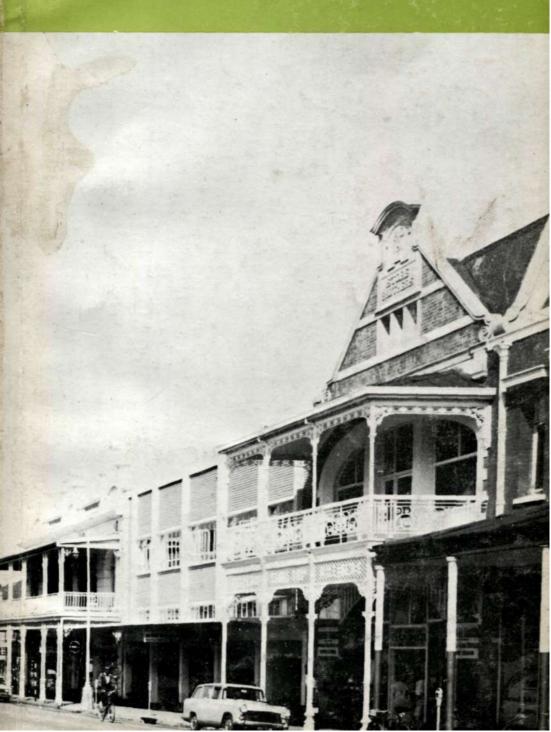
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IN THE

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF

RHODESIA

by

T. W. Baxter and E. E. Burke

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 27 — December, 1972

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY Salisbury Rhodesia

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



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Balla Balla Fort-viewed from the south-west.



Brand's Fort.

Rebellion Forts in Matabeleland

by I. J. Cross

(Some of the material in this article has already appeared in Garlake's article in Rhodesiana No. 12, (See under References.). But since that issue of Rhodesiana is out of print and this article does contain additional information on some of the forts described by Garlake this paper by Cross has been left intact.

All the photographs are from the National Archives.

The two drawings are by Melton Prior, who was the veteran "war correspondent" of the Illustrated London News in Matabeleland in 1896. His reports and sketches appeared in that journal.—Editor.)

Encouraged by P. S. Garlake's paper which appeared in *Rhodesiana* No. 12, I have attempted to locate and survey all the forts used in Matabeleland in 1896 and to this end I first compiled a list of such forts which appears below.

The list is compiled mostly on the authority of Garlake's paper, but I have included three forts which he does not mention: (1) Belingwe Fort (as distinct from Laing's Laager), (2) Brand's Fort, and (3) Government Farm Fort.

I should add that, since in 1896 Matabeleland had the Umniati River as its north-eastern boundary but did not include the Tuli District, I have included in the list Gibbs', Ingwenya and Kwe Kwe forts and excluded Tuli Fort.

The following is the result of my surveys. I do not claim to be the discoverer of all the forts located since Garlake produced his paper, and I have recorded in each case the names of those people who have either shown me forts or provided information which enabled me to find them. I am most grateful for their kind assistance.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF FORTS IN MATABELELAND IN

- (1) BALLA BALLA FORT
- (2) BELINGWE FORT
- (3) BEMBESI FORT
- (4) BRAND'S FORT
- (5) DAWSON'S FORT
- (6) FILABUSI FORT
- (7) GIBBS' FORT
- (8) GOVERNMENT FARM FORT
- (9) GRAINGER'S FORT
- (10) HALSTED'S FORT
- (11) HOPE FOUNTAIN FORT
- (12) INGWENYA FORT
- (13) INUGU FORT
- (14) INYATI FORT
- (15) KHAMI FORT

- 1896:
 - KWE KWE FORT (16)
 - (17)LAING'S REDOUBTS
 - (18) LUCK'S FORT
 - MANGWE FORT (19)
 - MANZINYAMA FORT (20)
 - MARQUAND'S FORT (21)
 - M'CHABEZI FORT (22)
 - (23) MOLYNEAUX'S FORT
 - (24)M'PATENI FORT
 - **RIXON'S FORT** (25)
 - (26)SHANGANI FORT
 - SHILOH FORT (27)
 - (28)SOLUSI FORT
 - (29)SPARGO'S FORT
 - (30) SPRINGS FARM FORT

(31) UMLUGULU FORT

(32) UMZINGWANI FORT

(33) USHER'S FORT

In the cases of those forts of which a plan appears in Garlake's paper, namely numbers 7, 12, 13, 19, 25 and 32, I have in some instances produced slightly more detailed plans.

(1) BALLA BALLA FORT (Map reference 2029A₄: 142426)

Informants: Mrs. Coulson of Essexvale.

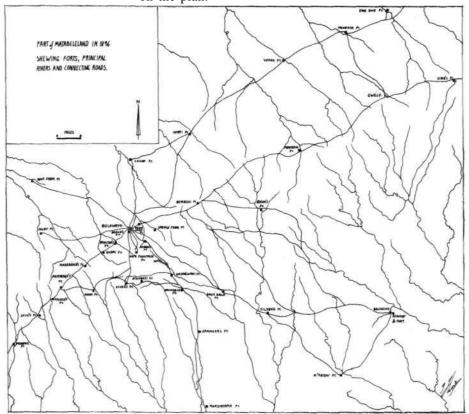
Mr. Fuller of Balla Balla.

Site: The top of a hill overlooking the Umzingwani River in the north. The old Makupakupeni-Filabusi road skirts the southern foot of the hill.

Ramparts: Earth—in good condition. No timbering survives but some of the stone revetment at the gate is *in situ*.

Ditch: Interrupted at the gate by a bridge and at the north-west corner by a quartz reef.

Other remains: Four hut sites and one tent site. Those huts appearing in the photograph reproduced here are marked A to D on the plan.



- (34) VUNGU FORT
- (35) WELSH HARP FORT

(2) BELINGWE FORT (Map reference 2029B₄: 048355)

Informant: Mr. M. Fox of Belingwe.

Site: The top of a hill overlooking the site of old Belingwe in the Dowe River valley. A track from old Belingwe approaches the gate from the west.

Walls: Rough stone—in good condition. No firing steps are visible. The inside heights of the walls vary from 3 ft. 10 in. to 4 ft. 2 in. The gate is blocked by a rather dilapidated wall.

Ditch: None.

Other remains: There is a large hut site inside the walls. There are two hut sites at the western foot of the hill close to the track. Several scattered remains of huts can be seen on the south-west shoulder of the hill just below the fort. The track to the gate continues on to these latter huts past the fort's south-western bastion.

(3) BEMBESI FORT (Map reference 2028B₂: 006863)

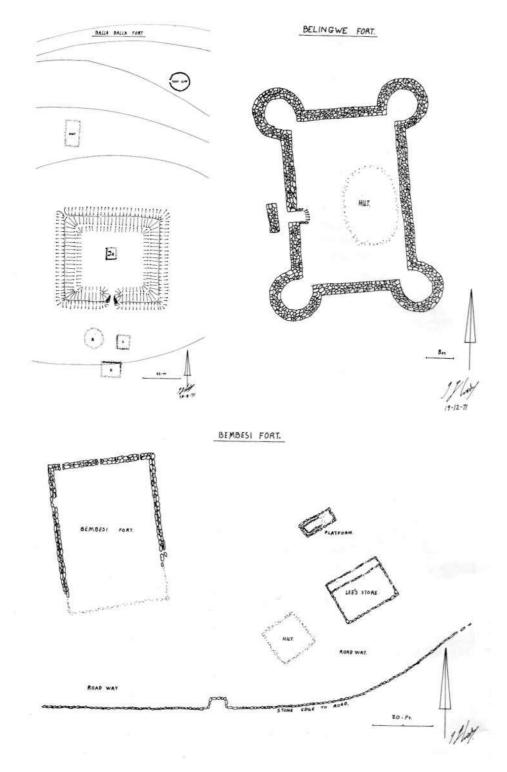
- Site: Open, fairly level ground close to the ruins of Lee's Store. The old Bulawayo-Gwelo road passes the fort on the south side.
- Walls: Rough stone—almost completely destroyed. Only the lowest courses of the northern wall and parts of the western and eastern walls survive.

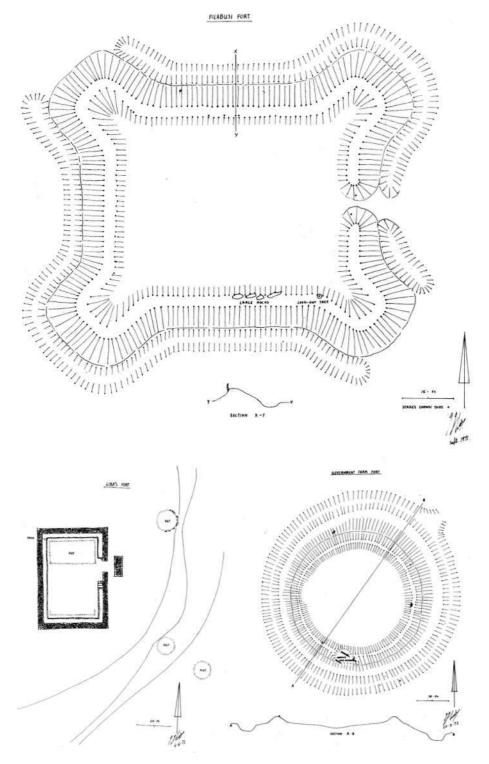
Ditch: None.

- Other remains: The ruins of Lee's Store are about 50 ft. east of the fort. The sites of several huts in a cleared area can be seen just south of the fort.
- Note: I am satisfied that this is the site of the fort. The area is a good one for a fort and the remains suggest a structure comparable in size with other stone forts. Moreover, the fort was built at Lee's Store and this store was said to be 24 miles from Bulawayo. The above site is 24 miles from Bulawayo.

The destruction of the fort is probably attributable to small-workers, there being several old abandoned workings about half a mile away.

(4) BRAND'S FORT (Map reference 2028B₁: 655697) Site: The south-western edge of Bulawayo on ground now forming part of the Railway Reserve. Sykes says in his book that the fort covered the road to Napier's farm. This farm was a few miles south-east of Bulawayo. The photograph comes from Mr. S. Redrup's album and he describes the fort as being south-east of the town.



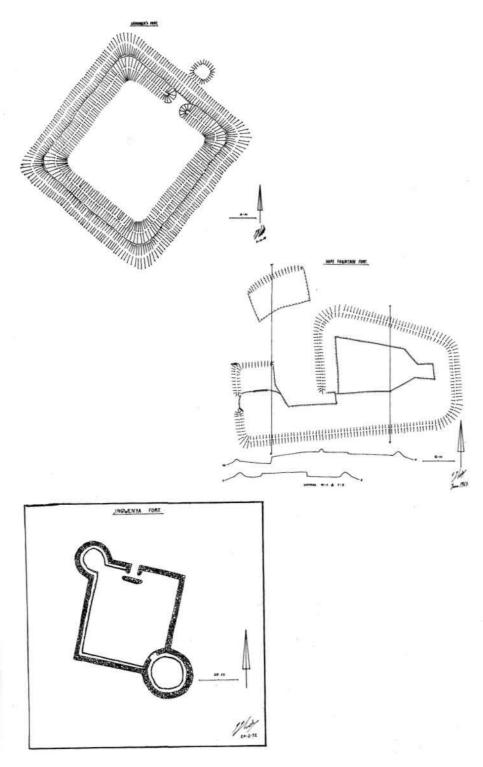




Dawson's Fort-viewed from the north-west.



Filabusi Fort—looking north. The corner of the fort's north-east bastion can be seen behind the hut on the extreme left.



- Ramparts: The fort has been completely destroyed but the photograph shows earth ramparts thrown up around an incomplete brick building.
- Note: The fort was the headquarters of Brand's troop of the Bulawayo Field Force. The gun in the photograph is a seven-pounder R.M.L.

(5) DAWSON'S FORT (Map reference 20288₁: 588636)

This fort is no longer extant. The site was identified by the usual occupation debris and a description of the fort as being six miles from Bulawayo on the Figtree road. The site is a hill-top affording an excellent position for a fort. The top of the hill is a narrow ridge which has its longest axis running north-south and slopes gently south. The photographs indicate that the fort was built on just such a hill-top. The fort was in fact oblong in shape, doubtless because the top of the hill is so narrow.

(6) FILABUSI FORT (Map reference 2029A₄: 394321)

Informant: Mr. Watson of Filabusi.

- Site: A valley at the south end of the Tjulo Range enclosed by high hills in the west, north and east. The old Balla Balla-Belingwe road passes just north of the fort.
- Ramparts: Earth—in fair condition. Numerous timbers, one of which still stands to its original height, survive. No firing steps can be positively identified. A large old tree is still growing in the ramparts next to the south-'eastern bastion. The branches have all been lopped off, as if to support a crow's nest, some 12 ft. from the ground.
- Ditch: Interrupted by a bridge at the gate and at the northwestern and south-eastern bastions where it further peters out.
- Other remains: Of the huts shown in the photograph only the bases of those two farthest from the camera can now be traced. I have it on authority of Mr. O. Baragwanath, who knew Filabusi before the Rebellion began, that these two huts were used by his brother who was murdered outside them by the rebels.

The sites of Edkin's Store and Native Commissioner Bentley's hut, also identified by Mr. Baragwanath, are not far from the fort.

(7) GIBBS' FORT (Map reference 1930A₃: 984547)
 Site: The top of a low granite dwala which has commanding views of the country round about especially in the south

where the ground falls away into the Umtebekwa River valley.

- Walls: Stone—in very good condition. The fort is built of dressed stone which has every appearance of having been looted from an Iron Age structure. There is a parapet rather than a firing step, all the way round the walls. This parapet is on the average 3 ft. high, is about as wide as the walls, and the top has been covered with a layer of daga. The stones of the wall blocking the gate have been cemented together with daga. A flat stone carved with the words "Fort Gibbs, 1896" has been fixed into the front face of this wall and steep, narrow steps have been let into the back of it. A drain runs out of the west wall 6 ft. from the north-western corner.
- Other remains: The remains of three daga huts can be seen just outside the eastern wall, one opposite the north-eastern corner, and two opposite the south-eastern corner. The base of a large rectangular hut can be seen inside the fort against the northern wall.

There is little evidence now of the other hut which once stood inside the walls.

Note: This fort is quite the finest in the Province, at least from a structural, if not a military, point of view.

(8) GOVERNMENT FARM FORT (Map reference 1928C₃: 117945)

Informants: Mrs. Wood of Nyamandhlovu.

- Mr. N. Walker of Bulawayo.
- Site: The edge of the southern escarpment of the Tshisa River valley on the old government farm Inyorkene. The old road from Bulawayo runs past the southern side of the fort down to the dam which was built on the Tshisa River in 1895.
- Ramparts: Teak shuttering filled with earth. Few timbers have survived and in consequence the ramparts have collapsed to the extent that it is difficult to decide now where the gate was. The ramparts are now only about 2 ft. above the ground inside the fort and give the impression of never having been very high.
- Ditch: Continuous. The fort is built on a slope and the ditch on the northern and eastern sides is at a lower level than elsewhere.
- Other remains: I did not locate any hut sites as the area is very overgrown. The dam wall, which the fort overlooks, is still in fair condition and many of the teak slabs with which it was originally faced still survive.

Note: Mrs. Wood, who has lived on the farm on which the fort is sited since 1905, says that she remembers that there was a pallisade of upright timbers on the ramparts. Her father, who came to the area in 1897, told her that the fort was actually a fortified gun-platform being armed with a Maxim gun which could command the valley.

(9) GRAINGER'S FORT (Map reference 2028D₂: 046202)

Informants: Mr. Pigott, and District Commissioner's messenger Duma, of Essexvale.

Site:Level, open ground just east of the Matopos hills and
south of a stream running into the Mfusi River. The old
Bulawayo-Tuli road passes between the fort and the hills.Ramparts:Earth—sandy, very eroded and in bad condition. No

timbers survive. The heap of earth blocking the gate is still visible. Ditch: The sides are much eroded. The ditch is continuous not

Ditch: The sides are much eroded. The ditch is continuous not even being bridged at the gate.

Other remains: No trace of the garrison's huts can be found now. The remains of Grainger's Store can be seen on a kopje about one mile north-west of the fort across the stream.

(10) HALSTED'S FORT (Map reference 2028A₃: 275332)

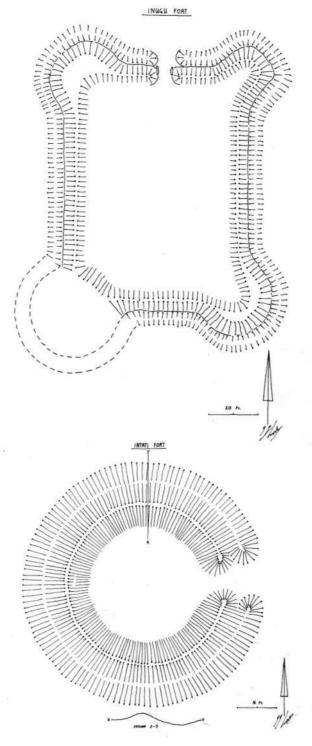
Informants: Mrs. Ewbank and Mr. Coulson of Cyrene Mission. This was a fortified kopje on the Figtree-Mangwe road. I have not visited the site which has been identified, with the use of photographs, by Mrs. Ewbank and Mr. Coulson who have also provided the map reference.

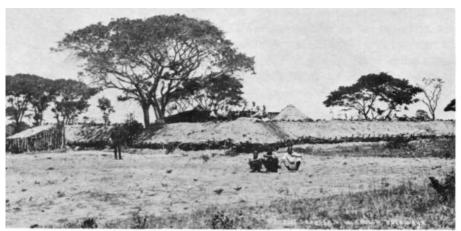
(11) HOPE FOUNTAIN FORT (Map reference 2028B₄: 724586)

Site:The eastern end of the top of a hill overlooking Hope
Fountain Mission.Ramparts:Earth—in fair condition. The fort is difficult to describe
and I would refer the reader to the plan reproduced here.
No timbers survive. The fort never had firing steps.Ditch:None.Other remains:Scant traces of huts can be found farther west along the

Other remains: Scant traces of huts can be found farther west along the top of the hill.

(12) INGWENYA FORT (Map reference 19296₁: 736775) Site: The south-eastern shoulder of an isolated group of hills overlooking the Ingwenya River. A track approaches the fort from the north-west.

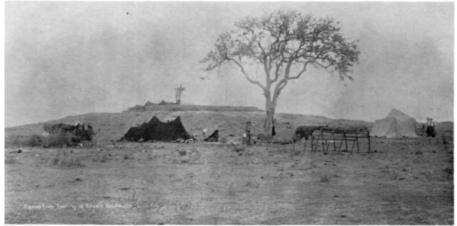




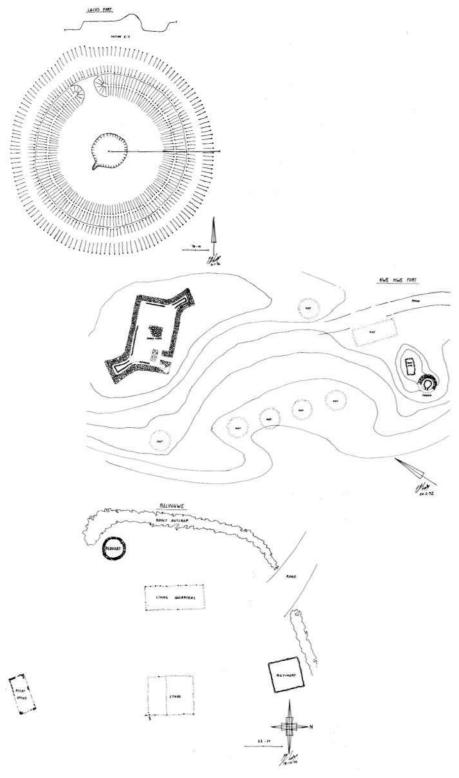
Grainger's Fort-viewed from the north.

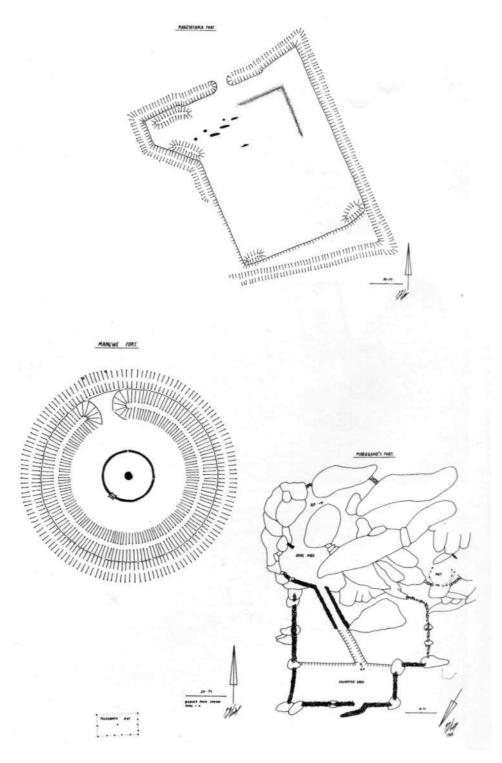


Halsted's Fort.



Khami Fort-viewed from the south-west.





Walls: Rough stone—in fair condition. There are firing steps along all but the eastern wall and part of the northern wall.

Ditch: None.

- Other remains: There is an Iron Age ruin from which the troops doubtless looted building material just north-west of the fort beside the track. There are large amounts of broken glass at the north-west foot of the hill.
- Note: The plan shows the south-eastern bastion as being rather larger than Garlake's does. I think the latter's plan is a little inaccurate on this point.

(13) INUGU FORT (Map reference 2028A₄: 496385)

Site: An open fairly level area south of the Malongwa River. Ramparts: Earth—in bad condition. No timbers or stone revetments have survived and no firing steps are now visible.

Ditch: Interrupted at the gate and much interfered with by modern roadwork along the west side of the fort.

Other remains: None can be traced.

- Note: On the strength of a photograph in Sykes' book I have, in plan, reconstructed a large bastion on the southwestern corner. The configuration of the ditch and the quantity of earth at this corner suggest a large bastion which may well have been demolished by road-making gangs. This corner is the closest part of the fort to the road.
- (14) INYATI FORT (Map reference 1928D₂: 943222)

Site: A level, open area south of the Ingwegwezi River.

- Ramparts: Earth—in very bad condition. The area has been ploughed over and the ramparts are now difficult to distinguish.
- Ditch: Interrupted at the gate by a bridge. The ditches are now almost completely filled in.

Other remains: None can be traced.

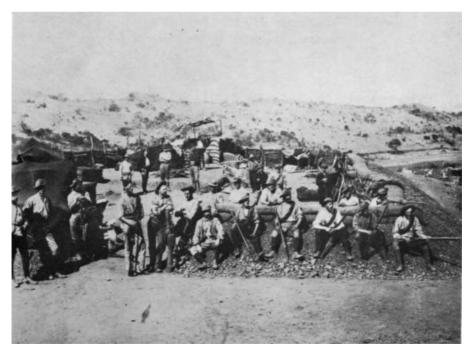
Note: A comparison of the plan of this fort with that of Shiloh Fort leads me to believe that they were originally exactly the same size.

(15) KHAMI FORT (Map reference 2028A₄: 534571)

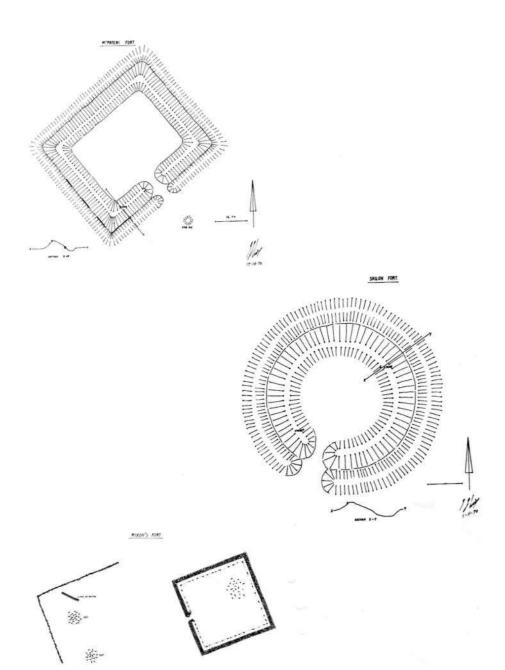
This fort is no longer extant. The site, which is the top of a low hill east of the Khami River, is easily identifiable with the aid of the photograph.



Luck's Fort—viewed from the north.

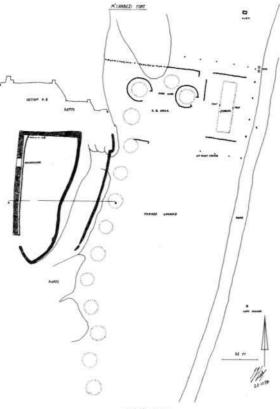


Hope Fountain Fort-viewed from the west.

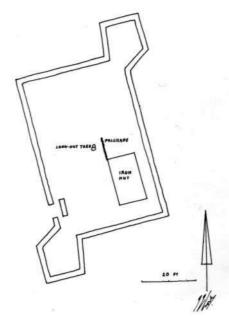




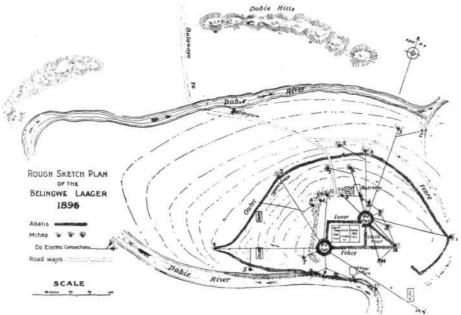
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USHER'S FORT.



18



Laing's plan of the Belingwe laager, 1896. It is the "No. 2 Fort" which survives.



Mangwe Fort-viewed from the north.

(16) KWE KWE FORT (Map reference 1929B₂: 938914)

Informant: Mr. N. Walker of Historical Monuments Commission, Bulawayo.

Site: The western shoulder of the top of a high, rocky hill overlooking the Kwe Kwe River.

Walls: Rough stone—in fair condition. Much of the wall at the south corner has collapsed and been piled against the entrance to the western bastion. Most of the stone, of which the wall blocking the gate was built, has been removed. There are traces of firing steps.

Ditch: None.

Other remains: There is a round tower of stone, with a firing step and a drain in the bottom, on a small eminence south of the fort. This tower covers dead ground south of the kopje. Much of the stonework has now collapsed. Seven hut sites and one tent site can be traced.

(17) LAING'S REDOUBTS (Map reference 2029B₄: 031356)

Informant: Mr. Fox of Belingwe.

Site: Fairly level ground enclosed on the west, north and east by the Dowe River.

Walls: There were originally two circular rough-stone redoubts. Only one survives, it is 4 ft. 8 in. high and has a diameter of 20 ft. It is now filled with old bottles and glass.

Other remains: The sites of the other buildings around which the laager was constructed can still be traced.

(18) LUCK'S FORT (Map reference $2028C_1$: 214242)

Informant: Mr. J. Rosenfels of Mangwe.

- Site: An open, level area surrounded at some distance by kopjes. The old Figtree-Mangwe road passes about a quarter of a mile north of the fort.
- Ramparts: Earth—in good condition. No timbers survive. There is a large circular pit inside the ramparts.
- Ditch: Uninterrupted and in good condition. It is unusually wide and deep. The bank opposite the gate is a little eroded probably because timbers supporting the drawbridge were removed from this point.

Other remains: None can be traced now.

Note: I think the pit must have been a chamber of the type found at Mangwe Fort. The photograph supports this view. If it was such a chamber then the sides must have been timbered as no trace of masonry can be found. (19) MANGWE FORT (Map reference 2028C: 086083)

Site: A low rise in the fairly level, open ground between the Mangwe River and one of its tributaries. The map reference is slightly farther south than the position of the fort as marked on the map.

RampartsFair condition. The fort is dealt with in Garlake's paper,Ditchand I do not intend to go into detail.

- Other remains: The base of the telegraph hut, which can be seen in Melton Prior's excellent drawing of the fort, is still visible.
- Note: Some of the bricks, of which the last few courses of the chamber wall were constructed, remain, as do some of the mopani poles which once supported the roof.

(20) MANZIMYAMA FORT (Map reference 2029C₃: 092827)

- Informant: Mr. E. Lacey, of Gwelo.
- Site: High ground south-east of the present village overlooking the Manzimyama River. The old Bulawayo-Tuli road passes just east of the fort.
- Ramparts: Earth—only four small mounds of earth survive, the bulk having been removed.
- Ditch: The ditch is not easy to trace now except along the fort's north and eastern faces. The ground falls away on the south and western faces, and I doubt whether the ditch was other than for drainage purposes in these parts.

Other remains: Traces of a daga wall can be seen inside the fort.

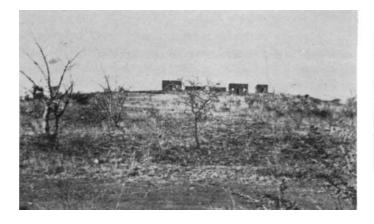
(21) MARQUAND'S FORT (Map reference 2028A₄: 444516)

Site: A small group of kopjes just south of the Bulawayo-Figtree road and west of the Gwaai River. The fort is a fortified kopje but has a fair amount of walling which has been carefully restored under the direction of Mrs. Ewbank and Mr. Coulson of Cyrene Mission, the fort being on mission property. It appears from photographs that several huts were built amongst the rocks at the western edge of the fort.

> The kopje slopes away steeply to the east, south and west, but in the north there is a gradual slope which was cleared of most cover by blasting.

(22) M'CHABEZI FORT (Map reference 2028B₃: 756445)

Informant:Mr. Hepburn of Historical Monuments Commission.Site:A kopje on the high ground at the northern edge of the
Matopos overlooking the Umzingwani Valley. The



Rixon's Fort viewed from the west. The walls can be seen between the two large huts. Existing remains indicate that a fourth hut was later built between these two huts.



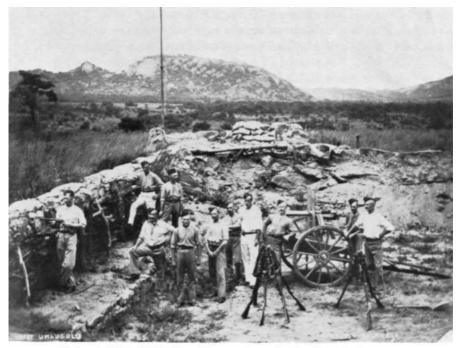
Marquand's Fortviewed from the north-west.



Molyneaux's Fort -viewed from the west. The steps cut into the rock half-way up the kopje can still be seen.



Mangwe Fort surrounded by a wagon laager-viewed from the south-west. The hut on the right is the telegraph hut.



Umlugulu Fort, 1896-view of the south-east bastion from the interior.

	M'Chabezi River rises nearby. The road from Usher's
	to Umlugulu Fort passes the east foot of the kopje.
Walls:	Rough stone—in fair condition. The western parapet
	wall is quite massive, but ruinous, and has a large
	embrasure, presumably for artillery. This wall faces
	rather level but broken country which is probably the
	reason for its size. A ridge below the eastern wall has
	also been fortified.
Ditch:	None.
Other remains:	The extensive remains of barrock buts officers' quarters

T1

Other remains: The extensive remains of barrack huts, officers' quarters, headquarter huts, ovens and stables make this one of the most interesting forts in the province. Even the rubbish pit, which is about 100 yd. south-west of the fort can be seen. My identification of the huts is conjectural and based only on their layout and shape.

(23) MOLYNEAUX'S FORT (Map reference 2028A₄: 337395)

Informants:Mrs. Ewbank and Mr. Coulson of Cyrene Mission.Site:A small isolated kopje in open ground on the south edge

of the old Bulawayo-Mangwe road. The Gulula River skirts the south-eastern foot of the kopje.

The fort is a fortified kopje. There are no walls but a few rocks have been placed along the top of the large boulder at the south-western foot of the kopje. Some steps have been cut into the rock just above this point. An enclosed area at the north-eastern foot of the kopje has been cleared of rock. This was originally cleared to make a stable for the horses.

- Other remains: The bases of three huts can be seen around the western and northern foot of the kopje but, since the site was used by the B.S.A. Police as a post well into this century, these may well be post-1896 structures. Traces of the old telegraph hut and store, which date from the Rebellion, can be seen about 200 yd. west of the fort just north of the road.
- (24) M'PATENI FORT (Map reference 2029D₃: 802003)

Informant:	Mr. M. Fox of Belingwe.
Site:	Fairly level, open ground just north of a stream which
	runs into the Nuanetsi River.
Ramparts:	Earth—in fair condition. Some stone revetment survives
	on the outer edge of the western rampart. Of the original
	timbering one stake only remains.
Ditch:	Interrupted at the gate by a bridge.

- Other remains: I have not yet located any hut sites. There is a small ashpit in front of the gate. The rubbish pit is about 100 yd. north-west of the fort.
- (25) RIXON'S FORT (Map reference 2029A₁: 354856)

Site: The top of a low hill on the ridge at the western edge of the Indeda River valley.

Walls: Rough stone—in good condition. The gate is very narrow, being only 30 in. wide. There are traces of a firing step all the way around the walls.

Ditch: None.

Other remains: West of the fort is an area marked off with lines of smallish rock. Inside this area are the scattered remains of four brick huts. There are also a few bricks lying about inside the fort's walls.

(26) SHANGANI FORT (Map reference 1929C₂: 528153 (approximate))

The fort has been destroyed completely. The suggested site, which accords with the old maps, is on the western bank of the Shangani River. The site is the top of a hill which has been quite dug over by road gangs and this, I think, explains the disappearance of the fort. The hill commands the area for miles around. The site of the old Shangani store is about a quarter of a mile north-west of this hill and the original Bulawayo-Gwelo road skirts its northern foot.

I cannot claim that this site is quite definitely that of the fort but a careful search of the area has failed to reveal any sign of a fort or another site consistent with the maps which is as commanding or convenient as this one.

(27) SHILOH FORT (Map reference 1928D₃: 659079)

Informant:	Mr. Hepburn of the Historical Monuments Commission.
Site:	Open, level ground just east of the old Bulawayo-Shiloh
	road.
Ramparts:	Earth—in fair condition. Two stakes of the original
	timbering are still in situ and make it possible to calculate
	the original inside diameter of the fort as being 45 ft.
Ditch:	Interrupted by a bridge at the gate.
Other remains:	I believe, from the scattered remains evident, that there
	were several huts across the road from the fort in what
	is now a ploughed field. The old well is 69 ft. north-east
	of the fort.



Taylor's Fort—just outside Bulawayo.

Inugu Fort-viewed from the north-east.



(28) SOLUSI FORT (Map reference 2028A₁: 206665 (approximate))

The fort has been destroyed.

The suggested site is close to the old mission well. This well, I believe, existed in 1896. The site is quite the best for a fort in the area, being high and open. I believe the well would have been an added attraction to those charged with building the fort. The mission college now occupies this area.

I have searched the area and not found the fort elsewhere. Mr. Advocate Sibanda of Bulawayo grew up in the Solusi area which he knows very well. He says he never came across anything answering to a description of the fort.

(29) SPARGO'S FORT

I have not yet located this fort.

(30) SPRINGS FARM FORT

I have not yet located this fort.

(31) UMLUGULU FORT (Map reference 2028B₄: 963424)

Site: Open ground just west of the Nsezi River.

Ramparts In good condition. This fort's plan appears in Mr. Ditch Garlake's paper.

Other remains: There are traces of huts in what is now cultivated ground south-east of the fort on the west side of the old Bulawayo-Tuli road which runs along the eastern side of the fort.

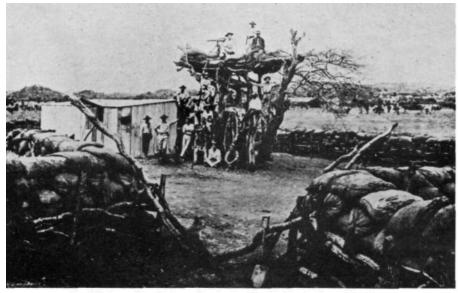
Note: The south-eastern bastion was clearly not intended for use as a gun emplacement but photographs indicate that staging was erected upon the ramparts here and used as a gun platform.

(32) UMZINGWANI FORT

I have not yet located this fort.

(33) USHER'S FORT (Map reference 2028B₃: 658423)

Being on the site of the old district administration offices this fort has been demolished. Only the tree which stood in the middle of the fort and which was used as a Maxim gun platform and lookout post survives. The photograph in Sykes' book indicates that the fort was a rectangular structure of timber-braced sandbags with a rectangular bastion at the north and south corners and no ditch. My plan is a reconstruction based on the photograph and



Fort Usher-the photographer is standing in the north-east bastion.

a plan of "a fort" by Baden-Powell. Baden-Powell designed Usher's fort and, as the plan he produced in his book accords with the photograph of this fort, I believe his plan is a reproduction of a plan of Usher's Fort.

(34) VUNGU FORT

Being in a rather inaccessible part of the Province I have not yet attempted to locate this fort.

(35) WELSH HARP FORT

I have not yet located this fort.

TAYLOR'S FORT

This fort was sketched by Melton Prior who described it as being just outside Bulawayo. The sketch indicates that this fort was quite unlike any of those which I have been able to survey. The sketch is the only evidence of this fort; no other authority mentions it. I believe that it was either Spargo's Fort or Welsh Harp Fort, both of which were near Bulawayo.

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Kaguvi and Fort Mhondoro by D. N. Beach

The European forts of the late nineteenth century in Rhodesia have attracted a great deal of attention from local historians,¹ although they were often hastily built and of inferior workmanship to some contemporary Shona fortifications.² The circumstances in which they were built varied: some, like Forts Tuli, Victoria and Charter, were originally built as bases for the relatively pacific occupation of the country in 1890 by the British South Africa Company's forces.³ Others, such as the fortifications at the Naka Pass, were intended for use against other powers.⁴ The majority, those constructed during the 1896-97 Ndebele and Shona risings, were the result of interaction between African political organisations—the residual Ndebele state and the Shona polities—and the Europeans.⁵ But it is not always appreciated that such fortifications could result from purely inter-African politics, so that a dispute between one African leader and another could lead ultimately to the construction of a fort by the Europeans. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how this could come about, and how a simple rock fort could be the result of a long sequence of events in local African history.

Twelve miles up the Umfuli⁶ River from the site of Hartley Hills township on the Chimbo confluence is the hill known as Kaguvi. Here the river runs between hills that come close to the water and extend for a considerable distance to the north and south. On the northern bank these hills form a number of ranges, including the Chiroza complex overlooking the Gonzo Valley, where Chinengundu, the holder of the Mashayamombe title in the 1890's, had his

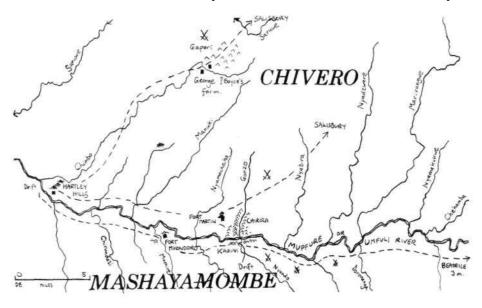
¹ P. S. Garlake, "Pioneer Forts in Rhodesia", *Rhodesiana* No. 12, 1965; D. K. Parkinson, "The Fort at Naka Pass", *Rhodesiana* No. 19, 1968; E. E. Burke, "Mazoe and the Mashona Rebellion, 1896-97", *Rhodesiana* No. 25, 1971. ² A great number of these European forts were earthworks revetted by timber or stone (Garlake, pp. 37-8) and even stone forts were sometimes crudely built. Fort Mhondoro illustrates this, being built of fairly large rocks of all shapes piled one on top of the other and using the armed along the top of the vertex. with earth spread along the top of the walls. A Shona fortification on the north bank of the Umfuli, explored by Mr. B. S. Marlborough on 25tb March, 1972, showed much more careful work. Flat stones had been selected and placed in two rows in such a way that a relatively smooth outer surface was exposed, and the intervening gap had been filled with rubble.

- ³ Garlake, pp. 41-3.
- ⁴ Parkinson, pp. 61-2.
- ⁵ Garlake, pp. 45-60.

⁶ Garlake, pp. 45-60. ⁶ Place-names in Rhodesia are bedevilled by the tendency of early European writers to apply Ndebele orthography to Shona names, hence we have Umfuli for Mupfure, Umniati for Munyati, Umsweswe for Zwezwe, and so on. Recent maps have begun the process of correcting this to some extent, so that the Ndebele-ised Zimbo, Silundazi and Tokwani have reverted to Chimbo, Chirundazi and Turgwana, but it is probably too late to apply this process every-where. This paper therefore uses the place-names supplied on the official maps, but whenever the correct pronunciation of Shona personal names is known, they have been spelt in the correct phonetic fashion, e.g. Kaguvi rather than Kagubi, *mhondoro* rather than mondoro, Mashaya-mombe rather than Mashiangombi, etc. All names in documents quoted have been left un-corrected. however. corrected, however.

stronghold.⁷ At the Nyundo confluence on the south bank stands Njatara Hill,⁸ and to the west of this is the massif of Kaguvi. This is well over 700 yd. long, lying parallel to the Umfuli, and in fact the eastern end of the hill has a separate name, Chena or Chena's. Kaguvi Hill itself is notable in several ways. It stands above a pool which has never been known to dry up completely, and which, according to popular tradition, used to give forth the noise of cattle, sheep, goats and cockerels in the years before the Europeans came.⁹ The hill is steep-sided, especially on the north, and fairly heavily wooded. The most significant feature lies under a crown of great boulders at the top, a little to the west of the middle of the hill: under this crown is a series of caves, and one of these is of special interest. This cave is one of the highest in the hill, and a gap in its western end looks out over the Umfuli Valley. In its eastern end there is a natural stone seat, and at certain times it is lit up by the sun which strikes down through a cleft in the rocks.

Such a minute description of a small area is normally unnecessary in an historical study, but in this case there is a need for a clear picture if the significance of the events to be described is to be understood. In Shona history as in any other kind of history there are certain places that are of supreme importance, and in the late nineteenth century Kaguvi Hill was one of these: a hill such as this, with an unusual cave and pool, was a natural site for a Shona spirit



⁷ Chiroza, "the destroyed place", is an anachronism, when applied to the hills around Mashayamombe's stronghold before its destruction in 1897, but it is a convenient use of a modern place-name.

"Mashayamombe", "Chivero" and the like are hereditary titles, used as personal names by each successive ruler.

⁸ I am grateful to Acting-Chief Mashayamombe, to his son, Mr. Christopher Chifamba, and to Mr. B. S. Marlborough for many place-names mentioned in this paper.

⁹ Information supplied by Mr. Christopher Chifamba, 27th September, 1969.

medium's shrine, and it was here that the nineteenth-century mediums of the Kaguvi spirit settled and gave their spirit's name to the hill. It was here that much of the action of the 1896-97 rising of the Shona was concentrated. This article will show the interaction of Shona religious and political authorities, and their impact upon the European society of the 1890's in the immediate vicinity of Kaguvi Hill. Several important topics will be touched upon, but for reasons of space will have to be developed elsewhere. In the meantime, an attempt will be made to show a microcosm of the Shona rising, and to provide useful information for those interested in the forthcoming proclamation of Kaguvi Hill, Mashayamombe's stronghold and Fort Mhondoro as Historical Monuments.

The oldest political unit in the area is the Chivero chiefdom. Chivero's people, whose totem is shava, eland, and whose praise-name is mwendamberi, have been established in the Hartley district since at least the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ They held land on both banks of the Umfuli, and for some distance to the north and south, and can fairly be called the varidziwepasi, or owners of the soil, of the district. However, from a date provisionally placed in the middle of the eighteenth century, they began to lose their primacy to the Guzho tribe (dzinza) under the Mashayamombe dynasty. These mhara (impala)-totem people, whose praise-name was *mbuya*, formed part of a migration from Dzete in the north-east of the country, the other part settling under the Maromo dynasty in Charter district. The Mashayamombe chiefdom acquired settlementrights from Chivero, and rapidly became the most important chiefdom in the district, itself allocating land to newcomers. It is important to realise, however, that there was no distinct dividing-line between the two chiefdoms, and that communities of each existed on either side of the river, sometimes with communities of each chiefdom living on adjacent bills. Such an arrangement would only have been possible if Chivero and Mashayamombe maintained cordial relations, and in fact this seems generally to have been the case.

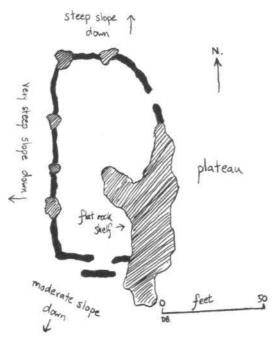
There is little traditional evidence for intervention by the Rozvi Changamire empire in the affairs of the two chiefdoms other than the involvement of the Rozvi associate, Mavudzi, in Chivero coronations. This meant that they were effectively independent, and this tradition continued into the nineteenth century in spite of the proximity of the Ndebele state. The effect of Ndebele raiding has often been exaggerated, and in the case of the Mashayamombe and Chivero chiefdoms, although the raiders could operate in the open country, they could not take the hill strongholds. Neither Mashayamombe nor Chivero became tributary to the Ndebele, but part of each dynasty was briefly forced to evacuate the area for a time. Nevertheless, the increasing availability of guns began to restore the position for the Shona, and by 1866 at the latest Mashayamombe was re-established on the Umfuli. In the years up to 1889, Manuel Antonio de Sousa, *capitao-mor* of Gorongosa, extended his economic interests into the area, collecting ivory. This Portuguese influence, unlike that of the British and Afrikaner hunters who operated to the west, had connections with a colonial

¹⁰ D. P. Abraham, "Maramuca, an exercise in the combined use of Portuguese documents and oral traditions", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1961, p. 225.

government, and in 1889 Mashayamombe and Chivero, as well as most of the rulers of the Shona country as far south as modern Gatooma and Enkeldoorn, concluded an anti-Ndebele treaty with Sousa and the explorer J. C. Paiva de Andrada.¹¹

To this brief outline of the political history of the area, a short analysis of Shona religion can be added. Shona traditional religionists believe in a single, supreme creator-God, Mwari. Normally the worshipper can contact God in two ways: he can make use of the cult based on the shrines now centred in the Ndebele country, where there are mediums possessed by the spirit of God Himself, or they can contact a *mudzimu*. A *mudzimu* is the spirit of a dead ancestor, who in the hereafter, can contact God in person and who can also possess a spirit medium or *svikiro* in order to contact his descendants in the flesh. Manuel de Faria e Sousa noted the analogy between Shona religion and Roman Catholicism when he wrote before 1649 that the Shona "believe their kings go to heaven, and call them Muzimos, and call upon them in time of need, as we do on the saints".¹² The technical term for the spirit of a person of political

FORT MHONDORO



¹¹ The two paragraphs above are based upon D. N. Beach, "The rising in south-western Mashonaland, 1896-97", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1971, ff. 53-6, 85-6, 137-8, 174-97.

¹² Manuel de Faria e Sousa, "Asia Portuguesa", vol. 1, part 1, chap. X, in *Records of South Eastern Africa*, ed. G. McCall Theal, vol. I. London, 1898, pp. 24-5.

importance is *mhondoro*, lion,¹³ and the medium of a *mhondoro* usually wields a great deal of power, depending upon the importance of the person whose spirit possesses him. It should be stressed that the Shona people take care to detect charlatans, that the svikiro and his or her adherents are sincerely convinced of the authenticity and power of the possessing spirit, and that the medium is most emphatically not a witch or wizard, muroyi, nor a witch-finder or herbalist, n'anga.¹⁴

More research on the cult of the Kaguvi mhondoro spirit needs to be carried out, but a fairly full account of the cult was given in 1969 by Chief Chivero, who lived with his uncle the Kaguvi medium before the 1896 rising.¹⁵ According to a provisional dating by Mr. D. P. Abraham, the historical Kaguvi lived during the 1680's,¹⁶ but it is significant that Chief Chivero believed that Kaguvi had been the husband of the great *mhondoro* Nehanda. He derived his information from his father Makuwatsine, a close associate of Gumboreshumba the Kaguvi medium, and it seems highly likely that this was what Gumboreshumba himself believed.¹⁷ If this were so, it would explain the relationship between the Kaguvi and Nehanda mediums in 1896, when Nehanda evidently recognised Kaguvi's supremacy.¹⁸ Gumboreshumba was not the first known Kaguvi medium, however, Kawodza, his grandfather and a member of the Chivero dynasty, held that honour. Kawodza lived at Kaguvi Hill during the Ndebele raids, and was eventually killed. "When Kawodza was the spirit medium, the spirit which possessed him used to tell him to prepare to fight," says tradition,¹⁹ and Kaguvi Hill was well prepared for fighting. A perimeter of stone-walling runs around the top of the hill, while shorter walls guard the cave and the crown of boulders at the top, making a small inner citadel.²⁰ If the cave itself, and the natural stone seat inside, had not previously been used by a spirit medium, as is quite possible, it was now that the Kaguvi mhondoro's medium began to do so. The gaps in the roof of the cave, except that above the seat, were filled with daga,²¹ and the whole religious centre became a stronghold as well.²²

¹³ Shumba is the usual word for "lion" in Shona, but in the north-north-east the word *mhondoro* is still used in this sense. In most of the Shona country, *mhondoro's* secondary meaning, "spirit of a deceased person of eminence held to reside in the body of a lion when not communicating from time to time with the living through an accredited human medium" is used. D. P. Abraham, "The Roles of 'Chaminuka' and the Mhondoro Cults in Shona Political History", in *The Zambesian Past*, ed. E. Stokes and R. Brown, Manchester, 1966, p. 28. ¹⁴ Concise accounts of Shona traditional religion can be found in M. W. Murphree, *Christianity and the Shona*, London, 1969, and M. L. Daneel, *The God of the Matopo Hills*, The Hague, 1970. ¹⁵ Interview with Chief Chivero, 24th September, 1969. ¹⁶ Information gumplied by Mr. D. P. Abraham 20th Lung 1071.

¹⁶ Information supplied by Mr. D. P. Abraham, 29th June, 1971.

¹⁷ Interview with Chief Chivero, 24th September, 1969.

¹⁸ T. O. Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, 1896-97, London, 1967, pp. 215-16.
 ¹⁹ Interview with Mr. Musiwa Gambiza, 25th September, 1969, and with Chief Chivero, 24th September, 1969.
 ²⁰ This walling, at least on the south-eastern perimeter, resembles that described in

footnote 1.

On visiting the cave on 28th October, 1970, Mr. P. S. Garlake remarked that such a

feature was most unusual. ²² It should be stressed that although Shona religious figures are not supposed to be involved personally in fighting ("The point of the thing is this, all *svikiros* are not allowed to act as warriors. The people concerned—I mean the relatives of the *svikiro*—have to hid him very much, since they don't want him to be killed," said Chief Chivero), there is a close relation-ship between Shona religion and Shona politics. Beach, ff. 71-80.

Nevertheless, Kawodza was killed, and the family of his son Chingonga, including Gumboreshumba and Makuwatsine, ended up in the vicinity of the Chinamhora chiefdom of the Shawasha people, north-east of modern Salisbury. There, in the late 1880's, Gumboreshumba became possessed by the Kaguvi *mhondoro*. In the years before the 1896 rising, the new Kaguvi medium became well known, largely as a supplier of good luck in hunting, but it seems very probable that his position as the *svikiro* of the spirit husband of the Nehanda *mhondoro* became known at this time.²³

This is not the place for a detailed account of the causes of the 1896 Shona rising, and this must be sought elsewhere.²⁴ Nevertheless, a brief account of the British occupation of the Hartley area must be given, for there is a direct connection between the general causes of the rising there, and the incidents that sparked off the rising itself. In the first years after the arrival of the European miners in the area in 1890, relations between them and the Mashayamombe and Chivero chiefdoms were reasonably cordial. However, after the 1893 war with the Ndebele the British South Africa Company assumed that it had inherited the Ndebele overlordship of the district, and began to tax the people. In fact, as we have seen, the local Shona had been independent, and this taxation was resented. Moreover, the increased mining development after the war led to a demand for labour that could be satisfied by neither local volunteers nor migrant labourers. Consequently the Europeans began to force people to work, often for inadequate pay, and by rough methods. "The thing that caused Chimurenga (the rising) was sjamboks, since that time people were being forced to work for the government. So these people were the ones who were being beaten thoroughly by sjamboks," recalled one witness,²⁵ and other evidence supports this view.²⁶ Had this practice been applied suddenly, or had there been a formal declaration of annexation by the Company to the local rulers, the consequent reaction might have come sooner. As it was, the unfounded assumption of Ndebele over-rule developed into a gradual assumption of the powers of government without any explanation to the rulers. In 1894 the Mining Commissioner at Hartley began to levy taxation on a small scale,²⁷ but the failure of this system led to the foundation of the Native Department later that year. H. Thurgood (Rukwata) and his successor D. E. Moony (Moni) were responsible for the collection of tax and the recruitment of labour, and the fact that they set up a Native Department station at Mashayamombe's meant that they were able to apply a great deal

²³ The evidence of Chief Chivero and Mr. Musiwa Gambiza is corroborated by N[ative] C[ommissioner] E. T. Kenny's interrogation of the Kaguvi medium in 1897, in N 1/1/6, N.C., Mazoe, to C[hief] N.C., Salisbury, 29th October, 1897.

²⁴ Ranger, chap. 2.

²⁵ Interview, with Mr. Mauto Ndarikwa, 25th September, 1969.

²⁶ Interviews with Mr. Gutsa Mubayira, 22nd September, 1969, with Mr. M. Mushambi, 23rd September, 1969, with Mr. Mauto Ndarikwa, 25th September, 1969, etc. *See also* N 1/1/3, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 29th December, 1895, N 1/2/1, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 30th November, 1895.

 27 L 2/3/40 Mining Commissioner, Hartley, to Acting Administrator, 16th and 23rd August, 1894.

more pressure than the Civil Commissioner had used.²⁸ Even so, the Europeans commanded a great deal of strength, and it was not until they were thoroughly embroiled in the Ndebele rising of March 1896, that a rising in the Hartley district became feasible.

Mashayamombe Chinengundu appears to have been the person primarily responsible for the way in which the Shona rising spread. Resistance to the collection of hut tax had been widespread in the Shona country for two years, and fighting had already broken out in the Budya country of Mtoko, but it was from Mashayamombe's that a wave of violence spread out over the country, absorbing such centres of previous resistance as Nyandoro, east of Salisbury, and Makoni.²⁹ In May, Native Commissioner Moony reported that Mashayamombe was "in communication with someone in Matabeleland, and had lately sent some young men down". Moony added that he "taxed Old Mashayingombi with this, but he informed me that he had only sent down to the Matabele 'Umlimo' for some medicines to prevent the locusts from eating his crops next year".³⁰ The "Matabele 'Umlimo' " was in fact one of the mediums of Mwari, stationed at a shrine in the Inyati district. The officers of this shrine, headed by one Mkwati, were heavily involved with the Ndebele rising, and Moony's comment on Mashayamombe's statement-and a rumour of a coming rising-"I attach no importance whatever to the above . . . "³¹ have led to his being described as "tragically complacent",³² but to some extent he was justified in being unalarmed by the story of the locust medicine. Shona religion in general and the Mwari-cult in particular are and were deeply concerned with the wellbeing of the crops,³³ and it was in fact through the matter of the locust medicine that the Kaguvi medium became involved in the rising.

After interrogating Gumboreshumba the Kaguvi medium after his capture in 1897, Native Commissioner described what had happened from the *svikiro's* point of view. " 'Kargubi' was sent for some months before the recent rebellion by 'Mashigombi' and was told by the latter that he, 'Kargubi', would be given some medicine which he had got from Umquarti or 'Gorro' and 'Wampongo' to destroy the locusts . . . Kargubi sent some of his people on receipt of this message from 'Mashigombi' to find out what this medicine was and to return with some. The messengers returned to 'Kargubi' from 'Mashingombi' with orders from the latter that he required one cow before he could send the medicine. This 'Kargubi' refused to do, and sent his own people to 'Umquarti' for some of the medicine. 'Mashingomba' at the same time also sent messengers to 'Umquarti' on the same errand. When these messengers got to 'Umquarti' they

²⁸ H. Thurgood, a local trader, became Hut Tax Collector on 20th September, 1894, and was succeeded by D. E. Moony, whose name was often misspelt "Mooney", an ex-corporal of the King-Williamstown police, on 12th September, 1895. From 20th December, 1894, the quasi-official title, subsequently ratified, of Native Commissioner was used.

³⁰ N 1/1/3, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 24th May, 1896.

³¹ ibid.

³² Ranger, p. 202.

³³ Murphree, p. 45, Daneel, pp. 15-17, A. K. H. Weinrich, *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia*, London, 1971, pp. 85-7.

²⁹ Ranger, pp. 192-3.

were informed by the latter, that he was a god and could kill all the whites and was doing so at that time in Matabeleland, and that 'Kargubi' would be given the same powers, as he 'Umquarti' had, and was to start killing the whites in Mashonaland. Immediately on the return of the messengers 'Mashigombi' started killing the whites and 'Kargubi' then sent orders to all the paramounts and people of any influence to start killing the whites and that he would help them, as he was a god, and that the whitemens' guns would not fire bullets, but water."³⁴ This statement has important implications for the study of the organisation of the whole rising, but these cannot be discussed here.³⁵ For this article. the main point brought out is that Mashayamombe and the Kaguvi medium had had a difference of opinion, and had acted independently of each other. This foreshadowed their eventual quarrel. In the meantime, the Kaguvi medium moved from his home in the Shawasha country, where he had built up his influence, to his family's original home in the chiefdom of Chivero. He settled at a place north of Mashayamombe's on the South Road between Hartley and Salisbury, probably called Mupfumera's.³⁶ In the Chivero chiefdom, he was in the country where his grandfather Kawodza had been medium of the same Kaguvi mhondoro, and nearly all of the evidence for his power in the rising comes from the Chivero-Nyamweda region where Kawodza had operated, and from the vicinity of the Shawasha country where he himself had been the spirit's medium.37

Meanwhile at Mashayamombe's, events moved toward the outbreak of the rising. It seems possible that Mashayamombe had contemplated a rising even before Mkwati suggested that he should rise, for such advice as Mkwati gave was only effective where public opinion supported it, and Shona rulers generally followed public opinion.³⁸ Nevertheless, it seems equally clear that, for security reasons, the plan for the rising was kept to a few: in the event, many Shona were unprepared.³⁹ The air of tension must have been noticeable, however, and it was not helped by the actions of Moony, the Native Commissioner. Unwisely, Moony had established his camp very close to the village of Muzhuzha Gobvu, a nephew of Chinengundu the Mashayamombe ruler. Tensions appear to have arisen between Muzhuzha and Moony's messengers and their wives. Tradition says that "... it is when this *chimurenga* started, it started ... because this camp was in Muzhuzha's village and then the fighting started straight away after the beating of Muzhuzha."⁴⁰ One of Moony's men described what happened: "About three days before Mr. Mooney was murdered, Mjuju thrashed

³⁴ N 1/1/6, N.C., Mazoe, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 29th October, 1897.

³⁵ Briefly, this, and certain other evidence, suggests that whereas discontent may have been rife for a long time, the decision to rise was a relatively late development.

³⁶ On Captain C. White's campaign map it is marked as "Umpumelo's". Hist. MSS. WH 1/1/2.

³⁷ Beach, ff. 365-7.

³⁸ Murphree, p. 47, J. F. Holleman, *Chief, Council and Commissioner*, London, 1969, p. 96.

³⁹ For example, some of the members of Kakono's force which was sent to kill J. C. Hepworth did not know of their real mission until they were already on their way. N 1/1/3, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 19th April, 1898. ⁴⁰ Interview with Mr. Gutsa Mubayira, 22nd September, 1969.



Kaguvi Hill, above Mvuu or Kaguvi Pool in the Mupfure River.

Jim's wife. On the women coming to complain about the matter Mr. Mooney thrashed Mjuju. Four men of Umjuju's kraal ran out with guns. These were taken away by Mr. Mooney and sent to Hartley to Lukwata (Mr. Thurgood) . . . Janatilla and Jhanda deserted the night before we went to the coolie's, taking their guns with them. On the third day after the guns had been sent to Hartley we accompanied Mr. Mooney to the trading station of the coolies across the Umfuli river. On our arrival there we found that they had been killed, so we returned to Umjuju's kraal . . . Before arriving at Mr. Mooney's huts, Makomane deserted with his gun. On getting to the huts Kaseke and Mhlambezi went into Mr. Mooney's hut, put down their guns and went away . . . We were told by Mr. Mooney to cook some food before starting for Hartley. Jarivau went up to his wife's hut in Umjuju's kraal. He there saw the impi coming into the kraals. He ran away to Mr. Mooney and told him of it, and said 'Let us run.' Mr. Mooney then mounted his horse and said, 'Come along, let us go.' The Mashonas followed us up and opened fire on us . . . "41 Moony's action in flogging a nephew of the chief-severely, according to tradition-bad precipitated the rising.⁴² Undisturbed by his messengers' desertions, he now realised what was wrong, and fled with his men. They scattered, and Moony's fate emerges

⁴¹ The usual source for the rising's commencement is British South Africa Company *Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia*, 1896-97, London, 1898, pp. 51-69. It should be appreciated, however, that this section of the work is almost identical with A 1/12/26, Civil Commissioner, Salisbury, to Administrator, 29th October, 1896, which means that it was written long before those involved in the killings were arrested, so that many inaccuracies occur. The "January" cited in A 1/12/26 may be Jarivau, but his account is misleading and inferior to that of MIembere, whose version is quoted here, N 1/1/3, Evidence of MIembere, 20th September, 1897.

⁴² Interview with Acting-Chief Mashayamombe, 22nd September, 1969. Interview with Mr. Gutsa Mubayira, 22nd September, 1969.

from the evidence of those who killed him. Pursued by a force under Mashayamombe's brother Chifamba,⁴³ he got as far as the Nyamachecha River, where his horse was wounded. Tying it up, he climbed a small hill, and died in a gunbattle. Ironically, he was killed by a man who had not known of the rising in advance, and had had to borrow a gun on the spot.⁴⁴ Just after this, two traders, Stunt and Shell, with seven Africans from the Zambezi, arrived and were killed near Muzhuzha's.45

The Indian traders were probably killed on 14th June, and Mashayamombe's men immediately went onto the offensive. One force under the chief's nephew Kakono travelled over 40 miles to kill J. C. Hepworth at his farm on the Umsweswe River,⁴⁶ while Chifamba Muchena, another of the chief's brothers, went east to the Beatrice Mine to kill Tate, Koefoed and four labourers there on the afternoon of the 15th.⁴⁷ On the 18th Mashayamombe's men began the siege of the township at Hartley Hills.⁴⁸ This pattern was repeated across the country, with a slight time-lag as the news took time to travel. In the Chivero and Nyamweda chiefdoms north of Mashayamombe, and east of Salisbury, the Kaguvi medium's influence was particularly strong, as was that of the Nehanda medium in the Mazoe Valley, but elsewhere most of the influence was that of the local rulers and their own mhondoro.49

The efforts of Mashayamombe and the Kaguvi medium were crowned with success. Throughout the areas under their control, the Europeans and their foreign companions were killed indiscriminately, or driven away. For half a year they enjoyed unbroken military success. This was largely due to the skill of the Shona in defensive fighting. Armed with muzzle-loading guns that were difficult to use in the open, they made use of the cover of their hill strongholds and caves to inflict damage, and to retire when the opposition became too strong. In this way they could nullify the effect of superior forces or defeat smaller ones. Only when they were closely blockaded in their hills were they defeated.

⁴³ S. 401, No. 391, Regina versus Zuba and Umtiva, 20th February, 1899, Evidence of Chingondi.

⁴ S. 401, No. 246, Regina versus Rusere and Gonye, 24th February, 1898, passim.

⁴⁴ S. 401, No. 246, Regina versus Rusere and Gonye, 24th February, 1898, *passim*.
⁴⁵ The account of the deaths of Stunt and Shell given by "January" in *Reports* (note 41 above) is generally incorrect. As they walked into Muzhuzha's village one was instantly shot, while the other ran away and was stabbed to death further off in a revolver-versus-assegai duel. S. 401, No. 391, Regina versus Zuba and Umtiva, 20th February, 1899, *passim*. The bodies were probably thrown into the river as "January" described, as this was the usual method of disposal. Muzhuzha's house caused a great deal of confusion among the Europeans during the rising. A good while before 1890 a dispute between the Muzhuzha and Musengezi houses of Mashayamombe led to the death of Muzhuzha I, and to the removal of many of Muzhuzha's people by an Ndebele force called in by Musengezi. These Muzhuzha people were partially absorbed by the Ndebele state, and acquired the distinctive pierced-earlobe marks of the Ndebele. After the fall of the state in 1893 they returned home and lived under Muzhuzha II Gobvu, but their appearance led many Europeans to believe that Ndebele were involved in Mashayamombe's rising. Interviews with Mr. S. M. Mutekwe, 23rd September, 1969, and with Mr. Muviyo Chirata, 25th September, 1969.

⁴⁶ N 1/1/3, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 19th April, 1898.

⁴⁷ A 1/12/27, Statement by Jan, 16th June, 1896.

⁴⁸ A 1/12/26, Civil Commissioner, Salisbury, to Administrator, 29th October, 1896.

⁴⁹ Ranger, pp. 192-3.

The deaths of Tate and Koefoed at the Beatrice provoked the first major attack on Mashavamombe, which was defeated. A (technically Imperial) force of Natal troops, en route to the Ndebele rising, was recalled from Charter, and sent to investigate the Beatrice killings. At the Umfuli drift on the main road they met a small force from Salisbury, and 50 men under Captain P. A. Turner began to move towards Hartley.⁵⁰ They burned Chifamba Muchena's village, but wounded only one of his men, for the Shona took to their caves. The next day, the 21st, saw Turner in serious trouble in the increasingly difficult country. His scouts were driven away from one village by accurate gunfire-"They kept advancing, getting within 20 yards of us, dropping after each volley."⁵¹ Two scouts were wounded, one mortally. Still fired upon, Turner eventually reached the store and drift below Mashayamombe's, but although the scouts crossed the river, the terrain and the opposition so discouraged Turner that he decided to go back. On the 22nd, he retreated under heavy fire towards the Beatrice. He had lost two men killed, three wounded (one seriously), and one missing, as well as seven horses and mules killed and three missing. The Shona loss amounted to one man wounded. There was little doubt as to who had won.⁵²

Mashayamombe's men had been closely besieging Hartley Hills, which was on the extreme limits of his territory, since 18th June, but when a massive relief force of some 250 men under Captain C. White appeared on the 22nd July, they withdrew. They had been able to blockade the 12 besieged so closely that no messages entered or left, but White's force probably equalled or outnumbered Mashayamombe's effectives. White had fought twice on the way in, once with Nyamweda's people near the Hunyani and once with Chivero's people between the Saruwe and Chimbo rivers, near the modern Dorton farm. Having relieved the fort, White crossed the Umfuli River opposite Hartley Hills on 23rd July, and tried to reach the Beatrice Mine by the road on the south bank, but on the next day he began to enter the hills of Mashayamombe's territory, and decided to turn back, although not a shot had been fired. On 25th July he recrossed the Umfuli and left Mashayamombe's territory. Mashayamombe's victory was now complete: not a single European remained in his land, and he had suffered almost no loss.⁵³

The Chivero chiefdom was not so fortunate, however. It had already suffered from the fight at Gapori (Dorton) on 21st July, and now on the 26th White, returning to Salisbury by the South Road, surprised the Kaguvi medium at Mupfumera's.⁵⁴ White claimed to have killed 30 or 40 Shona, and collected a great deal of loot, mostly tribute offered to the medium, before going on,

⁵⁰ Lieutenant E. J. Christison's force of Rhodesia Horse Volunteers met Turner's Natal force on 18th June. They set out towards the Beatrice on the 19th leaving Captain J. F. Taylor to take part of the force to Salisbury. A 1/12/27, Turner and Christison to Administrator, 19th June, 1896.

⁵¹ Hist. MSS. AL/1/1/1, Statement of Sergeant Snodgrass, 23rd June, 1896.

⁵² ibid., and Hist. MSS. AL 1/1/1, Report of Captain Turner, 25th June, 1896.

⁵³ B.S.A.C. *Reports*, pp. 102-3.

⁵⁴ N 1/1/6, N.C., Mazoe, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 29th October, 1887.



The Svikiro's cave in Kaguvi Hill. The entrance is just to the left, and the seat just to the right, of the big central rock.

(Photo: J. D. Cobbing)

unscathed, to Salisbury.⁵⁵ This was a serious blow to the Chivero chiefdom, which did not figure largely afterwards, but Gumboreshumba does not seem to have suffered so much. He had nearly been caught, but he escaped to Kaguvi Hill, and here if anything his reputation was enhanced by the associations of the place with his grandfather Kawodza, the last medium of the Kaguvi *mhondoro*. It was a fine stronghold, too.⁵⁶

For a further two months the Shona of Hartley lived undisturbed, until in early October a fresh European force entered their territory. This time, the Europeans' object was not to investigate killings or to relieve a garrison, but to inflict a military defeat upon Mashayamombe. The Commander of the European force, Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel E. A. H. Alderson, had at his disposal 622 men, 331 of them regular Imperial troops, but he laboured under difficulties that nullified a good deal of his work, although his ingenuity deserved better rewards than the blame he later received.⁵⁷ Firstly, the Europeans were ignorant of the Kaguvi *mhondoro's* importance, and knew little of the political organisation of the Shona. Faced with a rising on all sides of Salisbury, Alderson had to make his force do as much damage as possible over the widest possible area. He therefore decided upon a campaign that would embrace the Marandellas, Charter, Hartley and Lomagundi districts, including a converging attack on Mashayamombe, who was recognised to be one of the more important leaders of the resistance. But Alderson's chief difficulty lay in the problem of supplies. When he arrived in Salisbury, he had donated half of his supplies to the hardpressed laager, and when he left for Hartley on 5th October he had only two

⁵⁵ B.S.A.C. *Reports*, p. 103. The claims of White's patrol in the matter of Shona killed more than 80 in all—look suspiciously high when compared with those of Turner's patrol of June, Alderson's of October and with those of the entire 1896-97 campaign from December to July.

⁵⁶ N 1/1/6, N.C., Mazoe, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 29th October, 1897.

⁵⁷ E. A. H. Alderson, *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force*, 1896, London, 1898, p. 292.

weeks' rations.⁵⁸ Unless he could find food in the field, he would have to complete his task in this time, or his horses and men would starve.

Alderson moved directly to the Hartley district, while Major Jenner's force, which had successfully completed the subjugation of the Mutekedza chiefdom in the Charter district, closed in from the east. On the afternoon of 9th October they converged on the Mashayamombe-Kaguvi area, having seen no action on the way. For three days the combined forces ranged through the tangled complex of hills and caves that composed the stronghold of the Guzho people, mostly on the north bank but also at Chena's, the eastern part of Kaguvi Hill itself. At the end of this period they had taken and burned a number of villages and seized some cattle, but only 16 of the Shona were killed. Mashavamombe's and the Kaguvi medium's men made good use of the terrain to avoid losses, keeping to the caves or evacuating dangerous positions, and managed to kill three of Alderson's men and wound 13, many seriously.⁵⁹ Faced with the shortage of supplies, ignorant of the presence and importance of the Kaguvi medium and with Lomagundi district still untouched, Alderson decided to withdraw.⁶⁰ Mashayamombe and the Kaguvi medium, logically enough, saw this as a defensive victory, which won for them another seven weeks of peace.

Alderson was later strongly criticised by the Rhodesians in general and by the Company officials in particular for having failed to leave a fort at Mashayamombe's and with a strategic insight born of hindsight Lord Grey criticised him severely.⁶¹ Such criticims ignored Alderson's lack of supplies, and the Europeans' ignorance, in October, of the importance of the Mashayamombe-Kaguvi area. In fact, Alderson knew perfectly well what should have been done, and on 23rd October he drew up the plan that in 1897 was to be the basis of the Company's victory. "To complete the work in hand," he wrote from Lomagundi, "I have plenty of men to go into any two districts at the same time and drive the rebels out of these, but I have not enough to establish strong posts in two or three districts and still be in a position to effectively clear others. In my opinion posts are absolutely necessary: what happens now is as follows: a patrol goes into one district and breaks up the rebels in it: they then go into another, the patrol follows, and the rebels then go further on and eventually return behind the patrol to their original district. When each district has been harried by a patrol, I consider that a post should be established of from 50 to 75 men according to the size of the district and the number of natives in it . . . These posts should constantly patrol and neither allow the natives to sow or reap or to graze their cattle. This appears Police rather than Military work, and I do not think that a sufficient number of the present local forces would be willing to do it through the wet season. It would be necessary to give many of the posts, one being that at Hartley, supplies for four months as wagons could not get to there during the wet season. I reported much to the same effect as the above in

61 Ranger, p. 284.

⁵⁸ Alderson, pp. 138, 193.

⁵⁹Alderson, pp. 201-10. The Shona losses were 16 dead and some wounded. LO 5/4/1, N.C., Chilimanzi, to Administrator, Salisbury, 10th January, 1897. ⁶⁰ Alderson, p. 211.

my conversation over the wire with you on the 1st September and also in an official telegram sent some days previously but of which I have not got the date with me."62

Alderson's plan, the authorship of which was unacknowledged, was put into effect in December 1896. By 9th December Captains Perry and Brabant had reoccupied Hartley Hills with a force of police, and had opened negotiations with Mashayamombe.⁶³ This was symbolic both of the success of the Shona in the fighting, and of the policy that was in the end to defeat them. By the end of 1896, only the Charter and Makoni districts were under European control, and elsewhere the Shona had beaten off the Europeans, in spite of frequent illusory successes such as that of Alderson at Mashayamombe's. Faced with the prospect of a difficult summer campaign in the wet and encouraged by the success of the Matopo negotiations with the Ndebele, the Europeans were prepared to negotiate a peace. The Shona were willing to discuss the matter, as they had not been defeated, and because they appreciated a chance to plant their crops. From their point of view, they were negotiating from a position of strength, but, as is well known, this policy eventually failed to bring peace.⁶⁴ and when the campaign was resumed it was by means of such forts as Hartley Hills that the Shona were finally defeated.



The entrance to Fort Mhondoro.

{Photo: J. D. Cobbing)

⁶² LO 5/6/6, Ag. Secretary to the Administrator to London Board, 30th October, 1896, enclosing copy of Alderson, Lomagundi, to C[hief] S[taff] 0[fficer], Bulawayo. 23rd October, ⁶³ LO 5/4/1, J. S. Brabant, Fort Hartley, to Administrator, Salisbury, 10th December,

1896. ⁶⁴ Ranger, pp. 285-8.

As Mashayamombe dragged out the negotiations, the Europeans finally began to appreciate and even to exaggerate the Kaguvi *mhondoro's* role. On 18th December Chief Native Commissioner H. M. Taberer, believing that the Kaguvi medium was encouraging Mashayamombe and other chiefs to carry on fighting, recommended that both of them be harried.⁶⁵ Lord Grey was unwilling to give up the negotiations, and on 31st December Taberer, at his request, drew up new plans for negotiations.⁶⁶ On 9th January, 1897, Taberer himself, accompanied by Colonel F. de Moleyns, Commandant of the B.S.A. Police, Brabant and Grey's associate Howard, visited Mashayamombe for high-level discussions. There, they discovered that the situation had been revolutionised by a dispute between the Shona themselves.

We have already seen how Gumboreshumba, the Kaguvi *mhondoro's* medium, was of a different lineage from that of Mashayamombe, and how he lived on a hill of the Chivero people. We have also seen his independent attitude at the beginning of the rising. A quarrel now arose between the two men. It was customary for mediums to be attended by girls, servants rather than wives, and it was an act of respect for such girls to be offered to famous mediums by rulers. Shortly afterwards, for example, seven girls were taken to Kaguvi on behalf of the Mangwende chiefdom.⁶⁷ Now, however, Gumboreshumba seized some of Mashayamombe's own women. Fighting followed, and Mashayamombe killed two of the medium's men. By the time Taberer's party arrived, a virtual state of war existed between the two parties.

As soon as Taberer heard of this development, he resolved to make the most of it, and told Mashayamombe that he would be left alone while the Kaguvi medium was dealt with, and "that he was not to consider any action taken against the Mondoro as including him".⁶⁸ Taberer at once requested de Moleyns to capture or kill the *mhondoro's* medium.⁶⁹ De Moleyns' subsequent report explains why this ambitious project failed. With 186 men he left Hartley Hills at 5.30 p.m. on 12th January "to try and effect the arrest of the Mabdoro and to establish an advanced force across the Umfuli river . . . The early part of the march while the moon was up was easy, but after midnight the darkness was extreme and it was very difficult to keep touch in the thick bush, but at 3 a.m. I reached a point about one mile west of the Mandora's kraal with all my force. I was informed by spies sent on by Captain Brabant that the natives were awake, occasionally firing off guns, shooting, etc., and had men on the lookout, and under the circumstances I considered that even if I could effect an entrance into the kraals it was very doubtful whether I could capture the Mandoro, I decided not to make the attempt. I allowed the men to sleep to daylight, 13th., and then . . . reconnoitred the country round Mandoro's kraal and selected a position for a fort, where I established myself, distance 9 miles E.S.E. of Hartley, 1 mile

⁶⁵ LO 5/4/1, C.N.C., Salisbury, to Administrator, Salisbury, 18th December, 1896.

⁶⁶ LO 5/4/1, C.N.C., Salisbury, to Administrator, Salisbury, 31st December, 1896.

⁶⁷LO 5/4/1, A[ssistant] N.C., Marandellas, to Salisbury, 20th January, 1897.

⁶⁸ LO 5/4/1, C.N.C., Hartley Hills, to Administrator, Salisbury, 9th January, 1897.

⁶⁹ LO 5/4/1, C.N.C., Hartley Hills, to 0[fficer] C[ommanding] B.S.A.P., Mashonaland, 9th January, 1897.

from the Umfuli, and about 4 miles from the Mandoro's. The fort is on a kopje rather too extensive for the force that I can leave here, but excellently situated for harassing operations, and capable of good defence." Supplies were brought up, and a garrison of 64 men was left in the new fort, which was named after the cause of de Moleyns' expedition, Fort Mhondoro.⁷⁰

Thus it was that a police fort was constructed, not merely as a base for action against the Shona resistance, but as a consequence of an internal development within Shona politics. This internal dispute continued to dominate the situation, and in fact the Europeans derived their most useful information on the Kaguvi *mhondoro's* medium from Mashayamombe himself, before the former decided to leave the area. Only in this way was the dispute ended, and with it the participation of the Europeans in this African rivalry.

Grey's aristocratic friend Howard was scathing about de Moleyns' failure,⁷¹ although one wonders whether the plan of locating one man was feasible in any case. Meanwhile, Gumboreshumba had moved to a point 500 yd. farther east, as de Moleyns discovered on 17th January, when his men penetrated the empty Kaguvi Hill and looted it. The Colonel was still chary of a direct attack: "I hardly think that H.H. the Commandant General⁷² appreciates the difficulty of surprising their kraal when they are barricaded and expecting attack day and night," he wrote.⁷³ Even so, his scouting work was poor, and news of the next move reached him by courtesy of Mashayamombe. On the morning of 18th January two messengers from Mashayamombe arrived at Fort Mhondoro to warn the Europeans that Gumboreshumba had fled that morning. All that day, and the next morning, de Moleyns' men pursued the medium, but although they found some of his women being held by the people of the neutral chief Rwizi near the Beatrice Mine, Gumboreshumba had turned aside and safely reached his old home in the Shawasha country, where he continued to lead the rising.⁷⁴ His later career and eventual fate are well known.⁷⁵

With the departure of the Kaguvi medium, the *raison d'etre* for Fort Mhondoro had gone as well. As at Hartley Hills, the sick-list for both men and horses at Fort Mhondoro was heavy, although as late as 1st February a garrison of 102 men was maintained.⁷⁶ The men from Fort Mhondoro continued to make patrols, and on 30th January they reached the Umsweswe.⁷⁷ On 8th and 10th February, Mashayamombe's men fired on the fort, to add to the troubles of the fever-stricken garrison, and it was obvious that the outpost was no longer of much use.⁷⁸ By 12th February the police medical officer was urging de Moleyns

⁷⁰ LO 5/4/1, F. de Moleyns to C.S.O. Police, Salisbury, 14th January, 1897.

⁷¹ Ranger, p. 293.

⁷² The Commandant-General was Sir Richard Martin, who was also Deputy Commissioner.

⁷³ LO 5/4/1, F. de Moleyns, Fort Mandora (to Salisbury), 17th January, 1897.

⁷⁴ LO 5/4/1, F. de Moleyns, 45 miles ENE. of Fort Mondoro (to C.S.O., Salisbury), 19th January, 1897.

⁷⁵ Ranger, 299-310.

⁷⁶ LO 5/4/1, F. de Moleyns, Hartley, to C.S.O., Salisbury, 1st February, 1897.

⁷⁷ LO 5/4/1, A.C.M. Ford, Fort Mondoro, to F. de Moleyns, 31st January, 1897.

⁷⁸ LO 5/4/2, G. M. Osborne Springfield, Hartley, to O.C. B.S.A.P., Salisbury, 10th February, 1897.

to evacuate "Mondora", 79 and on 12th March this was finally carried out. By then only 24 men held the fort. 80

By this time the focus of the fighting had shifted to the north bank of the Umfuli, where Mashayamombe Chinengundu's people were employing every ruse and every fighting man to hold out against the encroaching European power. Inexorably, Alderson's plan was put into effect. African troops patrolled the croplands,⁸¹ and on 20th February the construction of Fort Martin, close to Mashayamombe's was begun.⁸² The men from Fort Mhondoro helped with this encirclement, and on 15th March a new fort was commenced.⁸³ Two days later, Mashayamombe put a stop to this further encirclement, by making a direct attack. At dawn on the 17th, he assaulted Fort Martin for three hours, and according to Biscoe, who arrived a little later, he actually took the smaller hill at the Fort, which was held by the African troops, killing three of them, before being repelled.⁸⁴ The construction of the new fort was abandoned, and for the rest of the campaign Fort Martin was the base for the police. In the end Mashayamombe Chinengundu succumbed to the inevitable. In a repetition of Alderson's tactics of 1896, a force of the 7th Hussars moved in from Beatrice, taking Mareverwa's stronghold east of Kaguvi Hill, while at the same time, on 24th July, a major assault took Mashayamombe's own stronghold and cave on Chiroza.⁸⁵ This ended the fighting in the Hartley district.

Kaguvi Hill and Fort Mhondoro sank gradually into obscurity. The Shona had burned the huts of the latter on 23rd March,⁸⁶ and the name might have been forgotten, except for the chance that Native Commissioner W. E. Scott of Hartley had served in the last campaign. When he began to consider sites for reserves for the people displaced by the fighting, he referred to the south bank of the river, where the fort was, as the "Mondora" district,⁸⁷ and later the "Mondoro" reserve was marked out.⁸⁸ Ever since then, the area has been called Mondoro, but the reason for this has tended to be forgotten. The Europeans eventually forgot the importance of the area. A faint echo of the rising sounded in 1922, when the B.S.A. Police Chief Staff Officer wrote, "I should appreciate a description of the native stronghold in the Madzangwe Hills about Fort Martin and the Umfuli River, their extent, nature of country and so on. Reports to date are very meagre."⁸⁹ Naturally enough, the Shona people did not forget.

⁷⁹ LO 5/4/2, H. Haynes Lovett, M.O. B.S.A.P., Salisbury, to O.C., Hartley, 12th February, 1897.

⁸⁰ LO 5/4/2, R. C. Nesbitt, Fort Martin, to Salisbury, 6th March, 1897.

N 9/2/1, N.C., Hartley, Half-yearly report, 1st April to 31st September, 1897.

⁸¹ N 1/1/3, A.N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 20th February, 1897.

⁸² N 1/1/3, A.N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 6th March, 1897.

⁸³ N 9/2/1, N.C., Hartley, Half-yearly report, 1st April to 31st September, 1897.

⁸⁴ LO 5/4/2, R. C. Nesbitt, Fort Martin, to C.S.O., Salisbury, 17th March, 1897. Hist. MSS. Bl 3/1/4, Diary entry for 21st March, 1897.

⁸⁵LO 5/4/5, Report of C.S.O., Salisbury, 30th July, 1897.

⁸⁶ N 1/1/3, A.N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 23rd March, 1897.

⁸⁷ N 3/24/11, N.C., Hartley, to C.N.C., Salisbury, 30th January, 1898.

⁸⁸ N 3/24/1/1, C.N.C., Salisbury, to Under-Secretary to Administrator, 18th March, 1898.
 ⁸⁹ B 1/6/1, C.S.O., Salisbury, to District Superintendent, B.S.A.P., Hartley, 5th October,

1922.

Kaguvi Hill remained well known, partly as a convenient place for keeping cattle,⁹⁰ but also as a religious centre. In the dry season of 1967 the medium of the Gwenzi *mhondoro* of the Chivero people held a ceremony there.⁹¹ Fort Mhondoro's name was forgotten, but although it lay in a less frequented part of the Mondoro Trust Land, it was visited by honey-collectors, and it lay in full view of the road to the Umfuli Dip Tank.

Fort Mhondoro is not very impressive to look at, nor is its interest in the men who served there, for they were ordinary colonial troops in an unexceptional campaign. The true importance of Fort Mhondoro lies in its position, and the circumstances in which it was built. It stands as a monument to the internal workings of Shona politics, to the clash between Mashayamombe. and the Kaguvi medium, and to the importance of the religious cult that was centred on Kaguvi Hill.

EPILOGUE

As the people of Mashayamombe did not forget the location of the fort, its identification was simple. On reading de Moleyns' description of its construction the writer asked Mr. Christopher Chifamba whether his father, the Acting-Chief Mashayamombe, knew of any ruins four miles west of Kaguvi, which had been visited by the writer in 1969. The answer was in the affirmative, and on 27th May, 1970, Christopher and the writer, driving a "Bush-bug" kindly supplied by Messrs. Puzey & Payne Ltd., drove to St. Peter's School, Chirundazi, to pick up the Acting-Chief's brother, Mr. George Chifamba, who had visited the ruins before. Driving across relatively open country, we passed Chitemamuswe Hill, which was once occupied by Chivero's people, and came to the Mumire stream. The "Bush-bug" crossed this easily, and passed over the "police road"-which appears to be part of the old Hartley Hills-Fort Charter road visible below Kaguvi-to reach the road to the Umfuli Dip Tank. Above this rose Pachikanikiso Hill, and on this stood Fort Mhondoro.⁹² The fort was in good repair, with rough stone walls up to 4 ft. high, and had been made by filling in the gaps between boulders on the crown of the hill with stonework. On one side a natural rock barrier had saved the builders the trouble of extending their walls. The southern entrance was masked by a screen wall, like those of Forts Ingwenya and Gibbs in miniature, a feature also shared by French Foreign Legion temporary camps in the Sahara.⁹³ The remains of pole-and-daga huts were later discovered by Mr. P. S. Garlake and Dr. T. N. Huffman at the foot of the hill

⁹⁰ Information supplied by Mr. Christopher Chifamba, 27th September, 1969.

⁹¹ Information supplied by Mr. Christopher Chifamba, 28th October, 1970.

⁹² No standardised spelling of the fort's name was ever agreed upon during its occupation. According to the whims of different writers and typists it was called "Mondoro", "Mandora", "Mandoro" and "Mondora". At present the Trust Land is called "Mondoro", but in view of the renaming policy referred to in footnote 6 it seems best to spell the word as it was pronounced, and as the various writers tried to spell it, *mhondoro*.

⁹³ C. Mercer, *The Foreign Legion*, London, 1964, p. 38.

on the west, and on the broad "plateau" part of the hill to the east: obviously, this little fort was only intended as a refuge in case of attack, and the garrison lived outside. (The hill lies south of an Early Iron Age settlement site discovered by Dr. Huffman, which indicates that this hill has a human history of at least 800 years.) Martini-Henry cartridges, soldered-seam bully-beef tins and other period rubbish were found on the site. It was visited by Historical Monuments Commission teams on 28th October, 1970, and 16th September, 1971, and by a private party on 26th March, 1972.

European visitors must apply to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for permission to visit the site. Motorists using the Beatrice-Hartley road should take the Chishoshwe School road west of Mubayira and bear left past Murombedzi village to get onto the Dip Tank road. With the permission of the owners of Essex farm, it is possible to cross the Umfuli at the Dip Tank and walk to the fort.

Kaguvi is approachable either from Chiva School or from Fort Martin Extension farm. Visitors are reminded that Kaguvi is not only an Historical Monument, but a religious centre as well. The map references for the two sites are TQ 359799 (Fort Mhondoro) and TQ 429796 (Kaguvi).⁹⁴

The writer would like to express his gratitude to Acting-Chief Mashayamombe, Mr. George Chifamba, Mr. Christopher Chifamba, Messrs. Puzey & Payne Ltd., Mr. P. S. Garlake, Dr. T. N. Huffman and Colonel A. S. Hickman of the Historical Monuments Commission, Mr. J. D. Cobbing of the University of Rhodesia and Mr. B. S. Marlborough of Fort Martin Extention farm for their generous help in the matter of Kaguvi Hill and Fort Mhondoro.

⁹⁴ The Hartley campaigns are best followed in detail on 1 : 50 000 maps, Nos. 1830 A2, A4, B1 and B3. "I have a theory that while battles the British fight may differ in the widest possible way, they have invariably two common characteristics—they are always fought uphill and always at the junction of two or more map sheets." Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, *Unofficial History*, London, 1959, p. 97.

R. S. Fairbridge—

Father of Kingsley

by L. M. McBean

In 1923 I left my work as an assistant land surveyor in the Northern Transvaal in reply to an advertisement by Mr. R. S. Fairbridge of Umtali, who required an assistant for his work as a land surveyor. My letter of appointment with him, for the job at Umtali, was written on a brochure of Umtali dated 1923. The appointment, without any salary or any details of the work required was written round the edge of this brochure, which is now in the National Archives.

Fairbridge lived on a farm called "Kingsley", named after his son and near Old Umtali. No public transport was available, so I set off on foot with my two suitcases, making my way over Christmas Pass to the farm which lay beyond Old Umtali.

My first impression of Fairbridge was one of surprise that such an apparently old man could run a practice as a land surveyor. Suffering from T.B. in South Africa, for health reasons he had made his way to Beira and had walked from there to Umtali. In appearance he was a short, spare man with a long, very bushy beard. On his head was a tam-o'-shanter.

The farm-house consisted of a peculiar square building, the four walls of which were made of enormous rocks, without mortar or plaster. The interior was windowless and roofless except for the fact that various poles supported several large tarpaulins strung tightly across the room; beneath the tarpaulins were strings, ropes and wires on which various garments were hung up to dry, interspersed with onions, biltong and even dried fish on occasion!

We used to get much amusement from watching enormous rats start off from one side of the building to investigate some titbit hanging on those wires. As a rat drew nearer the middle of the room, the string on the wire would start wobbling from side to side—the rat would then hesitate, finally deciding to turn round, but in that moment of indecision old Fairbridge would pick up a boot or anything else that was handy, and hurl it at the rat. If he was successful, that was supper for that night—he maintained that stewed rat was very tasty, but actually I never tried it!

There was no fireplace in the building, but we had enormous fires outside as the farm was very well wooded. Just beside the door of the building there was a sand-pit which I thought must have been provided for children in the earlier days. I discovered its use next morning at dawn when I saw old Fairbridge strip and sit in the sand-pit, splashing the sand up over his body as a fowl would! He assured me that sand was more efficacious for cleansing the body than water which, in his opinion, was more useful for drinking and cooking. I soon found



R. S. Fairbridge



that he made extraordinary statements like that on the spur of the moment. Nevertheless, that was his daily bath, and one which he enjoyed when we arrived back, rather hot, from a survey.

He had only one chair in the place and a tiny table, 18 in. square, off which we ate our meals. I sat on an upturned petrol-box opposite to Fairbridge, and at that close distance I could not fail to notice several small inmates in his bushy beard!

One of Fairbridge's favourite meals when out surveying in the veld was an "ant-cookie". He made these with mealie-meal and water: when only partially cooked he would flatten out the cookie and smear on it, from an old bully-beef tin, the fat rendered from some animal that had been killed (or had died). He would cut the cookie in half with a knife carried in his belt, and place the oiled half on a nearby ant-heap for half an hour or so. By that time, the cookie would be covered with fat, juicy ants. Taking the other half of the cookie, he would slap it on top, to make an "ant sandwich". This he ate with great relish, the ant-legs sticking out and wriggling as he ate. I took his word for it that the sandwich was delicious and full of protein!

In 1923 and for some years after that we walked on our survey treks. Eight to ten carriers were loaded with our possessions, including a bucksail to be used as a tent, and provisions for the whole party. We used to cut down wood in the

veld, have two forked upright sticks and one horizontal to fit into the forks, and then sling the bucksail over it for shelter for the night's lodging. The carriers always carried their 50-lb. loads on their heads, often requiring the assistance of their brothers to get them up there.

Fairbridge and I did several small surveys together. I soon found out that he was not a good surveyor and that it was fortunate for me (as I was not yet a qualified surveyor) that I had had a very good training from two meticulous surveyors in South Africa. Not that Mr. Fairbridge was dishonest. He would, however, often skimp the work and probably do the survey very cheaply for his clients, because he firmly believed that the checks demanded by the survey regulations were unnecessary at that stage of development of the country. Consequently, the tariff of fees was, in his opinion, far too high. On this account he earned a very bad name with the Surveyor-General, who seldom issued him with instructions to carry out a survey.

One day amongst the mail, brought by hand from Umtali, was a large O.H.M.S. letter from the Surveyor-General in Salisbury. Fairbridge opened it, read it, and roared with laughter as he handed it over to me. The contents, couched in official language ran, roughly, as follows: "Sir, as you are aware, you have had no survey instructions from this Department for a long time. You know the reason why. There is, however, an urgent small job to be done on the Vumba—the survey of a five-acre plot, and I am issuing these instructions on one condition, and that is—the field work is to be done by your unqualified assistant, Mr. L. M. McBean." Well! Anyone else would have shot himself or Mr. L. M. McBean, but Fairbridge merely thought it a very amusing joke and laughed heartily.

In this connection I remember on one occasion Fairbridge again gave me a shock, and himself much amusement. We were to fix a beacon in a river-bed one of those wide vlei rivers with a small amount of water meandering down from side to side of the river-bed. We had already had one good sight to the point that had to be fixed. Fairbridge wished to get his intersection from a kopje some two miles away—so he told the boys to build a large bonfire over the point and to light it at 5 p.m. I was to go to this other point and orient my instrument, observing the smoke from the fire at the appointed time. Unknown to either of us, a gentle breeze had come up and was drifting down the river-bed, taking the smoke from the fire with it. The smoke emerged several hundreds of yards downstream and I observed a nice column of smoke rising vertically. As there was no check on this point, the result was some hundreds of yards out, as I discovered when I insisted on having a third shot from a distant station. Fairbridge thought the episode was a great joke!

After some months, I told Fairbridge that I wanted to go to Umtali, chiefly to buy some cigarettes. In order to do this, I asked if he could pay me some of the money he owed me in accordance with our original arrangement. He laughed loud and long and told me that when I had been in this country a little longer, I would realise that we did not deal with money, but worked on the barter system. I had already noticed that he had a large number of squatters on the farm, who paid their rent in kind. In a huge ledger he would enter, for

22 INFORMATION SETTLERS AND UMTALI TOWNSHIP. REZENDE MINES. ODZI CANNING FACTORY. ODZANI IRRIGATION ulling to Ca

R. S. Fairbridge's offer of employment to McBean.

instance, that a certain Mrs. Martha had paid "one bushel of peas". Nevertheless he said if I must have money, he would give me a paper to take to the bank manager in Umtali. So, armed with his I.O.U., I set off for Umtali and called on Mr. Rutherford, the bank manager. When he saw the I.O.U. he laughed and assured me that it was not worth the paper it was written on! Mr. Rutherford had heard about my going to assist Fairbridge and fully expected me eventually to call on him in his official capacity. He and a few friends gave me some simple jobs—running lines on farms, etc., so that eventually I collected enough money to go to Salisbury where, as I shall recall later on, I was employed by Messrs. Maasdorp and Piers.

Mrs. Fairbridge and her daughter lived in Umtali in a house named "Utopia". It was quite a pleasant property situated at the high end of the town. On the occasion when I tried to obtain some money, I paid them a visit. They kindly directed me to the bank, and invited me to call again on my return. I stayed the night and joined the family party the next morning on the lawn. We

admired the garden and then played with a tennis-ball until about 10.30, when the daughter's fiancé arrived from Umtali. I remember taking him on one side and enquiring at what time the family breakfasted. He replied that probably there was no food in the house, but that as he himself worked at Meikle's Store in Umtali and had the store key, we might go down and get some food. We returned about an hour later with bacon and eggs, etc., which we cooked and enjoyed with Mrs. Fairbridge and her daughter.

All the same, these two women appeared to live quite comfortably. They were both on the stout side—just the opposite to the old man himself. A little dog-cart, drawn by two mules, was their conveyance, though when Mrs. Fairbridge was in it, there was hardly room for anyone else.

Life in the bush, close to Umtali, was not hard, but later, when I left Fairbridge and was employed by Maasdorp and Piers, I saw rough country in the Mtoko district and did many surveys there. I was out for six months by myself with a small gang of "boys". One or two of them were more intelligent than the others and knew how to hold the measuring tape or chain on a peg in the ground, when measuring a base on other comparatively short distances. The other boys were used for cutting the bush and trees in order to sight on to distant points. They were also sent, from time to time, to the very scattered stores where one could purchase meat and groceries. I remember on one occasion, when passing one of these stores, that I called in to see the lonely European who sold the goods to surrounding farmers, prospectors and occasional surveyors. I had been using his store for some time, but this was the first time that I was able to have a chat with him. I am reminded on this occasion he pulled my leg for my continual messages, in the past, for mealie-meal, beans, etc., for the boys and "a pound or two of underdone steak" for me!

During this time I found excessive loneliness a great strain. On one occasion, I was returning, in the late evening as usual, from observing at distant points when, on coming over a rise, I could see my camp about half-a-mile away. Through my field-glasses I saw movement. There was my cook-boy and a stranger whom I took to be a European. I hadn't seen a European, nor spoken English for six months or so. I was so scared of meeting another European that I hung around until, as it was getting dark, I saw him go away. He turned out to be a prospector from a camp some miles away. I had a bottle of whisky so I could have given him a drink, but an encounter following months of being alone was psychologically too frightening.

Fairbridge's claim to fame lies in the fact that he was the father of Kingsley, the founder of the scheme for training British boys to be farmers in Australia. Fairbridge spoke very little of Kingsley although I gathered from him that Kingsley had tried to work his scheme with the Southern Rhodesian Government; but in the nineteen-twenties there was no money for such schemes. This was the reason why the scheme was eventually carried out in Australia. At the time I was with Fairbridge, Kingsley was at Oxford University. There, the idea of the scheme gradually took shape. He would go down to the West End of London where he made friends with wealthy dowagers. To them he unfolded his plan and with their help amassed the funds he required. Then, changing his clothes, he visited the East End of London in search of suitable boys who might benefit from his scheme. He must have been a very good judge of character because Fairbridge said he used to walk around in the slums of East London, watching the little urchins playing football with a tennis-ball and kicking tins about in the street. After studying them, he would pick on one to accompany him to his home to speak to his parents. As these children often came from large families there was no unwillingness to trust Kingsley, and so he was allowed to put his scheme into practice on a likely member of the family. As is well known, these chosen youngsters were trained to be successful farmers in Australia.

This operation continued as the West End dowagers supplied the necessary finance. A scheme was started in Bulawayo during the Second World War, and the school was named the Kingsley Fairbridge School to commemorate Kingsley's pioneer achievement, and to honour a Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar.

Later, when I was in the Surveyor-General's office, Fairbridge published a sort of scrap-book, consisting of newspaper-cuttings and notes of his survey experiences. I managed to acquire one of these for a pound, but unfortunately my copy was destroyed when my house in Montagu Avenue was burnt down in 1947. This particular copy had a small piece of leopard-skin attached to the top right-hand corner and was known as the "Leopard Skin Edition". I understand there is a similar copy in the Surveyor-General's Museum. To peruse it would be an opportunity to enlarge on this brief sketch of the inimitable Fairbridge.

Gleanings From the Gazette, 1895

Compiled by B. H. de Beer

In looking through the *Gazettes* published by the British South Africa Company before the turn of the century, it is interesting to note that in those days the *Gazette* was used extensively as a means of advertisement, and that it was customary for the professions to use the *Gazette* to advertise their services to the public.

The following are a few of the more interesting advertisements and notices which appeared in the *Gazette* for the year 1895, and which clearly illustrate the tempo of life in those early days in Rhodesia.

In the edition of the 18th January, 1895, the firm of Frames and Grimmer advertised their services as "Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers", proudly proclaiming that they had offices in Salisbury and Kimberley, whilst in the same edition a Mr. J. G. W. F. Fairbairn stated that he was an engineering contractor with branches in Salisbury and Mazoe, and was qualified to provide estimates for every description of engineering works.

The *Gazette* of the 8th February carried the notice convening the annual general meeting of the Salisbury Licensing Court for the purpose of taking into consideration applications for the granting, renewal, and transfer of liquor licences in the township of Salisbury, in terms of Act No. 28 of 1883. The following applications were advertised for hearing, and give an indication of the number of hotels and bottle stores operating in Salisbury in 1895:

Applications for granting of licences

1. Ernest Edward Homan, retail licence with full privileges for Stands 522 and 523.

Application for renewal of existing licences

- 1. James Stewart Henderson Meikle, of the firm of Meikle Bros., for Stand 66, Pioneer Street—bottle licence.
- 2. Mrs. Malcolm Fraser, retail licence, for the Avenue Hotel, Jameson Avenue.
- 3. Moss Henry Morris, bottle licence, for the firm of Morris and Cornwall, Stand No. 70, Pioneer Street.
- 4. John Fox, retail licence with full midnight and Sunday privileges, Central Hotel, Pioneer Street.
- 5. Godfrey Jacobs, retail licence, with the same privileges as for the Central Hotel, for the Masonic Hotel, Pioneer Street. Licensee: L. Susman.
- 6. E. Stecker, of B.T.W., bottle licence for Stand 74, Pioneer Street.
- 7. Snodgrass and Mitchell, retail licence with full privileges for Hatfield Hotel, Pioneer Street.

- 8. Mrs. Pearl T. Macrae, retail licence with full privileges for the Albion Hotel, Stand 19, Pioneer Street.
- 9. Montague Savile and Company, bottle licence, Pioneer Street.
- 10. E. E. Homan, bottle licence for Stands 15 and 16, Pioneer Street.
- 11. Edwin Jessop, retail licence for Cosmopolitan Hotel, Stand 565, the Causeway, Salisbury.

Applications for transfer of existing licences

1. William Stokes Jarvis, executor in the estate of the late Thomas Vaughan, transfer to himself of retail licence for Central Hotel, Pioneer Street, with renewal of same.

The notice was dated at Salisbury on the 8th day of February, 1895, and signed by "H. F. White, Resident Magistrate".

In the same edition James M. Brown (late of Kimberley) advertised as an Attorney, Notary and Conveyancer for the Bulawayo area, whilst Messrs. Acutt and Crewe offered to buy and sell farms and claims, to peg farms, and to develop mining properties. They also undertook secretaryships, and bought and sold livestock—their offices were situated in Main Street, near the Government Buildings.

Mr. Fred C. Deary advertised as an accountant and collector, operating from the corner of Salisbury Street and Manica Road, next to the *Rhodesia Herald* office, whilst, in Victoria, Mr. J. W. Clark operated a stationery and newsagent's shop opposite the Post and Telegraph Office.

The Glen Lorne Dairy advertised "Separator Butter" made with the latest scientific appliances, absolutely pure—untouched by hand in manufacture— which was advertised as being sold every Saturday morning on the morning market. Mr. J. A. Edmonds was the proprietor and Mr. J. D. Acland the manager of the dairy.

Returning to Victoria, "The Butchery" undertook to attend to all orders promptly and were contractors to the Government.

The Salisbury sanitary contractor, Mr. H. Nelson, inserted a notice in the *Gazette* that messages re rubbish removals or conveying complaints would have immediate attention if left at the board's office or with himself.

The *Rhodesia Herald* advertisement tariff appeared in the same issue. One could have a legal or official notice inserted for 6s. per inch single column, whilst for general business announcements the charge was the same price for less than six insertions. Domestic announcements were 3s. for less than 30 words, and thereafter 1s. 6d. for the next 30 words. The annual subscription to the *Herald* was £1 6s. in Salisbury, £1 10s. to South Africa, and £1 16s. to America.

On the 15th February the *Gazette* carried the following notice, "The Rev. Father Nicot, S.J., supplies us with the rainfall figures since January 21st as being a total of 6.89 inches", whilst the past week's prices at the morning market were given—a few prices taken from the list showed that butter was



Pioneer Street, 1895-96. (Phot

(Photo: National Archives)

between 2s. 8d. and 3s. 3d. a lb., eggs (Masoona) from 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per dozen, whilst eggs (Colonial) were selling at between 8s. 6d. and 11s. 6d. per dozen, lettuces were 1d. per bunch, peas 4d. to 1s. per lot, and tomatoes 3d. to 7d. per lot.

In the same edition, Mr. G. O. Masters advertised as a builder and contractor, whilst Robert Howell, Attorney, Bulawayo, was also able to claim being a Solicitor of the English Court and of the Queensland Court since 1888. Mr. H. J. Gilby, architect, of Salisbury, undertook to provide plans, specifications and quantities.

On the 22nd February the firm of Caledonian Galvanized Iron Works with Mr. M. Muirhead as plumber and tinsmith—undertook to manufacture sponge-showers and plunge-baths, ventilators, guttering, stove-pipes, street and veranda lamps, and corrugated circular tanks to hold between 50-1 000 gallons upwards. The advertisement claimed that by giving their orders to M.M., "no householder need be without pure rain water during the dry season, and thus reduce fever and diarrhoea to a minimum". They had works at Salisbury and Beira.

On the 8th March the Commissioner of Public Works called for tenders for the supply of between 1 000 and 3 500 poles stipulating the following woods —Bastard Yellowwood, Mhobahoba, or Buchenhout—to be used for the erection of the line from Salisbury to 30 miles east of Umtali on the Chimoio road. Mr. W. G. Hill, the poundmaster, advised the public that he had impounded one mare donkey (mouse-coloured, with no marks) and said that it would be sold if not released by the 20th March. Mr. S. Hyman advertised as a stock and share broker in Mashonaland, "established since 1891", and offered to lend $\pounds 1\ 000$ on mortgage at a low rate of interest. His Bulawayo agent was Mr. F. Rorke.

On the 15th March the heading "Oyez. Oyez." paved the way for the advertisement by M. Z. Booleman and Company of Johannesburg announcing that they were prepared to pay one-quarter of the face value of Mashonaland and British Central African stamps.

On the 19th April Mr. Robert Vavasseur inserted a notice stating that all persons killing, taking or following game on Stonybroke Farm, the Hanerau Estate or Moffat's Farm, lying between Tab'Insimbi and the Umnyati, would be prosecuted. A meeting of shareholders in the Salisbury Board of Executors Limited was advertised for the 9th May at the Masonic Hotel, and was signed by the secretary, Mr. R. K. Eustace. Immediately underneath this notice, Mr. W. G. Hill offered a reward for the recovery of his missing bull (branded "H") and two drakes (one wing cut). The following week Mr. Ali Khan claimed that, after four years' successful experience and trial, he had discovered a means to prevent horse-sickness, and stated that he could be consulted at his stables in Salisbury Street at any hour.

The Surveyor-General, Mr. A. H. F. Duncan, issued a notice on the 10th May stating that the following persons had failed to pay their occupation fees and that, if the fees were not paid by the 30th June, the stands would be forfeited: J. Whelan, Stand No. 1; Lazarus and Morris, Stand 17; W. Cunningham, Stand 230; H. L. Stephen, Stand 454; and Mashonaland Hotel Stands, 603, 604, 615 and 616.

The following notice appeared in the issue for the 15th May: "Unless Mr. R. Salmon redeems his anvil forwarded to us from Messrs. Adcock and Cowan, Bulawayo, by 31st inst., the same will be sold to defray transport and other charges."

On the 22nd May the Cape of Good Hope Bank Limited (in liquidation) announced the payment of the eighth and final dividend of 10 3/8d. in the £. The notice, signed by a Mr. W. A. Phillips of Johannesburg, stated that "I beg to intimate that being desirous that my clients should suffer no loss whatever through the suspension of the above Bank, I am prepared to pay out the full balance viz., One Shilling and Three Pence in the £, completing the whole amount of Twenty Shillings in the £. Holders of my cheques are requested to present same at my office when the amount due thereupon will be paid in full."

The following week the *Herald* office announced that it had just received "New Works of Fiction—Standard Literature and Wall Maps of Rhodesia".

On the 5th June Mr. Charles White, the Chief Commissioner of the Police inserted the following advertisement: "Wanted. Several Smart Young Men. Must be of good character, able to read and write., references required—Apply to Chief Inspector Robinson, Municipal Police, Salisbury. Rates of Pay-1st Class Sgt. 15/- per diem., 2nd Class Sgt., 14/- per diem., 3rd Class Sgt, 12/- per diem., 1st Class Constable 10/- per diem., 2nd Class Constable 9/- per diem., and 3rd Class Constable 8/- per diem. Uniform and lodging provided."

Also on this date the Pioneer Pharmacy, Strachan and Company, advertised as chemists, dentists and wholesale druggists, and also undertook assays—their Umtali agent was Mr. G. B. Mitchell. The Thatched House Victoria, "The First Class Hotel", opposite the Government Buildings, advertised "every convenience"—including first-class wines and spirits, and good stabling— Messrs. Weir and Company being the proprietors.

A notice to Freemasons on the 19th June, 1895, reminded them that a special service was being held at the English Church the following Sunday evening by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Mashonaland, at 8 p.m., it being St. John's Eve.

On the 17th July the Acting Magistrate of Salisbury, Mr. H. Hervey, gave notice that the Magistrate's Court would sit (unless urgent reasons otherwise required) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays only, and that passes for natives would be issued on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays during office hours, and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays before 2 p.m.

The following week tenders were invited for the shoeing of the horses of the Rhodesia Horse at Salisbury. The Mashonaland Regiment, Rhodesia Horse, advertised for an armourer in the same issue.

The Beira Railway Company claimed to operate the quickest and cheapest route to Rhodesia, stating that passengers arriving by the ocean steamers at Beira proceeded thence up the Pungwe River to Fontesvilla by the steamboats of the company. The distance between Beira and Fontesvilla was given as "about 60 miles" and was generally performed in "about 6 hours" at a passenger fare of £1. The company also advertised a passenger train run in conjunction with the arrival of the steamers at Beira, leaving Fontesvilla once a week for Chimoio (118 miles)—fares: first-class £3, natives 10s. In connection with these passenger trains coaches ran to Umtali and Salisbury.

The "Deutsche Ost Afrika Linie" gave a list of the next sailings from Beira as follows to Durban and Europe: S.S. *Kaiser*, 11th June; S.S. *Admiral*, 9th July; S.S. *General*, 6th August; S.S. *Kanzler*, 3rd September; S.S. *Reichstag*, October. On the 31st July the Postmaster-General, Mr. A. H. F. Duncan, gave a list of the mail time-tables between Cape Town, Bulawayo and Salisbury. Mail leaving Cape Town on a Thursday would arrive in Bulawayo eight days later and in Salisbury some three days after this. In the same edition "Esbensen's Butter" was advertised, "supplied in tins with Patent Openers affording great convenience to consumers—being on sale at all Stores".

On 14th August Julius Weil, general merchant and Government contractor, advertised "Parties for Matabeleland, Mashonaland and the Interior fitted out completely with Wagons, Oxen, Mules, Salted Horses, and every other requisite." He was also the agent for "Watson's Superior Whiskies, Perinet and Fils' Champagne, Armour's Canned Goods, Seckbach and Cie Clarets and Burgundies, etc.", as well as for "W. D. & H. O. Wills' celebrated Three Castles Cigarettes", and sole proprietors for "Adel Shee Cigarettes".

In September Mr. Jensen went to the trouble of advising the public that he regretted that due to a delay on the road with his studio and apparatus he would be a few days late in opening his plant, where he guaranteed to photograph Volunteers in their uniforms. At the same time the Smithfield and Kimberley Butcheries gave notice that, owing to the scarcity of cattle, and the high prices for the few obtainable, that they had decided to raise their prices forthwith.

In October Mr. G. M. Braganza offered his services as a painter, being late of Bombay, Baroda, and the Central India Railway. He included a testimonial from Mr. W. G. Hill, reading "Mr. Braganza has painted a cart for me, and given every satisfaction." Messrs. Atkinson and Creswick advertised as dress-makers—"Ladies' own materials made up with the latest Style and Fit."

The Hon. Secretary of the Rhodesia Agricultural and Horticultural Society gave notice that a general meeting of the society would be held at the Commercial Hotel on 2nd November, and invited all those interested to attend.

On the 4th December the public received notice that Miss Brewin, costumier, had moved to the Causeway, near the Standard Bank.

And so Rhodesia saw out the year 1895.

Society Activities

Matabeleland branch outing to Shiloh, Sunday, 21st May, 1972

About 100 members braved a biting cold morning to attend this outing but fortunately by 10 a.m. the clouds dispersed, the wind dropped and a lovely sunshine day developed.

This outing was of particular interest as four distinct periods of Rhodesian history were covered in the 12 miles from Mfasimiti Hill to the site of the Shiloh Mission. These were Iron Age, pre-pioneer, rebellion and modern.

Mr. Top Hepburn explained that there was evidence of Iron Age occupation at and around the prominent landmark of Mfasimiti Hill. The translation of this Matabele word is "pregnant woman" and there are several legends as to how it was so named, one being that some "royal wives" living in the locality were visited by the *amatjaha* of the Imbezu regiment stationed nearby and were executed at the hill for their indescretions.

Dr. J. Shee spoke at the very lovely site of the Shiloh Mission in a horseshoe of hills, tracing the pre-pioneer activities of Mr. Thomas Morgan Thomas who was a founder member of the Inyati Mission in 1859 but who, after differences with the London Missionary Society, obtained a grant of land from Lobengula and established Shiloh Mission in 1874. Shiloh Mission was a focal point on the pre-pioneer routes of Matabeleland.

The mission was abandoned in 1889, five years after the death of Thomas Morgan Thomas, and today the only evidence of previous occupation is the small cemetery, some foundations, palm trees and a forest of syringa trees along the river whose permanent underground fountain supplied the mission's needs in water.

The Matabele Rebellion period was dealt with by Mr. Lovemore at the ruin of Fort Shiloh (some three miles south of the mission site) who told of the skirmishes of two patrols in the area in the early days of the rebellion and the construction of the fort on 12th June, 1896.

The modern period was covered by Mr. Warwick Norvall with a talk from the wall of the Norvall Dam on the Kokwe River. This dam was built in 1970-71 and is the largest privately owned dam in the country, being approximately a mile across at its widest point and a couple of miles in length with a 60-ft. depth at the wall.

In a most interesting talk Mr. Norvall explained the technicalities of construction, the reasons for building the dam and how this enormous volume of water will be utilised.

This very interesting and enjoyable outing was made possible by the kind co-operation of the Bubi District Council, Mr. Benny Lobel of Paddy's Valley Ranch and Mr. R. Pilossos of Shiloh Ranch, to all of whom the Society expresses its sincere thanks.

Matabeleland Branch Hartley Hills Outing, 9th to 11th July, 1972

At the Rhodes and Founders holiday a party from the Matabeleland Branch camped at Hartley Hills by arrangement with the members of the Hartley Historical Society whose hospitality, generosity and kindness made the visit a most memorable one.

Mr. Charles Sims and Mr. Bert Smith of Hartley went to endless trouble to prepare a suitable camping area and in addition provided cut firewood and mealie-cobs for our fires, water, fresh milk and citrus fruits.

It was significant that amongst the Matabeleland party were a group of scholars from Baines School under the care of their headmaster, Mr. J. E. Mallory.

We were very pleased to see the National Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. W. H. Loades, and two members of the National Executive Committee, Mr. R. W. S. Turner and Mr. E. E. Burke, who visited the camp on Sunday and joined the afternoon session.

On the Sunday afternoon Mr. Jack Bowan of Hartley gave us a very interesting talk on the Hartley Hills area covering the period 1865-96, following which he led the party over the Hartley Hill fort to the cemetery, Johnson's Kop, the site of Baines' house and on to the small kopje under which Baines painted the picture of the wagon being repaired after its accident at the nearby Zimbo River drift. He then pointed out Constitution Hill (so named during the "fever year" of 1870 when Thomas Leask made his recuperating patients climb the hill each day to strengthen their constitutions) and the area in which the elephant, wounded by Henry Hartley, fell on the outcrop of gold-bearing quartz—also depicted in one of Baines' paintings. We then moved down the Zimbo River to see the "dolly holes" in the granite at the water's edge where the "ancients" crushed the gold-bearing ore obtained from the many ancient workings in the area.

Mr. Bowan produced a very interesting early map of the area of Baines' Concession and Mr. Sims showed us two reproductions of the 1898 layout of Hartley Hills township. Mrs. Morton Spencer has painted a fascinating picture of the township as it was thought to be in the 1890-98 period and this work was much admired.

On Monday the party travelled to Mr. Brian Marlborough's farm, 20-odd miles from the hills, and on arrival were given tea, a kindness which was very much appreciated. Mr. Marlborough earned the gratitude of the party for his kind thoughtfulness in doing up the farm-tracks to Mashayamombe's strong-hold.

On arrival at Mashayamombe's stronghold Mr. Marlborough gave us a most interesting talk about the area and its early occupants and led us up the kopje complex to the cave which housed Mashayamombe and his people during the rebellion. The view from the top of the kopje was very lovely.

After a thorough inspection of the stronghold and a visit to a rebellion or pre-rebellion iron-smelting furnace the party returned to the cars for lunch and it was during this break that Mr. Marlborough discovered the grave of Mashayamombe's brother who had died in Dr. Fleming's field hospital during the rebellion. The long vlei grass in the area had been cut short to facilitate the parking of cars and this revealed the grave. Mr. Marlborough had searched for this grave for several years.

At this stage Dr. David Beach led the party to Kagubi's cave in a kopje across the Umfuli River some three miles away and at the river he told us a great deal about Kagubi and the position he and his forefathers had held in the religion practised by the Mashona.

The climb up to the cave was not severe and the route was very pretty, passing through areas of flowering aloes. From the top of the kopje the view of the Umfuli River and surrounding country was magnificent.

Whilst in the cave Mr. Marlborough picked up a much tarnished "Royal Artillery" tunic button.

Dr. Beach gave us a further interesting talk in the cave and answered questions after which we returned to the cars for the final part of the trip to Fort Martin.

At the fort Mr. Marlborough told us of its history and the part it played in finally quelling the rebellion. We visited the cemetery and then returned to the homestead where Mrs. Marlborough again gave us very welcome tea.

Mr. and Mrs. Marlborough went out of their way to make our visit pleasant, interesting and comfortable and they certainly succeeded in doing so.

On Tuesday at 10 a.m. the Rev. Peter Grant of Hartley conducted a service to dedicate the plaques of Henry Hartley and Thomas Baines on Hartley Hill, and a number of Hartley residents were in attendance.

After the service camp was broken and our party left for home with a sad feeling that it was all over. The hospitality and kindness of the Hartleyites will long be remembered.

Matabeleland Branch outing to Belingwe and Kongesi ruins, Sunday, 13th August, 1972

After about a month of cold and unfriendly weather, Sunday, 13th August, broke fine and about 60 members enjoyed a memorable day in glorious sunshine at Belingwe.

Mr. Mervyn Fox, the Assistant District Commissioner at Belingwe, who has a profound knowledge of the events in the district during the rebellion, met the party on arrival and as a start showed us over the old stone-walled gaol in present-day Belingwe, which dates from about 1905, and pointed out and explained features in the surrounding country.

He then led the convoy to the site of the original settlement some two miles distant in the bend of the Dobie River where Capt. Tyrie Laing established the Belingwe Laager at the outbreak of the rebellion. It housed 32 men and one woman.

The District Commissioner at Belingwe has a number of enlargements of photographs taken during the rebellion period and he kindly allowed these to be displayed. In addition Mr. Fox had prepared cyclostyled sheets of a drawing of the laager which were handed to members and which proved to be a great help in placing the exact position of the various features. (See illustration in article on Rebellion Forts in this issue.—Editor.)

At the laager site Mr. Ian Cross, who has made a study of rebellion forts and who has accumulated a most impressive knowledge of the subject, gave us a very interesting and detailed talk of the activities in the area at the outbreak of and during the rebellion.

Later he took us to the two forts nearby, one of which is still very well preserved, built and occupied by the B.S.A. Police to quell the activities of the local rebels who held out for some time after the main rebellion had been crushed.

The small cemetery near the forts and another cemetery near the laager were visited and they offer grim evidence of the prevalence of malaria during the early days. A monument to some of those who lost their lives during the rebellion stands in the grounds of the present-day D.C.'s office.

On the journey home the party called at the Zimbabwe-type Kongesi Ruins near Filabusi which stand high on a kopje studded with large and beautiful mountain acacia trees. The National Monuments Commission had very kindly arranged the clearing of paths to the ruins for our visit.

These ruins are in a good state of preservation and contain chevron and other patterns. The view from the ruins is most spectacular and enhanced at this time of the year by many flowering red aloes.

This outing was most successful and the Society's thanks are extended to the District Commissioner at Belingwe, Mr. I. C. Bissett, his Assistant, Mr. M. Fox, and Mr. Ian Cross for their efforts in giving us such an enjoyable and instructive day.

The Society's Gold Medal: 1972 Presentation

An impressive ceremony was held at the National Archives of Rhodesia on Friday, the 25th of August, 1972, when the Hon. L. B. Smith, I.D., M.P., Minister of Internal Affairs, presented the Society's Gold Medals for 1972.

The presentation of medals to Clr. G. H. Tanser of Salisbury and Dr. O. N. Ransford of Bulawayo was witnessed by over 200 guests, including many distinguished Rhodesians who were welcomed on behalf of the Society by Mr. R. W. S. Turner, Chairman of the Medal Committee. The ceremony was followed by cocktails in the Beit Trust Gallery.

Presentation

In his speech the Minister of Internal Affairs said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

"For many years the Rhodesiana Society has been doing splendid work in stimulating the interest of Rhodesians in the story of their country. The purpose of the ceremony this evening is to honour two men who have made an outstanding contribution in furthering the aims of the society.

"In a young nation such as ours an historical society has a particularly vital role to play in stimulating an interest in the past. This is not a matter of merely looking backward and finding solace by reminiscing about the good old days. It is rather a matter of drawing attention to what has gone before and thereby building up a sense of tradition.

"Tradition is of great importance in a school and an army, but it is of supreme importance to a nation as a whole.

"One can avoid pitfalls by knowing what mistakes were made before—or as the philosopher Santayana put it: 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.' However, the work of the Rhodesiana Society goes beyond this concept of knowing something about the background of our country.

"By encouraging research and historical study and by taking groups of people to historic buildings and sites in towns and in the country the society is slowly but surely fostering a wider appreciation of Rhodesian history. The high standard of the society's journal, *Rhodesiana*, spreads the society's aims and objects to the remotest corners of our country and, indeed, beyond our borders.

"The resultant building up of a sense of tradition gratifies a wish for a sense of belonging which is innate in all men and women. This in turn engenders a

healthy sense of national consciousness which is essential to the survival of Rhodesia.

"It might be worthy of note here today to mention that yesterday I had the honour to accept from Mrs. Cripwell the H. A. Cripwell Collection on behalf of the Archives of Rhodesia. Mr. Cripwell was a founder member of Rhodesiana in 1953 and its Chairman until his death in 1970 when its members numbered 1 400. In 1971 he was posthumously awarded the first Gold Medal of the Society and it is fitting to note that some of the material in this collection is at present being used by one of today's recipient's of the Gold Medal, Mr. Tony Tanser, who has been commissioned by the B.S.A.P. to write the remarkable history of Murray's Column.

"The Rhodesiana Society, indeed the entire nation, is fortunate in being served by men of ability, upon two of whom the society now bestows its Gold Medal: The Society's Highest Honour."

Citation

OLIVER NEIL RANSFORD was born in Bradford, Yorkshire, and qualified at London University in 1936 as a doctor. He joined the Colonial Medical Service in 1938 and his fascination for Africa began in that year when he was posted to Nyasaland. At the outbreak of World War II he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps, seeing service in Ethiopia, Italian Somaliland, Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia.

His connection with Rhodesia dates back to 1946 when he set up in private practice in Bulawayo. He was subsequently elected Doctor of Medicine and Fellow of the Faculty of Anaesthetists of the Royal College of Surgeons.

His interest in history resulted in his visiting many historical sites in Rhodesia and South Africa with the object of endeavouring to reconstruct events on the ground over which they had occurred. He began serious writing in 1966 since when his books have gained an international reputation. His main works are: Livingstone's Lake, Battle of Majuba Hill, Rulers of Rhodesia, Battle of Spion Kop, The Slave Trade, and The Great Trek, and he was commissioned to write Bulawayo, historic battleground of Rhodesia. The Slave Trade and The Great Trek were both chosen for the Readers' Union Book Club.

He was among the small band of enthusiasts who worked for the foundation of the Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society and he served on the original committee which launched the Branch on its successful career.

His interest has not been confined to research and writing: he has been in constant demand by influential organisations to speak on historical subjects, and his lectures to the Matabeleland Branch have been the principal factor in creating an intense public interest in the history of the area. His reconstructions on television of South African and Rhodesian battles have earned him a nation-wide reputation. One can almost say that as far as Matabeleland is concerned his name has become a synonym for the promotion of knowledge and interest in Rhodesian history.



Presentation of Gold Medals, 1972. Left to right: R. W. S. Turner (Chairman, Medal Committee), Clr. G. H. Tanser, Mrs. O. N. Ransford, Dr. O. N. Ransford, Mrs. G. H. Tanser, the Hon, L. B. Smith, I.D., M.P., Col. A. S. Hickman (National Chairman, Rhodesiana Society). Mrs. L. B. Smith, E. E. Burke (Director of National Archives).

Oliver Neil Ransford is awarded the Rhodesiana Society's Gold Medal for making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

GEORGE HENRY TANSER is known to most people as Tony Tanser. The son of a Leicestershire farmer, he served in the Leicestershire Regiment and the Royal Air Force during World War I. He qualified as a teacher at the University of London and taught in the slums of the East End before immigrating to South Africa.

In 1927 he came to Rhodesia to join the staff of Prince Edward School and was later headmaster of Hartley, Chaplin Junior and Jameson schools. In 1944 he transferred to the Head Office of the Ministry of Education where he served as Administrative Officer and Inspector of Schools. During the Federal period he became Regional Education Officer for Rhodesia and retired in 1960 as Chief Education Officer.

Whilst he was teaching he became aware of the lack of knowledge and interest in the history and geography of Rhodesia which led him to write *Founders of Rhodesia* and *Geography of Southern Rhodesia* as primary school textbooks. He wrote *History of Nyasaland* and other textbooks for schools in the Federation. In 1950 he started research on the history of Salisbury which culminated in the publication in 1965 of *A Scantling of Time*.

In 1955 he started a one-man campaign to save Rhodesia's historical buildings from demolition; while generally unsuccessful in saving buildings he made people aware of the loss they are sustaining and helped to form "Heritage of Rhodesia", a society to deal with the problem.

After two years as Secretary of Hopelands Trust he stood for Salisbury City Council and was first elected in 1966 and twice re-elected; this year he was appointed Deputy Mayor of Salisbury.

He was a founder member of the Rhodesiana Society and has served on the committee since the Society was founded in 1953. He is now National Deputy Chairman. He is also the Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society and in this capacity he has worked with unremitting zeal to stimulate interest in local history.

George Henry Tanser is awarded the Rhodesian Society's Gold Medal for making an outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Society.

Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

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

The British in Africa, by Roy Lewis and Yvonne Foy. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971. 258 pages, illus., \$7,68.

According to the publisher's blurb, this is the first in a series setting out the backgrounds, daily lives, social institutions and outstanding careers of those men and women without whom the influence of the British could never have been so far-reaching in the heyday of British Empire days. Lewis and Foy tackle the project in relation to Africa, not by dealing with individual countries or persons chapter by chapter, but by integrating all these aspects in a very readable narrative divided into such categories as "Adventurers, traders and businessmen", "Men of the establishment", "Women and domesticity", and so on. There are numerous black and white plates illustrating virtually every facet of the story.

The early history of Malawi, edited by Bridglal Pachai. London: Longman, 1972. 484 pages, plates, \$11,55.

In 1970 historians from all parts of Africa, the U.S.A. and Britain attended a conference in Blantyre dealing with the early history of Malawi. Papers presented covered a wide span, from Malawi's beginnings in the later Stone Age, through tribal conflicts, invasions and migrations, the war against the Arab slavers, to the arrival from Europe of the explorers, missionaries and politicians.

While the paper on transport and communications is of particular interest, the whole theme reflects much of relevance to Rhodesian studies.

The diamond diggers: South Africa 1866 to the 1970'S, by Ivor Herbert. London:

Tom Stacey, 1972. 138 pages, illus., \$5,18.

In 1958 A. T. Fincham, while prospecting for asbestos, found diamonds 130 miles from Kimberley. The discovery made Fincham a millionaire almost overnight, and led to the establishment of the huge Finsch Mine now owned by De Beers. Today a handful of diggers prospect a ridge near the mining township —"next to the roar of the mighty mine they toil away as hopefully as those first prospectors did in Kimberley a century ago".

This is a lively account of "those first prospectors" and the fantastic development—political and industrial—that their labours triggered off. This book, which is a short work with a broad span, contains nothing like the detail of J. T. McNish's best-selling works on Kimberley, but in taking the story of diamonds right up to the present, it is a useful introduction to the romance of diamonds and the part they have played in the history of southern Africa.

Henry Labouchere and the Empire, 1880-1905, by R. J. Hind. London: Athlone Press, 1972. 283 pages, \$9,02.

Labouchere was a Press proprietor, journalist and radical member of the British parliament for many years, his longest term of office covering the occupation of Mashonaland, the M atabele War, the Rebellions, and the Boer War. As the editor of *Truth*, he slammed imperialism and was also a bitter critic of Rhodes. In this learned, detailed work, the author attempts to show how Labouchere, by opposing imperial policies with assertions of the rights of independent non-European peoples to remain free from imperial interference, voiced ideas which eventually helped to determine British policy towards the Colonies. His position as the editor of a society newspaper gave him considerable influence, since few politicians cared to enter the ring with him and subsequently be villified in his journal.

The historical monuments of South Africa, by J. J. Oberholster. Cape Town: Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation for Culture; and, National Monuments Council, 1972. 376 pages, illus., col. plates, \$13,70.

This is a beautifully produced book; high-quality paper, a stout binding, hundreds of excellent black and white illustrations and several coloured plates, all add up to a fine piece of Africana. As a practical reference tool for all those whose interests in the history of southern Africa lead them to visit historical sites, the work is indispensable. Because of Rhodesia's numerous associations with South African history, Rhodesians will find much in this volume to interest them, for example, allusions to such personalities as Rhodes, Baines, Livingstone, Moffat and others, together with descriptions of monuments linked, in one way or another, with their memories.

John MacKenzie of Bechuanaland, 1835-1899, by Anthony Sillery. Cape Town: Balkema, 1971. 248 pages, illus., \$7,09.

Originally a missionary and educationist at Moffat's old station, Kuruman, John MacKenzie became a political leader in what is today Botswana. During the second half of the nineteenth century this territory, on the missionary and trade route to the north, was associated in one way or another with major political upheavals in the countries surrounding it. In this major study, the author describes the part played by MacKenzie in such questions as the shortlived Boer republics of Stellaland and Goshen, the relationship between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal and O.F.S. republics; the control of the diamond fields, and, finally, the early development of Matabeleland and Rhodesia.

Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: corridor to the north, by Norman H. Pollock. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1971. 576 pages, \$13,39.

In a lengthy work that must become a standard source of reference on the subject, the role played by Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in Rhodes's plans of northward expansion are described in great detail. The interrelationship of climate, topography, political development, economy, transport and communications with the history of the two territories are all described. The study is an objective one—the author tries to avoid harsh condemnations of men of one era based on the wisdom of hindsight of men nearly a century later.

Secure the shadow: the story of Cape photography from its beginnings to the end of 1870, by Marjorie Bull and Joseph Denfield. Cape Town: Terrence McNally, 1970. 291 pages, illus., \$4,59.

The development of photography is a fascinating subject. When linked with the lure of Africana it assumes an even more exciting character, and this excitement is captured in *Secure the shadow*. Although limited to Cape photography there is much in the book to interest Rhodesians, photographic enthusiasts and bibliophiles alike. The book is an ideal shelf-mate to Bensusan's *Silver images*, which dealt with the subject in relation to Africa as a whole.

Another form of photography, but this time cinematography, is the subject of Thelma Gutsche's latest book, *The history and social significance of motion pictures in South Africa*, 1895-1940 (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1972). This study traces the appearance, widespread use, production and distribution of films in such a way as to demonstrate the impact made by one of the most powerful of mass media on South Africa.

The spread of printing. Eastern Hemisphere: South Africa, by Anna H. Smith. Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1971. 171 pages, illus., \$13,65.

The authoritativeness of this book and the fact that it is the first comprehensive account of printing in southern Africa, guarantee that it will become a prized piece of Africana in the not-too-distant future, despite its unpretentious format (which hardly justifies the price). The author is well known in South Africa as an expert on Africana and librarianship, and this knowledge is clearly reflected in the standard of the work. Although it concentrates province by province, on South Africa, there is also a section on printing in adjacent territories, including Rhodesia. Steam locomotives of the South African railways, by D. F. Holland. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971-72. 2 vols., illus., \$16,16.

These two attractive volumes constitute an unusual and interesting work of Africana. Obviously of primary interest to the railway enthusiast, they also provide an essential link in the story of transport and communications in southern Africa. References to the Beira and Mashonaland Railways, the Mashonaland Railway, and Rhodesia Railways are included.

That Miss Hobhouse, by John Fisher. London: Seeker and Warburg, 1971. 286 pages, illus., \$7,19.

Emily Hobhouse is well known, if only as a name, to everyone familiar with the story of the second Boer War. In fact she had already made a name for herself before becoming a champion of the Boers. At the age of 35 she ministered to the needs of Cornish miners working in Minnesota; braving four brothels and 40 drinking saloons in the process. This tough experience stood her in good stead when she came to expose the miseries of Kitchener's concentration camps and, later, to plead on public platforms for humanitarian reforms in South Africa.

Yesterday's dress: a history of costume in South Africa, by A. A. Telford. Cape Town: Purnell, 1972. Illus., \$8,03.

Telford is well known as a first-rate illustrator of books published in South Africa. The present work is the result of many years' study of South African costume, and brings to life South African dress from the time of the early Portuguese explorers up to the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the illustrations have been taken from drawings and photographs showing the people of the period against an authentic background. In addition to the numerous line illustrations there are eight striking coloured plates.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by Dorothea Rowse

African Affairs (London)

V. 70, No. 281, October 1971, contains a detailed account of *The Role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia* 1890-1964 by Peter Slinn. It provides an interesting point of comparison for the activities of the Company in Southern Rhodesia during the same period, particularly with regard to mineral rights.

African Religious Research (Los Angeles)

This bi-annual journal is devoted to the historical study of African religious systems. It is in three sections, comprising a list of current research, a list of conferences and a book reviews section. Examples of its usefulness are long review articles in V. 1, Nos. 1 and 2, which give considerable detail on the Mwari cult of Rhodesia.

Africana Notes and News (Johannesburg)

The issue produced in September 1972 (V. 20, No. 3) contains a *History* of the Stuttaford family in Southern Africa by the late Wallace X. Stuttaford. The family is well known in South Africa but this article gives details of the arrival of a branch of the family in Rhodesia. The details of life in Bulawayo before 1900 are extremely evocative and, unlike many family histories, the article makes most interesting reading.

Arnoldia (Salisbury)

Cloth from the Iron Age of Rhodesia by Thomas N. Huffman is found in V. 5, No. 14. The history of weaving in Rhodesia is related to well known ruins and archaeological sites. It casts an interesting light on the early peoples of Rhodesia and their contact by trade with other peoples.

Botswana Notes and Records (Gaborone)

V. 3, 1971, contains an article by Q. N. Parsons entitled *The "image" of Khama the Great* 1868-1970, which covers the sources for the details of Khama's life and character. His "image" is examined from several points of view such as the British Government, missionaries, Cecil John Rhodes, etc., and covers the rise of his popularity to its peak in 1895.

The same journal includes an article entitled *The native land problem in the Tati district* by I. Schapera which, while only of peripheral relevance to Rhodesian history, includes an appendix devoted to the Tati Concessions which supplies the texts of these concessions by Lobengula.

Central African Journal of Medicine (Salisbury)

V. 18, No. 8, August 1972, contains a contribution by Michael Gelfand entitled *The Traditional Shona's attitude to medicine*. It discusses the African's views of western medicine and goes some way towards explaining his continued dependence on more traditional cures.

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (Salisbury)

A supplement to the issue V. 5, No. 11, 6th September, 1972, was published to celebrate the Book Centre of Rhodesia award. It contains a "survey of a century of Rhodesian literature" by Hugh Finn entitled *The Splendid heritage*. This history of literature about Rhodesia starts with the publication of books by Thomas Baines and Thomas Morgan Thomas in the 1870's and traces the development of Rhodesian authors, publishers and newspapers up to the present day.

Journal of African History (London)

New radiocarbon dates for Eastern and Southern Africa by J. E. G. Sutton is published in V. XIII, No. 1 of 1972. The author discusses areas which have been given new or revised dates, with six sites in Rhodesia being mentioned. The article also contains a useful appendix of dates not previously listed in the journal.

V. XIII, No. 3, 1972, includes several articles of interest to the Rhodesian historian. *The rise and fall of Zimbabwe* by T. N. Huffman is a detailed description of archaeological and documentary evidence for the history of Zimbabwe Ruins and the culture of which it was the focal point. In *The early history of the Sultanate of Angoche* by M. D. D. Newitt, the relationship between the coastal trade, controlled initially by the Arabs and later by the Portuguese, and the peoples of the interior is clearly described. The article is extremely readable and provides a fascinating picture of life in east and central Africa over a period of 300 years.

Mbire (Salisbury)

Only one issue of this has been produced so far but future issues are anticipated. Compiled by Dr. D. N. Beach, it is an alphabetical listing of everyone known to the compiler to be involved in historical research on central Africa.

Outpost (Salisbury)

V. 50, No. 4, April 1972, contains a history of Mazoe written by the Section Officer for the B.S.A. Police in the area. It describes events and personalities in the area during the 1890's.

Research in African Literatures (Austin, Texas)

V. 2, No. 1, and v. 3, No. 1, contain a bibliography on *The Two Boer Wars* and the Jameson Raid by D. J. Weinstock. The first section covers novels in

Dutch and Afrikaans and the second novels in English. Full bibliographical details are given and the lists should make invaluable guides to contemporary comment on the period.

Rhodesian History (Salisbury)

V. 1, 1970, of this new journal, published by the Central Africa Historical Association, is devoted to articles on all aspects of Rhodesian history. It is hoped to publish annual volumes in the future. The first issue contains six major articles and three long review articles.

Scots Magazine (Dundee)

V. 97, No. 1, April 1972, contains an article describing the *Lady Nyassa*, a collapsible boat built on the Clyde for David Livingstone. Details of the boat are given and a vivid account of its ocean voyage to Africa and the problems of trying to get it to Lake Nyasa above the Murchison Falls.

Shamva Cutting (Shamva)

Issue No. 3, May 1972, contains an item describing Masimbi Hill and the legendary Mazoe Tunnel believed by local Africans to be filled with treasure taken by the Monomotapa from Portuguese traders in the seventeenth century.

Sinoia News (Sinoia)

The issue for May 1972 contains a very short description of Jack Carruthers and his exploits in the Lomagundi district in 1891.

TransAfrican Journal of History (Nairobi)

V. 1, No. 2, July 1971, contains an article by Robin H. Palmer entitled *War and land in Rhodesia*. This compares the effects of the Matabele War of 1893 and the Rebellions of 1896-97 on the evolution of land policies in Rhodesia. He comes to the conclusion that the violence of both wars conditioned both the making and implementation of early land policy.

Zambezia (Salisbury)

V. 2, No. 1, December 1971. An article entitled *Historical Rationale of the policy of community development in the African rural areas of Rhodesia* by Gloria C. Passmore gives the historical background to the development of what came to be known as the "policy of native development". The article is of particular interest in that it provides a background to developments such as the foundation of Domboshawa School.

Notes

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

I. J. Cross was born in East London in 1946 but has lived almost all his life in Rhodesia where he was educated. He joined the Department of Justice in 1964, was appointed a public prosecutor in 1967 and a magistrate in 1971. He is stationed in Bulawayo. His principal interests are Rhodesian and Victorian military history, particularly with the Rebellion in Matabeleland. He has for some years been engaged in research into the Rebellion in this province and his article in this issue is a brief summary of some of that research.

Dr. D. N. Beach was born in Britain and educated in Britain, Kenya and Rhodesia. Since 1969 he has been studying Shona history and is now employed at the University of Rhodesia as a Research Fellow in that subject.

Lt.-Col. L. M. McBean is a retired Surveyor-General of Rhodesia. He was born in Kimberley in 1895 and educated in England and at Rhodes University, where his studies were interrupted by the First World War. He served first in South-West Africa, then with the British Forces in the Middle East, reaching the rank of Captain. Early in 1939 Mr. McBean was concerned with the formation of the Southern Rhodesia Field Survey Unit. The recommendations he made largely resulted in the first Southern Rhodesia Field Survey Unit being mobilised, equipped and leaving for Nairobi in 1940. Two months later, under his direction, the Southern Rhodesia Survey Unit Reserve Section was formed. In January 1941 he was appointed Director of Military Surveys, Southern Rhodesia Forces, in addition to his duties as Surveyor-General, and was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

AUTHORS' FREE COPIES

Authors of substantial articles may be given up to six free copies of the journal in which their articles appear and authors of shorter articles up to three free copies. Notes, reports and correspondence do not qualify for free copies: nor do book reviews since the reviewer retains the book.

MEMBERSHIP

At the 30th September, 1972, the Society comprised 1 253 ordinary members and 55 life members, making a total of 1 258.

JOINT MEMBERSHIP: HUSBAND AND WIFE

Following a suggestion to the National Executive Committee by the former National Secretary, Mike Kimberley, members of this Society agreed at the 1972 Annual General Meeting that it would be appropriate to introduce, with effect from 1st January, 1973, a *joint* husband *and* wife membership, for an annual subscription of \$4 Rhodesian currency, it being clearly understood that although both husband and wife would be regarded as full members of the Society, only *one* copy of each issue of *Rhodesiana* would be despatched to the joint members.

Any member who wishes to enrol his wife or her husband should please advise the Society in writing (full name, etc.) as soon as possible at P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, enclosing \$4 Rhodesian currency, together with the appropriate bank exchange and commission.

THE BOTSWANA SOCIETY

There are many reasons for Rhodesians being interested in the Botswana Society. There are, of course, many historical links between the two countries and the lives of many of the early explorers and missionaries were spent in both countries. The border splits some tribes; there is similar flora and fauna in adjoining areas; and there are communications and economic relationships. So that it is no surprise to find Rhodesian writers contributing to the Society's publications.

Volume I of *Botswana Notes and Records* was published in 1968 by the National Museum and Art Gallery at Gabarone. It aimed at being "a forum in which papers and notes of archaeological, historical, linguistic, scientific and other permanent interest concerning Botswana can be published".

This first number contains 15 contributions including two by Elliott Pinhey of the National Museum, Bulawayo. One describes an entomological journey in N'gamiland and the other is a check-list of the butterflies of Botswana. Other articles and notes are on history, tribal history, archaeology, mission history and there is a note by Naomi Mitcheson on the sources of history.

By 1970 a national Botswana Society had been formed and it produced vol. 2 of *Notes and Records.* It contains several articles by Rhodesians. C. K. Cooke, Director of the Rhodesian Commission for the Preservation of Historical Monuments, writes on "Rock Painting—Botswana and Elsewhere"; Col. A. S. Hickman, National Chairman of the Rhodesiana Society, describes his journey into Botswana in search of the sites of Rhodesia Pioneer Column encampments and of actions fought by Rhodesian units during the Boer War; and G. Guy, lately of the National Museum in Bulawayo, contributes an article on the early explorers' drift on the Botletle River at Moreamaoto. There is a long article on the Hambukushu, a tribe of Barotse origin, that now lives in all four countries that converge near the Chobe confluence with the Zambezi. An article on "Land and Chiefship in the Tati Concession" by R. Werbner describes the rights that Lobengula once had over the area. There are numerous other articles of historic and tribal interest and the scope is widened considerably by several articles on natural history, wildlife and one on the aloes of Botswana.

The third volume, of 1971, is considerably larger than the first two and its contents reveal that a vast mass of material is waiting to be published about Botswana and that there is no lack of writers to undertake the task.

The volume is divided into four sections—Articles, Rural Development Conference Papers, a Report on the Native Land Problem in the Tati District by Professor I. Schapera, and Research Notes. The wide spread of interest is maintained with material on aspects of history, sociology, ecology and natural history as well as articles on "Khama the Great" and other African chiefs. In the end-cover pocket is a provisional vegetation map accompanying a long article on the subject. In an article on "The Role of Tradition in Rural Development", H. A. Fosbrooke makes the telling point that in these modern days of fixed schools, dispensaries, piped water and shops the day of shifting cultivation is over. "Man can no longer chase the fertility around the country, he must adopt means of maintaining that fertility within reasonable distance of his home." In this volume too is the first instalment of a bibliography of Botswana.

Altogether a very meaty volume of 300 pages.

It is the intention of the Society to publish longer works as Occasional Papers. The first of these, *Botswana Notes and Records, Special Edition No.* 1, comprises the "Proceedings of the Conference on Sustained Production from Semi-arid Areas" held at Gaberone in October 1971. The conference was organised by the Society with financial assistance from the United Nations.

The subject is of vital importance to Botswana and also to Rhodesia which has related areas. This volume should arouse much interest here. The Kalahari is taken as being a typical semi-arid area and the specific theme is "the relationship between Man and the Kalahari". Nearly 30 experts from various parts of the world took part in discussions and read papers on man and his environment in semi-arid areas, water development and ground-water supplies, the utilisation of wildlife, the economic use of such areas and their potentials. An American from Harvard University describes ranching in the semi-arid areas of America, and an Australian the knowledge that has been gained during the development of such areas in Australia.

This valuable and important work of 323 pages sells at R5 post free.

Botswana Notes and Records is an annual and copies of vol. Nos. 1, 2 and 3 can be bought for R1,75 each from the Secretary of the Botswana Society, P.O. Box 71, Gaberone, Botswana.

JOHNSON AND FLETCHER LTD.

Under the title *Families in Partnership*, 1897-1972, George Hindley has written the history of the well known firm of Johnson and Fletcher. A hardback, well illustrated book it should be of interest to collectors of Rhodesiana.

George Johnson, electrical engineer, and Harold Fletcher, mechanical engineer, both Englishmen, shared lodgings in Johannesburg in 1892.

In 1897 they went into partnership and started, in Bulawayo, the firm that bears their names. For 75 years it has been in the forefront of industrial development in Rhodesia, advancing from mining engineering into general, electrical and specialist engineering as well as becoming one of leading timber, building materials and hardware merchants, with five branches in Rhodesia, one in Beira and, until recent years, three in Zambia. The company pioneered overhead irrigation and were the first to introduce many examples of advanced mining equipment into the country.

The third generation of Rhodesians, grandsons of the founders, are now taking up their places in the management of the company.

The book contains much description of life and conditions in the early years of Rhodesian towns and there are a number of interesting old photographs of towns and mines. Mention is made, and there are pictures, of many characters and distinguished citizens who were associated with the company.

George Johnson served his first term as president of the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce in 1904 and in subsequent years he was president of Bulawayo no fewer than 19 times, retiring in 1935 after 11 consecutive years as president. He was instrumental in forming the Associated Chambers of Commerce and was president for five years. George Johnson was knighted in 1936 for public services.

Harold Fletcher served on the Bulawayo town council during the 1920's. After his semi-retirement from the company (on grounds of ill health) he became a spiritualist and wrote two books. One of these was *Psychic Episodes of Great Zimbabwe*.

The author, writing in lively style, has turned what could have been a dull chronicle of company activities coated in dusty statistics, into the pleasant story of two early Rhodesian families who still play an active part in the life and commerce of the country.

Correspondence

AUGUST GREITE AND F. GRIETE

Sir,—In Publication No. 18 of July 1968 occurs a letter from Mrs. Erma van Belkum whom the Editor describes as the daughter of August and Bertha Greite, although from the context it appears that she is their granddaughter.

In an addendum to Mrs. van Belkum's letter is a note to her from Mr. Roger Summers which says "I see from Mr. Tabler's 'Pioneers of Rhodesia' that your father first came here with Sir John Swinburne's party in 1869 and that he spent some years mining in Tati near the present Francistown.

"The diaries of the Jesuit Fathers who came to Bulawayo in 1879 mention that your father sold his house to them for £500. This house whose walls still stand to full height but whose roof is missing, is now a National Monument and is the second oldest European building still standing in Rhodesia. The Jesuits said that your mother and father left to farm at Zeerust early in 1880 and also say how kind your mother was."

It appears that Summers has confused two people here. August Greite was a hunter and trader who built a house and store at Lobengula's capital (now known as Old Bulawayo) in the early 1870's. It is known that he travelled up to Bulawayo in 1875 with his bride Bertha, and that Lobengula sent a regiment down to Manyami's (one of his outposts near the Mangwe Pass) to pull his wagons up because of quarantine restrictions for lungsickness or red water. He sold his property to the Jesuit Mission for £500 in 1880 and moved down to settle in Zeerust. In a letter to Leask dated May 1882, Major Sam Edwards says that "Griet" passed through Tati with a couple of wagon loads, so presumably he still maintained contact and traded with Matabeleland. (In the book of Leask's diaries a footnote records that the Griet referred to was a miner but I think that this is an error as Griete, miner, is recorded in Tabler as having left the country in 1871, and the "couple of wagon loads" indicates trade goods.)

I give below the information from various records of the two men.

(1) August Greite: Hunter and Trader. In Matabeleland in the 1870's. In the book "Gubulawayo and Beyond", i.e. the record of the Jesuit Mission, is a copy of the contract covering the sale of Greite's property to the Jesuits, and it is signed August Greite. To confuse the issue Tabler in "Pioneers of Rhodesia", while giving an accurate account of his activities, which accords with other sources, calls him H. Greite.

(2) *F. Griete:* Miner. Accompanied Sir John Swinburne up to the Hartley Goldfields and sank a shaft near the Umfuli River in 1869. Later that year he, with others, had to leave owing to unrest following the death of Mzilikazi, as the succession was in dispute, and he settled at and worked the Blue Jacket Mine at Tati until 1871.

Baines in his diaries calls him "Griet" in his first two volumes and then switches to "Greit". In the index, however, he is firmly called F. Griet throughout.

Mohr in his diaries records visiting the miner, whom he calls Greit, because he was a compatriot, and describes his hut and goat kraal, much beset by lions. He could quite easily have shot them from his door but according to Mohr "he had no fancy for the sport". This does not accord with the description of A. Greite, *hunter and trader*.

There is confusion in the spelling of the names throughout which Tabler adds to by giving the trader the initials H. and the miner the Christian name August; but "Pioneers of Rhodesia" gives a column on "Greite", hunter and trader, and mentions "Griete", miner, several times under the heading London & Limpopo Co., clearly indicating that they were two different people.

Yours, etc.,

E. T. Hepburn, Historical Monuments Commission.

CAPTAIN GERALD WILLIAM LEDEBOER

Sir,—I am married to a Merle Ledeboer and for a while now we have been doing genealogical research on our families. This work on my wife's side has come to an almost full stop with her grandfather Captain Gerald William Ledeboer. Before approaching professional genealogical researchers we thought we would appeal for information through your journal.

We know Captain Ledeboer (who died some time in 1964) served with the Cape Mounted Rifles in 1901 and saw service in both world wars. He was also a cricket coach of some note and was associated closely with Milton School.

Together with his wife, Blanche Louie Olive Wenham, he had residence in or near Umtali around 1912. They may have moved to Mafeking shortly afterwards—where his son Noel Edward was born.

This is the extent of our knowledge of Captain Ledeboer's history, however, and would much appreciate hearing from any member who may have known him or about him.

Yours, etc.,

K. R. Pieterse, 84 Rue Deschamps, Thetford Mines, Quebec, Canada.

BURIAL PLACE OF LOBENGULA

Sir,—The following statement obtained by the Senior African Inspector of Monuments, Mr. J. Thokozane, is sent to you as it may be of interest for publication in *Rhodesiana* in confirmation of my previous work.

"During August 1967 I met Ziyambo Khumalo at his kraal near Sibomvu Township, Essexvale. He was then a man of about 60 and claimed relationship to the Matabele Royal Family. He had lived most of his life in the Matopo Hills.

"I obtained a certain amount of useful information when I met him for the third time near Fort Umluglu. I asked him if he knew where Lobengula was buried. He replied, pointing a knobkerrie at me, that young people were untrustworthy. However, when I promised to say nothing until after his death he told me the following:

" 'My family belongs to the Royal Family, I remember my grandfather telling me about the burial site of King Lobengula. When Lobengula died nobody was told of his death, and the place of burial was kept a secret. When peace was restored, the remaining Khumalos removed his bones to Entumbane, where his father, Mziligazi, was buried. I have heard of Malindi but I was not told that Lobengula was buried there, although I now know from other members of the Khumalo family that they believe that Lobengula was first buried at Malindi.'

"Ziyambo Khumalo has since died and I am absolved of my promise."

Signed: J. Thokozane.

I hope this is of interest.

Yours, etc.,

C. K. Cooke, Director, Historical Monuments Commission.

LOBENGULA'S NECKCHAIN

Sir,—In *Rhodesiana* No. 26 of July 1972 an article by Mr. Roger Summers deals with the gift by Queen Victoria and the subsequent history of the neck-chain.

My article on Lobengula, which appeared in *Rhodesiana* No. 23 of December 1970 deals with the gift of the chain. The Royal Archives at Windsor Castle have no record of a chain being given to Lobengula's envoys, the only reference being to a portrait of Queen Victoria.

The following letter is in the National Museum in Bulawayo:

Blauwberg, Transvaal. July, 22nd, 1904

Gold Necklace

This necklace was handed to me by Queen Victoria in the year 1889 whilst in England with King Lobengula's two chiefs, "Bobyane" and "Umshete". On returning to Bulawayo the same year the necklace was presented to Lobengula together with his golden bracelets. Lobengula gave

the chain to one of his chief Gaza Queens to wear. When Dr. Jameson invaded Matabeleland and conquered the country, Lobengula fled to the Zambezi River, the Queens following him. He died there about 18 months after this.

I was sent together with Judge Vincent and Captain Lindsell to locate some Kaffir locations on the Shangani River close to where Major Allan Wilson and party were massacred. Whilst out shooting with Captain Lindsell on this expedition, we startled a troop of Buffalo, killing two and wounding a third. The following day we tracked the wounded Buffalo and came across a deserted Native Camp. The fires were still burning, evidently the natives had seen our coming and fled, leaving parcels of goods behind amongst which I recognised Lobengula's colours, namely "canary yellow". On seeing this I opened the bundle and found the necklace. I knew then that it was a party of the King's Queens returning to Bulawayo after having been away nearly two years. The Queen in the meantime had married again.

(Signed) J. W. Colenbrander, C.B. Col.

It would appear that the European envoys brought a necklace back from England and gave it to Lobengula; one wonders if they were surprised at the minor present from the Queen of a photograph and had the chain and pendant made at their own expense as a "face-saving" gesture. That is purely conjecture, but it seems fairly certain that it was Colenbrander who had the necklace in his possession during 1896-97. His letter, however, does not solve the mystery of where it was until the South African Museum, Cape Town, acquired it during 1912. The letter in the National Museum is dated 1904 from Blauwberg, Transvaal, but is not addressed to anyone, although it shows folds as if at one time it was in an envelope.

I have requested a further search in the Royal Archives in an endeavour to clear up the mystery of the gift.

Yours, etc., C. K. Cooke, Director, Historical Monuments Commission.

A further letter on the same subject from Mr. Cooke follows:

With further reference to Lobengula's neckchain and my earlier letter, I now have the following from my brother, O. H. B. Cooke, of Walpole St. Peter, Norfolk:

"The Lord Chamberlain informs me that there is no record of any gifts to Lobengula (other than the photograph) and I feel that had there been any other official presents there is no doubt that they would have been recorded; unofficial gifts are, of course, another matter. He (the Lord Chamberlain) says that a Mr. Colenbrander acted as interpreter when she received the two representatives of Lobengula in March, 1889. This is recorded in the Queen's personal diary. Regarding the chain and £5 piece, an official present from Her Majesty would hardly have been of plated metal, and further, the attachment of a gold £5 piece would have amounted to defacement of the coinage, with which the Queen could hardly have been associated."

It now seems that wherever the chain came from it was not from Queen Victoria. The suggestion that the mounting of a coin would have been a crime in English law is a valid one.

The investigations can be carried no further, and the mystery of the origins of the chain and pendant remain unsolved.

THE FIGHT AT BRYCE'S STORE

Sir,—Colonel Hickman writes (in *Rhodesiana* No. 26, July 1972) that when inspecting the site of Bryce's Store, where a fight took place in the early stages of the Boer War, about October 1899, he found a tunic button which he thought might have been an old Imperial Yeomanry button. But I think it is probably a button from an Imperial Light Horse tunic. The description of the crossed flags and the Latin motto show it to be identical with the helmet badge of the I.L.H. which I wore in German East Africa in 1915. I still have the badge and was able to make the comparison. The First I.L.H. Regiment was raised, I think, shortly before the outbreak of the Boer War.

Yours, etc.,

H. J. Lucas, No. 23 Nichol Arcade, Crompton St., Pinetown, Natal.

CAMELS IN RHODESIA

Sir,—In the article on "Some Historic Sites in Salisbury" in the July 1972 issue, in line 4 on page 34 it is stated that the Transport Camp, now the C.M.E.D., was the site of stabling "for camels introduced for transport purposes after rinderpest had wiped out almost the entire cattle population".

The camels were introduced by Colonel Flint who arrived in Rhodesia on the 15th December, 1899, during the South African War. I travelled up on the same train as he did from Beira. So the camels were introduced after the outbreak of "coast fever", not rinderpest.

The camels were not a success.

Yours, etc., W. H. Orpen, Broadbank, P.O Box 84, Selukwe.

Reviews

The late Right Honorable Cecil John Rhodes. A chronicle of the funeral ceremonies from Muizenberg to the Matopos, by Francis Masey. March-April 1902. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972. Size 13¹/₂ x 10¹/₄ in., 176 pages, 46 plates. Price \$37,50.)

These historic events were recorded in a book by Francis Masey and published for private circulation in 1905. Very few copies of this sombre but magnificent book are now extant and once again all those interested in the history of our country are deeply indebted to Books of Rhodesia for their splendid facsimile reprint of Masey's book.

Cecil John Rhodes died shortly before six, on the evening of 26th March, 1902. Within a few hours of his death his will was opened and the following remarkable words were read, "I admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matopos in Rhodesia, and therefore I desire to be buried in the Matopos on the hill which I used to visit and which I called the 'View of the World', in a square to be cut in the rock on the top of the hill, covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon 'Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes.' "

It was to give effect to Rhodes' wish that Sir Thomas Smartt, Commissioner of Works, himself a medical doctor and a close personal friend of Rhodes, summoned Masey to the cottage at Muizenberg where Rhodes had died a few hours before. Masey, who was then a professional partner of Rhodes' architect, Sir Herbert Baker, was entrusted by Smartt with the detailed planning of the funeral. This called for considerable organisational ability, especially in those days of limited communication facilities and particularly when a good deal of the 2 000 km through which the funeral train had to pass was disturbed by guerrilla fighting, in the bitter last months of the South African War.

From the time of the death on the early evening of 26th March until Thursday, 3rd April, the remains were kept in Cape Town and during this week all the local and forward preparations were made by Masey under the supervision of Smartt. H. Marshall Hole, the Civil Commissioner at Bulawayo, was deputed to make the arrangements at the Rhodesian end; including the excavation of the grave at View of the World, and the selection and training of 14 black oxen who were to pull the gun-carriage up the granite slope.

During that week in Cape Town, there were two official Lyings-in-State, the first at Groote Schuur and the second in Parliament Buildings, followed by a Cathedral service and a procession to the main railway station on 3rd of April. Masey travelled on the funeral train and acted as a sort of super-conductor and what would be known today as a Public Relations Officer.

The train journey lasted from 3rd to 8th of April and every stop was attended by scenes of solemn grief and evidence of deep respect for Rhodes, as if even his enemies could not forbear to acknowledge his greatness; this is a point worth remembering in these times when it is fashionable to denigrate (if that is the correct word) and belittle all those who brought illumination to the Dark Continent.

After the arrival of the train at Bulawayo, there was a further Lying-in-State at the uncompleted Drill Hall, whose foundation stone had been laid by Rhodes on 5th June, 1901.

The final, sad procession to View of the World, took place on Wednesday, 9th April, and Thursday, 10th April, and on this same day the funeral service took place, conducted by the Right Reverend William Gaul, Bishop of Mashonaland, who at the end gave the first public reading of Kipling's famous poem "C.J.R."

All this is recounted in great detail in Masey's record, which is invaluable to the historian. He gives the order of the procession in Cape Town, a long list of the principal wreaths received and even such details as that the Charter Company's flag, and three wreaths "From the Queen", the "Brothers and Sisters" and "Dr. Jameson" were buried with the coffin. It all makes compulsive reading as one follows the account of the most extraordinary and impressive funeral to take place in Africa since the time of the early Pharaohs.

The beauty and value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of 46 fullpage illustrations. Present-day Rhodesians and South Africans may well, in many cases, recognise ancestors in these photographs.

Even today, when one attends a public ceremony at the tomb on Malindidzimu, the "place of the friendly spirits", something of the solemnity and awesomeness of that first burial still lingers.

On the seventieth anniversary of Mr. Rhodes' death, the 26th March, 1972, Mr. Louis Bolze, using this book as a basis, gave an hour-long illustrated talk to members of the Matabeleland branch of the Rhodesiana Society, which afterwards visited sites of interest on the funeral route between Bulawayo and the Matopos and finally to the burial place at World's View, as it is usually called today, where a commemorative service was conducted by Bishop Mark Wood.

During the recent Medical Congress in Bulawayo, on Wednesday, the 6th September, 1972, the delegates were taken for a day's outing to the Matopos and the climactic point was at sunset by the tomb, where there were brief talks, a prayer, the laying of wreaths by distinguished people including the Prime Minister, and finally the sounding of the Last Post. The poignancy of the occasion and the recall of past grandeurs was deeply moving to many visitors, especially those from Britain, and many eyes were moist.

This facsimile edition is a limited one (750 copies) and will, in itself, soon be a collector's item. As a sort of bonus to the reprint of the original, there is much additional material, including miniature editions of newspapers contemporaneous with the events described, all carried in pockets attached to the endpapers of the cover.

If the reader has not already acquired a copy, this reviewer's advice is to beg, borrow or preferably buy one while it is still available.

J. c. SHEE

The Large game and natural history of south and south-east Africa, by W. H. Drummond. (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1875. Reprinted Salisbury, The Pioneer Head, 1972 (Heritage series, No. 4). xxi, 428 pages, illustrations. Ordinary edition \$15, Collector's edition \$30.)

The author was the second son of the 9th Viscount Strathallan. He was born in 1845 and spent the five years 1867 to 1872 mainly in hunting in Northern Natal, Swaziland and that part of Portuguese East Africa that lies south of Lourenco Marques. The purpose behind the book was to describe as clearly and realistically as he could the incidents of his hunting career, and to let his own experiences be a practical guide for others, for as he says in his preface, with one or two notable exceptions the books hitherto published on African sport were to a great extent mere illustrated game-books more concerned with the quantity and quality of the game killed than with the techniques of hunting.

Modern conservationists will be interested in his warning written in 1875, that "day by day, almost hour by hour, and with ever increasing rapidity, the game is being exterminated or driven further back . . ." Nowadays it is largely confined to a few game reserves in the area over which he hunted, of which the largest are the Umfolozi and around Lake St. Lucia.

Drummond classified his experiences in nine chapters—buffalo, rhinoceros, eland, lions, elephants, leopards, antelopes, hunting with dogs, and game-birds, and they make good reading, for this is one of the earliest of the classics of African hunting literature. Today the emphasis is on game-viewing rather than game-killing but the incidents, as with Selous' books, lose nothing of their excitement because of this, even if from time to time the reader wonders at the ambiguity of the purpose.

This is a good choice for inclusion in the Heritage Series of facsimile reprints. No doubt more might have been heard of the author but he was killed in 1879 in the final stages of the Zulu War.

The reproduction is splendidly done; the coloured illustrations are faithful to the originals and the work matches the quality of the other issues in the series —this is No. 4— and continues the credit due to its printer, Mr. F. E. Read, at his private press at Mazoe.

We are told that 1 000 copies have been produced, Nos. 1-90 in the Collectors' edition (which is a matter of a special binding), Nos. 91-100 for presentation, and Nos. 101-1 000 in the ordinary edition which is in a cloth binding in facsimile of the original.

E. E. BURKE

One Man's Hand, by J. P. R. Wallis, M.A., O.B.E. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972. Vol. 22, 244 pages, 3 illustrations and index. Price \$4,90.)

The life-story of the man who stated his political faith to be "Rhodesia for the Rhodesians", and who became mainly responsible for bringing about this condition, cannot but be of interest to all people living in Rhodesia. *One Man's Hand was* written in 1950. The book is No. 22 in the *Rhodesiana* Reprint Library of the Books of Rhodesia. It is the story of Charles Coghlan's struggle to obtain the transfer of administration of Southern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company to a government enjoying constitutional independence.

Coghlan's task was not an easy one. There was strong opposition from those who feared that there might be failure if the effort to obtain responsible government were made too prematurely. Moreover, as if the Chartered Company with its powerful social and financial influences was not a sufficiently strong opponent, Coghlan found himself challenged by Smuts in conjunction with Winston Churchill. Yet Coghlan, "the bush lawyer", wrested the political freedom of his countrymen from them.

Coghlan was not an impressive person, nor was he an impassioned orator. His training as a lawyer provided him with a logical approach to his subject, but it was his evident sincerity that made his hearers listen and support him.

Coghlan's 15 years in the Legislative Council, his representation of Rhodesia at the South African National Convention and his stalwart advocacy for responsible government made him the accepted leader of the Association formed to secure freedom from the Chartered Company. The result of the Referendum, held to decide whether Rhodesia should have its own government or join the Union of South Africa, was a personal triumph for Coghlan. It was evident that when the country did elect its first government he would be the first Premier.

The four years of devoted service Coghlan gave to the new Colony brought hard, tiring work, the task of piloting the country on its new course.

Professor Wallis' book perhaps tends to magnify the virtues of Coghlan, but, now reprinted, it is a tribute to him, who, in his own words "tried to do the best of my honest ability".

G. H. TANSER

With Plumer in Matabeleland: An Account of the Operations of the Matabeleland Relief Force During the Rebellion of 1896, by Frank W. Sykes. (Books of Rhodesia, 1972. Vol. 21. 312 pages, illustrations, maps. Price \$6,75.)

In this book Sykes tells of a journalist who, during an operation in the Matabele Rebellion, tailed Rhodes all day in the hope that, should the great man be shot, he would be the first to report the scoop to his newspaper. In fact, accounts of the campaign weren't confined to newspapers, and the Rebellion had scarcely ended before Selous had the manuscript of his book with the publishers. It was a good six months later, in May 1897, that the books by Baden-Powell and Plumer appeared.

Hard on their heels in the race to the royalties was Sykes, who should have been quicker because he was a trained journalist. But as a soldier he was only a trooper, so perhaps the delay was in deference to the literary bent of his superior officers. In any event, the fact that his account is a "trooper's-eye-view" of the campaign makes it a refreshing change, and it is amusing to compare his views with those of such men as Plumer and Baden-Powell. For example, Sykes complains that the men's diet wasn't sufficiently supplemented by lime-juice and that they were always looking for more. Plumer, in his version, says on the subject, "We nearly always had lime juice with us, and issued it from time to time; the men did not care much about it." On the other hand, Sykes' modesty sometimes saps the story of a certain amount of zest: the pace of the narrative is reduced by his bending over backwards to avoid speaking in the first person.

The book, of course, centres on the operations conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Plumer who commanded the force raised by the Chartered Company for the relief of the settlers in Matabeleland. It is divided into five sections. The first is a good summary of the causes of the Rebellion and Sykes does not oversimplify these to the extent that many of his contemporaries did. The second section is a graphic description of the massacres and harrowing escapes in and around Bulawayo at the commencement of hostilities, including the well known story of O'Connor's close-shave after hiding in a mine-shaft.

The third section is a detailed description of the raising and organisation of the Matabeleland Relief Force in the Cape, and also of the initial operations in Matabeleland. Describing the Column's operations on the Umguza, Sykes, who otherwise appears to have thought highly of his commander, criticised those of the Column's activities (such as reveille and rockets) which, because of their concomitant cacophony, must have been heard by the rebels within miles. "There was no mystery about the approach of the Column," comments Sykes dryly.

The field of operations in section 4 shifts to the Matopos. Here again full descriptions are given of the various engagements, together with diagrams and illustrations as well as shrewd comment by Sykes on the effectiveness of the type of war being waged. The section describes how the ambulance corps, of which Sykes was a member, was cut off from the main column. This is the nearest Sykes gets to mentioning the dangers he faced himself: the corps was lucky not to be routed since Babayan was later to say of this incident, "You were so close to us that we could have rolled rocks down and killed every one of you."

The final section of the book is called "Cecil Rhodes, peacemaker", and contains a first-class account of the indabas which led to the cessation of hostilities. A further nine chapters are devoted to specific subjects such as individual units making up Plumer's column, and personalities of the Rebellion. The descriptions of artillery, signalling and medical detachments are particularly informative in providing the sort of background information without which a full appreciation of the campaign is impossible. It is in this section that Sykes justifiably pours scorn on the story of Burnham's so-called shooting of the Mlimo, the incident which Baden-Powell had accepted unquestioningly in his book two months earlier.

An appendix giving the constitution of the Rhodesia Memorial Fund, and an excellent coloured map, round off what is a mine of information on the Rebellion. The Matabeleland members of the Rhodesiana Society have used this book on their outings to reconstruct events on the ground, and its close descriptions and numerous diagrams and illustrations must have been invaluable for this purpose. As a facsimile the work is well produced. In common with other titles in the series there is a useful introduction. For Rhodesiana enthusiasts and the serious student an index would also have been useful: the publishers have set a precedent in providing one in their reprint of *The Downfall of Lobengula*, and it is to be hoped that they will follow this in future volumes.

C. COGGIN

Great Days, by Frank Johnson. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, Vol. 24, 1972. Price \$6,40.)

Frank Johnson was a man of great energy, a man who could be relied upon to tackle every task with drive and efficiency. Whether he was prospecting for gold on the Mazoe River, leading the Pioneer Column into Mashonaland, paddling down the Pungwe, or imposing martial law in Lahore—he seized with zest each opportunity for action and wrung the last drop of excitement from it. Whenever he was asked to take on a new job, he was much more likely to argue the merits of the proposition itself than to question the other man's wisdom in choosing Frank Johnson to carry it out.

Such a man made an ideal leader of the Mashonaland Pioneers, and present-day Rhodesians are right to admire him as a national hero. Having said that, however, it is necessary to add that no historian can possibly accept Johnson's version of many of the events surrounding the occupation and development of Rhodesia. Generous critics have suggested that, by the time *Great Days* came to be written (in 1939), Frank Johnson's memory of what happened 50 years before was rather vague. Others, less kindly, have concluded that he was a man who liked to take the credit for everything of importance that happened while he was around. The reader of this excellent re-publication can enjoy arriving at his own conclusion.

It may assist, however, if mention is made of some of those parts of the book which, in the opinion of this reviewer, remove from Frank Johnson any right to be taken seriously as an historian.

According to Johnson's famous, and oft-quoted account of the genesis of the Pioneer Column, he met Cecil Rhodes at breakfast in Kimberley on 22nd December, 1889, and drew up—all by himself—the plan for "conquest by contract". Such an account cannot possibly be reconciled with the clear documentary proof that, not later than 8th December, agreement had been reached by Rhodes, not only with Johnson but also with Selous, Heany and Borrow, on the form which the contract for the occupation of Mashonaland should take. The evidence against Johnson's version goes further. On 9th December Rutherfoord Harris informed the London office that Rhodes was "convinced, after seeing Selous, that the Company should have a force of not less than 250 men", and sought authority for an extra 150 to be engaged.

Possibly Johnson's dislike for Selous stemmed from these early discussions. Certainly it quickly rose to the point where Johnson did everything possible to denigrate the famous hunter. On page 123 he maintains that he sent Selous north, ostensibly to cut a road through the bush (which he had no intention of using), but in reality to get him out of the way. All the available evidence—and there is plenty of it—shows, however, that Selous' road-building activities were directly controlled by the Chartered Company and were of vital importance to the success of the expedition.

Space only permits one further example. On page 220 Johnson maintains that he was Jameson's automatic choice to lead the expedition against Lobengula in 1893, and that he subsequently resigned because of Jameson's insistence that no wagons be taken to Bulawayo. Major Patrick Forbes—not perhaps a great leader but certainly an accurate chronicler—made it clear beyond reasonable doubt in his contemporary account of the campaign that he was invited by Jameson on 19th July, 1893 (the day after the Victoria Indaba), to command the Matabele expedition. If one accepts Forbes' statement (which is supported by a great deal of internal evidence), one can only conclude that once again Frank Johnson allowed his egotism to cloud his memory.

In short, *Great Days* is a great book—vigorous, exciting and easy to read but it is not an accurate account of the birth of Rhodesia.

ROBERT CARY

The Zimbabwe Culture; ruins and reactions, by G. Caton-Thompson. (Second Edition, 1971, Frank Cass & Co. 73 plates, 26 illustrations, 334 pages. Price £8,04.)

The British Association for the Advancement of Science used to hold regular meetings in various parts of the Empire to encourage scientific research. Prior to its meeting in South Africa in 1905, D. Randall-MacIver was commissioned to investigate and prepare a special report about the ruins of Rhodesia.

The questions of origin and date, however, were not resolved, and when the Association planned to meet in South Africa again in 1929, Gertrude Caton-Thompson was invited to review the whole problem. Her findings, which first appeared in 1931 as "Zimbabwe Culture", have now been reprinted with a new introduction.

Caton-Thompson's specific task was to find the character, date and source of the culture of the builders (p. 1), and her approach was a model of scientific method. The first problem was the selection of a large area that represented the earliest building period but which could still be excavated to bedrock. This site had to be part of Zimbabwe, but the Acropolis presented too many technical difficulties, and little deposit remained in the Great Enclosure. Eventually, the Maund Ruins were selected and systematically excavated (Chapters 2 and 3). Smaller tests were made on the Acropolis (Chapter 5), around the conical tower (Chapter 6), north-east of the Great Enclosure (Chapter 7) and in the Mauch Ruins (Chapter 7). Later, Chiwona (Chapter 8), Muchuchu (Chapter 9) and Chibvumani (Chapter 10) were tested as representatives of the Acropolis and Matendere (Chapter 9) as an example of the Great Enclosure. Her investigations ended at Dhlo Dhlo (Chapter 12) where several of MacIver's results were re-examined.

Her conclusions were based on the stratigraphical relationship between artifacts, structural features and occupation levels. MacIver's earlier conclusion that the medieval imports dated the buildings was substantiated, but the origin of the buildings was extended back to the eighth and ninth centuries because of their associated glass beads (p. 187). A long appendix by H. C. Beck emphasises the importance placed by Caton-Thompson on beads as chronological aids. She also agreed with MacIver that the builders were indigenous Africans, and rejected the opinion that the African was merely a labourer under Arab masters. The lack of organisation, simple techniques and general style of the buildings suggested a "pre-logical and infantile mind" (p. 103). This was not to deny the likelihood of important external contacts (p. 7), however, indeed-"I believe it to have been the primary stimulus which led to the development of the indigenous Zimbabwe culture" (p. 196). An appendix by K. Kenyon further explained the development of trade on the East Coast. The ultimate decline of the Zimbabwe culture was thought to have been caused by migratory hordes and tribal fighting (p. 192), and a continuity was suggested in Venda and Rozwi descendants (p. 194 and Appendix 4).

The New Introduction, which, incidentally, should be read last, provides the author with an opportunity for considerable hindsight. Her comparison of the Maund excavations to the 1958 Zimbabwe excavations of Robinson, Summers and Whitty is very interesting, but, unfortunately, she lacks the background necessary to place Zimbabwe in a wider perspective. When Caton-Thompson came to Rhodesia in 1929, she had to temporarily interrupt her work as an Egyptologist. Rhodesia was not her major field of research and she has not worked here since. Consequently, her synthesis is often irrelevant and the New Introduction is full of errors and archaic concepts. For example, a Leopard's Kopje I site is confused with a Leopard's Kopje III site (p. 22, c); some Leopard's Kopje burials are identified as "bush type tending to Negro" (p. 22, *e*), when they were Negro; and a "Middle Iron Age" is created with no supportive evidence (p. 19).

Many of the conclusions from the 1958 excavations which she discusses have since been revised, but this only demonstrates that past research forms part of a continuum, which, hopefully, becomes more precise and revealing. Probably the greatest testimony to Caton-Thompson is the fact that continuing research has only refined, not invalidated, her tremendous contribution.

> THOMAS N. HUFFMAN, Historical Monuments Commission

The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia, by R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal. (Facsimile reproduction of the Second Edition, 1904, by Books of Rhodesia, 1972. 43 illustrations, 16 maps, 404 pages. Price \$9 ordinary, \$31,50 *de luxe.*)

In 1895 the Ancient Ruins Company was granted a concession to prospect all ruins in Rhodesia. The expense of mining hill-tops, the low return and the public outcry against its methods forced the company to cease operations five or six years later.

After the company's liquidation, one of its founder members, W. G. Neal, collaborated with a well known Bulawayo journalist named R. N. Hall to produce the *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (1902). This book was well received, and Hall became associated with archaeology in the mind of the general public. He was appointed the first Curator of Zimbabwe, and while working there, a revised, second edition (1909) of "Ancient Ruins" was released. This later edition has now been reprinted as Vol. 23 of the Rhodesiana Reprint Library.

"Ancient Ruins" is not an easy book to read and, despite the fact that it was written 70 years ago, it contains several inaccuracies and unsound concepts even for that time.

Hall's main theme was that by 3000 B.C. Sabaeo-Arabians, the original Phoenicians, established a mercantile colony in Rhodesia whose main centre was Zimbabwe. Mediterranean Phoenicians later cornered the world gold market, took over the colony and then built other ruins like Khami and Dhlo/Dhlo. These ancients were thought to have been ultimately killed or driven out by "savage hordes".

Many believe that Hall arrived at a Sabaeo-Arabian/Phoenician solution after diligently examining and eliminating all other hypotheses. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. At this time, Hall had virtually no experience with ruins other than Khami, and he merely interpreted Neal's observations in terms of the currently fashionable Phoenician hypothesis. In the late nineteenth century the Phoenicians were used as a catch-all for the origin of every civilisation. They were associated with the colonisation of Spain (p. xxiii), the megalithic monuments of Europe (p. 22) and the high cultures of South America (p. 22) and Afghanistan (p. 381). Hall was only repeating the opinions of men like Bent, Rawlinson and Wilmot.

Several other points demonstrate that "Ancient Ruins" was not a scientific treatise. According to Chapter 2, the purpose was—"not to advance or advocate any particular theory . . . Our aim throughout will be to allow facts to speak for themselves" (p. 15). And yet in the very next paragraph he biased the discussion by equating Rhodesia with Ophir; and he had previously stated—"The authors are forced to admit that the theory of the successive occupations of Rhodesia by South Arabians and Phoenicians has, so far as researches have been made, exceedingly strong claims for acceptance" (p. vii). Another gross misrepresentation was Hall's characterisation of Neal. Here was a man who, almost single-handedly, had pillaged more ruins than all professional archaeologists have subsequently excavated, and Hall had the audacity to describe him as a bona fide investigator (p. 7 and 384-5).

Furthermore, most of Hall's so-called evidence was really hearsay, halftruths and untested opinions. For instance, natural cleavages or schematic engravings were pronounced to be ancient Semitic writing (opp. p.24); the mahobohobo was considered an exotic tree whose wide distribution indicated a great antiquity (p. 116); and statements like—"sacred birds found at Zimbabwe are said to represent Venus, the morning star" (p. 22) were used to prove that Zimbabwe was identical to the Temple of Haram of Bilkis, Queen of Sheba. Throughout the book simple parallels were used to prove complicated historical connections.

This is not to say that "Ancient Ruins" is without value, for as C. K. Cooke points out in the new foreword, there is a wealth of information about the condition of the ruins 70 years ago; and the chapter on burial patterns is particularly interesting. This is not Hall's best book, however. Later, he wrote with greater clarity and experience.

> THOMAS N. HUFFMAN Historical Monuments Commission

The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga, by Elizabeth Colson. Kariba Studies IV. (The Institute for Zambian Studies, University of Zambia and Manchester University Press, 1971. Limp cover, 277 pages, illustrations, maps. Price £1,80.)

When the building of Kariba Dam was decided upon in 1955 the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (now the Institute for Zambian Studies at the University of Zambia) decided to sponsor a series of studies in depth of the area and of the people of the north, Zambian bank, the Gwembe Tonga who had to be moved before the valley was flooded.

Dr. Colson, who had been working as a sociologist in the area for some time, wrote the first volume on the social organisation of the Tonga (1960), Thayer Scudder dealt with the ecology of the valley and its people (1962) and Barrie Reynolds wrote on the material culture of the people (1966). This is the fourth volume of the series and more are envisaged on the geology, the archaeology and the zoology of the area.

The Gwembe Tonga, living in a low-lying, hot valley-with difficult communications and isolated from the plateau by mountains had, more than any other tribe in either Southern or Northern Rhodesia, remained remote from the modern world. They were still living in pre-European-occupation style. The resettlement on to the high ground away from the Zambezi Valley thus meant that very radical changes had to be made in their traditional way of life.

The climate of the new areas forced them to abandon their most distinctive clothing—scanty, picturesque, bead-encrusted barkcloth, skins and fibres. With the loss of the rich riverine winter gardens, tobacco and banana land they were compelled to learn a new type of subsistence agriculture. Tobacco had been their export crop but now they had to go out to work to earn money. The move, and the creation of the dam, split the tribe since social and kinship movement had always been across the Zambezi to the Tonga on the Rhodesian side rather than along the river. This change led to a weakening of the lineage organisation.

There were changes in land tenure for the tobacco lands had been subject to inheritance and the women, who owned personal riverine gardens, lost a valued right. Dr. Colson relates how all this led to the abandonment of many traditional customs and rituals, particularly those connected with marriage and agriculture. The "cult of the shades", which operates within the kinship system rather than being tied to a specific area, did adapt to the new conditions. But the "earth cults" operated by "priests of the country" went into abeyance for many years after the move.

The resettlement villages were nearer to roads, labour centres, schools and dispensaries which the government had built. Some family heads used their compensation money to set up village stores, buy ploughs and oxen. An elite of farmers and traders grew and, whereas in 1949 the Tonga had been independent of the outside world, by 1957 they were increasingly dependent upon the technical and other services provided by the government. Economically the Tonga had become part of the wider world but at the expense of weakened family and kinship ties.

The chiefs did not suffer loss of status. What changes did occur in their sphere came not so much from the resettlement as from the change of rule, from colonial government to one of an indigenous political party. On the other hand, headmen, who are not paid salaries as they are in Rhodesia, did suffer in status. They lost their tobacco lands so had to go out of the area to work. Formerly they had been respected for their intimate knowledge of the neighbourhood and because they controlled the allocation of the river gardens. There were no such grounds for respect in the new area.

Dr. Colson gives the background to the settlement and describes the difficulties and problems of the actual move. Many other aspects of the move are discussed. They range from shifts in political and social relationships to changes in beliefs in religion and in the incidence of sorcery, witchcraft and possession dancing.

The book is a most comprehensive historical and sociological survey of the largest resettlement scheme that has taken place in this part of Africa. Written in straightforward style, free of jargon and political bias the interested general reader will find it most readable.

W. V. BRELSFORD

GENERAL

The African dream, by B. Gardner. (London, Cassell, 1970. 331 pages, illustrations. Price £2,50.)

Gardner, already known to Rhodesiana collectors as the author of *Mafeking: a Victorian legend* and *The Lion's cage: Rhodes and the siege of Kimberley*, here tells the story of British participation in Africa from the end of the eighteenth century. The dream was one of African empire and the remarkable conclusion is how very short-lived it was. Senegal was one of the first toe-holds, British from 1758-79 and restored to France in 1783; the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast was the original "White man's grave" whether

he was trader, explorer, missionary or administrator. The peak of British influence in Africa was immediately after World War II when it included the temporary administration of former Italian colonies and when South Africa was still featured in the Dominions Office List, but the comfortable period was the one between the wars when the Colonial Office was working out its policies of Indirect Rule and slow advancement to the handing over to local governments by the chiefs at some very indeterminate time in the future. The withdrawal is so recent that the perspective is hard to grasp, it commenced in the Gold Coast in 1957 and ended with Swaziland an independent kingdom in September 1968 —11 short years.

The author is a very competent summariser and has read widely. However, as the limitations of his space demand, he can deal only cursorily with many topics while trying to keep the threads between them and this is difficult in so complex a subject. If the book causes a reader to embark on a wider study of a particular theme it will have served a useful purpose.

There is nothing new in the treatment of the Rhodesian story and it receives but casual mention.

E. E. BURKE

Zambia in Maps, edited by D. Hywel Davies. (University of London Press, 1971. 128 pages. Price £2.)

One of a series of similar books on developing countries, this volume contains over 50 pages of line maps and diagrams with facing pages of text. It is an unusual format, half book, half atlas. Because so much information and so many statistics can be packed into maps in the way of symbols, dots and shadings the scope is almost encyclopaedic, albeit in one ordinary-sized book.

There are 21 contributors, well over half of them being lecturers, or former lecturers at the University of Zambia.

The list of subjects covered is exhaustive. They include: physical features, early man, the various people and tribes, early exploration and missions; natural resources, all types of economic activity, mining and agricultural development; communications, health and education services; and political and regional development. The main towns each have a separate chapter with town plans.

Because each subject is dealt with so compactly the general interested reader will find the book easy to read and it will certainly be of value, as it is intended to be, to administrators, business men and students within Zambia.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt 1899-1962, by Francis L. Coleman. (Manchester University Press, 1971. 206 pages, illustrations, figures and maps. Price £3,60.)

In the course of 60 years, one single life span, an inhospitable, malariaridden wilderness in the middle of Africa was transformed into one of the richest copper-producing areas of the world. The author describes the ancient African copper workings and he tells the fascinating stories of the early European prospectors at the turn of this century, hardy adventurous men working in lonely, hazardous conditions.

The first European discoveries were first of all in the Hook of the Kafue, then in the adjoining Katanga of the Belgian Congo and lastly on what is now the Copperbelt of Zambia. The Kafue mines were soon abandoned and although the Copperbelt is not as rich as Katanga its percentage of copper mineralisation is still well above world average.

A high proportion of the Copperbelt mines were discovered either by chance, or by the discovery of ancient African workings or from information given by Africans about outcrops. (The Africans used crushed-up malachite as a cure for sores.) Once all the surface indications of the area were known the day of the lone prospector was over. The ore-bodies lay deep below the surface and expensive, expert mining became necessary. The great development that took place during the 1920's and afterwards was due to the British South Africa Company abandoning its earlier policy of giving individual prospecting licences in favour of giving exclusive rights only to big concerns.

The book becomes highly technical as the author describes how a number of small companies gradually amalgamated, or were taken over, with most complicated financial and administrative ramifications until finally only the two big giant combines, the Anglo-American Corporation and the Rhodesian Selection Trust, were left.

Almost half the book is taken up by, again, highly technical and scientific descriptions of how a big copper mine comes into being. The author takes, as his example, the history and development of Nchanga Mine from its small beginnings" with the discovery of a rock outcrop in a stream to its present dominating position as the largest copper producer in the Commonwealth.

In spite of its largely scientific nature, comprising much geological, mining and financial discussion, the book does contain many interesting sidelights on the history of the area and on the varied characters who built up this great industrial and urban complex in the heart of central Africa.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Ideas in Barotse Jurisprudence, by Max Gluckman. (Published on behalf of the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, by Manchester University Press, second impression, 1972. xlviii+272 pages, illustrations. Price £1,56.)

Professor Gluckman and myself have one thing in common, we both revere the genius of Sir Henry Maine. However, after that the similarity begins to fade, for it seems that different interpretations can be placed on the conclusions reached by the great man. As I understand it Maine's central theme is that when man first emerges from the chrysalis stage he appears in small semiautonomous family groups and that this arrangement has a profound bearing on every facet of early law. In a celebrated passage he says (Ancient Law, 1890 edition, page 126): "It (archaic law) is full, in all its provinces, of the clearest indications that society in primitive times was not what it is assumed to be at present, a collection of *individuals*. In fact... it was an aggregation of families. The contrast may be most forcibly expressed by saying that the *unit* of an ancient society was the Family, of a modern society the individual. We must be prepared to find in ancient law all the consequences of this difference." Is this not true of the Lozi? There is virtually nothing said about the family anywhere in the book. In the index "family" gets two mentions and "extended family" is not indexed at all. To be fair, Professor Gluckman makes it clear that his treatise, which is a sequel to The Judical Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia, does not pretend to cover all aspects of Barotse law, and he says in the Preface that he is conscious of the lacunae and is considering adding to it later. A note on such topics as the composition of the extended family, its dissolution, *patria* potestas, tutelage, adoption, the position of women, family property and individual property would greatly facilitate an understanding of his later chapters. Let it be hoped that he will find the time to add a chapter, or perhaps two, to some later edition.

Professor Gluckman confirms that in traditional Barotse law the executory contract does not occur and he also makes the point that the universal rule in contracts of exchange and similar contracts is *caveat vendor* and never the *caveat emptor* with which we are so familiar.

The part I found most interesting was that dealing with Barotse constitutional law, with all its checks and balances and the curbs placed on absolute power; the King (the Litunga) at Lealui and the Princess-Chief (the Mukwae) at Nalolo, the southern capital: the King and his prime minister, the Ngambela, who must always be a commoner; the Natamoyo, who is a kind of Barotse ombudsman; the councillors of the right representing the Barotse people, the councillors of the left representing the royal family and the councillors of the centre representing the princes. In Barotseland it is said that the King owns Loziland and the Ngambela owns the Lozi people. It is a fascinating study.

As is to be expected of the Manchester University Press the book, in a paper cover, is immaculately produced and, in these days of expensive books, excellent value.

C. J. W. FLEMING

History of South West Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth century, by I. Goldblatt. (Cape Town, Juta, 1971. 273 pages, illustrations. Price R9,75.)

The author has had extensive personal acquaintance with South West Africa. He first went there in 1918 to join the staff of the Crown Prosecutor after the end of the German occupation and retired as a leading member of the Bar in Windhoek after over 50 years of service. He therefore writes with knowledge; and he also demonstrates a scholarly treatment of his sources, which are extensive. The German association with the country commenced with the arrival of German missionaries in the 1840's, was strengthened by colonists and concession seekers such as Adolf Luderitz, was supported by Bismarck and reached fruition with the establishment of Südwest Afrika as a colony in 1884. Thereafter the German record was a hard one, its treatment of the Hereros between 1904 and 1908 being a notable example of their methods, and of a cruelty that was to mark its relations with the indigenous population for the remainder of Germany's brief authority, a population for whom the author has much sympathy.

The greater part of the book deals with the period up to the outbreak of World War I in a factual manner and without a discernible bias. The subsequent history of the Mandate and events up to 1960 make short but illuminating reading for the author is here using his personal knowledge; he is the author of two other works on the conflict between South Africa and the United Nations.

There is a useful bibliography covering sources in German and English though it suffers from a lack of statements of publisher and date for the works cited.

The Rhodesiana connection is slight—though there are interesting comparisons to be made between the methods of British and German colonisation by commercial companies.

E. E. BURKE

Memoirs of a Malawian: The life and reminiscences of Lewis Mataka Bandawe, M.B.E. (Christian Literature Association in Malawi (CLAIM), P.O. Box 503, Blantyre, Malawi, 1971. 143 pages, map and pictorial supplement. Price K2,50.)

Mr. Bandawe has a remarkable record indeed. He was born in Lomweland in Portuguese East Africa in 1887 and served as a teacher, evangelist and missionary for the Blantyre Mission in both Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland for 28 years and then switched and worked for the Nyasaland Government for the next 30 years, ending up as Chief Registry Clerk and Deputy Registrar of the High Court. In 1956 he was awarded the M.B.E., the first African in Nyasaland to be so honoured.

The book tends to be a bit scrappy but there is much interesting material in it, including the beginnings of African nationalism in Malawi. The Portuguese administration is duly castigated and its sins exposed, and neither the Federal Government nor the old Nyasaland Government escape unscathed. There are stories of high-handed action and even atrocities, with little evidence to support them. This is a pity, for books like this are of the very stuff of history. However, on the other hand, Mr. Mataka acknowledges that all the seven judges whom he served were extremely kind and considerate to him and he cannot speak too highly of the Blantyre Mission and its influence on his life.

The book is edited and has an introduction by Professor Pachai of the Department of History in the University of Malawi, and is one of a series of historical sketches on Malawi's past.

C. J. W. FLEMING

Speke, by Alexander Maitland. (Constable, London, 1971. 235 pages, 13 illustrations, map and index. Price £2,75.)

The interest the Victorians of the middle of the nineteenth century took in the exploration of "darkest Africa" was tremendous. Only this fervour can account for the bitterness of the quarrels of the participants in their claims to have achieved discoveries and in the defence of their personal accomplishments.

When the explorers concerned, Burton and Speke, having shared hardships and distress, had become bitter enemies, the vituperation is even more unedifying.

Speke's inspired claim that he had solved the problem of the source of the White Nile, that it flowed from the lake Nyanza, was rejected by Burton, who through illness, had not been able to accompany him on the last 25 days of the journey. The quarrel was exacerbated by Speke, who hastened home to publish the news of his discovery, stoutly refuted by Burton.

The public wrangling stopped for a time when Speke, with Grant as his new colleague, set out to prove his inspiration was correct. The second journey to the lake, along routes to the west of the great water seemed to confirm Speke's claim. But, again, the final moment of discovery was not shared by his companion, while Speke's activities at the court of Mutesa, King of the Buganda, offended Victorian proprieties when accounts of them were published.

Burton insisted Lake Tanganyika was the Nile's source. Four and a half years of wrangling distorted out of all proportion the magnitude of wrong for which each of the former companions blamed the other.

The climax of the quarrel, when the two were to confront each other in public debate, was reached as the distinguished geographers awaited the appearance of the two men and news was received that Speke was dead, tragically killed in a shooting accident.

But even death did not stop the unseemly clamour or allow controversy to subside. The accidental death became allegedly suicide, scurrilous journalistic attacks continued leaving blemishes on Speke's largely undeserving character.

Maitland's book is factual giving a full account of Speke's personality and achievements. It is regretted that a more detailed map was not included. Such a map showing places visited would have enabled the reader to follow the movements of Speke and Grant more readily and with greater interest. The book is, however, full of historical detail and is recommended.

G. H. TANSER

Suspicion is My Name, by Barbara Tyrrell. (T. V. Bulpin, 1971. Price R15.)

This is the delightful and absorbing account of traditional tribal life, told by a Zulu woman, Solani. The story is written in simple, forceful English, with a cadence and rhythm evocative of the sonorous Zulu language.

In her Introduction, Barbara Tyrrell states that her aim is towards a better understanding of the Bantu people and their traditions, for the two are indivisible. She says: "Where other religions reach towards the release from fear through faith, the Bantu is fearful even of improving his personal environment, besieged on all sides by envies and suspicions with their sinister repercussions, poisonings, knifings, spells, counter-spells, not only from the seen but also from the unseen world. Ritual murder, too, has not died out. It is a direct expression of this way of life."

Solani was born away from home, where children of her father's other wives had been murdered by his favourite senior wife; hence her name—"What do you suspect?" because she "came at a time when suspicion at the hearth fires of my family waited like a leopard in the shadows." From her we learn of the traditions concerning the birth and rearing of children, the rites of puberty, and the ceremonies surrounding betrothal, marriage and death. A seemingly simple life is the precarious walking of a tight-rope, with oblivion following the first false step.

The *tikoloshe* is described—covered with smooth ochre hair, ears pressed flat against its skull, narrow black eyes—it is captured and killed by wizards who resurrect it as their tool. It spreads poison, or urges people to kill viciously and aimlessly. Many other beings are potent forces for evil. The ancestral spirits are the protectors of their community; the witch-doctor acts as mediator and supervises the prolonged killing of a goat, whose tortured cries give pleasure to the ancestors.

The illustrations are the most striking feature of the book—they are boldly splashed with colour, and show the richness of beadwork and the almost medieval pageantry of traditional dress.

As a combination of artistic talent and objective reporting, this publication is a sumptuously presented and most worthwhile addition to any collection of Africana.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

African Businessmen: A Study of Entrepreneur ship and Development in Kenya, by Peter Marris and Anthony Somerset. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971-288 pages. Price £3.)

This study is based on three years' research amongst 1 000 Kenya firms. The authors distinguish entrepreneurship from management or from village store-keeping as being the provision of something new, something that was not there before, in either techniques or services and in commerce or industry. But they do discuss small stores, village industries, wholesaling and other aspects of African trading.

The African going into business is literate and also semi-skilled when he opens or takes over a minor industry. The authors also quote examples of Africans going into business when frustrated either in their educational progress, such as failure to win a scholarship or get into a university; or in their lack of success in getting a top job in an established concern; or because they were foiled in their political ambitions. Business failures, and there are many, are usually attributed to the lack of training of the individual and to lack of capital but examples are given of successful businesses being built up by individuals who started with almost nothing, some with the first sale of a few shillings' worth of fish or other foodstuffs.

The real reason for most of the failures both in entrepreneurship and in small village store-keeping is that the social and economic worlds of African businessmen do not fit, they do not harmonise and integrate as they do, for example, in the case of Asian family businesses.

The principle that kinsmen are in business to support their relatives is still paramount. Wives expect to receive goods free and hordes of children and nephews expect school fees to come out of the till. Partners expect personal preferences and credits. There is little understanding of the necessity for keeping business and personal expenditure separate. The African trader is also deeply suspicious of any employee better educated than himself. "They can steal with a pen." So, the most successful African businesses or industries are small-scale concerns with an owner-manager able to give personal supervision and with only a few trusted salaried staff who are not kinsmen.

One of the main incentives of the Kenya businessman whether small or big, is to gain money to invest in a farm or improvements on a farm, for possession of land is still regarded as the final security and the proof of success. The farm is the first love and the authors found that the most progressive farmers made the most successful businessmen.

Although this book is about Kenya the sociological implications and the economic and financial considerations concerning African entrepreneurship and trading could apply to most of black Africa. And the detailed examples of the financing of African businesses and the provision of capital either through banks or finance corporations also convey some timely lessons for other African countries.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Publications of the National Museums of Rhodesia

Museum Memoir No. 4, 1971, is *The Mammals of Botswana* by R. H. N. Smithers (price \$10,50). It has 340 pages, 4 maps, 17 plates and 23 figures. It provides information on the taxonomy, distribution, habitat, habits, food and breeding of the 152 species of mammals known to occur in Botswana.

Included in the latest *Arnoldia* (Nos. 25-30, Vol. 5) are two studies of the Dinosaur in Rhodesia by M. A. Raath, one of them being *The First Record of Dinosaur Footprints from Rhodesia*. No check-list of the fishes of the entire Zambezi River system has yet been published. *The Fish Fauna of the Zambezi River System* by Graham Bell-Cross lists 361 species. "The Zambezi system contains fewer species than the Congo (600+ species) about the same number as the Nile and is thus the second or third most prolific fish fauna on the African continent."

THE SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

Vol. XXV, No. 1, January 1972, contains four articles. There is a study of slavery among the Tumbuku by a Rhodesian writer, C. J. W. Fleming. Ian Linden writes on the Luba origin of the Chewa and Margaret M. Stewart on the relation of fire to habitat preference of small mammals. The most unusual article in a journal of this kind is the text of a paper presented to the Malawi Society on "The International Money Crisis and its Implications for Malawi" by Professor Joseph C. Mills of the University of Malawi.

ZAMBEZIA: a journal of social studies in southern and central Africa

Vol. 2, No. 1, December 1971, of this journal is now referred to as "the journal of the University of Rhodesia" and it is hoped that its scope will be widened in future issues to include "contributions in the field of local art and literature, education, sociology, social medicine, political science, history, linguistics, and indeed in any aspects of society".

This number is somewhat larger than the two previous issues. It contains five articles on such widely diverse subjects as land policy in Southern Africa during the nineteenth century, population and family planning in Rhodesia, diovrce in Rhodesia, shopping centres and shopping patterns in two African townships in Salisbury, Shona traditional poetry and the policy of community development in African rural areas in Rhodesia.

There are also research reports, notes and news and a long section of book reviews.

It is edited by Professor R. S. Roberts and although a university publication contributions from scholars outside the university are welcomed. It can be obtained from the University Library for \$1 per issue.

DOCUMENTS ON THE PORTUGUESE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Vol. VII (1540-60) of this series, published jointly by Rhodesian and Portuguese National Archives, covers the years 1540-60. The documents consist of reports and letters passing between Portugal and Sofala, Mozambique and Angola in Africa, Goa in India and Japan.

There are several descriptions by Jesuit priests of rough and hazardous journeys from Portugal and of the state of Christianity, or rather heathenism, in Africa. Mozambique is described as a "land so troublesome and with so bad a name for sickness" that masses were said before sunrise. There are the detailed instructions to an "Ambassador" sent in 1559 to convert the King of Angola.

There is an account of a visit to Sofala in 1542 by an "Ambassador" from Monomotapa who was said to be "lord of all the lands" right up to Sofala. His "seat" is near Sofala and "in his power, they say, there are mines and hills of gold". For two years the vassals close to the fortress had been in rebellion against Monomotapa and he now wanted Portuguese help in renewing trade and communications with the coast. By 1559 a priest reports that "it will not be long now before he (Monomotapa) receives the faith".

There are the usual petitions to the King or Queen from factors and commanders of fortresses for "preferment" and complaints by captains of ships about thefts by factors. Descriptions of trading expeditions up the coast as far as Malindi are interspersed with accounts of raids made on land to help friendly chiefs against their enemies.

This is a particularly interesting volume with reports and returns at a minimum and with more descriptions of the life of the people.

BUNDU SERIES

The "Bundu Series" of books (Longman, Rhodesia) is by way of becoming a Rhodesian institution and the series should be collected as modern Rhodesiana. There are two recent, 1972, issues.

Birds of the Highveld by Peter Ginn is "mainly for the beginner who wishes to watch birds in the field". It describes what birds can be expected in different environments—city gardens, rural gardens, grasslands, vleis and so on. There are notes on field characteristics, calls, nesting and feeding. The book is profusely illustrated with very fine colour pictures of 112 different birds.

Flowers of the Veld by Kay Linley, the author, and Bryan Baker, the photographer, is also a book for the amateur and is not a textbook for the botanist. Out of the 5 000 or more flowering plants which occur in the country the authors have made an attempt "to describe and illustrate those which are . . . most likely to attract the attention of the casual stroller in the bush". The text is scientific but easily understood with interesting side comments on where particular plants are likely to be found and their relationships with cultivated species.

The volumes are in limp covers and sell at \$2,50.

Publications of the Rhodesiana Society

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

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- G. L. GUY AND R. H. H. ORCHARD. Rhodesia's First Petrol Driven Tractor: Ivel Agricultural Motor No. 140.

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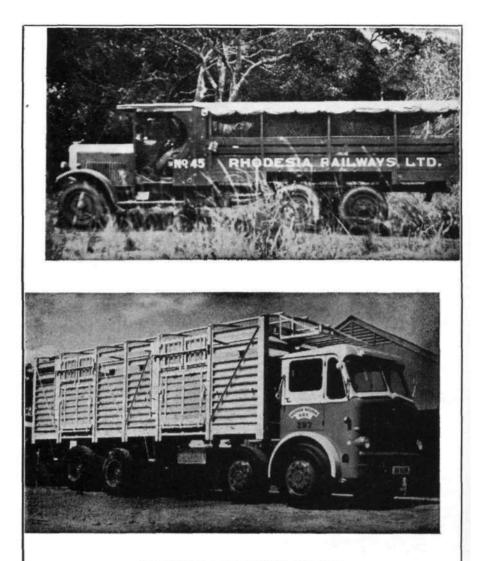
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