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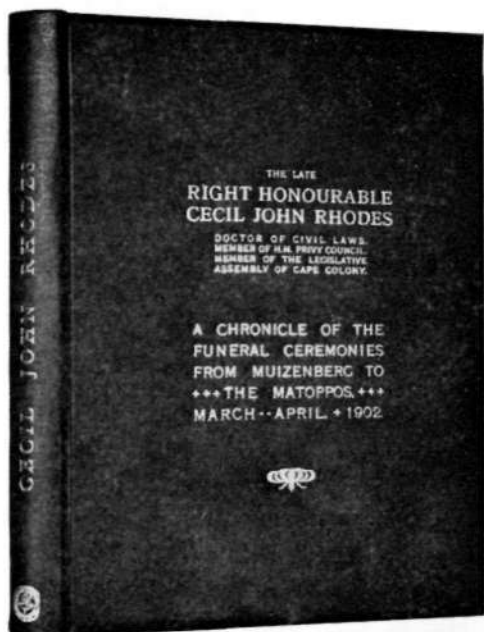
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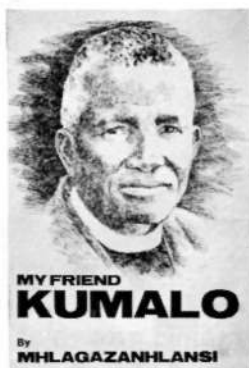
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The front cover picture shows old Rhodesian buildings in Manica Road, Salisbury.



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A. J. Tomlinson. A photograph taken just after the Boer War.

Alfred James Tomlinson

by Valerie Tomlinson

The late Lt.-Col. A. J. Tomlinson arrived in Rhodesia in 1894 as a trooper in the Bechuanaland Border Police, attested in the Mashonaland Mounted Police in October the same year and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Acting Commissioner of the B.S.A. Police, from which force he retired in 1926 after a most adventurous, sometimes hazardous career. He was to live for another thirty-five years, residing in the country he loved and served so well, and died on his birthday at the age of ninety-one.

Alfred James Tomlinson was born in 1870 at Madras, India. His grandfather, James Tomlinson, emigrated to India from Glasgow and there fathered twelve children, eight of the first wife and four of the second. The second wife and grandmother of Alfred James, was a descendent of Lord Nelson so, in his blood, ran a little of the spirit that engendered duty to his monarch and his country, something he was to exemplify during most of the days of his life.

On his mother's side was a strong Quakerism derived from the family of Quakers named Sturge about whom a book was written in 1930 entitled *The Sturges of Early Quakerism*.

His father, Thomas Armstrong, and his mother, Margaret, christened their first child Alfred James. This baby was to live only twenty-four hours and, when the third son was born, fate must have decreed they should name him after their lost one as compensation, for the new Alfred James was to outlive the whole family of six children.

We know Alfred James was sent to England to be educated at Whitfield Grammar School but a veil seems to have been drawn over any scholastic achievements. From England he returned to India at the age of twenty-one when he was placed on a nominated list of the Governor of Madras Presidency for a commission in the India Police. These nominations were abolished shortly afterwards and Alfred James was appointed to the Salt and Akbari Department of the Madras Government as Assistant Inspector.

He served as a Second Lieutenant in the Malabar Volunteer Rifles in 1892 and, for what reason we do not know, he left India and arrived in Rhodesia in 1894 as a trooper in the Bechuanaland Border Police having travelled by ox-wagon from Beira. On the 13th October the same year, he attested as a trooper in the Mashonaland Mounted Police and rose to the rank of Lieutenant a year later.

He was then twenty-four years of age and a bachelor which was just as well, perhaps, in view of what was to follow during the next few years.

In September 1895 with twenty-five other members of the M.M.P., Alfred James left Salisbury for Bulawayo under Sub-Inspector Charles Southey.¹ He

writes in his recollections: "Our uniform was a dark grey cord tunic and breeches with black field boots and grey felt cloth hat, the brim turned up on the left side with our badge on it." He also says in the same article: "In those days the ranks of Inspector and Sub-Inspector were equivalent to Captain and Lieutenant and the Police were known as M.M.P.: Mashonaland and Matabeleland Mounted Police."

In Bulawayo he was posted to "D" Troop under Inspector Dykes² and the contingent was ordered to march through Bechuanaland to Pitsani on the Transvaal border. The numbers in camp were about 400 under Chief Inspector W. Bodle and their armament consisted of a 12½-pounder and six maxims.³

He goes on to say (in his recollections): "Still no word of why all this was taking place—not a whisper—but rumour had it that the native chief in the area was unruly and the force was a necessary demonstration to him and his following . . .

"On Sunday afternoon, December 29th 1895, a parade of all ranks was ordered without preliminary warning and Dr. Jameson (with all the staff) came along and addressed the troops.⁴

"He gave a brief outline of how unfairly the 'Uitlanders' were being treated by the Transvaal Government and went on to say they were at last driven to assert their rights . . . There were cheers, and the parade was dismissed, followed by great excitement amongst all."

What followed is now history known as the Jameson Raid and after describing their march through the night to Malmani where a mounted force of the Bechuanaland Border Police joined them under Lt.-Col. Raleigh Grey, he says:

"We marched on without interruption with occasional halts for rest and food, until near midnight on December 31, the first skirmish with a small party of Transvalers took place and bullets whistled. This did not last long but it made us realise there would be further fighting."

He describes further some details of the continuing march until they reached the vicinity of Krugersdorp at 4.30 p.m., 1st January, 1896, about which he says: "The expected column from Johannesburg was not met. We reconnoitred—'D' Troop to the left—but our advance was quickly stopped by a withering fire from rifle pits, and we turned about, with some casualties. I remember one horse, with empty saddle, galloping with us."

He says they were attacked three times during the night and as it grew light found their bivouac was near the railway embankment⁵ from which those "against us" could fire from cover.

Their column moved on with "D" Troop fighting a rear-guard action and after further comments: "I found afterwards, further progress towards Johannesburg was barred by about 800 Transvaal burgers in a safe position at Doornkop.

"Their machine guns, arriving late, had just opened on us when in the midst of the din of battle, one of our trumpeters was seen to go forward with another man holding a pole on which was a large piece of white cloth and the 'Cease Fire' was sounded faintly at first, becoming more pronounced as firing



The Prince of Wales with Lt.-Col. Tomlinson at the Bulawayo Showground in 1925.

(Photo published: *Outpost*, Feb. 1936, No. 8, Vol. VIII)

began to die down. Then followed a stillness which was remarkable. We all gradually stood up and wondered what would take place next. (We had to surrender or we should have been wiped out.)"

After capture, Lieut. Tomlinson was interrogated in the court house at Krugersdorp together with his brother officers, after which they were taken by mule wagon to Pretoria where they were put into the jail. Later they were taken to Durban and placed on the S.S. *Harlech Castle* bound for England.⁶ All were supplied with new clothing and given a few pounds in cash which, according to his recollections, were donated by Cecil Rhodes.

He ends this article on his recollections thus: "I might just end by saying that our force travelled 170 miles from Pitsani to Doornkop in 96 hours, the last 17 of which was almost continuous fighting. My memory, I think, is right when I state of the British there were 23 killed and 64 wounded."

In later years, Alfred James loved to give people a mild shock by telling them he had been a jail-bird. When his younger son married at the outbreak of World War II, the bride's grandparents wired her: "Congrats. Who is he?" The reply sent was enough to raise the blood-pressure of the grandparents as it read: "Son of ex Pretoria jail-bird, letter following."

After his exile in England, Alfred James returned to Rhodesia in time for the Matabele Rebellion of 1896. During this he was associated with a young Shona African named Rufu Majaqaba Mukangani Ncube who, some years before, had been captured by Lobengula's warriors and taken to Bulawayo where he became a slave. His story is told in the August 1968 issue of *Outpost*

("Voice from the Past") and his association with Col. Tomlinson (then a Captain) began during Lobengula's flight from Bulawayo when Rufu escaped and, in his own words, was apprehended by a "European soldier who was cooking Capt. Tomlinson's meal". He became an employee of the police and he called Capt. Tomlinson his "White Father" whom he never forgot.

The preliminary to Rufu's story in the issue of *Outpost* mentioned, reads thus:

"In April of this year (?) Patrol Officer Jones of Que Que Rural was carrying out routine investigations into an Assault G.B.H. case in the Zhombe area when he came across an elderly African who identified himself as Majaqaba Mixin Ncube. In conversation with the old man—estimated by Patrol Officer Jones to be between 85 and 95 years old—the policeman discovered that he had served as a sergeant in the Force in Bulawayo, Gwanda, Belingwe, Essexvale and Fort Rixon. Mr. Ncube produced an aged and termite-ravaged photograph of himself and a "Colonel Thompson Skipper" and the connection between the two ex-members was apparently that they had served together for a long time and the photo was a souvenir of a promise made when the Colonel himself completed his service. Patrol Officer Jones forwarded the photograph and asked *Outpost* to look into the matter."

"The resulting discovery is most interesting . . . The mysterious 'Colonel Thompson Skipper' was the late Colonel A. J. Tomlinson, who died on June 27, 1961, and the meeting between the former Commissioner and Majaqaba was held in November 1960 when the latter presented a decorated pot to his former superior. Mr. (K. D.) Leaver spent three days recording Majaqaba's memories of his early days and the story was translated from the Sindebele and published in Volume 39 of *NADA* in 1962."

It was in fact through Mr. Leaver that a meeting was arranged between Mr. Ncube and Col. Tomlinson (then ninety years of age) at which the gift of the pot was made, and Mr. Ncube said (in so many words): "A gift for an old friend who saved my life and now I can die in peace." It is probable that he, too, has now joined his ancestors but the earthenware jar remains in the family as a prized possession.

On the 16th February, 1899, Sub-Inspector (Lieut.) Tomlinson was made a Justice of the Peace for Matabeleland by His Honour, William Henry Milton, administrator of the Territories of Rhodesia. Again in 1903, he was made a J.P. for the Territory of Southern Rhodesia this time by *Sir* William Henry Milton, K.C.M.G.

When the police force was reorganised as the B.S.A.P., Alfred James remained with the corps and served in the South African War from 1899 to 1902 during which he was promoted to Captain.

Col. A. S. Hickman, in his book, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*, says (of the Relief of Mafeking):

"From Plumer and his men at Sefhikile the scene must shift to the flow of reinforcements who would be in time for the relief operations. Early in April a detachment of 50 men of the B.S.A. Police had left Bulawayo by train to join Col. Plumer. Later, as No. 2 Squadron, it consisted of 73 officers and men and

was commanded by Lt. A. J. Tomlinson (Jameson Raid), with Lt. R. S. Godley as second in command and Lt. E. A. Wood (Jameson Raid) in charge of the left troop . . .

"Reading Tomlinson's notes in conjunction with his nominal roll, it seems apparent that his Squadron 2 was completed at Sefhikile, by the inclusion of men over and above the original 50 who left Bulawayo with him, and by the allocation of Godley and Wood as his troop officers."⁷

Col. Hickman quotes from Col. Tomlinson's notes later in his book giving details of the advance on Mafeking ending with: "Towards the afternoon the Boers had retreated and we were not molested as the two columns were re-formed for the march into Mafeking when the 'relief was complete.'"⁸

Among the Colonel's papers some interesting messages written by Colonel Plumer (to him) were found, some of which are quoted as follows:

April 12th.

Dear Tomlinson,

Very glad to hear you are on the way to join us.

Amongst your wagons you have, I believe, one loaded with kaffir corn meal despatched by Young from Kanya.

I want this wagon left at Moshwani and not brought on to camp as I am going to use the meal to feed native refugees from Mafeking.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. Plumer.

29/5/1900. To O.C. B.S.A. Police.

Please detail 1 N.C.O. and 2 men to be at the Landdrost's Office in the (town (?)) at 3 p.m. today. These men must take food for themselves and horses and their blankets. They will be required to escort the ladies (?) whose farm has been looted. They will remain as a guard at the farm till tomorrow morning.

(Signed) H. Plumer.

24/6/1900. To Lieut. Tomlinson, B.S.A. Police.

You will proceed tomorrow 25th June with 35 N.C.O.s and men.

You will take with you 14 days rations for your men and 14 days grain for your horses.

You have seen Lt. Col. Bodle's report on the situation there and will understand the duties you have to perform. The chief only is to protect the peaceable inhabitants from the natives. You will disarm all natives near your post and will do your utmost to prevent any thefts or outrages to them.

You will see the headmen of any villages and make them responsible for any unlawful acts committed by their people or in their country.

Most of the Boer inhabitants of the neighbourhood have apparently given up their arms to Lt. Col. Bodle but you will of course take over the arms of all who wish to surrender giving them the usual "permits" to remain on their farms.

Three squadrons of the Protectorate Regiment under Capt. Fitz Clarence leave here tomorrow for Saulspoort (?). They will remain in that neighbourhood for about 14 days. If necessary you should communicate with them.

You should send in a report to me about (?) (hours) (?) after your arrival explaining what the situation there is.

(Signed) H. Plumer. Lt. Colonel.

Rustenburg. 24th June 1900.

Following the South African War was a period of comparative peace during which a notable, if sad, event took place in the death of Cecil John Rhodes. Capt. Tomlinson was in charge of the police escort for the cortege on its journey from Bulawayo to the Matopos, and as much has been written on this event it is hardly necessary to repeat it here. However, about fifty years later Alfred James was asked unofficially what his feelings were on the dress of the Matabele guardians of Rhodes' resting place. Should this uniform be changed from khaki shorts and tunic to that of the ceremonial regalia of a Matabele warrior? His reply was instant and unequivocal. "Certainly not!" he said, "this would be sheer exhibitionism." So spoke a true son of the era when a Britisher avoided any show of emotion or sensationalism.

On the 24th September, 1904, Alfred James married Etheldreda Bennet Neame at St. John's Church, Bulawayo. Miss Neame came from Kent, and was one of the Neames associated with Neame's Faversham Ales. Her home, Selling Court, has since been demolished but she was brought up there and was an accomplished horsewoman when she arrived in Rhodesia. The exact date of her arrival is not known but she was in the country in 1902 as there is a Prospecting Licence in her name dated 7th November, 1902, issued at Bulawayo.

They had two sons, Raymond Neame and Denis Stanley, both born in Rhodesia.

During 1910, Captain Tomlinson was stationed in Umtali and one day in September he received a telegram asking him to command the B.S.A. Police Coronation Contingent at the Coronation of George V in 1911. "H.M.S." writing in the *Rhodesia Herald* of 21st April, 1953, says of the uniform in 1911: "The uniform was grey felt hats, fitted with brown puggarees and stitched down the middle, the badge had a backing of red felt; blue tunics, with gold chevrons in the case of the N.C.O.s; gleaming brown leather bandoliers; fawn riding breeches with white strappings for Corporals and Troopers, white riding breeches for Sergeants, W.O.s and Officers; Fox's blue puttees with the binding worn just above black boots and spurs. The contingent carried rifles and what a brave show they made."

At the outbreak of war in 1914, Lt.-Col. Tomlinson commanded the First Rhodesia Native Regiment in East Africa. Serialised reminiscences were published in the old *Rhodesia Defence Force Journal* and do not concern this biography as they are too long, making a book in themselves. However, towards the end of his service in East Africa he was in a dangerous position near St. Moritz where he and his force were hard-pressed by the enemy under the command of Col. Wintgens, in fact it was apparently touch and go as to whether



Kit inspection of the Rhodesia Native Regiment during the 1914-18 War.

he would have to surrender or not. He was relieved by Col. Murray's column⁹ and in Col. Tomlinson's "Some Reminiscences" (*Outpost*, June 1932) he writes:

"My instructions were to vacate my position at once and march for Murray's camp six miles back on the Itaka road. I met Col. Murray about two miles back, and we had lots to talk about. One of the first remarks he made was that he would have relieved me many days sooner had he known what the country was like between us, but that his information was that there was a large ravine on the road which the enemy held in force; and also that he had sent Lieut. Wardroper with a message to me to turn my advancing force into a reconnoitring patrol, but that Wardroper had not been able to reach me, for we were fighting when he should have given his message, so he went back to report."

Later, in July 1922, Mr. L. N. Papenfus then at Shabani, wrote his account and comments of the incident having been present as Lieutenant, Transport, at the time. In his paper he says (among other things): "I will never forget the evening I arrived at Col. Murray's camp on my return from New Langenburg where I had been in connection with a rinderpest scare, how amazed I was when I heard that Col. Tomlinson was engaged by the enemy about six miles off and to be told the chances were he might have to surrender and at the same time hearing the firing going on which was kept up day and night."

"It is admitted that accurate intelligence was very hard to get and therefore it behoves column commanders to be careful, but as regards the strength of the enemy on this occasion it was well known that Wintgens had no more than at the outside 400 rifles including Europeans, therefore there is no justification for whoever was responsible for this gross piece of bungling. And the irony of it is that very nearly all General Northey's officers got decorations, either British or foreign, except the only officer who did the correct thing and had to endure alone the whole of the enemy attack for more than a week."

It was at this time that Col. Tomlinson was wounded and had to be admitted to the hospital at Mwenzo where he remained for nearly four months before being invalided home.

In the *Rhodesian Advertiser* of 27th May, 1918, there appeared the following remarks: "A striking example of how the war has created and cemented mutual admiration and respect between White and Black was proved on Saturday afternoon when some members of the original 1st Native Regiment passed through to Salisbury. Major Tomlinson (now returned to Police rank)*, who commanded them in the operations on the Northern border, happened to be on the platform when the train came in. He was immediately surrounded by an exultant cheering crowd of veteran fighters . . . it was a reception any soldier could be proud of."

After the war, life must have attained a more peaceful tempo for the Tomlinsons and the one bit of excitement that occurred before the Colonel's retirement from the Police was the crash in Bulawayo of the aircraft *Silver Queen* piloted by (Sir) Pierre van Ryneveld and (Sir) Quinton Brand. The family has recollections of these two heroes sitting at lunch with them, one with a broken finger and the other with an arm in a sling. After the crash the book "Treasure Island" by Robert Louis Stevenson (having been sewn up in a cotton bag with streamers attached), was retrieved from the *Silver Queen* and put aboard the substitute aircraft *Voortrekker*, from which it was dropped over Plumtree School addressed to Ray Tomlinson (the elder son) who was then a student at Plumtree.

Perhaps the happiest times during the police years were when the family went with their father on inspection into the districts, usually conveyed by an eight-mule buckboard. Later this was replaced by a 1914 model Hupmobile fitted with small high-pressure pneumatic tyres which wore out after two or three thousand miles. They were very prone to punctures and were fitted with split rims. On several occasions the driver's first intimation that there was a puncture was to see the split rim overtaking him. Often a search had to be made in the bush to recover the rim before mending the puncture.

If thirty miles were travelled without a puncture everyone was delighted but things became somewhat difficult when punctures occurred in the middle of nowhere such as the dry bed of a river miles from civilisation. This was when the tyres had to be stuffed with sacks or grass to enable the family to limp home at about five miles an hour.

Colonel Tomlinson was a lover of sport and in the early days took an active part in promoting cricket and took duty as umpire on many occasions. Most people of his generation were equestrians and he was no exception. In the early twenties his equestrian interests reached their pinnacle when he owned a horse called "Little Slam" which was raced in the Bulawayo Turf Club Meetings. His love of horses continued throughout his life and he and his wife seldom missed a race meeting wherever they happened to be.

He was appointed Acting Commissioner of Police (and Commander Defence Force), on 14th September, 1925, and on 12th April, 1926, retired with the rank

* Author's brackets and comment.

of Lieutenant-Colonel. In the *Outpost* of May 1926 the Editor's Notes included the following:

"The month has seen the departure on leave pending retirement of Col. A. J. Tomlinson, Commissioner of the B.S.A. Police, who will now reap the reward of his thirty-two years' service with the Regiment. Col. Tomlinson has commanded the B.S.A. Police both on peace duties and on active service, and has come to be regarded not only as a just and efficient officer and leader, but as a sympathetic friend, at all times ready to temper justice with mercy and one to whom no member of the Regiment ever appealed for help in vain whether in large or in small things. The personality of a man who can join such a Force as the B.S.A. Police as an ordinary trooper and rise to Commanding Officer is one that would make itself felt in any walk of life, and the achievement of that feat alone can only command the greatest respect from anyone who realises that the ladder of promotion, particularly in a small Force like the B.S.A. Police, is by no means easy to climb."

This, of course, is the sort of write-up one might expect in a leader article in the Force's magazine,¹⁰ but unsolicited comments from diverse comrades are such as the following:

At Gwanda, in 1925, when Col. Hickman was a junior trooper, Col. Tomlinson arrived on an inspection tour. That evening there was a dance at the Sabiwa Mine three miles away and the Colonel joined in the festivities without any show of "superiority" and obviously enjoyed himself immensely.

From a letter in *The Outpost*, June 1962: "I am enclosing an order for £10. which I am asking you to pass on to the Chapel Fund in memory of the late Colonel A. J. Tomlinson. 'Tommy' was O.C. 'D' Troop Bulawayo, and I was one of his subalterns 1905 to 1907 (when I retired) and a finer type of an officer and a gentleman than he never existed. He was loved and respected by all ranks under him ..., etc." This was from W. H. Agar of Victoria, B.C., Canada, dated 12th March, 1962."

On the Colonel's death a letter of condolence was received from A. W. O'Reilly (17th July, 1961) of MacKinnon & O'Reilly, Lupani. In this letter Mr. O'Reilly said:

"Col. Tomlinson and Mrs. have been very dear friends of mine in the Bulawayo days. I often met them at Mrs. E. J. Doyle's. I am one of the old Pioneer Stock, 1896, and my dad was one of the old friends of Col. T. MacKinnon my partner still alive, was N.C.O. Shilo, 1900, in B.S.A.P. Col. T. went to Shilo in 1902 and explained to Mac that the Bulawayo canteen was in an awful mess and wanted Mac to take over. Mac explained that as he was a T.T. he could not possibly take over. Col. T. stated: 'You are due for long leave and a few shillings extra would help on a trip home. Canteen's in debt and no Xmas dinner for the troops unless Mac could pull them out of the mess.' He then agreed, took over the canteen Bulawayo and by Xmas cleared all the debt and troops had their Xmas dinner."

In another letter written in 1970, Mr. O'Reilly says: "He (Col. Tomlinson) was an outstanding character and very well liked by all with him."

After his retirement Col. Tomlinson became secretary to the Automobile Association of Rhodesia during which period he travelled over many roads in the country and in 1926 pioneered the road to Tete on what is now the route to Malawi through Mozambique. He was accompanied by his younger son, Denis, who was then a boy of about 16, and when they arrived in Tete, the Governor insisted on their staying at Government House where they were overwhelmed with hospitality and sat down to something like an eight-course meal—all this in a temperature of about 105 degrees F. in the shade. They had not anticipated this official reception and were therefore not suitably attired for a stay at Government House, having only their khaki shorts and shirts to wear. However, all went well and the situation understood by their kind hosts.¹²

On another occasion when "prospecting" a road on the Zambezi Escarpment, again with his younger son, the Colonel decided to take an evening walk and wandered off armed only with a walking stick. It was then a strange thing happened for a man of his experience in the bush—he could not find his way home to the camp and in short he was lost.

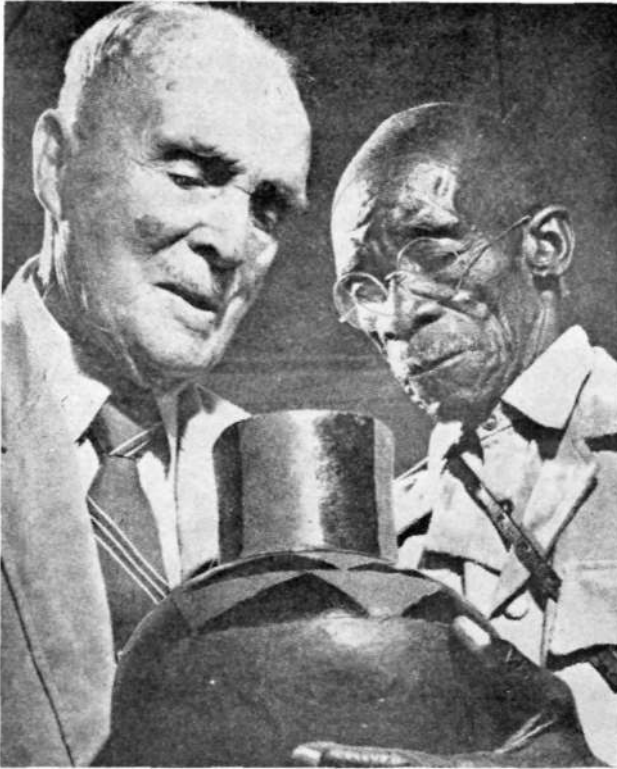
It was July and cold and he was dressed only in a shirt and shorts. He did not smoke so he had no matches and, at one stage, a troupe of baboons became extremely annoying if not menacing and all he could do was swish at them with his walking stick. Meanwhile his son, desperately worried, was scouring the veld in the vicinity with the African bearers, shooting off his rifle at intervals as a signal, with no result. All night they searched to no avail and at dawn returned to camp with the son determined to go for help but to have one last search in daylight. This was fruitless and they made their way back to camp again very despondent when, on arrival, they found the Colonel sitting quietly having a long drink of African brewed beer. He had found his way by the position of the sun and all was well that ended well.

The Colonel was an artist of some merit and while he was secretary of the Automobile Association he painted a picture of the Sleeping Pool at the Sinoia Caves—a difficult enough subject for most artists—but his painting was chosen as a cover for an A.A. publication.

Between 1937 and 1946 he was Serjeant-at-Arms to the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, a post which he held with distinction and with his usual strict attention to duty.

He was a writer of some merit as many articles and stories published in various journals prove. Although he wrote his reminiscences of the 1914-18 World War there does not appear to be much that he wrote about the Matabele Rebellion, the Jameson Raid and the Boer War, and the Jameson Raid is the only incident out of the three quoted, about which he seems to have written a full article.

He loved all creatures great or small to the extent that if he saw flies buzzing at a window he would open the window to let them out rather than kill them. Many people will remember him taking a stroll down the avenues of Salisbury followed by his little wire-haired fox terrier which he loved dearly. There is a story told of him when in camp in the bush during the early days. He was reading in his camp bed by the light of a hurricane lamp one evening when he saw a cobra



In November 1960 Col. Tomlinson (aged 90) was presented with a decorated pot by Mr. Ncube, who had been his servant during the 1896 rebellion.

(Photo copied from NADA No. 39, 1962)

reared in the centre of the tent floor, eyes fixed on him. Very slowly and quietly he put the book down on his chest and lay as still as possible. Presently, in this position, he fell asleep and when he awoke next morning the cobra had gone!

He enjoyed the best of health up to the age of eighty, after which he deteriorated and was unable to take the long walks to which he was accustomed. This must have been most frustrating for him after such an active life and it was in peace that he passed on in June 1961, on his ninety-first birthday. The training depot for our African Police was named the Tomlinson Depot—a fitting memorial to a well-loved man of whom it can be said that he served his country to the utmost of his ability.

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Family facts from old family papers, and from the two sons.

The author is grateful to Col. A. S. Hickman and Mr. Robert Cary for help and advice.

NOTES

by A. S. Hickman

1. See A. S. Hickman, *Men who made Rhodesia* (1960), p. 441. No. 80 Tpr. Charles Southey. One of the few officers of the Matabeleland Mounted Police left behind for the Jameson Raid, was therefore heavily involved in the Matabele rising in March 1896.
2. No. 19 Tpr. Lawson Leigh Ballantine-Dykes of A Troop, Pioneer Corps, and subsequently a commissioned officer of the Matabeleland Mounted Police. Born 30th October, 1864, in Cumberland; never married; later commanded the civil police at Bulawayo.
3. Total numbers engaged are estimated at 511, consisting of 17 staff, 372 Matabeleland and Mashonaland Mounted Police and 122 former Bechuanaland Border Police.
4. Dr. Jameson told the troops there was to be no compulsion, yet no one fell out.
5. Of a railway line under construction.
6. They landed at Plymouth.
7. A. S. Hickman, *Rhodesia served the Queen* (1971), pp. 322-3.
8. *ibid.*, p. 378.
9. Lieut.-Col. R. E. Murray's B.S.A. Police Service Column, who were famous for their outstanding feats of marching. Their Commanding Officer was awarded the D.C.M. in the Boer War and the D.S.O. in the First World War.
10. I feel this tribute is completely genuine.
11. W. H. Agar was the officer who commanded 24 B.S.A. Police at the battle of Tweebosch on 7th March, 1902. They stood their ground in a general disaster and five were killed in action, whilst their officer was taken prisoner.
12. Col. Tomlinson, as secretary of the Automobile Association, was the first official to compile, in 1937, a route guide to Rhodesia which was for years a great asset to road users, and had entailed most meticulous work on his part in addition to many miles of travel.

TAKE A HORSE TO THE WILDERNESS

To ride, perhaps with pack horse, along the bush trails of Rhodesia is to know the country as the Pioneers knew it, to share their experiences. To live such a life even for a few days means a new appreciation of exploration: a new understanding of the meaning of courage and vision which prompted men to leave the comforts of established communities to fight their way across a wild and sometimes hostile land.

The above is a localised paraphrase from the introduction to *Take a Horse to the Wilderness* by Nick Steele. (T. V. Bulpin and Books of Africa, 1971. 144 pages, illustrations. Price R7.) The book tells of the place of the horse during wars in South Africa in the past and of its increasing use today in National and Game Parks.

Horse-riding in Rhodesia is growing in popularity and it should be possible to get some enthusiastic rider-historians to explore remote, untracked areas, to search for ancient ruins or places mentioned in early travel books but never found again. (Roger Summers, in a book reviewed in this issue, mentions one ruin seen once in the past but never rediscovered since that one sighting.)

The author, Steele, is a well-known South African Game Ranger and his book is "a unique combination of history, technical information and personal experience": a complete practical guide on how to explore in Africa on horseback.

Uniforms of the British South Africa Police

by A. S. Hickman

(This a review article on *The Regiment: An Outline of the History and the Uniforms of the British South Africa Police* by Richard Hamley. Published by T. V. Bulpin, Cape Town, 1971. 120 pages, 37 plates of line-drawings. Price \$12 in Rhodesia—Editor.)

The author of *The Regiment* is still a serving member of the B.S.A. Police, Inspector R. Hamley. This book is described as "The History and Uniform of the B.S.A. Police". It is indeed a history, rather in the form of lecture notes as the author points out, but covers the most salient historical facts, though the various types and changes of uniform are dealt with in detail and cover the period from 1889 to the present day when the Regiment emerged from its equestrian origins to be a Force armed with modern weapons and "horsed" mainly by motor transport; including motor patrol launches and helicopters. In time our Force has over the decades of its existence adapted itself to the times in which it serves. When I joined in 1924 we had distinct branches, the mounted and the foot police, and as mounted men we rode horses; it was during my early service that the first experimental motor cycles were introduced, and these were followed by slow degrees by their general issue to stations and to individuals. It was not until years later that the issue of four-wheeled motor transport became common. Now the uniformed branches of the Force are amalgamated and any member may be called on to serve anywhere, though in practice it is usual to remain in the branch to which he was posted originally.

The historical notes are extremely apt and are appreciated more and more as the text is studied. The story of our Rhodesian Declaration of Independence, and its consequences is most delicately handled, and should not give offence to anyone save the most biased character.

The drawings are completely authentic, but some of the men portrayed have, I fear, a somewhat melancholy look! It is impossible, however, to achieve perfection and the artist has produced a most comprehensive group of models for which he should be congratulated sincerely. He has rendered a signal service to the Regiment and has filled a gap in our history which on occasions was painfully obvious. The Commissioner of Police himself has paid a well-earned tribute to the author in his foreword.

For my part I must confess to a more than usual interest because I was instructed in 1941 to set up a Quartermaster branch for the B.S.A. Police when at that time I hardly knew one end of a brick from the other. I had been a duty

officer all my service, but the emergency had to be faced, because there was no one to look after Police interests, with the staff of the Controller, Defence Force, employed entirely on military duties concerning supplies, equipment and the like. We of the B.S.A. Police had had in peace-time all available facilities from this service, but now it was cut off completely.

So we started *de novo* with the Quartermaster, a clerk and a typist, and have since expanded to the present highly efficient organisation. Looking back I am very proud of the personnel who shared in this development. One of my first tasks in 1941 on the orders of Brigadier J. S. Morris, the Commissioner, was to devise suitable uniform for the Women's Auxiliary Police Service which was then being formed. It was to be quite distinctive from the uniform of women in the Army or Air Force, and I had a real problem there. Eventually, after much searching I came on an adequate supply of grey gaberdine in a local store and this was obtained for the working dress. Normally it had been used as a habit for African nuns, but in its new guise was smart and serviceable in appearance and unrecognisable for its previous use. I wonder how many young W.A.P.S. realised the origin of their uniform? The full dress was a real matter of prestige. Each member had her uniform tailor-made of grey cloth with cuffs and shoulder-straps in blue, and worn with a blue tie. The finished uniform was a source of pride amongst those of us who had devised it.

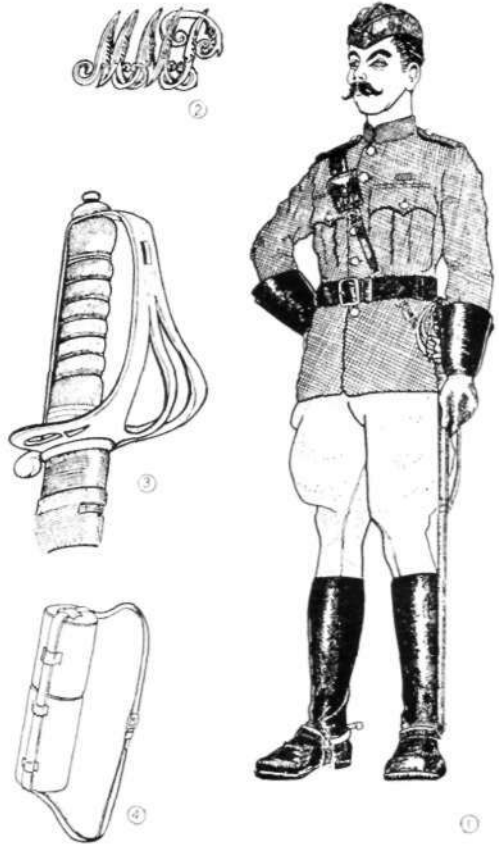
As officer responsible for the formation of the B.S.A. Police Dress Committee I must point out that suggestions were invited from any member of the Force and as all branches were represented on the Committee they all received due consideration, and some excellent ideas were accepted.

For years the uniform of the Police Reserve consisted of blue denim overalls which have now been modified, but the original issues were based on the uniform as worn by the Kenya Police Reserve during the Mau Mau emergency. In those days it had the advantage of being readily available and hard-wearing. One of its disadvantages for use in the bush was the fact that it was conspicuous. Yet dark blue is a traditional colour adopted by Police; in Rhodesia, however, it is unsuitable because it will fade. It was more appropriate for riot duty in urban areas. It is now replaced by camouflaged combat kit as illustrated in plate 36.

Having read and appreciated the review written by the *Outpost* critic E.L.C. it has been brought home to me what an enormously wide field has been covered, and how easy it is to note omissions here and there, but this book is thoroughly recommended to the collector amongst our readers, and although the cost in Rhodesia is somewhat pricey at \$12, it must be remembered that the edition is a limited one and that the work of compilation and checking of facts has been tremendous.

Further to the *Outpost* review, the first exchange of fire in the Boer War of 1899 was between Boers commanded by General de la Rey and men of the Protectorate Regiment when their train was derailed at Kraaipan on the night of 13th October, 1899. When Mafeking was besieged, members of the B.S.A. Police in an armoured train commanded by Capt. A. P. W. Williams, fired the opening shots on 14th October, 1899, and it is said the honour goes to Tpr. Hooper.

The Mashonaland Mounted Police,
1892-96 (from *The Regiment: the
history and uniform of the
B.S.A. Police* by R. Hamley).



When I joined as a recruit our district Native Police, as they were then described, patrolled in bare feet, and wore a cap based on the pill-box type used by German African Askari in the First World War. Later they made unofficial sandals from old motor-car tyres; then at the suggestion of Sir Evelyn Baring, then Governor of Southern Rhodesia, they were issued with comfortable sandals of an Indian type, in fact he lent me his own as specimens to work on. Now, of course, conventional footwear is the order of the day. As for the headgear, for years the African Police Conference used to complain that their pill-box type caps did not protect their faces and necks from the rain and Brigadier Morris told me to try to find a suitable replacement. Hence the khaki helmet of the style formerly used by British postmen; it has proved admirable.

I remember the mounted Native Police, who were employed largely on border patrols and were equipped in a manner similar to troopers of the Force. They were generally most trustworthy and reliable men.

The origin of the use of lances for escort duty on ceremonial occasions is of interest. I was the Commandant of our Training Depot when Lieut. C. W. H. Thatcher, as Assistant, came up with the idea, and it is due to his initiative that it has been developed to such advantage.

Congratulations to Inspector Hamley for his devoted work.

Some Stories Behind Historical Relics in the National Museum, Bulawayo

by Roger Summers

When any article becomes worn out or broken it is normally thrown away, for few people are hoarders by nature. Indeed the cast-offs of the past provide the archaeologist with his most valuable cultural evidence.

Even with the great and famous, the practice is much the same and, royalty apart, it is remarkable how difficult it is to collect relics relating to famous people and it is even more difficult to obtain objects with definite historical connexions.

One scarcely expects to find the banner carried by the Conqueror's army at Hastings but it is nearly as difficult to obtain relics of much later battles—Nelson's *Victory* is a notable example but that has been very largely rebuilt.

This scarcity produces two results. Wherever there are collectors, prices of relics become very high and, as a corollary to this, faking is not unknown. Until the beginning of the First World War, there was a craze for collecting Nelson relics in England and America, as a result the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich once had some seventy telescopes all alleged to have been used by the Admiral and many of them inscribed with his name—alas, some were not made until twenty years after the Battle of Trafalgar!

Fortunately, relics of Rhodes and Rhodesians are not the object of such a craze and collectors, mainly museums, refuse to pay exorbitant prices. Nevertheless even here faking is not unknown and in the course of my work at the National Museum of Rhodesia I have come across two spurious relics. One was a not too skilful alteration of a B.S.A. Company's 1893 medal to suggest that it was issued to Major Allan Wilson's next-of-kin. The other was rather more subtle, a silver box of correct date engraved with an inscription purporting to show that it was a gift from Rhodes. However, careful examination showed that the engraving was not so worn as other parts of the box, but the whole thing was shown up by the wording "Cecil Rhodes"—all genuine inscriptions are "C. J. Rhodes".

Museum officers, having charge of historical collections, must take tremendous precautions to prevent the display of spurious relics.

Besides all this, there are some very interesting stories behind genuine relics, some of which have been thrown away or got lost only to turn up after a rescue by some knowledgeable and public spirited person. The accidents which have led to the preservation of the gun-carriage which bore Rhodes's body on its last journey are quite fascinating and so are those behind Queen Victoria's unfortunate gift to Lobengula but let us start with the story of Rhodes's Court Dress, the official garb of a Privy Councillor seventy years ago.

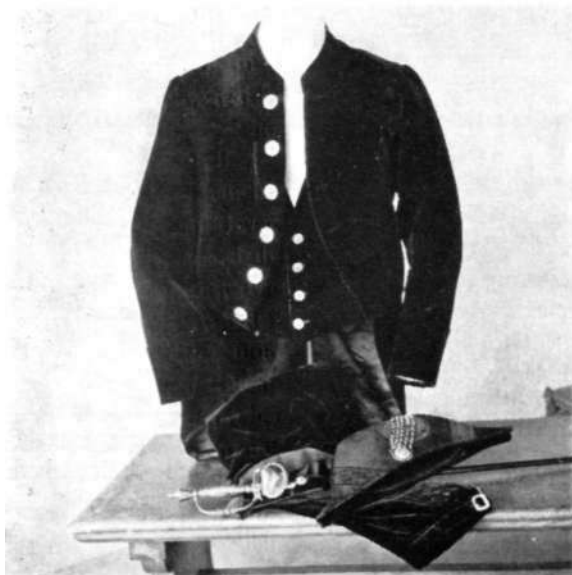
Rhodes's Court Dress

In the New Year Honours List for 1895, Cecil John Rhodes, Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was gazetted a Privy Councillor. This honour was usually bestowed on Colonial Prime Ministers and involved little beyond a very occasional ceremonial. For such occasions, however, Court Dress was required—black velvet tail-coat, knee breeches of the same material, silk stockings, buckled shoes, a cocked hat and a sword—the normal dress of a late eighteenth-century gentleman but very theatrical in 1895.

Presumably Rhodes obtained his Court Dress for he was sworn in formally on 2nd February following.

When he returned to the Cape, the Court Dress went with him and presumably remained in store at Groote Schuur.

On 15th December, 1896, Groote Schuur was badly damaged by fire and such of the contents as were not burned were spoiled by water, the Court Dress being among them. In due course a new uniform was made in London and kept ready for use at Cape Town. Only on one occasion can Rhodes have worn it, in July 1901 when he and Sir Alfred Milner were sworn, the Privy Council oath having to be renewed to each sovereign.



**Court dress of
Cecil John Rhodes.**

(Photo: T. W. Coffin-Grey)

What happened to the Court Dress after Rhodes's death is not known and for a full fifty years it lay quietly somewhere only to reappear dramatically in 1953.

During that year Queen Elizabeth the Second was crowned and in preparation for the grand ceremonies of the Coronation there was a frantic hunt for Court Dress for gentlemen and the famous London tailors, Moss Bros, of Covent Garden, bought up a great quantity from all over England. Among others came in one bearing the label of Hill Brothers, London, on which was written in marking ink "881. SB Cecil Rhodes esqr Prime Minister Cape of Good H".

The suit was duly cleaned and pressed ready for fitting out some guest at Westminster Abbey when Mr. Gent of Moss Bros, realised that this was no ordinary Court Dress and at once withdrew it from the ordinary stock.

Enquiries showed that this relic would be most acceptable in Rhodesia and it was presented by Mr. Henry Moss to the High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia, then Hon. K. M. Goodenough, who sent it to Salisbury and it was promptly despatched to Bulawayo for display in the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition and afterwards in the Rhodes collection in the National Museum.

The full story only came to light a few years ago when a copy of Mr. Tute's *The Grey Top Hat* came into my hands by accident. A letter was sent to Mr. Henry Moss acknowledging the gift, for the Museum had not previously known the donor's name, and in replying Mr. Moss said that as there were so many Court Dresses received at that time, it had been quite impossible to trace from whence it had come.

The registered number of this suit is 6875.

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The gun-carriage used at Rhodes's funeral at the Matopos and its subsequent history

As is well known, there were two funeral services for Cecil John Rhodes, one in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, and one in the Drill Hall, Bulawayo, before the Committal at World's View.

In the case of military and state funerals, it has been the British custom for many years to transport the coffin on a gun-carriage and this custom was followed in Rhodes's case.

In Cape Town, the carriage was most appropriately that of "Long Cecil" a gun made, at Rhodes's instigation, in De Beers' workshops and used in the defence of Kimberley. In Bulawayo, however, there was no carriage having close associations with Rhodes and it would seem that one was obtained from the local ordnance stores, set up during the Anglo Boer War. No mention is made in the local Press of a gun-carriage being obtained especially for the occasion.

Marks on the carriage are as follows

	W D		W †D
	↑		
Carriage:	R. C. D	Limber:	R.C.D. II. 1876
	1875 No. 375		Reg. No. 1026
	II		

and it has been identified as an early version of the carriage of a mountain gun, either seven- or nine-pounder muzzle-loader* (sometimes called a "Screw Gun"). It is particularly fitting that a mountain gun-carriage should have been used, since the last service this particular vehicle ever saw was on the mountain side from the Old Outspan up to the Grove.

As in Cape Town, the piece (or gun-barrel) was removed and a wooden platform to carry the coffin built up above the trail and trunnion-bearings. For the funeral the carriage and the limber which towed it were manned by Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, there being no Rhodesian artillery unit.

For the procession from Bulawayo Station to the Drill Hall the carriage was hauled by a team of eight mules each led by a Matabele groom. When the Drill Hall was reached a strange piece of ceremonial was introduced: instead of carrying the coffin to the Catafalque, as was done at Cape Town, the mules were outspanned, drag ropes attached and the carriage towed into the Drill Hall by a detachment of S.R.V.

Why this was done is not explained either in Masey's account or in Press reports, but there was a precedent for it. At Queen Victoria's funeral in January 1901, one of the traces of the harness broke⁺ when a horse slipped on the cobblestones outside Windsor Station and a detachment of sailors manned the drag-ropes instead of the artillery horses, hauling the carriage all the way from the station to the Mausoleum at Frogmore where the burial took place. This custom has been followed at British royal funerals ever since and, as a mark of singular honour, at the funeral of Sir Winston Churchill.

The little incidents at the Drill Hall—for the carriage was towed out after the service—provided one of the exceptional marks of respect paid to the Founder.

The carriage was drawn by mules during the procession after the Drill Hall service and—apparently—all the way to Rhodes's farm (now Matopos Research Station), but from then on it was drawn by oxen who took it right to the top of the hill without faltering, the Police on the drag-ropes never having to take the strain.

The gun-carriage duly returned to Bulawayo and there is some suggestion that it was kept in the Drill Hall for a while, but no definite evidence or clear recollection on the matter can now be obtained.

* This identification was made, following considerable study of old gun-carriages, by Mr. Michael Baldwin of the National Army Museum, Camberley, and Major Bartelot of the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich.

+ This did not rebound to the efficiency of the Royal Horse Artillery, and was a matter for much recrimination afterwards.



Gun-carriage and limber used at Rhodes's funeral.

(Photo: T. W. Coffin-Grey)

In due course it was handed over to the Rhodesia Museum, but once more there are no details as to when this occurred as there is no mention of it in the Museum Minutes (which occasionally refer to important accessions) or in the Annual Reports (which usually listed all accessions). The first mention of it comes in a Minute of 27th March, 1931, which reads

"The Gun Carriage which was presented to the Museum many years ago has now fallen to pieces with dry rot and only the iron work remains. It was proposed that the new Buildings Contractors should remove and dispose of it but before this should be done the Secretary was instructed to write to the Government and ascertain their views on the matter."

The correspondence is missing but at the next meeting on 24th April, 1931, it was reported

"Letter from the Colonial Secretary dated the 14th April 1931 was read. This letter stated that the Government had no objection to the Committee taking any action they thought fit for the disposal of the Gun Carriage."

It will be noticed that there is no reference to its having been used at Rhodes's funeral, but there are local traditions that this was the case. One would hardly have expected an old gun-carriage from which the piece had been removed and which had been otherwise modified for the building of a coffin platform, would have been kept in the Museum "for many years" if it had no historical value. Unfortunately the Museum had no historical collection and displayed little interest in Rhodesiana in those days.

Fortunately private individuals showed more respect for the past.

Following the letter from the Colonial Secretary (we should now call him Minister of Internal Affairs), the remains of the gun-carriage were obtained by Perks, a wagon builder who had a yard in Eighth Avenue at the corner of Grey Street. Mr. Perks was concerned that the relic should be lost and kept it in his yard in the open.

There it was seen by Mr. Stanley Sly who had long been in business in Bulawayo and, after discussing it with his partner—his brother John—the firm of Haddon and Sly made an offer to buy the gun-carriage from Mr. Perks after he had renovated it. This was duly done and a good job made of it, although Mr. Perks substituted standard wagon-wheels for the original ones, thereby making the vehicle a few inches lower than it had originally been. These repairs were undertaken during 1931.

As there was no suitable place to show it at Haddon and Sly's shop, the brothers offered it to the Town of Bulawayo on condition that maintenance became a municipal responsibility. This offer was accepted, the gun-carriage thereafter bore a brass plate inscribed

THIS GUN CARRIAGE
conveyed the body of
CECIL JOHN RHODES
to its last resting place at
WORLD'S VIEW
10th April, 1902.
Presented to the Municipality by
Haddon & Sly

For a short while, probably only a few months, the gun-carriage and its limber stood outside the Town Hall (then in Main Street, where the Old Post Office now stands), after which it was moved to the grounds of Government House and stood for many years under a thatched shelter.

Unfortunately, we have no date, either for the presentation to the Municipality nor for the removal to Government House, as there are no records on the municipal files. Mr. John Sly, however, thinks the removal took place during 1932.

For nearly thirty years, while five Governors came and went, the gun-carriage stood at Government House near the hut which had once been Rhodes's temporary home while the House was built for him. During 1960, however, the then Governor, Vice-Admiral Sir Peveler William-Powlett, noticed that this and other relics displayed near it were deteriorating and suggested that they should be more carefully preserved for future generations by the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics. The Commission gladly accepted this responsibility and in 1961 the carriage and limber were removed to store, where they remained until 1964 when they were handed over to the National Museum of Rhodesia for safe keeping. It was duly repaired, repainted in dark green, its probable colour at the time of the funeral, and set up on exhibition in 1967 in the successor to the museum which had discarded it so unceremoniously thirty-six years earlier. Its registered number is 66106.

It is not thought likely that this gun-carriage was used for the internment of Sir L. S. Jameson at World's View (1920) and it was certainly in no state to be used when Sir Charles Coghlan was buried there in 1930.

Thanks to the forethought of Mr. Perks and the generosity of the Sly brothers one of Rhodesia's historical relics was saved for posterity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Messrs. Stanley and John Sly both supplied information about their part in this story and were able to dispose of some inaccurate information which had accumulated round the vehicle.

Details of the type of weapon originally mounted on this carriage have been generously supplied by the National Army Museum at Sandhurst, Camberley, England (Mr. Michael Baldwin of Weapons Dept.). Rhodesia Museum Minutes are reproduced by permission of the Director of Museums. The Town Clerk's Department took a great deal of trouble in trying to trace the Municipality's part in this story, unfortunately there is no documentary evidence of this.

Lobengula's Neckchain

On 2nd March, 1889, two Matabele indunas, Umshete and Babyana, members of Lobengula's Great Council, were received in audience by Queen Victoria at Windsor. They had been sent by Lobengula as "eyes" to make sure that Queen Victoria and Britain existed and had been used by various anti-Rhodes factions in an attempt to prevent the granting of the Charter, then under consideration. However, we are not here concerned with political manoeuvrings but with a present the indunas brought back.

It was then a custom, which is still retained in a modified form, for sovereigns to send portrait medallions of themselves to other sovereigns and also to less exalted persons whom they wished to honour. In 1835 Dr. Andrew Smith presented large silver medallions of King William the Fourth to a number of South African Chiefs with whom he made treaties, and is believed to have given one to Mzilikazi, although this has never been found. In 1889, this custom was revived for Lobengula's benefit.

A Jubilee (1887) five pound gold piece was set in a massive gold mount on which was inscribed

From
QUEEN VICTORIA
to Lo Bengula
March 1889

and this was supported by a chain, with very clumsy links, one of which opened to permit it to be suspended from the neck of the recipient. This chain was, however, not of gold but of gilded metal, probably pinchbeck (an alloy 90 per cent copper, 10 per cent zinc, then used for cheap jewellery—a friend of mine once referred to it as "a hollow Victorian mockery"!). It was enclosed in a red leather case, probably with the royal monogram.

It was not until August 1889 that Umshete and Babyana, with their conductor E. A. Maund and interpreter Johan Colenbrander, reached Bulawayo and reported to Lobengula. They delivered a letter from Lord Knutsford, then Secretary of State for the Colonies which refers to the "picture" of the Queen. Lobengula acknowledged the letter but said nothing about the present.

However, in 1951 Mrs. Kiernander (Nancy Rouillard) daughter of F. R. (Matabele) Thompson told me the story of Lobengula's reaction to the gift.



Gilt neckchain and gold pendant given to Lobengula by Queen Victoria.

(Photo: T. W. Coffin-Grey)

Mrs. Kiernander edited her father's autobiography and although the incident is not mentioned in *Matabele Thompson*, Mrs. Kiernander had a clear recollection of her father's account of the incident which he witnessed at Bulawayo (or perhaps at Umutshwa, Lobengula's private kraal) in August 1889.

The King looked askance at the red case, for this colour was held to be very unlucky (and it is still disliked by Matabele). When he undid the clasp and opened the lid, he became extremely angry, snatched the chain and threw it away as far as he could, while the case went in another direction. The chain lay on the rubbish heap all day but after dark one of the King's wives retrieved it and kept it. According to this account Lobengula said nothing but took some time to recover his temper after the unwitting insult paid to him by Queen Victoria (or rather by the British Government, who conducted all the negotiations).

To Lobengula a chain was a symbol of slavery.

There are other versions of the story. The South African Museum (Cape Town) in its Annual Report for 1912 says that Lobengula gave the chain to one of his Gaza Queens to wear and that the relic was found among abandoned baggage.

Another version is recorded by Mr. Dugald Niven, then Librarian at Bulawayo Public Library, in the *Souvenir of the Occupation of Matabeleland*. It is given on the authority of "Matabele" Thompson that the chain was seen lying about among the King's possessions and that it was finally bartered away to a local trader for a few yards of limbo.

Mr. Niven gives yet another version in the same article, to the effect that the chain was discovered by a patrol during the Rebellion in 1896 in the possession of a woman who was driving some cattle—"the cattle were taken as loot, likewise the chain".

Johan Colenbrander is somehow mixed up in the story for he gave a memorandum describing its discovery in the possession of an old Matabele woman and certifying that it was the same as Queen Victoria sent to Lobengula.

All these stories tally in essence although they differ in detail. Probably there is some truth in all of them: Mrs. Kiernander's is the most dramatic, but it would have been a brave woman who filched something from Lobengula's rubbish heap, so even here we have an inconsistency.

Exactly what happened to it between August 1889 and 1893 or 1894* we do not know for certain, but it is highly probable that one of Lobengula's wives had it until it was taken from her.

Who took it away is another mystery. It has been suggested that it was Colenbrander but, for several reasons, this seems unlikely.

Again there is a blank in its history until 1912, when the South African Museum "acquired" it. This is now thought to mean that it was purchased, but Museum records do not give any details.

From 1912 to 1933 it remained in Cape Town, but in the latter year it was sent to Bulawayo for exhibition during the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland. This exhibition was held in the Rhodesian Museum, now National Museums of Rhodesia, in Bulawayo, and after the exhibition was over the South African Museum allowed it to remain on long loan to the Rhodesian Museum, where it has remained ever since.

Registered numbers are South African Museum 3076, National Museum 2744.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Miss E. M. Shaw kindly furnished the South African Museum's side of the story.

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* The date 1896 given in one story must be wrong. First, because almost all cattle had died off or been shot by veterinary officers during rinderpest in January-February 1896. Secondly, "loot" was recognised in the articles of enlistment of the 1893 Columns but did not apply in 1896.

Buildings of Historic Interest

No. 5. Bulawayo's Drill Hall

J. de L. Thompson

In January 1901, tenders were invited for the building of a drill hall in Bulawayo. A building committee was formed, under the presidency of Lieutenant John Laughton, who proceeded to design what has now become one of the most historic places in the country.

Captain Butters was vice-president of the committee, which met every Tuesday morning at eleven o'clock in the office of the Clerk of Works, on the drill ground.

The erection of such a hall was already overdue, for the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers (who had acquitted themselves so adequately in the Boer War), were without a home, and could only meet and drill in the open street.

Lieutenant Laughton, in his capacity of Town Engineer, so planned the hall that it offered, in addition to its official requirements, all the amenities of an ordinary club.

Laughton's foresight was well supported by the other committee members, including Captain Neil MacGlashan and Lieutenant Lamb, who ensured that the new building should lack for nothing.

Besides being used for drilling purposes the committee also had in mind that the hall be available for dances, concerts, and theatrical performances.

Consequently the many aspects of their task had constantly to be reviewed—and when necessary revised.

They met the challenge willingly, and appeared to omit nothing of immediate importance. All the necessary incorporations would be there; a gymnasium (with apparatus), reading room, armoury, billiard room—with two full-size tables—officers' and sergeants' messes, a lecture room, recreation room, a small-bore rifle range . . . and even a skittle alley!

In addition to all these provision was also made for permanent staff quarters and bandsmen's rooms, which accommodation would be detached from the main building.

Construction of the hall progressed well, and on the morning of Saturday, 15th June, 1901, thousands gathered to watch the laying of the foundation stone.

This ceremony was performed by the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, P.C., with a silver trowel presented by the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers.

Unfortunately the prevalence of a strong south-east wind made parts of the opening speech inaudible, but Mr. Rhodes paid tribute to those who had



The Drill Hall, Bulawayo, 1971.



The Drill Hall, Bulawayo, taken after the Boer War, 1902.

given their lives for their country, and hoped that this would prove an inspiration to future generations of Rhodesians.

He is known to have said: "Since my last visit a large number of your old leaders have died in their Sovereign's service, either at Mafeking or other parts of the Protectorate, in the Transvaal or elsewhere.

"They are gone. We know that they did not go down for pecuniary award or personal recognition. They simply considered it their duty to their country, and they represented the founders of this country.

"In the erection of this Hall, you will, I hope, continue that sentiment."

Subsequent events showed that he would not have been disappointed.

The hall had not been completed, when on 8th April of the following year it became the scene of a most moving occasion, all the more memorable because it was unexpected. Rhodes had died at Muizenberg, and the coffin was conveyed by special coach to Bulawayo, where it was met by an escort provided by the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, and accompanied on a gun-carriage from the railway station to the drill hall for the lying-in-state.

On reaching the hall the carriage was halted opposite and facing the main entrance. Eighteen members of the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers had been picked to act as pall-bearers, and now drew the carriage up a slope to the doorway, where the coffin was received by Bishop Gaul of Mashonaland.

The coffin was carried inside and placed upon a central dais, beneath a large black canopy, illuminated by a single light which threw the surroundings, with their black and white drapes, into darkness.

A night watch by the catafalque was taken by members of the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, of which corps Rhodes had himself been Honorary Colonel.

The funeral service held in the hall on the following morning was attended by a great crowd, who stood silent as the coffin was again placed on the gun-carriage and drawn away on the penultimate stage to its last resting place.

Life resumed its former routine, and when the hall was finished it became the headquarters of the Western Division, Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, commanded by Captain MacGlashan, who later resigned and was succeeded by Captain Ramsay.

(From the time of its inception the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers was a composite regiment, comprising a mounted squadron, "D" Troop—at one stage under the command of Colonel Dan Judson, who had earlier played an active part in the incident of the Mazoe Patrol—infantry, cyclists, and an artillery section.)

A fine spirit existed among the volunteers, who owed much to the examples set by many of their officers whose names will never be forgotten . . .

Colonels A. Spreckley, W. B. Ramsay, W. Baxendale and A. C. L. Webb, Majors W. C. Hoaten, C. Duly and H. Harnell, Captains A. G. and J. B. Hendrie, Lieutenants Sybray and Ayling, and Regimental Bandmaster Bob Arnold.

And characters like the regimental gym instructor "Daddy" Meehan, who at the age of eighty-four could still do the grand circle on the horizontal bar.



The foundation stone at the entrance to the hall. Readers will recognise many well-known names that have been perpetuated there.

By 1909 the drill hall was an established success.

Enclosed by its own grounds, fenced and planted with trees, there were stables, a substantial drill area, and cricket and football fields at the north end.

It stood in impressive dignity, aloof from, and yet essentially part of the town which, within its own capacity, it was proud to represent.

After World War I the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers was disbanded and the newly formed 2nd Battalion, The Rhodesia Regiment, then occupied the drill hall. In 1902 and 1911 Southern Rhodesia Volunteers contingents were sent from the drill hall to the coronations of King Edward VII and King George V respectively.

Other contingents attended the subsequent coronations of George VI and of Queen Elizabeth II.

Personalities in plenty have been associated with Bulawayo's drill hall throughout the changing years.

Colonel C. M. Newman, O.B.E., M.C., had served as a captain with the Lancashire Fusiliers during World War I, but returned to his old regiment as a corporal, later to become its commanding officer!

Colonel Newman was one of the finest rifle shots ever to represent the battalion, and when he was promoted to District Commandant in 1933 he was succeeded by Colonel Tom Baker.

Colonel Baker, O.B.E., E.D., was himself no stranger to the drill hall, and was the officer responsible for transforming the grounds to such an extent that they earned the nickname of "Baker's Field".

Tom Baker had been discharged from the B.S.A.P. in 1906, when he joined the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers, but it is perhaps not so generally known that he was the founder of the Bulawayo Volunteers in 1939.

When "by attrition" (as he would say) the "regular" troops in Bulawayo had dwindled in numbers to a mere handful as the result of having been drafted away on war-time military duties, Colonel Baker found himself virtually without a command.

He set to work, gathering about him a number of willing citizens for whom the government had no immediate need in its call-up requirements.

As a result of Colonel Baker's encouragement 340 men offered their services, and voluntarily underwent part-time training, dressed in uniforms which they had bought personally from their own means.

For such feats as this will Colonel Baker be remembered, but perhaps equal gratitude will be shown him as the guiding light behind the construction of the drill hall swimming-bath (an accessory which the original building committee, in their wisdom, could not have anticipated).

Although being primarily the hub of military activities and recreation, the hall was in former years also the centre of Bulawayo social life, for until the first cinema was built it was the only suitable place for any public function.

In 1922 when Rhodesia was deciding whether to join South Africa or remain self-governing, the hall was the scene of many a hectic political meeting.

Dame Clara Butt, who had been visiting her son, gave her Rhodesian farewell performance there, and later a young boxer named Roy Welensky fought in the square ring that was rigged up for many a successful tournament.

Two lesser-known names connected briefly with the drill hall were "Bullet" Myers and "Buster" Evans.

These gentlemen were wrestlers, who, during the course of a no-holds-barred bout, sustained cuts from a glass thrown on to the canvas by a member of the audience.

The resulting response from both onlookers and fighters was so violent that it resulted in the banning of all further wrestling matches there.

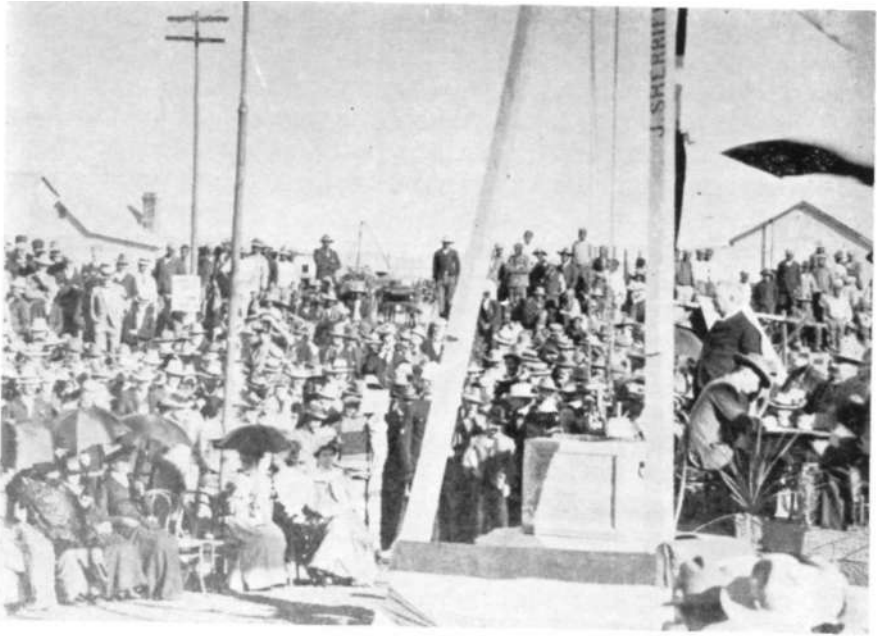
All this country's former governors and many distinguished visitors have been guests at the hall, which for a wide variety of functions has periodically worn many guises. The annual Regimental (Police and Military), as well as the Agricultural Show balls, were traditionally gallant and gay affairs.

Much time and deliberation were devoted to the preparation of the premises for the dance held in honour of the Prince of Wales in 1926.

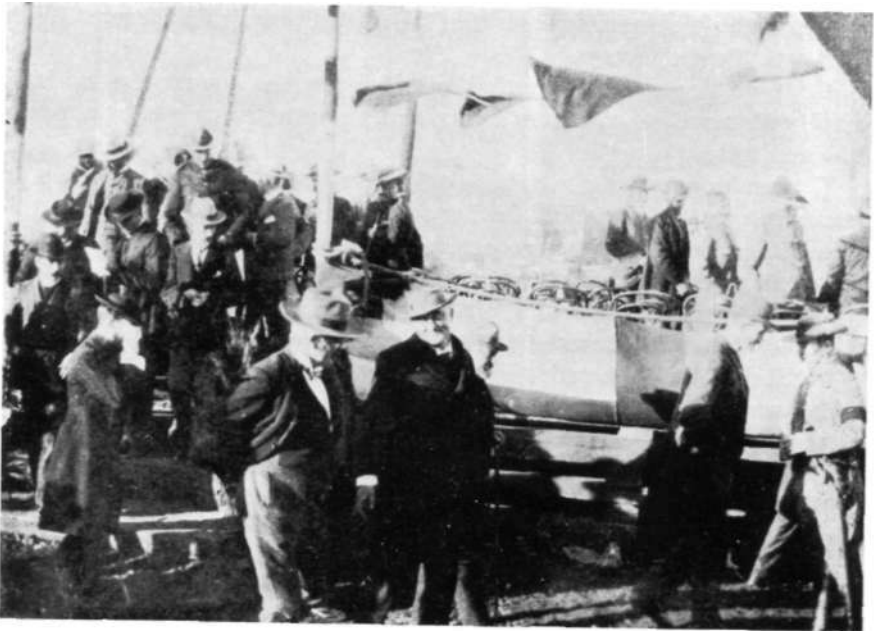
Many of the ladies invited to the ball hoped that they would have an opportunity of dancing with the Prince, but to their great disappointment he danced almost exclusively with a family acquaintance who had travelled from (what was then) Bechuanaland for the occasion.

A grimmer aspect of the hall's existence was seen when at the end of World War I the Spanish 'flu epidemic raged across the world, taking a heavy toll of Rhodesian casualties.

Bulawayo braced itself for the coming impact, but within days hundreds were already dead or dying.



The Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, P.C., at the laying of the foundation stone of the Drill Hall, Bulawayo, on Saturday, 15th June, 1901.



The Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, P.C., after laying the foundation stone of the Drill Hall, Bulawayo, on Saturday, 15th June, 1901.

(Photo: National Archives)

Now the hall was converted to a temporary hospital, staffed by volunteer nurses who fought the disease . . . but could not always win.

For the second time the drill hall had seen death.

Additions to the hall and its stables were approved and executed, but at one time the single quarters were burnt out, so constant expenditure was necessary for improvements and renovation work.

But the hall also had its exhibits.

On the afternoon of 5th March, 1920, the first aeroplane to land in Southern Rhodesia touched down smoothly on the turf of Bulawayo race-course.

Pilots Brand and Van Ryneveld had arrived in their machine *Silver Queen II* during the course of their attempted flight from Cairo to Cape Town.

But the take-off next day was disastrous, for the plane crashed, and the pilots were lucky to escape alive.

After clearing the wreckage from the course the fuselage of the aeroplane was carried away and hung in the drill hall until its removal in 1935.

Finally, in 1954, after nearly fifty-two years spent in service to Bulawayo public life, the rapidly-expanding Defence Force found it necessary to move to newer and larger quarters at Kumalo, now Brady Barracks.

The ownership of the hall was then transferred to the British South Africa Police, who housed there the African Foreigners Identification and Central Alien Tax bureaux, while also making it the Police Reserve Provincial Headquarters for Matabeleland.

Restoration work on the hall was begun by the Department of Works in 1967, and phased over three years, to finish on schedule in 1969.

The former galvanised-iron roof and roof lights were replaced, and the original steps at the front entrance, which had previously been hidden by a concrete ramp, were restored.

The original wooden window-frames were removed and replaced with metal ones, made to exactly the same shape, while the floor also came in for equally thorough treatment.

Concrete slab construction constituted the base of the 13 490 square feet flooring of the main hall, which, when overlaid with Rhodesian teak blocks, transformed it into one of the largest of such floors in the country.

In fact the finished overhaul made the drill hall an even better structure than it had originally been, according to the experts who supervised the operation.

But what of the future ? What further part can the drill hall expect to play in the life of what is now a thriving modern city ?

The answer is simple.

Bulawayo's drill hall is a daily reminder of a living past that will never die while its monumental presence remains.

It is truly a story within itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article could not have been written without the kind co-operation of the following (listed alphabetically): Major D. S. Berry, Mr. L. W. Bolze, *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, Mr. T. H. Cooke, M.B.E., Mr. A. Denison, Mr. T. Forbes (since deceased), Det. Chief Inspector R. D. Hall, Mr. R. T. Little, National Archives, Captain W. E. C. Owen, M.B.E., M.S.M., E.D., the Regimental Museum, Brady Barracks. In addition I would like to thank especially Mr. Lindsay H. T. Owen for all the time he spent on research.

GEMMOLOGY

Gemmology by John Sweeney. (Longmans Rhodesia Ltd., 1971. Limp cover. 112 pages, map, diagrams, illustrations. Price \$1,75.) One of the "Bundu Series" of books, this volume, although not strictly historical in scope could be classed as Rhodesiana in that it does include a historical survey of the first discoveries of gemstones and of the subsequent growth of gemstone industry in the country.

The first discovery of gemstones was made as far back as 1903 by a prospector, H. R. Moir, on the Somabula Spruit on the old road from Tuli to Gwelo. During the years that followed various individuals and companies operated the Somabula and other fields—but only spasmodically. It was only the discovery of emeralds at Sandawana in 1956 that, as the author says, "sparked off the gemstone fever which has gripped the country ever since". The book describes over 80 gemstones and crystals now found in Rhodesia.

Illustrated with 42 very fine coloured plates this book is a credit to the flourishing Rhodesian printing and publishing businesses.

NADA, VOL. X, NO. 4, 1972

The latest issue of the Rhodesian Ministry of Internal Affairs Annual appears in a new, glossier and more attractive format.

There are over twenty articles covering a very wide range. There are histories of chieftainships, of the Mlimo (Mwari) Cult and of the (Ba)Yei of the Western Okovango Swamps and articles on folk-lore and Shona tribal society. A detailed article on Ndebele naming of cattle by colour pattern and horn shapes is illustrated by 57 colour pictures. There is also a short, but timely, article on Marketing in Tribal Trust Lands.

Altogether an interesting and valuable issue that is well up to standard.

Some Historic Sites in Salisbury:

A Society Tour

by C. W. H. Loades

A bus tour of the historical buildings and sites in Salisbury took place on Sunday, 26th September, 1971. Although it was the third of its kind it was the first such local tour organised by the Mashonaland Branch of the Society. Nearly 250 persons attended. There had been requests for return visits to some of the buildings included on previous tours, and, to avoid disappointment to participants of earlier tours, a number of new sites were included in the itinerary.

The first building visited was the Old Market Hall, allegedly destined for demolition, to make room for an extension to the bus terminus. The Market Hall is the second oldest permanent building in Salisbury—the foundation stone was laid in 1893 and the structure completed and occupied in 1894. For a time the Market Hall was the social centre of Salisbury, certainly of the "kopje crowd", and has served not only as a market but also as a bioscope (cinema to the younger generation), roller skating rink and warehouse, as the venue for such celebrations as the parties marking the arrival of the railway in Salisbury, and the departure of the Mashonaland Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment to the Anglo Boer War. The curfew bell was rung there at 9 p.m. daily for many years. The bell, together with the clock that once enhanced the hall's facade, are now in the bowels of the Town House. The Market Hall is now serving as an African Clinic. In view of its niche in our history, it may yet be saved from demolition to fill the role of a municipal museum to house the bell, the clock and other relics of our civic past.

The Rhodesia Herald building was also the subject of a somewhat cursory inspection. It is indeed a monument not only to the ability of the early craftsmen of Salisbury but to the resilience of the people of the country after the disastrous set-back suffered in the Mashonaland Rebellion. Before these premises came into use the printing presses were kept rolling by a team of perspiring Africans working in 20-minute shifts until they were replaced by a Crossley 25 h.p. steam-engine. The exterior of the building is still very much as it was when erected.

Next on the itinerary was the site of the Transport Camp, now the C.M.E.D. One of the first actions of Col. Pennefather after the trek into Mashonaland had halted at Cecil Square, was to choose a site for the herding of the 1 600-odd trek oxen which had been the Pioneer Column's motive power. The site was



The old Rhodesia Herald building. This building in Victoria Street is a good example of Edwardian artisan workmanship. On the opposite corner stood the first department store, that of Edward's Emporium.

selected for its grazing, its proximity to the Marimba stream and its convenience to the settlement. In its time it has provided stabling not only for oxen, horses and mules but also for the camels introduced for transport purposes after rinderpest had wiped out almost the entire cattle population. It was at this point in the tour that the story of one of Rhodes's unsuccessful ventures was appropriately revealed. On what proved to be his last visit to Rhodesia, Rhodes encountered the Australian officers of the Rhodesia Field Force. On hearing their (probably tall) stories of Australian cattle, he determined to introduce this stock to repopulate the rinderpest-devastated country. He despatched Native Commissioner Archer Ross to Queensland to acquire an experimental herd, and 1 600 head were duly purchased and transported by sea to Beira with the loss of a mere dozen. No sooner had the noble stock from Australia set foot on African soil than they encountered the notorious tick and only seven arrived in Salisbury, bringing with them the plague of East Coast Fever. Ticks were diagnosed as being the cause of many cattle diseases and it was concluded that dipping was the only means of eradication. Rhodesia's first dip-tank was thereupon built at the Transport Camp and (in the absence of any knowledge of



The Drill Hall. Rhodesia's early military history is to a great extent based on the efforts of Volunteer forces. They served her well and their value was recognised by the B.S.A. Company. The present building with its typical Victorian type of architecture replaced an earlier Drill Hall not far from the Castle Brewery. The Drill Hall has played an important part in Salisbury's story. In addition to its use for services of a military character there have been dances, welcomes to important visitors, theatricals, bioscopes, boxing tournaments, while during the 1918 'flu epidemic, it became a hospital.

arsenical dip) all kinds of mixtures were tried out to find one toxic to the tick—including a solution made of boiled blue mottled soap.

The alleged first Jacaranda tree in Salisbury had been visited on a previous tour. Doubts were cast on the genuineness of its claim to such fame by no less a person than Mr. Andre Holland, M.P., who is descended from the courting couple between whom the gift of the original seedling passed. In truly Parliamentary terms he espoused the claims of "his" tree and discredited the claims of the opposition. An inspection of the two trees may have led many to hold the view that the plaque on the "rival" tree is wrongly sited.

A welcome break for a delightful tea was taken in the pavilion of Queen Elizabeth School. This was followed by a visit to the restored premises of the Salisbury Inter-denomination Public School (now Q.E. School Library), where all the difficulties that had beset the foundation and operation of this educational venture were related—and some of the contemporary scandals.

The party then proceeded on foot to the Drill Hall and the role the building had played was described in the context of the importance that had, from the earliest days, been placed on the security of the country by voluntary military effort. The present Drill Hall is the second of its kind in Salisbury—originally the present stand was that of the Agricultural Show Ground. The dilapidated structure popularly known to many generations of servicemen as the "Rat Pit"

being an original Show Society building re-erected on its present site. Not only was the Drill Hall the centre of military activity but it served as an emergency hospital in the influenza epidemic of 1918. It was on these premises that the oath was administered to the first cabinet after Responsible Government. One item of our history that was news, even to old sweats, was the significance of the lion and tusk that has formed the basis for the badge of all Rhodesia's early military units—this was adopted after the Matabeleland War of 1893, when Lobengula's military might was crushed by Rhodesian forces. Lobengula's emblem was an elephant and a lion holding a tusk and was considered to symbolise the lion overcoming the elephant.

Owing to the fact that the tour to the places visited had taken somewhat longer than expected it was not possible to include scheduled stops at Cecil House and Jameson House. These, however, will doubtless be on the next list for a future tour which will add still further to the knowledge of members regarding the history of their capital city.

By a happy coincidence this tour took place on Civic Sunday and it was agreed that under the expert guidance of Tony Tanser and Ronnie Howland it had done much to enhance the civic pride of all who attended.

FRANK CASS AFRICAN STUDIES REPRINTS

Eleven Years in Central Africa by Thomas Morgan Thomas (Frank Cass Ltd., 67 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, 1971, £5,25), a facsimile of the 1872 edition, is a welcome addition to Rhodesiana.

In a new preface it is emphasised that Thomas's book is the most important source of ethnological and political knowledge of Rhodesia prior to the occupation by Rhodes. The book contains not only descriptions of the country, of the Africans (mainly Matabele) and their customs and way of life but also a wealth of detailed natural history observations. Thomas was a friend of Mziligazi, he describes his death and funeral, and was said by his enemies to be, in general, "too close to the Matabele".

It was this last attribute, of being too close to the Matabele, that caused Thomas, one of the founder missionaries of Inyati, to quarrel bitterly with his colleagues and the directors of the L.M.S. In a new introduction by Professor Richard Brown of Sussex University these old controversies are placed in their proper perspective.

The numerous line-drawings of game, Africans and varied events have a delightful piquancy to our modern eyes.

Incidentally, in our review of *Mediaeval Rhodesia* by Randall MacIver (another Cass reprint) in our last issue the price was wrongly stated. It is £4,75, not Rhodesian dollars.

John Jacobs: A Peculating Treasure Seeker

by J. G. Storry

The little known to us of the early life of the Hottentot, John Jacobs, comes from a statement he made to an Immigration Officer in August 1917.¹ In it he said that he was born in the Eastern Province of Cape Colony in 1842 and educated at Loveday College. At the age of twenty he entered the service of the London Missionary Society as a teacher and taught for twenty-one months at Hankey, near Port Elizabeth, before being transferred to Redesdale. During the Zulu War he served as a sergeant in a mixed Colonial troop commanded by a Captain Christian, and claimed to have fought at Isandhlwana. In 1881 he was sent with a detachment, under Lieutenant Bates, to fight the Dutch near Pretoria where he stayed for a year, after which his troop was disbanded. For some time thereafter he was employed as a coachdriver on a route between Pretoria and Potchefstroom. Switching sides, he joined a mounted corps of Kruger's forces with the rank of sergeant-major, but this appointment lasted only nine months and he left after a dispute over pay and equipment. He then returned to teaching and opened his own school. In 1886 he joined the staff of Bishop Barsfield, of the Church of England, as a native missionary. He was first of all sent to Lichtenberg and then, during 1887, to Kanye in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but his sojourn there did not last any longer than his other various appointments and in the following year he moved to another teaching post at Palapye.

Jacobs himself stated that he taught at Palapye for two years and moved on to the Tati Concession, that there he obtained a letter of recommendation from Sam Edwards and arrived in Bulawayo in 1890, where he entered the service of Lobengula as a clerk. As against this account, an African detective Mahoko, in the service of the British South Africa Company's Police, said in 1905², that he had first met Jacobs whilst at school in Palapye in 1888. He recalled that he once saw Jacobs tied up with rope and was given to understand that he was concerned in the disappearance of some of the personal effects of a white man who had died at Palapye. After being tied up for several days Jacobs was released and left for Matabeleland. Although at a later date Sir Herbert Taylor wrote that he knew Jacobs used to pose as Lobengula's secretary, he was in some doubt whether he ever acted as such³, it seems that this view is open to correction. Certainly *Posselt*⁴ never doubted that this was the position and Mahoko, who met Jacobs again in the Bulawayo district in 1893, stated that he was then

working for Lobengula but, keen as ever to change sides to his own advantage, he was "tired of being with Loben and wanted to get back to the white people". The fact that he was imprisoned as a political offender directly after the Matabele War would seem to confirm this. For further corroboration of his employment, or at least his familiarity, with Lobengula and Bulawayo Kraal, see below.

Whether or not Jacobs was ordained, as his photograph suggests, is not known. Having served with the London Missionary Society and the Church of England he was, in 1917, consorting with a bishop of the Ethiopian Church, so that somewhere along the way he may well have promoted himself from native missionary to priest.

Be that as it may, Jacobs had come down to us as one of the most colourful, if equally incorrigible, rogues to flit across the Rhodesian scene. Receiving thirty-six lashes for cattle theft in August 1895 he went, the same month, to the Breakwater, to serve a total sentence of just over six years, for offences ranging from theft to robbery. Probably caught less often than he should have been, his ingenuity is reflected in this brief summary of one of his convictions for theft in 1895. The official entry shows—

". . . he gave out and pretended to a native Makondwani that he was authorised by Doctor Jameson to collect unbranded cattle by means of which he obtained from the said Makondwani 10 head of cattle, 1 goat and 1 sheep." A clever ploy that had perhaps worked well on other occasions!

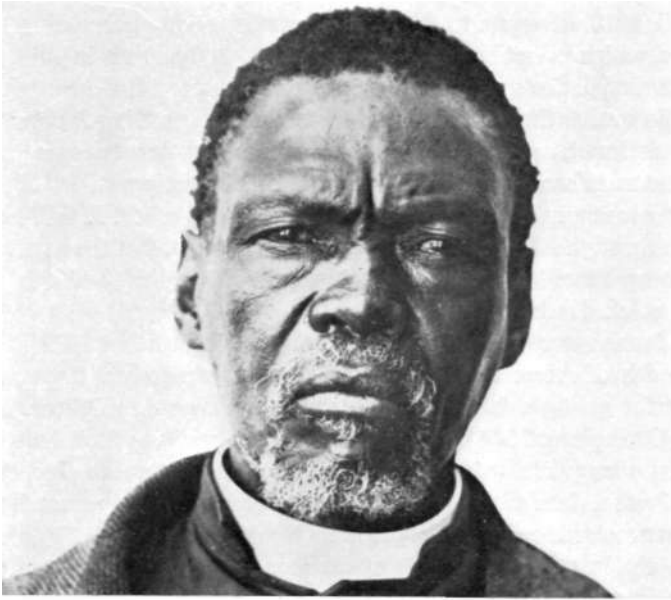
It is in his very ingenuity that the interest in Jacobs lies. For he was able to keep alive the legend of Lobengula's treasure right to the end of his days and, more important, he appears to indicate that Lobengula may have sent a peace offering to the advancing Victoria/Salisbury Column, just before the King fled from Bulawayo.

II

With regard to the legendary treasure: Jacobs maintained that it was taken across the Zambezi and he successively tried to persuade various individuals to go on treasure hunts with him—as far afield as Angola.

Some of these jaunts backfired. In 1908 he persuaded Susman, a trader near Livingstone, that the treasure was to be found in Portuguese territory. Susman outfitted an expedition and the pair set off hopefully. Jacobs became hazier and hazier about the locality and distance of their destination as weeks went by and after three months of blundering about the bush Susman refused to go any further. On their return to Livingstone he found that the expedition had cost him a handsome £500 and promptly worked off some of his irritation by soundly flogging Jacobs. This resulted in a £10 fine for Susman and Jacobs was swiftly deported.

It was after this that Jacobs joined the Ethiopian Church and set about finding less violent victims to finance his treasure hunts. He teamed up with a self-styled Bishop, named Brander, whom, towards the end of 1916, he persuaded to apply for permission to visit Barotseland—ostensibly for a holiday.



John Jacobs

(Photo: National Archives)

Permission was granted but it was not until the middle of the following year that Jacobs was able to convince a Pretoria butcher, Solomon Glass, that the treasure really existed. This time Jacobs maintained that the treasure consisted of paraffin tins full of diamonds and thousands of sovereigns and that it lay hidden under a rock, by a hill, that could be reached by car from Livingstone in a few hours. Leaving his butcher's shop in other hands Glass collected three cronies and left for Rhodesia, accompanied by Jacobs, Brander and John Makue, a man Jacobs had used in his first approach to Glass. Apart from Jacobs making a false statement to the immigration officials, to facilitate his entry into Southern Rhodesia, the journey sounds a joyous one as a cramped carload rattled its way to Livingstone. They arrived there on Saturday the 24th of August and the party spirit faded quickly when Glass bumped into Susman and learned that he was being hoodwinked. A stormy interview with Jacobs and his companions followed. Glass returned to Pretoria with his friends next day, leaving Jacobs and company to their fate. The fate of Brander was simply to receive a real rocket from the Secretary for Native Affairs for stating falsely why he wished to visit Barotseland. He was then allowed to leave by train for South Africa, with Makue. Jacobs did not get off so lightly. He received an effective sentence of five months imprisonment for contravening the Immigration Ordinance and was deported once again. To do him credit, however, he stoutly maintained to the Secretary for Native Affairs that the treasure really was in Portuguese territory, west of Lealui.

Neither was Jacobs in the slightest bit deterred. Soon after his deportation he found another backer. Petrus Coetzee of Pretoria was quite taken in. On the

5th of April, 1918, he wrote to the Administrator, asking permission to look for the treasure, which he believed to consist of 3 500 000 pounds in gold, 8 000 gold bars and sundry packets of diamonds. This information had been given to him by "a certain native Chief, John Jacobs, also known as King Jacobs". It would seem that as Jacobs grew older so did his imagination become more vivid. Permission was refused—Jacobs was a prohibited immigrant.

Nothing loath, in March 1921, Jacobs persuaded a Mr. J. Willand to apply to take him through Rhodesia on a "prospecting tour". But the authorities were "not asleep up there" (as Jacobs had himself said earlier) and this expedition too died a quick death.

What Jacobs was doing back in Southern Rhodesia in 1922 is uncertain, but on the 4th of August of that year he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for giving a false statement to an Immigration Officer. In October Mr. F. A. Grobbler of Mafeking wrote plaintively to say that he was sure he could find Lobengula's treasure, if only he could interview Jacobs, then in Bulawayo Prison. Mr. Grobbler does not appear to have pursued the matter after Jacobs was released and deported in November.

This is the last time that Jacobs was seen in Rhodesia. Not that this prevented him from keeping the issue of the treasure a live one. Six years later he convinced some other persons, unnamed, of its existence and the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* of the 29th June, 1930,⁵ carried the story of their unsuccessful expedition. Jacobs did not accompany it, he had died, but the story he told was a lurid one, designed to impress. He related how he had been a member of the party which had accompanied Lobengula to the hiding place where the treasure was buried in two safes which the King had bought in Kimberley. In order to safeguard the secret Lobengula had the carriers killed and only Jacobs and one old induna were alive to tell the tale. By the time the members of the expedition found the remaining induna he was too senile to assist them!

That was the end of Jacobs' hand in treasure hunts. The question remains. Did he in fact know where a hoard of treasure was secreted by Lobengula, or alternatively, did he know of some place where a portion of the King's wealth lay hidden?

If Jacobs himself is to be believed then the short answer to the main question is—no, he didn't. In his statement to the Immigration Officer, he is recorded as saying:

"8 months previous to December, 1892, Loben had commenced to move his cattle, ivory and gold to outside kraals; . . . I saw Loben's valuables being moved but as I had no orders to accompany it, I did not do so. I came across these valuables already packed up at Loben's chief kraals—at Umvutchwa, Ingonyama and Bulawayo. I heard it was going to be sent on the other side of the Zambezi."⁶

III

The alternative question is more difficult to answer.

The first intimation Jacobs gave that he knew of the whereabouts of some

of Lobengula's wealth was to Jim Ngamzana, an African who was later to become a Messenger on the staff of the Chief Native Commissioner.⁷ Ngamzana met Jacobs in the custody of a member of the Company's Police, at a kraal near the Manzinyama River in 1894.⁸ Jacobs told him that he had fought for Lobengula and been wounded at Ntabas Induna. He claimed that the King had asked him to take some money to the advancing Column, as a gesture of goodwill in order to try and prevent the seemingly inevitable occupation of Bulawayo. Jacobs said that he sent two other men with the money, but because they were a long time returning he followed them and, finding them, learned that they had met with two scouts who had taken the money from them. He too met up with some white men (number and in what force unspecified) and showed a white flag. He claimed that he was fired upon, wounded and scampered back to Bulawayo. He also said that the peace offering was £1 000.

On the face of it this story is patently absurd. That Lobengula, worried stiff and on the verge of panic as he was, should entrust an alien native with such an important mission appears, at the very least, highly unlikely. The case record of *Regina versus William & Daniels*⁹ shows just how important such a mission was regarded by the defeated Matabele.¹⁰ Not unnaturally Ngamzana was suspicious and his questioning of Jacobs elicited the rather lame answer that Lobengula thought that because he, Jacobs, was the King's clerk and interpreter he was the best person to speak to the white men. When one considers that in Bulawayo at the time there were several of the King's closest counsellors, including Magwegwe, and others, such as the trader Dawson, whom Lobengula had trusted on personal missions in the past,¹¹ this explanation is far from convincing.

The matter could rest there if it were not for other rather curious circumstances. Ngamzana saw quite a lot of Jacobs after the latter's release. Jacobs did not work but always seemed to have plenty of ready money which he spent freely. He also told Ngamzana that he knew where Lobengula's money was buried so that even the King's sons could not find it, but that he could go and take as much as he wanted at any time. He refused to name the amount of money concerned. In 1895 Nyamanda, Lobengula's eldest surviving son, bought a horse for £60. Jacobs was with him at the time and Ngamzana indicates that it was he who provided the purchase price. Ngamzana became convinced that Jacobs knew where some of Lobengula's money was hidden. He noticed that Jacobs would disappear from Bulawayo from time to time and reappear a few days later with large sums of cash.

The periodic acquisition of money by Jacobs at this time could fairly easily be put down to the sale of the proceeds of his numerous thefts (there were quite a number of unscrupulous persons available as "fences" in Matabeleland at the time). But this may be putting too naive an interpretation on the matter. A further clue to the, possibly, correct answer is contained in the first treasure hunt Jacobs tried to lead.

In February 1905 the Administrator in Salisbury was advised that Jacobs, accompanied by Hendrik van Rooyen and a coloured man named Abrahams, were due at Tuli "on their way to a place near Bembesi where Lobengula buried bullion". This expedition got only as far as Tuli, where Jacobs was promptly

arrested and put back over the border. He never tried to lead another expedition to the Bembesi or anywhere else so close to Bulawayo.

One may dismiss part of Jacobs' story, that the money he claimed he was handed by Lobengula he gave to two other messengers, because if it were so then undoubtedly this peace offering would have come to light in the same way as the later one. However, is it really too fanciful to say that perhaps Lobengula did entrust Jacobs with a sum of money, precisely as the latter described? If he did Jacobs may well have travelled as far as Ntabas Induna or thereabouts before appropriating it for himself and hiding it for recovery later and, in the course of his journey, have come upon the American scouts Burnham and Vaversol, who were working ahead of the Column at this time and actually reached Ntabas Induna before reporting back.¹² This would not have been common knowledge in Bulawayo immediately before the King's flight. Any white men seen near Bulawayo were much more likely to have been taken as being the advance guard of the Column rather than scouts, by the panic-stricken Matabele. It is in this context that Jacobs would have seen them also—if he was still in Bulawayo Kraal at the time, or had the story of the advance been related to him by some of the Matabele later.

Considering all the circumstances it is odd that he should refer specifically to "two scouts", if in fact he was lying.

NOTES

N.B. Most of the material for this article is taken from a police docket on the investigation into Lobengula's treasure, now in the National Archives of Rhodesia, to the Director of which department I am indebted for permission to publish the material referred to and the photograph of Jacobs, under reference S.903.

1. Although this statement is certainly not wholly true, details of personal history supplied by Jacobs probably are, simply because he appears to have been meticulous about dates (probably at the prompting of the official recording the statement) and he would be aware that most of the information he gave could be checked upon fairly easily.
2. Statement of Mahoko, native detective, C.I.D. Bulawayo, 1905.
3. Letter of the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, dated 27th February, 1923, refers to a letter of 3rd April, 1901.
4. F. W. T. Posselt, *Upengula—The Scatterer* (R.P. & P., Bulawayo, 1945).
5. Cutting included in S.903.
6. That this portion of the statement may be false is irrelevant for the purposes of this article, which is concerned only with Jacobs' activities as they affected the question of the treasure.
7. Statement of Jim Ngamzana, recorded 2nd November, 1905.
8. Jacobs was probably on his way into custody as a political offender.
9. *R. vs. Williams & Daniels*, Case No. 63, D 3/6/1.
10. *ibid.* Evidence of Mtshana, Sihnuluhulu, and Betchane.
11. *For example*: To prospect for gold and peg claims in the King's name; see Dawson's Papers, DA 1/2/1.
12. F. R. Burnham, *Scouting on Two Continents* (Wm. Heinemann Ltd., London, 1927), page 140 *et seq.*

Ancient Fortifications in Matabeleland

by F. O. Bernhard

INTRODUCTION

Adolf Hübner, a German mining engineer, explored in Matabeleland in company with Eduard Mohr, a fellow-German, during the years 1869-72. In 1870 he had a paper published in Durban on "Geological Features of the Country between Potchefstroom and Nyati". A year later (1871) there appeared in the "Journal for Ethnology" of the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte* Hübner's short article "On ancient fortifications in the country of the Matabele", translated here.

This, then, appears to be the earliest, first-hand description of prehistorical stone structures in Rhodesia when one remembers that the first news about the Zimbabwe Ruins from Karl Mauch was published in Petermann's *Geographischen Mittheilungen* only in 1872.

Mr. C. K. Cooke, Director of the Historical Monuments Commission, very kindly identified the ruins described in this paper; his comments are added as an appendix. The spelling of place-names and rivers has not been altered.

The article follows:

"On Ancient Fortifications in the Country of the Matabele (Mosili Katse's Country) in South-east Africa by Adolf Hübner, Mining Engineer. (Journal for Ethnology of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnographie und Urgeschichte. Berlin, 1871.)

"In the course of my travels in Natal, the Transvaal Republic and the Matabele Country, I had, on several occasions, the opportunity to view relics left behind by former inhabitants of these countries. As unimportant as they are, and as low the cultural degree to which they point, they nevertheless are of some interest as, in any case, they seem to pertain to peoples of different customs. The rounded walls that are crudely built up with coarse stones, which one frequently finds in Natal and the Transvaal Republic, definitely lead one to the conclusion that one of the most primitive peoples lived there, while the walls built of trimmed stones which often encircle the remains of furnaces, and which are found at so many sites in the Matabele country, are witness to the fact that an intelligent people used once to live there. These rough, 3-feet high walls usually enclose a circular area (with a diameter of 5 to 30 paces) and were probably

used as a stable for cattle during the night, in the same way as Dutch Boers of the Free State and the Transvaal lock up their sheep and also their oxen in similar 'Kraals'. As proof I mention here the 'Kraals' on the quartz-porphry mountain behind Klerksdorp in the Transvaal, where the walls are built of quartz-porphry stones, and, also, the 'Kraals' near Sefton's Farm on the Little Marico river, which are erected with quartzite stones.

"Interesting, in contrast, appear the walls which one finds in the Matabele country, for these show not only that the individual stones had been trimmed, but suggest by their construction also an architectural knowledge, however primitive, on the part of the builders. But I will describe these remnants of an earlier culture in somewhat greater detail and therefore will discuss the walls known to me personally on the Impakwe and at the 'passport office' of the Matabele—Monyama's Kraal. The walls of the 'Fortifications' on the Tatin will merely be mentioned, as I have described them already. The walls on the Impakwe lie at the place where the road to Ingati crosses this river. They are built on a low hill which dominates the region in a small way. They encircle but a small area and contain this only on three sides. The hill consists of medium-grained granite of normal texture: white orthoclas, clear quartz and black mica. The walls are built throughout of trimmed granite-stones. If this characteristic alone makes these walls more interesting than those on the Tatin, which latter are constructed with easily split iron-mica slate, still more so it is the wedge shape of the stones and the construction of the wall that increases our interest in them. These walls consist on both external sides of two walls built with truly wedge-shaped stones, even with alternating joints, which generally enclose a 450 millimeter wide space which is packed with irregular stones. The builders appear to believe that by the wedge shape of the stones they would obtain greater stability. There seems to be no doubt that these walls were built for the purpose of defence which, however, they only accomplished in part, for they are neither sufficiently high (1-1,2 metres) nor extraordinarily thick (0,7 metre) to be a big obstacle in the way of an aggressor, moreover they leave the site to be defended totally open on one side. However, it remains doubtful whether the defence was meant against men or wild animals. The present inhabitants of the country, the Matabele, defend themselves against the latter by fences (thorn kraals) with which they surround their villages. But could not the wall builders have had different ideas about the success of fences as defensive walls, so that they preferred stone walls? Inside the circular walling there one finds, plainly recognisable, evidence of furnaces: iron slag and 'Gestübe'* (a mixture of clay and quartz particles) which must have been in a fire, for it is of a deep red colour. Iron ore I did not encounter, neither did I find any remains of a furnace, only here and there flat areas of burnt daga. Thus it appears probable that these defences had protected the iron smelters.

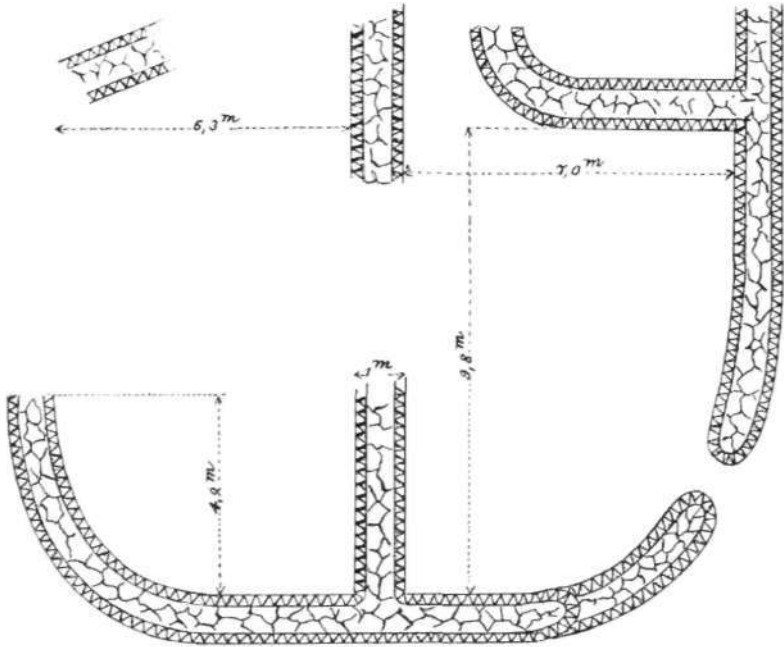
"The stone walls near Monyama's Kraal, the 'passport office' of the Matabele, are similar to those on the Impakwe. They are situated on top of a flat-topped hill at the foot of a fairly high granite kopje. They enclose also, only

* Gestübe : daga.

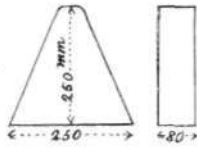


Aufriß.

Grundriß.



Keilstein.

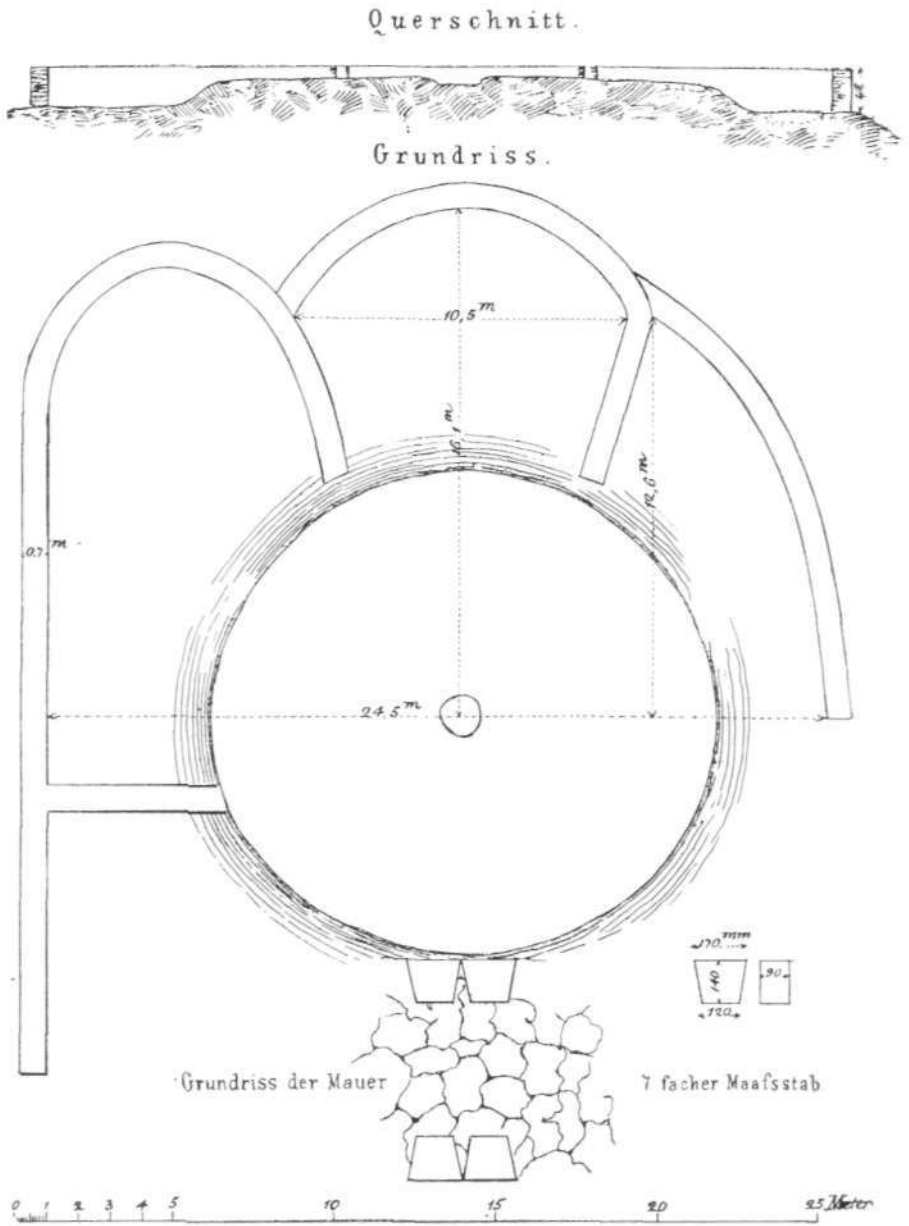


10 facher Maafstab.



Befestigung in der Nähe von Monyamas Kral.

incompletely, a very restricted area and in a similar way consist of 2 walls between which rubble has been placed. They, too, are constructed with worked, wedge-shaped granite stones that are laid on top of one another, showing alternate joints. I did not find any remains of a smelting workshop, neither slag nor remains of a furnace and therefore these fortifications show a difference to those of the Impakwe. But they too, certainly served a defensive purpose, the more so



Skizze der Befestigung am Impakwe.

as they are situated on a hill. Even at present they would still have a strategic value, which formerly they certainly did not have, were they militarily occupied by the Matabele, as they dominate the road to Ingati, the only way of access for the whites arriving in the country. However, it may be possible that earlier on,

long before the present road to Ingati existed—which only dates back to the beginning of the fifties—a Kaffir-path led past them which, possibly, may have been used by warrior-bands. But as a bunch of Kaffirs together with their baggage which, as is well known, is carried on the backs of oxen, can so easily and quickly move across pathless country, the closure of a Kaffir-path always promises only a doubtful success. Thus one cannot assume that there was a strategic purpose in the building of this fortification. If one enquires as to who the builders of this fortification were, the traditional answer is that it was the Mashonas who, as is told, were dispersed by the invading Masilikatse and his Zulu Kaffirs during the thirties! At present they (the Mashonas) live to the north of the Matabele empire, north of the 19th degree latitude. They still today smelt iron and they are the actual manufacturers of arms and hoes for the Matabele, which latter do now know the production and manufacture of iron.

"The condition of these fortifications is not in contrast to the information that they were only approximately 40 years old. No old trees grow within the walls, neither are these clothed and covered by any vegetation, which certainly would be the case were they centuries old."

APPENDIX by C. K. Cooke:

The first-mentioned ruins on the Tatin (Tati River) are probably some of the late fortifications along the nearby granite hills. The whole area is scattered with them.

The second, the Ipakwe Ruins, is Hall and Neal's No. 328. It is situated at NG 878671 on 2127B2 of the 1 : 50 000 series of Rhodesian maps. It is near the old road from Tati to Bulawayo via the Mangwe Pass.

The modern description is that the ruin is now badly damaged as stones were removed to build the nearby drift; much hard burned daga and some slag in nearby hills; no slag in ruin thought to be a forge rather than furnace site; the walling is of Q style with gravel infill.

The third ruin is now known as Dawson's Farm Ruin, but is near the site of Manyana's Kraal, not far from the Mangwe Pass. It is at PH 051112 on 2028C2 of the 1 : 50 000 map series. Modern description is well-built trimmed stone-work, some midden, some walls demolished probably for building; pottery and one iron spearhead recovered from surface; visited by Mohr 1869-70.

THE SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

Published twice a year, this journal carries scientific as well as historical material. The main article, in the latest number to hand, July 1971, is a long and interesting description of *The Postal Services in Malawi before 1900* by C. A. Baker. There are other articles on *Some Oral Traditions from the Maseko Ngoni* by Ian Linden, on ecology in the management of National Parks and on Tilapia in fish ponds.

The annual subscription to the Society (P.O. Box 125, Blantyre) is K2,10 and single copies of the journal can be purchased for K1,05 each.

Dhlo Dhlo Relics and Regina Ruins

by C. K. Cooke

(In our issue of July 1970 Mr. C. K. Cooke, Director of the Historical Monuments Commission, contributed an article—"Dhlo Dhlo Ruins: The Missing Relics." He now sends the extract, given below, from an 1894 mining journal describing the finding of some of the relics.

In his covering letter Mr. Cooke says:

"This article deals with both Regina and Dhlo Dhlo—it records the finding of the cannon as well as some of the gold objects and the silver and copper utensils.

"One of the most interesting statements is the paragraph 'The surface of the terraces, as well as the sides of the walls, have all been plastered with fine red granite cement, which, when polished, must have looked in the sunlight like burnished copper.'

"Summers and others have stated that they did not think that the outside walls were plastered. Here we have factual evidence of this."—Editor.)

Extract from THE MATABELELAND NEWS AND MINING RECORD.
Vol. I. No. 12, 16th June, 1894:

An Important Find

"During the last trip taken by Dr. Sauer, Capt. Sampson and Mr. Bradley, they discovered and explored some old ruins—larger in extent than those at Zimbabwe—which are situated some 11 miles east of what is called Fort Dhlo Dhlo on the map, the proper name being Ft. Madoro. These old fortifications were called, patriotically, Ft. Regina, and are built up in a series of six large terraces round a Granite Kopje, measuring some 200 by 300 feet across the broadest part of the oval. The first terrace is some 20 ft. high, the others running from 8 ft. down to 4 ft. at the top. The whole is built of enormous granite boulders with concrete blocks, filled in with rubble, and with the well-known slate slabs used for ornamentation, right round at certain heights, including the lozenge, herring-bone and chequer patterns. The whole is in an admirable state of preservation, with only a few trees growing out of the masonry here and there. The surface of the terraces, as well as the sides of the walls, have all been plastered with fine red granite cement, which, when polished, must have looked in the sunlight like burnished copper. On the third terrace they discovered a series of bottle-shaped chambers, if one may so term them, built circular, with narrow stones, and descending to various depths: covered over at the top with a round flat stone, embedded in plaster; on opening one of these it was found to be about 15 feet in depth and on breaking



Regina Ruins. Part of the walling.

(Photo: Historical Monuments Commission)

away the wall so as to explore the inner cavity, it was found to be several feet in diameter at the bottom—which was excavated hollow out of the bedrock—with absolutely no opening or connection with any other portion of the outside walls, or inside fortifications. What these interesting but perfectly empty cavities were intended for, puzzles everyone who has thought over the matter. Eight of these holes were found at regular intervals, round the oval floor of this third terrace and there are doubtless others completing the circle, but Dr. Sauer and his companions had no more time at their disposal to look for them. Several pannings were made of the ground hereabouts, but no gold found at all, only the slightest amount of colour in the pan. Several old Arab huts, round, were found inside, and out the fort, the eastern portion of which has evidently been once destroyed and rebuilt much more roughly. Continuing their discoveries they visited Ft. Madoro, which is older and more decayed than Ft. Regina. and about 100 yards away, on a slight granite ledge, they

found the burnt remains of a large Arab village, a small Fort, where the cannon were found—one of which was brought in some time ago and sent to Mr. Rhodes, the other, an ordinary old-fashioned iron muzzle loading 7 lb. cannon, the Doctor brought into camp with his scotch cart. Fossicking about in the charred remains they found some specimens of fine glazed pottery, coloured glass, silver and copper utensils, gold beads, wire, pieces of chain—of a very intricate and pretty pattern, one having a snake hook at the end. several round smelted gold beads, awaiting the hole being drilled through them, many leaden bullets, flattened, and all shapes, fused trade beads, and last but not least, many fine nuggets of various kinds of alluvial and reef gold, from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce each, together with about 15 ounces of smaller pieces from the floor of one hut. Some of these being found in large lumps of melted copper, which had evidently flown over them and picked them up in a smolten state. The natives thereabouts gave the whole history of this interesting place, which proves that about 50 years ago the Arabs were trading there for gold, ivory and slaves, under the protection of a refugee Zulu Chief named Umpe-zain, who had displaced the old Mashuna Chief Mambo, and was later on, himself driven out, together with the remaining Arabs, by Moselikatze on his invasion and occupation of this part. The whole of the finds have created quite a sensation in the Camp, and the alluvial gold, when examined by experts, was unanimously admitted to be of good quality, of various kinds, but all produced not far from the spot where it was found, whilst the flaky pieces taken direct from a reef prove the existence of richer quartz reef somewhere close handy, than any that have yet been discovered. The gold and other curios are to be seen at Dr. Sauer's and were photographed, to accompany an article written on the subject by Capt. Newman for the "Graphic". It is to be hoped that the B.S.A. Coy. will take steps to preserve the rest of the Fort and Huts, for proper scientific exploration later on."

There are several points of interest in the above article as it records for the first time the existence of Regina Ruins and states categorically that they were named for Queen Victoria. The name therefore, is not, as some people have asserted, a corruption of *Njanja*, a type of local cattle. However, the local tribesmen always refer to these ruins by the name *Njanja*.

Today Regina Ruins are certainly not in the magnificent condition suggested in the newspaper, but are quite badly ruined. The damage was caused by two agencies, the gold seekers of the 1890's and cattle from both European and African sources. They are now fenced and protected by the Historical Monuments Commission.

As regards the Dhlo Dhlo ruins, the mention of hard granite cement plaster on the walls is of very great importance for this is the only evidence we have of outside walls being plastered, a fact which has been denied by modern investigators.

The bottle-shaped chambers on the upper terrace have caused a certain amount of conjecture. Summers' suggestion of use as lavatories seems to be unlikely because of two major objections, one the smallness of the openings and the other that when originally found by Dr. Sauer, Capt. Sampson and



Regina Ruins. One of the as yet unexplained cavities in the platform as opened up by the original explorers in 1894.

(Photo: Historical Monuments Commission)

Mr. Bradley, they were covered with stone slabs held in position by granite cement daga. The Khami drains or latrines mentioned by Robinson* were wider at the top and had drainage channels through the walls.

Local Africans have suggested that they were grain bins into which the farming families had to pour a portion of their crops as an offering to the Chiefs. These might be similar to pits used by the Matabele for the storage of *Mabela* (kaffir corn). Although feasible, the main objection is that the openings were too small to extract the grain easily. However, it would only have been necessary to remove the first few courses of stone-work to enable the store to be emptied by a youth. In the Matabele storage pits, the entrances are larger, but are also covered over with a flat stone fixed in position with daga. There is also a legend that a similar ceremony of a gift of grain was made at Naletale Ruin, but here the offerings were placed on the lower platform below a series of monoliths.

* Robinson, K. R. (1959). *Khami Ruins*. Cambridge University Press.

The fact that no remains of grain or anything else edible have been found is not of great significance, because smaller rodents would have easily gained access to the pits at Regina.

The statement that the ruins are larger than Zimbabwe is an exaggeration: they are in fact, very much smaller but cover quite a large acreage.

The relics from Dhlo Dhlo Ruins were commented on by the author in *Rhodesiana*, No. 22, of July 1970, one of the cannon mentioned in the *Matabeleland News and Mining Record* is probably at Groot Schuur, as it was given to Mr. Rhodes. The 7-lb. cannon may also be there, but this is by no means certain. The silver and copper utensils and the gold chain with a snake hook have never been relocated and may well be in private hands. The silver utensils may be articles of religious significance, but are not those found by Mr. Q. Ryan during 1914-15, but it is interesting to note the similarity of these finds to the objects found earlier by Dr. Sauer and by Neal and Johnson in 1895.

The glazed pottery was probably of Chinese origins. The other finds are similar to those found by Summers and others during the last decade. (Unpublished reports in Commission's files.)

Unfortunately it seems that Newman's photographs did not appear in the *Graphic* (letter from E.E.B., National Archives, 17.3.72) and therefore are untraceable.

The statement that Arabs were trading in the area about 1840 seems unlikely, but is by no means impossible. They were more likely to have been Portuguese or Euroafricans. The Portuguese were on the East Coast at that time and were trading in Mashonaland at Dambarare* as late as 1769 and could well have penetrated as far as Dhlo Dhlo.

The writer has been told that a Portuguese prisoner of Mambo was responsible for the building of the main wall at Naletale Ruins, some 21 km from Dhlo Dhlo. However, no confirmation of this has been received.

The whole report is a most valuable one which the writer has never seen before, nor to his knowledge, has it been quoted by the main workers in this period of prehistory.

* Garlake, P. S. (1959). *Proc. and Trans. of Rhod. Sci. Associ.*, Vol. 54, Part 1.

The Fight at Bryce's Store and Other Incidents During The Boer War

by A. S. Hickman

This story has its setting in the early months of the Boer War in 1899 on the southern border of Rhodesia, and its sequel nearly 70 years later. It is a true story gleaned from contemporary notes from quite a number of sources, and is authenticated by evidence left around the scene of the fight, and found by the historical expedition, organised by the Army, which I led in August 1967.

Southern Rhodesia, then administered by the British South Africa Co., was involved in the war voluntarily from the start to the extent that no less than 12½ per cent of the European population of that time took up arms for the British Empire then and in the months that followed.¹ War had been inevitable, and in its anticipation Imperial Army officers disguised in the first instance as travelling tourists had been sent from Britain to prepare for the conflict by training and organising local forces for the defence of Rhodesia and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. They were led by Col. R. S. S. Baden-Powell, who had made a name for himself as Chief of Staff in the Matabele Rising of 1896. His able second-in-command, who remained to establish a base in Rhodesia, was Col. H. C. O. Plumer, also well known to the local forces for his outstanding effort in 1896 in recruiting and sending northwards the Matabeleland Relief Force of over 800 men. Now his duty, based on Bulawayo, was to collect and train a new unit, the Rhodesia Regiment, and to co-ordinate the services of the British South Africa Police, the Colony's only regular force, and the Southern Rhodesian Volunteers.

From Bulawayo just before war began he moved to establish his headquarters at Tuli to control the southern approaches of Rhodesia and the drifts, largely in Bechuanaland, along the Limpopo River.

In his evidence before the Royal Commission which was set up in 1902 to enquire into the "military preparations . . . connected with the War in South Africa" Plumer gave evidence that his orders from Baden-Powell were briefly to defend the Rhodesian border from Tuli as his base, to create diversion in the north of the Transvaal, and thus by a display of strength induce the Boers to muster a strong force to protect their northern district. He was not to cross

the frontier without orders, a pious hope which fell away as soon as Baden-Powell was shut up in Mafeking, and direct communications were impossible. Thus Plumer had to conduct, and was eminently capable of doing so, his Rhodesian operations without help or instructions from afar.²

His Tuli base had been prepared during September 1899, and B.S.A. Police border patrols were in operation before the war began on 11th October, whilst Plumer himself arrived at Tuli the day before war, followed by the Rhodesia Regiment which he had recruited and trained in Bulawayo with the aid of his Imperial Army Officers. His total strength in and around Tuli at this time was about 450 men, with a 12½-pounder gun, two 2,5-inch screw-guns, and two Maxims of .450 calibre.

The defence of the border was a most formidable task, starting on the Limpopo where it enters Portuguese East Africa and continuing upstream through wild bush country in the area which now lies east of Beitbridge, a no-man's-land into which neither of the opposing forces is likely to have entered; after all there was no target to afford an inducement. Further west were several drifts on the Rhodesia-Transvaal border, but the most important were Rhodes and Pont Drifts, where there was reasonable access between Bechuanaland and the Transvaal and also roads running to Tuli. About 70 miles from there and upstream from Pont is Baines Drift, where there is a fort to control the river crossing. It was built by the Bechuanaland Border Police in 1891, but I have found no proof that it was ever used in Plumer's operations, or by the Boers; it lay too far south of our border to create any need for occupation.

Plumer had his hands full in any case since he had to keep watch over at least 200 miles of hostile border, admittedly sealed to the east by the Portuguese boundary and the bad country, but undefined along the higher reaches of the Limpopo River.

Because the Boers of the Waterberg Commando failed to carry out orders to destroy the line of rail northwards of Gaborones, and as far as Bulawayo if possible,³ the B.S.A. Police and S.R.V. under the direct command of Col. J. S. Nicholson, Commandant-General of the B.S.A. Police, were able to patrol this railway with armoured trains and thus protect Plumer's extreme western flank.

So his immediate task was from Main Drift (near Beitbridge) to the junction of the Macloutsie and Limpopo rivers, and he was opposed by men of the Zoutspansberg Commando under Asst. General H. C. J. van Rensburg, the overall command being that of Assistant Commandant-General F. A. Grobler who had control of the northern border, but was not an officer of military acumen. He was, however, handicapped by the unruly conduct of his Waterberg Commando who had refused to move from their positions much further south, towards Nylstroom.⁴ The estimated number of men under Grobler's command was about 1 300 from the Zoutspansberg District and 750 from Waterberg but at the start of the war he had gone down to the Waterbergers to try to persuade them of their duty, unsuccessfully as it proved. So the Rhodesian border was left with Plumer and 450 men opposed to Van Rensburg with 1 300.

In many ways the Afrikaner military system was excellent as regards speed of mobilisation and mobility of action, but it failed by the fact that it was so

democratic—seeing that Afrikaners are such individualists—that the commanding officer had to discuss his intentions with his men, and if they did not approve of them they might not comply. There was also the point that if a man wished to take leave he could absent himself from the field at his own inclination. From their manner of living for the previous hundred years they constituted the finest fighting force of their time. It took regular British Army soldiers a considerable effort to acclimatise themselves to a strange country and to the manoeuvres of such opponents, whereas local Rhodesians and British South African colonials were used to similar conditions.

The first skirmish took place on the Rhodesian border on 19th October, when an unnamed Rhodesian was wounded whilst reconnoitring. There followed a more serious encounter on 21st October, between Rhodes and Pont Drifts, when a reconnaissance patrol led by Capt. L. D. Blackburn, one of Plumer's Imperial Army officers, ran into trouble. He had divided his command of 15 into three groups, a picket was left at Rhodes Drift, he himself led a patrol in the bush of eight men on foot, and his led horses were travelling by road to meet him. Boers crossed the Limpopo near Pont Drift and took up an ambush position on a kopje from which they fired on the led horses, killing the warrant-officer in charge, Sgt.-Major Yonge, and taking prisoner his three men. Blackburn and his patrol then came up from the Boer rear and engaged them; in addition they were confused by cross-fire from another Rhodesian troop on patrol which, led by Major A. F. Pilson, another Imperial Army officer, came upon the scene soon afterwards. Capt. Blackburn was severely wounded, died two days later, and was buried at Tuli. It was said that his boots had been observed by an African tracker with the Boers and pointed out to them. He was a graduate of Staff College and must have been a sad loss to Plumer, who had few enough Imperial Army officers and was to lose a high proportion of them before Mafeking was relieved. He had been Squadron Commander of "D" Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment, and on his death Capt. Alexander Weston-Jarvis took his place.

It is of interest to note from the material supplied to the Royal Commission that at one time a return was demanded in the British Army of all surrenders, but it seems that Col. Plumer was one of the few commanding officers who submitted this information.⁵ During the latter stages of the period covered by the Royal Commission enquiry, which extended only to the fall of Pretoria on 6th June, 1900, these returns were in abeyance. I can give no explanation as to why the Commission's enquiries were so curtailed, and note that this was an embarrassment to its members and to some of its witnesses. Anyhow the three men who surrendered in the ambush were "all exonerated".

Further clashes took place in the area where Capt. Blackburn ran into trouble, and by 25th October the Boers had been reinforced at the ambush kopje. A Rhodesia Regiment assault party went out on foot and at night, 20 men being led by Capt. G. Glynn, Rhodesia Regiment, and 22 by Lt.-Col. the Hon. H. F. White, formerly Commissioner of the B.S.A. Police, who, from his part in the Jameson Raid of 1895-96, had forfeited his commission in the Grenadier Guards and also lost his appointment in the Police. He was for his

gallant services in the Boer War restored in army rank but not in the Police. The two patrols had come to within 200 yards of the enemy position by day-break when they were attacked by 60 mounted Boers, who retreated when fired on by Glynn's men. The kopje remained in Boer hands and the Rhodesians were now pinned down 400 yards distant from it, sustaining as casualties Lieut. Hutchinson and three men wounded. There were said to be Boer losses amongst men and horses but proof is lacking.

The distance between Rhodes Drift and Pont Drift is about five miles, the latter being upstream, and not far across the river from the Zoutspansberg Commando headquarters at Hendriksdal. Pont Drift was the one favoured by the Boers, whereas Plumer had stationed a garrison on the low ridge about a mile from Rhodes Drift. In the first place it was manned by a strong force of the Rhodesia Regiment under the command of Major A. F. Pilson, and his patrols reconnoitered westwards. But the position was very vulnerable and Plumer ordered a withdrawal to Tuli. According to Boer accounts this took place on 22nd October and early on the following morning Field-Cornet Briel "crossed the river and found the enemy camp deserted, but fodder that was ignited by the English was still smouldering".⁶

I had wondered why Plumer reoccupied the Rhodes Drift position so soon after his withdrawal, but the Boer account gives the possible explanation. Apparently on 24th October he had received information that the Boers were preparing to retreat to Pietersburg. So he took prompt action by sending "B" Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment under Capt. K. Maclaren to reoccupy their position at the junction of the Limpopo and Macloutsie rivers, and Lt.-Col. J. A. Spreckley to Rhodes Drift with "E" Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment. This was the special squadron composed almost entirely of Rhodesians, in contrast to the other squadrons which were recruited mainly in the Cape Colony.

On 31st October Assistant-General H. C. J. van Rensburg got reinforcements when Police Commandant S. P. Grobler arrived with a field-piece and the next day Capt. Sarel Eloff, President Kruger's grandson, came with two Maxims "after a very difficult journey" from Johannesburg. Personnel who accompanied them are not mentioned, but would have consisted of the gun teams—there were plenty of riflemen already at Hendriksdal.⁷

No time was wasted; on 2nd November they crossed the Limpopo, one group making for the Rhodesian defences at Rhodes Drift, and the other for Bryce's Store, situated at a road junction leading to Rhodes Drift by one road and the Macloutsie River confluence with the Limpopo in another direction.

Now it is necessary to examine the picture from Plumer's side of the border. He had re-established his river garrison with his post at Macloutsie Junction. "E" Squadron, Rhodesia Regiment, commanded by Lt.-Col. J. A. Spreckley numbered 100 men who would have ridden south from Tuli about 25-30 miles to take up position at Rhodes Drift, carrying with them bare necessities. But we know that the fodder for the animals had been burned and no doubt other bulk supplies would have been required. So a convoy of six (the Boers say eight, and after all they captured them!) wagons probably drawn by mules, was organised.

and was to be escorted by a party of B.S.A. Police and Rhodesia Regiment in command of Lieuts. Hare and Haserick. Hare, the senior, was of the B.S.A. Police and Haserick of the Rhodesia Regiment but it is not clear what numbers from each unit had been detailed for this patrol. The Royal Commission records that, apart from the officers, there were 12 men in all of the B.S.A.P. and Rhodesia Regiment, and the Roll Call lists six B.S.A.P. without stating how many members of an escort accompanied them.⁸ With this convoy was Rev. J. W. Leary, the Anglican chaplain at Tuli, who had most likely sought a lift to take him to an outlying group of his flock, now posted to Rhodes Drift. Before the war he had been a priest in the Gwanda district, and was therefore the most appropriate choice as chaplain, seeing that Tuli fell within his parish.

The convoy with its escort is said to have reached Bryce's Store about mid-day on 2nd November and to have outspanned their wagons around the store in the form of a laager.

They must have been blissfully unconscious of the Boer incursion because they were said to have been within the store having a late breakfast. They were rudely interrupted when the Boers opened fire from a range of 1 000 yards from a kopje. Then the enemy advanced to within 200 yards but were driven back by the defenders, probably at the Pitsane dry river.

At this stage the seven-pounder gun which the Boers had dragged laboriously up a kopje about 2 000 yards distant, opened fire. The shelling was most accurate, seeing that the target lay over open sights; the gunner was a German regular. The roof of the store was blown off and its defenders who were unwounded had to abandon their position. Exact casualties are not known but "The Roll Call", a contemporary Rhodesian publication, says seven, and these included Rev. J. W. Leary. The Boers took as prisoners Lieut. Haserick, Rev. Leary and six men, three of them being wounded, and report that the rest escaped. In fact Lieut. Hare and the remaining members of the escort managed to make their way back to Tuli. It is also recorded by the same source that the Bryce's Store garrison was opposed by two commandos, 1 500 strong, from Pietersburg and Nylstroom, who had with them in addition to the seven-pounder, a Hotchkiss machine-gun, but this can not be verified.⁹ The Boer casualties were said to have been heavy. This, however, is open to doubt when comparing the numbers engaged on each side. Numbers engaged and casualties inflicted on the enemy are always exaggerated. Modern examples could be quoted, and this is no exception.

Conan Doyle in one of the rare footnotes contained in his book, "The Great Boer War", says: "Mr. Leary was wounded in the foot by a shell. The German artillerist entered the hut in which he lay, "Here's a bit of your work!", said Leary good-humouredly. "I wish it had been worse", said the amiable German gunner".¹⁰

In the schedule of surrenders prepared for the Royal Commission under the date of 2nd November, 1899, there is the following note to describe the circumstances of the surrender: "Lt. Haserick and his men, supported by Lt. Hare, formed laager near the store. Boers came up and began shelling the store. Lt. Hare ordered Lt. Haserick to retire, but the order never reached him. After



Boer gun-site on kopje dominating Bryce's Store, as found by Rhodesia Army expedition, 1967
(from *Rhodesia Served the Queen* by A. S. Hickman).

(Photo: Rhodesia Army)

some time, and having two men wounded, Haserick endeavoured to retire but was obliged to surrender. *Casualties*. 3 men wounded. *Surrenders*. 1 officer and 6 men and a chaplain. All exonerated."¹¹

From this I surmise that with the shelling of the store the position there became untenable and in the scrub bush just outside communication between the two officers was lost. Possibly Haserick and his men had defended the store and Hare and the B.S.A. Police escort had been outside?

The fate of the Boer prisoners will be related at a later stage of this story.

As for Bryce himself I doubt if he would have abandoned his store at this time, yet the Boers do not record his capture. He had established his trading store where he did because the Semelale people, who came originally from beyond the south bank of the Limpopo, had their kraals within three miles of the site. In fact it was one of these people, then a young boy, who had indicated where this store had stood, leading to its rediscovery by Boshier, the local game ranger, who will be referred to later. Apparently Bryce's name amongst some Africans was "Mehlongwenya" because of his partiality for shooting crocodiles in the Limpopo River; Felipe, the old man from Semalale, referred to him as "Rramokwena" a Tswana word meaning the father of crocodiles.

Apart from this I have found absolutely nothing to reveal his character. But amongst the exhibits we found at the store site in August 1967 was a butter-knife which we had originally identified as part of a spoon. Assuming that tinned butter was available could it be that Bryce was sufficiently cultured to use a knife? My experience of tinned butter would indicate the use of a spoon as more appropriate!

In the meantime other incidents were taking place in this general area. A minor one, concerns a solitary wagon and its escort of three men which was neither at Rhodes Drift nor Bryce's Store when captured. The only reference to this occurrence is listed in the Royal Commission schedule for the same day, 2nd November, and reads: "*Place. Tuli. Numbers. 3 men Rhodesian Horse. Circumstances. Whilst escorting a wagon heard firing and hid. Waited some hours until firing ceased. Proceeded on way when surrounded and captured. Casualties. Nil. Surrenders. 3 men. All exonerated.*"¹²

Because this event took place after the other actions at Rhodes Drift and Bryce's Store had been joined and the firing could be heard, this wagon could not have been too far away and there may be one of two possible explanations. Perhaps one of the main convoy vehicles to Bryce's store had fallen back and travelled on some distance in the rear of the remainder, or otherwise it had reached Bryce's Store and then been sent on down the Macloutsie Junction road with supplies for the garrison there. Otherwise I cannot think of a solitary stray vehicle wandering around in this area with so thin an escort even though the enemy was not expected.

The other major event of this day remains to be related. Lt.-Col. J. A. Spreckley had reoccupied the position on the ridge at Rhodes Drift with "E" Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment, and on 2nd November was attacked by the main body of Van Rensburg's Commando. The first indication of their presence was observed presumably by scouts, around a kopje at Pont Drift over which the Boers had crossed from the Transvaal. Then the telephone line from Rhodes Drift to Tuli had been cut, and finally a patrol was sent towards Bryce's Store and came back to report that the Boers were shelling the place.

The horses, therefore, which had been out grazing, were brought in and 15 men were posted on the lower ground below the ridge. The Boer's from 700 yards began to shell the ridge with a seven-pounder gun, and also used a Maxim. There were no casualties amongst the troops, but the enemy found their target in the area of the kraaled horses and there is said to have been a wholesale slaughter.

The Boer account says: "Spreckley's squadron subjected to heavy Maxim and rifle fire from van Rensburg, Grobler and Kelly from two nearby hills at once hoisted the white flag. When the burghers thereupon ceased fire and rose from their positions to capture the soldiers, they again opened fire, killing two burghers; from the body of one a dum-dum bullet was taken. Thereupon the combat was renewed until it was dark. The English then under the cover of darkness fled to Tuli, leaving behind everything except their rifles . . ." ¹³

The narrative goes on to describe Spreckley's hardships in withdrawing his troops, and explains why the Boers, with superior numbers, did not surround his position during the night; this is ascribed to Van Rensburg's "incompetence and weakness". In fact next morning he bombarded the ridge vacated by the Rhodesians.

The Boer tally of captures included nine wagons and a scotch-cart. The Rhodesian score for wagons was six lost, to which could be added the isolated capture, so the discrepancy is two; their ambulance and scotch-cart must have

been left behind at the Rhodes Drift position. We know that Major Pilson had an ambulance when he appeared on the scene of the Blackburn encounter. The Boers also claim 56-58 horses out of the 70 they say were "sacrificed", and 79-84 mules from a total of 100, together with 18 oxen—exactly a span. So the slaughter of horses was not really so great.¹⁴ On the other hand Lt.-Col. Spreckley had to abandon all his horses for his withdrawal by night march. This must have constituted a sore blow to Col. Plumer, for all these horses were trained and ridden by the Rhodesian "E" Squadron of the Rhodesia Regiment.

There is no further reference to the use of a white flag by the Rhodesians, and I cannot accept it unless it is proved. There is, however, evidence that Rhodesians by force of circumstances beyond their control had been using dum-dum cartridges for their Lee-Metford rifles. The two weapons they used were the Martini-Henry .450 and the Lee-Metford .303. Evidence before the Royal Commission indicates that the dum-dum cartridges were made in India, specifically to stop charges by religious fanatics, but the War Office sent 4 000 000 rounds to South Africa in the British summer of 1899, directing later that they should be used for practice only, and following with an order on 17th October that stocks should be returned to store. This was too late for the outlying places of issue and I fear Rhodesians were some of the troops who used them. The Royal Commission conceded that some must have been used in action to justify Boer charges. A case of gross inefficiency on the part of the War Office authorities.¹⁵

The withdrawal of Lt.-Col. J. A. Spreckley and his men took place at night, as related by the Boers. They left behind all their kit, saddlery and horses, taking only their rifles, walked out in single file and headed through the bush north-east to avoid the Tuli road and the hills beyond Bryce's Store. The direct distance to Tuli would be about 25 miles, but by indirect trek, after travelling for twelve hours, the Rhodesians reached the Shashi River downstream from Plumer's defences. Another four hours brought them to "Crocodile Pools" where before noon they were met by Major Pilson and his men who handed over their own horses to the footsore troops for the last hour's ride to Tuli.

The difficulties of that march were indeed very great. They were travelling through bush away from any road, which in any case would have been no more than a wagon track. I have some knowledge of this country and can appreciate the sort of hazards that beset them; thorn bush of the wait-a-bit and camel thorn varieties, scrub, mopani, and occasional baobab, and very rough underfoot with short dry grass, loose stones and rocky outcrops, truly a formidable undertaking which must have tested their stamina to the utmost.

I stated that further news of the prisoners taken at Bryce's Store is available. It is contained in the personal narrative of Mrs. Sue Nicholson, wife of a prominent farmer of the Zoutpansberg, who, when her husband and elder son joined the commando, herself volunteered to serve as a nurse with her large family travelling wagon. Her story is related with others collected by Miss Emily Hobhouse and published in a rare book which I located at Pretoria Archives. It is called "War Without Glamour (or Women's War). Experiences written by

Themselves, 1899-1902".¹⁶ Miss Hobhouse, an Englishwoman who served the Boers and was so highly regarded by them that they named a small town in the Orange Free State in her memory, translated from the Afrikaans these, often very moving, stories.

Sue Nicholson's is no exception and reveals a woman of courage and humanity. She relates that 18 of the enemy were captured at Bryce's Store, but if this figure is correct it must include men taken in other engagements. She mentions Rev. J. W. Leary and Lieut. Haserick, who, being the only officers, received special treatment. As there was no guardhouse her husband was made responsible and kept the "other ranks" "under a buck wagon covered with a sail, over which a single armed guard was kept. Of course it was not the thing to do to keep the officers confined with the men, so with my husband's consent, I took the chaplain and the lieutenant into our private tent, where they slept and took their meals with us . . ."

But this led to objections from some of the burghers who saw no reason why officers should receive special treatment; this was contrary to the democratic attitude of many Boers. However, Assistant-General H. C. J. van Rensburg, being approached by Nicholson for a ruling, "thought my husband was doing the right thing and treating the gentlemen in question only as he would expect and wish to be treated himself were he ever situated in similar circumstances".

So the prisoners remained in two groups until the day of their removal to Pretoria. It may be asked why, when security was so elementary, some of the prisoners did not attempt to escape. Assuming that they were camped not far from Hendriksdal there would have been many other burghers in the area. Then, even for a fit man, it would have been a most hazardous undertaking to break away and to travel through inhospitable bush over the Limpopo River towards Plumer's lines which had been withdrawn to the main camp at Tuli. No attempts at escape are recorded.

Bearing in mind that the Boers reported that a burgher had been killed in action against the Rhodesians near Rhodes Drift by a dum-dum bullet confirmation is obtained from one of Sue Nicholson's notes after her return to her farm. She records that on 7th April, 1901, her husband was back near his home scouting when he had his horse killed under him. He brought back the saddle and bridle and that night entertained General Beyers and his staff. But next morning soon after their departure British troops under two Colonial officers arrived to search the house, but behaved in a most gentlemanly manner. They were commanded by a Major Vialls, probably a Rhodesian who had served in the Pioneer Corps of 1890.¹⁷ Mrs. Nicholson remarks, "Oh that all H.M. officers and men were of that stamp . . ." She continues "One man noticed three Lee-Metford dum-dum cartridges on the clock, and eagerly grasping them, showed them to Maj. Vialls, who said, 'Is this the ammunition your husband uses? These are not allowed in civilised warfare.' I replied, that his leaving them behind was proof enough that he did not use them, having refused to take them with him. I said they were a few of the many things that had been taken in the fight at Bryce's Store and that if he would look at the case he would find W.D.

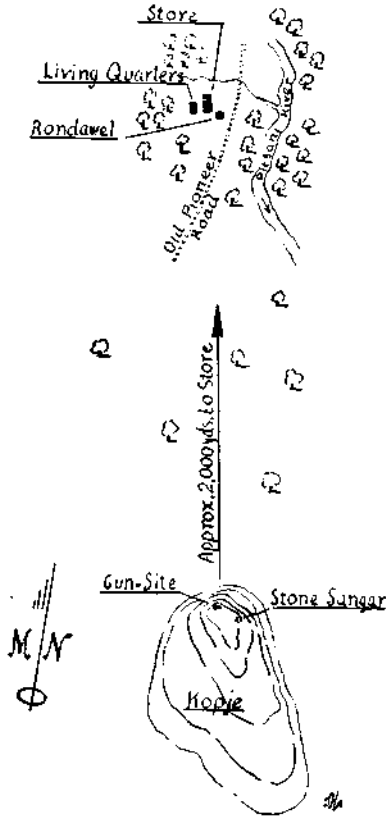
(normally the official British mark was R ^ L) marked on them, which alone should prove to him from what source they were obtained . . ."

"Civilised" warfare now seems to have advanced to the use of different standards!

PART II

THE BATTLE SITE AT BRYCE'S STORE

I have compiled the early part of this story mainly from papers available for research in the National Archives of Rhodesia at Salisbury, and in the Pretoria Archives. My main sources of information were *The Roll Call*⁸ and the Royal Commission (Command 1789) which was appointed to "enquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa". The report of the Commission was published by H.M. Stationery Office in 1902. The Boer side of the picture I have culled from J. P. Botha's "Die Beleg van Mafeking" (The Siege of Mafeking) which was printed privately for the University of South Africa in 1967 as a thesis for a doctorate. Relevant passages I had translated for me by willing co-operators.



The site of the battle at Bryce's Store in Botswana, near the Tuli Circle (from Rhodesia Served the Queen by A. S. Hickman).

(Plan by A. E. Hulme, Rhodesia Army)

The next stage of the research was to try to locate such sites as I could after a lapse of so many years, bearing in mind that the area in which they should be situated was largely remote and uninhabited bush country lying as it does near the Limpopo River towards the southern border of Rhodesia. It is quite useless to attempt the location of sites until all available written and verbal evidence has been studied and I am sure my previous service in the police has proved to me the value of such thorough investigation.

I have been commissioned by our Rhodesian Army to write about the part played by Rhodesian forces in the Boer War of 1899 to 1902, and began my work on 1st January, 1967. The first few months were taken up with the study of available documents but in anticipation of field-work for our journey from the Tuli border to Mafeking I began to make my contacts in April and one of the first people I wrote to, asking for information about the old drifts over the Limpopo River, was the Commanding Officer of the B.S.A. Police in Matabeleland Province, then Peter Sherren. Naturally he referred my enquiries to the members in charge of his stations at Beitbridge and Tuli, and as a result I received valuable information during June.

I had also asked whether the site of Bryce's Store could be found; this was a faint hope, and the answer as I had anticipated, was negative, except for a mention by Ian Beattie of Tuli that a game ranger named Adrian Boshier, who was employed as private game ranger to a number of ranches just outside the Tuli Circle, might know something. He was due back on duty towards the end of May and would be seen; he had a very close knowledge of the area on both sides of the Rhodesia/Botswana borders.

During the first week in August our civilianised military history expedition arrived at Tuli Police Camp in two vehicles, a short-wheel-based Land Rover, and a one-ton Ford truck, the latter carrying our supplies. Our personnel consisted of Peter Eaton, on the Staff of Army H.Q. as official photographer, a former wing-commander of the Royal Air Force, Joe Hulme of the Rhodesia Engineers, as surveyor, Jack Brümmer, of the Rhodesia Army Service Corps, as transport officer, and I led the expedition as historian. It will be noted that I had insisted that our party should include experts in the fields of photography and survey, and a skilled mechanic as transport officer was an essential in view of the nature of the country we were to traverse. We were joined by Alec Campbell, then curator-designate of the National Museum of Botswana from Gabarone.

For several days we were working on the fortifications around Tuli, but on 8th August set out for Boshier's camp, having heard that he had now located the site of Bryce's Store. We were driven by Beattie in the police long-wheel-based Land Rover and travelled south-east down the left bank of the Shashi River to the Shashi Irrigation Scheme, a Government undertaking where we were entertained to breakfast by Mike and Marjorie Reynolds, old friends who were in charge here. We had covered a distance of 15½ miles and on the way saw the spoor of four lions which had been walking down our road in the same direction as ourselves. When we passed some insecure cattle kraals of a local headman we were by no means surprised!

After our halt we crossed the Shashi River, about 500 yards of sand, and entered Botswana, another four miles taking us to Boshier's Camp beside a giant tree. Here he was building a unique homestead, and in the meantime he, with his wife and two small sons, were roughing it.

Boshier told me how he had located the site of Bryce's Store, having been told by Beattie that I wanted to visit it. By good luck an old African, Felipe, who now lives at Louis Trichardt in the Northern Transvaal, came to see him, and this was the story he told Boshier: "Yes he knew the place. It was by a water-hole on the Pitsane River. He was then a young boy living with the Semelale people about three miles from the store which was owned by 'Rramokwena' (father of crocodiles). This was Bryce, who gained the name by shooting crocodiles in the Limpopo. Nothing was said as to where Bryce was at the time of the Boer attack. British were inside the store and Boers attacked from direction of Limpopo (south). English from Tuli (policemen) were with wagons. Boers had large rifles (artillery) drawn by donkeys. Felipe knew of no one killed but they fought a lot and then the two forces retired to their respective sides, the Boers across the Limpopo, and the English to Tuli. The English won the war."

The story was related to Boshier in June, in a Tswana dialect, and then Boshier himself went and found the site on his own.

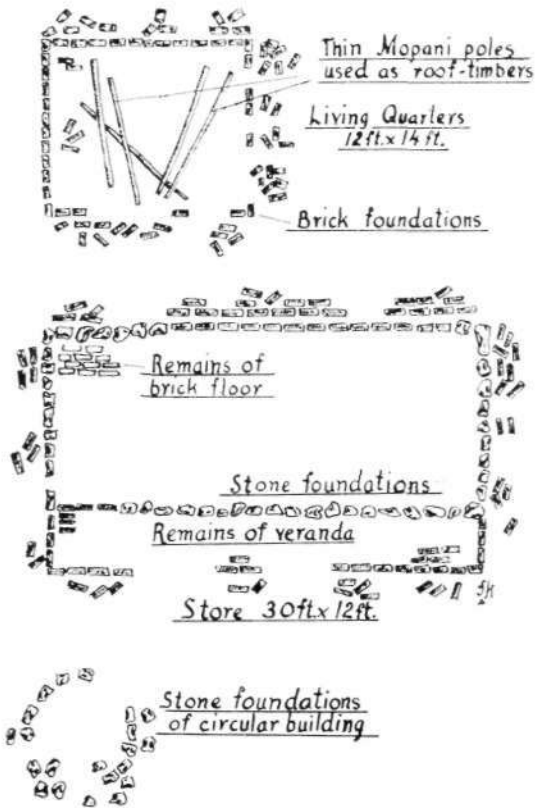
Boshier and his wife now joined our party and we drove on a cleared road which rings the Tuli Circle on the Botswana side of the boundary, passing a spring named Little England; this was the sort of name which Selous would have given it and we know he had been in the area. After some miles our road intersected what was left of the old Pioneer road of 1890 and from this we switched to a road which ran from Tuli past Bryce's Store and on to Rhodes Drift. I use the term "road" as a courtesy, because, as will be seen from the photograph, I am sure no one but Boshier would have found it, encroached upon as it is by such vegetation as thrives near Tuli. Once found, however, it is possible to follow its line to some extent by the stumps of mopani trees that had been felled by the early road-makers.

In 1959 I had been in this area with a Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society expedition, and having found other traces of the Pioneer road, asked Professor A. S. Boughey, who led the botany (ecology) group, if he could account for it. His explanation was that this is a district of extremely low rainfall, and from 1890, when the road was cut, until the end of the nineteenth century it was in constant use for the passage of heavy ox-drawn wagons, being then the only route into Mashonaland from the south. Many hundreds of loaded wagons must have rolled along this track, and as a result the vegetation had been destroyed and the earth impacted to such an extent as to inhibit growth of new plants, in some cases permanently. The fact remains that the old roads may still be traced.

Thus we reached Bryce's Store by devious ways, first 15½ miles from Tuli to Shashi Irrigation Scheme, another four miles to Boshier's camp, and finally nine to the site itself. When the convoy set out from Tuli that November day in 1899 they had first to cross the Tuli Circle of ten miles radius from the fort and then must have travelled something like five miles more to bring them to Bryce's

Store. A map of Southern Rhodesia published by the Director of Federal Surveys in 1957, marks in some tracks which no longer exist at the present time in the Tuli area; one of them runs due south to Rhodes Drift.

In my diary of our expedition I have described the position at Bryce's Store as follows, and am indebted to the Rhodesia Army for permission to quote it verbatim from my recently published book, *Rhodesia Served the Queen*: "It is on a rise above the Pitsani (little zebra) dry river, and about 200 yards from it—very exposed, with kopjes of varying heights and at varying distances from it. On this open site lie the remains of Bryce's Store. They have been sketched and recorded by Hulme, and photographed by Eaton. There is a main building, probably the store, and adjacent to it a smaller, rectangular building about 12 feet x 14 feet, the dwelling quarters. Both are built of quite good burnt brick of a pale colour, and all has been flattened. Yet the roof poles are lying above the earth and bricks, very shop-soiled, but not rotted away. They appear to be mopani, and are straight and some quite thin. There is no sign of a corrugated-iron roof, which has, no doubt, been acquired by Semelale people, who must



The remains of Bryce's Store as found by the historical expedition in 1967 (from *Rhodesia Served the Queen* by A. S. Hickman).

(Plan by A. E. Hulme, Rhodesia Army)

have taken what loot the Boers left. In various places for instance, not far off, we found numerous cheap pocket-knives—also the remains of a wagon. I did not see this. (I cannot account for the knives being left.)

"We searched the area and were fortunate in finding quite a few lumps of exploded shell, including part of a driving-band. All these exhibits were near the store, so the shooting was accurate, and it now appears that, at least, one wall was blown outwards where it now lies.

"It would be useful to sift the debris. An African with us found a fragment of bone in the earth of the floor of the store, and identified it as part of a human jaw-bone. Boshier says his idea may be correct, as he is 'a bit of a witch doctor' . . . I have the bone and will submit it for expert medical examination." (Subsequently proved by Professor T. R. Trevor Jones, then of the Department of Anatomy, Cape Town University, to be a portion of the vertebra of a large ungulate!)

"Hulme sketched the position of various kopjes and we are left to speculate from which direction came the Boer attack by riflemen. We found no less than four parts of spoons at the store, and know the Rhodesians were having breakfast when attacked. Could they have been using mealie-meal porridge? The attack by riflemen is said to have started from 1 000 yards and to have been halted at 200 yards. As a speculation, I favour a kopje lying near the Tuli/Rhodes Drift road, which slopes gently towards the Pitsani River with the store on the opposite slope above it. My reason is that beyond here the telegraph line was cut, and it was an easier approach to the store than from where we later found the gun-site.

"I went up the slope more than half-way towards the kopje I favoured, and noted that the store-site 'stuck up like a sore thumb', and the Boer attack could have been held up by the Pitsani River bank, about 200 yards from the store. But then the shelling began, and now we know where it came from—a prominent feature about 200 to 300 feet above the surrounding country. This site was found by Campbell; other members of our party had visited other kopjes but Campbell had travelled on foot at least one and a half miles. We all set out for this hill (by vehicle!). From the direction of Bryce's Store the climb to the summit is very steep, and I would doubt if dismounted riflemen descended that way, and certainly not horses. Apart from the steepness of the ascent, there were many loose stones.

"On reaching the summit we had a superb view of the Limpopo Valley and the Transvaal hills beyond. We also noted that the approach slope from that direction (south) was much easier, and guns could be hauled up into position.

"The Boers are said to have a seven-pounder and a Hotchkiss. The position of the gun is clear. Facing Bryce's Store with a clear view was a shallow trench for riflemen about 50 feet in length, and the Hotchkiss could have been placed in one corner. In the centre was the seven-pounder, protected by a breastwork of rocks about four feet broad and six feet high—they remain undisturbed to this day. We found a number of Mauser cartridge-cases. Campbell had already

picked up a perfect B.S.A. Company's Police bridle boss. This could have come from Boer loot—the bridle being taken and the badge thrown away.

"The only other sign of battle . . . was a sangar of rocks about 50 yards to the right of the gun-emplacement facing Bryce's.

"Boshier went alone to the store site via other kopjes and rejoined us at the base of the gun hill—it was he who found the pocket-knives near the store, and the destroyed wagon—with wheel-spokes still around.

"At 14.40 we left the hill and went back to Bryce's Store. Here Campbell found a button which I think was of the Imperial Yeomanry. It was in the ruins of the store, and the badge was a Royal Standard and Union Jack crossed, below which appeared the motto, "Imperium et Libertas". On the back were the words "Extra rich quality". Does this refer to gilt, or what?

"When we got back to the Boshier camp we saw a six-foot mamba, recently slain, so our journey was of natural history interest, as well as historical, the Boshiers also having a very tame Egyptian goose which they have brought up to answer to his name! Boshier gave me a Victorian Metropolitan Police button which he had found on a hill about a thousand yards from his home. I can only account for this by the sale of part-worn uniform, and this practice at the time was confirmed by my subsequent reference to the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, who accepted the button for his Museum. It could not have come from a more remote place."

The nature of some of the exhibits calls for comment. At and around the store we found both Lee-Metford and Martini-Henry cartridge cases to demonstrate that this was the area of the defenders, whilst near the gun-site on the kopje there were some Mauser cartridge-cases, to show where some of the attackers had taken position. Then around the remains of the store were fragments of shell and a B.S.A. Police button, badly dented.

Miscellaneous finds included the parts of three spoons, and butter-knife we had first thought to be part of a spoon, and part of a mouth-organ, and the adjusting clasp from a pair of braces. There were also several pieces of cast-iron corrugated in the same manner as a Mills grenade, but in larger square segments. They appear in fact to be parts of a larger type of grenade, but we know these were not in use in the Boer War period. They still remain unidentified in spite of my persistent efforts to see whether former gunners can provide an answer.

The Imperial Yeomanry button can be accounted for from the fact that in 1900 the 17th and 18th Battalions of the Imperial Yeomanry, having landed at Beira, passed this way on their march towards active service in South Africa.

So ended a most eventful day; v.e had been privileged to find a battle site almost undisturbed since the day on which the fight took place on 2nd November, 1899, almost sixty-seven years and nine months before. I would like to claim this as something of a record, only accounted for by the remote nature of the country and the fact that it had been virtually unoccupied for all the intervening years, no more stores and European establishments and no African settlement since the Semelale people had departed. This discovery underlines the point that

follow up to research of the written word by field-work is most desirable if it can be achieved. I have gone into some detail in recording the steps taken to achieve results, and the difficulties encountered in reaching our target, even with the aid of many willing helpers.

NOTES

1. B.S.A. Company. *Director's report*, 31 Mar 1899 to 31 Mar 1900.
2. Royal Commission. Cd. 1789. H.M.S.O. 1902.
3. J. P. Botha. *Die Beleg van Mafeking*. Privately printed in Pretoria, 1967.
4. *ibid.*
5. Royal Commission, *op. cit.*
6. Botha, *op. cit.*
7. *ibid.*
8. J. Mudie Thomson, in *The Roll Call*. Bulawayo, 1901.
9. *ibid.*
10. A. C. Doyle. *The great Boer War*. London, 1900. p. 416.
11. Royal Commission, *op. cit.*
12. *ibid.*
13. Botha, *op. cit.*
14. *ibid.*
15. Royal Commission, *op. cit.*
16. Emily Hobhouse. *War without glamour*. Bloemfontein, 1927.
17. No. 80. Quartermaster-Sergeant Charles Clements Vials, Pioneer Corps, later a trader at Serowe, Botswana.

JUMBO GUIDE TO RHODESIA, 1972

Although this limp cover, 256-page, guide has been specifically produced for the tourist it does contain some material of historical interest. The contributing History Editor is G. H. Tanser, our National Deputy Chairman. There is a potted history of the country and its peoples, brief descriptions of African customs and an outline of the country's main geological and geographical features.

There are also short histories of localised areas such as Inyanga, the Lowveld, and of Zimbabwe, Wankie, Victoria Falls and other National Parks. The stories of the founding and early history of the main towns and cities of the country are also related. Such historical material is not found in the ordinary tourist guide book and adds much value to this one.

The book contains a wealth of colour plates, maps, town plans as well as a mass of tourist information. Altogether it is a most attractive and comprehensive guide book. Published by Wilfrey Publications of Salisbury, it is distributed by Kingstons and sells at \$1,50.

Society Activities

(The Mashonaland Branch tour of historic sites in Salisbury is described elsewhere in this issue as a separate article.—Editor.)

Matabeleland outing to Mambo Hills

About 150 members and a large number of children arrived in 50 motor-cars at the Mambo Ranch Homestead, 65 miles from Bulawayo, at 10 a.m. on Sunday, 19th September, 1971.

The Ranch Manager, Mr. John Dicey, had gone to a great deal of trouble repairing farm roads, putting up sign-posts and preparing parking areas for the outing, a gesture which was greatly appreciated.

The Secretary and a member, Mr. Tony John, went out to the ranch on Saturday morning, 18th September, to mark the path up the kopje containing the Mlimo's cave. They camped the night beneath the kopje on which the Mambo ruins stand.

At the assembly point at the Homestead the Chairman, after welcoming the very good turn-out, stressed the need for extreme vigilance from smokers in the prevention of veld fires and asked members to refrain from lighting fires to cook tea and food. He also asked members to refrain from climbing over the ruins in order to prevent the dislodging of stones and unnecessary spoiling.

From the Homestead members motored the odd mile to the cleared parking area at the base of the Mambo ruins kopje. Here was displayed a large-scale map of the area and typed extracts concerning the area taken from the following books:

"An Irregular Corps in Matabeleland" by Lt.-Col. Herbert Plumer.

"The Matabele Campaign" by Col. R. S. S. Baden-Powell.

"Bulawayo: Historic Battleground of Rhodesia" by Dr. Oliver Ransford.

"Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7" by T. O. Ranger.

The party then gathered under the 150-foot cliff-face of the kopje down which the Mambo, Chirisamaru, is reputed to have thrown himself when besieged by Zwangendsba and his Angoni horde in about 1830. Mr. Harry Simons, who gave the talks, traced the early history of the area and then led the members to the top of the kopje where the ruins stand. The climb is very steep and quite long but it is to the credit of members—some not so young—that all reached the top.

Mr. Simons again talked and was able to point out various places of interest as the ruins command a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

After inspection of the ruins and admiring the view members walked and slid down the kopje to their cars, long cold drinks and lunch.

At about 1.30 p.m. the walkers started the journey of about two miles to the kopje which contains the Mlimo's cave and later a fleet of five landrovers, which carried the non-walkers, followed.

By 3 p.m. the party had assembled in the cave after a fairly long pull of about 15 minutes' duration from the bottom of the kopje.

The cave is on two levels—one high and another honeycombed with tunnels and eerie passages, some 30 feet below and behind the top cave.

After telling how the Mlimo talked to his people, unseen and from the bottom cave through a crevice in the rock, Mr. Simons demonstrated the procedure by going down to the lower cave and talking.

The passages from the top to bottom levels are narrow, dark and difficult to squeeze through in places yet the majority of the members made the journey and again it was a puffing, panting and rather grimy and dishevelled company which reassembled in the top cave to hear more from Mr. Simons about how this particular kopje was stormed in the rebellion on 5th July, 1896, by Robertson's Cape Boys, six of whom lost their lives in the assault. The troops found the top cave full of loot from the homes ransacked by the rebels in the early part of the rebellion and deposited with the Mlimo who, at that time, was conducting the rebellion.

The movement down the kopje then started and many returned to their cars on foot thoroughly enjoying the walk through some well-wooded and although rather dry at the moment, splendid and typical Matabeleland ranching country. It was of interest in this particular stretch of country to see the remains of very extensive kraal stone walls, covering an area of many acres, where either the Rozwi or the Matabele had kraaled their cattle.



At the ruins in Mambo Hills. Mr. H. Simons giving a talk.

(Photo: L. Bolze)

By 4 p.m. or thereabouts all the people had returned to the cars at the Mambo ruins kopje when it was discovered that a family of four was missing.

A hasty return to the M'limo's cave was made without result but in the meantime the Chairman and Mr. Simons had collected a number of members and were organising a search. The searchers then spread over about three miles of country climbing to the tops of the highest kopjes, shouting long and loud and methodically scanning the countryside.

The searchers returned to base at 5 p.m. to compare notes and then set off again in different directions and went further afield.

Mr. Bob Cole and Mr. Gavin Hart working along a road were rewarded in their search for spoor and following this until it was too dark to see they eventually came up with the lost ones at about 7 p.m. some eight miles from the cave kopje.

It was with great relief that the searchers and others heard the news as the country in this region is wild and rugged with its quota of leopards, snakes and other animals. It is forbidding to the uninitiated in day-time but decidedly frightening in the dark. The lost family had one scare from barking baboons close at hand. The family had lost their bearings coming down the cave kopje and gone forward instead of retracing their steps back to the last marker they had seen on the path.

Mr. and Mrs. Dicey were most helpful throughout the search. Mr. Dicey with his detailed knowledge of the area and his uncanny ability to move accurately through it at night and Mrs. Dicey dispensing kindness to the lost ones and much appreciated tea and cakes to all.

Apart from the anxiety during the search this was a thoroughly enjoyable, energetic and instructive outing and proved that members were not afraid of the type of vigorous exercise which kopje climbing and cave exploring produces.

Matabeleland Branch outing to Matopos Railway Terminus, Fort Usher, Usher Kop and Second Indaba Site

At the invitation of the Rhodesia Railways Historical Committee about 150 members attended the ceremony at 11 a.m. on Sunday, 7th November, 1971, at which the Matopos Railway Terminus site was created a national monument and the title deeds were handed over to the Rhodes Matopos National Parks by the General Manager of the Rhodesia Railways.

After the ceremony we were joined by members of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, our guests for an afternoon outing, at the nearby Carvan Park where we had a picnic lunch.

At 2 p.m. the party left for Fort Usher where Mr. Harry Simons gave a talk and pointed out the tree under which Mr. Rhodes and his party camped prior to attending the second indaba. Members also inspected the area of the fort and the "Baden Powell tree".

We then moved on to Usher's Kop about two miles distant and here Mr. Simons spoke at the foot of the kop and again at the summit where the remains of Usher's house and store are still plainly visible. From the top Mr. Simons indicated the route taken by Colonel Plumer's troops on their advance to the

Nkantola battle. Colonel Baden Powell took observations from this area which commands a fine view of the surrounding country.

The final move was to the large *Incuna* tree at the base of the kop under which the second indaba took place.

Matabeleland Branch outing to Cyrene Mission, Fort Marquand, Fort Khami and Dawson's Store on 6th February, 1972

Following the Annual General Meeting, which was attended by 63 members, we gathered at Cyrene Mission, about 20 miles from Bulawayo, at 11.30 a.m. where Mrs. R. Ewbank welcomed the 140 members and guests present and in a very interesting talk described the progress of the Mission since it started in 1936. Members then visited the Cyrene Church, famous for its African art, and here Mrs. Ewbank explained the various works and gave the background of the different artists.

Members then had their lunches under the shady trees in the Mission grounds and at 2 p.m. motored about five miles to the pre-pioneer Mabukitwani outspan area in which stands the kopje on which Lieut. Marquand, under the direction of Mr. F. C. Selous, built the fort.

This fort was one of a line of six forts (Fort Dawson, Fort Khami, Fort Molyneux, Fort Halstead and Fort Luck) built at the time of the rebellion to protect the road from Mangwe to Bulawayo.



Mr. C. A. King (98), who came to Rhodesia in 1895, and Mr. L. S. Glover, who arrived in 1896, examine photographs of old Rhodesia in the Drill Hall during the visit on 26th March, 1972.

(Photo: The Chronicle)

The fort, which was occupied from April to October 1896, is in a fair state of preservation and a comparison with photographs taken whilst it was in use proved most interesting.

From the top of the kopje the view of the surrounding country is quite splendid and it is no doubt that it is for this reason that a helio signalling station was established there.

There are no remains of Fort Khami, a fort which was little used, but the site commands a very good view all around.

Only the foundations of Dawson's store remain and these took some time to find in the long grass. The site is about half a mile from Fort Khami.

Throughout the day the weather was perfect and Mrs. Ewbank's deep knowledge of her subjects and adept manner of "putting it over" made the outing most enjoyable and memorable.

The Matopos Pilgrimage by the Matabeleland Branch

In perfect weather, which remained with us all day, some 250 members of the Society together with guests from the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society and other societies foregathered at 9 a.m. on Sunday, 26th March, 1972, at the City Hall parking area to start a day of commemoration on the 70th anniversary of the death of Cecil John Rhodes.

The first move was to the Railway Station where the Rhodesia Railways Historical Committee had arranged the placing of Rhodes' coach in the Station. Mr. D. Constable of the Historical Committee gave a most interesting talk on the history of the coach and the part it played in bringing the body of Cecil John Rhodes from Cape Town to Bulawayo. After the talk members filed through the coach to inspect the interior.

A year before his death Mr. Rhodes had laid the foundation stone of the Drill Hall and it was in this hall, then the largest in the country and even today one of the largest and most imposing, that his body lay in state.

Members moved from the Railway Station to the Drill Hall where Mr. Louis Bolze said a few words and the party then went to the lecture hall of the National Museum where Mr. Bolze gave an illustrated talk on the period from just prior to the death of Mr. Rhodes to the burial in the Matopos.

The next place visited was the Summerhouse on Rhodes' estate, some 20 miles from Bulawayo, where the coffin rested for the night on its journey to the Matopos. This summerhouse commands a fine view and was much favoured by Mr. Rhodes.

The convoy of vehicles then headed for the "Lower Outspan" on the Matopos Circular Drive and at 2.30 p.m. after a picnic lunch we started the ascent to the "View of the World" along the route taken by the funeral procession which had previously been accurately traced from old photographs by Mr. T. H. Cooke, who attended the funeral, Mr. Harry Simons and Mr. Lovemore.

Bishop Mark Wood, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Simons led the pilgrimage which formed a "crocodile" some 200 yards in length and from time to time, at places of interest, Mr. Simons gave short talks. The distance from the Lower Outspan



The pilgrimage to Matopos, March 1972. The Rt. Rev. Mark Ward, Bishop of Matabeleland, conducting the memorial service.

(Photo: *The Chronicle*)

to the summit is about a mile and passes through a heavily wooded gully, over a *dwala* hill, through the present-day parking area and finally up Malindizimu Hill to the grave.

At the grave the Bishop conducted a most inspiring service quoting at times from the original service taken by Bishop Gaul and using hymns from that service. During the service Kipling's poem "The Burial" was read by Mr. James Robinson and a wreath was laid on the grave.

This outing differed from the normal visits to places of historical interest but it will long be remembered by all who attended for its sincerity, simplicity and purpose.

THE FIFTH NATIONAL DINNER: 12th NOVEMBER, 1971

The Fifth National Dinner held at the Southern Sun Hotel in Bulawayo was attended by 145 members and their guests and was a great success.

The banqueting hall was very tastefully decorated, the cuisine was good and the service prompt.

The National Chairman brought greetings from the Executive and other branches and offered apologies for those unable to travel to Bulawayo to attend the dinner.

Sir Hugh Beadle proposed the toast to the Society in a highly amusing manner but in more serious vein gave a brief and most interesting history of the High Court in Rhodesia since the pioneer days.

Dr. Jimmy Shee replied with the full wealth of Irish humour.

Lady Beadle kindly drew tickets for the three valuable prizes donated by the Executive Committee which were won by:

First Prize: Mrs. Heald—Oppenheimer Series Volumes I & II—Zambesi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863.

Second Prize: Mrs. Mann—Rhodesiana Publication No. 12—75th Anniversary of Rhodesia, 1890-1965.

Third Prize: Mrs. Plumb—Rhodesiana Publication No. 18—75th Anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland, 1893-1968.

(In our last issue, under Society Activities, we attributed the article "Matabeleland Branch visits Tuli" to Mrs. Parry. In fact, it was prepared by the Branch Secretary, Mr. B. Lovemore. The error is regretted and we apologise for any embarrassment caused to Mrs. Parry.—Editor.)

SHELFMARK: BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL FREE LIBRARY OF RHODESIA

Besides providing an excellent way of keeping up with new books about Rhodesia and Africa generally this bulletin always contains articles of interest to bibliophiles.

The December 1971 issue describes Library Associations and their work. That of February 1972 carried the comments of the Board of the National Free Library on the 1970 Report of the Rhodesia Library Commission. The Board was of the opinion that the free library services envisaged by the Commission should concentrate on books of educational, economic, social and cultural value and not provide books for light reading.

The April 1972 issue reports the twelfth A.G.M. of the Rhodesia Library Association. Mr. G. W. Pagden, Head of the History Department of the Teachers' College in Bulawayo castigated Rhodesians for their general indifference to the need for preserving the nation's cultural heritage and commented on the sheer lack of archival and primary research available for students.

The Annual General Meeting, 1972

The Annual General Meeting of Members of the Rhodesiana Society was held in the Queen Victoria Museum auditorium, Salisbury, on Monday, 27th March, 1972, at 5.15 p.m.

Present: Colonel A. S. Hickman (National Chairman—in the Chair), Mr. M. J. Kimberley (National Honorary Secretary) and approximately 30 members.

Apologies: Apologies were received from 10 members.

1. *Minutes of 1971 Annual General Meeting*

The minutes of the annual general meeting of members of the Rhodesiana Society held on the 16th March, 1971, which had been published in *Rhodesiana* No. 24 (July 1971), were confirmed.

2. *Chairman's Report*

The Chairman's Report on the activities of the Society during the year ended the 31st December, 1971, was read and adopted.

3. *Financial Statement*

The audited financial statement concerning the transactions of the Rhodesiana Society during the year ended the 31st December, 1971, copies of which had been circulated, was adopted.

4. *Election of National Executive Committee*

The following members were elected to serve on the National Executive Committee for 1972:

<i>National Chairman:</i>	Colonel A. S. Hickman
<i>National Deputy Chairman:</i>	Mr. G. H. Tanser
<i>National Honorary Secretary:</i>	Mr. C. W. H. Loades
<i>Additional Committee Members:</i>	Mr. M. J. Kimberley
	Mr. R. W. Dickinson
	Mr. D. Hartridge
	Mr. B. Lovemore
	Mr. E. E. Burke
	Mr. R. W. S. Turner
	Mr. W. V. Brelsford

Matabeleland Branch Representative >

Manicaland Branch Representative > For election by the Branches.

Mashonaland Branch Representative >

5. *Constitutional Amendments*

Due notice having been given to all members by the National Executive Committee, the following amendments to the Constitution were discussed and adopted—

Clause 3 (2): Delete and substitute—

"Annual subscriptions shall be—

(a) for individual and institutional members, R.\$3,00;

(b) for husband *and* wife members, R.\$4,00;

and shall be due and payable on the first day of January in each year."

(*Note.*—Paragraph (b) effective from January 1973.)

Clause 5 (3A): *Add* "With effect from March 1972—

"(a) no person shall hold office as National Chairman for more than two years in succession;

"(b) no person shall hold office as National Deputy Chairman for more than two years in succession."

Clause 5 (8): *Add* "Each branch established in terms of paragraph (g) of sub-clause (5) of clause 5 shall have power and authority to raise and disburse funds for branch purposes without reference to the Committee but shall submit to the Committee an annual statement of receipts and payments."

Clause 9 (2): Delete "The Honorary Treasurer under the supervision of the Committee" and substitute "The Committee".

Clause 10: *Add* after "Each member of the Society," "and each husband or wife member,".

There being no further business the meeting terminated at 6.20 p.m.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1971, BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

Colonel A. S. Hickman, National Chairman, reported as follows:

I have been National Chairman since 1971 and have been ably supported by all members of our National Executive in their respective spheres, and by the remainder as has been necessary. The work of all those concerned is very greatly appreciated and I feel I have been largely a figurehead. In particular I mention my Deputy Chairman, Tony Tanser, who is also Chairman of our Mashonaland Branch and as such has carried out a great deal of organisation, and Mike Kimberley, our National (Honorary) Secretary, who, although relieved of a great deal of routine work by a firm of Chartered Accountants, is nevertheless a key operator in many directions. The same applies to R. W. S. Turner who has been Chairman of our Medal Committee and also responsible for advertising for years.

You will note that the names of our National Executive and Branch Committee Members are recorded at pages viii and ix of *Rhodesiana* No. 25 and Matabeleland, Manicaland and Mashonaland Branch representatives are also

named. I regret that it has not yet been possible to form a Midlands Branch, though I was able to give a talk at Fort Gibbs to the members of the Pioneer and Early Settlers' Society combined with our Rhodesiana members.

It is of interest to note that the following members of the National Committee have served for ten years or more in continuous service on our behalf: G. H. Tanser (1953), Col. A. S. Hickman (1956), R. W. S. Turner (1962), M. J. Kimberley (1962).

Membership

The names of 1 266 paid-up members as on 31st December, 1971, include five life members and 15 individuals and four institutions which have now been members for 15 or more continuous years.

It is of further interest that the following who were listed in *Rhodesiana* No. I of 1956 are still members and have been throughout the full period, 1956-72: Dr. D. M. Blair, Mr. M. Cawood, Mrs. M. Cleveland, Mr. H. S. G. de Villiers (South West Africa), Mr. A. M. Ewing, Mr. W. A. Godlonton, Rev. Fr. M. Hannan, Col. A. S. Hickman, Mr. R. Howman, Mr. M. J. Kimberley, Mr. B. W. Lloyd, Mr. W. H. H. Nicolle, Mr. Justice J. B. Pittman, Mr. G. H. Tanser, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Tredgold. In addition Alderman the Hon. R. M. Cleveland and Major J. B. Goodall have "broken service".

Publications

Rhodesiana No. 24 of July 1971, contained 112 pages, and *Rhodesiana* No. 25 of December 1971, 114 pages. There has been no lack of material submitted and our journal, which has now been published for 15 years, since 1956, continues to maintain a very high standard. Vernon Brelsford, our editor, is an extremely skilled operator, and I am often amazed at the art of persuasion whereby some of the articles are produced. Vernon is ably assisted by Ted Burke in general and in an advisory capacity.

Finance

The employment of a firm of chartered accountants has proved highly successful in 1971 and has made the position of Honorary National Treasurer redundant; and with the retirement of our Honorary National Secretary it is recommended that the chartered accountants should undertake additional duties formerly performed by him on a year's trial. The duties of the new Honorary National Secretary will thus be reduced very considerably and the position of Honorary Assistant National Secretary will be required no longer. Sincerely we thank Mr. D. Hartridge for having held this position.

For the year 1971 the surplus funds amounted to \$921. Cash in hand and investments as on 31st December, 1971, was \$7 377, and the value of *Rhodesiana* stock, at selling price, as on 31st December, 1971, was \$5 594.

Branches

The Matabeleland Branch has been extremely active in 1971 with a credit of seven or eight functions including a highly successful pilgrimage to the Pioneer area of Tuli. The Mashonaland Branch has also organised functions, the most important of which was the celebrating of the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol when over 300 members and friends attended.

I am sorry to say the Manicaland Branch is temporarily dormant, but I have no doubt at all that it will revive.

Medals

Five hundred bronze decade medals have been minted and the sale has been satisfactory to the number of 318. Gold medals for outstanding contributions towards furthering the objects of our Society or for major contributions to Rhodesian history were first awarded in 1970. In 1971 there was no award, but for 1972 two recommendations have been made in the case of G. H. Tanser and Dr. Oliver Ransford. As these awards are for the current year I will refrain from detailed comment but say they are most meritorious in the case of the recommended recipients.

National Social Functions

These were two in number, the first being the 1970 Gold Medal Presentation held at the National Archives on 5th August, 1971. The presentations were made by the Hon. Sir Vincent Quenet than whom a more appropriate personality would be hard to find. Sad to say two of the recipients died before the awards could be made, so Mrs. Archie Cripwell received her husband's medal and the second Lord Malvern his father's. In the third case Col. A. S. Hickman, our National Chairman, had the honour of receiving his award. The ceremony was well attended and is described in detail in the latest *Rhodesiana* No. 25, pages 62-5.

The second function, the fifth annual dinner, took place at Bulawayo on 12th November, 1971, and was organised by the Matabeleland Branch under the chairmanship of H. J. Vickery. The toast of the Rhodesiana Society was proposed by the Right Hon. Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia; who gave a most interesting outline of the origins of the High Court in Southern Rhodesia. Dr. J. C. Shee replied in his usual inimitable manner. The National Chairman and his wife, Col. and Mrs. A. S. Hickman, came down from Salisbury in order to attend this most successful dinner.

Proposed Pilgrimage to Sofala

There has been a large response from members but because of poor road conditions, damage to the Sofala Casino by cyclone and damage caused by heavy rain your committee has with regret decided to postpone the expedition until August-September 1973.

Amendments to Constitution

If, as I hope you will, you pass the amendments to our Constitution presented by your Executive Committee this will provide for the replacement of the National Chairman and the National Deputy Chairman at set intervals of two years so that no individual shall be entrenched beyond what we consider to be a reasonable period, and this will result in greater flexibility in the future.

Retirements

You will know that Mike Kimberley has rendered devoted service to this Society as National Honorary Secretary for the last ten years and now retires from this position. In succession to Archie Cripwell I have been closely associated with him in many ways. The welfare of this Society has been his prime consideration. No organisation can prosper without a good secretary and Mike has been excellent. Personally and on behalf of all of you I thank him most sincerely and you will be happy to know that he will give advice and assistance to his successor; he has a wide experience. Best wishes from all of us, Mike.

Another member who has left us recently for Cape Town is Dr. Ron Howland. He will be sorely missed. Members will recall that for some years his imaginative films have been a feature following the Annual General Meeting. He has also been responsible for the description of old houses during our bus tours around Salisbury and his swan song was when he was one of our speakers at the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol. We all wish him well in his new sphere.

Notes

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Col. J. de L. Thompson. Educated at Milton School. Bulawayo, and Diocesan College, Rondebosch. Played rugby and cricket for Rhodesia. Author of *A History of Sport in Southern Rhodesia*. Served in 1st Battalion, The King's Royal Rifle Corps, in World War II; commanded 2nd Battalion. The Royal Rhodesia Regiment; Officer Commanding Troops Matabeleland and Senior Honorary Colonel The Royal Rhodesia Regiment. Vice-Chairman, The Rhodesian Promotion Council. Chairman, Matabeleland Development Council. Director of Companies. Resides in Bulawayo.

Valerie Isobel Southwell Tomlinson (nee Pegler). Born in Nairobi, Kenya, brought up in Malawi and educated at the Girls' High School, Salisbury. At outbreak of Second World War in 1939, married Denis Stanley Tomlinson, second son of the late Lt.-Col. Alfred James Tomlinson. Has three married children and four grandchildren.

ELIZABETH GOODALL

Mrs. E. A. M. Goodall, M.B.E., artist, archaeologist of world renown, and Honorary Keeper of the Rock Painting Section of the Queen Victoria Museum. Salisbury, died on 1st June, 1971, in her eightieth year. Typically, she was at work as usual in the museum the day before she died. She had been associated with the museum in various capacities since 1934.

Occasional Paper, Part I, Vol. 4, December 1971, of the Human Sciences Series is an Elizabeth Goodall Commemorative Issue. It contains an appreciation of her life and work by M. A. Raath; an article on her work of recording rock art by C. K. Cooke with many examples of her drawings and paintings; and an article by Thomas N. Huffman, *A Guide to the Iron Age in Mashonaland*.

Through her archaeological investigations, in her writings and particularly in her drawings and paintings Mrs. Goodall has "indeed made a lasting and priceless contribution to the knowledge of Rhodesia's past". As one friend has put it—"Rhodesia was her garden, and the painted rocks her monument."

ARCHDEACON JAMES HAY UPCHER

Jean Farrant has come across some interesting comments on James Hay Upcher who served the Mashonaland Diocese from 1892-1931 eventually becoming Archdeacon. They are from the book *A Victorian Boyhood* by L. E. Jones (MacMillan, 1955).

Writing of his boyhood in East Anglia, Jones writes (pages 8-10):

"Some of this Rector's Christian names were Arundel Glastonbury St. John, from which you may envisage him as pale, and High Church, and inclined to saintliness. In truth he was rosy and horsey and neglected the parish . . .

"His predecessor at the Rectory, Mr. Upcher, whom our father so surprisingly called 'Hay', was a very different type. He had a splendid hooked nose and a black beard, and made us laugh till we ached. But we knew enough to be sure that he would not make jokes in church, and when, at a children's service, he told us that the Church was built of Christian people, and slid his hand up a great stone pier, touching one stone after another, 'here a man, there a woman, here a child', I was amazed. The stones did not seem big enough to contain human bodies, but Mr. Upcher was obviously in earnest, and I could only wonder, and leave it at that, as children do . . .

"Mr. Upcher, to everybody's dismay, suddenly received a long-distance call to be a missionary in Mashonaland; and a marquee was set up on the lawn, with another tent for the tea, and Bishop Knight-Bruce came and addressed the people. And we all had money-boxes with Mr. Upcher's photograph gummed on to them: and a magazine used to arrive with pictures of our dear Mr. Upcher standing among his black catechumens. And young Washington Hammond, the son of one of my father's tenants, was moved to write to Archdeacon Upcher, as he soon became in that sparse mission-field, to ask if he might join him there and preach the gospel to the heathen. But the Archdeacon wrote back that he might come and welcome, but it would be to black the Archdeacon's boots. So young Washy Hammond stayed at home. And when the Archdeacon himself returned, grizzled and twinkling, to revisit his old parish, there were some shakings of the head. 'They do say he smokes *and* drinks'—he, once the leader and inspirer of the local Band of Hope. It was only too true; the good Christian man smoked a pipe, and took a little whisky for his stomach's sake . . ."

BINDING OF VOL. 3 RHODESIANA

A list of contents and of illustrations covering Nos. 18, July 1968, to 22, July 1970, inclusive has been printed and will be distributed with this issue.

These five issues make up a volume of approximately the same size as volumes one and two.

It is up to individual members to arrange their own binding. The Society cannot undertake to make arrangements.

EXCELSA

Journal of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia

We welcome the first issue, December 1971, of this new journal. It will contain articles of historical and Rhodesiana interest as well as appealing to

botanists, gardeners and natural historians. For example, in this issue there is a long-forgotten article by the Rhodesian artist-explorer Thomas Baines on *The Great Tree Aloe of Damara Land, S.W. Africa*. It was first published in *Nature and Art*, December 1866, and is reprinted here with a monochrome reproduction of his painting of the Great Tree Aloe.

M. J. Kimberley, who edits the journal, tells the life story of G. W. Reynolds, one of the great amateur botanists of this century, and of his odd meeting with H. Basil Christian of Ewanrigg. There is an article by R. W. S. Turner (who is responsible for the attractive design and layout of the journal) on Carl Linnaeus and there are eight botanical articles plus other features.

But the great joy of the journal lies in the eight outstanding colour plates showing 48 different, beautiful plants and seedlings. The editor says that *Excelsa* is the first publication in Rhodesia of a botanical journal that relies on colour illustrations to describe Rhodesian plants, an important and delightful feature that has only been made possible by financial support from a number of well-known Rhodesian institutions.

The name *Excelsa* is taken from *Aloe excelsa*, Rhodesia's tallest and most "noble" aloe. The address of the Society is P.O. Box 922, Salisbury, and the annual subscription is \$2.

FORT MAZOE

Fort Mazoe, as will be remembered by those who took part in the Society's visit to the site on the 75th anniversary of the Mazoe Patrol in June last year, is about a mile from Mazoe on the old road to Salisbury, and close to the road.

The Lions Club of Mazoe has been responsible for some improvements here and have erected at their own expense a very substantial shelter, with benches, on the summit of the hill. They have also cleared a gentler access to it. The National Archives has arranged a pictorial exhibit in the shelter recounting the history of the Alice Mine laager and the Mazoe Patrol, and subsequent events.

The view is pleasant, the history is there, the benches are comfortable and Fort Mazoe is now a definite objective for a visit for those in and around Salisbury.

Correspondence

WITH LAING IN THE MATOPOS

(With reference to this article in the July 1971 issue, an errata note appeared on page 104 of the December 1971 issue explaining that the captions of the top photo of the frontispiece and that on page 6 had unfortunately been reversed. Mr. Simon's letter contains further clarification and matter of interest.—Editor.)

Sir,—I read "With Laing in the Matopos" (July 1971 issue) with considerable interest, particularly since I have spent a considerable amount of time of late following the course of the Rebellion in the Matopos.

Professor Gelfand's Introduction is both informative and interesting, and I hesitate to comment on it in any way which does not reflect my appreciation. However, there are indeed one or two points in the text which I feel should be questioned.

To take the photographs at the beginning of the article, I do not think that either have anything to do with Laing's battle. The title of the first is "The Column advancing towards Inungu, 1896". This presumably refers to Laing's Column. The photograph would appear to be the site of Nicholson's Fight, and appears in Trooper Sykes' book "With Plumer in Matabeleland". I enclose a photograph of the site taken recently—in fact on the 75th anniversary of Nicholson's Fight. I am not at all certain in my own mind that Laing in fact marched through this particular "Gorge" on the way to his laager at Inungu, although we tend to assume that he did. The last four or five miles of his march is not at all definite from any account, but if he adhered to the route set down by Trooper Sykes he may not have passed this particular point.

The title of the second photograph is "The Laager at Inungu". Presumably Laing's laager at Inungu. This photograph is not taken at Inungu. It is some 2½ miles from Laing's laager site at Inungu, in an area which I had always suspected contained the site of Nicholson's Laager. Reference to the photograph reproduced at the National Archives confirmed that this photograph is in fact one of Nicholson's Laager. I enclose a photograph taken from the same point recently. I should say that the difficult task of finding the exact position from which the photograph was taken was made much easier by willing and helpful students from the Teachers' College, who not only helped in the search but eventually pinpointed the position.

The title of the third photograph is "Scene of the fight at Inungu". It is in fact a picture of Nicholson's column advancing to Inungu. The location of the fight at Inungu has been fixed by various interested people, and coincides with Sykes' photograph of the battlefield, containing as it does, the bodies of dead horses. It is some 400 yards to the north of the plaque erected by the Historical Monuments Commission, commemorating the action, on the Scenic Drive road



**Site of Nicholson's
fight.**

(Photo: H. A. B. Simons)



**Site of Nicholson's
laager.**

(Photo: H. A. B. Simons)



**Site of Laing's
laager and the fight
at Inungu.**

(Photo: H. A. B. Simons)

leading off the circular drive road in the Matopos. The photograph is not the site. I enclose a photograph of the site of the action taken recently.

I feel that a few words on the text is also necessary. The size of the force detailed to attack Thabas Zaka Mambo is given by the Officer Commanding. Col. Plumer, to be 752, and not 1 000 as given in the Introduction.

In the second paragraph there are two further points. Lines 5 and 6 give the impression that the Mambo Hills and the Matopos are close together, whereas they are separated by nearly a hundred miles.

Line 11 states that Plumer left Fort Usher for the Hills on 19th July. Fort Usher did not exist on that date. It was sited by Baden Powell at General Carrington's instigation three days after the march on the Nkantola. Presumably the author is referring to Usher's No. 2, some five miles north of the Fort Usher site.

Baden Powell's sketch on page 4 has the title "Inungu Mountain Farm". It appears to be a sketch from the region of Chawners Camp. I wonder if the word "Farm" should really be "from" followed by N.W.

Note 1 gives the reference of a message from Captain J. S. Needham to the Chief Staff Officer, Usher Camp. I had not previously read of this officer in the Matabeleland context, and it worried me for a while. However, reference to the file in the National Archives suggests that this name should read Captain J. S. Nicholson.

Sergeant Halkett's account is certainly most interesting. I hoped that his account would clarify the route taken by Laing for the last few miles, but unfortunately it does not. If anyone can explain why Laing chose such a devious and difficult route for the last part of his march instead of the short, clear and open route that was available to him, I would be most grateful to hear of it. I have walked the route from the site of Fort Inungu, and spent considerable time finding a wagon route which crossed the Malaonga and the Maleme to the west of Inungu. I can think of no adequate reason why he did not march straight to the north-western end of the mountain, and so far I have not found a description of the march which supplies that answer.

Yours, etc.,

H. A. B. Simons,
17 Moffat Avenue,
Hillside,
Bulawayo.

UMTALI VOLUNTEERS

Sir,—When reading the last issue of *Rhodesiana*, December 1971, I spotted a small error on page 76 in the sentence where it is said that I fought in "B" Troop of the Umtali Horse.

There was no regiment called the Umtali Horse: we were the "Umtali Volunteers" under the command of Major Brown. We joined Colonel Alderson

en route to Salisbury and we took part in the attack on Makoni's kraal which had no result. We were then left at Headlands on the line of communications. Major Brown stayed with us for a short time and then he went on to Salisbury leaving Captain Kennedy in command. He also left for Salisbury leaving Lieut. Hamilton in command and when he, in turn, left us in the November I was promoted to Lieutenant in command.

We moved from Headlands to Devil's Pass and when the Warwick Regiment went back to Bloemfontein in April 1897 the Umtali Volunteers was disbanded.

Earlier, Captain A. Tulloch (mentioned on page 27 of the July 1971 issue) had commanded "A" Troop. He joined us at Marandellas and was with us when we blew up the two caves at Gatzi and Chiredzi. This ended the Rebellion as Makoni had been captured and then shot by Major Watt's column some two months before that. I was at the blowing up of the caves.

Yours, etc.,

T. P. Gilbert.
Nazareth House,
Highlands,
Salisbury.

EARLY HISTORY: CHINDAMORA T.T.L.

Sir,—For the last three years I have been visiting the Chindamora Tribal Trust Lands on duty three times a week and sometime ago the idea came to me to write a history of the "Reserve". Nothing came of it, mainly because there is no history worth writing about, and also the newly appointed chief became suspicious of my enquiries and passed the word around that I should not be given any information. He apparently thought that I was spying on him and reporting his shortcomings to Government. However, when studying the relevant documents in the Archives a few interesting titbits came to light. The first time the name is mentioned is in the report by the Native Commissioner, Salisbury, of 31st March, 1898, who states that he has sent messages to Paramount Chiefs Msana, Seki and Chindamora. "None of these Chiefs are subsidised by the B.S.A. Company. Crops are splendid, mainly 'Munga', but little 'Poko'. Since the rebellion no revenue has been collected. The expenditure consisted of N.C.s salary and wages of messengers."

On 31st March, 1899, he reports: There are very few cattle, sheep or goats-The Natives would like to buy some. They say: "Money is a nice thing to have but it does not breed like cows and goats."

There is a large population. On the average three per hut, altogether 11 403 (in the whole of Salisbury District). There is very little crime, "is a little short of marvellous and speaks well for disposition of Mashonas". Revenue £1 821. An unusual number of deaths, mainly from dysentery and mainly amongst children.

On 31st March, 1900, the report was typewritten for the first time. The report a year later mentions large swarms of locusts and that rice was a failure. "Dysentery is still the prevailing disease. Supply of labour would be doubled or trebled, if there were cattle in the country which the Natives could buy. The population was now 12 684 in 69 kraals. Revenue £2 273.2.6d. Tax was paid very well and most of the money was paid *in gold*."

"During February last, I had occasion to want men to go up and attack Mapandera at Mount Darwin. I sent around to let the Chiefs know I was going. The Chiefs at once sent in their own sons to accompany me . . . I mention that some of these Chiefs' sons were my best men on patrol."

"An epidemic of smallpox broke out on the Eastern border about October last. 4 212 children were vaccinated. Very few adults required vaccination, as they had *inoculated themselves* during the last epidemic which passed through this country."

31st March, 1903: "Crops were so good that they did not bother to reap the whole of it but left it standing on the lands. The natives of this country are very subject to chest conditions and lung complaints. This I consider attributable to the fact the natives wear overcoats and thick jackets all through the day, no matter how hot it might be and after the sun begins to set, they will strip themselves of everything with the exception of their waistskins and sit and lie about in that state for the rest of the night."

"The natives loathe work as much as ever, and in spite of all advice and persuasion they prefer to idle in their kraals and drink kaffir beer. A native will probably work for one or two months and earn from 30/- to 50/-. This will suffice to pay his hut tax and buy everything he requires for the next 12 months and he will retire to his kraal. A great loss of stock from 'redwater'."

31st March, 1906: "Several fresh cases of leprosy. Syphilis and venereal disease appear on the increase mostly caused by alien natives from Zambesia. Revenue £5 940.0.0d. Population 16 062."

I met one old man who said that he still remembered the raids by Matabele impis. Although he could not recall any details as he was then too small, he heard all the stories from older children who had been abducted by the Matabele but returned to Chindamora after the defeat of Lobengula.

I asked him whether he had noticed any changes in the "Reserve" during the last 70 years. His comment was that apart from the fact that now people had more clothes to wear, life was very much the same as it had always been.

Yours, etc.,

Dr. W. Gilges.
P.O. Box 96,
Borrowdale.

DE LAESSOE

Sir,—May I congratulate you upon your latest publication *Rhodesiana*, No. 25 of December 1971.

It is full of the most interesting matter and in my opinion, one of your best outputs so far.

The article about Mr. De Laessoe is of special interest to me, I knew him personally in Belingwe in 1904 and 1905. When I arrived in Belingwe in 1904 the talk was all of unrest amongst the local Africans. Many people feared an uprising. De Laessoe was a very strong minded man and did not suffer fools gladly. Those of us who approved of his handling of the Africans, and a great many of the residents in Belingwe did approve, knew that he was a difficult man to get on with in business, but otherwise he was a very courteous man and very likeable.

He certainly did teach those Africans to respect the law, Africans who appeared in his court on charges such as theft, insolence or refusal to fulfil a working contract were very severely dealt with. It will be remembered that the Native Commissioner was also Magistrate in the country districts.

We all knew that De Laessoe was very tough indeed but he had an exceedingly tough gang to deal with, and when he left Belingwe he left a thoroughly disciplined tribe of Africans.

I worked on the B reef mine, Belingwe, in 1904, owned by the Anglo French Matabeleland Company, a big ranching company who opened up and developed several gold-bearing reefs on their ranch in Belingwe. The late Sir George Farrar was the Managing Director of the Company and then Capt. J. A. Warwick was the Manager in Rhodesia.

Yours, etc.,

H. J. Lucas.
Flat No. 23.
Nichols Arcade,
Brompton St.,
Pinetown, Natal.

Reviews

With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force, 1896, by E. A. H. Alderson. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1971. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, v. 20. 308 pages, illustrations. Price \$6,30.)

It is perhaps unusual for one reviewer to take issue with another but the notice in the *Rhodesia Herald* deserves comment as the author was of the opinion that this book was not one of the publisher's best choices for the reprint series and was of limited appeal.

Its interest and value to the student of Rhodesian history is in its uniqueness as the only first-hand contemporary account of the 1896 rebellion in Mashonaland by someone at a senior level. The rebellion in Matabeleland had a number of chroniclers—Selous in *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1896), Baden-Powell's *Matabele campaign* (1897), Plumer's *An Irregular Corps in Matabeleland* (1897) are three—and was well covered by reporters for the press, and by artists for the *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News*. But the war correspondent and the artist left Mashonaland alone in 1896 and Alderson was the only participant to write a book.

Alderson, then a lieutenant-colonel and afterwards the commander of the Canadian Army Corps in France during World War I, was a regular soldier and a specialist in mounted infantry. At the outbreak of the rebellion around Bulawayo in March 1896 he commanded a special mounted infantry force, sent from Aldershot to Cape Town to be available if required, and when in June 1896 the British South Africa Company at the commencement of the outbreak in Mashonaland, asked for help, this force was sent from Cape Town for the relief of Salisbury by way of Beira and Umtali. On arrival there Alderson assumed command of the local troops which, with his Imperial unit, became the Mashonaland Field Force. In five months' campaigning they contained the rebels but Alderson's tactics were the subject of some criticism at the time as, though they lacked nothing in dash, the rebellion was not extinguished and it smouldered on until October 1897. Wherever an assault was made on a kopje or a kraal burned the rebels dispersed, to come together again somewhere else at a later date. However, this was hardly Alderson's fault as the proper mobility that he needed was denied him by shortage of food and more particularly fodder for his horses. He had to plan his movements as carefully as might a modern commander with a petrol shortage.

By December 1896 the Company, satisfied that it could carry on on its own, had dispensed with the services of the Mounted Infantry and their work passed to the newly formed British South Africa Police—so too did a number of the Mounted Infantry who were granted special discharges for the purpose, and the unit's surviving horses.

Alderson writes engagingly and with a pleasant humour.

E. E. BURKE

The Real Rhodesia, by Ethel Tawse Jollie, M.L.A. (Originally published in 1924 by Hutchinson and Co. Reprinted by Books of Rhodesia, 1971. 304 pages, with illustrations and a map. Price \$6.)

This book is the nineteenth volume in the Rhodesiana Reprint Library.

The author, who states on the book's title page that she was the Honorary Secretary and Organiser of the Responsible Government Party in Southern Rhodesia, 1920; a Member of the Rhodesian Delegation to Cape Town in 1922, and the first woman to be elected to a Legislative Assembly in the British Dominions, asserted that she wrote the book in two months, certainly an outstanding achievement.

The book is divided into two parts. There is a sketchy chapter entitled "How they made Rhodesia" without an indication of who "they" were, until the author launches into "The Fight for Self-Government". As she was the Secretary of the Responsible Government Party she is able to extend herself on this struggle and this is the most valuable part of the book.

In the second part of the volume there are impressionistic sketches of Rhodesia, this "Goodly Heritage". These chapters are chatty, descriptive and occasionally tedious as the author tries "to give a true picture of a British community which is unique in many of its conditions of life both politically and socially" and which means ranging "from high politics to pig-breeding".

The final result is a generally pleasant book with an appeal to those who wish to look back yearning for the good old days.

The re-publication is well up to the good standard achieved in the earlier publications by the Books of Rhodesia.

G. H. TANSER

The Story of Melsetter, by Shirley Sinclair. (M. O. Collins (Pvt.) Ltd., Salisbury. 197 pages, two endpaper maps, photographic illustrations and drawings. Price \$4,75.)

The research that has been put into this work must have taken many, many hours. It could only have been undertaken by one who loves her surroundings, who cares for the people who share them with her and who is interested in the developments which have converted a wild, rough land into the pleasing countryside that Melsetter has become.

The author indicates in her Introduction how the book came to be written and says that, had she known how much information she would be able to obtain she doubts whether she would have had the courage to start.

The book has been written and published and the information is there for anyone to read. It is a story that tells of the efforts of individuals in a small community who battled against distance, disease, and unfortunately, Government departments to establish the kind of village they wished to see. There are tales of people who refused to accept defeat no matter what befell. It is not all sadness, there are some humorous incidents but the reader will surely admire

these pioneers who laboured on, and, as the years passed overcame the primitive conditions and achieved the land of promise they sought.

It is well that a record of this kind should be made, for, as our country grows older the names of those who did these things are likely to be forgotten. Mrs. Sinclair has written a book which well might form an example that should be followed by others who are interested in the story of the development of the communities in which they live, for such stories are an important part of the history of Rhodesia.

"The Story of Melsetter" should find a place on the shelves of all those who have a regard for our history.

G. H. TANSER

'Mlimo, the rise and fall of the Matabele, by 'Mziki. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972. 192 pages, illustrations. Price \$4,80.)

In 1911 the Rhodesian Government awarded the manuscript of this book the first prize in a competition open to all civil servants in order to stimulate research into the ethnology of the African tribes in Rhodesia. "'Mziki" was A. A. Campbell, a native commissioner at Fort Rixon for many years and later at Belingwe. The book was based on accounts narrated to Campbell in 1897 and was published by a Pietermaritzburg firm in 1926. It is this 1926 publication which has now been reissued by Books of Rhodesia in their "mini-reprint" series but it must be pointed out that this is not a facsimile reprint, but a re-setting of type with some corrections, and with additional matter added.

The author has the 'Mlimo as the narrator of the story, the 'Mlimo being the priest or medium of Mwari, the Creator. The 'Mlimo cult was indigenous to Matabeleland before the Matabele entered the country and it survived because the invaders, with no cult of their own, were quick to pay it respect and thus to fill the vacuum in their own society. It is doubtful if the workings of the cult and its ramifications, for it still exists strongly, are yet fully understood by the social anthropologist.

However, this work is not about the 'Mlimo cult as such but traces the history of the Matabele from Mzilikazi's defiance of Chaka in Zululand to the death of Lobengula; mostly it concerns the hey-day of the Matabele under Mzilikazi when he brought them, increased to a great horde by others who sought his protection, through the Transvaal and north to Matabeleland where they arrived about 1835. In the opinions of the speaker the Matabele genius died with Mzilikazi in 1868, afterwards came war between differing factions arising out of the succession and this needlessly sapped the best of the tribal strength. Of Lobengula the author, quoting his Matabele informant, said—"Kind in name alone, a coward at heart, commanded neither respect or love and put to rest by unknown hands in an unknown grave. 'Twere better far had he never lived." This is an extreme view but undoubtedly reflected one shade of Matabele opinion after the Matabele War.

The author's style is at times reminiscent of that of Rider Haggard and is consonant with what is a splendid period piece.

E. E. BURKE

Rhodesian Tapestry. embroidered by Women's Institutes of Rhodesia, text by O. Ransford. (Books of Rhodesia Publishing Co., 1971. 95 pages, 43 colour illustrations. Price \$2,65.)

In 1946, Lady Tait, wife of the then Governor of Southern Rhodesia, suggested that the Women's Institutes of Rhodesia should create a tapestry depicting the main historical events of their country.

A committee co-ordinated the work of the Women's Institutes throughout Rhodesia, stipulating that each of the 42 panels "should show a harmonious uniformity of design, of materials used, of colour shading and of stitching techniques". Exhausting research ensured that the subject-matter was historically accurate, and that the characters portrayed were easily identifiable.

The completed panels are a tribute to the skill and dogged patience of many talented needlewomen, to all the members of Women's Institutes of Rhodesia who contributed to the cost of materials, and to all who worked quietly in the background. The panels were framed separately, and were presented to the Speaker of Parliament in 1963. They can be seen, by appointment, in the Members' Dining Hall.

Rhodesian Tapestry, a history in needlework, contains colour plates of the entire set of panels, with brief explanatory notes alongside each illustration—Oliver Ransford's text is, as always, succinct and informative, without being in the least pedantic. The book is a summary of Rhodesian achievement from pre-history to the early 1960's, in delightfully readable form, and would make a charming and imaginative present.

R. C. KIMBERLEY

Karl Mauch: African explorer, edited and translated by F. O. Bernhard. (Cape Town. C. Struik. 1971. 247 pages. Price \$8,40.)

To quote the dust-jacket, this volume "may be taken as a companion-volume of Mauch's manuscript Journals Nos. 3 and 4 which were published by the National Archives in 1969".* The late Mrs. Bernhard and Mr. Bernhard were, of course, transcriber and translator of the journals. Prior to these two books only a couple of articles from Dr. A. Petermann's *Geographische Mitteilungen* (geographical magazine) were available in English. In *Karl Mauch* all the significant material by or on Mauch appearing in Petermann has been translated, together with a further description of Zimbabwe which appeared after his death in *Transactions of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory*, pp. 186-9.

It seems that Petermann virtually built Mauch into a kind of national hero, though the less attractive aspects of his character made it difficult to fit him into the ideal mould. Then, after Mauch's return, in a poor state of mind, to Germany, Petermann ceased his promotion of the explorer's achievements. As a

* Mauch, Carl. *The journals of Carl Mauch: his travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, 1869-1872*, transcribed by E. Bernhard, translated by B. O. Bernhard and edited by E. E. Burke (Salisbury, National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969).

consequence poor Mauch suffered eclipse in his own land, whilst in Britain, naturally, he was always relatively little known. A re-examination of his true impact on Rhodesia's and southern Africa's history is, it can safely be said, overdue. And his contribution was considerable: the discovery of the gold-fields at Tati and on the Umfuli, the publication of the first description in modern times of Zimbabwe, the completion of detailed and pioneering topographical and geological notes and maps for wide areas of the interior. Mauch does not capture our imagination but he must gain our respect.

The book is neatly produced, though it suffers from a few spelling mistakes. Under the rather ordinary dust-jacket is an attractive grey binding in balacron. The price is, needless to say in this day and age, rather steep, but the purchaser may be consoled to note that the edition is limited to 1 500 copies.

D. HARTRIDGE

Ancient Ruins and Vanished Civilisations of Southern Africa, by Roger Summers. (T. V. Bulpin, Cape Town, 1971. 246 pages, 82 plates in colour and monochrome, maps, diagrams. Price \$18.)

This is a book written, says the author, for that literary abstraction "the general reader" or, perhaps better, "the intelligent layman". Thus, although it contains a mass of archaeological and scientific material and is exhaustively documented, it is written in an easy style, free of ambiguous jargon.

The area covered comprises Rhodesia, Northern Transvaal, the Orange Free State and an adjoining portion of Moçambique, a large piece of country that contains about 18 000 recorded ruins, the greatest concentration of ancient stone buildings in Africa with the exception of the Nile Valley. Although most of the ruins discussed here are of stone, a mound on which an ancient hut had once stood, a ridge of a stockade or an irrigation terrace are all classed as ruins. The word "ancient" is a relative term referring in most cases to buildings about whose function and origin nothing is known from written records.

None of the South African ruins are considered impressive enough to be gazetted as National Monuments and little investigation has been undertaken in Moçambique so the greater part of the book is about Rhodesian ruins, particularly Zimbabwe.

The author's pattern is comprehensive. He first of all describes all the major ruins of the area classifying them into nine main types. He reviews the early travellers' tales about them, tells of the discoveries of the main ruins and of the first written records. He then surmises on how and why they were built and finally he shows how the ruins, and the artefacts found in them, reflect the way of life of the people who lived in them.

He points out that modern radiocarbon systems of dating have discredited those many fanciful stories of how Zimbabwe was built by the Queen of Sheba or King Solomon or the Sabaeans or the Phoenicians. But, he goes on, no doubt imaginative theories will continue to appear because "there is still a good deal of romance, as well as a number of mysteries, left in the story".

All the archaeological evidence indicates that the builders were indigenous people (Karanja/Rozwi). But the construction and design of the Conical Tower and the Great Outer Wall at Zimbabwe certainly suggest that there was some external influence. In this area of central Africa the obvious inference is that it was Arab influence from the East Coast, more probably through persons rather than people, moving up the Zambezi valley. It may even have been second-hand influence. Some writers have suggested that the Lemba (or Mwenye) of the Northern Transvaal who differ physically and culturally from the surrounding Bantu, may be descendants of the "Moors", of part-Arab descent, who were sent as traders into the interior, the Arabs themselves remaining on the coast. If a late date, 1450-1600, for the building of the Great Outer Wall is accepted then a similar influence could have been Portuguese, also from the East Coast.

A few of the ruins, probably less than twenty, and including some with "loopholes", are indeed of Portuguese, sixteenth and seventeenth century, origin. But most of the smaller ruins, dating from the early centuries A.D., were the homes of simple indigenous farmers. The "grand" buildings of Rhodesia, whose siting was usually connected with the gold-mining, were the palaces of chiefs built up over a long period of years. Zimbabwe, for example, was occupied for at least 750, probably 1 000, years.

The author discusses the often-asked question. Why, if the indigenous Africans were capable of building such great edifices in stone in the past, do they not do so today. The flat answer is that there is no need for them to do so nowadays. It is true the Africans in Vendaland still do build houses in stone. Many in Rhodesia have only recently been abandoned and one traditionally constructed stone house is still occupied by a chief. The smaller ruins are dwellings abandoned perhaps because of the exhaustion of the soil or of a gold-mine, or, like the "grand" buildings, they have have been destroyed during the *mfecane*, the wars and devastations that followed the rise of the Zulu nation. Tribes and groups fled northward spreading death and destruction and one of them, the Ngoni (1820-30) smashed "grand" buildings, including Zimbabwe, throughout Rhodesia. Later, in further tribal wars, the Ndebele destroyed others. With European occupation tribal wars came to an end and it was no longer necessary to build stone defensive buildings or stone huts on kopjes. Thatch and daga are easier to use and if a more permanent building is needed, the use of bricks and corrugated iron is cheaper than building in dressed stone.

The irrigation terraces on hillsides supported by rough stone-work also date from the early centuries A.D. and are older than the buildings. In fact Summers says the buildings probably derived from the terraces. It is not known how the terrace system arose nor why it was abandoned.

By describing and speculating on the relics and artefacts found in the ruins Summers is able to evoke a fascinating picture of life in the Iron Age in Rhodesia and he covers a lot of new ground in his descriptions of the South African ruins. The book is profusely illustrated, most of the excellent colour plates being from new photographs, of both South African and Rhodesian ruins, taken by T. V. Bulpin, the publisher.

This is a splendid book and a most valuable addition to Rhodesiana.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Malawi Past and Present, edited by Bridglal Pachai, Gordon W. Smith and Roger K. Tangri. (Christian Literature Association in Malawi, P.O. Box 503. Blantyre, 1971. 160 pages, illustrations, map. Price K3,20.)

The University of Malawi held its first History Conference in 1967 and eight of the papers presented are published here. The basic aim of the Conference was to stimulate interest among secondary school teachers in the history of central Africa generally and of Malawi in particular. So that although four of the papers printed here are of purely Malawian interest there is one on education and urban development in Zambia and three of interest to Rhodesians.

The first of these is by Gordon W. Smith, of the University of Malawi, on "European and African Backgrounds to the Opening of the Portuguese Sea Route to the East".

The next is "Portugal's Bid for Southern Malawi 1882-1891" by P. R. Warhurst of the University of Rhodesia. Warhurst describes how in 1886 the British Foreign Office took up, "with enthusiasm", the idea of settling the several boundary disputes with Portugal by agreeing to Portugal's claim to a belt of territory across Africa from Angola to Mozambique to the north of the Zambezi thus abandoning most of southern Malawi to the Portuguese. The Scottish missionaries in Malawi fought the idea and, when the Portuguese interfered with their expeditions towards Malawi in 1888 and prevented arms reaching the African Lakes Company who were fighting the slavers in the Ngonde area, the British dropped the corridor idea and confirmed its own claim. Rhodes' offer of money to aid in the administration of Malawi no doubt aided the decision.

B. Pachai, of the University of Malawi, in a paper "Christianity and Commerce in Malawi" follows up the story. He points out that Rhodes envisaged a grant of £17 500 annually in cash, kind or services (plus £10 000 a year for the pacification of the south-eastern areas of the country) from 1891 being utilised wholly on administration, roads, a telegraph service and the search for minerals. Instead, Johnston, British Consul at the time, spent what money did arrive from Rhodes on the suppression of the slave trade and on subsidies for chiefs. At the same time the missionaries and settlers combined to protest against what they envisaged was the setting up of another Rhodesia in Nyasaland. Rhodes, thus blocked of his design to become the controlling influence in Nyasaland, withdrew in 1896.

Several other papers of Rhodesian and central African interest were given at the Conference but unfortunately not published here although some have appeared elsewhere.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Wings to the Cape, by J. Godwin. (Tafelberg Publishers Ltd., 1971. 125 pages, 42 illustrations. Price in S. Africa R4,25.)

This is an account of the first attempts to fly from England to the Cape, and of the preparations which preceded them.

Towards the end of World War I it became clear that aircraft, which had developed enormously during that conflict, would be put to profitable use in the field of civil transport but first, of course, adequate landing grounds and supplies would have to be provided. Thus, towards the end of 1918 it was decided that an air route between Cairo and the Cape should be established and three survey teams were detailed to select and clear landing grounds and to lay down supplies at suitable intervals along the entire length of the African continent. Major Chaplin Court Treatt, an experienced explorer (who some ten years later was to lead a motor expedition from Cape Town to Cairo) was in charge of the southern team, responsible for the sector between Cape Town and Abercorn, N. Rhodesia.

The route was declared open at the end of December 1919 and during the following few weeks four contesting aircraft left England—and one from Cairo—in the hopes of being first to reach the Cape by air. One by one they came to grief, the first being a Vickers Vimy named *Silver Queen* sponsored by the South African Government and flown by South African pilots van Ryneveld and Brand, which was wrecked in a forced landing at night at Korosko near Wadi Haifa. The crew returned to Cairo where a replacement Vimy was provided, and they re-entered the race. By this time their only serious rival was another Vimy sponsored by the London *Times*. The latter, plagued by faulty engines, was making slow, laborious progress; the South African team rapidly narrowed the gap, and an exciting contest developed: a mere 300 miles separated the two machines when the *Times* Vimy was wrecked while attempting to take off from Tabora, Tanganyika, on 27th February.

Van Ryneveld and Brand now had the field to themselves, but their troubles were not over. The Rhodesian rainy season was a heavy one in 1920, and they were held up for several days at Ndola and Livingstone due to boggy aerodromes. They reached Bulawayo on 5th March, 1920—the first aeroplane seen in Rhodesia—amid scenes of wild excitement, and were now in sight of their goal.

But next morning, shortly after taking off from Bulawayo race-course, the Vimy sank to the ground and was completely wrecked. Once again the South African Government came to the rescue and provided a third machine in which the pioneer journey was resumed, and successfully completed on 20th March, 1920.

The book has several appendices which provide details of aerodromes along the 1920 air route, flight timetables of the two Vimy aircraft, and of some important flights between England and South Africa during the period 1920-52; however, a detailed index would have enhanced its value as a work of reference.

A central cluster of 42 good photographs is provided—several will be of especial interest to Rhodesian readers, e.g. *Silver Queen II* being hauled out of the mud at Livingstone by scores of African labourers; the first aerial photograph of Victoria Falls; the wrecked Vimy at Bulawayo; and *Voortrekker*, the relief aircraft sent to Bulawayo from Pretoria.

The foreword is written by Major-General Kenneth van der Spuy, well qualified to do so since he himself was flying aeroplanes during the period under review.

This stirring, true adventure story makes easy reading; it should appeal to all with an interest in aviation, and to many others besides.

JACK MCADAM

An African Horizon: Ideals in Shona Lore and Literature, by Abraham Kriel. (Permanent Publishing House, Rondebosch, Cape Town, 1971.)

By and large one can say Dr. Kriel has ably and interestingly sampled facts on various aspects of Shona tradition in language and style that lend themselves to easy reading for the professional and the ordinary man. The facts have been marshalled in such a way as will give the reader a wide view—indeed a window view of the horizon of Shona tradition and philosophy as embodied in the oral literature of the people.

However, it is to be concluded from the above point that a window view cannot be but an inadequate view. This the author rightly admits on page 1, "The knowledge gained in this way is bound to be partial and fragmentary and will only serve a practical purpose if related to information obtained in other ways." A still more serious defect of the book is that there are certain statements which are stated as facts and yet to my knowledge they are falsehoods. This I think is a result of the author's having depended a great deal on work of Shona literature and other literary stuff.

It must be borne in mind that there are facts and fiction works in every language and it is highly imperative that an author gets closely acquainted with them before he makes gross generalisations in a book that has a wide market. Any work of fiction like the novel often distorts the picture of a people or of a person. A very small defect is often enlarged and hence made condemnable. Thus, Swift's "Gullivers Travels". Thus also the novels "Feso", "Jekanyika" and Karikoga-gumi-remiseve. So Kriel must be wary of the information given by books.

To come back to his book, however, I must say that the idea of symbolism, the philosophy behind it at least, seems to be brilliantly put across. The general application to the Shona proverbs and folktales is generally good. But again there is the defect mentioned above, i.e. lack of deep treatment of the subject. The proverb is to my knowledge the most condensed and meaning-loaded utterance in Shona. But as it is given by Kriel one is bound to get only the surface symbolic nature of the proverb and fail to penetrate through to the deep

complex aspect. For example, *Fungira mumwoyo rwendo rwembwa* (on page 17), whose meaning Kriel gives as, "Thoughts are secret." One must understand that there is a moral implication made by the proverb. A person is here advised not to make secret plans, plots and so on alone. *Zano mbazhinji*. (A good plan is that made by many people.) This by and large emphasises the inadequacy of individualism and the effectiveness of communalism—a philosophy not altogether unfamiliar to the Shona. So one must be careful when trying to describe a Shona proverb. He might be tempted to give the application of it and not the complex meaning.

However, I will now point out a few factual and typographical errors in the book. On page 122, the author mixes up two entirely different aspects of the Shona culture—these are the "shaves" and the folktale. To my own knowledge there are not "shaves" in folktales. When someone speaks of "shave" he usually uses the word idiomatically.

On the same page 122, Kriel speaks of the chief's bride as welcomed by the various types of the "mashave". This is pure fiction and not factual.

On page 223, Kriel writes: "In fact a man hardly greets his wife when returning from a journey and would first seek out his friends . . . and again quotes De Clercq, "the relation between husband and wife, they live together outwardly, but inwardly they are far removed from each other, the husband fears the wife and the wife fears the husband". This to my own knowledge of the Shona is not true. There are in fact a good number of factual errors all of which I can not enumerate in such a short commentary.

However, I would like also to point out one small error. This is on page 164. The expression. "Kutizisa *makumba*", should be, "Kutizisa *mukumbo*".

A. C. HODZA
(*University Language Assistant*)

GENERAL

The Commandant-General: the life and times of Petrus Jacobus Joubert of the South African Republic, 1831-1900, by Johannes Meintjes. (Cape Town, Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1971. 220 pages, illustrations. Price \$4,15.)

Meintjes enjoys a high reputation for the historical studies on South African personalities and events he has published during the last few years. His technique, largely, is to gather together facts from numerous published works, analyse these, and present them in a coherent and readable whole. In so doing he often casts new light on old themes, and for this he deserves credit. If his work falls short of being definitive, it is because he does not draw sufficiently on primary sources. This study of Joubert is no exception.

Joubert's stature in South African history is considerable but not always appreciated. His political career spanned forty years; he was actively involved in various clashes between the Bantu and Boers, the first Boer War, the Jameson

Raid, and the Great Boer War; and he exercised tremendous influence on Louis Botha who was his protege, e.g. the concept of South Africa unity was Joubert's years before Union actually took place. Meintjes paints a fascinating picture of Joubert against this turbulent background.

Joubert, a complex character with a prima donna's temperament, was a pacifist whose ambition was to become President of the South African Republic. To his chagrin he never achieved this ambition but always found himself elected Commandant-General (although in 1893 he only narrowly missed defeating Kruger in the elections). He had no formal military training and his successes in the field were due largely to his tactic of laying siege and depriving the enemy of food and water. This approach failed dismally in the early stages of the Great Boer War, and it was only at this point—in Joubert's last days—that his caution and aversion to bloodshed were thrown to the wind and he urged his men to assume commando roles.

This is an enlightening account for anyone interested in southern Africa. For Rhodesians there is additional interest in the realisation that the course which events took in the far interior might have been very different if Joubert's ideas on northward expansion for the Boers had received free rein. As early as 1882 (five years before the Grobler treaty) Joubert was making overtures to Lobengula and it was probably only because of Kruger's obsession with the priority of an east coast port that an effective Boer presence in Mashonaland was not established before Rhodes's corridor to the north had been secured in 1885 by Sir Charles Warren's occupation of Bechuanaland. If Joubert had had his way, one is tempted to conclude that the entire course of modern Rhodesian history would have been different.

C. COGGIN

Sport and Service in South Africa. The diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright 1843-1846, edited by Edward C. Tabler, M.S., F.R.G.S. (A. A. Balkema, Cape Town. 97 pages, with photograph of diarist.)

There are doubtless readers who will be interested in the activities of one of those hunters who, around the middle of the nineteenth century, enjoyed killing animals for the collection of trophies and to feed a great number of hangers-on. The young subaltern, Lieutenant Robert Arkwright, who came out with the 7th Dragoon Guards and arrived in South Africa after a voyage of ninety-one days, had hunted in Leicestershire and was at first much more interested in hunting jackals, and mixed up this activity with a military expedition against the Free State Boers who were defeated at Driekoppen.

After two years Arkwright set off on a hunting expedition. The diary which he kept was presumably written to remind him of the events which took place during the period covered by the diary and, possibly, for other persons to read. It is difficult to find enthusiasm for one who would write as he did of the animals he shot.

"Little idea had I then when I shouted with rapturous joy over the beautiful little antelope as I heard the bullet tell and saw that it had done its work, or laughed at the grotesque gestures of the gnoo as he attempted to charge after he had received his death warrant, that it was ever to fall to my lot to sit in triumph on the haunch of a prostrate elephant, or admire the dying form of the giraffe as he bowed his proud neck to my trusty rifle."

Together with another officer Arkwright sets off "to wander unrestrained by game laws or tyrannical despots" to the north-eastern Cape and then over the Orange up to the Limpopo on an orgy of slaughter but particularly elephant. Having killed 19 elephants Arkwright says "I ought to be satisfied" but he wasn't. He determined to make his number 20 and went on to kill 21.

Then exulting in his collection of trophies, "every head with horns of every description of antelope, the buffalo and tusks of elephants and sea-cows, tails of cameopard, lions' and tigers' skins and in short every description of vilt (wild animals)", Arkwright returned to England.

The notes of the editor of the diary, E. C. Tabler, increase the value of a publication which, however, is likely to have only a limited appeal.

G. H. TANSER

Colonial Sequence 1949-1969, by Margery Perham. (Methuen. 1970. 377 pages. Price £3,95.)

Margery Perham has been a prolific writer on Africa for many decades and this is the second volume comprising collections of her articles, letters, broadcasts and other short writings. The first volume covered the period 1930-49. Most of the letters were published in the London *Times*; most of the articles are reprinted from the *Listener* and others from a wide variety of journals.

In her views on Africa Margery Perham is an avowed liberal and her short topical writings and broadcasts were aimed at influencing British policy in the direction of giving greater freedom to colonial territories.

Whilst agreeing that Britain had little to be ashamed of in its record of emancipating the colonies she says Britain was too slow to realise what effect the Second World War would have in increasing the tempo of political advance. Little preparation was made for independence. For example, no politically experienced Governors were appointed to aid and guide the rapid political advance, and far too leisurely timetables were set for independence dates and they were soon shattered by political explosions.

She also makes the point that after the war Britain was no longer a proud independent power that could ignore world opinion. The war had weakened her strength and authority in the world generally whilst exalting that of two major powers, the U.S.A. and Russia, both of whom, for different ideological reasons were inimical to Britain's colonial power. This should have been a warning that she would not be left alone in controlling the pace of change.

Margery Perham was, inevitably, an opponent of the "politically immoral" Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland right from the time of the Bledisloe

Commission in 1939, mainly because of "the grave possibility that the Southern Rhodesian system of racial domination might be extended to the northern territories". Her other reasons for opposition, read in the light of current events, now appear more like a justification for Rhodesian independence. The lesson of history is, she says, that remote influence by Britain over native affairs was impossible, whatever ingenious controls or vetoes were invented. Moreover, "Britain had little hand in the foundation of Rhodesia—and Rhodes played down what little it had." It was Rhodes, not Britain, that gained the concession from Lobengula; Rhodes' colonists came from the Cape not Britain; Rhodes made peace with the Matabele in the Matopos; and it was Rhodes' company that ruled Rhodesia, never Britain.

These writings cover a vast field—comments on Kenya before, during and after Mau-Mau, the Nigerian civil war, the independence of the Sudan and Somalia, the banishment of Tshekedi and comments on the Portuguese territories as well as general pieces. There are specific references of local interest on the Rhodesian University and the Conservatives and U.D.I.

Although some of the writings are political the book as a whole does give an individual portrayal of the period by an academic who had personal knowledge of most of the countries and people she writes about.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Sandile. The fall of the Xhosa nation, by Johannes Meintjes. (T. V. Bulpin, 1971. 312 pages, 40 illustrations. Price R10.)

This publication, the first full-length study of a Xhosa prince, poses a complex task for any historian. Yet, in the shifting, restless surge of border wars, of inter-tribal feuds, of power intrigues, is a tale told so lucidly that the reader can analyse the motives of action and anticipate the steps to inevitable catastrophe.

Sandile, last of the great chiefs of the Xhosa nation, was head of the House of Ngqika. Handsome, pampered from birth, with a deformed leg and a tortuous mind, he has always been portrayed as a weak, sensual puppet, a man of indecision.

The author, in close contact with the Xhosa people from early childhood, studied their customs and learned their language. He presents Sandile authoritatively as one who "laboured and fought for the unification of his people, for a national awareness and for independence from an oppressor".

We have an account of successive Governors of the Cape and their multiplicity of well-meaning projects, some memorable pictures of the swashbuckling Sir Harry Smith, and of Charles Brownlee, who strove for impossible understanding between the races in conflict.

Out of drought and national despair, was born the incredible faith in the vision of Nongquase—only if all cattle, goats and fowls were slaughtered, all grain thrown away, and all cultivation ended, a miraculous event would take place. Out of a whirlwind would arise the long dead warriors in battle array, to avenge their nation. Cattle would pour with impatient knocking of horns from

subterranean caverns, and the waiting grain-bins would overflow with maize. The day of days passed and all was as before. Many thousands perished near their yawning grain-bins; others died scrabbling for edible roots. Warriors became domestic servants. The remnants of the Xhosa were a nation in name only.

Sandile died fighting in a war he did not want, and was buried in the Isi-Denge. It is said that his skull was kept as a trophy by a British soldier and buried in England.

"I give thanks. The word is spoken—
Hark! I hear the battle-cry;
Nteya, father! Chief Sandile!
O my God! My heart is broken—
'Sons of Gaika! cross the Kei!'
Let me die."

R. C. KIMBERLEY

Environment and Land Use in Africa, edited by M. F. Thomas and G. W. Whittington. (Methuen, 1970. 554 pages, illustrations, maps, diagrams. Price £4,50.)

The theme of this symposium of nineteen studies by different authors is the urgent need in Africa today for the systematic regional development of land resources. This volume is thus of special importance for geographers and agriculturalists. It is in fact an attempt to outline a methodology of a new discipline—agricultural geography—the study of the relationship between environment and land use. But, one writer emphasises, discussion of tropical agriculture should begin, not with land use but with the peasant cultivator himself. He has to create and carry out any system of improved usage. It is essential therefore to find out first what sort of incentives would persuade the peasant cultivator to change. For instance, changes in agricultural practice often only follow commercial incentives and in areas such as Southern Rhodesia, where traditional markets, offering a range of consumer goods, were non-existent, it may be necessary to experiment in the creation of such markets to see whether their artificial establishment does promote changes in agriculture.

This volume stresses the absolute necessity of making studies of the natural environment before changes are introduced into agricultural practice since so many natural phenomena affect the local, existing agricultural scene.

The papers cover a wide area of black Africa and authors describe the various classifications of African agriculture—shifting cultivation, rotational bush fallowing, semi-permanent and permanent cultivation—and the relation of population density to these systems. The influence of European administration on African agriculture is also dealt with, particularly the attempts of the Portuguese and the Belgians in the Congo to recreate in Africa a European-type peasantry. There are case studies from East, South and West Africa including a consideration of a Natural Resources Survey in Malawi and description of Agricultural Progress in Zambia.

Although valuable mainly as a technical treatise this book does contain a great deal of material that is of interest to all serious students of African affairs.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Tribes Without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems, edited by John Middleton and David Tait. (Routledge and Kegan Paul. 3rd impression. 234 pages. Price £1,75.)

There is a very wide range of political systems in black Africa ranging from kingdoms of several million people to small family societies of wandering Bushmen or Pygmies, [n between these two extremes are numerous societies in which a central government is lacking, in which the political system is based on a balance of power between small groups, for example, lineage systems or age groups. Such groups, lacking in specific political classes or offices have been defined as "ordered anarchies".

The political systems of six such tribes, four from East Africa (Dinka, Mandari, Amba and Lugbara) and two from West Africa (Tiv and Konkomba), are discussed here together with an introductory essay by the editors. All six are patrilineal and their organisation has not been affected by European influence.

The main title of the book is perhaps misleading because the authors include in this intermediary category tribes which have chiefs or a number of chiefs. But they exclude those tribes, usually the larger ones, that have Paramounts or Kings above the other chiefs. (For example, in this part of Africa the Ndebele prior to 1893 and the present Lozi and Bemba of Zambia would not be included as they had, or have, a strongly centralised government with one paramount chief. On the other hand the Tonga and Shona would be included in this intermediary group of "tribes without rulers" as they do not form unitary states with one King or Paramount.) Political authority in the intermediate groups or tribes is not vested in one supreme ruler but in numerous chiefs, headmen and elders. In many such tribes (for example the Tonga of Zambia) the very institution of the post and state of chief is an artificial creation of European administrations.

The logical descriptive term should perhaps be "politically uncentralised tribes" rather than "tribes without rulers".

This book is intended as a supplement to the well-known classic *African Political Systems*, edited by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, and published in 1940. It certainly does a great deal to clarify and demarcate our knowledge of the subject.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Angola, by Douglas L. Wheeler and Rene Pelissier. (Pall Mall Library of African Affairs, 1971. 296 pages, maps, illustrations. Price £3,75.)

This book is in two parts. The first, by Wheeler, comprises a very full and detailed history of Angola from the earliest times up to 1961 and the second, by Pelissier, is the story of the revolt and political disturbances that began in 1961 and which continue to the present time.

Angola, which has nearly 100 tribes or sub-groups is one of the most sparsely populated countries in sub-Saharan Africa with an average density of only 10 people to the square mile. Ever since the first discoveries and contacts of 1415 the Portuguese have been trying to find wealth and status in this vast, heterogeneous and under-populated country. But metropolitan Portugal has been herself too poor and too small in population to colonise the whole country. For centuries she could do little but cling to the coastal towns and, in the nearby interior, man a few forts from which they could rarely venture. Tribal resistance to such weak penetration was, naturally, continuous. Between 1579 and 1921, a period of 3½ centuries, there had to be a full-scale military campaign every five years in order to maintain a tenuous control. So the revolt of 1961 can be regarded merely as a continuation of the "traditional" tribal resistance to Portuguese rule.

The many political changes and crises in Portugal have, over the years, been reflected in the attitudes of the European Angolans and there have been numerous attempts to gain independence from Portugal. In the nineteenth century, following the legal abolition of slavery, a movement arose with the aim of forming a union with Brazil, for the slave trade had made Angola an economic dependency of that country. When that failed it was even proposed that Angola should become a colony of the U.S.A.

In the international field, Germany tried twice to annex Angola and at the beginning of the 1914-18 war, although Portugal was still neutral, German troops actually invaded Angola. But by a "secret treaty" made in 1899 Britain had guaranteed to protect Angola against any enemies and South African troops were sent to assist the Portuguese in crushing the German forces.

It was not until the Benguela railway reached the Congo border in 1928 that the Portuguese were able to move out of their primitive forts in the remote interior and begin to administer and collect taxes. But there was no real sign of prosperity in the country until after the Second World War and that was based on coffee, not on the much sought after minerals.

So that Angola's long history has been stormy and blood-stained.

The rebellion, being current politics, does not concern us in this journal but one can mention Pelissier's stressing of the irony of the situation. "Angola," he says, "is probably the country south of the Sahara with the brightest prospect of economic development (apart from South Africa)." Yet it has been held back by the weakness and poverty of the homeland. Now, in order to retain it as a province, Portugal has had to pour in money and men. Portugal is being bled white but Angola is flourishing. The 50 000 European troops with a relatively high spending power, are stimulating trade and development in the remote villages and towns as well as creating a new generation of *mesticos* (half-castes) who, as a class, are on the side of the Portuguese. Angola thus has to thank the rebels for its lightning development since 1961.

This is an excellent, interesting and authoritative work on Angola's past history and present politics and growth.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Slave Trade: The Story of Transatlantic Slavery, by Oliver Ransford. (John Murray, 1971. 292 pages, illustrated. Price £3,50.)

Dr. Ransford, the Bulawayo author and prominent member of the Rhodesiana Society, has added to his well-known publications on southern African history with a work on a broad theme. In "The Slave Trade", he explores the ramifications of the Atlantic trade in human lives which had a profound impact on three continents.

Few books have dealt with the subject so comprehensively. Dr. Ransford has done detailed research, and, by drawing extensively on contemporary sources, vividly reconstructs life in the slave trade era. Indeed, the piling up of descriptions of the horrors of the "Middle Passage" and the North American plantation becomes almost nauseating. It was with relief that this reader moved on to chapters on South America, where slaves received relatively humane treatment, and thence to the heroic struggle to abolish the Atlantic trade and emancipate the slaves.

The author provides many perceptive insights into the psychological effects of the slave trade on its victims and their masters. He avoids wallowing sentimentally over the plight of slaves, reminding readers of the generally harsh conditions of the time. Brutality on ships was not confined to slaves; on average, the death-rate for members of crews was similar to that for slaves—estimated about 16 per cent. In West Africa, European activities were limited to the coast. African "middlemen" retained a monopoly over the interior, collecting and transporting slaves to the coastal markets. This reviewer hoped for a fuller analysis of the repercussions of the trade on Guinea societies whose differences tend to be obscured in a generalised picture.

Nevertheless, "The Slave Trade", offers fascinating, if sometimes harrowing, reading. It is salutary to ponder occasionally on "man's inhumanity to man", that insight into horrors of the past may improve understanding of the present. Dr. Ransford provides the stimulus for his readers.

P. E. N. TINDALL

Publications of the National Museums of Rhodesia

Nos. 13-24, Vol. 5, of *Arnoldia*, the series of Miscellaneous Publications are to hand. The usual wide variety of original research on scientific subjects is covered. Some of the titles cover: *A Deformed Burial at Fortune's Gate, Bulawayo*; *Cloth from the Iron Age in Rhodesia*; the determination of the movements of certain joints of a dinosaur; reedbuck in Kyle National Park; Nyala in the Lowveld; the occurrence of the very rare Giant African Free-tailed Bat in Tanzania; two papers on Lepidoptera by Elliott Pinhey; and a long review of the *Nucras Tessellata* group of lizards by Donald G. Broadley.

(See under Notes for a mention of the Elizabeth Goodall Commemorative Issue of Occasional Paper of December 1971.—Editor.)

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(Only the following numbers of Rhodesiana are in stock. Copies can be bought from The Rhodesiana Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia, at a cost of R\$2 per copy.—Editor.)

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An early print of Sofala. This historic port was occupied by the Portuguese in 1505 when the first building was put up by Pero d'Anhaya. There are many references to Sofala in the Documents on the Portuguese in Moçambique and Central Africa. 1497-1840

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The National Archives of Rhodesia
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