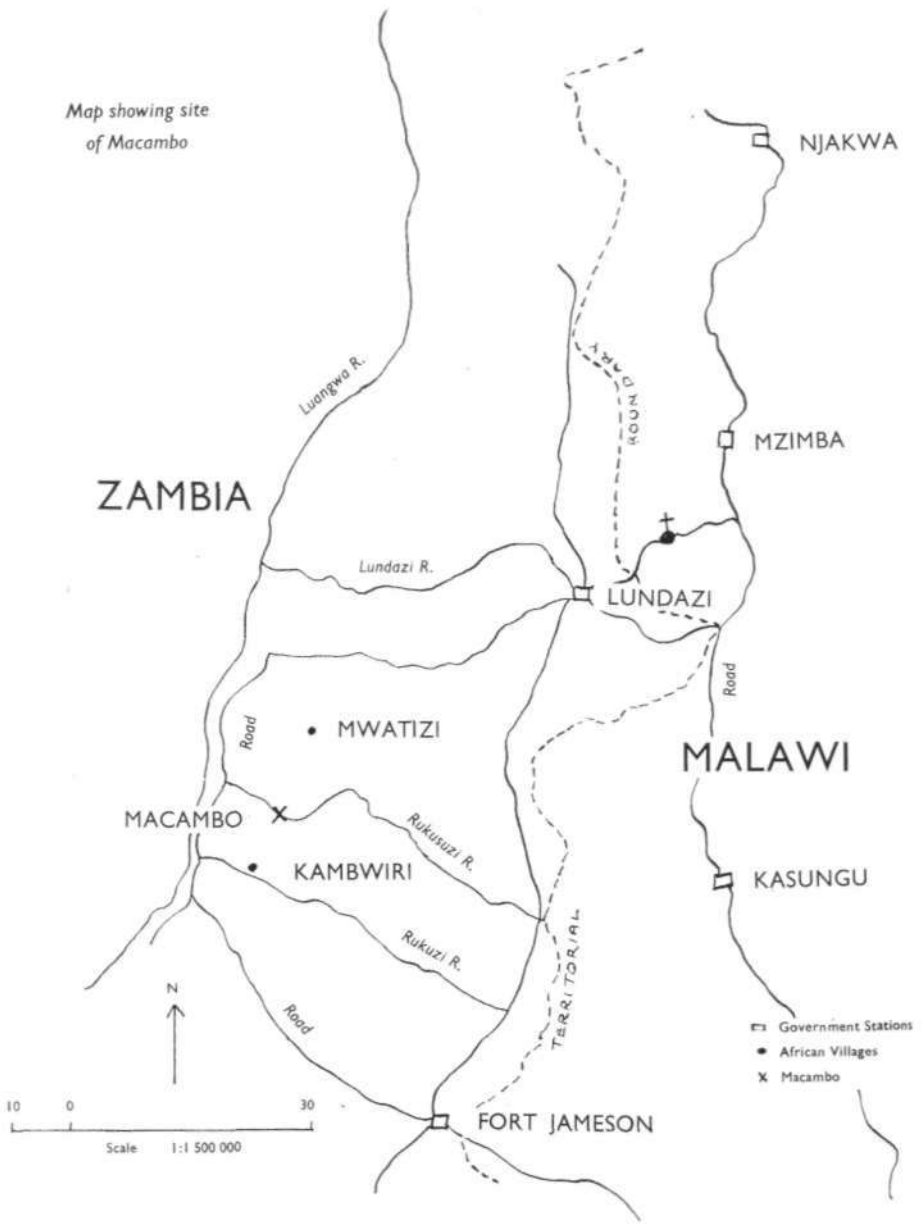
¹ A Government station 114 miles north of Fort Jameson (now Chipata).

² Published by the Government Printer, Lusaka. Second edition (1938).

³ *Ibid.*, Lane Poole, p. 31.

⁴ The Pombeiros had succeeded in crossing the continent in 1810 (*see Lacerda's Last Journey to Casembe* by R. F. Burton, John Murray, London (1873), p. 167 et seq.).

⁵ *Ibid.* Burton, p. 84.



the vicinity. I began to wonder if perchance Lane Poole was wrong and that the site was to the south or south-west and nearer to the Luangwa which was some 20 miles away. It chanced that roughly south-west of the Mwatizi the Lumimba River flowed into the Luangwa from the east. Like so many other rivers in the Luangwa valley it did not discharge its waters along any one definite course but debauched onto the alluvial flats and reached the main river through many devious channels. Some of these had names and it occurred to

me that one of them might be the elusive Muata referred to by Lane Poole. I learnt too that there was a village in the delta called Mukombwe which might conceivably be a corruption of Macambo. Everyone has their own way of spelling African place names and many of the early Portuguese spellings of known places bear little resemblance to present-day orthography. However, a careful check of the various channels of the Lumimba disclosed that there was nothing with a name that bore any resemblance to Muata and Headman Mukombwe turned out to be another newcomer who had never heard of Macambo. I came to the conclusion that the settlement must have been on the Mwatizi, as Lane Poole said, but that all trace of it had vanished.

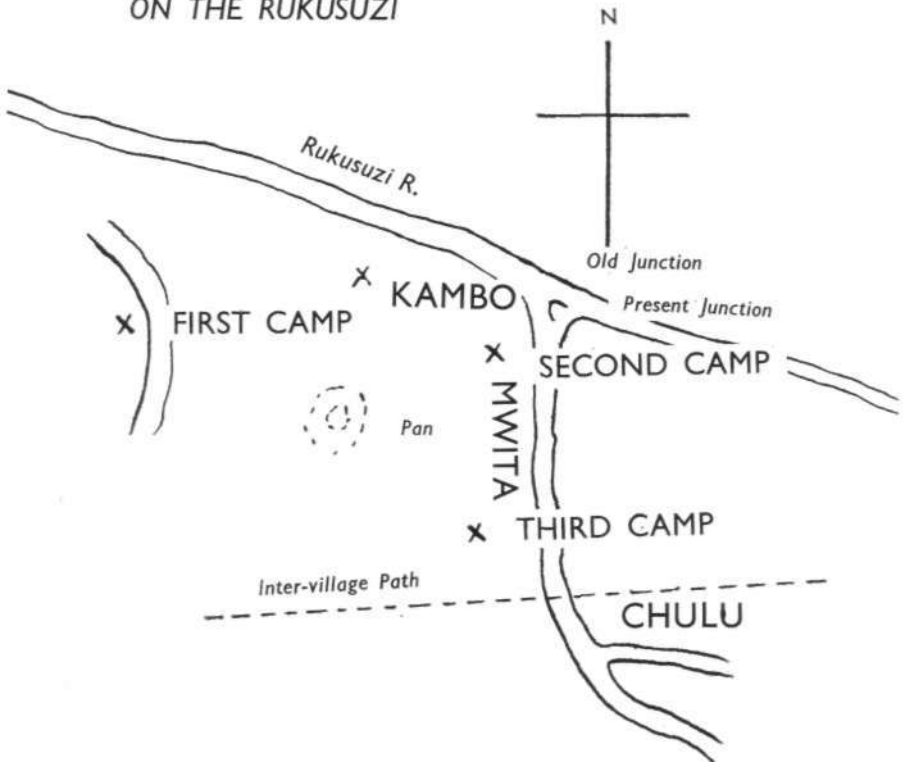
* * * * *

It happened that about a year later I was given the opportunity to explore the terrain to the south of the Mwatizi. The lower part of the valley was, at this time, being administered from Mpika, another Government station some distance away on the west bank of the Luangwa. In 1943 the Government decided that the Luangwa was altogether too much of a barrier to insure the proper administration of the area from Mpika so it was decreed that it should be placed under the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner, Lundazi. This gave me another large slice of country in which to pursue my enquiries. Quite apart from the added interest it gave to the search, the strip was redolent of history for nearly all the early expeditions into this part of Africa had followed one or other, or both, of the two similarly named rivers, the Rukuzi and the Rukusuzi, which run down on parallel courses from the main watershed and traverse the area before joining the Luangwa. I did not immediately get an opportunity to explore my new domain but when I did my first stop was at a village called Mukwela situated on the Rukusuzi about 18 miles from its junction with the Luangwa and perhaps a similar distance south of the Mwatizi. Here my luck changed. Headman Mukwela was a Phiri and a relation of the former owners of the country. He had an elderly kinswoman called Chidote who turned out to be a veritable repository of local tradition.

The Portuguese colony? Yes, of course she had heard about it. It was some miles downstream, to the west of where we were. The Muata? The Muata was actually the Mwita which I later discovered was not really a river as such but an overflow channel from the Rukusuzi which comes out on the left bank just above Mumamba village and flows back into the main stream some three or four miles lower down, thus forming a kind of island about three miles long and perhaps a mile wide. Macambo¹ stumped her at first, but, after consulting

¹ There can be little doubt that the colony was called "Malambo" and not "Macambo". Lane Poole himself hints at this possibility in an article he wrote entitled *An Early Portuguese Settlement in Northern Rhodesia*, in the *Journal of the Africa Society* for April 1931, p. 168. It is shown as Malambo in the map in Burton's book and Cunnison also calls it Malambo (see *King Kazembe and the Marave* by A. C. P. Gamitto, translated by I. Cunnison, Lisbon (1960), vol. I, p. 136).

OLD PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS
ON THE RUKUSUZI



an old crone who was in the audience, it was decided that this must be "Kambo"¹ the name of an Achikunda headman who had once occupied a site near the old Portuguese settlement. I was frustrated because of illness from visiting the place on that occasion but six months later I got back to finish the tour. I discovered that there were three sites, all of them roughly to the west or south-west of where the Mwita rejoins the Rukusuzi and perhaps some 10 miles or so from the Luangwa. The first and largest was a pleasant enough spot in mopani country on a slight eminence overlooking a large pan which lay in the direction of the junction of the Mwita and the Rukusuzi. The only indication of habitation was what appeared to be scattered mounds, doubtless betokening the remains of native-type huts and some tall trees which I did not recognise and which the locals said had been planted by the settlers. The second was across the pan to the east of the first and right in the angle formed by the junction of the Mwita and the Rukusuzi. Local tradition is that the Portuguese were flooded out of this

¹ The fact that the headman was called Kambo was fortuitous (*see* note 6 above). Gamitto mentions that as the expedition neared the old settlement they met "colons" who fled at their approach (Gamitto, vol. I, pp. 136-7). "Colons" or "Colonos" were "tributary" native landlords (*see* Burton, p. 58, notes) and it would seem, therefore, that the Portuguese had left some tributaries behind to look after the land and that the "Achikunda" and "Kambo" are probably to be identified with them.

camp and it was not difficult to imagine what it was like at the height of the rainy season. The last site was on the banks of the Mwitwa just where it begins to turn to the north to rejoin the Rukusuzi and close to the present-day path connecting Chindamba village with Mumamba. According to local tradition it was the transit camp and only used just prior to the departure of the expedition for home. I was also shown the remains of Kambo's village between the first two sites. My quest was now over and I was really quite pleased with myself at having cleared up the mystery of the true location of the old settlement. My triumph was short-lived, however. When I returned to the station I found that another batch of official papers pertaining to the area had arrived from Mpika and among them were some old maps and plans. Before putting them away I glanced at them casually. My attention was arrested by a caption at the head of one of them which read, "Old Portuguese Settlements on the Luangwa." All the three sites which I had just visited were accurately portrayed on the unsigned drawing. It must have been done by some long-forgotten District Officer at Mpika.

* * * * *

Some time later when Gamitto's diary of his expedition with Monteiro in 1831-32 was translated into English, I was able to glean some further information on this Portuguese African colony.¹ The first to conceive of the idea was chief Kazembe of the Lunda who was anxious to have a trading post somewhere nearer to his capital than Tete. The notion was avidly taken up by Dr. Lacerda in 1798 who thought of it not only as a trading centre but also as a staging post on his projected transcontinental route connecting Portuguese East Africa with Angola. However, this ambitious scheme seems to have died with its progenitor. It was resuscitated in 1824 by Colonel Jose Francisco Alves Barbosa, the Governor of Sena. He envisaged a trading post on the Luangwa to further the ivory trade with the Wisa. A suitable tract of land was acquired from Mwase in 1825 and preparations were made to man the outpost, but unfortunately Barbosa was recalled and his successor, who was also keen on the project, was transferred and it was left to a rather disinterested militia colonel called Ferrao to carry out the project. He sent a small force of soldiers in 1827 to occupy the land but according to Gamitto he included no merchants and did nothing to open up commerce. It was also unfortunate that just at this time the Wisa were engaged in widespread wars and this inhibited their well-known trading instincts. This is probably as near a true account of the genesis of the colony as we are likely to get for the Major Monteiro who was the leader of the Monteiro and Gamitto expedition had been in charge of the settlement² and he no doubt imparted his knowledge of its antecedents to the expedition's scribe. For the reasons given by Gamitto the colony did not prosper and after a little over two years it was abandoned.

¹ Gamitto, vol. I, p. 135 et seq.

² J. Desmond Clark, *The Portuguese Settlement at Feira*, Northern Rhodesia Journal, vol. VI, p. 283.

The White Induna

by J. G. Storry

Africa abounds with stories of white men "going native". The earliest accounts seem to be of enforced habitation with indigenous tribes, owing to some misfortune that has separated a man from his fellows. Perhaps the best example is that of sailors round the shores of southern Africa shipwrecked on the inhospitable rocks of the Wild Coast and thereafter, rescue being largely out of the question, settling among the tribes of Pondoland.

It should, therefore, come as no surprise that no sooner did Europeans make contact with the tribes of the interior than one or other of their number would find himself amongst them for good.

The first Europeans to visit Mzilikazi, paramount chief of the Matabele, were two traders, Schoon and McLuchie, in 1829. They were shortly followed by Robert Moffat, the missionary from Kuruman, to the south. Mzilikazi agreed with Moffat that travellers to his domains via Kuruman would be treated with respect but, because he had had trouble with roving bands of Griqua hunters raiding his cattle posts, adventurers and others journeying by any other route would be considered enemies of the Matabele and killed. The chief kept his word and several parties, including Captain W. Cornwallis Harris, were received with courtesy, owing to their abiding by the agreement and arming themselves with a safe conduct from Kuruman. Equally, those entering Matabele territory from across the Vaal or Orange rivers were open to sudden and murderous attack by patrolling impis, always on guard along the southern border. It was, of course, at about this period that families of Boers sought to escape the bureaucratic hand of a British-governed Cape Colony and one way of so doing was to pack their belongings into ox-waggons and set out for the unknown north. The extent of geographical influence, and quite often the very presence, of Mzilikazi and his Matabele was unknown and several parties of trekkers lumbered along in an almost suicidal manner, heedless of the watching warriors.

The first captives were "Truey" (Gertrude), the daughter of Peter Davids, and her cousin, Wilhelm, both Grikwas and children of members of a hunting party that fell foul of the Matabele in 1833. Truey was rescued by Moffat some years later.

The activities of the trekkers increased in the middle thirties and, in August 1836, a Mr. Stephanus P. Erasmus collected together a party, consisting of several families, to hunt elephant, north of the Vaal. The expedition, though a large one, made up of five waggons, 80 oxen and about 50 horses, was not very successful. They were attacked as they were on their way home, at the beginning of September. The Matabele surrounded the camp just as Erasmus and one of his sons reached it in the evening. Another son and Carel Kruger had been

surprised earlier, while out hunting, and killed. Two more members of the party, Piet Bekker and his son, were chased by the warriors but managed to escape. Erasmus rode for help and to warn other hunting parties in the area. He managed to get 11 men to return with him but a second impi spotted them and they raced for the safety of their laager, which was promptly attacked. The attack was unsuccessful and the Matabele, after a fight lasting six hours, withdrew.

The first impi Erasmus encountered had more success. Having killed everyone they found in his camp they moved up-river and came upon the laager of the Liebenberg family, headed by old Barend Liebenberg with his children and grandchildren. The warriors fell ferociously upon the waggons, broke through and massacred the defenders. They then left, taking with them three children (two girls and a boy) and the wagons. When, a week later, Erasmus returned to the spot all he found were the bodies of five of his servants.

The names of the captured children are not known and the only clue lies in the names Liebenberg, Dutoit, his son-in-law, and MacDonald, a friend, whose families made up the party. Neither is the fate of the girls known, although *Posselt* calls one of them Sarah and suggests that she assumed the protective role of elder sister to Lobengula and died of snake-bite in the Matopos in about 1845.

If the children were allowed to live it seems likely that, following the plight of most Matabele captives, they would be allotted as slaves to some induna and would grow up as members of their master's household. It was Matabele policy to swell the ranks of the tribe by integrating into its society the people they conquered and the captives taken in raids or battle. So far was this deliberate policy carried on that when the tribe finally settled in Rhodesia it consisted of three distinct social classes—the Abezansi, from Zululand; the Abenhla, from the Transvaal and Orange Free State; and the Amaholi, the lowest class, made up of captives taken in Rhodesia from amongst the Mashona. If the children were treated in this manner they would do the usual chores of all kraal children. The girls were restricted to domestic duties around their masters' huts, eventually helping to cultivate crops and finally being married off to warriors in a regiment about to don the *isidhlo*: their master being entitled to receive the *lobola* paid for them.

Harris related that the day before his arrival at eGabeni the two girls had been taken to a northern kraal, out of his way; so at least Mzilikazi seems to have intended to keep them alive. Oddly enough *Harris* makes no mention of the boy, but as he received the above information from *Truey*, whose cousin had accompanied the girls, it might be that she thought it more than her life was worth to mention him. Mzilikazi pretended to *Harris* that his warriors had killed the Liebenberg party in mistake for Griquas, and the thought of reprisals by the Boers must have been uppermost in the minds of many of the Matabele at the time.

In view of the Matabele attitude towards their captives there is really no reason why the boy should not have lived. A later record (*Campbell*) suggests

that he did and that his name was uVelani—colloquially translated as "see what has come forth"—an allusion, no doubt, to the fact that he was kidnapped from a closed laager of waggons.

The pattern of uVelani's life would not differ much from that of his Matabele contemporaries. If captured young enough he would first herd goats before progressing to the task of cattle herding. As a lad in his teens he would become a carrier in the army, accompanying an impi, looking after his master's baggage and herding the slaughter oxen usually taken on an expedition. When he was 18 or so uVelani became a warrior in a newly-formed regiment or company.

It may be imagined that on capture the child was alternatively tearful and, maybe, defiant. His had been the childhood of a member of a sturdy, religious family; fearing no man and particularly no African. Now, he found himself thrust into the company of Matabele family life, with no possibility of escape. The fact that he did integrate so thoroughly suggests, perhaps, that he was quite young when abducted and the memory of his early life faded until it had an unreal, dreamlike quality.

There seems little doubt that uVelani did ally himself with his captors. No mention was made of him by the members of the commando that finally routed the Matabele and drove them out of South Africa, in 1837. He survived the long, dry trek to Rhodesia and his prowess as a warrior, in the bloodthirsty ranks of the Matabele army, was such that he rose to be induna of the Gogobambeni and Otakengeni military kraals. He lived at his kraals, near Thabas Induna, and in the course of time he took three wives and raised a family but, with the exception of one daughter, his children predeceased him.

As happens so often with stories of this kind, virtually nothing is known of uVelani's personal life. Received into Matabele society by violence, his death was equally sudden. It is believed that he was involved in a dispute with Mzilikazi over cattle. It may be that it was the same kind of dispute that forced Mzilikazi to leave Zululand, but this is conjecture. In any event the chief ordered his death and, if the *amanxusa* did their job properly, his entire family would have been wiped out at the same time. It was not permitted for anyone to mention the name of, or mourn, a person executed at the chief's order, so that it is not surprising that little or nothing has ever been heard of this, undeniably the first European settler in Rhodesia. What is recorded is scanty in the extreme but it is understood that the surviving daughter died shortly after her father and uVelani himself was about 40 years old at his death. To try and fix the date of his death is virtually impossible, without knowing how old he was when captured. The only thing that can be said in this regard is that it seems likely that he died before many Europeans journeyed to Matabeleland, otherwise, surely, there would have been some mention of so strange a warrior.

Strictly speaking, even the question of uVelani being the child captured from Liebenberg's camp is uncertain. On the other hand, the only other lad known to have been taken prisoner at the time of Mzilikazi's sojourn in the Transvaal was Truey David's cousin Wilhelm and, although his fate too is unknown, he was a Griqua. *Campbell's* informants spoke positively of uVelani

being a Dutchman and their report of the circumstances of his capture is so strongly akin to the known account of the tragedy at Moordekop as to leave little room to doubt that the child captured there and the white induna, uVelani, are one and the same person.

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OUTPOST: SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Outpost, the magazine of the B.S.A. Police, was started in 1911 as *The Police Review* and is thus the oldest continuously published magazine in central Africa. It claims a readership of 6 000 for every issue.

This anniversary issue comprises the usual monthly magazine for March 1971 plus the complete reproduction of Nos. 1 and 2 of *The Police Review* and many special features. There are reminiscences of the first editors, several of whom, later, became well-known professional journalists or editors in other parts of the world. The first editor, Wilfred Bussy, wrote most of the issues himself—stories, articles, verse, sporting and police news as well as drawing cartoons.

There is a long article on C. D. Rudd, a photo feature of the S.R. Women's Auxiliary Police Service at work in wartime 1941 and several reminiscing articles of the old days.

One article is on Rhodesia's first "newspaper", the cyclostyled four sheets called *The Nugget* which first appeared on 11th November, 1890. It was edited and published by a serving policeman, H. R. Vennelle.

Copies of this anniversary issue are still available for \$1-00 from The Editor, *Outpost*, P.O. Box HG.106, Highlands, Salisbury.

The Society's Gold Medals

It was decided in 1970 to award gold medals to persons who have:

- (i) made an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society; or
- (ii) made a major contribution to Rhodesian history.

Not more than three such medals will be awarded in any calendar year.

The Medal Sub-committee made the following recommendations for 1970:

Harry Archie Cripwell. A posthumous award for an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society.

Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E. For an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society.

The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., LL.D. For making a major contribution to Rhodesian history. Lord Malvern has always shown a great interest in Rhodesian history, besides he is, in fact, very much part of the country's history. He was directly responsible for setting up the Government Archives in 1935. As Chairman of the National Archives Building Board his interest was paramount in ensuring the successful completion of the National Archives building in 1961.

The Presentation

The presentation of these first medals was made by the Hon. Sir Vincent Quenet on 5th August, 1971, in the National Archives. There was a large gathering of members and guests including the Mayor and Mayoress of Salisbury.

Mrs. Cripwell received the medal awarded to her late husband and the second Lord Malvern that awarded to his late father who had died recently.

Mr. R. W. S. Turner, Chairman of the Medal Sub-committee, drew attention to the historic nature of the occasion and welcomed Sir Vincent Quenet, "a most distinguished lawyer, a former Judge President and a member of long standing of the Rhodesiana Society".

In his speech Sir Vincent said:

"It is a far cry from that day in June 1953, when eight enthusiasts decided to establish the Rhodesiana Society. Today the Society has about 1 500 members drawn from all parts of the world. Its object then, as now, was to encourage interest in Rhodesian history. To save for posterity that which should be remembered and might otherwise be lost, is in itself a praiseworthy exercise. Its principal virtue lies in the fact that a proper understanding of the past will provide a guide for the future. Or, as Cicero put it: 'to be ignorant of what happened before you were born is to be ever a child'. There can be no doubt as to the validity of what I have just said. Indeed, a consideration of one's own past experiences, enables one to step more surely in the future.



The Society's Gold Medal.
Name and citation on reverse.

"Rhodesia's past is being preserved in *Rhodesiana*—the Society's publication. There you will find a record of acts of courage, self-sacrifice, devotion to duty and resource which should be eternally remembered. There, too, you will find instances of error which should not be repeated.

"It is of the greatest importance that these events should be before the people to serve as exemplars and to guide them in their future conduct. And it is easy to understand why a Society dedicated to the attainment of these objects should wish to honour those who in their lifetime served Rhodesia or the Society with distinction.

"Although the matter had been discussed for some time it was not until January of this year that it was decided to present the Society's gold medal to three persons. The presentation was planned to take place on the 25th March. But the event was deferred to suit my convenience. As a result, and I greatly regret it, the award made to him in January was never to be received by Lord Malvern personally.

"I should like to say how grateful I am to the Society for making it possible for me to be here this evening. I am deeply grateful because I consider it a very great privilege and honour to present, if somewhat belatedly, the Society's first gold medals.

"The first award is to Harry Archie Cripwell who was born at Ilkeston, Derbyshire, in 1897. He arrived in Bulawayo a year later when his father attested in the British South Africa Police.

"He was educated at St. John's Preparatory School and St. George's Public School where he matriculated in 1915. That year he joined the Southern Rhodesia Native Department but soon left to enlist in the British South Africa Police Service Company (Murray's Column). With this unit he served in the German East Africa Campaign. He was mentioned in despatches and was at Abercorn when the Germans surrendered.

"After the war he rejoined the Native Department, and retired in 1957 after a long and distinguished career, having reached the rank of Provincial Native Commissioner. After his retirement he was an active member of the Historical Monuments Commission. He was often called upon to act as an assessor in the High Court in proceedings involving Africans. And it was there I learned to know and admire him. In spite of continued ill-health he never complained or allowed it to interfere with the work in hand.

"An abiding interest in history and the collection of Africana led him, along with others, to found the Rhodesiana Society in 1953. He was the Society's first Chairman remaining in this post from June, 1953, to February, 1967.

"He died in Salisbury on the 30th of May, 1970, at the age of 73.

"He was awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal posthumously for his outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

"The second award is to Godfrey Martin Huggins. Viscount Malvern of Rhodesia and Bexley in the county of Kent, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., F.R.C.S., K.G. ST.J., Doctor of Civil Law of Oxford and Rhodes Universities, Doctor of Laws of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and London, who was born at Bexley, Kent, in 1883. He was educated at Malvern College and privately before gaining entrance to St. Thomas's Hospital Medical School. He became a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.

"Coming to Rhodesia temporarily in 1911, he remained here for the rest of his life apart from a break for war service in World War I. After the war he became Rhodesia's first specialist surgeon.

"He first entered the Legislative Assembly at the election which followed Responsible Government in April 1924, as a member of the Rhodesia Party. Because of his views in regard to the Public Services Economy Bill he left the party in 1932. Just before the 1933 General Election he became leader of the Reform Party. His party won the election and he found himself Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, a position he was to hold until the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, when he became Prime Minister of that state. In 1955 he became the longest serving Prime Minister in the history of the British Commonwealth.

"One of the main architects of Rhodesia's progress in all spheres, he was largely responsible for setting up the National Archives in 1935. This interest in the National Archives continued to the end of his life with the deposit of his own papers. As chairman of the National Archives Building Board his efforts were paramount in ensuring the completion of the building.



Presentation of the first Gold Medals on 5th August, 1971. The Hon. Sir Vincent Quenet with the recipients and members of the Medal Sub-committee.
 Left to right: R. W. S. Turner, M. J. Kimberley, (*Member Medal Sub-Committee*) Lord Malvern, Sir Vincent, Mrs. H. A. Cripwell, Col. A. S. Hickman and Dr. R. C. Howland, (*Member Medal Sub-Committee*).

"His less tangible contribution to the history of the country was in the very making of it and in the way that he stamped indelibly his personality and achievements on his times.

"He was awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal for making a major contribution to Rhodesian history.

"The third award is to Arthur Selwyn Hickman, M.B.E., C.ST.J., who was born in London in 1900. Educated at St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate, Kent, he came to Rhodesia in 1924 to join the British South Africa Police.

"He became Commissioner of Police in 1954, and retired from the force in November 1955.

"Colonel Hickman became a member of the Historical Monuments Commission in 1953 and has served the Commission continuously since that time.

"Since his retirement he has been deeply involved in research into the Pioneer period of Rhodesian history. Two books have resulted from this: *Men who made Rhodesia* (1960) and *Rhodesia served the Queen* (1970). He has also been connected with the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society.

"He joined the Rhodesiana Society in 1956 and is currently its National Chairman.

"He was awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal for making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society."

Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

(This list does not include books reviewed in this issue.)

Animal life in Southern Rhodesia, compiled by D. J. Potgieter, P. C. du Plessis and S. H. Skaife. Cape Town. Nasou, 1971. 476 pages, illus. \$14.50.

This will be a most useful reference work for those whose interests in Africana embrace natural history. All forms of animal life are described in fascinating detail, the arrangement in conventional taxonomic divisions making it an easy book to use. Replete with first-class illustrations, both coloured and half-tone, this will be a mine of information for the layman and the student.

BERMAN, ESME. *Art and artists of South Africa*. Cape Town. Balkema, 1970. 368 pages, illus., col. plates. \$20.00.

The subtitle of this comprehensive work is "An illustrated biographical dictionary and historical survey of painters and graphic artists since 1875". There are over 300 biographies of painters and graphic artists, and numerous articles on galleries, other similar institutions, and on the history of art in South Africa. A list of major exhibitions (including the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition), a register of painters, and a full index add to the value of this book.

Gordon-Brown's *Pictorial art in South Africa*, covering developments up to 1875, has become the standard work on the subject; the present work, which updates Gordon-Brown's, will become an indispensable companion.

BERNING, J. M. *A select bibliography on the 1820 Settlers and settlement*. Grahamstown. 1820 Settlers National Monument Foundation, 1970. 11 pages.

There is no comprehensive bibliography of the 1820 Settlers and this little publication will go a long way towards filling the gap. Fifty-four references to works on the subject are divided into useful categories such as "Some frontier families:" and "General histories", and nearly all carry evaluative annotations.

Dos PASSOS, JOHN. *The Portugal story: three centuries of exploration and discovery*. London. Robert Hale, 1970. 413 pages, illus., maps. \$7.50.

This famous American novelist turned to the writing of history in 1954, his book on Thomas Jefferson being widely acclaimed by the critics. In *The Portugal story* the golden age of that nation forms the focal point of the lively canvas Dos Passos paints: the great periods of expansion, exploration, exploitation and discovery during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are all described in

a brisk narrative spiced with humorous anecdotes and personal glimpses of Portuguese heroes. From the Rhodesian point of view events in south-east Africa and on the east coast are particularly relevant: viewed against the vivid background presented by the narrative as a whole these take on a new dimension.

GRAHAM, I. M., AND HALWINDI, B. C. *Guide to the public archives of Zambia, vol. I: 1895-1940*. Lusaka. National Archives of Zambia, 1970. xi, 153 pages.

Divided into three main sections—North-eastern Rhodesia, North-western Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia—all the records described in this guide are open to public inspection. Within each section, the arrangement is according to the office of origin. A full appendix gives notes on each of these offices.

GRAY, RICHARD, AND BIRMINGHAM, DAVID. *Pre-Colonial African trade: essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*. London. Oxford University Press, 1970. 308 pages, maps. \$5.25.

Two sections are of particular interest. The first deals with trade and the Rozwi Mambo, who held sway over various parts of modern Rhodesia: the author describes the trading patterns and the internal trade routes, drawing on a wide selection of authoritative sources for this purpose. This is a useful summary of knowledge of a tantalising subject, as is the following section, which extends the story to other parts of south-eastern Africa down to Delagoa Bay.

KRIEL, ABRAHAM. *An African horizon*. Cape Town, University of Cape Town School of African Studies, 1971. 269 pages. (*Communication No. 35*.)

Shona folklore is the subject of this book, whose dust-jacket subtitle is "Ideals in Shona lore and literature". Innumerable examples are cited to illustrate how Shona ideals are personified in folk-tales, proverbs and modern literature, and appropriate quotations are used to back these up. The author, a lecturer in African languages at the University of Cape Town, spent several years in the Ndanga district gathering materials for the book.

LAIDLER, PERCY WARD, AND GELFAND, MICHAEL. *South Africa, its medical history, 1652-1898: a medical and social study*. Cape Town. Struik, 1971. 536 pages, illus. \$15.00.

This mammoth volume describes medical practice in South Africa both by qualified and unqualified practitioners from the arrival of the earliest visitors to the Cape until the early 1900's, by which time medical associations and journals were flourishing in what is today the Republic. This work will be an ideal shelfmate to Burrows' *History of medicine in South Africa* (1958), Searle's *History of nursing in South Africa* (1965), and Gelfand's own *Tropical victory* (1953). These works taken together already constitute a useful and inspiring record of medical achievement in southern Africa: the addition of Laidler's and Gelfand's book makes the coverage of this subject all the more comprehensive and valuable.

Malawi: Past and present: selected papers from the University of Malawi History Conference, 1967. Edited by Gordon W. Smith, Bridglal Pachai, Rodger K. Tangri. Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1971. 160 pages, illus. \$3.00.

Amongst the eight papers on Malawi history reproduced here, are articles by J. W. Smith on the opening of the Portuguese sea route to the east, and *Portugal's bid for southern Malawi*, 1882-91, by P. R. Warhurst.

ROTBURG, ROBERT I. *Joseph Thomson and the exploration of Africa*. London, Chatto & Windus, 1971. 360 pages, illus. \$6.50.

Joseph Thomson crammed numerous journeys and activities into his short life, exploring Africa from both coasts and generally helping the cause of British expansion in this continent. In this account the author has used a wealth of unpublished and published material to produce a definitive biography of a man who was regarded as a worthy successor to Livingstone, Thomson's own childhood hero.

Sport and service in South Africa: the diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright, 1843-46; edited by Edward C. Tabler. Cape Town. Balkema, 1971. 98 pages, port. \$3.75.

Robert Arkwright was an adventurous subaltern in the British Cavalry in South Africa during the 1840's. He travelled extensively in the Far Interior and, like Gordon Cumming, hunted in parts of the western Transvaal and Botswana adjacent to the upper Limpopo. He gives us fascinating glimpses of Moffat, Livingstone, Oswell and other notable personalities of the time.

SHORTEN, JOHN R. *The Johannesburg saga*. Johannesburg, John R. Shorten (Pty.) Ltd., 1970. 1 159 pages, illus. \$21.00.

ROSENTHAL, ERIC. *Gold! Gold! Gold! The Johannesburg gold rush*. London, Macmillan, 1970. 372 pages, illus.

Basically these works have the same theme: the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and its effect. However, whereas Rosenthal's book concentrates on the gold-mining industry and its history on the Rand, Shorten's work is a magnificent, all-embracing history of Johannesburg itself: in his own words "while telling the story of Johannesburg's dynamic growth I have recorded, at some length, these factors and events that were annealed in the crucible that was the young town, and had such a profound and lasting effect on national and international affairs". The illustrations, many of them coloured, are copious and on their own would make a fascinating kaleidoscope of history and progress.

Rosenthal's work is written in his inimitable style and is far more suited to general reading, although in it too will be found a mass of information and a swashbuckling account of the Rand's cradle days.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A Survey, by Alison McHarg

Outpost (*Salisbury*)

An article entitled "South African rebellion" is published in several parts commencing with the June 1971 issue of *Outpost*. Trooper 1437 describes his "investigation of a threatened 'invasion' of Rhodesia during World War I".

Property and Finance (*Salisbury*)

In honour of the town of Karoi's jubilee celebrations *Property and Finance* issued a supplement to its July 1971 issue featuring the Lomagundi district and the farmers, miners and traders who have developed it. Local officials and personalities have contributed brief articles and reminiscences.

Bindura Bull (*Bindura*)

The Lions Club of Bindura's monthly magazine, previously mentioned in this series of notes, included an article which, although published last year in its February and March 1970 issues, warrants a belated note. It is "Reminiscences of early Fort Victoria days", by Harry Harper, "aged 92" the editor adds.

Shield (*Salisbury*)

The Catholic monthly journal, *Shield*, marks the building of a new Cathedral in its August 1971 issue in an article, "The Story behind Umtali's new cathedral". It describes the growth of the parish and the work done by Fr. Ronchi, its first priest, and his successors.

Rhodesian Veterinary Journal (*Salisbury*)

The first issue of this new quarterly journal was published in May 1970. With the second issue it began a series of four articles on "The History of veterinary services in Rhodesia" by D. A. Lawrence. This was originally written as a contribution to "The History of overseas veterinary services" published by the British Veterinary Association, and is reprinted in part.

Shelf Guides (*Bulawayo*)

The National Free Library has commenced a series of selective book lists which will be available to its readers on request and which will also be distributed to local public libraries. The second in this series is entitled "Rhodesian history",

and to quote the preface, "This booklet aims to make known most of the book, pamphlet and periodical material held by the library on the subject of Rhodesian history."

Cultures et Developpment (*Louvain*)

A. K. H. Weinrich has contributed an article to Vol. 2, No. 2, of *Culture et developpment* entitled "Karanga history and the Mwari cult", which "aims at throwing some more light on the history of the people who are closely associated with the Zimbabwe Ruins. It is based both on already published literature and also on personal research carried out around Zimbabwe in 1962-64."

International African Bibliography (*London*)

This new bibliography is published quarterly by the International African Institute, London, and is a continuation of the bibliography in *Africa*, the Institute's journal. Titles listed include articles in periodicals as well as books. It aims to list "all authoritative works within the field of African studies". Vol. 1, No. 1, was published in January 1971.

Tobacco Forum (*Salisbury*)

The personalities behind the development of tobacco farming in Manicaland are the subject of an article, "Growing the gold in Rhodesia's East" in *Tobacco Forum*, August 1971.

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (*Salisbury*)

Bulawayo is the subject of a special supplement to the 20th May, 1971, issue of *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, entitled "The Pioneer city". Five illustrated articles scan the city's history "from beleaguered settlement to modern metropolis". Aspects of Rhodesian history are frequently featured in this periodical, a further example being "The Guns of August" in the 3rd June, 1971, issue which features Rhodesia's involvement in World War I.

Milton and Eveline, Diamond Jubilee Issue (*Bulawayo*)

Three Bulawayo schools, Eveline High School, Milton Junior and Milton High School, have combined their resources to produce a joint magazine with numerous articles on the history of the three schools over the past 60 years.

Rhodesia Calls (*Salisbury*)

The January-February issue contained a colour feature of five of Baines' paintings of the Falls with a short introduction. The March-April carried an article on "Rhodesian Poets" by Betty Finn. Martin Travers contributed an illustrated article on the Markwe Cave, rock-paintings and tribal burial places near Wedza in the July-August issue.

Society Activities

MATABELELAND BRANCH VISITS TULI

(Mrs. Parry of Bulawayo has sent the following report on the most successful and enjoyable camping trip to Tuli that took place over Rhodes' and Founders' weekend, 10th to 13th July, 1971. Seventy-two members in 25 vehicles made the 330 miles return journey. The speakers were Mr. Peter Gibbs, Mr. Harry Simons and Section Officer R. Elliott.)

The idea of an outing to Tuli was first raised in committee some time ago and in March 1971 it was decided to go ahead, the date being fixed for Rhodes' and Founders' holiday.

The Chairman obtained permission from the Provincial Commissioner (Matabeleland South) to take a party through the Tribal Trust Lands and he also called on the B.S.A. Police and the Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management for guidance and assistance. The officials in Bulawayo, Gwanda, Beitbridge and Tuli went out of their way to help and their co-operation and material assistance contributed largely to the success of the outing.

In May the Chairman and Mr. Zacharias made a reconnaissance of the area, after which a sub-committee consisting of the Chairman, the Secretary, Mr. Zacharias and Mr. Simons took over detailed arrangements.

The Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society kindly agreed to the loan of a lorry to carry the necessary camp equipment and tents, etc., of members. Mr. W. F. N. Parry willingly consented to become our transport officer.

Mr. Zacharias made ten metal road signs for the Gwanda-Tuli stretch and a number of other signs for use in the camp.

The Chairman obtained the loan of 250 feet of hessian whilst the Secretary made 10 portable "P.K.s".

A 44-gallon drum was lent by Mr. Parry and this was filled with petrol for use at Tuli.

Mr. Peter Gibbs and Mr. Simons were asked to give talks at Tuli and both readily agreed.

All preparations were ready in time and after work on Friday, 9th July, members brought their tents and other heavy and bulky camp equipment to the City Hall parking area where it was loaded into the lorry which Mr. Parry then placed in a security area.

At 8 a.m. on Saturday, 10th July, an advance party consisting of the Chairman and his family, Mr. Parry and his son and the Secretary set off from Bulawayo in two Land Rovers and the lorry, arriving at Gwanda at 10 a.m. and Tuli at 3 p.m. Signposts were set up at all road junctions and on arrival at Tuli a start was made to get the camp ready for the main party on the morrow.

The Tuli Police had dug wells in the sand of the river into which 44-gallon drums with holes in the bottom had been sunk and these wells gave a plentiful

and pure water supply. They had also cleared roads and paths and prepared sites for the toilets. This work saved a great deal of trouble and was very much appreciated.

That night, under a full moon, the hyenas, jackals, baboons and birds put on a wonderful concert and the climax was a lion roar at about 4 a.m.

Very early on the morning of Sunday, 11th, work on the camp started again and whilst this was going on members were assembling at the Tuli turn-off on the main Gwanda-Beitbridge road.

By 9 a.m. 20 cars had arrived and, leaving at 9.10 a.m., they travelled in convoy, stopping for breaks of 5 minutes at 10.15 a.m. and 15 minutes at 11.15 a.m. The head of the convoy reached Tuli at 12.40 p.m. Mr. Zacharias led the convoy and Mr. Simons acted as "tail-end Charlie".

Between arrival and the time of assembly for the first talk by Mr. Peter Gibbs at 3.30 p.m. the camp area was a hive of activity with members setting up their camps.

The site of the camp was on the east bank of the "S" bend in the Shashi River below the Police Camp and distant about a mile from it.

At this point the river is some 600-700 yards wide and the east bank slopes up very gradually in steps, giving an abundance of level ground. But the most attractive feature of the site is the forest of huge wild fig and other trees which provide constant shade.

At 3.30 members gathered under an enormous wild fig tree in the centre of the camp site where large maps of the area were displayed. Members of the B.S.A. Police and Wild Life Department joined the gathering which totalled about 80 people.

Mr. Peter Gibbs, who had flown to Tuli for the occasion, was welcomed by the Chairman who also expressed the thanks of the Society to the various officials who had shown such willing co-operation, to members who had worked hard to help organise the outing and to the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society for the loan of the lorry.

Mr. Gibbs then addressed the gathering and gave a most interesting and enjoyable talk on the events leading up to the establishment of Tuli. He gave a clear picture of the geographical position of Tuli which lies on the north south section of the "S" bend in the river, and its relation to the various drifts along the Shashi and Limpopo and distances between the various points of importance.

He explained how the "Tuli Circle" had come into being and gave details of the various units which made up the 1890 column. It was a fitting coincidence that his talk was given on 11th July, the 81st anniversary of the 1890 crossing.

Mr. Gibbs also told of the general history of Tuli up to about 1911.

At about 5 p.m. the party walked the odd half-mile to the site of Brown's Hotel and Store where very little other than the floors remain. Here Mr. Harry Simons traced the history of the settlement which had existed at Tuli between 1890 and the years following.

Many and varied relics still lie around the site of the hotel and store such as broken bottles, chinaware, bits of machinery, tins, etc.



Relics found at Tuli, July 1971.

(Photo: Sunday News, Bulawayo)

Two most interesting and valuable finds were made at the site of the hotel and handed to Mr. Simons for the Historical Monuments Commission:

1. An 1893 Queen Victoria sixpence—found by Master George Zacharias (Hamilton School) of 37 Churchill Road, Bellevue, Bulawayo.
2. A harness buckle found by Master Roy Hurrell (Riverside School) of P.O. Box 37, Gwelo.

In the evening members gathered around a large fire and enjoyed a braai and chat but most people were tired and retired early.

At 9 o'clock on Monday, 12th, the party crossed the river—most members walked across—and assembled at the Prison site where luncheon packages were left in the care of Mr. and Mrs. Zacharias who guarded them against the possible visit of baboons.

The party were then carried in seven Land Rovers along the original pioneer road towards Macloutsi, a distance of seven miles, to the "Pioneer Baobab Tree". Pioneers carved their names on this giant tree and a number of names and dates are still clearly visible. The area of the tree was one of the regular wagon outspan places.

The next move was back along the pioneer road to the cemetery about half a mile from the Fort and Prison, and here Mr. Simons told of what is known of the 30-odd graves. Some gravestones were badly damaged by elephant in the years past but a deep stone-lined trench now surrounds the cemetery to prevent further spoiling. Details of the graves are kept on a parchment scroll in a metal safe set into the commemorative obelisk in the grounds.

From the cemetery the party returned to the Prison for lunch. The Prison was a very solid affair made of 18-in. stone walls and parts of the walls still stand.

Between the Prison and the Fort are plaques showing the layout of the original camp and in this area pioneer litter is plentiful, consisting of broken bottles, chinaware, glassware, tins, Martini Henry and .303 cartridge cases. Relics of special interest were two pieces of billiard table-bed slate, tin-openers and soda water cartridges. Mr. Michael Parry of 12A Oxford Road, Hillside, Bulawayo, found a B.S.A. Police badge which was handed to Mr. Simons for the Historical Monuments Commission.

The Fort and adjoining "Boer War Fort" were inspected in detail and compared with copies of the original plans which Mr. Simons had obtained. The flag-staff on the top of the fort was one of the telegraph poles designed by Mr. Rhodes. These poles were in two parts—each part a man-load—and the top portion fitted into the bottom half. Portions of the original telegraph poles are still standing.

An old weighing scale was another find of great interest.

From the fort to the river is a distance of about half a mile and the party walked to the river bank in an endeavour to locate the tree or trees around which the wire hawser was fixed for the ferry which plied when the river was in flood. A very old and large tree which has no bark on the bank side of the river was inspected and this may well have been the tree.

The party then recrossed the river and visited another giant and ancient baobab tree on the river-bank about half a mile below the Police Camp. This tree also bears carvings from pioneer to more modern times but the special interest was names written by hammering cartridge cases (.303 and Martini Henry) into the bark.

In the evening members again gathered around the "camp" fire for sun-downers, braai and an impromptu sing-song.

After breaking camp early on Tuesday, 13th, which was made easier by the kind loan of two African labourers by the Wild Life Department, cars headed for the Police Camp where Section Officer R. Elliott gave a very interesting talk about the area from the veranda of the Police Mess. This building was erected in about 1892 and, although there have been some additions and alterations, it is basically the original building.

Section Officer Elliott told of Police activity from pioneer days to the present time and also pointed out the pre-pioneer Bavenda fort some 3-4 miles north of the Police Camp. This fort is on a hill above the river and it is said that the Bavenda chief had given instructions to his wives to throw themselves over the cliff into the crocodile-infested pool below should the marauding Matabele break through the fort defences. History does not relate whether his means of escape was ever necessary.

The convoy formed up at 11 a.m. and set off for Gwanda which was reached at about 3 p.m. On arrival in Bulawayo at 5.30 p.m. the lorry was taken to the City Hall car park by the Chairman and Mr. Parry and by 7 p.m. all tents and equipment carried had been collected by the owners.

The outing was a complete success and from the numerous thanks received by committee members it was obviously much enjoyed by all who attended.

MATABELELAND BRANCH VISIT TO MANGWE

(Mr. B. Lovemore sent the following report of an earlier, 30th May, 1971, outing undertaken by the Branch. One hundred and seventy-three members visited the Mangwe Pass, the Old Fort and Cemetery and John Lee's house.)

Members gathered at the Mangwe Pass Memorial from about 10.30 a.m., some having travelled in their own cars and 66 in a municipal bus hired for the occasion. The road from Bulawayo to Marula (40 miles) is narrow tar and thereafter there was a good gravel road.

At 11 a.m. Dr. Ransford, who conducted the day's tour, addressed the gathering from the Memorial telling of how Robert Moffat had blazed the road and pass in 1854 on his first visit to Mzilikazi. The Memorial was erected in 1954 by people of the district to commemorate the centenary of the journey.

After 1854 and until 1890 this road was the only road from the south into what is now Rhodesia and Mangwe Pass was the gateway from the open country into the hills.

At the site of the Memorial portion of the original road and wagon wheel-hub scrapings are still visible.

Other interesting historical facts were given by Dr. Ransford of the importance of the pass through the troubled times of 1893 and 1896.

From the pass the party motored the short distance to the Mangwe Fort built in 1893 and used by some 150 people in the district who laagered there for several months during the rebellion in 1896.



Members at Mangwe Fort, May 1971.

(Photo: L. W. Bolze)

The Fort is still clearly recognisable as a fort and is remarkably well preserved. It was interesting to compare the photograph of the fort which appears in *Rhodesiana* Publication No. 12 ("Pioneer Forts in Rhodesia". P. S. Garlake) with the ruins.

The next move was to the remains of the house of John Lee who settled in the area with Mzilikazi's blessing in 1863. The house in its day was an oasis of civilisation in the far interior and was visited by all the early hunters, traders and missionaries.

The remains of the house, which was built on a dwala to prevent white ant invasion, consist of stout stone walls about 18 inches thick and up to 5 feet high in places. The general plan of the house shows that it was large and roomy.

Some 50 yards from the house are the remains of John Lee's leather tanning tank.

Finally the party walked the odd quarter of a mile to the old cemetery where Dr. Ransford spoke about several of the pre-pioneers, pioneers and early settlers who are buried there.

Throughout the day the weather was perfect and the splendid braai lunch arranged by the Rosenfels family and the Marula Women's Association was greatly appreciated.

The outing broke up at about 4 p.m. after a most enjoyable and instructive day.

MASHONALAND BRANCH VISIT TO MAZOE

Mr. T. W. H. Kennedy Grant reports:

Thomas Carlyle, in his essay "On History" wrote: "History is the essence of innumerable biographies." Sitting down some two months later to write this account of the Mashonaland Branch's visit to the Mazoe Valley on 20th June, 1971, the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol, it seems to me that these words of Carlyle sum up the meaning of that visit, for me at least.

It began with Dr. R. C. Howland, at the scene of the laager above the Alice Mine. He was explaining to us the events of the 15th-20th June, 1896, and pointing out various sites in the valley. Over his shoulder he had a rifle case slung; and when he had finished speaking, he slipped this over his head and took the rifle out, saying, "This rifle belonged to my grandfather, Trooper Honey, and he used it on the Patrol."

There were other moments of the same quality when, at the scene of the Trans Continental Telegraph Office, from which Routledge sent the message which alerted the authorities in Salisbury, Col. A. S. Hickman introduced to us Mr. F. W. Lapham, whose father was the telegraphist who received the message, and Mr. Tom Gilbert, who fought in "B" Troop of the Umtali Horse during the Rebellion.

To mark the fact that it was the 75th anniversary of the Patrol, three wreaths of white chrysanthemums and arum lilies and bearing the green and white of

the Rhodesian flag and the red, white and blue of the Union Jack, were laid. The first was laid by Mr. Andrew Stori at the memorial built by himself to Charles Annesty, who was killed on the night of 19th June, within hearing of the beleaguered group at the Mine, on the kopje on which the memorial now stands. In the afternoon Mrs. E. M. Shepherd, youngest daughter of John Pascoe, laid a wreath on the Memorial in the village to Blakiston and Routledge. and Col. Hickman laid one on the graves of the Mazoe Patrol casualties below Fort Mazoe. In view of the part played by the Police during the Rebellion, it was fitting that two members of the B.S.A. Police Band should have been present to sound the Last Post and Reveille in the village and at Fort Mazoe.

The interest of the day—which we owed to our speakers: Col. Hickman, Mr. G. H. Tanser, Dr. Howland and Mr. E. E. Burke—was matched by the enjoyment. The views of the valley from the top of the kopje on which Fort Alderson was situated more than rewarded us for the energy expended in climbing up to that point; and the Mazoe Citrus Estates picnic site on the shore of Mazoe Dam was a most pleasant place in which to have lunch.

"HOISTING THE FLAG ON PIONEERS' DAY"—ERRATA

In the above-mentioned article in No. 24, July 1971, there are two errors.

In the list the entry for 1958 should read "Mr. E. R. B. Palmer (son of Mr. J. A. Palmer)"—*not J. W. Palmer*. Under the entry for 1908, W. S. Honey settled in Salisbury in 1894 not 1896.

In the introduction to the list the name of the jeweller was Frank Biller (*not Frank Buller*).

These errors are regretted.

SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

The main feature of No. 1, Vol. XXIV, of January 1971 is a long article on *The Story of Malawi's Capitals, Old and New, 1891-1961* by B. Pachai. There are two articles connected with land tenure, its problems and registration by T. F. Shaxon and W. Chipeta. Other articles are *Malawi's Early Road System* by C. A. Baker, *Ncheu in the 1890s* by M. E. Leslie and *The Matripotestal Family in Northern Malawi* by C. J. W. Fleming (a Rhodesian writer who has an article in this issue of *Rhodesiana*).

There are several other features and articles.

Notes

BINDING OF RHODESIANA

Those members who had Vol. I (Nos. 1-11) of *Rhodesiana* bound by Mardon Printers will be disappointed to learn that, due to import restrictions, the colours of the material used in binding Vol. I is no longer available.

A continuous series of volumes in the same style and colour had been envisaged. But now that this is no longer possible it is up to each member to make his own arrangements for binding.

The Society has printed a title page and list of contents in the same format as that for Vol. I, for Nos. 12-17 inclusive. These numbers make a suitable size for Vol. 2.

The title page and list of contents for Vol. 2 is issued free with this issue, December 1971.

CAPTAIN NESBITT'S PATROL—

a reconstruction of the route taken to the Alice Mine

Dr. R. C. Howland sends the following note:

Commemorative Services and our Historical Tour marking the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol have just ended.

Authors on the subject, like myself, have presumed that Captain Nesbitt's Patrol followed the route taken by Blakiston's wagonette and Judson's Patrol to Mazoe, i.e. the Tatagora Road.

In the National Archives is a sketch map drawn in 1892 which shows the road from Salisbury dividing south of the Iron Mask Range.¹ One road runs east passing through the Poort where the Mazoe Dam stands today. The other follows the Tatagora River west of the Range.

In my article on the Mazoe Patrol I quoted an account by Mr. O. C. Zimmerman.² He relates "the small patrol pushed on knowing that time was the chief factor in the success of the rescue, and to catch the natives unprepared. It was with the first faint light in the eastern sky that we reached the spot where the *Mazoe Dam is built today.*"

Captain Nesbitt, in his report to Judge Vintcent says, "After entering the valley I saw numerous fires on the surrounding hills and proceeded with great caution, thereby evading an attack until within half a mile of where Mr. Salt-house and party were, when being obliged *to pass through a gorge*, the enemy opened fire from dense cover on my left flank."

Reconstructing the events of that night, Native Constable Hendrik may have warned Captain Nesbitt of the danger of travelling along the Tatagora Road. He therefore proceeded along the other road through the Poort, where the dam wall is today, and across the open country to the Alice Mine.

¹ Nat. Archives CT 1/15/4

² Rhodesiana No. 8, page 26.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

John Guy Storry was born at Frickley-cum-Clayton, Yorkshire, England, in 1933, and educated at St. Edmund's School, Canterbury, Kent. He served with the North Staffordshire Regiment in England and Trieste, before emigrating to Rhodesia in 1953. He was a member of the B.S.A. Police from 1953 to 1964, being stationed in the Mashonaland, Manicaland and Victoria Provinces. In 1964 he joined the staff of the Public Prosecutor, Salisbury. Called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1968, he is presently an Advocate on the staff of the Attorney-General.

C. J. W. Fleming was born in Rhodesia in 1904 and was a District Officer and District Commissioner in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) from 1931-50. He was in private practice as a solicitor in Lusaka from 1950-65. He has contributed articles to the *Society of Malawi Journal* and to *NADA*.

Brian McKenzie Randies was born in Natal in 1919. He took law at Cambridge from 1937-40. After World War II, in 1947, he joined the Rhodesian Native Affairs Department. He went farming in 1952, for 10 years at Umgusa near Bulawayo and later in the King William's Town District, R.S.A. At present he is Historian at the Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town, Cape Province.

CHIEF GAMBO I

Mr. C. K. Cooke sends the following note:

An enquiry through the District Commissioner, Department of Internal Affairs, Tjolotjo, asking if any of the older people could identify anyone in the photograph, shown here, lent me by Mrs. Waghorn of Wedza, evoked the following reply from Chief Gambo II (slightly amended):

"The main figure is that of Gambo I of the Igabha regiment. This was a large regiment formed from eighteen others.¹

"Gambo I was born at Egabheni village where the town of Zeerust now stands in the Transvaal. He was born during 1832 three years before Lobengula.

"Ten old men have recognised the picture and state that it is Gambo I my grandfather.

"My father was Dhlomo whose mother was Gugwana daughter of King Mziligazi. My father was of the Ibutho-Ihlati² of Lobengula's day here in Rhodesia. I never saw my grandfather Gambo I.

"The other people in the picture are from left to right: Lujilibane Mkwebu one of the topmost councillors of Gambo I. He was much older than Ndunankulu Gambo. Lujilibane was not attached to a regiment but was of the village Ama Gogo³ this has always been the name for the Gambos villages and is so today. This man was responsible for the whole village, cattle, children, lands, grazing, herdsmen, slaves and visitors or strangers. Food for all in Gambo I's homestead was also his responsibility.

¹ Gambo Sitole was *anti* Lobengula's succession but was commander of the Igabha (Igapa) division said to consist of about 4 000 men. He surrendered to the Europeans on 8th April, 1894, subsequently supporting them. Prior to this he fought against Col. Goold-Adams' forces at Singuesi near present Empandeni Mission, Plumtree. This was during 1893.

² Ihlati Regiment commanded by Matje Sitole.

³ Maqekeni Sitole commanded the Amagogo regiment.



Left to right: Lujilibane Mkwabu (Councillor of Gambo), Walowalo (Gambo's Slave), Gambo, Ndelapi Mabhena (Councillor). Date unknown.

"From 1837-1858 the kraal was in the area called Mbuyazwe on the Umgusa River about 20 miles from Government House, Bulawayo, in the direction of Nyamandhlovu.

"Gambo I's father Maqekeni¹ was still alive during part of the time he (Gambo) served in the Igabha regiment. Mawekeni died in 1866 at which time the kraal was across the Khami River not more than three miles from the Khami Railway station and the Ibutho-Igabha regiments were settled on the site where the station now stands. The kraals were there from 1859 to 1894² in which year they were moved to the Tshankwa River near Plumtree where they stayed until 1903. The final move was to the Malanda area in Tjolutjo north Nata area where I am living now.

"The man without a headring was Gambo I's slave Walowalo who was captured in the Zambezi Valley about 1872. His main duties were to milk cows, occasionally herd them, collect wood for the herdsmen and perform many other tasks. He was messenger for Gambo's mother, his wives and principal men of the home. He later married and Gambo paid lobola for him.

"The man seated on the right (i.e. Gambo's left) is Ndelapi Mabhena. He was also considerably older than Gambo I. Ndelapi was highly respected by Maqekeni and Gambo and was an adviser in both their courts. During his regimental service he was known as a very brave man."

¹ Ibutho if a regiment, it is not listed in any publication as one of either Mziligazi's or Lobengula's.

² The Ndutshwa regiment formed c. 1834 guarded the western approaches. Commander Mabulana Ndlovu.

³ The headring was worn by blooded soldiers and married men, a slave would not qualify for one.

TRIBUTE TO ARCHIE CRIPWELL

On the morning of 12th June, 1971, over 30 friends and colleagues of the late Archie Cripwell gathered at the Cloisters of the Anglican Cathedral of St. Mary's and All Saints in Salisbury to take part in a memorial service for the dedication of a plaque in the British South Africa Police bay of the National Cloisters.

The service, taken by the Rev. F. Mussell of the Methodist Church, began in the Chapel of All Souls where the Rev. Mussell paid tribute to Archie Cripwell as a good man, cheerful, lovable, devoted to his family and a Christian. His work in the Native Department and later on the Bench was distinguished by a strong sense of justice and firm convictions. Archie Cripwell, said the Rev. Mussell, was a glutton for historical research and a great collector and preserver of information on Rhodesian history. He was a founder member of the Rhodesiana Society and was one of the three great Rhodesians to receive one of the first gold medals given by the Society in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the preservation of records of Rhodesian history. He was a great Rhodesian who loved his country.

Afterwards, led by Mrs. Cripwell, those attending went over to the Police bay where there was a brief dedication.

The inscription on the plaque reads as follows:

HARRY ARCHIE CRIPWELL
S. Rhodesia Native Affairs Department 1915-1957
Provincial Commissioner 1947-1957
Served in German East Africa with
Murray's B.S.A. Police Service Column
1917-1919. Mentioned in despatches.
Founder of the Rhodesiana Society 1953.
Born 21-1-1897
Died 30-5-1970

BRASS LOCK-PLATE FROM NEAR SITE OF FIRST BATTLE OF SHANGANI RIVER (BONKO)

Mr. C. K. Cooke sends another interesting note:

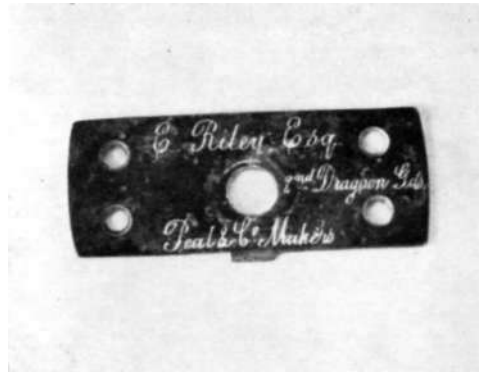
A small brass lock-plate and part of the screw-lock was handed to the Monuments Commission by Mr. Andrew of Shangani (Plate 1) who found it at the site of the old Shangani River store.

Engraved on the plate is the following: "E. Riley Esq. 2nd Dragoon Gds. Peal & Co Makers."

Enquiries were made through Major D. Berry of the National Archives, Bulawayo, who replied that Trooper E. E. Riley died at Tuli on the 8th May, 1891. Because the 2nd Dragoon Guards were not engaged in Rhodesia at this early date Major Berry wrote for information to the Ministry of Defence in London. He received the following reply:

"A search of the Army Lists and other published sources available to this Library has traced that Sergeant E. E. H. Riley of the 10th Hussars was promoted

Brass lock plate from Shangani.



Lieutenant in the 2nd Dragoon Guards on the 10th October, 1885, and resigned his commission on the 7th March, 1888.

"I can confirm that the 2nd Dragoon Guards did not serve in Southern Africa until 1901, and it would seem that Riley lived in Rhodesia after he had resigned his commission."

Mr. E. E. Burke, Director of National Archives of Rhodesia, located details of the sale of Trooper Riley's effects by auction by Captain Leonard on 26th June, 1891, after his death at Tuli. They included such items as civilian suits and silk shirts but the only container in the list is a leather bag (sold at £3 1s.). Unfortunately there is no indication of the purchaser. There seems little doubt that the lock in question came from that bag.

Further information was extracted from Leonard's "How we made Rhodesia", pp. 188 and 227, by Col. Hickman which shows that Riley was a Trooper in the British South Africa Company's Police, his regimental number being 639, and he was serving at Tuli at the time of his decease.

Because of the date of his death he could not have been at the Bonko Battle on 25th October, 1893. Although he was undoubtedly buried at Tuli there is no record of his name in the cemetery there.

REFERENCES

- Hickman, Col. A. S. (1960). *Men who made Rhodesia*, p. 399. Salisbury, B.S.A. Coy.
Leonard, A. G. (1896). *How we made Rhodesia*, pp. 188 and 227. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

RHODESIANA SOCIETY GOLD MEDALS

Members of the Society are invited to submit names of persons who they feel are worthy of being considered for a gold medal award. The Society may award not more than three gold medals in any one year to persons who have made an *outstanding* contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society, *or* who have made a *major* contribution to Rhodesian history. Submissions should please be sent to the Medal Sub-committee, The Rhodesiana Society. P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury.

PUBLISHING HISTORY IS BEING MADE AT MAZOE

Mr. R. W. S. Turner comments:

The Mazoe Valley has been famous for its history, its agricultural produce and its minerals. This rich and beautiful valley is now establishing a world-wide reputation for producing books of the highest quality, even when judged by international standards or by those of the most exacting connoisseur.

The Frank Read Press is situated a couple of miles from where the main drama of the historic Mazoe Patrol was enacted. Here, amid quiet mssas and with the scent of orange blossom weighing down the prevailing wind that blows from the citrus estates, Frank Read and his wife, Dora, are producing masterpieces. Their latest venture is as unique as it is ambitious: a facsimile reprint of Harris's *Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of Southern Africa*, 1840. This book is undoubtedly the most beautiful and the most valuable work containing coloured engravings of southern African fauna.

The Reads are sparing no pains. Meticulous attention is being paid to every aspect of their labour of love. Those members of the Rhodesiana Society who are interested in this work should note that the book will not be on public sale as it is being printed for private circulation only. Particulars are obtainable from the Frank Read Press, P.O. Box 6, Mazoe, Rhodesia.

NOTES FROM THE NATIONAL HONORARY SECRETARY

Life Membership

We now have five life members, namely, Mr. F. W. W. Bernard of St. John, Jersey, Mr. R. H. James of Salisbury, Mr. A. Carlton of Salisbury, Mr. J. K. G. Borchers of Salisbury, and Mr. E. C. Tabler of South Charleston, West Virginia, U.S.A.

Members are reminded that the cost of life membership is \$50.00 Rhodesian currency, R52.50 South African currency, or \$75.00 U.S.A.

Brooch for Lady Members

Only four lady members responded to the request contained in Rhodesiana No. 24 inviting suggestions!

Suggestions include: a small brooch similar to the old cap badges worn by the British South Africa Police, a brooch with insignia other than the Society's badge, a small scarf rather than a brooch, a large scarf able to be worn as a stole in the evening . . .

The National Executive Committee has decided to invite these four ladies to band together as a sub-committee of the Society to examine the matter in detail and to report back to it in due course.

Husband and Wife Membership

A suggestion of mine that a husband and wife category of membership be introduced was recently accepted by the National Executive Committee and will be recommended to members at the Annual General Meeting early in 1972 for adoption.

It is envisaged that this category of membership would be available for \$4.00 per annum and would entitle each family to receive one copy of each issue of *Rhodesiana*.

Heritage of Rhodesia

At a meeting held in Salisbury in April 1971 a decision was taken by those present to form a company to be called Heritage of Rhodesia. The principal object of the company, which is now in the process of being registered, is to preserve historic buildings.

Your Society was represented at the inaugural meeting and will actively support Heritage of Rhodesia.

Rhodesiana Index

The idea of a detailed and consolidated index of personal names, place names and subjects in *Rhodesiana* Nos. 1 to 25, inclusive, has been accepted by the National Executive Committee and an approach has been made to the Library Association of Rhodesia for assistance in this undertaking.

Kariba—the First Ten Years

Thanks to a kind offer by the Central African Power Corporation members may obtain, free of charge, this attractively produced booklet about Kariba.

Applications for the booklet should be *in writing* and addressed to the Secretary, CAPCOR, P.O. Box 630, Salisbury. Please mention the Society when making application.

Bronze Decade Medals, 1970

The first issue of bronze decade medals is not sold out and members wishing to acquire 1970 medals for themselves, their spouses and their children, should write to the Society for the application form as soon as possible.

Rhodesiana Society Necktie

Members are reminded that the Society's necktie is available from Meikles Stores in Bulawayo, Salisbury and Umtali upon production of a written authority from the *Rhodesiana* Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury.

Projects Under Examination

The National Executive Committee has appointed sub-committees to examine in detail and report back to it—

(a) on the possibility of defining clearly the early routes of pre-pioneers and

pioneers in Matabeleland and organising a pilgrimage along these routes in 1973, and thereafter at five-yearly intervals; and

(b) on the feasibility of a pilgrimage to Sofala, Portuguese East Africa, in 1972.

Premises for the Society

With the number of members increasing every year and the possibility of publishing more than two issues of *Rhodesiana* in each year, the day will arrive when the convenience of members can be best met by the Society owning or leasing its own premises.

The National Executive Committee is conscious of this possible future need and would welcome ideas and suggestions from members.

Annual Subscriptions

Members are reminded that the annual subscription to the Society in respect of the subscription year (1st January to 31st December) becomes due on the 1st January in every year.

Statements are sent to all members in January, and a reminder is sent to those members who have not paid their dues by April.

In terms of Clause 3 (3) of the Society's Constitution, any member who has not paid his annual subscription by the 1st June in any year, is deemed to have resigned his membership of the Society and his name is removed from the *Rhodesiana* mailing list.

Annual General Meeting, 1972

At the next annual general meeting, which will take place on a date to be determined but probably in February or March 1972, members will be asked to consider certain recommendations, to be made by the National Executive Committee, for amendment of the Society's Constitution.

Details of the amendments will be contained in the agenda for the annual general meeting. In the meantime, the Constitution of the Society is reprinted in this issue of *Rhodesiana*.

Position of National Honorary Secretary

I have been Honorary Secretary continuously since 1961 and, for several reasons, it is my intention to retire from this particular position on the National Executive Committee with effect from the 1972 annual general meeting. Since it is sometimes difficult to find a volunteer at the meeting itself, any member who would be prepared to offer himself for election as National Honorary Secretary is asked to communicate with the Society as soon as possible.

M. J. KIMBERLEY,
National Honorary Secretary

Correspondence

EARLY TOBACCO SALES

Sir,—The following may be of interest.

A German gentleman by the name of Dirking came up to what was known as Gazaland and settled on a farm just over the border in Portuguese East Africa and which adjoined our farm. His farm was called "Maruma". He and my father (Clifford Cannell, who had come to Rhodesia in the early 1890's) went into partnership in a small tobacco selling business, about 1900, which may have been one of the earliest tobacco sales in Rhodesia.

Dirking would buy rolls of tobacco leaf from the Africans and send large quantities to my father who would cut up the tobacco in a heavy iron contraption that looked something like an old-fashioned silage cutter turned by hand. The cut tobacco was put into unbleached calico bags each weighing 1 lb. Although I was a child about 11 years old I must have sewed hundreds of these bags, threading the string which drew them tight. Other farmers' wives in Melsetter used to help with the sewing of the bags. This was all pipe tobacco, dried and uncured just as it came from the plants. The bags were stamped with a rubber stamp that looked like this:



The tobacco was sent for sale to Umtali, a journey which took eight to ten days according to the weather. I do not know how much it was sold for.

Yours, etc.,
Mrs. Alice Ferreira,
Borradaile Trust,
Marandellas.

THE PUZZLE OF THE ZIMBABWE BIRDS

Sir,—In his book *Zimbabwe—a Rhodesian Mystery* Roger Summers says (page 70):

"There is one aspect of the Zimbabwe problem which can be tackled only from an anthropological aspect, since there is no strictly comparable archaeological material elsewhere. This refers to the very well known and very puzzling Zimbabwe Birds."

He goes on to describe the eight specimens of two different classes found standing on 5-ft. pillars in the Eastern Enclosure, "the most sacred place in Zimbabwe", facing the rising sun and "a lush green oasis" in an otherwise drought-stricken part of the country.

Later he likens the first class to some noisy crowned hornbills, common at Zimbabwe, "which have a very highly developed sense of territory and were presumably scaring off intruders".

Years ago the south-eastern Sudan suffered a heavy invasion of locusts which was promptly wiped out by large flocks of sea-gulls from the Red Sea.

In commemoration of this deliverance the Government erected a high statue of a sea-gull at Khartoum, since when, according to the story, no further incursions have taken place in that area.

Living on a smallholding in the path of the locust invasion of 1935, I had acquired a native curio carved in the form of a large black wooden bird about 15 in. high with a long neck, wings folded and two white eyes, presumed to represent a locust bird.

When the din from neighbouring properties heralded the swarm's approach, remembering the Sudan episode, I erected my wooden bird on the top of an outbuilding facing in that direction. Within a hundred yards of my "scarecrow" the swarm suddenly split in two and moved off high to left and right without passing over my property.

Could it not be that the Zimbabwe Birds were used as sentinels to guard what must have been heavy crops to feed the large floating population; or might they not be statues to commemorate the extinction of a previous locust invasion by the birds they represent?

In any case it seems strange that Africans who had never been to Zimbabwe or seen the birds should be able to produce curios so closely resembling them—or why!

Yours, etc.,

J. O'C. McLoughlin,

P.O. Box 104, Marandellas.

Reviews

Rhodes—a life by J. G. McDonald. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1971. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, v. 16. 403 pages, illustrations.)

At a rough count there have been some 20 sizeable works on Rhodes, and they might be divided between the reminiscent and the analytical. Of them all this work of McDonald's, which is in the reminiscent vein, has had the greatest circulation, running as it did between 1927 and 1941 into six editions. It was also, curiously, the basis for a short German reader in English.

McDonald was associated with Rhodes for 12 years, from 1890 until 1902, and the association was closest from 1896 onwards in the development on Rhodes's behalf of the latter's plans for the Matopos and Inyanga estates which were intended as launching-pads for the country's agricultural industry.

The author gave a factual and meticulous account of Rhodes's life and work. Most of the material is, naturally, not at first-hand and there are generalisations which tend to irritate as, for example:

"At this period [1890] Rhodes who was now admitted the ablest man of South African affairs, was also one of the hardest workers it would be possible to find, and it was only his habit of sleeping soundly at night, no matter how many difficulties harassed him during the day, that enabled him to withstand the tremendous strain."

But it is in the personal reminiscences that the book shines, and one could wish for more of them. The reader is left in no doubt as to the author's tremendous admiration for his subject, and his enthusiasm and insight, which no doubt contributed to the book's remarkable success, can be shared today.

Such terms as "the great man" and "the chief" indicate a tendency to a blunting of the critical faculty, a faculty which has had a freer reign amongst some of the later analysts. This then is Rhodes as seen by the Rhodesians of its time. It is a book to be recommended to the general public today, particularly those people who have come to Rhodesia from other parts of the world and who know little of what went into the opening up of this part of Africa.

With the advance of history some of Rhodes's dreams, of which the author makes much, have turned to dross, but the fact that Rhodesia stands as she is—carrying out many of Rhodes's ideals—is proof that his achievements bore more fruit than perhaps even Rhodes himself would have believed.

This is one of the notable series of facsimile reprints from Books of Rhodesia and maintains the standard.

E. E. BURKE

The Downfall of Lobengula by W. A. Wills and L. T. Collingridge. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1971. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, vol. 17. 347 pages, maps, illustrations, plans.)

Originally published in 1894, less than a year after the 1893 war, this volume is usually considered to be the B.S.A. Company's official account although,

apart from the Company's crest on the cover, there is nothing specific to indicate this was so. Major Wills was a journalist and L. T. Collingridge a publisher. They were compilers and editors of this volume with the writing being done by five contributors. Its subtitle is—"The Causes, History and Effect of the Matabele War".

F. C. Selous writes the first few chapters outlining the history of European occupation of southern Africa generally taking the line, typical of the day, that the war against Lobengula was the culminating event of a long struggle between civilisation, as represented by the Europeans, and savagery, as represented by the Africans. He takes the opportunity to berate those few writers in Britain who had dared to say that the Matabele War was unjustified and he explains how the war, which he describes as "one of the boldest enterprises ever undertaken by our adventurous race", was forced on the colonists by the attitudes and actions of the Matabele.

P. B. S. Wrey, a consulting mining engineer, in a chapter on "The Collision at Victoria", tells how, as a prelude to the war, the Matabele began raiding into the Victoria area, harrying the Europeans, killing their employees and other Africans.

Major P. W. Forbes, who had been in overall command of the combined forces during the war, describes the course of the war in seven detailed chapters with maps showing the routes of the three Columns—Salisbury, Victoria and Southern—and with plans of the various skirmishes and battles. This section comprises the major portion of the book and it ends with the occupation of Bulawayo and the pursuit of Lobengula. As regards the tragic slaughter of the Shangani Patrol under Allan Wilson, Forbes relates his own decisions and instructions with great care and with much explanation. He must have realised that as officer commanding he would have to shoulder the blame. As he did.

Major Sir J. C. Willoughby writes about the Southern Column and on the final settlement and the death of Lobengula.

Then follows a peculiar interpolation by Rider Haggard on the murders of Patterson, Sargeant and Thomas by the Matabele in 1878. It is part of the apologia for the war but it seems a bit out of place at this point in the book, especially as it took place so long before the war.

The next two chapters comprise, mainly, character sketches of the leading personae with a commentary on them that reads as far too fulsome for our modern taste, Rhodes appears as a later-day survival from the days of the Elizabethan merchant-soldiers. The handful of men who vanquished Lobengula were men of "stout frames and stouter hearts" and their success was almost unaparalleled in any campaign in southern Africa. It is true that men of the columns as a whole were "very considerably above the average in the accidents of birth, education and physique . . . and an exceedingly large proportion . . . had passed through our leading schools and universities". Many of them, Wilson, Heany, Spreckley and Borrow were outstanding and versatile characters. Borrow, for instance, was farmer, miner, athlete and special correspondent for the London *Times*.

The book ends with chapters on the settlement and administration of the country and of future prospects in Mashonaland.

The original volume has long been out of print but now as one of the primary sources on the history of the conquest of Matabeleland this reprint is very welcome. Additions to the first edition are an interesting publisher's introduction giving the background to the first publication and also a valuable index.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Mediaeval Rhodesia by D. Randall-MacIver. (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. No. 3 in African Prehistory Series. 106 pages, 36 illustrations, price \$4.75.)

This book represents the first scientific investigation of Rhodesia's stone ruins. Originally written in 1906, it is now considered a classic in African archaeology. Frank Cass's "New Impression" is a welcome reproduction that has been needed for several years. This reprint is unquestionably superb; even the pottery photographs are clear—a trait not often found in modern excavation reports. From a technical viewpoint, therefore, *Mediaeval Rhodesia* could not be better.

It would be unfair to judge MacIver by today's standard, for archaeology has changed considerably since 1905. He concluded that Zimbabwe was indigenous in origin and mediaeval in date. These findings, however, did not satisfy the questions for which he had been commissioned to answer, and he intensified a controversy over Zimbabwe which can still be felt today. Perhaps a brief historical sketch of investigations at Zimbabwe will help place MacIver's work in its proper perspective.

Immediately after Mauch's "discovery", Zimbabwe was connected with King Solomon, Ophir, and the Queen of Sheba. This romantic interpretation appealed immensely to the general public. As a result of this interest the British South Africa Company, the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Geographical Society commissioned Theodore Bent, an antiquarian, to investigate the ruins in 1891. Bent and R. M. W. Swan, a friend who acted as surveyor, published their results in *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (No. 4 in Cass's African Prehistory series). Bent neither equated Mashonaland with Ophir nor attempted to date Zimbabwe, but he was certain that it originated with the Arabs and Phoenicians and was of great antiquity. Swan, who was not nearly so cautious, developed an elaborate explanation for the construction of the Great Enclosure based on astronomical observations. Sir John Willoughby excavated at Zimbabwe in 1892 and, in his *A Narrative of Further Excavations at Zimbabwe* (1893), criticised both Bent and Swan for various inaccuracies. Even though Willoughby thought the evidence was insufficient to date the ruins, he attributed them to a vanished civilisation, and he hoped for the eventual discovery of some dateable inscription.

Further astronomical calculations were made in 1898 and 1899 by Schlichter, who placed the ages of several ruins in Manicaland, Matabeleland and Zimbabwe between 1100 and 600 B.C. These dates received wide popular support, although there was little enthusiasm in scientific circles.

By 1900 the infamous Ancient Ruins Company, Limited, went bankrupt and finally ceased their nefarious operations. For almost six years they had systematically raped an incalculable number of Rhodesia's ruins in search of gold. On the company's liquidation W. Neal, a former miner, collaborated with R. N. Hall, a journalist in Bulawayo, and produced *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (1902). Since neither were scientists nor amateur archaeologists, they aggravated those that were by their assurance that they knew all. Their book, however, was well received by the public, and Hall was appointed Curator of Zimbabwe in 1902. From a modern viewpoint Hall (as well as Bent, Willoughby and others) decimated Zimbabwe by removing deep deposits over a large area without following even rudimentary excavation principles.

As Summers (*Zimbabwe, A Rhodesian Mystery*—1965) rightly points out, however, Hall was a far better observer than future archaeologists were willing to admit, and many of his observations are still valid. In the compilation of his findings while curator, *Great Zimbabwe*—1905 (No. 5 in the African Prehistory Series), he continued to favour an exotic origin and early date, although he recognised the African character of the material which he found. Because he never excavated to bedrock, he thought it was rubbish left by later squatters—the justification for its initial removal.

It was into this romantically charged atmosphere, then, that McIver entered in 1905. He had been invited by the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Rhodes Trustees specifically to discover the origin and dates of Rhodesia's ruins. MacIver was the first trained archaeologist to attempt this task, and he obviously dismissed the work done by the amateurs who had preceded him. From his preface:

"Though the problems of the origin and date of the ruins in Rhodesia had been before the public of a whole generation . . . yet little progress had been made towards their solution. In part this was due to . . . the want of system with which any excavations had been conducted.

". . . Before there was sufficient evidence on which to base any suggestions whatsoever as to origin or date, popular opinion had confidently settled the question to its own great satisfaction . . . Journalists and popular writers professed, as might be expected, a knowledge of lost ancient history which the most learned Orientalists do not dream of claiming.

"My report being wholly independent and original, may be judged upon its own merits, and it will be sufficiently clear why little or no reference has been made to various books which it was impossible to praise and would have been invidious to criticise . . . Apart from . . . (Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*) . . . there exists no bibliography with which the student need be troubled."

Needless to say, this opinion must have deeply rankled Hall.

MacIver's approach initially was to ascertain a general view of all the ruins in Rhodesia, preferring not to consider Zimbabwe as an isolated unit. Assuming a simple to complex typological development, he placed Zimbabwe midway between the Inyanga Ruins and Dhlo/Dhlo and Khami. He also excavated several ruins using standard principles of stratigraphy and attempted to date them by associated imports. His conclusion, that Zimbabwe was recent

and of indigenous origin, was based on the evidence which he had collected. MacIver obviously understood and used the philosophy of science. In science, of course, all things in the natural world are assumed to be as they appear provided their "appearance" can be objectively demonstrated. A theory represents a working hypothesis which has been elevated to a special status because it has been tested and found to be the best explanation of all the available evidence. Consequentially, an idea, or opinion, can never be equal to a theory no matter how authoritative its sponsor—a distinction not always recognised even today. Other than obvious trade imports everything MacIver (and for that matter Bent, Willoughby and Hall) found at Zimbabwe was characteristically African, both in, under and around the stone walls. Thus, he was forced to conclude that Zimbabwe was "essentially" African. The trade imports dated to not earlier than the thirteenth century and somewhat later for Khami and Dhlo/Dhlo.

". . . But the excavations which had been conducted by various untrained amateurs left still undecided the question whether older strata did not exist beneath the mass of what was unquestionably mediaeval and native African. It was this I had to determine; and that I approached the problem without bias will readily be believed by those who are aware that for the past nine years my chief interest has been in the archaeology of Egypt and the East. Nothing therefore could have been more attractive to me than the prospect of extending the range of Oriental studies to South-East Africa; and if it has been necessary to abandon that dream, it is because it has proved to be incompatible with any respect for science and the logic of observed facts.

"Preface—*Mediaeval Rhodesia*"

MacIver had obviously insulted Hall, and the latter vehemently denied the proposals. In 1909 Hall produced *Prehistoric Rhodesia* in rebuttal. He accused MacIver of not going to bedrock everywhere (a claim only partially true) and stated that the crucial dating objects came from an area disturbed by treasure hunters. He still insisted that the African material culture was the result of squatters, and he strongly attacked MacIver's typology of ruins. Part of their differences were probably due to personality, but they must have been at least partially due to the fact that Hall was not a scientist and was therefore unfamiliar with the appropriate philosophy.

The controversy over Zimbabwe had reached such heights that in 1928 the British Association invited Gertrude Caton-Thompson to investigate the ruins. Her results were published in 1931 as *The Zimbabwe Culture, Ruins and Reactions* (African Prehistory Series No. 1). From her introduction:

"Twenty-four years had passed, and much had happened in the ever-widening world of archaeological knowledge since the last and only scientifically authoritative excavations performed in Rhodesia had raised such an obscuring dust of controversy that a generation was needed for it to settle."

and

"As a result of our excavations, though finding myself in disaccord with MacIver's premise, I was compelled to endorse, with unexpected conviction, his conclusions of post-mediaeval building and occupation."

So MacIver failed to answer satisfactorily the questions about Zimbabwe not because of the quality of his work, but because he was ahead of his time. Nevertheless, the honour must go to MacIver for developing the basis of the modern scientific theory concerning Zimbabwe. Since *Mediaeval Rhodesia* is a landmark in Rhodesian archaeology, its final paragraph seems an appropriate end to this review:

"Some who may have been convinced by my reasoning will yet have been convinced against their will, and many no doubt will bewail that a romance has been destroyed. But surely it is a prosaic mind that sees no romance in the partial opening of this new chapter in the history of vanished cultures. A corner is lifted off that veil which has shrouded the forgotten but not irrecoverable past of the African negro. Were I a Rhodesian I should feel that in studying the contemporary natives in order to unravel the story of the ruins I had a task as romantic as any student could desire. I should feel that in studying the ruins in order thereby to gain a knowledge of the modern races I had an interest that the politician should support and that the scholar must envy."

THOMAS N. HUFFMAN,
Historical Monuments Commission

Rhodesia: A Human Geography by George Kay. (University of London Press, 1970. 192 pages, illustrations, maps, diagrams, price 50s.)

Human activities are constantly altering the face of any country so books on geography nowadays are often "human" geographies, descriptions of those activities and their effects on the surface of the land, rather than mere descriptions of towns, physical features and products.

The author, who is Professor of Geography at the University of Rhodesia, divides his book into four main sections. The first four chapters deal with physiography, natural resources, the historical background and population structure and distribution. The next section covers the African areas. Then comes a study of the European farming areas. Finally, two chapters on mining, manufacturing, urban development and the national economy.

He emphasises that it is necessary to know something of history in order to understand the nature of the people and their problems and, although southern Africa as a whole is a "living laboratory" for race relations and an "ideological battle ground", he deals, objectively, only with those aspects of race relations that are of geographical significance. For instance, the diversity of peoples living in the country with differing ways of living gives rise, inevitably, to a diversity of landscapes. The landscape of a European intensive or extensive farming area is quite different from that of an African subsistence farming area or irrigation scheme.

History affected the Rhodesian landscape right from the time of occupation in 1890. For instance, the route of the Pioneer Column and several of the first smaller European settlements were greatly influenced by the power of the Matabele. The Matabele War in 1893 and the later Rebellion in 1896 discouraged Europeans from forming scattered, small settlements all over the country and,

although the author does not say so, perhaps encouraged the idea of separate European and African areas.

The routes of the railways within the country were not planned for the country as a whole from the beginning. Mining had, for many years, the dominating influence on routes but even then the lines often did not go direct. Although the sites of mines and other terminals were known before work began the need for economy and speed made it essential that only the easiest and cheapest routes were followed with numerous branch-lines being built to specific mining areas.

Urbanisation and industrialisation have, of course, introduced new elements into the landscapes of the country and the author points out a tendency for some of the smaller settlements to decrease in population as the larger cities and towns increase in size. In discussing the face of the African areas he says that urbanisation enables the African to live in a "dual economy". His subsistence agriculture is not sufficient to put him into the cash economy so the development of the African lands depends heavily on an influx of cash earned as wages in the towns.

Moreover, the landscapes of the African lands are not likely to change as much as those of European farming areas for no matter how successful any campaign to reduce the birthrate may be, a large proportion of Africans must continue to live on the land. On the other hand, as European farming becomes more intensive, less land will be needed and more blocks of unused or under-used farmland are likely to appear in the European sector.

This is an excellent survey, almost encyclopaedic in scope, of the social, economic and agricultural history of Rhodesia with statistical material brought up to 1968. Many of the conclusions that the author draws and the trends he observes from man's treatment of the Rhodesian environment have political overtones that do not concern us. But they are stated reasonably and logically.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Veld Express by Harry Zeederberg. (Howard Timmins, 1971. 245 pages, 20 illustrations, price \$4.75.)

Before the building of the railways, travellers in the area north of the Vaal were dependent on either the slow-moving, lumbering ox-wagon, or the more rapid stage-coach for transport.

To Rhodesians the surname Zeederberg is always connected with the stage-coach service. His coaches banged and bounced along the rough and narrow, so-called roads. The going was hard at all times but during the rainy season when the rivers were swollen there were even greater dangers. Coaches were trapped between rivers or had to risk a crossing with water entering the vehicle. During the winter the passengers were covered with dust. Every 10 miles along the road there were stables where a change of mules took place, and then the ever-rolling, bucking, jolting and rocking coach with its mail, freight and passengers once more went on its way.

The passengers put their faith in the two men on the box-seat. There was the driver who held the long whip and the leader who handled the reins.

There were encounters with crocodiles, lions and elephant, hold-ups by highwaymen, attacks by rebellious Matabele. The men who built up the coach-services were remarkable for their courage, persistence, initiative and daring. They suffered trials and hardships in their efforts to provide communications in the wide area they covered.

In *Veld Express* Harry Zeederberg has traced the development of the coach-services, and in it the Zeederberg brothers, and in particular Doel, have a special place for their work in Rhodesia. From the wealth of incidents which happened to the coaches and their passengers an excellent story has been written.

Many of the incidents have a special interest for Rhodesians. The accounts of the 25 young women carried to Rhodesia as barmaids; of the first tourist, the aristocratic but boorish Lord Randolph Churchill, the father of Winston; of the experiences in a flooded river of the girls of the Searelle Operatic Company, the first to visit Rhodesia; and of the Salisbury cricketers' 14-day journey to Bulawayo, are all part of Rhodesia's story.

The author is a descendant of the famous coach-owning family. He has written a good book packed full of good yarns which will have a wide appeal for all those interested in our past.

G.H. TANSER

The Rt. Hon. Godfrey Martin Huggins, First Viscount Malvern of Rhodesia and Bexley. His Life and Work edited by Michael Gelfand and Joseph Ritchken. (Published by the Central African Journal of Medicine, Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1971. 51 pages, illustrated, price \$4.20.)

Godfrey Martin Huggins was a great doctor, a great politician, a great personality and, above all, a great Rhodesian. In a simple but none the less noble gesture the Central African Journal of Medicine has brought out this small, attractive volume to mark the passing of one who did so much for the medical profession in Rhodesia.

The many facets of Huggins's life are highlighted in a series of articles entitled: "Schoolboy to Surgeon", "Huggins in the First World War", "Huggins—Rhodesian Doctor", "A Biographical Note", "Doctor in Politics", "Malvern: A Life for Empire". These are followed by six appreciations by people who knew Huggins well and had fallen under the spell of his personality.

"Malvern: A Life for Empire" by J. A. Edwards, a former member of the staff of the National Archives of Rhodesia, is undoubtedly the most outstanding of the contributions. It gets below the surface, it is thought-provoking, and it is readable.

Apart from collectors of Rhodesiana the book will appeal to many of those who knew Huggins; it should also be on the shelves of all those libraries that are interested in Rhodesian affairs.

Professor Gelfand and Dr. Ritchken are to be congratulated on the sentiments that lie behind the book as well as on the prompt manner in which they carried out their task. The edition is limited to 1 000 numbered copies and should, from the collectors' point of view, become an item that is sought after.

R. W. S. TURNER

Diet and Tradition in an African Culture by Michael Gelfand (E. and S. Livingstone, Edinburgh and London, 1971. ix+248 pages, illustrations, indexed, price \$6.00.)

Professor Michael Gelfand's limitless enthusiasm and industry have been deployed on medicine, history and sociology. His work often shows the close links and interactions that exist between these three fields. While he may point to conclusions, with which one may or may not agree, much of what he writes is a simple recording of facts as he discovers them.

If *Diet and Tradition* . . . has a weakness it is the same as that which is evident in some of his other writings: Professor Gelfand is a rapid worker who is perhaps somewhat inclined to regard the dotting of i's and the crossing of t's as just so much fiddle-faddle. This impatience on his part to see the work finished has often led to his writings being severely criticised by the type of reviewer who probably regards himself as meticulous, but who a reasonable man could regard as something of a nit-picker. The point is that the tremendous output of work by Professor Gelfand does not seem to be entirely compatible with his writings being word perfect. This reviewer makes this observation as a simple statement of fact. In the author catalogue of the Library of the National Archives of Rhodesia (this library is dedicated to preserving a copy of every item that is printed in or relating to Rhodesia and thus constitutes the national collection) there are over 100 entries under the name of Michael Gelfand.

Not all of these refer to monographs but they still add up to a total amounting to magnificent industry. Many of his works, such as *Sick African*, are in great demand, others are no doubt destined to become source books in the years that lie ahead. But to get back to *Diet and Tradition* . . . this book does contain rough passages which will give the "meticulous" reviewer a good deal to get his teeth into. For example, when discussing honey bees on page 163 there is confusion between hives and combs.

In the final chapter one cannot go along entirely with some of the views expressed or implied. Compared to south-east Asia, Rhodesia had a minute population before the coming of the white man in 1890. There was obviously some limiting factor that prevented a build-up of numbers which is not explained by the observation: "It is probable that before the influence of Western methods, in the days when land was abundant and populations small he was well off with his shifting agriculture."

On the other hand, there is a great deal to be said on the credit side. Even the general reader cannot but be fascinated by the horror of calorie, protein and vitamin malnutrition. Surely kwashiorkor and pellagra are as great or greater scourges than scurvy was during the days of sail.

Some of the information was culled from the files of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and this points to the practical usefulness of the book which far outweighs its relatively minor blemishes. *Diet and Tradition* . . . will interest administrators, doctors and all those concerned with the welfare of the tribal Rhodesian.

R. W. S. TURNER

Scramble for Africa: The Great Trek to the Boer War by Anthony Nutting.
(Constable, 1970. 454 pages, maps, illustrations, price 65s.)

The author ranges over much of the continent but concentrates on southern Africa, south of the Zambezi. In North, West and East Africa the scramble was often connected with strategic positionings that had nothing whatsoever to do with the continent of Africa as such, for example, protection of the route to India, or sometimes took the form of the manoeuvrings of French, German and British just trying to baulk each other. But as regards South Africa the author says that "British policy was driven by a deliberate and determined desire to establish a British dominion in South Africa." The book is therefore a well-written history of South Africa and Rhodesia.

Nutting is highly critical of Jameson's deliberate instigation of the Matabele War in 1893 and of his provocative acts taken in spite of the assurance of his own envoy in Bulawayo, Colenbrander, that Lobengula "had a case and did not want war". Nutting also picks out for severe opprobrium "a particularly vicious young officer called Captain Lendy" who, he says, was responsible for several savage and unprovoked attacks on the Matabele.

In its premeditated seizure of Matabeleland, the author goes on, the B.S.A. Company cynically disregarded solemn pledges given to Lobengula who, on his side, had scrupulously refrained from attacking the white settlers. There was nothing in the Matabele raids and forays against the Shona that would justify the "dishonourable and aggressive" actions of the Company in bringing about their destruction. "The Pioneer," said Colenbrander, "at his most highly developed state is a white savage, the most terrible of men."

Nutting describes Rhodes as an extraordinary man albeit a megalomaniac. In that "incredible year 1890" Rhodes gained control of a vast stretch of central Africa and could quite rightly claim that he had secured "the balance of Africa". For good measure, in the same year, he became Prime Minister of Cape Colony. But, says the author, had anyone else other than Sir Hercules Robinson been High Commissioner at the Cape then Rhodes' dream might have faded. It was only Robinson's influence in Whitehall that won over the doubters and made it possible for Britain to warn off all other European challengers.

The Matabele War did make it quite clear that, having come thus far, Rhodes was not going to allow any interference either from England or from the Cape. In his speech to the victorious troops in Bulawayo on 19th December, 1893, in telling them to go out and select their farms and mining claims, he said, "it is your right for you have conquered the country" and that the settlement of the land should be made by those who conquered it and "not be left to the negrophiles of Exeter Hall".

Nutting ends his colourful and brightly written history by pointing out that Britain failed in her grand design to implant an exclusive British dominion in South Africa. She may have won the Boer War but the Afrikaners won the peace. "The roots of the Dutch tradition were everywhere too deep to dislodge: and in the shadow of Van Riebeeck's oaks, the 'grand illusion' was finally to wither and die."

(Anthony Nutting was a Conservative M.P. in Britain for many years after 1945. He has been Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and later Minister with that portfolio. He has led the British Delegation to the United Nations and is a Privy Councillor. He resigned from office after the Suez landings in 1956. He has seven other historical books to his credit.)

W. V. BRELSFORD

GENERAL

Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in the Modern Era. Edited by P. H. Gulliver. (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 378 pages, price 65s.)

Tribalism, in spite of the attempts of the leaders of newly independent African states to create national feelings, stubbornly refuses to fade away and its influence still remains a powerful force in Bantu Africa. The 16 contributors to this volume, which is based on a Symposium held at the School of Oriental Studies, London University, discuss tribalism as a factor in present-day East Africa. The essays range widely from tribalism in rural and urban areas to its manifestations in politics, trade unionism, language, education and law. The regional and case studies which support these general chapters are on tribes or peoples in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Somalia.

"Tribe" is a word with many meanings which are reviewed by the editor. La Fontaine, writing of the Gisu of Kenya, gives a specific definition that applies to this tribe and many others. A tribe, he says, is a set of people speaking one language, sharing a common culture and territory and united by initiation ceremonies. In a wider context this could almost be a description of many forms of European nationalism. In fact, tribalism and European-style nationalism differ only in scale. On that descriptive analogy the people of some of the strongly centralised African kingdoms, such as Buganda was, could be referred to rather as nations than as tribes.

The meaning and connotation of the word "tribe" has passed through several phases. To the early explorers it meant merely "indigenous". In colonial days the word was used to describe what the administrators and missionaries considered to be a group that could be described by a name, a culture and localised political autonomy. Today, among the African nationalists, tribalism has a pejorative connotation implying backward-looking and unprogressiveness, unresponse to the ballot box and a divisive influence in the attempts to create a country-wide feeling of nationhood.

But tribalism has its roots deep in the past and in times of stress and change tribal loyalties and values persist even in the life of towns and cities remote from the tribal areas. It is seen in competition for jobs, and in the election of trade union officials in spite of the wishful assertion so often made that "trade unions transcend tribalism and politics". In politics in countries that are still inchoate and unstable the African politician needs a firm base from which he can appeal for wide support and that can only be found in his tribe.

Although Rhodesia is not mentioned in this book the themes are universal in sub-tropical Africa so they have a local relevance and interest.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Social Networks in Urban Situations edited by J. Clyde Mitchell. (Manchester University Press for the Institute of Social Research, University of Zambia. 378 pages, figures, price \$2.76.)

A symposium of eight papers by different authors, this volume is a highly technical study of sociological methods. The subtitle is "Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns." The papers were originally read to a seminar for field-workers at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The towns referred to are on the Copperbelt and one anonymous town in South Africa where voluntary associations among the Coloureds are discussed.

When an African arrives in town from his rural area his network of social relationships immediately becomes widened and complicated. He still retains his traditional classificatory position among his kinsmen living in the town but the relationships soon include those with neighbours in the townships, work-mates, trade union and sometimes political associates as well as those with fellow members of sporting or social clubs and churches.

These studies show how the concept of the "network" can be used as "a tool" in analysing the social problems and phenomena of the towns; to show how tribal customs, beliefs and values can affect the activities and contretemps of modern urbanisation and industrialisation; and how the various strands of the network are interwoven in influencing choice of action or response. The problems of urbanisation, says P. Harries-Jones, are not those of detribalisation but of the shifting of the personal centre of gravity from the home area to the urban cluster. The urban African does not become fully detribalised because he still maintains his home contacts and Harries-Jones describes how, during the political disturbances in Zambia in the early 1960's the politicians used the "Home Boy" network in the Copperbelt towns to build up political cells of classificatory relations not only to further political moves but to feed and care for the families of those who were arrested.

A "network" is egocentric. An urbanised African sees himself at the centre of a collection of friends, some "close-knit" or "effective", some "loose-knit" or "extended". Such terms are easily understood and they could probably be applied to urban relationships in places other than Africa. Urbanisation is one of the most notable features of our age all over the world and urban life everywhere shows certain characteristics and, although the African retains some aspects of his tribal culture, his way of life in the towns resembles very closely, says A. L. Epstein, that of urban life anywhere in the world.

This is not a book for the general reader but a textbook for the sociologist.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Publications of National Museums of Rhodesia

Occasional Paper No. 33B, Vol. 4, came out in March 1971. It was A *Revision of the African Snake Genera Amblyodipsas and Xenocalamus* by Donald G. Broadley of the Umtali Museum.

Nos. 7-11 of Vol. 5 of *Arnoldia* include a *Check List of the Fishes of Botswana* by R. A. Jubb and I. G. Gaigher; descriptions of new subspecies of snakes from Zambia and Malawi by Donald G. Broadley; and the *Ornithological Results of the 1970 National Museums of Rhodesia Expedition to Malawi* by H. D. Jackson of the Umtali Museum.

THE PIONEER, VOL. I

This first volume (97 pages) of the Journal of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society was published in 1968. There are some copies still available from the Secretary of the Society, P.O. Box 100, Bulawayo. Price in soft cover 50c plus sales tax and in hardback at \$1.00 plus sales tax.

Published originally to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the occupation of Bulawayo, the ten chapters all have a Matabeleland interest. Sir Robert Tredgold writes on *Historic Places near Bulawayo* and on *The Mangwe Pass*. There are chapters on *Old Fort Tuli and Alison Shinn*, on *Rhodesia's First V.C.*—*H. S. Henderson*, and two articles by Henderson himself on *Early Days, Matabeleland, 1894-5* and *Two Years Later—1896-7*. A paper read by Major Walter Howard, D.S.O., to Bulawayo Scouts in 1932 on *The 1893 Campaign* is reproduced. There is an amusing account of life in Bulawayo by H. W. Smart which includes some good stories. T. A. Wright's speech at the Annual Dinner of the Society in 1967 on the building of the railways in Rhodesia is given and the booklet ends with a description of Rhodes' funeral and various tributes to the Founder.

The publication of these papers in book form was made possible by the generosity of Alan and Ian Henderson and is a most interesting and valuable piece of Rhodesiana.

The Rhodesiana Society

Constitution

Name

1. The name of the Society shall be "The Rhodesiana Society" (hereinafter referred to as "the Society").

Objects

2. (1) The objects of the Society shall be—
 - (a) to unite all who wish to foster a wider appreciation and knowledge of Rhodesian history;
 - (b) to publish a journal or other similar publication to further this aim;
 - (c) to hold meetings, to arrange field expeditions and to take part in any other kind of relevant activity;
 - (d) to co-operate with the National Archives or any other society or organisation with similar objects to those of the Society;
 - (e) to promote and further the interests of collectors of books and items of historical interest relating to Rhodesia;
 - (f) to give support to any proposals for the preservation of buildings of historical significance.
- (2) These objects shall not exclude interest in the history of those neighbouring countries with which Rhodesia has an historical association.

Membership

3. (1) Membership of the Society shall be open to all persons and institutions interested in furthering the objects of the Society.
- (2) All members shall pay an annual subscription of three dollars (\$3.00), which annual subscription shall become due and payable on the first day of January in each year.
- (3) Should any member fail to pay such annual subscription before the 1st June in any year, he shall be deemed to have resigned his membership of the Society.
- (4) Notwithstanding the provisions of subclauses (2) and (3), members shall be entitled to obtain Life Membership of the Society for a sum to be determined by the Committee but not exceeding \$100.00.
- (5) Any institution which is a member of the Society may appoint any person to represent it at any meetings of members of the Society and attend, vote and speak on its behalf.
- (6) Such representative may be elected as an office-bearer as if he himself were a member of the Society.

Headquarters

4. The headquarters of the Society shall be in Salisbury or such other place in Rhodesia as may be decided at the Annual General Meeting.

Management

5. (1) The Management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a National Executive Committee (hereinafter called "the Committee") consisting of—
 - (a) a National Chairman; and
 - (b) a National Deputy Chairman; and
 - (c) a National Honorary Secretary; and
 - (d) a National Honorary Treasurer; and
 - (e) nine members.
- (2) The Committee shall be elected to office annually at the Annual General Meeting and shall hold office until the conclusion of the next Annual General Meeting.
- (3) The nine members referred to in paragraph (e) of subclause (1) shall include at least one representative of each Branch of the Society.
- (4) The quorum of Committee meetings shall be four and in the case of an equality of voting the Chairman shall have a casting vote.
- (5) The Committee shall have the power—
 - (a) to convene General Meetings;
 - (b) to control the funds of the Society;
 - (c) to appoint an Auditor to audit the accounts of the Society;
 - (d) to appoint an Editor to edit the publications of the Society;
 - (e) to co-opt any member as a member of the Committee provided that a co-opted member shall only remain a member of the Committee until the next Annual General Meeting;
 - (f) to form sub-committees and determine the terms of reference of such sub-committees;
 - (g) to establish Branches of the Society in any area of Rhodesia and to define the powers of such Branches;
 - (h) generally to do all such things as may in the opinion of the Committee be necessary and expedient to further the objects of the Society.
- (6) The Chairman shall submit to every Annual General Meeting of members a report on the activities of the Society since the date of the previous Annual General Meeting.
- (7) The Committee shall meet at least twice in every year for the despatch of business.

Honorary President, Honorary Vice-President and Honorary Members

6. Two Patrons and an Honorary President and an Honorary Vice-President and Honorary Members of the Society may be elected by members at an Annual General Meeting.

Meetings

7. (1) There shall be held not later than the thirty-first day of March in each year a meeting of members which shall be known as the Annual General Meeting.
- (2) Other meetings of members, which shall be known as Special General Meetings, may be called at any time by the Committee and the Committee shall call a Special General Meeting if requested to do so in writing by not less than five members of the Society.
- (3) A Special General Meeting shall be held within one month of the request being received by the Committee.
- (4) Notice of all Annual and Special General Meetings of members shall be given to all members of the Society in writing and shall be posted to all members not less than twenty-one days before the date of the meeting.
- (5) Notices of meetings shall state the business to be transacted at the meeting.
- (6) The Chairman of the Society, or failing him, the Deputy Chairman shall take the Chair at all General meetings of members of the Society, provided that if neither are present, the members present at the meeting shall elect one of their number as Chairman of the meeting.
- (7) The quorum for an Annual or Special General Meeting of members shall be twelve members personally present.

Voting

8. (1) Each member of the Society shall be entitled to vote at all Annual and Special General Meetings of members of the Society and each member shall have one vote on any resolutions which may be placed before such meeting.
- (2) At all meetings of members of the Society, the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.
- (3) Voting shall be by show of hands by members present in person, provided that if five members present in person at the meeting demand a poll, a poll shall be taken in such manner as the Chairman of the meeting may decide.

Accounts

9. (1) The financial year of the Society shall be from 1st January to 31st December in each year.
- (2) The Honorary Treasurer, under the supervision of the Committee, shall maintain proper financial records which shall at all times show a true and fair view of the finances of the Society.
- (3) An audited statement of accounts in respect of the previous financial year shall be placed before each Annual General Meeting of members, and a copy of such statement shall be posted to each member at least twenty-one days before the date of such meeting.

Publications

10. Each member of the Society, having paid his subscription, shall be entitled to receive one copy of all publications by the Society during the financial year and shall receive such copy without payment, unless the Committee decides that payment shall be made therefor.

Amendments to the Constitution

11. This Constitution may at any time be amended by a majority of the members present and voting at an Annual General Meeting or Special General Meeting of members, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been posted to members at least twenty-one days before the date of the meeting.

*ADOPTED BY MEMBERS AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
HELD IN SALISBURY ON THE 2st MARCH, 1969.*

"WITH LAING IN THE MATOPOS: THE INUNGU BATTLE"—ERRATA

The above-mentioned article appeared in our last issue, July 1971. The captions of two of the pictures were reversed. The caption of the top picture of the frontispiece on page x should read "Scene of the Fight at Inungu" and that of the picture on page 6 should read "The Column advancing towards Inungu, 1896".

The errors are regretted.

Publications of the Rhodesiana Society

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

- SIR ROBERT TREGOLD. Address on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial at the Mangwe Pass on 18th July, 1954.
Extracts from the Matabele journals of Robert Moffat, 1829-60.
W. V. BRELSFORD. Northern Rhodesiana.

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

- R. HOWMAN. The effect of history on the African.
A. S. HICKMAN. Some notes on police pioneer doctors and others.
"REGULUS". Frank William Baxter, v.c.
H. POLLETT. The Mazoe Patrol.

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

- F. BERGHEGGE. Account of a journey in Central Africa.
A. S. HICKMAN. Norton District in the Mashona Rebellion.
N. M. BRETTELL. Three Rhodesian poets.

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

- Diaries of the Jesuit missionaries at Bulawayo, 1879-81; translated from the French by Mrs. M. Lloyd.

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

- A. S. HICKMAN. The Mashonaland Irish.
E. C. TABLER. Impressions of Hendrik's Pass.
MRS. MARY BLACKWOOD LEWIS'S letters about Mashonaland, 1897-1901.
W. F. REA. Rhodesian pioneer.
E. C. TABLER. Rare or little known Rhodesiana relating to the pre-pioneer period.

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

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

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

- J. A. EDWARDS. The Lomagundi District, a historical sketch.
H. W. SMART. Early days in Bulawayo, 1896-1900.
D. E. FINN. "Kambandakoto", a study of A. S. Cripps, 1869-1952.

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

- E. E. BURKE. William Hartley's grave.
E. CAMPBELL. A young lady's journey to Umtali in 1895.
R. C. HOWLAND. The Mazoe Patrol.

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

- J. A. EDWARDS. Colquhoun in Mashonaland: a portrait of failure.
A. S. HICKMAN. The siege of the Abercorn Store.
B. M. E. and K. E. O'MAHONEY. The southern column's fight at Singuesi,
2nd November, 1893.
R. C. HOWLAND. The Market Hall—Salisbury's oldest building.
"Shifts and expedients": extracts from the book by W. B. Lord and T.
Baines.
MRS. M. CRIPPS. Umtali during the Rebellion, 1896.

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

- The British South Africa Company's Central Settlement Farm, Marandellas, 1907-10; from the papers of H. K. Scorrer, edited by R. Reynolds.
C. T. C. TAYLOR. Lomagundi.
R. W. DICKINSON. Sofala.
H. A. CRIPWELL. Operations round Mpepo, German East Africa, 1917.

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

- J. ELLENBERGER. The Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Boer War.
F. O. BERNHARD. Notes on the Pre-Ruin Ziwa culture of Inyanga.
L. S. GLOVER. Memories of the Mashonaland Mounted Police, 1896-97.
R. C. HOWLAND, Salisbury, old and new, contrasted in photographs.

Rhodesiana No. 12, September 1965 (*Special Issue. 15th Anniversary of formal establishment of our country in 1890*) (*out of print*)

- H. F. HOSTE. Rhodesia in 1890.
R. W. S. TURNER. Henry Hartley, 1815-76.
P. S. GARLAKE. Pioneer forts in Rhodesia, 1890-97.
K. MAUCH. The Makalaka; translated from the German by F. O. Bernhard.
H. D. RAWSON. Diary of a journey from Southampton to Salisbury. 1895.
A. S. HICKMAN. The death of Charles Annelly.
J. MCADAM. An early enthusiast for Rhodesian aviation: Mr. C. F. Webb, in 1912.

Rhodesiana No. 13, December 1965 (*out of print*)

- EXTRACTS from the South African letters and diaries of Victor Morier. 1890-91.
J. MCADAM. Early birds in Central Africa.
P. BERLYN. Of women who left their mark.
A. H. CROXTON. Rhodesia's light railways.

Rhodesiana No. 14, July 1966 (*out of print*)

- P. S. GARLAKE. The Mashona Rebellion east of Salisbury.
R. ISAACSON. The Countess de la Panouse.
M. O. COLLINS. The start of geodetic survey in Rhodesia.

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

The second visitor to the Victoria Falls: extracts from W. C. Baldwin's *African hunting and adventure* . . . 1852-60.

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

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

M. W. BARNARD. The battle of Imbembesi.

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

The Diary of Alfred Cross at Old Bulawayo and to the Victoria Falls, 1875.

J. RICHMOND. Wheels in the bush.

W. F. REA. Bernard Mizeki: The Devil's Advocate puts his case.

A. S. HICKMAN. Reginald Bray: Police pioneer.

D. K. PARKINSON. Chief Chibi, 1890.

P. BERLYN. On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie.

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

Rhodesiana No. 16, July 1967

J. MCADAM. Pat Judson: First Rhodesian Born Airman.

G. L. GUY. Notes on Some Historic Baobabs.

R. HODDER-WILLIAMS. Marandellas and the Mashona Rebellion.

O. N. RANSFORD. An Historical Sketch of Bulawayo.

L. D. S. GLASS. James Dawson: Rhodesian Pioneer.

A. S. HICKMAN. Reginald Bray: An Addendum.

Rhodesiana No. 17, December 1967

R. BLAIR. Selous: A Reassessment.

A. S. HICKMAN. Ballyhooly Hotel.

Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: 1893 Column.

L. A. RUSSELL. The Last Phase of the East African Campaign, 1914-18. Annotated by H. A. Cripwell.

R. F. H. SUMMERS and C. W. D. PAGDEN. Notes on the Battlefields at Shangani and Bembesi.

E. E. BURKE. Archives and Archaeology.

P. C. D. EATON. A Modern Historical Safari.

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

Memoirs of D. G. Gisborne: Occupation of Matabeleland, 1893.

O. N. RANSFORD. "White Man's Camp". Bulawayo.

D. HARTRIDGE. Henry Borrow: Pioneer and Hero.

J. CHARLES SHEE. The Burial of Cecil Rhodes.

LOUIS W. BOLZE. The Railway Comes to Bulawayo.

ROGER SUMMERS. Museum Buildings in Bulawayo, 1900-68.

G. L. GUY. The Trees of Old Bulawayo.

R. L. MOFFAT. A further Note on the Battle of Shangani.

Rhodesiana No. 19, December 1968

- HUGH TRACEY. Antonio Fernandes: Rhodesia's First Pioneer.
W. F. REA. Gonzalo da Silveira's Journey to the Monomatapa in 1560.
R. W. DICKINSON. Sofala: Gateway to the Gold of Monomatapa.
G. H. TANSER. Notes on the Mazoe Patrol and Salisbury Laager Photographs.
H. A. CRIPWELL. Some Banking Characters.
D. K. PARKINSON. The Fort at Naka Pass.
D. HARTRIDGE. "A Time to Die": A Review of Robert Cary's Book.
Buildings of Historic Interest. No. 1. The Residency, Salisbury.
W. D. GALE. The Diaries of Harold Cookson. Part 1: Discovering the Riches of the Congo.

Rhodesiana No. 20, July 1969

- A. S. HICKMAN. Colonel John Anthony Spreckley, C.M.G. A Short Biography.
G. L. GUY. David Livingstone: Tourist to Rhodesia.
H. J. LUCAS. Early Days on a Small Working.
DICK HOBSON. John Norton-Griffiths: A Rhodesian Pioneer.
W. D. GALE. The Diaries of Harold Cookson. Part 2.
R. C. HOWLAND (compiled by). Buildings of Historic Interest. No. 2. The Old Salisbury Hospital.
JANIE MALHERBE. Rev. Paul Nel. A Rhodesian Pioneer.
G. L. GUY and R. H. H. ORCHARD. Rhodesia's First Petrol Driven Tractor: Ivel Agricultural Motor No. 140

Rhodesiana No. 21, December 1969

- CLYDE L. SHOEBRIDGE. The Umtali Tramways Limited.
R. HODDER-WILLIAMS. The Graveyard at Old Marandellas.
F. O. BERNHARD. "Discoverer of Simbabwe": The Story of Karl Mauch, 1837-75. Part 1.
J. MCADAM. The Birth of an Airline: The Establishment of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Airways.
B. H. DE BEER. Houlton Augustus de Beer: 1895 Bulawayo Early Settler.
MERNA WILSON. The Muriel Mine and those who built it.

Rhodesiana No. 22, July 1970

- Obituary: H. A. Cripwell and the Founding of the Rhodesiana Society.
The Gwelo Laager, 1896.
Memorials: Matabele Rebellion, 1896.
R. W. DICKINSON. Sofala and the South East Africa Iron Age.
F. O. BERNHARD. "Discoverer of Simbabwe": The Story of Karl Mauch, 1837-75, Part 2.
C. K. COOKE. Dhlo Dhlo Ruins: The Missing Relics.
The Graveyard at Old Marandellas: Addendum.
J. MCADAM. Air Vice-Marshal Sir Quintin Brand: Co-pilot of the First Aeroplane to Land in Rhodesia.

Rhodesiana No. 23, December 1970

- C. K. COOKE. Lobengula: Second and Last King of the Amandabele—His Final Resting Place and Treasure.
LILIAN E. STUTTAFORD. Lost on Trek in 1895.
MRS. J. B. L. HONEY. Buildings of Historic Interest. No. 3. "Ivanhoe". North Avenue, Salisbury.

Rhodesiana No. 24, July 1970

- C. H. HALKETT and M. GELFAND. With Laing in the Matopos: A Medical Casualty in the Ingungu Battle.
E. E. BURKE. Rhodesia in Books.
C. M. HULLEY. Buildings of Historic Interest. No. 4. Some Umtali Buildings.
C. K. COOKE. The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments: A History.
MARGARET BRENNAND. Jelliman's Rest.
MRS. J. B. L. HONEY. Hoisting the Flag on Pioneers' Day.
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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.

Many readers are in a position to influence friends and acquaintances in joining the Society. All who are interested in furthering this important work are reminded that Application Forms are obtainable from the Honorary Secretary, The Rhodesiana Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway.

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY

An invitation to invest in the Society's

BRONZE DECADE MEDAL 1970



- Members of the Rhodesiana Society are invited to purchase the 1970 issue of Bronze Decade Medals.
- Members may purchase only one medal each. But additional medals may be bought for the wives or husbands and the children of members. The full name of such relatives must be printed on the application.
- No two medals will be alike as each will have a different serial number followed by the year, e.g. $\frac{341}{1970}$
- The next issue of Decade Medals will be ten years hence, in 1980.
- All those who invest in these medals will have their names listed in alphabetical order in a printed medal roll. Against each medal holder's name will be printed the serial number of his or her medal.
- This roll will have the effect of recording for all time the recipient of each medal. The roll will be published in two editions, an ordinary and a deluxe; the cost of these editions will be announced after all applications for medals have been received.
- The roll is due to close later this year. Members wishing to invest in this attractive souvenir are asked to apply as soon as possible to the Hon. Secretary, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Rhodesia, and enclose \$3.50 for each medal ordered. The price includes an attractive red lined, blue velvet-covered presentation case.
- Finally, as the issue of Decade Medals will be strictly limited as well as linked to a printed roll they will, as items of Rhodesiana, appreciate in value.

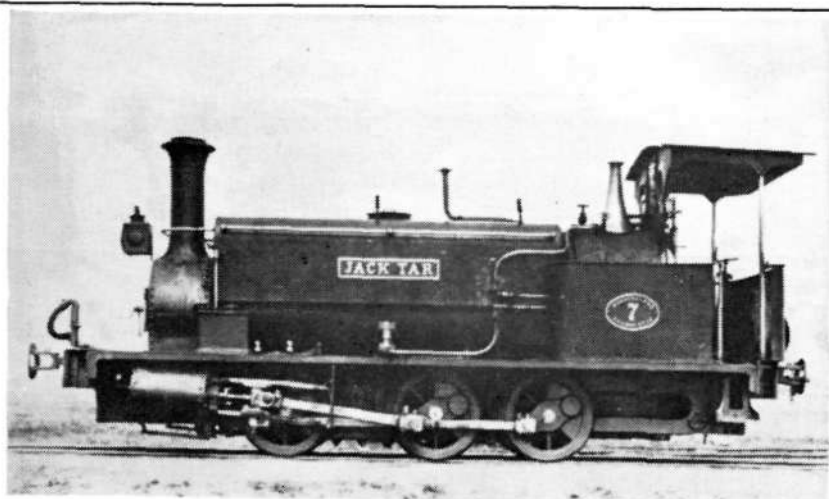
Medal and case actual size.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF RHODESIA

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE AVAILABLE:

- Guide to the historical manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia** \$8.00
By T. W. Baxter and E. E. Burke. 1970. Over 800 groups of records created by individuals, corporate bodies, firms or churches are described; outstanding documents are highlighted, and there is a biographical sketch or introductory note on each person or body that created or owned the papers.
- The Journals of Carl Mauch 1869-1872** \$6.30
Translated by F. O. Bernhard; edited by E. E. Burke 1969. Mauch was a noted geologist and traveller, the first to visit and describe the Zimbabwe Ruins and much of the north-eastern parts of Rhodesia.
- A Guide to the public archives of Rhodesia 1890-1923** \$4.20
By T. W. Baxter. 1969. Describes the records that accrued during the régime of The British South Africa Company.
- Directory of Rhodesian Libraries** 50c
Compiled by Alison McHarg and Sally Phillips. 1969.
- Documents on the Portuguese in Moçambique and Central Africa 1497-1840**
Published in conjunction with the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon; obtainable from the Centro at 160 Esc. a volume, or from the National Archives at \$4.00. Vols. 1 to 6, 1497-1537, now issued; others are in preparation.

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