

RHODESIANA

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**GUIDE TO THE
HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF
RHODESIA**

by

T. W. Baxter and E. E. Burke

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The *Guide* describes the various record groups, highlights outstanding documents, as well as provides a biographical sketch or introductory note on the person or body that created or owned the papers.

The primary aim of the *Guide* is to make known to research workers the richness of the contents and scope of the Collection of Historical Manuscripts in the National Archives of Rhodesia.

The *Guide* will also appeal to all those who are interested in the story of Rhodesia and, in particular, to collectors of Rhodesiana and Africana.

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 28 — July, 1973

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

Edited by
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CONTENTS

July 1973

	<i>Page</i>
FORT VICTORIA TO FORT SALISBURY. THE LATTER PART OF THE JOURNEY OF THE PIONEER COLUMN IN 1890, BY E. E. BURKE1
THE RHODESIAN AIR TRAINING GROUP 1940-1945, BY SIR CHARLES MEREDITH16
ORLANDO BARAGWANATH: A CENTENARIAN PIONEER OF RHODESIA, BY ROGER HOWMAN.	30
THE COMING OF THE TRAPPISTS, BY HYLDA M. RICHARDS	56
THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE	66
SOME RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, COMPILED BY C. COGGIN.	69
PERIODICALS AND ARTICLES OF INTEREST. A SURVEY BY DOROTHEA ROWSE	72
SOCIETY ACTIVITIES.	75
THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.	83
NOTES.	88
CORRESPONDENCE	92
REVIEWS.	97

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



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Founded 1953

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

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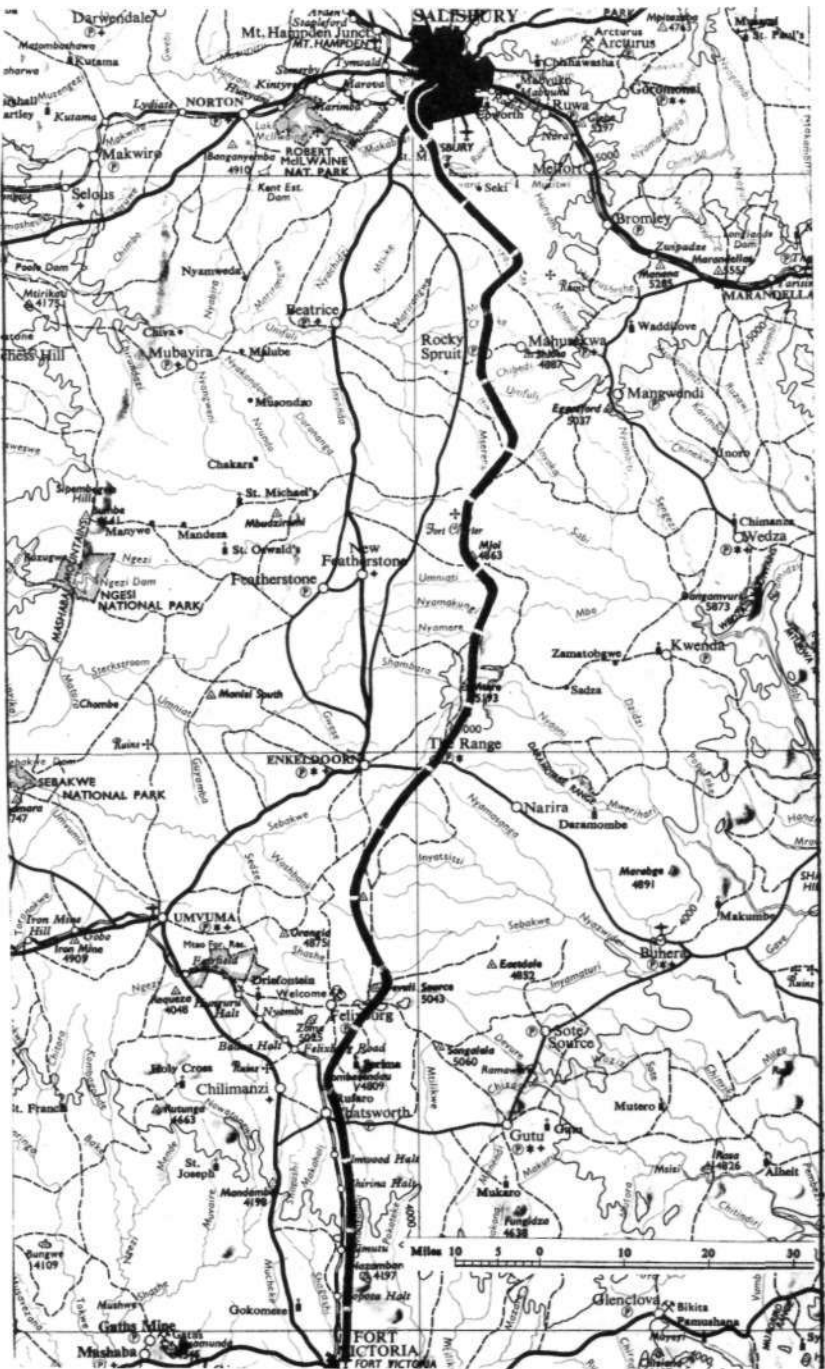
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Route of the Pioneer Column, Fort Victoria to Salisbury (superimposed on the 1:1 000 000 map of Rhodesia published by the Surveyor-General. Reproduced from State copyright mapping with the permission of the Surveyor-General. Copyright reserved.

Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury

The Latter Part of the Journey of The Pioneer Column in 1890

by E. E. Burke

Introduction

The Pioneer Column which occupied Mashonaland in 1890 consisted of two units, the Pioneer Corps and the British South Africa Company's Police. The Pioneer Corps was 200 strong, especially recruited, mostly in South Africa, from a diversity of trades and professions with the idea that on its arrival in Mashonaland the unit would be disbanded to form the structure of a complete community. However, the Imperial Government, nervous of a disaster on the scale of that at Isandhlwana in Zululand eleven years before, required an additional and permanent force to protect the lines of communication of the Pioneer Corps and the community itself after its members had dispersed. Thus was created the British South Africa Company's Police commanded by Lieut. Col. E. G. Pennefather, a regular soldier of the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons, who was also in overall command of the expedition. The Pioneer Corps was recruited, equipped and lead by Frank Johnson who had previous experience in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.

The usual route to Mashonaland was by way of Lobengula's capital at Bulawayo but in order to avoid offence F. C. Selous, guide and principal intelligence officer to the expedition, pioneered a different route around the southern and eastern edges of Matabeleland. A forward base was established at Fort Tuli and from here the advance commenced on 11th July, 1890. Selous with a party of Pioneers went ahead to mark out the line of road; he had with him a small party of picked African scouts and guides. The column was in a hurry for there was alarm that it might be forestalled by a Boer trek reported to be collecting on the south bank of the Limpopo and so all was haste. The incidents of the journey through the lowveld, of the discovery of Providential Pass and the successful emergence on the highveld—the first 180 miles—have been the subject of many descriptions in detail. On the other hand the progress of the second part of the journey, the 170 miles from Fort Victoria to Salisbury, has generally been summarised as not containing much that deserved particular description. It is the purpose of this present paper to examine this second section of the journey and to indicate its course.

The main body of the expedition debouched on to the open highveld on 14th August, 1890 and Column Orders of that day "notified for general information that the Column will probably halt for at least three days".¹ Here was built Fort Victoria.²

The next strategic target was to put a fort at the junction between the road planned to Mount Hampden and a proposed route to the eastern highlands, a route which would give access to Umtasa's country, the Portuguese and access to the sea at Beira.³ It was the original intention to put this fort, called Fort Charter, at or near Mount Wedza, 70 miles north-east of Fort Victoria but as the Column travelled north the idea was abandoned. There were several reasons, but particularly the poor condition of the oxen.⁴ Instead Selous being, as he says, then "in a country with which I had a most intimate knowledge, gained during many hunting expeditions" took the expedition along the watershed to the head of the Ngezi.⁵

FORTS VICTORIA AND CHARTER

The Column stayed at Fort Victoria longer than was first expected, and did not leave until 19th August. This gave opportunity for a supply train under Capt. Sir John Willoughby which left Tuli eighteen days behind the main body, to catch up and for its loads to be distributed and absorbed.

As it moved out of Fort Victoria the Column consisted of the Pioneer Corps and two troops of the B.S.A. Company's Police. One troop of Police was guarding the base at Macloutsie, another was at Tuli and another was left to garrison Fort Victoria. The total force on the move was now about 400 men, partly mounted, with about 90 to 100 wagons each with three Africans, a

¹The Column Orders are in National Archives Hist. MSS PI 2/6/1.

²The fort was established on what is now Clipsham Farm; in 1891, because the water supply proved scanty, the fort was abandoned and the settlement moved to the site of the present township on the Mucheke River. The earth banks of the earlier fort are a National Monument.

³The use of the word "road" in this context may be deceptive. It was part of Johnson's contract that he should construct "a good wagon road from Palapye to Mount Hampden". By this was to be understood "a plainly defined track whose general character shall not be inferior to that of the present trade route south of Palapye and over which a loaded ox wagon can readily travel without unusual danger from trees, boulders and stumps, but the said Contractor shall not be obliged to gravel, macadamise or otherwise artificially make any portion of the said road, but he shall be bound to construct safe and passable drifts or fords where necessary across all rivers, sluits and spruits, but shall not be obliged to build any bridges or culverts". (F. Johnson. *Great days*. 1940; p. 326).

⁴In a letter of 21 August 1890 Jameson wrote to Rhodes from "20 miles north of Fort Victoria": "All going well though slowly. Police cattle getting done up", and again on 23 August from "50 miles South of Mt Wedza": "slow because of poverty of Police oxen. Scarcely reach Mt Hampden before mid-September." In Nat. Arch. CT1/120/2.

⁵F. C. Selous. *Travel and adventure in south-east Africa*. 1893; p. 312. In 1887 Selous made a hunting expedition into Mashonaland and established his main camp on the upper Hunyani. Later he crossed the river and trekked to Mount Hampden, and from here cut a wagon road direct to the source of the Ngezi and trekked "right over the ground where Salisbury now stands" (p. 196). In 1890 the spoor made by his six wagons three years earlier was still plainly visible in the sandy soil near Fort Charter.



The posting station, on the Salisbury bank of the Hunyani, 1890.

(Photo: Ellerton Fry)

driver, a leader and a general servant to attend to the brake when on the move and fetch wood and water in camp. Each wagon had a team of 16 oxen.

'B' Troop of the Pioneers (Capt. H. F. Hoste) went ahead to make, or mark, the road. There was little bush cutting to be done and two parallel tracks 50 yards apart were made by towing two young trees. According to Hoste it went like clockwork and each day the main body arrived at dawn at the place where 'B' Troop had laagered the night before.¹

There was no contact with any Matabele though soon after leaving Fort Victoria they encountered a strongly fortified Shona village where, only three days earlier, some 60 Matabele had been collecting tribute in sheep and cattle. The Column did a lively trade with the Shona, bartering meat and grain for red or white beads, calico and salt. Some exchanged soup tins, cartridge cases—valuable as snuff boxes—and bits of old clothing. Vegetables were obtainable—pumpkins, beans and sweet potatoes. Monkey nuts roasted and eaten with honey was a luxury, reported to taste like almond toffee. Kaffir beer was useful as a bread raiser.

As the Column progressed there was thought to be scant danger of surprise by the Matabele and the precaution of sending out early morning patrols before

¹Hoste's own account was published as "Rhodesia in 1890" in *Rhodesiana*, No. 12, September, 1965.

the laager was broken was discontinued, but nevertheless no move was made without advance guards, rear guards and flanking patrols, and picquets were put out each night. The general plan was for the main body to march from 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. when they would arrive at the place where the advance guard, who marked the road, and did what clearing work was necessary, had spent the night. There they would rest until 5.30 p.m. and then trek again until 9 p.m. In this way, at a rate of progress of about 1½ miles an hour, they covered about 10 miles a day, and conserved the oxen.

Some detail is given in a diary kept by W. L. Armstrong, of 'C' Troop of the B.S.A. Company's Police.¹

"August 19. Tuesday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Left Fort Victoria in charge of 'C' Troop at 2 p.m. Outspanned at 6 o'clock . . .

20. Wednesday. *Reveille* 4.30. Trek at 6; order countermanded. 8 000 Matabilis come to eat us up, and 2 miles away. Trekked at 2. Grand open breezy country, dotted with clumps of scrub at intervals.²

21. Thursday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Trekked at 4 p.m. . . . Water cart ox dropped and 2 others . . .

22. Friday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Lots of niggers around, bought tobacco, meal, monkey nuts and fresh milk for cartridge cases and buttons. Trekked 4 to 8.30. Moonlight.

23. Saturday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. . . . Just about opposite Sofala. Heat gets greater daily. Great grass fires burning all around these flats, often stop the procession. Bird life very scarce. Fine breeze up here nearly like the Yorkshire moors. Could buy enough knick-nacks here to stock a house for a few buttons, etc.³

24. Sunday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Rest all day and trekked at 4.30 until 10 p.m. by moonlight. Rig our blankets up on sticks, etc., daily now, to rest in shade. Buck, etc., often seen and hunted.

25. Monday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Trekked at 5.30 to 9 p.m., then again 2 a.m. to 5.30—50 miles of burnt plain to cross.⁴

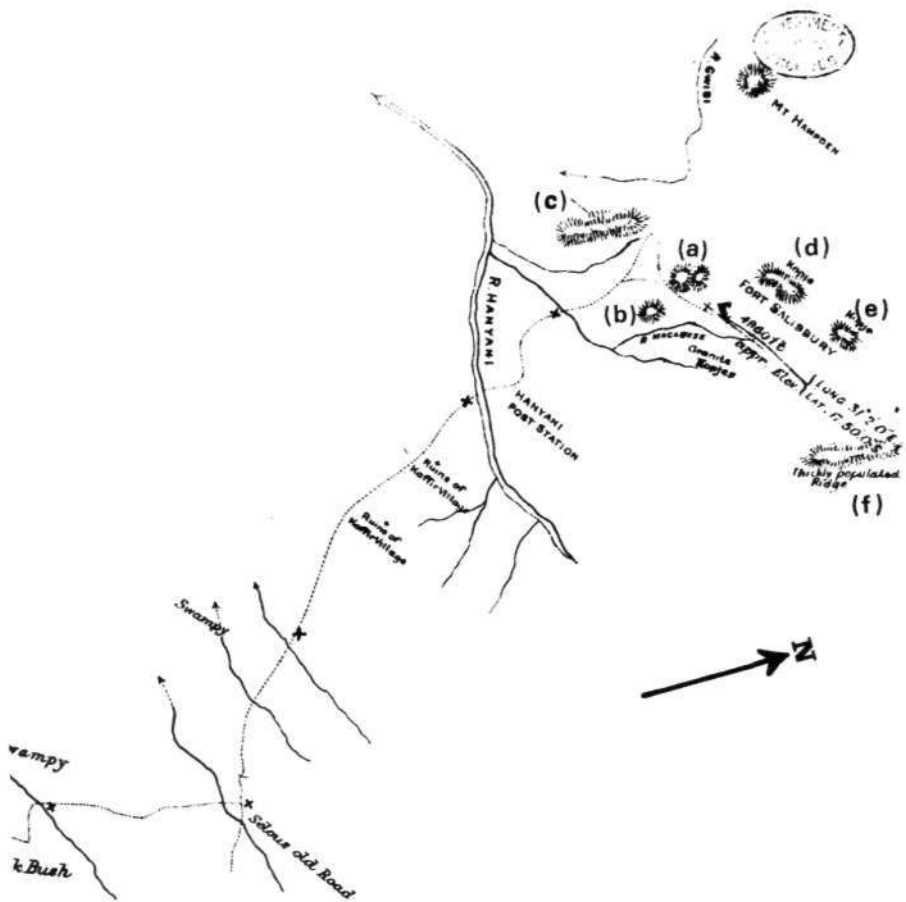
26. Tuesday. *Reveille* 7 a.m. Trekked 2 to 5. Mr. Colquhoun and escort went to Portuguese settlement and Colonel and escort to Mt. Wetsa;

¹National Archives Hist. MSS AR 4.

²This false alarm was possibly based on the presence of a tax-collecting party of about 60 Matabele who were in the neighbourhood.

³On this day another diarist, E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe, commanding the artillery troop of the Pioneer Corps, noted that the road was rather heavy and several oxen were knocked up. Some wagons were left behind to trek by themselves and catch up as best they could. The main body laagered this night on Chatsworth near the present railway line. Nat. Arch. Hist. MSS BI 3/1/1.

⁴On the night of the 25th the Column was a few miles north of Felixburg. Biscoe comments of the march in the early hours of the 26th that it was very hard to see the road as the two carts with the advance guard (a scotch cart and a water cart) left very little spoor. "Some natives who came into our camp were rather surprised at our horses and wanted to know if they were born with shoes on."



The final part of the journey, enlarged from "Map of the route . . . copied from a compass sketch by F. C. Selous as far as Fort Charter, the remainder from a sketch by W. E. Fry". War Office, December, 1870.

Tentative identification of features are:—

- a) The Salisbury Kopje.
- b) Harari Hospital Kopje.
- c) Warren Hills.
- d) Hartmann Hill.
- e) Highlands.
- f) Epworth.

trekked at 5 p.m. to 8.30. Still in middle of plain, horizon bounds it on all sides. No wood."

This last entry needs some enlargement. A. R. Colquhoun was travelling with the Column as the Chief Magistrate designate of Mashonaland but he also had instructions that as soon as practicable he would visit the chief of the Manica country to negotiate a treaty and would also endeavour to secure rights of communications through Portuguese territory, to the coast. Umtasa, the chief in question, was outside Lobengula's sphere of influence and hence an independent treaty with him was deemed to be necessary. Colquhoun left

the Column together with L. S. Jameson who was travelling as Rhodes's representative, C. Harrison who was Colquhoun's secretary, Selous as guide, and an escort of Police. There is a brief note in the Regimental Orders of the Pioneer Corps dated 26th August, 1890 that "Capt. F. C. Selous having resigned his commission this day is struck off strength of the Regiment accordingly."¹ So Selous handed over the duties of chief guide to the Column to his assistant, Lieut. R. G. Nicholson, to whom he gave a sketch map and notes to help him to the Column's destination. Selous had compiled a compass sketch of the route from Macloutsie and the continuation of this was taken over by Lieut. W. E. Fry, formerly a member of the staff of the Royal Observatory at Cape Town, who joined the Pioneer Corps as Selous's assistant and the official photographer. But only the next day the Column was reported to be in difficulties and Selous's services were needed to resolve them. Colquhoun was not able to make a second start until 3rd September.²

Armstrong's diary continues:—

27. Wednesday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. 2 miles to go for a particle of wood. Bully beef and biscuits. Veldt burning far ahead of us. No food for oxen or horses. Trekked at 5 p.m. to 9. Slept until 2, then on again until 6 a.m.

28. Thursday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Marched at 3 until 6 a.m. All burnt and black far as we can see. 5 oxen dropped pulling . . . Trekked 5.30 to 8 p.m.

29. Friday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Niggers look with awe upon our horsemen. One ran up a tree and the other knelt down and clasped hands, etc. . . . Left Mt. Wetsa on right. Swampy ground . . . Trekked at 5.30 until 9.30.

30. Saturday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Started at 3 until 6.30 a.m. Trekked at 5.30 to 10 p.m. Seem to have crossed burnt patch, taken us 7 treks or about 50 miles. Dew heavy some nights, and cold quite stiffens our hands in early morning, on this highveldt, though we had it warm in bush before pass . . .³ Left another lot of men yesterday as post riders.⁴ Pitiable to see oxen, heads down, tongues out and pulling until they drop in shafts.

31. Sunday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Trekked at 3 by moonlight until 7 a.m. Fine camp on hilltop . . . 68 niggers, men women and children, Indian file, came in. Trekked 5.30 to 8.30.

September 1. Monday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. . . . trek by moon at 8.15 p.m. Ant hills all over great plateau . . . Trekked to 11.45 . . .

2. Tuesday. *Reveille* 1.30 to 7 a.m. Bitterly cold. Same great flat. ½ mile to go for little wood . . .

¹Nat. Arch. Hist. MSS PI 2/6/1.

²See J. A. Edwards. "Colquhoun in Mashonaland", in *Rhodesiana* No. 9, December, 1963.

³i.e. Providential Pass.

⁴The Column dropped parties of six men at regular intervals to establish "post stations" and act as relay riders between them in order to provide a system of communications. The post station mentioned here was near The Range.



Kraal (Matephi's) on the Makabusi, September, 1890.

(Photo: Canon F. R. T. Balfour)



The site of the Kraal on the Makabusi, at Glen Norah, June, 1972.

(Photo: E. E. Burke)

3. Wednesday. *Reveille* 2 a.m. Off at 3 a.m. Cold intense. Made my teeth chatter. Outspanned at 8 a.m. Fine sand, cleaning rod goes right up to head.¹

4. Thursday. *Reveille* 5 a.m. Stand to waggons, general clean up. 'A' Troop left us and are to remain here . . . Fort Charter."

And so they came to Fort Charter on the top of the watershed, but not to remain there for long. The route from Fort Victoria had been very nearly due north and close to the line of the present railway as far as Felixburg, thence curving slightly around the various headwaters of the Nyazwidzi and then close to north again to Fort Charter.

The site for the fort was chosen 3½ miles away from the place where the Column laagered on 4th September and a start was made on the earth banks at once. 'A' Troop of the Police were detailed to complete it and occupy it.²

FORT CHARTER TO THE HUNYANI

There was little time to be lost and on the next day, Friday, 5th September, at 3.30 p.m. the main body moved on again, travelling until 8 p.m. After the detaching of 'A' Troop it now mustered about 300 men. The mileage was coming down—Charter to Salisbury was 64 miles but it took seven-and-a-half days, another indication of the poverished condition of the oxen.

Saturday was good travelling across open country though with a marked range of temperature. Armstrong mentions night frost and his surprise at a piece of ice thicker than a 2-shilling piece, while the mid-day heat was extreme.

That day the Column did ten miles, from 3.30 a.m. until about 7.30 a.m. and from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m., one of its longest marches in this, the latter part of the journey and it brought them to within four miles of the Umfuli, the last but one of the major streams to be crossed. On Sunday, 7th September, early in the morning they came to the south bank where they joined up with 'A' Troop of the Pioneers who were advance guard and working on the crossing. Here too they were joined by Burnett, Nicholson and Langerman who walked in carrying their saddles.³ These had been out ahead on a long reconnaissance. Two days before, near the Hunyani, they were camped for the night when a lion killed two of their horses and stampeded another two, so as they had a rendezvous with the Column at the Umfuli on the morning of the 7th to show it the road to travel they had to walk back, taking their saddles with them. The oxen were now so weak that they had to be helped across the river bed by hand, the men putting the yokes over their shoulders; the site of the crossing place is obscure, in the Chiota Tribal Trust Land about 20 miles upstream from Beatrice. After crossing they waited until 4 p.m. before moving on; being

¹According to Hoste this was the coldest day of the whole journey, blowing a hard easterly gale with showers of icy cold rain.

²Charter was abandoned as a Police post in August, 1891, but continued as a post station.

³Capt. A. E. Burnett, the Transport Officer, was acting as Chief Guide in the absence of Selous, Lieut. R. G. Nicholson was Intelligence Officer and F. Langerman was a scout.

Sunday the usual morning services were held and there was also opportunity for a boating excursion. Johnson had brought with him a 'Berthon'¹ boat which he proposed to use on the Pungwe in an expedition to open a route to Beira after the Column had reached its destination. It was now tried out successfully on some long pools in the Umfuli. There was an incident here too which apparently lingered long in Pioneer memories. Mail arrived from down country but proved to be their own bag, sent off the week before, which had become reversed at Fort Victoria and returned to them, while what should have been theirs was travelling south again from Fort Victoria. Another small detachment of Police was left here to man a post station. That night, the 7th, the Column, laagered well into what is now the Chiota Tribal Trust Land; at that time it was almost totally denuded of any population.

On Monday the 8th they crossed the Nyatsime and turned north-west to parallel it up to the Hunyani, travelling through the length of the present Seki TTL. They found the country between the two rivers to be beautiful and, as one comparison had it, rather like English park scenery, but there was doubt as to its suitability for farming owing to the number of marshes. This was of particular interest because there had been some talk of this being a possible area from which the agricultural needs of the new community could be met and there was a general feeling amongst the Pioneers that they would rather choose their own sites than have areas allocated.

On the night of the 9th, the Column laagered eight miles from the Hunyani, from 7.30 p.m. to 5.30 a.m., for it was too dark for the usual night travel. Again the absence of population between the Umfuli and the Hunyani draws comment in the diaries: Biscoe mentions the old cultivations and Hoste that the Matabele "had swept the country clean, and with the exception of an isolated village here and there perched on the top of an almost inaccessible kopje there were no signs of any inhabitants"²

The main body came riding down to the Hunyani on the afternoon of Wednesday, 10th September, and laagered on the south bank, in what is now St. Mary's Mission Township. The river was low and the crossing sandy, and 'A' Troop was at work on a passage through the sand. That night the sky was lit with some large ship's rockets, sent up to guide some stragglers.

THE HUNYANI TO SALISBURY

Reveille on Thursday, 11th September, was at 5 a.m. and the wagons were on the move by 5.45, Pioneer Corps first, and Police second. As they crossed they went into laager on the north bank, and rested there until 3 p.m. when they started again; 'A' Troop of the Pioneers was away earlier, still acting as the advance guard and, although the expectation of Matabele hostility was now minimal, there were the usual flanking patrols and rear guard.

¹ A special type of "folding" boat, with sails.

² The Mashona formerly in the area had been attacked in 1887 by the Matabele who sent an impi as a punishment for some alleged offence. W. H. Brown. *On the South African frontier*. 1899.

It is not clear how many wagons there were at this stage as no doubt some had been left at Fort Victoria and Charter, perhaps 90 in all, with the enormous special wagons for the donkey engine, generator and searchlight, together with the pieces and limbers of the artillery troop. The whole advancing across the veld in a double column 50 yards apart must have been a notable sight, a column about 1½ miles long.

The crossing place was described as sandy, the river was low and it was necessary to reinforce it with reeds and grass and cut some access slopes. Ellerton Fry, the photographer, had not been overly active since leaving Victoria but he did take two plates of the crossing—one shows a wagon in difficulty with two full spans of oxen.

I am indebted to Miss B. Tredgold, of Chizororo, for guidance to the site of the crossing. There is an old drift which is the remains of the later main road, and a little upstream from it a stretch of bank very similar to that shown in Fry's photographs. The nature of the river here however has changed since the 1890's as deep pools have been created by the digging of sand for use in Salisbury.

Another postal relay station was established on the Salisbury side of the crossing, working back to the one on the Umfuli which in turn worked to Fort Charter.

It must be remembered that the route taken by the Column became automatically the main route to the south until gradually corners came to be cut as more negotiable variations were adopted. But certainly for the first few years in the 1890's the main road from Salisbury to Charter and thence eventually to Kimberley, to Cape Town and to the Company's Head Office in London, was the road the Column was now marking out. From the Hunyani it had some curious curves, to the north-east and then back to west and then north again avoiding rocky country and seeking easy crossings over the streams and vleis. The little stream Nyrongo comes from the higher ground of Retreat and wanders past the Derbyshire quarries; it lay across the Column's path and had to be followed upstream for a while before there was a suitable transit in open country clear of rocky outcrops. The target was still Mount Hampden, 20 miles away, and the next minor obstacle was the Makabusi. The chosen crossing place was at what was later known as the Six Mile Spruit, where there is a firm shelf across the stream close to the present Seven Mile Hotel on the Salisbury-Beatrice road.¹ The Column went into laager on the south of the Makabusi close to the crossing point. There was some excitement that evening (the 11th). Hoste relates that just after the laager had been formed a veld fire came roaring down on it, fanned by a fresh breeze—"all hands turned out and put in an hour fighting it, it nearly reached the laager; we managed to stop it, but only just".²

¹ The difference in mileages is represented by calculating from the Kopje and Cecil Square respectively. The identification of this place rests on a statement by Hoste (*Rhodesiana*, op. cit.) and the identification nearby of the site of one of Fry's photographs, a village amongst the rocks, see below.

² In *Rhodesiana*, op. cit.

It was in this area that the Column came into contact again with the African population for several of the diarists mention villages perched on the kopjes in the neighbourhood. Fry took some photographs of one amongst some rocks which are easily recognisable today, near the old Glen Norah farmhouse. Nearby too was the men's first sight of a bushman painting.¹

Meanwhile Pennefather was engaged on a particular duty. He was in command of the Column and in the absence of Colquhoun it was he who had to be satisfied that Johnson completed his contract. Early on that morning of the 11th, while the Column was getting itself across the Hunyani, Pennefather with his staff officer, Sir John Willoughby, and Captain Burnett, of the Pioneers, had left it to choose a suitable site for a fort near Mount Hampden, and not only for a fort but for the settlement and eventual capital city that would grow up around it.

At the Makabusi they got a guide from Matefi's kraal amongst the rocks and rode on following the stream, then they crossed to the head of the Gwebi which they reached at 10 that morning. They rode down the Gwebi towards Mount Hampden for about five miles before turning north-east to follow the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe Valley. "Finding that the water supply in the Gwibi valley and at the edge of the plateau was not sufficient for what might eventually be the seat of government, with a considerable population, I returned to the valley of the Makobisi and selected the site where the camp now is", said Pennefather in a later report.²

So that day, the 11th September, the site of Salisbury was selected and Pennefather and his two companions camped for the night somewhere nearby, while the column was in laager at the Six Mile Spruit.

Frank Johnson has a supplementary account in his *Great Days* (1940). According to this he rode forward from Six Mile Spruit on the 11th to a "good-sized kopje" about five miles ahead and from the top of this he saw Mount Hampden in the distance and also a splendid "open plain with rich red soil . . . which stretched away from the kopje I was on to the east to more broken country and was bounded to the south by a stream which would be ideal for a good-sized town".³ He hurried back to the Column and collected Jameson whom he induced to return to the kopje when Jameson, acting for Rhodes, decided to accept the spot instead of Mount Hampden. Finally Johnson sent off messengers to the advance guard to turn back to the kopje. This account

¹ Now National Monument No. 130, known as the Bridge Paintings as it shows people crossing a river (the Makabusi?) by way of a bridge. It is on that part of Glen Norah, close to Highfield, formerly known as the Picnic Reserve. It first appears as an illustration in Lord Randolph Churchill's *Men, mines and minerals in South Africa* (1892); p. 205, and is described as at Matefi's kraal.

² Pennefather to the Administrator, 11 October, 1890, Fort Salisbury (National Archives A 1/2/4). Printed in National Archives *Occasional Papers*. No. 1. 1965, as "Twenty-eight days in 1890". In modern terms the party rode that day from the Hunyani to the Seven Miles Hotel, up the Makabusi, across the centre of Salisbury and perhaps through Alexandra Park and Mount Pleasant to the area of the Marlborough Race Track; then across to Glenara and back along the edge of the escarpment overlooking the Mazoe valley and then to the Causeway area, perhaps by Pomona, and Alexandra Park again. This is a distance of about 40 miles.

³ *Great Days*: p. 148-9.

and also the account of the following day, the last day of the trek, differs in some regards from the accounts of Pennefather and others. As Pennefather's was written within a few days of the events and Johnson's many years later one must prefer the former.

Reville was at 5 a.m. on the 12th and at 5.45 the wagons began to splash across the rocky underwater ledge at the Six Mile Spruit and then its route lay through the present Highfield and Lochinvar. Somewhere near here the main body was met by Burnett sent by Pennefather to re-direct it to the chosen site and so it turned towards the kopje, parallel to the present railway line.¹ Meanwhile the advance guard, 'B' Troop of the Pioneers, was apparently well up in the Belvedere area before it too was turned to join up with the main body at or near the kopje.²

Pennefather had chosen the site for the final laager on the rising ground to the east of the kopje as it had some defensive virtues, a stream on one side and a marsh on another. To get there the Column had to edge round the marsh that the Kingsway area then was, So it went, along the line of Pioneer Street, up to the Park and then down the line of First Street. According to Armstrong the final laager was reached at 10 a.m., Friday 12th September, 1890. It had been five months since the first parties set out from the railhead at Kimberley.

The laager was stated in one source to be half a mile from "the hill" to its west.³ Hoste in later recollection said it was near the intersection of Gordon Avenue and First Street. A close examination of Fry's photographs would indicate from the lie of the land that it was possibly a little further South, in the area where First Street meets Manica Road, but the point is not important. The laager was dispersed on 30th October, 1890.

It seems there was no large African population in the neighbourhood, there is no mention of any after leaving the Makabusi, there were signs of previous settlement on the kopje but no present settlement. Pennefather comments in his first report that there were several small tribes under chiefs independent of each other strung along the north bank of the Hunyani—Inyamwenda, Umsweske, Nichesa and others—all of whom welcomed the expedition, and with whom a considerable trade in grain and other produce quickly developed. Fry's map indicates a "Thickly populated ridge" to the east; identification is not certain but it would seem to be the ridge running from Epworth Mission to Mabvuku.

Column Orders for the day of arrival are worth quoting in full:—

"Morning Col. Orders by Col. Penny father (sic)

1. It is notified for general information that the Column having arrived at its destination will halt.

¹ "The Pioneers sauntered on, some in shirts, some in football jerseys, and in the most nondescript articles of apparel . . . Occasionally a stray buck ran across the line of march and away would go the camp dogs." E. P. Mathers, *Zambesia*. 1891; p. 362.

² These various movements are indicated on Fry's map.

³ Column Orders, 12 September, 1890.



Approximate location of the Pioneer Column's crossing of the Hunyani, as in December, 1972.
(Photo: E. E. Burke)



Waggon crossing the Hunyani, 11th September, 1890. Two spans of oxen are being used through the sand.

(Photo: Ellerton Fry)

2. The name of the place will be Fort Salisbury.¹
3. Reveille in future will be 5 a.m. Sunset Retreat.
4. A Cossack post will mount daily at daybreak on the hill about half a mile west of laager and will be withdrawn at Retreat.²
5. A mounted Water Patrol in three reliefs will be detailed daily from 6 a.m. until Retreat.
6. The Pioneer Force will furnish two Scouts daily until further orders. They will report themselves to Staff Officer at daybreak.
7. All latrines to be dug at West side of laager. No trenches of any sort for kitchens or otherwise to be dug on the South and East.
8. All cattle to be kraaled on the South side of the river.
9. No shooting will be allowed within a radius of three miles from camp.
10. Boundaries. Cossack post on the West. Skyline on the North, the wooded ridge nearest the laager on the East and the granite kopjes on the South side of the laager.³

B/O Sd. J. Willoughby S.O.

Evening Co. Orders

Detail

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Countersign | "Kisber" ⁴ |
| Capt. of day | Capt. Heaney |
| Inlying Picquet | Pioneers |



The last trek, 12th September, 1890. Wagons still coming into the final laager, oxen being outspanned.

(Photo: Ellerton Fry)

¹ Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Cranborne and Baron Cecil (1830-1903) was Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1885 to 1892 and from 1895 to 1902. The family seat is Hatfield, in Hertfordshire.

² A Cossack post was a party of three or four mounted men, the members taking a duty in turn to provide a single sentry. The distance of about "half a mile west" might indicate the top of the 'Little Kopje' between Rotten Row and Pioneer Street, rather than the top of the kopje itself.

³ The men were free to roam between the Kopje to the west, North Avenue to the north, Greenwood Park to the east and Graniteside to the south.

⁴ There was a great variety in the choice of the countersign. Kisber was a noted racehorse, winner of the Derby in 1876.

2. The Column will parade in full dress, dismounted, at 10 a.m. The 7-pounders will fire a Royal Salute, with blank amm., to celebrate the hoisting of the British Flag.
3. The O.C. 'B' Trp. B.S.A.P. will be good enough to detail a working party to cut poles for the huts at an hour to be fixed upon by the O.C. 'B' Troop.¹
4. The O.C. Pioneers will be good enough to detail a working party for the Fort at 2.30 p.m.²
5. Lt. Col. Pennefather (*sic*) congratulates the Officers, N.C.O.s and Men of the Column on the successful attainment of the object of the Expedition, viz the occupation of Mashonaland. He wishes to express his thanks to all ranks of the Pioneers and the Police for the hearty goodwill which they have brought to bear in overcoming the obstacles of a difficult march. Col. Pennefather desires especially to thank Mr. Selous and the Officers, N.C.O.s and Troopers employed on the intelligence service for the excellent work performed by them, and would especially mention the admirable manner in which the scouting has been carried out by Lt. Nicholson, Col. Montague, Troopers Cowie, Griffiths, Newmayer and others. The hard work of road cutting and drift making has been excellently done by 'A' and 'B' Troops under Capts. Heaney and Hoste. Col. Pennefather trusts that the good fortune and services which has attended the Expedition collectively may follow the individual Members of it when the Column breaks up.

B.O. Sd. J. Willoughby S.O."

¹ The huts were for the quarters of the Police inside the fort.

² The fort, built in the centre of what is now Cecil Square, was a simple square earthwork with a ditch outside and a firestep inside, about 50 yards by 30 yards.

The Rhodesian Air Training Group 1940-1945

by Sir Charles Meredith

(In 1970 Lord Malvern was making notes on "Notable Events in the History of Rhodesia" that had occurred during the course of his career. He was not writing a book but the notes were to be lodged in the National Archives. He asked Sir Charles Meredith to write a Memorandum on the Rhodesia Air Training Group 1939-1945. The bulk of this article comprises the semi-official Memorandum written by Sir Charles and some subsequent correspondence as recorded in the National Archives.—Editor.)

The Rhodesian Air Training Group was the name of a scheme whereby, during the 1939-1945 war, allied air personnel, the bulk of whom were British, were sent to be trained in Rhodesia. Among those trained were Greeks, Yugoslavs, Frenchmen, Australians and South Africans.

Before the war had started the British Air Ministry was planning to set up training centres outside Britain—away from air activity over the country and somewhere where the weather was good. Canada was first chosen, the scheme there being known as the Empire Air Training Scheme.

On the outbreak of war in September, 1939, the facilities in Rhodesia for Air Training on any scale capable of dealing with the probable offerings of Rhodesian personnel for service in the Air Force were, in fact, non-existent.

I had arrived in Rhodesia earlier in the year as Lieut. Colonel, Rhodesian Staff Officer for Air and Director of Civil Aviation. I went to London in October, 1939, to seek supplies of aircraft and equipment to train Rhodesians. Air Ministry showed great interest in the proposals to train in Rhodesia and, because of the desire to get Air Training out of Britain, the discussions developed along the lines of a much larger scheme than Rhodesia had envisaged, involving the training of other allied personnel as well as Rhodesians.

There had been an air training scheme in existence in Rhodesia begun in 1937 by my predecessor, Major D. Cloete, M.C., A.F.C., who had retired to South Africa early in 1939. This included aircraft bought from Britain and the seconding of instructors from the R.A.F. It differed from the 1939 scheme in that it was a part of the territorial forces of the country and involved training only Rhodesian personnel from the Rhodesia Regiment. This came to an end just before the outbreak of war when, as described below, the unit departed for Kenya.

Although the Canadian scheme had been planned well before the war and much earlier than Rhodesia's, because of the enthusiasm and support generated

in the country the first of the R.A.T.G. stations, Belvedere, was opened on 24th May, 1940, several weeks before the first Canadian station became operative.

The R.A.T.G. was not only Southern Rhodesia's main contribution to World War II, it was one of the most important happenings in Rhodesian history. As mentioned below it led to development during a period that otherwise might have been a depression. The total local annual amount spent on the scheme greatly exceeded the annual Southern Rhodesia budget at the time and there were 150 separate non-public accounts (messes and canteens, etc.), with an annual turnover of over £350 000. But, most important, the R.A.T.G. also proved, in the long term, to be a most successful immigration scheme since many of the staff and trainees returned to settle in Rhodesia after the war, some of them becoming leading citizens in the land.

This article is an expansion of my semi-official Memorandum. There is also a book in National Archives which gives the history of the development of the Rhodesian Air Force from the 1920s to 1945 and it includes the stories of the two air training schemes. It is called *Rhodesia and the R.A.F.* The author is not named and it was privately printed in 1945, not for sale or commercial publication. It is a rare book and hard to come by so it is fitting that *Rhodesiana* should publish something about this historically important period of Rhodesian history.

Memorandum on Air Training in Rhodesia before and during the 1939 1945 War

Before the 1939/45 war started on 3rd September, there was in existence a small Air Unit which had been established with the aid of Air Ministry, London in the shape of seconded personnel of two R.A.F. Officers and twelve other ranks with ten aircraft, four Audax and six Hart.

This Unit was engaged in the training of local Territorial personnel and there was an Agreement whereby, in the event of war, Rhodesia would send a Unit to Kenya for service with the R.A.F.

In fulfilment of this commitment, four Audax and two Hart aircraft were despatched on 28th August, 1939, i.e. six days before the actual declaration of war.

Some ground crew personnel were ferried in two Rapide civil aviation aircraft and further ground crew and some equipment travelled by road in vehicles which had been bought locally as motor transport for the Air Unit.

The Officer Commanding the Unit was one of the R.A.F. Officers seconded to Rhodesia before the war but the rest of the air crew were Rhodesian as were most of the ground crew. The Unit operated on the Northern Frontier District of Kenya and was later embodied in 237 (Rhodesia) Squadron R.A.F.

The aircraft and equipment required for the Unit left only four Hart and about eight light aircraft in Rhodesia and, war having been declared, the absolute maximum war effort that could have been expected would have been the replacement of air crew wastage in the Unit in Kenya. Even this would



Air Staff Conference, left to right: A.O.C. (Air Vice-Marshal C. W. Meredith), S.O.A. (Group Captain Schoon), Minister (Col. E. Lucas-Guest), S.A.S.O. (Air Commodore Grigson, D.S.O. D.F.C.)

(Photo: National Archives)

have been on a partially trained basis and wholly contingent on the availability of replacement aircraft, spares and equipment. For this contingency no provision had been made and no planning was in existence.

The position was that the Rhodesian war effort in the air would have merely ground to a halt and very quickly at that unless something was done.

This led to the Staff Officer for Air (Lieut. Colonel Meredith) who had arrived in Rhodesia in late June 1939 barely in time to organise the despatch of the Unit to Kenya, examining the overall situation starting with an analysis of population statistics obtained from the Statistical Office. From this analysis he made an estimate of the possible immediate voluntary offering of personnel for service and further estimates based on the war lasting four years and showing the possible additional offerings year by year consequent on age groups reaching the required minimum age.

These figures were broken down to show the possible offerings for service in the three arms—Navy, Army, Air Force—and were placed before Colonel J. S. Morris then commanding Southern Rhodesia Forces.

As regards the air side, it was suggested to Colonel Morris that the estimates indicated the possibility of Rhodesia being able to man three R.A.F. Squadrons at any rate in aircrew. Further, that initial aircrew training could well be done in Rhodesia were aircraft and equipment available.

Colonel Morris instructed Lieut. Colonel Meredith to see the Minister of Defence (The Hon. R. C. Tredgold) as he (Morris) felt he was not familiar enough with Air matters to be able adequately to put the case.

This was done and the next development was the Prime Minister (Sir Godfrey Huggins) calling on Lieut. Colonel Meredith for a verbal outline and report.

Events moved rapidly and in late September or early October, 1939 the Prime Minister despatched a cable to London offering personnel to man three R.A.F. Squadrons and, given aircraft and equipment, to do initial flying training of the personnel in Rhodesia. The offer was also made to send an officer to London for discussion and this was accepted in the reply from London.

In consequence, Lieut. Colonel Meredith left for London and arrived there about 27th October, 1939.

Discussions with Air Ministry started on the basis of the supply of some aircraft and related equipment to undertake the initial flying training of local personnel offering for service.

Very quickly it was evident that Air Ministry was interested on a much bigger scale because of a desire to get most, if not all, Air Training out of England and also because difficulties were being experienced in getting the Empire Air Training Scheme going in Canada.

After a number of meetings, it was decided to start off in Rhodesia with three Elementary Flying Training Schools and, matching them, three Service Flying Training Schools with one Initial Training Wing through which pupils would pass to E.F.T.S. and thence to S.F.T.S.

This programme which was very much in excess of that needed to train only Rhodesian personnel was quite beyond the technical and man power resources of Rhodesia and necessitated the provision by Air Ministry of a large number of aircraft and much ancilliary equipment as well as personnel to man the Schools. It also necessitated the establishing of six Air Stations involving a considerable amount of building which was to be undertaken using local resources.

On the matter of finance the Air Ministry attitude was one of indifference because of urgency and the discussions ended with Lieut. Colonel Meredith being told to:—

"buzz off and get Air Training going because the Canadian Scheme is bogged down in apples".

The reference to apples was because the British and Canadian Treasuries were discussing joint finances and the Canadians wanted to use apple exports as a set off against their share of expense.

In reply to his query as to what to do about money, Lieut. Colonel Meredith was told to:—

"get whatever you want from Southern Rhodesia Government and we will settle up later".

It did not concern Lieut. Colonel Meredith what any such settlement might entail since, if necessary, Air Ministry would foot the whole bill and he left

London on 26th December, 1939 with, in effect, a blank cheque which, to the credit of Southern Rhodesia Treasury, was honoured immediately and without question.

The general outline of discussions with Air Ministry had been reported by Lieut. Colonel Meredith as they occurred, to the Southern Rhodesia High Commissioner (Mr. Lanigan O'Keefe) in London and he, in turn, was keeping Southern Rhodesia Government informed.

It should be remembered that Lieut. Colonel Meredith had no authority to commit Rhodesia financially but did have authority to agree to the establishing of Air Training Schools and ancilliary units on Rhodesian soil.

The position therefore was that initially, Southern Rhodesia Government had no financial commitment and, had it so wished, could probably have said "use our country by all means but you pay".

Possibly it was the decision of S.R.G. to contribute financially to the war effort—which it did in a big way—that led to the Minister of Defence (The Hon. R. C. Tredgold) going to London for discussions.

On his way to London by air, the Minister stopped at Nairobi. It happened that Lieut. Colonel Meredith also stopped there when southbound from London. They met briefly and the Minister was informed of those detailed aspects which might not have been clear from cable communications.

Lieut. Colonel Meredith then continued to Salisbury and, using the blank cheque he had from Air Ministry, set about establishing the six Air Training Schools and an Initial Training Wing, paying not the slightest regard as to who would ultimately meet the bill.

At this stage it was decided that Air should leave Defence and set up quite separately as the Department of Air, using, in the case of uniformed personnel, Air Force ranks.

Colonel the Hon. E. Lucas Guest—later Sir Ernest— was appointed Minister for Air.

With the rank of Group Captain—later Air Commodore—and later still Air Vice-Marshal—Meredith formed and commanded the Rhodesian Air Training Group. He also held the appointment of Secretary for Air. This was an economy measure in that there was no point in having a civilian Secretary for Air with staff, merely acting as a Post Office and duplicating work already done by R.A.T.G. Headquarters. This arrangement was greatly facilitated by the fact that R.A.T.G. controlled its own finances both capital and recurrent.

Also at this stage—early January 1940—the available staff consisted of two Territorial Officers who had joined at the outbreak of war for administrative duties and a typist in addition to Lieut. Colonel Meredith.

With a heavy building programme ahead the immediate need was for staff to cope with layouts, design and construction, supplies of building materials and finance and accounting.

Major C. W. Glass, an architect by profession, who had been released from his civilian employment with the Public Works Department to join the



Mass parade of Initial Training Wing, Bulawayo. The A.O.C., Air Vice-Marshal Charles Meredith is taking the salute.

(Photo: National Archives)

army, agreed to transfer to Air with the rank of Squadron Leader—later Wing Commander—with the title of Director of Works and Buildings.

This Section was wholly responsible for the layout of Air Stations and the design and construction of buildings for whatever purpose. The staff consisted of architects, quantity surveyors and draughtsmen and other non-professional staff. The Section controlled all building activity. Building was done by civilian contractors and at one stage virtually all builders in the Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo areas were employed on R.A.T.G. work.

Right at the inception, the Secretary to the Treasury had attached to Air, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield—in later years Sir Cornelius—as Treasury Representative and he handled financial aspects in the early weeks. Mr. A. James, an accountant in civilian life joined with the rank of Flight Lieutenant and he in conjunction with Mr. Greenfield, formed a Finance and Accounts Section. Flight Lieutenant James was killed in an aircraft accident quite early on and his place was taken by an officer he had recruited. This officer was Flying Officer G. Ellman-Brown—an accountant in civilian life—and he held the title of Principal Finance Officer R.A.T.G. with the final rank of Group Captain.

The Finance Section was in complete control of all funds both Air Ministry and Southern Rhodesia, whether capital or recurrent expenditure and also controlled and supervised accountant officers at the Stations.

To deal with supplies, Mr. W. H. Eastwood, a Bulawayo businessman joined with the rank of Squadron Leader, later Wing Commander—and the title of Director of Supplies. This Section was responsible for the location and purchase of all building materials and equipment required by Works and Buildings.

These three Sections were the nucleus of R.A.T.G. H.Q. and, in the early stages, the most important because of urgency in getting Air Stations established.

A time table showing opening dates was drawn up. This was necessary because the total period of pupil training was based on units of six weeks and the Schools had to open so that batches of pupils could be passed on from one phase to the next without delays intervening. A further reason was that Air Ministry had to arrange the shipping of personnel, aircraft and equipment to permit of the openings.

It is to the credit of all concerned—both local and overseas—that opening dates were adhered to and the pupil unit phase of six weeks was not disrupted.

The first School to open was No. 25 Elementary Flying Training School at Belvedere, Salisbury on 24th May, 1940. This was a notable achievement in a matter of less than five months starting with nothing. It was also notable in that the opening preceded by some weeks the opening of the first of the Schools in the Empire Air Training Scheme in Canada which had been planned before the war started.

A further notable achievement was the bringing into operation of the Air Station at Guinea Fowl, Gwelo, in twelve weeks from bare veld to the commencement of Flying Training. The construction included special sole user arrangements for water supplies, water-borne sewerage and a rail siding on which the special train conveying personnel from Cape Town halted. This achievement far outstripped Belvedere in speed.

(As an instance of slick timing Sir Charles relates that early in the morning of the very day Guinea Fowl was due to open the special train from Cape Town drew into the rail siding with 500 or more men. Without a hitch they were given a breakfast of bacon, eggs and sausages.—Editor).

In addition to the three initial Sections—Works, Finance and Supplies—of R.A.T.G. H.Q. other Sections were formed as development progressed. These included Air Staff, Air Training, Signals, Armament, Administration, Equipment, Engineering, Personnel, Medical, Legal and were expanded as requisite until the total staff at peak was in the region of four hundred of which about a hundred and twenty were commissioned officers.

Stationed at Cape Town and Durban there were two small units to deal with aircraft arriving by ship and unpacking and assembling for flying to Rhodesia. Also at Cape Town was a Movement Control Officer handling arrivals and departures of personnel. This involved in the case of personnel arriving, the arranging of a number of special trains. At Port Elizabeth there was a representative to deal with the incoming consignments of equipment. These units were under R.A.T.G. H.Q. control.

The original programme of an Initial Training Wing and six Schools was increased to eight Flying Training Schools and in addition, a Bombing, Navigation and Gunnery School for the training of Bomb Aimers, Navigators and Air Gunners.

To relieve congestion at the Air Stations, six relief landing grounds for landing and take off instruction were established. Also set up were two Air Firing and Bombing Ranges.

At a later stage, another Air Station was established for the training of Flying Instructors and this brought the total to ten Air Stations.

Two aircraft and engine repair and overhaul Depots were set up and also a Central Maintenance Unit to deal with bulk stores for the whole Group.

The Rhodesian Air Askari Corps to provide armed guards and non-armed labour was formed under the command of Wing Commander T. E. Price with white officers and non-commissioned officers.

A total of sixteen Units was formed, as shown in the Appendix.

At peak, when all Units were operating fully, there were about 12 000 adult male white personnel and about 5 000 adult male Africans employed. There were also about 200 white women in the Women's Auxilliary Air Service who were employed in post offices and on clerical duties at various stations.

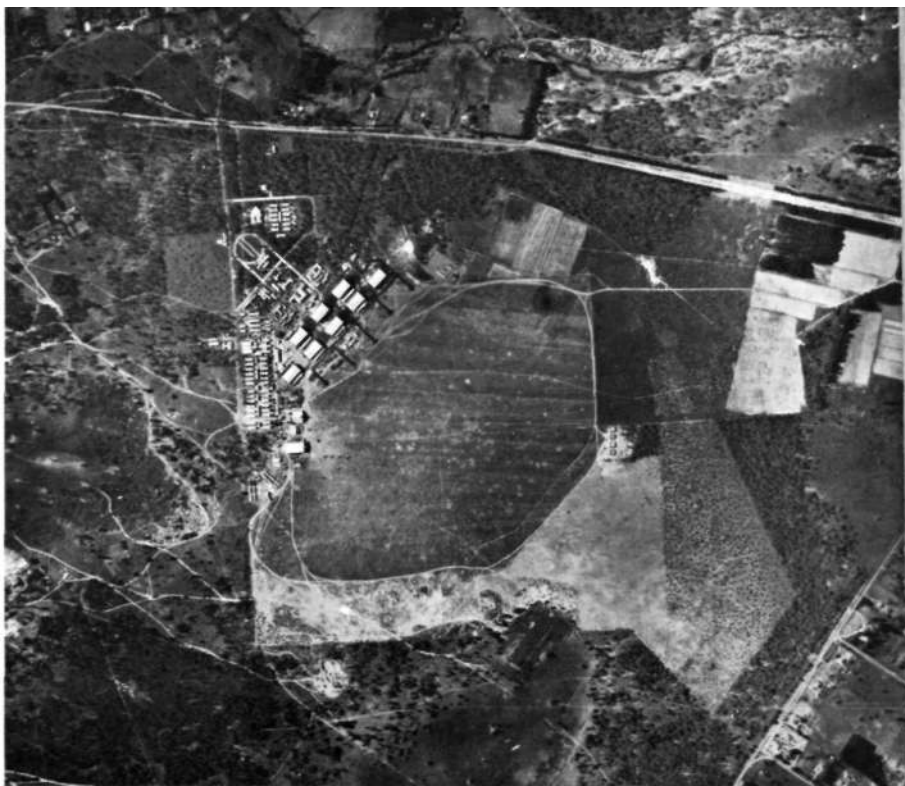
The white male personnel figure includes pupils under training. These came from Britain principally, but also from Australia and South Africa in addition to the Rhodesian intake. There were also pupils from the Royal Hellenic Air Force.

The African figure includes about 2 000 armed Askari for guard duties and about 3 000 for general duties ranging from work in the hangars and workshops to cooks, waiters, messengers, groundsmen and cleaners. Incidentally, at one stage during the building of the Air Stations the African labour force was very much greater. These hands were employed on a civilian basis but had to be housed and fed, and to get the numbers required, special recruiting visits to various chiefs were paid by Wing Commander Price.

The final financial responsibility accepted by Southern Rhodesia Government was for:—

1. The capital expenditure on land and buildings and ancilliary works for the whole of the Air Training Scheme including quarters and housing.
2. The cost of all barrack equipment at Air Stations.
3. The cost of R.A.T.G. Headquarters.
4. All pay and allowances for Rhodesian personnel serving in Rhodesia.
5. Make up pay and family allowances for Rhodesians serving abroad. That is the difference between R.A.F. and Rhodesian rates.
6. A cash contribution of £800 000 p.a. towards the operating costs of the Air Training Scheme.

All other costs including the provision of aircraft, equipment, petrol, oil, transport and the pay and allowances of R.A.F. personnel—other than those



Cranborne, Salisbury on opening date, July, 1940.

employed at R.A.T.G. H.Q.—were met by Air Ministry except in so far as abated by the S.R.G. contribution of £800 000 p.a.

The pay and allowances of pupils from Australia, South Africa and Greece and other expenses was recovered either from the Government concerned or Air Ministry.

In addition to the buildings required for the Air Stations and ancillary units, a number of dwelling houses possibly in the region of 160—and at least one block of four flats—were built at S.R.G. expense to house R.A.F. married personnel. In effect, this was a contribution to the evacuation of women and children from Britain.

An expense incurred by the Department of Defence and therefore met by S.R.G. was that of the Southern Rhodesia Supply Corps. This Unit organised bulk supplies of foodstuffs available at Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo, from which Air Stations drew their requirements and were debited accordingly.

It is very likely that the S.R.S.C. would not have come into existence—at any rate on the scale it did—but for the Air Training Scheme and the large quantities of foodstuffs required.

The cost of this Army Unit, largely serving only the Air Stations, was borne by the Department of Defence and, in effect, was a further contribution by S.R.G. to Air Training.

The total S.R.G. war expenditure related to Air was £11 215 522 as shown in the attached Appendix.

APPENDIX 1

<i>UNITS</i>	<i>OPENED</i>
Headquarters, Salisbury	5th January, 1940
<i>ELEMENTARY FLYING TRAINING SCHOOLS</i>	
No. 25 Belvedere—Salisbury	24th May, 1940
No. 26 Guinea Fowl—Gwelo	8th August, 1940
No. 27 Induna—Bulawayo	31st January, 1941
No. 28 Mount Hampden—Salisbury	29th March, 1941
<i>SERVICE FLYING TRAINING SCHOOLS</i>	
No. 20 Cranborne—Salisbury	19th July, 1940
No. 21 Kumalo—Bulawayo	11th October, 1940
No. 22 Thornhill—Gwelo	7th March, 1941
No. 23 Heany—Bulawayo	June, 1941
<i>BOMBING, GUNNERY AND NAVIGATION SCHOOL</i>	
Moffat—Gwelo	25th July, 1941
<i>FLYING INSTRUCTORS SCHOOL</i>	
Norton	2nd October, 1942
<i>INITIAL TRAINING WING</i>	
Bulawayo	April, 1940
<i>AIRCRAFT AND ENGINE REPAIR DEPOTS</i>	
Cranborne—Salisbury	19th July, 1940
Heany—Bulawayo	June, 1941
<i>CENTRAL MAINTENANCE UNIT</i>	
Bulawayo	1941
<i>RHODESIAN AIR ASKARI CORPS DEPOT</i>	
Salisbury	1940

APPENDIX 2

The *approximate* output of Aircrew by Rhodesian Air Training Group was:—

PILOTS—7 600—roughly half/half single and twin engines.

NAVIGATORS, BOMB AIMERS AND AIR GUNNERS—2 300

Total Aircrew about 9 900.

APPENDIX 3

RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON AIR TRAINING IN RHODESIAN AIR TRAINING GROUP

Financial Year	Revenue £	Loan £	Total £
1939/40	56 336	34 873	91 209
1940/41	911 550	1 613 728	2 525 278
1941/42	1 301 283	941 130	2 242 413
1942/43	1 402 410	484 941	1 887 351
1943/44	1 453 326	396 832	1 850 158
1944/45	1 429 021	167 570	1 596 591
1945/46	1 011 865	10 657	1 022 522
	£7 565 791	£3 649 731	£11 215 522

APPENDIX 4

BUILDINGS AND THEIR POST-WAR USE

This appendix did not form part of the Memorandum. It has just been drawn up.

About 300 dwelling houses were built. Roughly 60/40% Bulawayo and Salisbury and a few at Gwelo. Also a block of four flats in Salisbury. All with S.R.G. money and used to house R.A.F. married personnel. A contribution by S.R. to evacuation of women and children from England. After the war, most of the houses were sold to local inhabitants thus alleviating the housing shortage, but some were retained as Government houses for civil servants.

The Stations ended up as follows:—

SALISBURY

BELVEDERE

Continued as Salisbury Civil Airport—as it was pre-war—until the new (present) airport was built. Then, being municipal property, used for other purposes. Commerce, industry, Indian housing, etc.

MOUNT HAMPDEN

Still in use as an airport for light and private aircraft. Relieves traffic from main airport.

CRANBORNE

Used as an immigrants' transit centre while seeking accommodation and also as a P.W.D. storage depot.

NORTON

Taken over as a school.

GWELO

GUINEA FOWL

Taken over as a boys' school.

MOFFAT

Taken over by BATA as a footwear factory and still is.

THORNHILL

Taken over by Rhodesian Air Force and still in operation as an Air Station.

BULAWAYO

INDUNA

Taken over as a school.

KUMALO

Taken over by Army. Now known as Brady Barracks.

HEANY

Taken over by Army and now known as Llewellyn Barracks. For a few years and in spare buildings, also housed the Teachers Training College.

APPENDIX 5

Additional Notes

In the course of my covering letter, with the Memorandum, to Lord Malvern in 1970, I drew attention to further aspects of the scheme. I quoted from the book *Huggins of Rhodesia* by L. H. Gann and M. Gelfand, page 153 on which they say:—

"The air training scheme in fact formed Southern Rhodesia's greatest individual contribution to the war, and in an unexpected way also proved a major economic boon. Farmers and industrial firms suddenly found an almost insatiable market, and Guest calculated that Imperial expenditure on the scheme alone almost equalled the indirect benefit which the country derived from its entire gold mining industry".

"In the Memo I mention white and black adult figures in the totals employed. These are probably on the low side if anything, but I thought it best to be conservative.

"The R.A.T.G. which started with nothing—no staff, no organisation as a base on which to build—was unusual, even unique. It combined in one command not only Air Stations for flying and aircrew training but also aircraft and engine overhaul and repair facilities, controlled its own works and buildings and supply sections and its own finances both in local and Air Ministry funds.

"An aspect of which I suggest sight should not be lost is that the whole effort originated in Rhodesia. It was Rhodesia who put forward the idea (*of an air training scheme in Rhodesia—Editor*). True, Air Ministry quickly saw the possibilities. But even Air Ministry, with all its resources could have achieved little without Rhodesian co-operation. In short, it was Rhodesia that made the whole affair possible.

"True, Air Ministry bore the bulk of the expense in manpower, equipment and money but it was Rhodesia's initiative that brought about an outstanding contribution not only to the war effort as a whole but as an individual contribution by a population of about 63 000 souls.

"As a sidelight, you may be interested in the fact that when South Africa came into the war and started building Air Stations, etc., a party of officers and officials came to Salisbury to find out from R.A.T.G. how things were organised to achieve such remarkable speed. A thing that impressed them, in addition to the R.A.T.G. Works and Buildings and Supply Sections, was the great degree of assistance and co-operation given by bodies and people outside R.A.T.G.

"On the co-operation aspect the following may be of interest:—

"The various Municipalities involved were helpful in the matter of sites and the Surveyor-General (Mr. McBean) in the provision of surveys, maps and general information.

"The Roads Department (Mr. Greenshields) undertook the levelling of air-fields, the construction of tarmacs, roads, surface drains and general field work.

"The Irrigation Department (Mr. Roberts) dealt with water supplies, bore-holes and wells, water reticulation, storage tanks and pumping machinery.

"In addition to being the main supply of power and light, the Electricity Supply Commission (Mr. Cowan) installed all electrical mains and service lines and provided much expert advice.

"The Chief Engineer (Mr. Harpham) Post Office linked up Headquarters and all Air Stations by Telex as well as providing most adequate telephone connections.

"The Institute of Architects co-operated warmly and the Federation of Master Builders rendered great assistance in the allocation of work to its members in relation to capacity, and in dealing with rates and the settling of disputes.

"The civilian structural steel engineers both in Salisbury and Bulawayo gave much help in the matters of hangars and other structural work.

"The Railway Administration gave great assistance in the speedy installation of several sidings to Air Stations and in arranging priorities for supplies. A very great burden was placed on the railways which, amongst many other calls made by R.A.T.G., had to deal with the very large quantities of petrol which necessitated the augmenting from outside Rhodesia, of its meagre fleet of tank cars.

"Builders, merchants were also helpful in providing information and expediting such supplies as they were able to obtain thus augmenting the bulk purchases and importation by the Supply Section.

"All in all a magnificent effort by Rhodesia as a whole which contributed greatly to the speedy inception of Air Training and to the high repute in which the country was held.

"While it was mainly a one way benefit from all this assistance, nevertheless R.A.T.G. was able to reciprocate to some extent and did so in many instances. An example of this was in obtaining, from overseas, telephone equipment which was handed over to the post office.

"A further example was in the matter of building materials and ancillary supplies. From the stocks built up by the Supply Section it was possible to release to P.W.D. and civilian builders and the remaining stocks, when the war ended, were of great value in tiding over a period of what might have been intense shortages.

"I hope that what I have written will be of some use to you and that, should you require any amplifications or elucidations you will let me know."

In his reply Lord Malvern made an interesting comment:—

"You were not here when the original scheme was proposed, but I expect you have heard that it emanated from a motion moved by the late Colonel Brady in the local parliament that Southern Rhodesia should contribute to the Royal Navy which was carried—that is how it got started. But, in addition to the fact that there was nothing here except the planes you mentioned, I remember we had got so far as to get the brickwork of the Sergeants' Mess two feet from the ground when the war broke out and the Officers' Mess consisted of two motor car packing cases joined together!"

FRANK CASS REPRINTS

The Making of Rhodesia by Hugh Marshall Hole (No. 43 in the Cass Library of African Studies) was originally published in 1926.

At the time Hole's book was the clearest and most consecutive account of the early history and occupation of Rhodesia. The main narrative covers the period from 1870 up to the end of the Mashona Rebellion in 1897, and tells of the early explorers and missionaries, of the Concessions and of the Occupation. But it includes the history of Barotseland and the whole of Northern Rhodesia up to 1906 and, beyond those countries, the stories are told of Rhodes' attempts to connect up all British territory south of the equator, and of how Katanga was "lost".

Hole was a B.S.A. Co. official for 23 years and since he was in close personal contact with many of the men who had actively participated in the "making" of Rhodesia, his book relates many eye-witness descriptions of events, and of the people, Rhodes, Lobengula and many others, who took part in them. Hole's work thus carries the stamp of authenticity and realism and is a welcome addition to the lengthening list of Rhodesian reprints.

(Published by Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 67 Great Russell St., London W.C. 1. Price £3,75.

Orlando Baragwanath: A Centenarian Pioneer of Rhodesia

by Roger Howman

To reach one hundred years is a remarkable physical and mental achievement for any man. For a Pioneer, a man who has been tested in the natural hardships, hazards and diseases of the frontiers of life, to become a centenarian is unique. No Rhodesian Pioneer had ever attained such a distinction until Orlando Baragwanath celebrated his 100th birthday on the 25th March, 1972.

On that occasion he deserved the honour of a letter from the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, which is reproduced opposite as an introduction to this little history, and the engraved copper casket presented to him by the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society.

It is an unusual history, for rare it is to be able, after all the books and reports have been written, to go back in time and question a person who has lived through the events. Particularly a man with a memory of his 20s and 30s so vivid and personal that he speaks as if they occurred the week before. Indeed it is a measure of the man's iron constitution and powerful faculties that he was able to write 22 pages of foolscap in clearing up questions from the author in December, 1972, with, as he wrote, "the mind outrunning the pen and senile decay". Those intense and deep brown eyes, the erect figure, a capacity to talk about the past for hours and a vigorous walking stick—so well portrayed in the photograph—certainly belie his words.

This history focuses on that portion of his life which concerns Rhodesia and the Rhodesians he met; it is an attempt to wrap Rhodesian history around his personal life, to clarify and explain its events as he experienced them.

FORT VICTORIA

In 1894 Fort Victoria, the oldest settlement in Rhodesia, was living on the hopes, excitements and findings of gold. It had become the main gold centre of the country . . . and a strange one. Although the Zimbabwe ruins were so near, and "dolly" or grinding holes in solid rock (*Maturi a Mwari*—God's pounding mortars) were to be found, there was a singular absence of prehistoric workings so characteristic of other gold areas in the country. Sawyer had recently published his view that, "there may be as much gold in Mashonaland as in the Transvaal".¹

The little village clustered around the Fort was linked to Salisbury and Bulawayo by the enterprising Bezuidenhout brothers' passenger-mail service using ox-carts at first, and to Fort Tuli on the pioneer route by an open Cape

cart drawn by relays of six oxen. An 1892 pioneer, Tom Meikle, reading the signs, had opened an hotel and store.

The first gold mine to be registered in the Victoria area was the Dickens Mine on the 25th October, 1891, on what is now known as The Grange farm. The next day the Victoria Mine on Fern Spruit was registered by Henry Long and Fort Victoria quickly became the centre of an enthusiastic mining community as the Cotopaxi Mine on Victoria Mountain was discovered and a host of little mines erupted in 1892 along the valley of Fern Spruit or Fern Creek.

Fern Spruit, a well wooded, picturesque area now ignored and forgotten, deserves recall for its part in history. The little stream was indigenously the Wazanga, allegedly after an old woman named Zanga who drowned in it, and it flowed into the Wadanda (meaning a river which, although small, was capable of carrying a big log when full) in those times called the Providential River because Selous followed its gradient as he cut the pioneer track up to Providential Pass. There was a store and a post office called Fern Spruit at the junction on what was referred to as "Macdonald's old camp"², and the two rivers flowed parallel amidst the foothills of the "proud or conceited" (Nyanda) massif of 1 500 foot Mount Victoria. Usage changed the mountain's name to Cotopaxi as its mine developed.³

**PRIME MINISTER
SALISBURY
16th March, 1972**

Dear Mr. Baragwanath,

I write to congratulate you on attaining your 100th birthday on the 25th of this month.

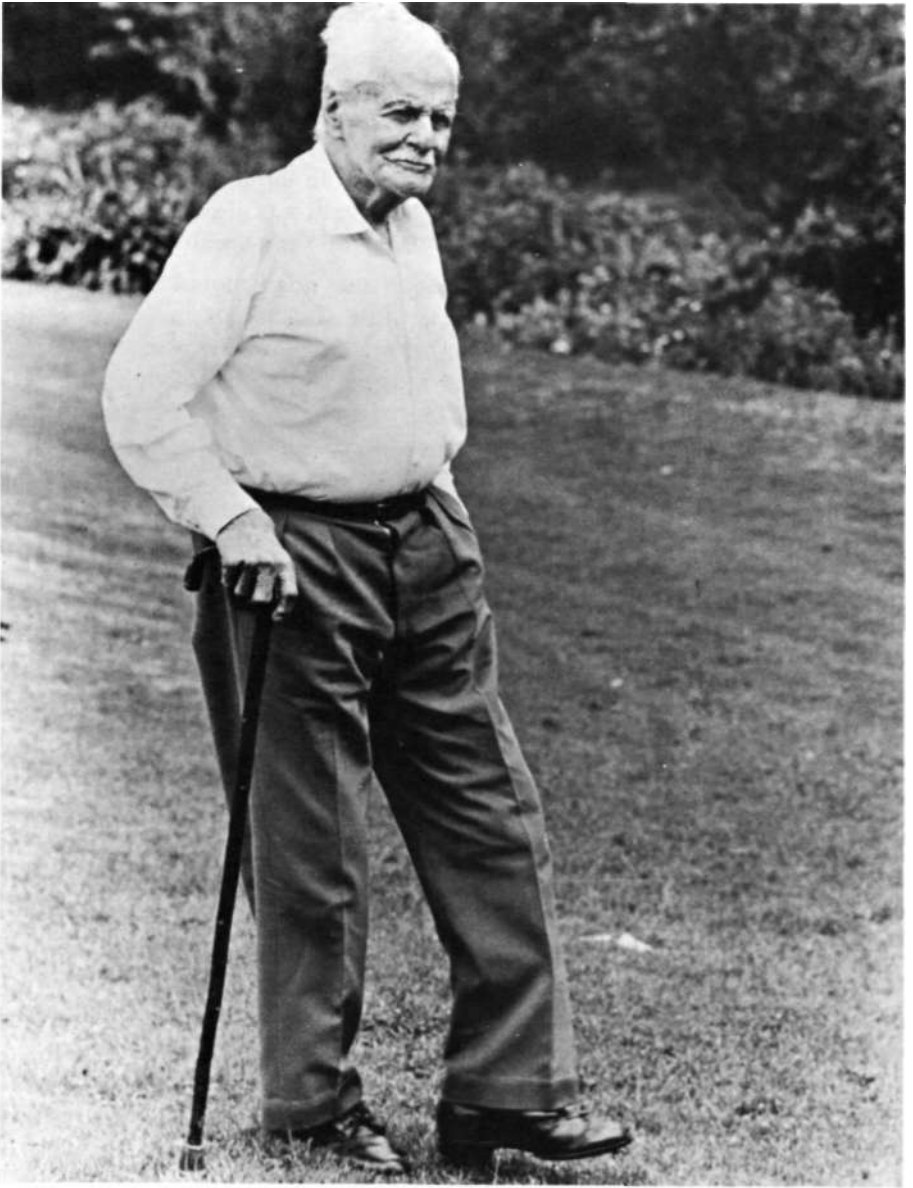
The debt of gratitude which Rhodesia owes its pioneers is very great indeed. People like yourself came into the wild interior of Africa to establish the outposts of our modern civilisation, and it is because of the dedication and enterprise of our pioneers that Rhodesia has thrived and prospered.

We take strength from the courage which our pioneers displayed in pursuing our goals of justice, peace and prosperity for Rhodesia.

On behalf of the Government and people of Rhodesia I send you congratulations, and best wishes for good health and good fortune.

I. Douglas Smith

**Mr. Orlando Baragwanath,
"The Downs",
EASTERN TRANSVAAL.**



Orlando Baragwanath, on 100th birthday, 25th March, 1972.

When the mines along Fern Spruit—the Victoria, Golden Horseshoe, Providence, Birthday, Natal, Zimbabwe, Standard and Maori—started to produce their 4 to 171 ozs. of gold in 1892 and 1893 the pioneer road⁴ was abandoned in favour of a wandering road along Fern Spruit linking up the mines to Fort Victoria, as shown on the map. Many years later the main road—which became the existing "strip" road—was laid down on the ridge between

the two rivers and in recent times the tarred highway—with its Providential Pass Memorial—chose a quite different route north of Cotopaxi.

During '92 and '93 Fort Victoria grew into a thriving, make-shift, free-spending, boisterous mining town with big companies moving in to take over the claims which prospectors had found. Among these companies was the Mashonaland Agency, Ltd. which in May, 1892 acquired "Long's Reef" (The Victoria Mine) of 40 claims pegged by H. Long, J. J. Rogers, Anne Stephenson and J. Stoddart in October, 1891, as well as most of the other mines along Fern Spruit. A ten stamp battery was installed in 1892 at the Victoria Mine, the most promising.

The Mashonaland Agency, a London based company whose Directors included such well-known figures as H. E. M. Davies, C. Rudd, W. R. Rhodes, with P. B. (later Sir Bouchier) Wrey as their consulting engineer for Mashonaland and H. L. Stokes as managing director for Southern Africa, decided to float a special subsidiary company to "acquire and work mining claims in Mashonaland". So the Victoria District (Mashonaland) Gold Mining Co. Ltd. was floated in terms of an Agreement dated 10th July, 1893 under which the British South Africa Company, which was entitled under the infamous "fifty per cent" clause to one half of the shares of any mining company, agreed to waive its right in exchange for 25 650 £1 shares in the new company and the Mashonaland Agency transferred its claims for 49 350 shares.⁵ The Victoria District Gold Mining Co., Ltd., with a capital of £75 000, thus entered the Victoria scene.

The Victoria Mine was the centre of the company's hopes⁶ . . . and the whole Fort Victoria community, elated by such a distinguished and massive display of confidence, yet depressed by the many mines which had ceased production in 1893, awaited the entrancing promises held out for 1894 by the Dickens, the Cotopaxi and the Victoria mines where stamp batteries had been set up.

In the autumn of 1894 a solitary passenger climbed off Hans Bezuidenhout's ox-drawn Cape cart in Fort Victoria after a leisurely journey from Fort Tuli. He was Orlando Baragwanath, a young man of 22 years with some mining experience, a prospector's zest for the unknown and an explorer's nature. He had been attracted to the strange world beyond the Limpopo by the offer of a year's contract as the assayer at "Fern Creek Mine" by a man named Bailey whom he had worked for in the Transvaal.

His story in Rhodesia begins with the Victoria Mine, at least that is the only mine which fits his account as he always thought it was the Fern Creek Mine.⁷

Orrie—he was always called "Orrie"—describes the mine as "an extraordinary concern belonging to the Mashonaland Agency . . . the staff was sufficient for a Rand 40 stamp proposition . . . about ten Europeans living in huts . . . the Manager (name forgotten) evidently had no mining experience . . . Bailey was in some advisory capacity . . . P. B. Wrey was the visiting consulting engineer". "Extraordinary" because of the layout and the inadequacy of the

machinery. The battery of two five-stamps had a countershaft extended to run the stone crusher and a saw mill to cut timber for the boilers. It was driven by a portable second-hand steam engine still on its transporting wheels and with only half the power necessary. This plant had inexplicably been erected about half a mile from the mine itself so the hopper ore had to be constantly emptied into a Scotch cart drawn by oxen, transported and dumped near the battery, then loaded into a half-ton coco pan truck and trundled to a small ore bin. The mine itself was in keeping with the extravagant layout, an unnecessary development of an inclined shaft down about 80 feet with a drive about half-way and winzes about every 150 feet.⁸ And this was the hope of Victoria!

Orrie set to work as mill manager and at once ran into trouble. The belts fell off as the flywheel was not in alignment; the boiler wheels had to be dug out and jacked into position; the steam could not be kept up; lions made nightly raids on the oxen; the concentrating tables silted up and the amalgamating table suffered. There were weeks of frequent stoppages and on one occasion he was lent to the Cotopaxi Mine where he found their 10-stamp battery also poorly managed and treating only low grade ore.

At last a Director named Stokes and a consulting engineer, P. B. Wrey, arrived. They decided, since the results were so poor, to give the concentrating tables more fall but there was no automatic device for doing this and, ignoring Orrie's opinion that it was the constant stoppages, not the fall, which were responsible, the tables had to be dismantled. The battery stopped but the steam engine was kept going to drive the sawmill and build up a good reserve of cut wood for the boiler.

Orrie's work on the mine ended abruptly. He woke in the early morning thinking the sun had risen and found instead the battery area with its firewood stock was a blazing mass. How the fire started was never discovered. Orrie was sent to Fort Victoria on horseback with a message to London blaming a miner named Morgan who had been accused of selling liquor to natives. Morgan was sentenced to imprisonment until Judge Vincent, reviewing the case, ordered his release, much to the dismay of Fort Victoria whose people felt dependent on the mine, but Orrie's sympathy lay with Morgan.

So the Victoria Mine closed down, for the second time because of fire. The first time was in 1892 when, after only six weeks of production which recorded 95 ozs. of gold, the battery was burnt down.⁹ The situation is intriguing and Bulpin made the most of it by fastening his own interpretation upon it.¹⁰ He ascribed the fire to deliberate action and inserted an account of various salting procedures and how gold was injected into the samples. Official records reveal that after the first fire in 1892 not a single oz. of gold was produced from this mine until 1907.

Orrie believes the mine was a dud but dismisses Bulpin's version as the imagination of a novel. Bailey never had sufficient capital to finance a salting or an injection process. Yet, as we shall see, when Orrie returned towards the end of 1895 he was surprised to find Bailey and the mine still operating, so some kind of hocus-pocus at the expense of shareholders in England, despite the

distinguished Directors, was going on for some three years. Orrie now considers, with a wider knowledge of company share markets, that the Victoria Mine shares were kept going somehow and Bailey, who died later in an asylum, was a smart, dishonest operator in many other ways.

Most of the staff of the mine had their passages to Johannesburg paid, including Orrie who went on to Fort Victoria with its two-towered fort, two hotels, two shops, a club, some trading stores and no women apart from the two nuns at the hospital. He stayed at the Thatched House Hotel and recalls that a man named Drew,¹¹ the Native Commissioner, had a fine singing voice. Bezuidenhout had given up his ox-cart service to Fort Tuli,¹² so Orrie caught the coach to Bulawayo via Gwelo. With him was the manager of the mine who was also departing, leaving Bailey in control of affairs there.

In Bulawayo Orrie ran into an old friend Arthur Cumming. Arthur, called "Art" and a Canadian named Bob Bain had leased some 200 morgen near Hillside (present Kumalo) and were running a wagon transport business with some prospecting.¹³ Old Guybon Cumming,¹⁴ had started a dairy business and built a wood and iron home on the property for his large family. Guybon—the unusual name came from Dr. Guybon Atherstone—ran a dairy farm on Vierfontein farm near Johannesburg as a neighbour of Orrie's family until he moved to Bulawayo. Orrie found a home from home there and two sons Arthur and Percy were to share his experience in the Rebellion.

The talk in Bulawayo was all about how the country had been pegged full of claims; how the surface gold had been removed by "the ancients", so there was no real Ophir; and how an expedition led by two American Scouts, Fred Burnham and Ingram, and financed by the Northern Territories Exploring Co., was preparing to leave for the lands north of the Zambezi where the riches of Africa were now deemed to lie, according to excited gossip. (The Burnham expedition left Bulawayo in May, 1895).

Soon after his arrival Orrie received a letter inviting him to rejoin his old partners, the Cock brothers, on another mine in the Blaubank Reef and he caught the coach to Fort Tuli back to Johannesburg.

Thus ended his first visit to Rhodesia and we should look at his past before picking up the story again.

SOUTH AFRICA

John Baragwanath, a sea captain from Cornwall on the Cape route, bought a farm in South Africa near Isipingo and his son John Albert later opened a trading store on the Cacadu river near Lady Frere. In neighbouring Queens-town there lived Joe Trennery,¹⁵ and his daughter Adelaide married John Albert. They had a family of ten children (six daughters), of whom Orlando, born at Cacadu on the 25th March, 1872, and Albert his younger brother, figure in this narrative.

News of the discovery of the Witwatersrand prompted John Albert to pack a wagon and trek to the goldfield. There he camped on Vierfontein farm

and bought three stands at the first sale of Johannesburg's newly laid out township land in 1886. These stands he soon sold for such a profit that he was able to settle all his affairs at home, bring his family up to Johannesburg and buy a piece of land called Concordia some five miles out where the wagon roads from Kimberley and Bloemfontein converged on the new town.

Orrie, who had been left behind at school at St. Andrews in Grahamstown, joined his family three years later in 1889 just at a time when Johannesburg had reached its most boisterous and gold-fevered year, and when some 1 500 thirsty transport wagons a week were outspanning at Concordia to make the bar, with its hotel, a little gold mine in itself.

The hotel had become a meeting place for transport men, tramps and "Boer verneukers" (tricksters doing well out of naive Boer farmers bringing produce to sell in town) so Orrie's first job helping in the hotel brought him into contact with an amazing assortment of characters. Among them he met George Harrison who discovered the gold and was paid £10 for his pegged find; also the legendary prospector Monsieur Auguste, Robert ("French Bob") who set fire to his imagination with tales of gold and rock formations, and taught him the knack of using a prospector's pan. Then it happened that gold was discovered on the hillock known as Eagles Nest just behind the hotel and in the ensuing "fools' rush", which did not last long, Orrie, who joined in, tasted the delights, fascinations and experiences of such a life, as well as the basic appreciation of geology, minerals and landscape to be gained from such hard-bitten tutors.

Although his father was much opposed to a mining career Orrie jumped at an offer by the Knights Mine to become a learner-amalgamator. Once trained the wage was £1 a shift. It was a great step for him and he had just learned some of the chemistry of mining when hectic Johannesburg came to a halt. Production slumped. The clatter of the stamp-mills changed to silence. Miners were unemployed. Orrie was dismissed.

Chemistry was responsible. The gold near the surface was an "oxidised zone" where gold, released by the action of the weather, adheres to quicksilver spread on an amalgamating table so it could be abstracted by a known process. But as the mines dug deeper this process failed and mine after mine closed down while the chemists tackled the problem of how to extract gold which had not been oxidised.¹⁶

There was nothing he could do in Johannesburg so Orrie visited his uncle Tim Trennery who had also left the Cape and set up as a transport rider with a home and grazing for oxen on the little Kliprivier. There he met a man named Bailey, once of the Cape Mounted Rifles, who, without any mining experience, had persuaded someone to put up money to work a defunct mine on a formation called the Black Reef. Orrie worked on the mine for a year until Bailey was sacked and then, while considering a call in mid-1893 for recruits to a force called Raaff's Rangers in Rhodesia, he was asked to join his friends the Cock brothers in a mine partnership on the Blauwbank Series near the Magaliesberg Mountains. The mining company had ceased operations but would allow them to operate the five-stamp property on a 10% royalty basis.

The three youngsters went to work on their mine with all the zeal of being their own masters and did so well that after some five months the mining company demanded a 15 % royalty and then even 20 %. That was too much to bear and finding they had no legal redress the young partnership gave up. At that time of disillusionment over having worked so hard to incur a company's rapacity Orrie received a message from a transport rider that Bailey had a job for him in Rhodesia at the Fern Creek Mine. Here was his chance to sample the glowing tales of the north.

He caught Hey's mule coach to Pietersburg, and Zeederberg's light coach to Fort Tuli where he left it and transferred as the solitary passenger to Hans Bezuidenhout's Cape cart service of relays of six oxen every 10 miles to Fort Victoria. That is how he arrived in Rhodesia for the first time in August, 1894.

RETURN TO RHODESIA

When he left Rhodesia in early 1895 he picked up a surprising bit of information during the coach halt at Fort Tuli. The hotel-keeper remarked how like he was to a man who had been swept off the top of the coach by an overhanging branch a few days before, a normal hazard as the coaches careered between the trees which passengers were expected to become adept at dodging. The man's name —Baragwanath. So Orrie learned that his young brother Albert had followed him to Rhodesia and this was confirmed when he rejoined his family at the Concordia Hotel.

Orrie's survey of the Cocks' new mine filled him with apprehension over its patchy nature and four months proved him right. It was unpayable.

He returned to Johannesburg to find a very different town from the one he had left. The chemists had solved the problem of the gold below the oxidised zone. Deep level mining had become profitable. The cyanide recovery process had been introduced and the mines were thriving, the town booming, and stocks and shares and money had inflamed a mad rush. There was also political talk of a Reform Committee, of a corrupt and ineffectual Kruger Government and of intrigue by mining magnates to take over the "city of gold". There was a revolutionary atmosphere about the place.

Orrie's distaste for what was going on mounted. He yearned for the freedom of Rhodesia and almost penniless he met Hans Bezuidenhout, the well-known postal and stagecoach contractor from Salisbury who was in Johannesburg on business and about to return. He was going to Mafeking and would welcome a companion. Hans seemed to know every farmer on the route so the cart and horses made numerous stops and enquiries about Fort Charter, Enkeldoorn and Melsetter, where free land was being offered by Rhodes, were showered upon them.

In Mafeking Hans made a deal with Sam and Julius Weil to buy 400 trained oxen and that, as Orrie put it, "is how I became a drover"—a characteristic understatement of a venture any American cowboy might have been proud of. . . 800 miles to Salisbury!

Hans supplied him with two Scotch carts, a shotgun and drovers. For weeks he travelled the old overgrown Pioneer trail, never seeing a single white face till he reached Fort Tuli, and very little game, indeed he lived on birds and only after Fort Tuli did he have trouble with lions at night. Lung sickness hit his herd and by the time he reached Tuli he had lost 18 head. There an old transport man showed him the secret of what to do—cut two slits in the tail, pass a needle through drawing a thread dipped in the diseased lung fluid of a dead animal and . . . the beast is innoculated even if it does drop its tail off.

From Fort Tuli he drove his oxen along the now familiar trail to Fort Victoria—the Pioneer road known to the Africans as *Mapasuri*, the ones who went ahead¹⁷—and on reaching Fern Spruit he was astonished to find Bailey still operating the mine . . . and, more astonishing still, there was his brother Albert employed as accountant!

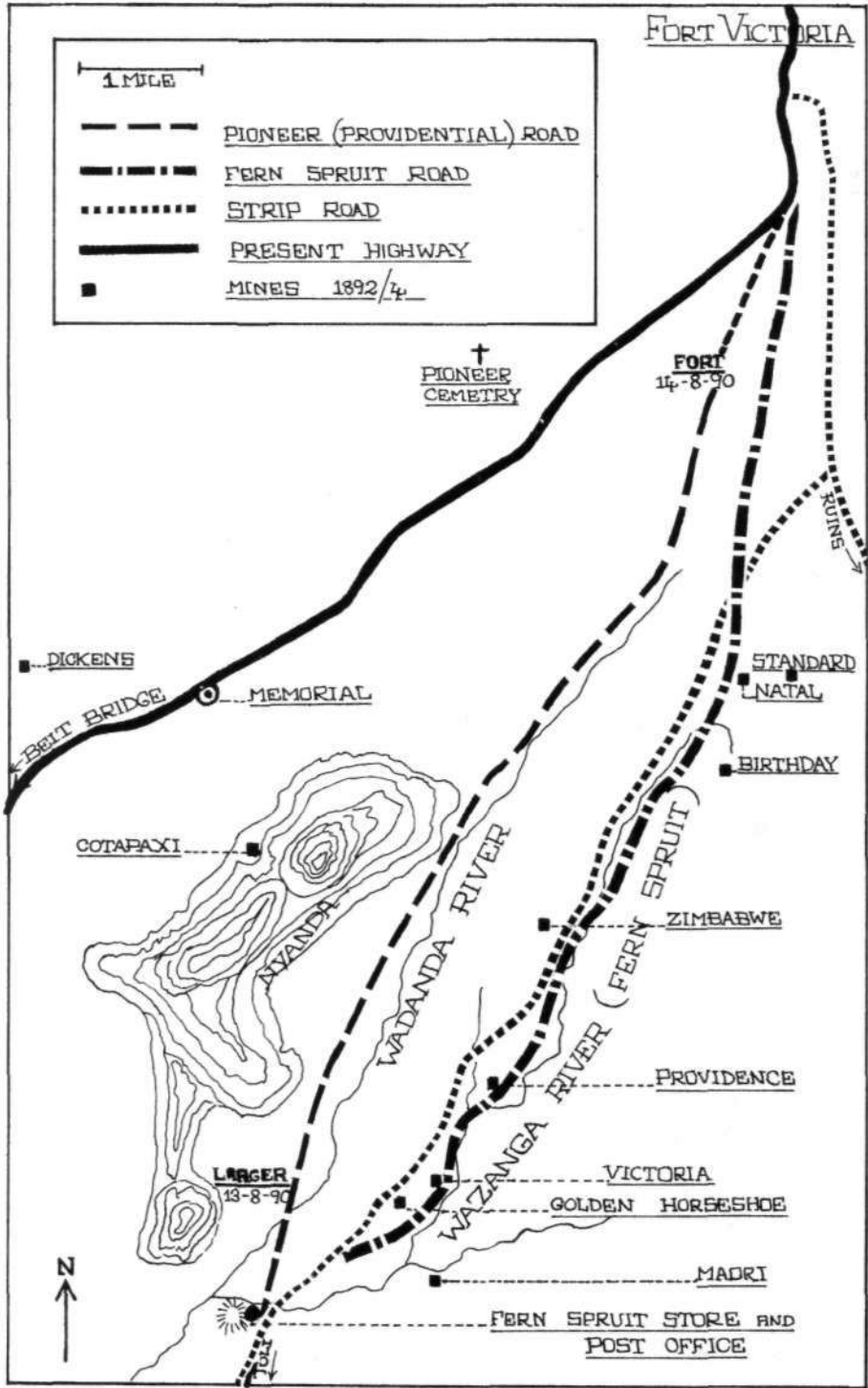
Albert was suffering so seriously from chronic fever that Orrie decided to release him by taking over his contract and a telegram to Bezuidenhout in Salisbury resulted in a man being sent to take over the oxen. For his droving Orrie was allowed to keep one of the Scotch carts and six oxen as his reward.

Orrie found the native labourers very discontented over their wages and when it came to pay-day he, as accountant, should have been present but Bailey insisted on paying them on his own. It soon became evident that the natives were not receiving the amounts marked on their tickets and when the mine captain reported this Bailey fired him. Most unhappy with what was going on Orrie wrote to Albert who was recuperating in Bulawayo and Albert interviewed the Directors of the company in the Bulawayo office. Shortly afterwards the Victoria Mine was shut down.

Orrie inspanned his six oxen and trekked for Salisbury with Dick Southey who sought a lift. It was December, 1895 and the little town of less than a 1 000 inhabitants comprised a few shops and shacks in the grass at the foot of the Kopje, a single track to Umtali leading through a swamp to a cluster of houses and offices called The Causeway on the other side about a mile away, and a corrugated iron building described as the gaol in between. Orrie was told that the British South Africa Company was laying out two townships to double their money!

He stayed with Hans Bezuidenhout who had bought Willowvale farm in 1893 as a grazing area for his oxen and mules. Hans had built up the first transport service by gaining the contract for transport of the Salisbury Column in the 1893 Matabele War and for the first 96-hour coach service between Salisbury and Bulawayo until Zeederberg ousted him with the new American spring coach.¹⁸

While considering what next to do Orrie was offered a job by Homan to manage his branch store at Hartley Hills. Fortunately he preferred mining so he escaped, as he put it, "Being one of the besieged instead of one of those who relieved them" when the Hartley laager was rescued seven months later in the Rebellion. Dick (H. J.) Carlisle, who later married a daughter of Guybon Cumming, took the job and was rescued.



He was thinking of going to a tin mine in Swaziland when a cricket match determined his future. Harry Taberer was captain of a Salisbury team preparing to play Bulawayo and Orrie was persuaded to play for an all-comers team to test them.¹⁹ He made 68 runs and found himself selected for this needle-match. The team left by Zeederberg's coach and at Hunyani the driver became so ill with fever that Orrie took over the mules which knew the way and travelled through the night. "Zeederberg never knew that an amateur drove his precious coach"—a 100 year old chuckle lit up the escapade.

In Bulawayo he stayed with Guybon Cumming, played cricket the first day, and the next day . . . all idea of cricket was displaced by sensational news. Jameson had invaded the Transvaal on Sunday the 29th December, 1895 . . . his hometown . . . his friends . . . all those foreboding of trouble he had heard! Men gathered in excited groups with their opinions as the telegraph buzzed and it was later in the day that Orrie found Taberer in a hotel bar so outraged that three members of his team had allowed the Raid precedence over cricket that he refused them seats on the coach returning the team to Salisbury.

Being left behind in Bulawayo was a freakish twist of fate for it redirected his life into the Rebellion, into association with men whose thoughts turned to copper rather than gold, and to Central Africa . . . but this is anticipating events. His brother Albert turned up on the coach which left Johannesburg just before the Raid and informed him that a man named Edkins had sold him a half share in a store at Filabusi—so what about joining him there as it was interesting prospecting country? It turned out that the owner of the sold half share was Arthur Cumming, who had wanted to pull out.

So Orrie went to Filabusi, helped his brother at times to run the store which was to enter Rhodesian history as the "Edkins Store of the Rebellion" and went prospecting amidst the magnificent granites of Belingwe.²⁰ The Great Dyke passed that way with its fascinating minerals and there were many roving prospectors about. His old friends Arthur and Percy Cumming were prospecting in comfort with a wagon and Orrie joined them, together with a man named Carpenter.

The numerous outcrops of reefs yielded no gold, or only traces. "I had not realised that the ancients had practically removed 99 % of the surface reefs and it was necessary to sink shafts. Many of the men wandering about had no previous mining experience, men of culture, yet it was etiquette not to ask even a visitor to one's camp who he was, where he came from or was going to, and a lot went under assumed names"—how quickly the frontier spirit grows up! But the speedy coming of the railway dissipated it before it could become installed as a way of life as it did in the wild west of America.

THE REBELLION

March was the season, as the rains tailed off, to replenish stores; to seek contracts for sinking shafts; to register their finds and to arrange proper identification of samples. Some twenty men from the Filabusi area, including Albert whose store needed fresh stocks, decided to travel to Bulawayo on

Monday, 16th March, 1896. The decision was to save many lives but Nemesis had marked out Albert who, as a result of a silly bet, was able to return to Filabusi before the others and so became a victim of the first murders.

Arthur Cumming had acquired the novelty of a "safety bicycle". Albert, who had only ridden an ordinary "penny-farthing" cycle, asked to borrow it and out of the chaffing that followed a man named Peacock bet him £25 he would reach Bulawayo on foot before him. Albert won by only 20 minutes after numerous falls but he was ahead of the main party, taking its time by walking or riding, by two days and had completed his business—and bought a horse—by the time Orrie and Arthur arrived at Guybon Cumming's home.

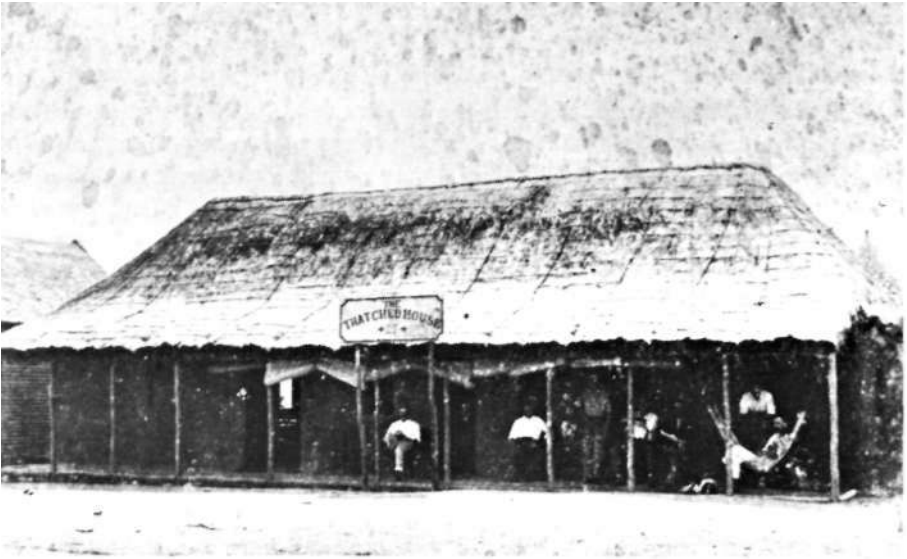
En route the party stayed at Mkukupeni,²¹ or Essexvale, where there had been a bit of a scare over rumours of an uprising but this ended up as an excuse for a spree at the hotel before going on to Bulawayo.

In Bulawayo rumours of trouble tended to be discounted and even news of the killing of two Native policemen on Friday the 20th in the hills near the Umzingwani river was interpreted as a local incident. Only old Guybon Cumming, wise from the experience of the 1820 Settlers, read the signs with serious disquiet and urged Albert to take precautions as he left on Sunday evening after dinner to ride his rather decrepit horse back in the cool of the night to his store. He also warned Arthur who left by cycle on Monday morning in a hurry to move his oxen away from the main routes because rinderpest contagion was spreading.²²

At 2 a.m. after midnight on Wednesday the 25th March, 1896 Arthur with a companion named Lucas, woke the Cumming household with dreadful news of murders at Filabusi. The Rebellion had started.

Arthur Cumming had arrived at his camp some 12 miles from Filabusi at 11 a.m. on Tuesday to find his Cape boy dead, the camp looted and his oxen gone.²³ He hurried to Weir's store (not Wise as some accounts say) on the Umzingwani river and sent off a message with a herdboys to Arthur Bentley the Native Commissioner at Filabusi. He was about to follow himself when a young Native rushed into the store to say everyone at Filabusi had been killed and soon after him came Edkin's cook and Percy Cumming's herdboys. There could be no doubt now . . . it was a rebellion. Arthur, with a German called Lucas, one of the men at Weir's store, left on foot, keeping to the hills, for Bulawayo.²⁴

On that unforgettable Wednesday Arthur Cumming's report roused Bulawayo and messages of rebellion wired out to Salisbury and the world. Men besieged the Administrator's office demanding arms. "There was no panic that I saw but we were certainly excited over the delay which followed."²⁵ This was because all arms were under the strict control of a British officer as a result of the British South Africa Company's irresponsibility in the Jameson Raid. However, at 2 p.m. that same day a volunteer force of 35 men under Colonel Jack Spreckley was able to move out for Filabusi armed with the new .303 rifles and mounted on "sorry crocks" of horses because another consequence of Jameson's Raid was that hardly a good horse remained in Bulawayo.²⁶



FORT VICTORIA: The thatched house owned by Napier and Weir, 1892.

(Photo: National Archives)

Orrie was in Spreckley's patrol and by the time Essexvale was reached he and others were a good four miles behind, having to walk their horses. Spreckley had to adjust to the pace of the slowest and through the night they travelled to Weir's store ("what a joy to find a supply of Worcester sauce as a pick-me-up . . . the store had not been touched"). On another 12 miles and they reached Filabusi at 11 a.m. At Edkin's store Orrie found the body of his brother Albert lying outside his burnt hut, shot through the head, his dead partner Edkins and the unrecognisable body of a man they thought must be Carpenter. Of Percy Cumming who had been ill at the store there was no trace.

With such horses there was no time to lose, not even to bury the dead, and they pushed on the few hundred yards to the Native Commissioner's Office and Police Camp where they found Bentley who had been shot through the head as he sat in his office chair . . . and the letter he had been writing was dated the 23rd March, 1896. About a mile away, at the Celtic Mine, more bodies were found. There was no-one alive.

Expecting a tough ride back the party set out for Bulawayo but as the horses hobbled along, strung out and wearied, no attack occurred and they made it safely back to town on Saturday morning.

THE OUTBREAK

That a Cumming brought the first news of rebellion into Bulawayo has passed into history books but those books differ as to when this occurred and what patrol went out first, indeed some books write of "breathless horsemen" charging into Bulawayo. By a curious coincidence, enough to confuse history,

two men bearing the name of dimming, but quite unrelated, set out from Filabusi and Insiza on the same day, Tuesday 24th March, to report rebellion.

The part played by Arthur Cumming has been described above. The episode is often referred to as the Edkin Store murders, the first outbreak . . . and Orrie has always thought this was correct.

The other Cumming was Harry and it was his store at Insiza that attained fame in words and pictures as the scene of a gallant defence.²⁷ At sunset on Monday the 23rd the manager of the Nellie Reef Mine at Insiza, Thomas Maddocks, was sitting smoking with Hocking and Hosking when a gang of Matabele set on them with knobkerries and axes. Maddocks was killed. The other two miners managed to escape in the dusk to Cumming's store three miles away where they found some 20 men had assembled to make a laager. Presumably the alarm had gone out because that same day at mid-day the whole Cunningham family of three generations had been murdered in their farm house a few miles from the Nellie Reef Mine. Harry Cumming and a companion set out on horses to seek help from Bulawayo.

Fortunately their route lay on the main road to Gwelo and as their horses began to tire, if not crack up, along came Grenfell in a cart with horses and he found room to take Harry Cumming in to Bulawayo.²⁸

According to an account by one of the Police, Harry arrived at the Police Camp on Tuesday morning during some cricket practice.²⁹ He was taken to Inspector Charles Southey and the dozen troopers of the Matabeleland Mounted Police, a remnant of the police force left behind by Jameson, were ordered to prepare for a week's patrol which they thought was a local affair and a matter of arresting the culprits.

The Police patrol left under Southey about 5 p.m. that day. Late that night, as they camped out, a wagonette and horsemen under an official of the British South Africa Company, the Hon. Maurice Gifford, joined them and they were away before dawn just in the nick of time to strengthen and defend the laager at Cumming's store when it was attacked by a large impi before dawn on the Friday.

It was war . . . the ghastly kind of war surging out of tidal feelings unrecognised, or irresponsibly identified and assessed by wishful-thinking officialdom. It was called The Rebellion, a violation of the security of the State.

The war opened on Monday the 23rd March, 1896, with the pitiless killing of the Cunningham family, followed by that of Maddocks, in the Insiza area and the next day, Tuesday, the killings at Filabusi where the first victim, Bentley the Native Commissioner, must be assumed to have been completing a letter he had started to write the previous day. It is, of course, possible that Arthur Cumming's Cape boy, whom he found dead at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, had been killed on Monday and that Bentley had also been killed that same day along with those at the Celtic Mine. This seems improbable because it is clearly established that those at Edkins Store, very close to Bentley's office, were killed on Tuesday early morning and the three Africans who escaped rushed over to Weir's Store only 12 miles away where they told Arthur Cumming what had happened.

It must also be concluded that Southey's Police Patrol was the first, and official routine response to Harry Cumming's report about Insiza while it was Arthur Cumming's report on Filabuzi the following day which signalled public reaction and dispatch of the first civilian volunteer patrol under Spreckley.

FILABUSI EVENTS

It has been mentioned above how Edkins' cook and Percy Cumming's herdbooy brought in the news of the Filabusi murders. Arthur Cumming and Orrie were deeply concerned with the victims of these dreadful events and after the Rebellion was over were able to question the Matabele of the area. Before setting down Orrie's reconstruction of what happened we should recall that there was only one European survivor whose account of his escape from the Celtic Mine on Tuesday, the 24th March (a date supporting the narrative above) was recorded by Selous and has since been quoted in history.³⁰ The man was Joseph O'Connor and it has been claimed that he was the only hero, the only man to put up any resistance.

Orrie dismissed as untrue the "histories" which allege that Spreckley's patrol picked up O'Connor. He found his own way to Bulawayo and related his hair-breadth escape there, so Selous' account is probably correct. It came as a surprise—to this writer—to find Orrie praising Carpenter as the man whose actions were heroic, and evading questions about O'Connor as something best left unmentioned. It was only later, under persistent questioning, that Orrie reluctantly let out the following, after saying O'Connor took no further part in the Rebellion and lived a dissolute life until, it was said, he was killed by lightning some four or five years later.

In the small Filabusi community everyone knew everybody and the miner Joe O'Connor was probably the most disliked and despised character among them. So the news of his own account of his escape came as a great surprise. After the Rebellion Arthur Cumming and Orrie, naturally anxious to find out what happened to their brothers and friends, found several Matabele who had taken part in the events. When told of O'Connor's survival they broke into laughter, gave a totally different story and commented that he had behaved so badly the warriors had told the "youngsters" to deal with him in the mine shaft. The man they remembered was Carpenter . . . he had restored the white man's prestige.

Another sidelight on O'Connor's escape comes from Leo Robinson, the Native Commissioner, who gave it as an example of Matabele "protective attitudes"—when O'Connor got to Lulapa's kraal the induna would not allow the "young bloods" to murder him and told him to continue up the Umzingwani river to the Tuli road near Dawson's store . . . Robinson adds that Lulapa and Hamela, chief of the Engodweni, were typical Matabele . . . they were real gentlemen Zulus and against the rising.³¹

To return to Carpenter. He and Percy Cumming were buddies and when Albert returned to his store on Monday evening he found Percy so ill that Carpenter and Edkins had prepared a full-tented wagon ready to take him to

Bulawayo hospital. Next morning—according to the cook and Percy's herdboy—Albert was packing Percy's belongings and as he came out of the hut he was shot. Edkins was shot in the store and Carpenter, who was on the wagon preparing the bed, grabbed a rifle and a handful of ammunition off the wagon and shot two assailants as he rushed back to the store followed by the herdboy. The store had an iron roof on pole and dagga walls with a verandah of grass for shade and when this was set alight Carpenter could no longer defend it. He shot two as he and the boy made for cover in the boulders near the river and from there he held out. He ordered the boy to crawl away unseen and warn the white men at Weir's Store while he diverted attention by taunting his assailants to come on. His ammunition must have run out. "He died well", the Matabele told Orrie with admiration.

Orrie recalls that the idea was prevalent that the Rebellion broke out prematurely³², and in Filabusi it was considered that Maduna the chief was so friendly with Bentley, the Native Commissioner, that he was not keen to join in and that it was Bentley's Native Police who, armed with Winchesters, shot Bentley, Carpenter and the others.

As a supplement to these events—after the Rebellion the Police collected the scattered remains and buried them in a communal grave. Orrie recalls that his mother was so upset over the absence of any Christian ceremony for her son Albert that she wrote to Rhodes. He responded by providing her with two rail tickets and she and her daughter Hilda travelled up soon after the opening of the railway to Bulawayo (4th November, 1897). Guybon Cumming provided a full-tented ox-wagon and he, all his daughters and Orrie accompanied them to Filabusi, taking along a Minister in a Cape cart, and a coffin. A funeral service, attended by the Police, was held at the communal grave.³³

BULAWAYO EVENTS

In the days which followed the slaughter in the countryside and the virtual encirclement of the little town, so stripped of arms, horses and law and order personnel by Jameson, various military men took the initiative to put some order into the 700 odd men fit for service. Volunteers for the Bulawayo Field Force were called for and Orrie joined a troop of horses formed by the Hon. Maurice Gifford, the local head of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company.³⁴

In South Africa a call went out on the 6th April for recruits to the Matabeleland Relief Force (the MRF) at Mafeking and so fast and so efficiently did Lieut. Colonel Plumer work that the first mounted troop of "Plumer's Column" left Mafeking on the 12th April and the advance columns reached Bulawayo nearly 600 miles away through what Selous described as "an immense tract of barren wilderness" on the 20th May, 1896.

It was a magnificent achievement. . . but why such a remote launching pad as Mafeking, especially when urgently needed horses were supplied from the Transvaal comparatively easily in April! Politics dictated this³⁵, but Orrie considers that Kruger's Government would have made no fuss if arms and men had been obtained direct from the neighbouring Transvaal and Johannesburg.

The political repercussions of the Jameson Raid were still strong and British assessments of Foreign Affairs determined a decision which perilously delayed the relief of Bulawayo by several weeks.

In Gifford's Horse, which included men whose names were to become well-known in later years—H. U. Moffat, H. M. G. Jackson, E. W. Morris, R. Lanning, two Fynns—and Arthur and Harry Cumming (there were two Troops of 172 men on the roll), Orrie first met Frank Lewis who was to become his life-long friend and partner.

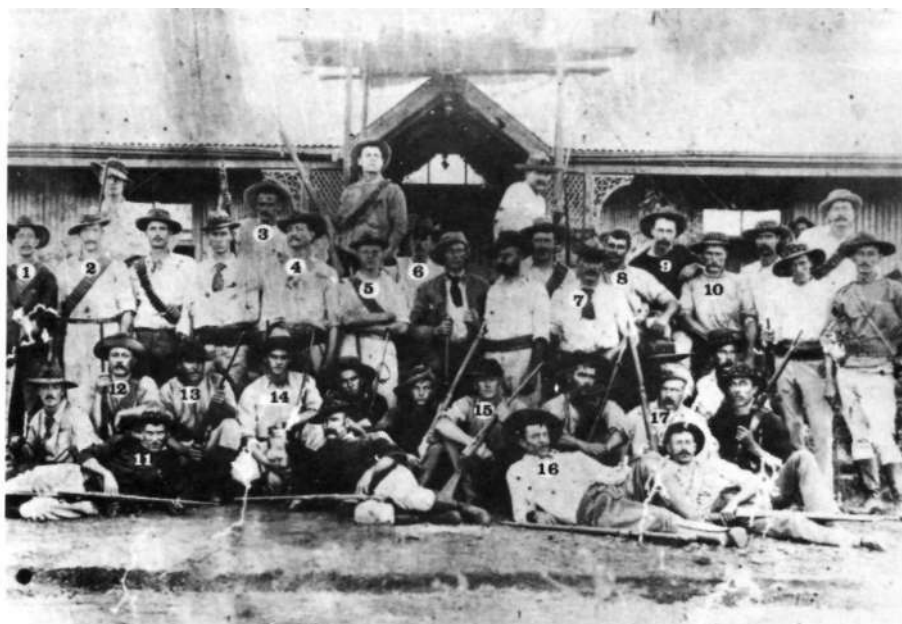
Frank Robert Lewis, his elder by two years, had come as a child from the Isle of Wight with his father. He had joined the Natal Mounted Police and just before the 1893 Matabele War he had arrived with four other young adventurers in Fort Victoria. He was attached to Allan Wilson's Column and later in Bulawayo set up as a building contractor, building the first gaol. When the 1895 Burnham expedition across the Zambezi lost all their oxen from tsetse fly and had to abandon their wagons and equipment along the Gwaai river Lewis and Judd Blick contracted to retrieve them. He had only just returned when the Rebellion broke.

Lewis, a quiet independent character with little education but a marvellous memory and an explorer to the core, would take his own time over everything and was nicknamed "Quicksilver" because he was always the last to saddle up. He and Orrie paired up and the two were in the clash with the Matabele at Fonseca farm, Orrie's first baptism of fire and the time when Colonel Gifford, who Lewis describes as "resolved to be the scourge of the Matabele and to make heroes of us all, even if we became corpses", was so badly wounded his arm had to be amputated.

In the lulls between patrols Orrie made Guybon Cumming's house his home.³⁶ Mrs. Cumming was looking after the baby daughter of the American scout Fred Burnham who had just returned from Europe after his expedition to the north.³⁷ Said Orrie, "I liked Fred, an engaging and outstanding man, out to get himself known, as he himself admitted, and full of American scouting experience. Working with him was my Canadian friend Bob Bain who was very bitter later about not being mentioned in some of their joint affairs. I can easily imagine what influence Fred had on Baden Powell, not that I knew they ever met, and I never met Baden Powell. I may have seen him but he was unknown in those days. Bulpin's account of my episode with "B.P." is entirely out of his novelist's imagination."

Orrie went on to add, "I always remember Fred's comment on Rhodesia—"I have been in many gold rushes and frontier affairs but never met a finer crowd."—I agree, such nice people to meet, the ordinary, simple but most numerous compared to the tough nuts the writers concentrate on."

One day Orrie received a note chiding him for neglecting to call on his cousin Sister Sebastian (see note 15) at the Bulawayo Convent. Gathering up his courage he rode up to the Convent and still recalls his amazement when his reverent cousin, once a fine horsewoman, ordered him to bring in his horse and how she rode it "hell for leather, habit flying, all round the grounds.



Gifford's Horse, Bulawayo, 1896. Identification by O. Baragwanath. 1. W. C. Collier, 2. Fynn, 3. Harris, 4. Ross (of Rhode's Farm), 5. Webb (youngest member), 6. "Dingy" Fynn, 7. Green, 8. Orlando Baragwanath, 9. Jack Harrison, 10. E. W. Morris, 11. Frank Lewis (Baragwanath's partner), 12. Charlie Judd, 13. John Blick, 14. Macumber, 15. Seagaw, 16. Arthur Cumming, 17. J. Worrell.

Weren't the other nuns proud of her!" Sister Sebastian was one of two Dominican Sisters from Kingwilliamstown who had come up in October, 1895, at Rhodes's request, to open the first Convent School in Matabeleland on the 28th October with ten pupils, using the Jesuit Fathers' wood and iron Chapel as a schoolroom.³⁸

A few days later there was an alarm in Bulawayo that an impi was at the Convent and hospital. Orrie was on guard duty at the hotel where ammunition was stored in the cellar. The rumour was too much for him ... he left his post and ran up to the Convent. There he found the nuns up on the wall peering over and his comment, "like a lot of goats", aroused Sister Sebastian's indignation. However, a piccanin arrived with a bleeding face for treatment and all thoughts turned to a real attack until it was found that the boy was their wood-piccanin and the "impi" turned out to be a group of "friendlies" sent up to the rise where the Convent was to bury the carcasses of dead cattle. Orrie might have been on-the-mat for neglect of guard duty but Colonel Gifford, who was in the hospital having his arm removed, confided to Sister Sebastian that he was glad to know that one of HIS men was there to protect them.

The first sign of relief for Bulawayo was the approach of Beale's Column (The Rhodesia Horse of 150 volunteers) which had left Salisbury on the 6th April and subdued rebels at Charter and Gwelo. Bulawayo mustered its largest force on the 11th May under Colonel Napier, with Colonel Spreckley second in

command, to open the road through "Matabele country" to the Shangani river and join up with Beale. Gifford's Horse was part of the force and Orrie commented, "After the affair at Ntabazinduna my sorry moke was unable to catch up on rebels.³⁹ Grey's Scouts had most of the fun. We met the Salisbury men—Rhodes among them—somewhere near the Pongo Store which, as usual, the Matabele had not destroyed (I never saw a burnt-out store) and our party made a great find of tins of golden syrup there. The force was then split up into two sweeps towards Filabusi along the Insiza river and I went with Spreckley's outfit. The Matabele disappeared into the hills. We had no excitements like Grey's Scouts who went north of the river but we burnt several villages and captured many cattle and donkeys."

They returned to Bulawayo on the 1st June and found that during their absence Plumer's MRF had reached Bulawayo and had already attacked and routed the impis on the Umguza river. (40 men of Gifford's Horse who had remained in Bulawayo were placed under Plumer for this attack and were praised by him for their gallant service.)⁴⁰

There followed a few weeks of desultory patrols and some boredom among the troops until the 28th June when Plumer dispatched his MRF against the stronghold of Ntabazamambo (more anciently "Manyanga") where the Matabele of the northern areas had retired *en masse*.⁴¹ But whatever the mood in Bulawayo it was rudely shaken on the 16th June.

SALISBURY EVENTS

Rebellion in Mashonaland . . . the serious news flashed over the telegraph. The Native Commissioner at old Hartley (D. E. Mooney, the first victim) and two miners had been murdered on the 15th and the Norton family the next day.

On the 20th Salisbury was forced into laager in the gaol. . . except for some remnants of the Mashonaland Mounted Police under Inspector R. C. Nesbitt there were no regular forces and civilians were hastily organised into the Salisbury Field Force.

It was the turn of Bulawayo to go to the help of Salisbury. Three columns were dispatched. The first to leave was Beale's Column and a few days later on the 25th June a combination of Gifford's Horse and Grey's Scouts under Captain the Hon. Charles White. The third to leave, on the 1st July, comprised 100 men of the MRF who had remained in Bulawayo and volunteered to join Major Watts to proceed to Charter and Marandellas to reopen or secure Salisbury's communications with Umtali.⁴²

Orrie, now a corporal, volunteered with White's Column which by forced marches, and some rivalry with Beale's Column, moved up to Fort Charter and from there reached Salisbury first, on the 16th July, a day ahead of Beale's Column, which earned them the praise name of "White's Flying Column".⁴³

Salisbury in its laager, and with such epics as the Alice Mine and Abercorn rescues to contribute to history, was soon relieved by the arrival of other forces and White's Column, with others, was sent out on the 19th July to rescue the little community of old Hartley which, being the nearest place to Matabeleland,

had expected and prepared for a Matabele attack by obtaining arms and building a hilltop protective fort in April, months before the unexpected rising of the Mashonas.

Orrie recalls that, "We found the Mashona much more cunning than the Matabele, with their strings and cans to warn of anyone moving at night; the burning of the grass to take advantage of a wind; and their use of ambushes with no hope of our getting back at them in the big boulder caverns". This might be expected. After all, they had generations of experience in surviving Matabele raids. But there were definitely Matabele among them for Orrie had a lucky escape when a warrior wearing a headring (*nkehla*) threw a spear at him which missed his leg and struck the nose-bag strapped to his saddle.

They rescued the beleaguered doctor, mining commissioner, storekeeper (Carlisle) and nine miners on their hilltop with a well-stocked store for provisions and earned a comment that, "No small praise is due . . . especially White's Scouts, there was a healthy dash about them which was reassuring to all behind them".

When the Imperial troops of the Mounted Infantry under Lieut. Colonel Alderson arrived from England via Beira on the 16th August, the disbandment of the volunteers became possible and the men of White's Column were ordered home. A carefree contingent rode back to Bulawayo where Rhodes was busy negotiating peace in the Matopos indabas.

All the men were paid off and from his money Orrie put up a share of £75 in an eight man syndicate to buy abandoned wagons which were going for a song, three spans of unsalted oxen at £100 a span and trade goods. There was famine in the land, everywhere except in Belingwe, and the British South Africa Co. was importing maize from South Africa at £2 per bag plus £5 per 100 lb. for transport from Mafeking to feed Bulawayo and to provide a free distribution of food through the Native Commissioners to the tribes.

Tom Meikle told the amateur syndicate what trade goods to buy, mainly calico, beads and salt, and what prices to work on. Orrie and Charlie Judd took over one wagon and in no time transformed it into a mobile farmyard of grain, fowls and livestock traded in Belingwe. The venture was an extraordinary success with maize selling at £11 to £12 a bag. Even their oxen proved a great investment because they became assessed as "salted" since they had escaped the rinderpest so long and after a few months trading the partners sold out. Orrie's profit enabled him to take a holiday to the Cape and he travelled by coach to Gaberones, the railhead of the approaching railway.

The holiday ended up in a reunion with his family where the Concordia Hotel still flourished but in a changed atmosphere. The old transport wagons' rendezvous had been largely displaced by the coming of the railway to the city of gold but the hotel had attracted a new clientele of visitors.⁴⁴ It was no place for one of Orrie's disposition and early in 1897 he was back in Bulawayo after riding a bicycle through the heavy sands from Ramoutswa, the new railhead in Bechuanaland.

COAL AND COPPER

His old associate of Gifford's Horse, H. U. Moffat,⁴⁵ who had succeeded Maurice Gifford as head of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, offered him the position of amalgamator on the Tebekwe Mine, Selukwe, at £25 per month and a few months later Moffat, while on a visit to the mine, told him that Frank Lewis had returned from a trip north of the Zambezi . . . would he like to join Lewis to prospect up north for the Northern Territories Exploring Co. which his company had formed for the purpose?

Such an offer was an exhilarating adventure and in Bulawayo Orrie found his old half-section Lewis. He and George Cook had been sent to Barotseland with an official letter to Chief Lewanyika telling him that the war was over and the Matabele were no longer a threat to be feared. On his return he had been appointed—presumably as a result of his slight acquaintance with the Bushmen in 1895—to gather them together on the Gwaai River since there was terrible starvation there and rinderpest had wiped out all the cattle. To assist him Lewis had Matafeni, a true Zulu and son of the induna appointed by Lobengula to supervise the Bushmen.

Lewis must have been the first "extension officer" in Rhodesia. He was issued with hoes and seed for distribution and instructed to make the Bushmen settle on the Gwaai River and become more civilised. He did so . . . but after a break in Bulawayo he returned to find his community had vanished, taking with them everything they deemed useful. So he had returned to Bulawayo: the Bushmen to their way of life.

Moffat told the two friends that his new company was exploring fresh fields and offered them "something big north of the Zambezi" but as a preliminary Lewis would make a reconnaissance of conditions across the river while Orrie would locate, map and sample the Wankie coalfields where a 400 square mile concession had been pegged by Fred Burnham on the 1895 expedition. Albert Giese had discovered the coal in 1893.

In June, 1897, just ahead of a Police party escorting Bob Coryndon as first resident in Barotseland at Lealui,⁴⁶ the two left Bulawayo, Orrie with six pack donkeys and Lewis with Usher and wagon on contract for supplies as far as the tsetse fly belt and eight donkeys. The only safe route was the old hunters' road to Panda Matenga and the scarcity of water with heavy sand made it a two month trip to the Falls for Lewis.

They carried a letter from Jackson, the Chief Native Commissioner, instructing Chief Wange (Wankie) to report in Bulawayo and having found him Orrie parted company with Lewis at the derelict Panda Matenga trading station (as did Usher to return to Bulawayo) and branched off east to find the coalfields.

Chief Wange seemed only too pleased to go to Bulawayo. He and his people were barely keeping alive in the famine and he would provide Orrie with all the help he needed, if only he would feed his people. Instead of the planned several months at Wankie Orrie had such an abundance of labourers to be fed by his rifle that he was able,⁴⁷ in a month, to find the beacons, map the

area, locate the precise site which in 1903 became the present Wankie Colliery, and collect all the coal samples he needed.

While there he learned from the people that as a result of the rinderpest the tsetse fly along the Gwaai River had gone, so to escape the appalling heat and aridity of Wange's country he decided to try a new route. He trail-blazed a direct route along the Gwaai back to Bulawayo with his laden donkeys, a trail which was to become the regular road to the north and the remote Panda Matenga trail a bit of history.

Lewis returned to Bulawayo with great news of copper and how he had been shown and had pegged an old copper working at Kashmila (the first copper to be formally owned⁴⁸); how he had reached the wonderful Kafue river whose broad stream offered access to the unknown north if a good canoe could be included in the equipment; how everything would have to be done on foot so porters, not animals, had to be arranged; and how he had met at Nkala Mission a huge expedition from what became Nyasaland under a man named Frank Smitheman which was obviously prospecting but was too luxurious and lazing in machillas to constitute a threat to Moffat's plans . . . "they are overloaded amateurs" he said, "and I let them believe I was a missionary".⁴⁹

Bulawayo was buzzing with rumours of copper. Big financial interests were already clutching at the north. The Tanganyika Concessions Company had been formed in 1899 on a concession to prospect in King Leopold's Congo Free State border and its expedition under George Grey (founder of Grey's Scouts) was first away from Bulawayo.⁵⁰ Orrie and Lewis watched them go—the six or eight members being their friends from Rebellion days—all mounted on horses, and mules for transport, prepared to make a quick dash to the Congo and back before their animals died and the rains came. Their purpose was to check on reports of widespread trade in copper made by Livingstone and other early explorers.

The expedition moved down the Gwaai, probably crossing the Zambezi at the recently discovered "Walker's Drift", and Orrie, looking back on history, commented, "I must pay tribute to Grey's expedition. One of the best organised to ever set out. Never was so much in so short a time discovered. They pegged the Chibuluma mine but it was not on the copper, I learned much later.⁵¹ This is my only reason for saying we pegged the first paying proposition, the Nkana Mine."

A few days later in May, 1899,⁵² Lewis and Orrie, earning £25 per month each and all found from the Company, set out, their supplies packed in 50 lb. loads for portage packed on two wagons and a four-ply canoe ordered by Moffat from Canada. They had six pack donkeys and ten Matabele armed with Martini-Henry carbines. Of money they had no need so a white calico called "limbo" costing less than 3d a yard and cotton Belgium blankets at 1s. 2d. each were taken for currency.⁵³

So equipped these two walking prospectors—it seems absurd to call it an "expedition" as then understood—set out down the Gwaai River to the Falls and disappeared for a contracted three years into the no-man's land of the

north. Their only limit was not to intrude into "Grey's area", the Congo of the Belgian King which, of course, was only vaguely known by the watershed where rivers ran south to the Zambezi or north to the Congo; their only protection a warning that, "If you get into trouble there is no means of helping you"; their main incentive, adventure, "the chance to see a new land and what could be discovered there."

Here the story of Orrie's part in the pioneer history of Rhodesia should end. But a glimpse at what happened to him must complete this picture.

ACROSS THE ZAMBEZI

At the age of 89 Orrie recorded his and Frank Lewis's adventures in Northern Rhodesia,⁵⁴ so it will suffice to say that they pegged and named the Silver King, the Rhino, the Sugar Loaf, the Beehive, the Maurice Gifford, the Sable Antelope and other mines in the Hook of the Kafue and in 1901, after canoeing up the Kafue they moved so far north that on pegging the richest copper they had ever seen at Kipushi⁵⁵ (near what became Elizabethville or Lubumbashi) they came across George Grey's beacon and realised that they had crossed into Congo territory.

They returned across the watershed and discovered the vast copper field on the Wusikili river near Headman Nkana which in 1927/31 became the great Nkana Mine and the heart of the fabulous Copperbelt.

Travelling back both men were laid so low by the dreaded killer "black-water"—chronic attacks of fever and dysentery were taking their toll—that they were physically unable to visit a site called Tshipile from where fine copper samples were brought to them and they struggled back to their base at the Silver King.

There they were at last relieved by a party sent up by Moffat comprising Davey, an engineer/geologist and their two friends Collier⁵⁶ and Bob Bain. Collier followed up their Tshipile samples and pegged and named what was to become the Bwana Mkubwa Mine while Orrie and Lewis, worn out and tattered, tramped back to Bulawayo with their carriers in late 1901.

Although the surface copper had been known, worked and traded to the East Coast by the tribes long before, it is to Lewis and Baragwanath, along with George Grey, that credit is due for the first prospecting and indications of the importance and magnitude of the Copperbelts of Zambia and Katanga. Among all these achievements, which only he was to live to appreciate, Orrie, in his unassuming manner, is apt to claim that he was the first to use dynamite in Northern Rhodesia!

In 1902, shortly after Rhodes died, Lewis and Orrie were back at the Silver King as the Company's manager and sub-manager, and under their directions the Bwana Mkubwa and Roan Antelope mines were developed but their old enemies—Africa's dreadful tropical diseases—laid hold of them again and a doctor ordered Orrie out. Lewis decided to go with him and the Company retired them with a bonus of £1 100 apiece and gold watches.⁵⁷

In 1905 when prospecting about the Drakensberg of the North-Eastern Transvaal they found and bought the lofty and beautiful piece of land known as "The Downs" which looks out over the Lowveld and the Kruger Park. Orrie married in 1908 and Lewis died in 1910.

Since then a Baragwanath clan has grown up on and subdivided "The Downs" and there a grand pioneer of Rhodesia, a discoverer of fabulous mineral wealth and a most lively, modest gentleman, who says he only began to enjoy good health after 62, lives on well past his 100th birthday on the 25th March, 1972.

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

¹Sawyer, A. R. *The Goldfields of Mashonaland*. 1894.

²Paul Macdonald who died in Bulawayo, 1900, "a well-known mining man".

³The name Cotopaxi was given to the farm set aside on the mountain by some map-maker with South America's mountain in mind. The farm was never alienated until 1949 when Tom Macdougall of Triangle fame acquired it. *Nyanda* is also said to derive from *nyandu*, the "rising of the hair" if you went there, because of the number of lions and leopards the range harboured.

⁴The cutting where the pioneer road crossed Fern Spruit is still visible about 30 yards below the strip-bridge and the slight depressions and signs of the old route to the top.

⁵National Archives: M 3/3/74-5.

⁶The Victoria Mine, now unknown, became the Xmas Mine. Its registered history is—abandoned 2nd October, 1899; 10 claims repegged by H. F. Kirkham as Springs Mine on 21st October, 1899 but abandoned 20th March, 1900; repegged 14 January, 1907 as Xmas Mine by J. J. Kostlich who also pegged the Texas Mine on the same site, and gold was produced intermittently into the 1950s. Kostlich, a German in partnership with his brother, abandoned it on 22nd January, 1910 and his brother discovered the Bikita tinfield in 1909. (Mining records).

⁷Mines often become known by a popular name which hides the officially registered name, for instance the Shamva Mine is the "Cymric" and Mangula the "Molly".

⁸The old workings and the coco-pan track are still identifiable just off the strip road, in spite of the many owners who have since operated there.

⁹Wilson, J. F. *Geology of the country around Fort Victoria*. 1964.

¹⁰Bulpin, T. V. *Trail of the Copper King*. 1959.

¹¹Alfred Drew, an 1890 pioneer, was Native Commissioner, Fort Victoria, 1st September, 1894 to December 1907.

¹²In 1894 the service was abandoned in favour of the Bulawayo-Macloutsi route and Bulawayo displaced Fort Victoria as the principal port of entry to the country: *Postal History of Rhodesia*, R. C. Smith. 1967.

¹³Robert Terrell (Bob) Bain, a Canadian miner born 1868 who for health reasons emigrated to South Africa, joined Raaff's 1893 Column to Rhodesia, served in the Victoria Column under Allan Wilson (see R. Cary's *A Time to Die*, 1968) and was a corporal in Gifford's Horse. He relieved Orrie in Northern Rhodesia in 1901. Married Alice the eldest daughter of Guybon Cumming and died in 1924. Father of Guy Bain of Salisbury.

¹⁴Guybon White Cumming: son of an "1820 Settler" who came out with Dr. W. Guybon Atherstone, celebrated for identifying the first diamond which changed South African history, and grandfather of Rhodesia's third Surveyor-General. Guybon followed his son Arthur to Rhodesia in 1892 and in 1894 moved his large family (eight sons and six daughters) to Bulawayo. The daughters founded the present Bain, Scott Russel, Carlisle, Cook, Neilson and Millar families. Arthur died in Kenya.

¹⁵Joseph Trennery had twin sons Tom and John, and Tim and another daughter Miriam who married a Hill of Queenstown whose daughter Ada became Sister Sebastian, the pioneer nun of Rhodesia. It was a son of Tom who left his name to "The Trenneries", the seaside resort at Qolora Mouth, Transkei.

¹⁶Alfred Beit had quickly set to work to find out an economic method of extraction and gave the lead in organising the whole process of gold production in this field . . . he searched the world for competent men to handle the mines": G. Seymour Fort, *Alfred Beit*, 1932.

¹⁷Allan Wright, *Valley of the Ironwoods*, 1972; page 197—*Mupasuri*, an explorer.

¹⁸Tanser, G. H. *A Scantling of time*, 1966; page 259. Hans was a powerful man able to lift a wagon in lieu of a jack. Said Orrie, "He had a peculiar habit—every morning he would

take down a decanter, pour a bottle of brandy into it and before breakfast he would finish it . . . I don't know why he took the trouble to use the decanter!"

¹⁹H. M. Taberer, Chief Native Commissioner, Mashonaland, 1895 to 1901. Not to be confused with his brother W. S. (Sonny) Taberer who succeeded him.

²⁰E. C. Edkins was trading in the area in early 1893 when he was robbed by some Matabele and on complaining to Lobengula his goods were returned to him. When official districts were defined in 1894/95 the boundary between Umzingwani, Insiza and Belingwe Districts was called "Edkins' (Eskins') Road": H. A. Cripwell's research as *Regulus* in *NADA*, no. 10, 1970, page 90.

²¹A Police Camp, also called Makupikupeni and Makupeni, under H. M. G. Jackson (Chief Native Commissioner, 1928 to 1930) who was appointed Native Commissioner of Umzingwani District on 11th November, 1895. All such appointments were under the title of Assistant Native Commissioner until 31st January, 1898 after the S.R. Order in Council of October, 1898, had been issued: H. A. Cripwell's research, (*see also under sources*).

²²The rinderpest disease, first reported in February, 1896 as a threat from across the Zambezi spreading down Africa, entered Rhodesia in March and practically wiped out all the cattle in the country.

²³Sykes, F. W. *With Plumer in Matabeleland*, 1897; gives an account by Arthur Cummings. The name is wrongly spelt with an "s".

²⁴In confirmation of Orrie's verbal account there is a letter of his written immediately after the events dated 30th April, 1896 in the National Archives, reference BA 2/9/1.

²⁵A report of a "Disgraceful scene . . . the panic when men lost their heads and scrambled and fought for what rifles were left in the Government Store" is in Archives LO 5/2/48 and F. W. Sykes describes "a scene of panic and general unfamiliarity with firearms". Orrie could not accept this as true . . . "maybe a few individuals only and then related for sensation."

²⁶A telegram from the Imperial Secretary dated 25th March, 1896 authorised a force of not more than 100 Volunteers because of "excitement in Transvaal likely to increase if considerable body of men called out especially since Mr. Rhodes just arrived in the country": National Archives LO 5/2/47.

²⁷H. R. Cumming, a farmer, came up from South Africa for the 1893 Matabele war, opened a store near the Regina Ruins on the road to Belingwe. Later he became a partner in Meikles Bros, of Gwelo and died there aged 73 in May, 1940, leaving many descendants to Rhodesia.

²⁸F. C. Selous, *Sunshine and storm in Rhodesia*, 1896; page 93.

²⁹See the *Rhodesia Annual* of 1946, "The Affair at Cummings' Store" by one who was there.

³⁰Selous' chapter on "O'Connor's Wonderful Escape".

³¹*Rhodesiana*, No. 22, 1970, page 16.

³²Carnegie and Taylor (Chief Native Commissioner, Matabeleland), reporting on the Rebellion in June, 1896, said Umlugulu (traditional organiser of rituals and "Great Dances" which preceded the dispatch of impis by Lobengula) and Fezela (brother of Lobengula) were the instigators of the Rebellion and planned a "war dance" to be held at full moon on 26th March, 1896 to trigger the uprising: National Archives PO 1/2/2 and HO 1/3/4.

³³The grave, in the Filabusi cemetery cared for by the local Lions Club, bears four names—P. H. Cumming age 32; E. C. Edkins age 27; an obscured name; J. A. Baragwanath—killed 23rd March, 1897 (*sic*). (*The obscured name is J. L. Carpenter.—Editor*). Some 500 yards from the cemetery is the Filabusi Memorial (now National Monument No. 56) bearing 35 names of those murdered in March, 1896, in "this District of Filabusi, Balabala and Makukupeni". The monument is *one* of the memorials built at an unknown date by the "Rhodesia Memorial Fund" established in October, 1896: *Rhodesiana* No. 22, 1970, page 18.

³⁴The Company was formed in 1888 and the Chairman in London was Lord Gifford.

³⁵A Charter Company telegram from Cape Town to Duncan, the Administrator, reads, "Imperial Authorities think your proposals to bring men in through the Transvaal quite impossible and Mafeking must be the base": National Archives LO 5/2/47.

³⁶Some of the patrols were heroic affairs and Orrie recalls that "five men of Grey's Scouts deserved the V.C. . . . too many for that so Baxter was given the award much later." See *Rhodesiana*, No. 2, 1957, "Frank William Baxter, V.C." by H. A. Cripwell.

³⁷The baby died of enteric in the laager.

³⁸Roman Catholic Archives, Salisbury: Sister Sebastian, born 16th November, 1870 and taking vows in June, 1891, was a gifted music teacher. In 1903 she was transferred to Gwelo Convent and in July, 1914 was sent to England with Sister Ignatius (Mother Patrick's successor) to further her music studies. There the grip of malaria caused much anxiety and she died of pneumonia on 24th July, 1916 after saying in her quaint, cheerful way, that she had prayed to all the Saints in Heaven in succession and—"They must have all gone to 'the Front' as they did not listen to her prayers".

³⁹Selous gave an account of the fight, op. cit. page 189.

⁴⁰Selous, op. cit. page 221.

⁴¹ Actually Major-General Sir Frederick Carrington was in control, he having arrived in Bulawayo on 3rd June, 1896 to be Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial and local troops.

⁴²Major Watts was second-in-command to Plumer of the M.R.F.

⁴³Colonel Hickman in *Men who made Rhodesia* (1960) states they arrived in Salisbury on 14th July, 1896.

⁴⁴"Concordia" eventually became the site of "Uncle Charlie's", probably the best-known wayside roadhouse and filling station in the country, and of the famous Baragwanath Hospital which took its name from Orrie's father: the *Sunday Times* of 23rd January, 1972. Said Orrie, "The nearby Orlando Township had nothing to do with me. It was named after Orlando Leask of the Johannesburg City Council."

⁴⁵H. U. Moffat eventually became Premier of Southern Rhodesia, 1927 to 1932.

⁴⁶Later Sir Robert Coryndon. He had been a Major in the B.S.A. Police and a private secretary to Rhodes.

⁴⁷In later years, Orrie, reflecting a modern conservationist view, commented, "I am glad to reflect in my old age, that we never shot except for what we could consume and then always with a certain amount of regret as a fine animal was hacked to pieces with long assegais and home-made axes after a tug-of-war for the tit-bits."

⁴⁸*Northern Rhodesia Journal*, vol. 5, page 538.

⁴⁹Smitheman was leader of the Rhodesia Concession Company expedition which left from Kota Kota in May, 1897 to search for gold along Rhodes' projected railway route to Lake Tanganyika and in June, 1898 reached Kazangula: W. V. Brelsford. *Generation of men*, 1965.

⁵⁰After Grey's discovery of the Congo copper the Company got a concession from the King of the Belgians and started the mines there until the Belgians took over control of Katanga in 1908: Gore-Browne in *N. Rhodesia Journal*, vol. 5.

⁵¹Brelsford in *Generation of Men* said Grey pegged the Chambishi. Orrie on being questioned, replied —that he could have been mistaken over the Chibuluma.

⁵²The exact month is taken from Company reports in the Archives.

⁵³In Northern Rhodesia at the time a yard of limbo would buy 30/40 lb. of mealie meal, two yards were a month's wages and fowls and eggs could be exchanged for an empty condensed milk tin.

⁵⁴The full account is in the *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, nos. 3 and 4 of vol. 5, 1964, "The First Copper mines in Northern Rhodesia" by O. Baragwanath.

⁵⁵"We were astonished by its size and richness", wrote Orrie.

⁵⁶W. C. Collier of Gifford's Horse who Orrie thinks came out from England and joined Raaff's 1893 Column. He was not the unknown Collier of the 1890 Police Pioneers.

⁵⁷It is fitting to add that years later, when the farm would not pay and he had a family of two sons and two daughters to raise, Orrie appealed to the B.S.A. Co. and Anglo-American for help, and, recognising his great services to the copper industry, they wiped off the debts due on the farm, so enabling him to keep going.

SOURCES

T. V. Bulpin's book, *The Trail of the Copper King*, Howard B. Timmins, 1959, used the information he collected from Baragwanath to produce a vigorous and exciting novel based on the lives of prospectors. It served as a most valuable background to the intense questioning of Orrie himself on which this article is founded.

The author is especially grateful to Mr. B. E. Pomeroy, Mining Commissioner, Fort Victoria, and Mr. Budge Henson, District Commissioner there, for their historical enthusiasm, information and a visit to the Fern Spruit area upon which the map is based; also to Mrs. T. L. Dawson for checking on the Filabusi information and of course to the ever helpful National Archives.

Senator S. E. Morris produced the photograph of a group of Gifford's Horse in which his father appears, and Orrie was able to identify 17 of them.

Eight different versions of the name Mkukupeni have been recorded. According to "*Postal History of Rhodesia*", R. C. Smith, a Post office called Makukupen and Makupekupeni was there until 1904 when Essexvale took over. Senator Chief Mzimuni finally recalled that Mzilikazi had a regiment called Makupekupe, and this is supported by the list of regiments given in Summers and Pagden's "*The Warriors*". Makupekupeni is the correct locative form.

The Coming of the Trappists

by Hylda M. Richards

In 1892, Fr. Schomberg Kerr, S. J., Superior of the Zambesi Mission, had been granted 100-150 morgen of land for a mission site at the head of the Sambi River, Manicaland, but nothing had been done about developing it. The Jesuits were unable to spread themselves over the whole of Rhodesia, and therefore, in 1895, they invited the Trappists of Mariannahill, Durban, to come up and open a mission centre in Manicaland.¹

For some time past, the Abbot of that Order had cherished the idea of taking up mission work in Rhodesia and when he heard that Rhodes was in Kokstad, he left the mission at which he was staying, to try to secure a personal interview with him; but he arrived too late, Rhodes had already gone to Pondo-land. Undeterred, the abbot borrowed a fine team of four-in-hand and set off in hot pursuit of the Premier. He overtook him at night at Mount Ayliff, but Rhodes, tired by his journey, had already gone to bed and refused to see any visitors. The abbot, however, was not to be put off, he had not raced a distance of nearly 70 miles for nothing and he insisted on an interview. When he was shown into the great man's bedroom, Rhodes's manner and voice were far from encouraging, but the abbot was a match for him in tenacity of purpose and after a short interview he was granted a tract of 10 000 morgen of land in the Inyanga district of Rhodesia.

Early in 1896, Fr. Hyacinth was sent up to report on the land. This he did, was shown the beacons and then returned to Mariannahill.

A month later he, with Brs. Nivard, Simon and Romuald sailed on the "Kaiser" from Durban to Beira. Travelling with them was Fr. Boos, S.J., who had been down to Durban giving Retreats and was now returning to his Mission at Chishawasha, Salisbury.

Br. Nivard wrote of their experience in vol. 4 of the *Zambesi Mission Record*, from which most of this account is taken. He said that they brought with them all the paraphernalia required for starting a mission, and four

¹ After the Zulu invasion the Bantu in Natal, fleeing from the enemy, had used scorched earth policy. The result was thousands of homeless destitute Africans converging on the Bluff near Mariannahill. Having lost tribal life, home life and laws the different clans fought among themselves on land which could not support any of them. In desperation some of them had resorted to cannibalism.

The Trappist monks realised how badly these people needed help but knew they could do little if they kept to their strict rule. They made desperate efforts to combine Trappist contemplation with Missionary activities but fought a losing battle and were subject to the blame of their superiors. Friction therefore arose between the monks and their superiors. At last it was decided that the missionaries should look for another Order with simple vows which would enable them to carry on their missionary work. It was while they were waiting for final consent from Rome that the project of starting Triashill again was undertaken in 1908. The Trappists, though still called by that name, were now the Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannahill, an independent religious society. The decree of separation was finally signed in July, 1909.

powerful mules. At Beira, transporting the mules from the ship to the lighter, he says, was an adventurous operation.

Having landed, they had to wait for the paddle-steamer, the "Kimberley", Capt. Dickie in command, to take them to Fontesvilla, 42 miles up the Pungwe River. "The company on board on this memorable trip included Dr. Fleming and his newly-wed wife, fresh from England, and Archdeacon Upcher with a batch of missionaries and sisters."

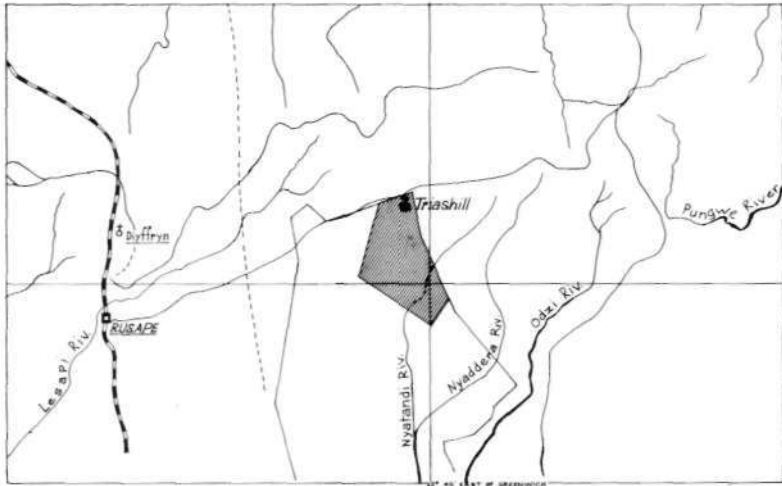
The Archdeacon's party consisted of six. There were three nurses, Mary Haines, Annie Hewitt who was joining her sister (a nurse) in Umtali, and Letitia Foster who had come out to be with her brother (a clergyman) in Salisbury and nurse at the Hospital there. Then there was a Miss Allen, a lay-worker and teacher and a Mr. Jones, also bound for Salisbury.

Arriving at Fontesvilla, a dank swampy place, the Trappists had another day's hard work getting the mules and all their baggage ashore and this prevented them taking the train to Chimoio with the other passengers. On the third day they were promised a train of sorts which had been put together with a van at the back for travellers. (The passenger train was not running because the driver was down with fever.) The station master told them that they would be leaving at 6.30 in the morning and when they asked for the correct time so that they would not miss it, he said: "It is 6.30 when we are ready." This proved to be 11 o'clock.

Now to quote Br. Nivard's own words, "At 3 o'clock the driver got the shakes. The train stopped; we carried the poor fellow into our van and tried to make him comfortable on the floor. The stoker, a coloured boy, now tried his hand at steering. The result was a succession of sudden starts and stops which was not at all reassuring. Unable to manage the steam, the fellow would turn it full on and then, terrified at the pace, turn it off abruptly, to repeat the operation when he had got over his fit of nerves. Our nerves were not easily soothed. After a couple of experiments, which shook us as though we had been bags of loose bones we seized a favourable moment, jumped down, and rushing up to the engine, ordered the boy off, and rather than trust our lives to his bungling hands another yard, chose to wait where we were until the white driver had recovered sufficiently to resume command. Night came on and we spent it at this unexpected halting-place—no unusual occurrence in those days of narrow gauge and by no means permanent way."

At last, three days after their departure, they reached Chimoio, the rail-end, and arranged for transport to Old Umtali by some Natal wagons. But before they could load their goods half the team died of rinderpest. The only thing to do was to hire carriers, but these were in great demand. Luckily for the Trappists, the local storekeeper, by name Harker, happened to be a Pole, a countryman of Fr. Hyacinth and he managed to find them a gang of forty-six carriers. Br. Nivard continues:

"Whoever has started a caravan of this sort will know what it means to distribute every kind of tool and implement, material and provisions, into 60 lb. loads, so that each boy shall be able to carry his own. The forty-six loads



were finally laid on the ground, each carrier received his ration of rice and rapoko and some salt for the road, then a general rush was made for the handiest and most convenient bundles, the clumsiest and bulkiest being left for the hindmost. It took all Harker's energy and his more or less gentle persuasion, to restore some order and get the boys underway. Only half a dozen were kept back to travel with us and look after the mules.

"But a halt had to be called almost immediately, for we discovered that Fr. Boos, who was to go with the caravan, had no carrier for his own luggage. Luckily I remembered that the Governor of Beira, Col. Machado, with whom I had had a chat on the subject of missions in Portuguese territory, had kindly given me a letter of introduction to every Portuguese Commandant or official we might meet on our line of march, with instructions that they should render us every assistance required. I suggested to Fr. Boos, to become Br. Nivard for the occasion, to take the letter, go to the Commandant and ask for boys at once. The plan succeeded admirably. In ten minutes Fr. Boos, alias Br. Nivard, returned with six boys and a policeman, and the caravan resumed its journey.

"We, the rearguard, intended to follow as soon as the mules had been packed. The business took us more time, however, than we had bargained for. Although none of the four animals had ever carried a pack on its back, the first two gave no trouble. They received with becoming meekness the Mariannahill saddles, our portmanteaux, the supplies and cooking utensils we need on the trek, and stood stock still the while."

But the third mule had different ideas.

" . . . Japtha gave us a sinister look as package after package was tied on his back. Without warning, as though he had suddenly bethought himself that the limits of endurance had been passed, he began to buck and kick and never stopped his pranks until he had shaken every article off his back. The other two mules, hitherto as quiet as lambs, caught the infection, broke loose from their moorings, flung bag and baggage to the four winds, and with Japtha, scampered off at full gallop into the bush . . .

" . . . Fortunately for us, some kind gentlemen who had witnessed the whole scene, set off in pursuit on their horses and succeeded in rounding up the runaways. Meanwhile we had collected our goods, and I set to work mending and patching the saddles; but another two hours had gone by before we were on the road to Vanduzi, where we had agreed to meet the main body and camp for the night.

"This misadventure had given Fr. Boos a start of three hours and he had reached Vanduzi in good time to put up at the 'hotel' of the place, kept by a Belgian, Mr. Martin. The structure with that name (hotel) looked very much like a birdcage; poles stuck in the ground, sticks across and nothing more. Our party missed the hotel in the darkness of the evening and struck the river Vanduzi half a mile below. The mules had given us such trouble on the road that we were dead beat when at 9 o'clock we halted on its banks. A fire was lit at once and kept burning the whole night against the intense cold.

"We found out the following morning that it had acted as protection against danger of quite another kind.

"At daybreak we espied the birdcage on the ridge above us and made our way to it. Fr. Boos was well and in good spirits. He had noticed our campfire overnight and knowing it must have been our party, had wondered then and wanted to know now, why we had not joined them at the 'hotel'.

" 'Why did you not come and fetch us?' I asked in reply. His answer absolutely finished the question. Close to the birdcage, Martin had built a heavy stockade within which he stabled at night half-a-dozen donkeys kept for hire at a guinea a day. Now on that particular night, a hungry lion was prowling around looking for some weak spot in it and a donkey he might devour for his supper."

"The inmates of the hotel and Fr. Boos himself saw the brute distinctly but none dared venture out to give us poor, way-worn travellers a timely warning. As the only gun owned by the hotel was in Fontesvilla for repair, pans, kettles and paraffin tins were called into action and beaten and rattled in hopes that the unwelcome visitor might be scared away. His answer was a deafening roar which we heard half a mile away but we had been too tired to be inquisitive or worry about it, or stir from the fire to which I now realise, we owed our safety."

"Another tedious march of four days with boys and mules, brought us to Christmas Pass and Old Umtali where we pitched camp near the river."

Having rested for only a few days, Fr. Hyacinth and Br. Nivard went back to Chimoio to collect the second batch of their goods. This time they took Selous' path through Penhalonga and the Divide which was much quicker for



The Trappist's Rock.

people on foot. Br. Nivard said that he was very interested in the ancient gold-workings but they had no time to examine them.

"Between Macequece and Chimoio, the two of us lost our road in the dark and wandered about a long time not knowing in which direction to turn. At last we struck a bank of earth, which with a sense of relief, we recognised as the formation for the extension of the railway line from Chimoio. We crawled to the top and walking briskly along, came upon a tiny triangular hut of reeds and grass just large enough to shelter one man. In that hole lived the contractor of that portion of the line, an Italian, who was as surprised to receive visitors at so unearthly an hour, as we were delighted to have found a host. With the greatest hospitality, he offered us what food he had, chiefly onions, and after supper vacated even his hut to place it at our disposal. He would, he said, put up that night with his black boys, some distance away. Fr. Hyacinth and myself squeezed ourselves in, and very much appreciated a common blanket. But of sleep, there was little or none; we were too tired and too cramped. Then our attempts at dozing off were rudely interrupted by the awful roar of a lion after his prey. I shall never forget the creepy feeling that came over me as I heard, not five yards from our hut, the rush of maddened feet, the roar of the mighty hunter and the bellowing in distress of a buffalo cow and her calf. At dawn their spoor were distinctly visible in the soft sand of the bank."

He said that outside Macequece they lent a hand helping the Count de la Panouse whose donkey-wagon was stuck fast in a sandy hole but this must have happened on the first journey because we know that the Count was at Macequece on June 1st and 2nd and the Trappists could have pulled him out on the 3rd but could not have done so on the second trip because by that time the Count was on his way to Salisbury. Br. Nivard was writing of these events some years afterwards and must have got the dates mixed.

By the time they reached Umtali Br. Nivard was down with fever and so they shifted camp to the higher and healthier end of the town, towards Umtasa. Here, as their Chimoio boys refused to go further, they had to pay them off and engage another lot to take them to their Mission site.

As the brother was so ill, Fr. Hyacinth tried to persuade him to stay behind, presumably with Fr. Boos, but he refused to do this and so went with them "perched on the back of a mule."

That afternoon Br. Romuald caught his foot on a stump on the path and sprained his ankle so severely that he could no longer walk. Nivard dismounted, bound up his ankle and lifted him on to his mule. Thus they trudged along.

That night they camped on the old Umtali-Inyanga road. It was bitterly cold and Fr. Hyacinth went down with fever. The next morning he had to be put on the mule and a crutch and stick improvised for the crippled Romuald. Nivard says that they made "a truly lamentable procession." That night, also, was very cold and Fr. Hyacinth and Br. Nivard shared blankets and "shakes". Only Br. Simon was "hale and hearty".

They set off again but were hampered by having to cross five or six rivers. There were no drifts, only Mashona-bridges (These are made by felling a very large tree so that it falls to the other side of the river and with luck against another tree.)

"Over its trunk, in and out between the tangled branches everyone had to pick his way and everything had to be carried over. The mules were offloaded and swam across." The Africans, squatting on the tree trunk, passed the saddles and packages from one to another.

This crossing of rivers took a great deal of time and so it was not until the afternoon of the fourth day that they found themselves on their own property, 20 000 acres of lofty mountains, deep valleys and ravines.

They decided to make a temporary camp from which they could locate the beacons and find a place for a permanent settlement. They were lucky enough to find some natural caves beneath overhanging rocks which afforded good shelter so they had no need to pitch their tents. This was Ninga's or Maninga's cave.

The present Chief Changunda says it was the hiding-place of the Changunda people during the Matabele raids. Above the caves is the highest hill, Chiramba, and on this hill on a large tree, the Trappists carved a cross. Chief Changunda says that he can remember this ancient tree with the cross carved on it, but that it has since perished.

While Br. Romuald was nursing his ankle and Fr. Hyacinth recovering his strength, Brs. Nivard and Simon set out to find the beacons, the position of which Fr. Hyacinth had given them. Br. Nivard wrote:

"They all stood on high mountains, some of which were inaccessible and I sometimes wondered how stones could have been carried so high up to erect the cairns that marked the boundaries. When we had located these, we went in quest of a good site for our permanent residence. We found one fairly well in the centre of the property on the slope of a mountain range, from which rose three distinct kopjes, crowned with bush. This suggested the name of Triashill, which we gave to the station."

This site resembles a gigantic armchair, the three peaks as the back and arms and it definitely suggests the Trinity, three in one. It has been said that the station was given the name because it was found on Trinity Sunday, but this is incorrect because the Trappists were at Chimoio on that day. The reason for the name is most likely that Triashill is the name of a Polish shrine and Fr. Hyacinth was a Pole.

Br. Nivard writes, "On Saturday (this would probably be June 27) we shifted our goods from the temporary camp a mile and a half away and on the following Monday Fr. Hyacinth returned with some boys to Umtali to bring the rest of our stores."

"We had not been particular in making up our first loads as we had believed the second caravan would start immediately after the first . . . so we found ourselves with odd parts of our tools but none complete . . . a barrow minus a wheel, a hammer minus a handle, etc., . . . Br. Romuald managed to extemporise a kitchen between two boulders.

"We pitched the tent close to a large tree and without delay began to prospect for clay, suitable for brick-making. I took levels of a small stream running down from Triashill which would provide our water supply and according with the results fixed up the site for the future Mission."

Some of the oldest inhabitants of Triashill say that the Trappists actually made bricks, but Nivard does not mention this.

The stream, though very small, can still be seen and could be examined for signs of puddling bricks.

One other thing they did was to carve on the surface of an upright rock overlooking the seat of the "armchair" a cross with the date 1896.

Then all three brothers went down with fever and dysentery and the next few weeks were spent "In presenting a bold front to misfortune" while they waited the return of Fr. Hyacinth, which seemed unaccountably late.

Br. Nivard had a very severe attack and he says that one afternoon he was lying awake in the tent resigning himself to God's will, when the head of an African was thrust through the tent flap and he was handed a large envelope bearing an official seal. He crept to the light to read it. It was from the Magistrate of Umtali telling him that the Africans of the Makoni district had broken into open rebellion and that thirteen white men had already been murdered.



Portuguese traders' hut at Triashill. Photographed in 1908.

With the exception of the three brothers at Triashill, the survivors were now all safe in the Umtali laager. The Magistrate said that he had sent two patrols, each of three native policemen armed with Winchester rifles to find them but they had not been heard of again. It was not known whether they had been captured or gone over to the rebels. The patrol he was sending now was to warn them of the danger and guide them back to Umtali. Br. Nivard wrote:

"To anyone prostrate with fever or dysentery, I strongly recommend as an instantaneous and radical cure . . . a native rising. Both left me by magic . . . I at once sent a boy to the two brothers and told them of the state of affairs. Ever since our arrival at Triashill, we had of course, lost touch with the outside world and were ignorant of events in our neighbourhood beyond the mountains. We recalled now how day after day groups of natives had kept hanging about our place and how all day long, sometimes even at night, they had spied on ourselves and our doings.

"No time was left to be lost . . . we took a hurried meal . . . our object was to reach Umtali as quickly as possible by devious paths to avoid the enemy and as we only had three boys and three mules, we could not burden them and ourselves with any unnecessary impediments. The portable altar and its contents claimed first consideration, chalice, altar stone, missal and vestments and altar linen. A few more loads carried our personal linen and clothing and provisions for the road. The rest of our commissariat, our excellent tent, our calico, beads, tools and implements; all had to be sacrificed. A great puzzle was how to dispose of the guns and ammunition. We had a new Martini-Henry service rifle, a carbine of the same pattern, a very good shot-gun, two heavy Colt revolvers and at least 1 000 rounds of ammunition. The guns we took to pieces and distributed the parts among various bundles of linen and clothing so that the boys should not know what they were carrying. We ourselves kept

the revolvers in our haversacks with fifty rounds each. The remaining cartridges had to be put out of harm's way."

They decided to bury them in the ground after dark but that night they were continually pestered by prying natives and could not move a step without being shadowed. Very early in the morning when the natives had disappeared, they very noiselessly put the ammunition in two large water buckets and Br. Romuald and Br. Simon with the Natal boy Franz, went to the deep pool from where they drew their water. The idea was to drop the buckets into the pool, empty them and bring them back full of water. This was completely successful. It would be interesting to examine the water holes in that same stream today and discover the discarded cartridges.

"That morning under the guidance of the native patrol, we began our katabasis. Thank God, all went well with us and nothing of an alarming character happened until the second and last night we spent in the veld. We were then within three or four miles of our destination and as it was too late to reach it safely, had esconced ourselves in some thick bush in the angle formed by the confluence of two streams, when a sharp and steady rifle-fire burst upon the stillness of the night in the direction of Umtali . . . no sooner had the firing ceased, than the air was rent by piercing shrieks, such as I had never heard in my life before . . . our worst fears were confirmed for we concluded that under cover of darkness the rebels had stormed the laager"

On the following day when they entered Umtali they found that the defenders were all safe and that the fusillade overnight had been caused by a false alarm given by the Commandant himself to test the readiness of his little garrison and that the shrieks had been made by a leopard raiding a colony of baboons on the hillside.

"Everyone in the camp had a hearty welcome for us, the last of the white men to come in. Capt. Montgomery allotted us military blankets and for quarters assigned us a corner in a timber yard on a pile of planks three-by-nine."

Br. Nivard ends his narrative by saying that as soon as he had found his legs again, he made arrangements to return to Mariannahill because his orders had only been to set the work going on the Rhodesian station. Fr. Hyacinth and the two other brothers remained for another month in the hopes that a speedy stamping out of the revellion would enable them to resume missionary operations, but their expectations were not fulfilled and in October 1896 they too, went back to Mariannahill in Natal.

All that remained of their occupation was the cross and the date carved on the rock . . . and so Triashill remained unoccupied for twelve long years before the Trappists returned.

Not long ago I visited this rock with Martha Changunda, grand-daughter of the Chief and now Sister Rita of the Little Children of Our Blessed Lady. She told me it had been a meeting place, a place of Indaba. She pointed out that in front of the rock there is a chair made of slabs of granite, which was used by the Paramount Chief, Mandeya, when he visited Changunda. It was

there that the chief would rest and receive the people who wished to greet him. According to custom, when people passed this chair, they had to leave something as a sign of respect, either a branch they would throw over the side of the chair or a stone.

(To be continued)

EXCELSA

Number 2 of this Journal of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia has a wide range of articles for botanists, natural historians and gardeners. Its scope also extends beyond Rhodesia.

Historians will find an article by Thomas Baines of interest. This is *The Welwitschia Mirabilis (Plant of Hykamkop), South West Africa* first published in 1866. And M. J. Kimberley, the editor, gives a biography of H. B. Christian (1871-1950), the founder of Ewanrigg. He describes the establishment of the garden there and its growth and development into the Ewanrigg National Park. There are other articles on Rhodesian plants and also one on the succulent vegetation of Malagasy.

As with No. 1, the journal is well illustrated with colour plates. The price per copy is \$2,50 from P.O. Box 922, Salisbury.

BUNDU SERIES

Two more books in this truly Rhodesian series—written, printed and published in this country.

Common Trees of the Highveld by R. B. Drummond and Keith Coates Palgrave describes and illustrates fifty-four indigenous woodland trees. There are fifty-four colour plates from paintings by the late Olive H. Coates Palgrave and numerous photographs. The trees are botanically described, the quality and uses of their timber and other products all mentioned. Shona and Ndebele names are given and their medicinal properties, as believed by Africans, also given.

Birds Afield by Peter Ginn, with line drawings by Graeme Arnott is subtitled—"a beginners' guide to bird watching in Southern Africa" and it covers South Africa as well as Rhodesia. There are over sixty very fine colour photographs. The emphasis in both text and line drawings is on identification of families and individual birds, and habits and food are only mentioned briefly. There are general chapters on bird watching, on how to find birds, how to attract more birds to the garden and on equipment and hides.

Both these volumes, although beautifully produced and illustrated, are intended as practical "field books" of a size that will fit into a pocket. Both published by Longman Rhodesia at \$2,50 each.

The Centenary of the Death of David Livingstone

The centenary of David Livingstone's death on 1st May, 1873 was commemorated widely in Rhodesia.

On Sunday 29th April a religious service, conducted by the Rev. J. Michie, Anglican Chaplain to Rhodesia Railways, was held before a large crowd of residents and tourists at the Livingstone statue at the Victoria Falls.

Commemorative lectures were given at the University in Salisbury by Professor Gelfand, Professor of Medicine, and by Dr. A. J. Dachs of the Department of History.

There were special programmes on both radio and television, feature articles in newspapers and magazines, and a special issue of stamps.

Two special exhibitions, described below, were set up, one by the National Archives and the other by Mr. B. W. Lloyd.

Two books by Rhodesian authors were published. *Livingstone in Africa* is written by Oliver Ransford (A Rhodesiana Society Gold Medallist) and T. W. Baxter (retired Director of the National Archives). *David Livingstone 1873-1973*, reviewed below, is edited by Mr. B. W. Lloyd, a foundation member of the Society.

The National Archives Exhibition

An exhibition to commemorate the Centenary of the Death of David Livingstone on May 1, 1873 opened at the National Archives of Rhodesia on April 25. The exhibition is on the upper floor of the Beit Trust Gallery.

Using the documentary and illustrative resources of the National Archives, Livingstone's life is traced, in the most colourful possible way, from humble beginnings and youth in the cotton mills, through medical studies and direct mission work, to the explorations which made him a world-renowned figure. His disappearance and rediscovery by Stanley, his solitary, but perhaps appropriate, death in the heart of Africa and his final burial in Westminster Abbey in 1874, are also highlighted.

In addition to items in showcases, two large scale maps graphically describe with the aid of inset pictures the monumental journeys undertaken by Livingstone in his attempt to open up the continent to "Christianity and Commerce".

The documentary material on display is drawn, in the main, from those papers donated to the National Archives in 1954, by Livingstone's great-granddaughter, Miss Diana Livingstone Bruce. This constitutes, in all probability, the largest single collection of Livingstone manuscripts in existence. Other items, including the "Livingstone Rouser" anti-malarial pill, have been borrowed from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rhodesia.



Nearly ready—Assistant Archivist Miss L. Brand puts finishing touches to the National Archives exhibition.

(Photo: Information Dept.)

All in all the exhibition provides a fitting tribute to one of the great men of Africa. It will remain open until November.

Mr. B. W. Lloyd's Exhibition

Mr. B. W. Lloyd has been a student of David Livingstone and his work, and a collector of Livingstonia, for many years. He put on an Exhibition of books, charts, maps and prints from his own collection in the shop of Messrs. Philpott and Collins, booksellers, and afterwards displayed it in some African and European schools and colleges.

Mr. Lloyd reports: "The Exhibition was opened on 15th April by Sir Robert Tredgold who presented a copy of Mr. Lloyd's book (see below) to the Rev. G. O. Lloyd whose Congregational Church has now inherited the mantle formerly carried by the London Mission Society in Rhodesia for over a century. As a direct descendant of Dr. Robert Moffat who led the first party through the Mangwe Pass in 1859, Sir Robert reminded his hearers that the work began in 1859 was an important landmark in Rhodesia's progress. David Livingstone himself contributed £500 to his brother-in-law, the Rev. J. S. Moffat, to start Inyati Mission.

"The Exhibition lasted four weeks, closing on 12th May. Over 1 000 people saw it including visitors from the U.S.A., Europe and neighbouring African countries. Children were particularly interested in the A to Z of Livingstone's life, an imaginative and colourful series of drawings and titles done by Miss Ford's 2C class at David Livingstone School, Salisbury.

"Among the many interested visitors was Mr. L. J. Young of Avondale. He is a great grandson of "Paraffin" James Young, 1811-1883, a generous friend of Livingstone, contributing largely towards the expenses of his expeditions. (It was said that the skull of the lion which attacked Livingstone in 1884 was sent by Livingstone to Young, his fellow student at Andersonian College, Glasgow)".

Livingstone 1873/1973 is the simple title of the book edited by B. W. Lloyd. (Published by C. Struik, Cape Town, 1973. Price \$4,05). It is illustrated with a coloured frontispiece of Lake Ngami by Alfred Ryder published in 1857 and 14 other monochrome plates. The contents comprise a symposium of ten unconnected contributions on a wide variety of aspects of Livingstone's life and work. Six of them have not been published before.

The Rev. G. Owen Lloyd writes on Livingstone the missionary, Frank R. Bradlow on "The Variants of the 1857 edition of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*," and Professor Michael Gelfand on the historical significance of Livingstone's treatment of malaria. There is an extract from the *Royal Geographical Journal* of March 1954 on "Livingstone the Geographer and Explorer".

In the text, reproduced here, of a talk broadcast over the B.B.C. in 1955, Professor Max Gluckman discusses Livingstone's friendly relationship with all the Africans he came in contact with. Africans liked Livingstone because he did not regard them or treat them as savages but, as Livingstone wrote of the Makololo, as—"just such a strange mixture of good and evil as men are everywhere . . . there are frequent instances of genuine kindness and liberality, as well as actions of an opposite character . . . By a selection of cases of either kind, it would not be difficult to make these people appear as excessively good or uncommonly bad."

In a fascinating detective-like article, "Dr. Livingstone's Monogram, I Presume?", Quentin Keynes describes how, after lengthy journeys in 1958 along Livingstone's routes in the whole Zambezi area, he discovered, at Shiramba in Mozambique, a baobab tree on which Livingstone had carved his monogram. Because it had been carved on the bark of the inside, hollow part of the tree, it was still well preserved and had not been grown over.

Professor Bridglal Pachai tells how Livingstone's "criteria of advancement" determined the policies of commerce, agriculture and education that are followed in the Malawi of today. Dr. Norman Atkinson writes on "Livingstone and Education" and the editor, B. W. Lloyd, reviews Livingstone's campaigns to eradicate the slave trade. The book ends with a very useful "David Livingstone: Chronology", by Professor Desmond Clark and Gervas Clay, reprinted from the now defunct *Northern Rhodesia Journal*.

All the contributors have devoted many years of study to Livingstone and his works and thus the volume, besides casting interesting sidelights on the life and work of a great man, is an authoritative addendum to the many larger biographies.

Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

Augustus Gregory and the inland sea, by J. H. L. Cumpston. Canberra, Roebuck, 1972. 153 pages. Illus., maps \$6,75.

This is an interesting and valuable example of "association" Africana. Following the Eighth Frontier War in the Cape, Thomas Baines spent some eighteen months in England, at the end of which period he was appointed as artist and storekeeper to the Northern Australia Expedition under Augustus Charles Gregory. This book is a scholarly account of the expedition, and contains not only numerous references to Baines, but also reproductions of many of his lively sketches and paintings. For Baines the expedition was an extremely successful one; his part in it emerges quite clearly in this account, and it is interesting to compare it with his unhappy experiences under Livingstone in the Zambezi expedition which was to follow.

By Compass alone, by Ernest F. Fox. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1971. 282 p. Illus.

The notes and journals of a young geologist form the basis of this fascinating account of camp life in Northern Rhodesia from 1929 to 1932. The author was engaged in geological survey work for Anglo American, and the book is a vivid picture of his daily routine, his hardships, and life generally on the emerging Copperbelt where, at that time, Ndola was "no more than a cluster of thatched wattle-and-daub bungalows, a few corrugated-iron shops and some pole-and-mud rondavels".

In addition to numerous photographs, the book is enhanced by some charming line drawings.

The first Boer War, by Joseph Lehman. London: Jonathan Cape, 1972. 330 p. Illus., maps. \$7,19.

The author, a Chicago university professor who recently won wide acclaim for his autobiography of General Wolseley, has drawn on a formidable array of original material in writing this book, ranging from memoirs and letters to regimental papers and records in the War Office Library. The result is an authoritative yet immensely readable work which will undoubtedly achieve the author's aim of placing the first Boer War in its correct perspective—"the annexation of the Transvaal by Britain, and the Boer's subsequent struggle for independence, changed the entire course of South African history".

Game sanctuaries of southern Africa, by David Steele; with drawings by John Perry. Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1972. 160 pages. Illus. (some col.) \$6,04.

This work not only describes the main game sanctuaries in southern Africa from the point of view of terrain and game, but it gives the sort of information about accommodation and viewing facilities which makes planning visits to such reserves a relatively simple operation. At the same time this is no hastily-prepared tourist publication: it is a careful survey of game sanctuaries in South Africa, South West Africa, Botswana, Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland, based on information supplied by the various authorities responsible for game parks in these countries. A section is devoted to illustrations and descriptions of the common wild animals found in southern Africa.

The Horizon history of Africa. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1972. 544 pages. Illus. (many col.) \$14,43.

A mammoth and lavish production depicting the history and cultures of Africa from the first hominoids to "Uhuru". The authors are prominent historians who in their own right have published specialised works on Africanist topics. The comprehensiveness of the book is compounded by anthologies of the literature of the period: these appear after each chapter.

Splendours of southern Africa, by Gerald S. Cubitt. Cape Town, Struik, 1972. 220 pages. Illus. \$10,23.

Over 200 plates, many of them coloured, portray the atmosphere and beauty of southern African in a book which must be one of the finest of its sort to have been printed and published in South Africa. The author and his wife travel extensively in the sub-continent; on arrival at an area they abandon their motor transport and hike for miles into the bush and mountains. This particular selection of photographs reflects their wanderings from the Cape in the south to Mozambique and Malawi in the north, including many fascinating stops on the way. Intentionally, no illustrations depicting city and industrial life are included in the volume.

Travels in the interior of South Africa, 1849-1863: hunting and trading journeys from Natal to Walvis Bay and visits to Lake Ngami and Victoria Falls, by James Chapman; edited from the original manuscripts by Edward C. Tabler. Cape Town: Balkema, 1971. 2 vols. Illus. \$15,00.

The main title of this edited version of Chapman's writings is the same as the title of the book he published in 1868. However this new volume contains much that was not included in the earlier publication; for example full descriptions of Chapman's first extensive journey as a hunter-trader, his first determined attempt to reach the Zambezi via Lake Ngami, and his successful trip to the Falls with Baines. The manuscripts from which the present work was taken were apparently prepared for the press in 1968, but publication did not

take place for another four years. Based on manuscripts in private and Government collections, this version constitutes a new and exciting item of Rhodesiana. The illustrations are reproductions from Baines's earlier book on S.W. Africa and from Chapman's original publication. Of particular interest are seven photographs taken by Chapman in S.W. Africa, including one of Baines.

Top hat to velskoen, by Piet van der Byl. Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1973. 244 pages. Illus. \$6,00.

Maj. van der Byl's first book, *Playgrounds to Battlefields*, told his life story from childhood to the end of World War I. This second volume of his autobiography tells of his entry into public life, his experiences as a member of General Smut's war cabinet and his part in numerous incidents spanning an eventful period in South African politics. As in his first book the author displays a gift for absorbing narrative, peppered with plenty of humour.

The White Rhino saga, by Ian Player. London: Collins, 1972. 254 p. illus. \$5,05.

Ian Player first visited the Umfolozi Game Reserve as a junior ranger in 1952 at which time the white rhino was in grave danger of extinction. For the next twenty years he was to be one of the prime movers in the conservation of the white rhino, and was also one of the pioneers in transporting the animal to other areas as part of this conservation process. In his preface Alan Paton says, "Mr. Player writes his story with a sure pen, simply and clearly, with now and then a joke, and now and then a touch of poetry". There is a description of the movement of 92 of the animals to Rhodesia, and an appendix in tabular form lists the destinations of over 1 100 of them to various parts of the world.

Young Winston's wars: the original despatches of Winston S. Churchill, war correspondent, 1897-1900. Edited and with an introduction and notes by Frederick Woods. London: Leo Cooper, 1972. 380 pages. Illus., maps. \$7,19.

Churchill used the despatches comprising this book as the bases of his four campaign works: *The story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898), *The River War* (1899), *London to Ladysmith* and *Ian Hamilton's march* (1900). The first two books were largely rewritten and lack some of the qualities present in the immediacy of the original despatches—many of them "written on the ground in a tent temperature 115 °; or after a long day's action or by a light which it was dangerous to use lest it drew fire". This new volume now makes Churchill's original graphic accounts available to the general reader, and enables him to compare the war correspondent's exploits in India and the Sudan with his better-known adventures in South Africa. Editorial comment is kept to a minimum and the result in an absorbing narrative.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by Dorothea Rowse

African Affairs (*London*)

Vol. 71, No. 283, April, 1972 contains an article by L. H. Gann entitled *Rhodesia and the prophets*. While not an historical article in the accepted sense, it gives an excellent account of Rhodesian political and economic development since U.D.I. The article examines the organisation of political life in the country and the strength of political opposition particularly that from African groups. Factual accounts of the last ten years of Rhodesian history are always welcome and this one provides an excellent basis for a study of developments in Rhodesia.

Assegaai (*Salisbury*)

The triumphs and hardships of life in the early years of settlement in Salisbury are vividly portrayed in an article entitled *Pioneer Personalities* by G. H. Tanser in the issue Vol. 12, No. 11, March, 1973. Many of the more colourful personalities such as Jack Spreckley, Fairbridge and the first baker, Alfred Brewin, are mentioned.

Central African Journal of Medicine (*Salisbury*)

The issues for December 1972 and January-February 1973 have included three parts of a *Preview of the Development of the Health Services of Rhodesia from 1923 to the present day* by M. H. Webster. The articles provide an invaluable survey of people and organisations involved in the evolution of the Rhodesian health service. A particularly useful feature is the inclusion of brief but comprehensive notes on the recommendations and results of the various commissions of enquiry relating to the provision of health services. Milestones in the development of the service are highlighted in chronological order, thus providing a most useful guide to a history of the health services in general and the growth of a Ministry of Health in particular.

Guns and Ammo (*Los Angeles*)

This journal is an annual publication and the 1972 edition carries an article of Rhodesian interest by J. P. Lott. Frederick Courtney Selous was undoubtedly one of the best known hunters to visit this country. This article about him is mainly biographical in content with particular emphasis being placed on descriptions by Selous of his hunting experiences. The account of his hunting expeditions in other parts of the world is of special interest in supplying details of Selous' life not always dealt with in other publications about him.

Illustrated London News (*London*)

1973 is Livingstone year and the issue for December 1972 carries an account by Dr. Ransford of his journey to Lake Ngami, following the route taken by Livingstone. He visited many places in Botswana associated with Livingstone's period there as a missionary. The article is well illustrated and adds much to the reader's concept of missionary life in Southern Africa during the middle years of the last century.

Journal of African History (*London*)

The issue Vol. 23, No. 4, 1972 contains two articles of interest to Rhodesia. A. J. Dachs in *Missionary imperialism the case of Bechuanaland* examines the development of missionary contact with the Tswana between 1813 and 1895. The author attempts to analyse the nature of missionary activities and their reactions to the organisation and attitudes of Tswana society. They were forced to adjust their missionary methods and eventually to ask the British government to intervene.

M. D. D. Newitt continues his study of the Sultanate of Angoche and the East African coast in his article *Angoche, the Slave Trade and the Portuguese*. Angoche was the chief slaving port of the Mozambique coast in the 1840s. The author describes attacks made on it by British and Portuguese expeditions until its seizure in 1861 by the Portuguese.

Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (*London*)

This is a new journal covering all aspects of Commonwealth history, with a consequent emphasis on modern history. Vol. 1, No. 2, January 1973 contains an article on Cecil John Rhodes by J. S. Galbraith, Professor of history at University of California, Los Angeles. Rhodes's dreams of British expansion in Africa from *Cape to Cairo* are assessed in the light of his more practical and lucrative achievements in the fields of mining and finance. Professor Galbraith comes to the conclusion that Rhodes was a great visionary whose true talent lay in recognising the potential of other people's ideas, taking them over and carrying them to a magnificent conclusion as in the settlement of Mashonaland. However, his plans were always tempered by financial considerations. The article seeks to show the true qualities of Rhodes while stripping away some of the myths.

Research in African Literatures (*Austin*)

Vol. 3, No. 2 contains a most interesting article on Olive Schreiner's letters. Her letters were not written with a view to publication and reflect the moods, changing opinions and emotions of the writer. The first section of the article shows by quotes from her letters much of the essential nature of a woman obsessed with her own illnesses and suspicions of other people. The second section is of immense value to researchers in that it describes briefly the Havelock Ellis-Olive Schreiner collection of letters at the University of Texas, Austin.

Transactions of the Geological Society of South Africa (*Johannesburg*)

Milestones in Rhodesian Palaeontology (1901-1971) is the title of an article by G. Bond in Vol. 75, pt. 2, May-August 1972. Rhodesian palaeontology was first described by A. J. C. Molyneux in a lecture to the Rhodesia Scientific Association in Bulawayo in 1901, this being the first milestone. The author then goes on to discuss nine further milestones, bringing the article up to date with the discovery of microfossils in the rocks of the Zambezi Basin. Each "milestone" is described in some detail but in an easily readable style. The whole article provides a clear survey of activities in Rhodesia in this field.

THE SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

No. 2 Vol. XXV, July 1972, contains five articles plus notes, reviews, etc. P. A. Cole writes on *Historical Factors in Malawi's Agricultural Development* and C. J. W. Fleming, a Rhodesian author who has contributed to *Rhodesiana*, describes *The Zwangendaba Succession*. There are the memoirs of an African, born in 1891, who remembers the Ngoni raids and the Arab slavers. Other articles are on wild life conservation and changes in African diet over the last thirty years.

Society Activities

Matabeleland Branch outing to Selous' house, Filabusi, Celtic mine and Kongesi Ruins

On Sunday, October 22nd, 1972, the Matabeleland Branch organised a full day's outing which was attended by 170 people including a number of boys and a master from Falcon College, who were welcome guests.

The party assembled at Bushtick Siding at 10.00 a.m. and proceeded to the site of F. C. Selous' house on a bend of the Ncema river situated on Mr. Mylne's farm "Longridge". Mrs. Stella Coulson gave a most interesting talk on Selous' life to an enthralled audience who sat amongst the thorns and prickly grass which cover all that is left of the foundations of the dwelling, or leaned against the sturdy stone walls of the original kitchen.

The next "outspan" was at the Filabusi Rebellion Memorial where Mr. H. Watson led members to the site of Old Filabusi and indicated the whereabouts of Edkins' store, Mr. Bentley's office, the remains of miners' huts and the Filabusi Fort, and gave a graphic account of the happenings in the area during March, 1896, frequently quoting the memories of Mr. Orlando Baragwanath whom he had had the good fortune to meet. The more energetic members walked the few hundred yards to the cemetery where the victims of the massacre lie buried.

Lunch was enjoyed in the grounds of the Filabusi School and a visit was paid to the School's Museum which is of outstanding interest and a remarkable and praiseworthy undertaking for a Junior School.

Mr. Ian Cross was the speaker at the next venue—the Celtic Mine—his subject being Joe O'Connor and the conflicting accounts of his escape from the Matabele insurgents. Since the most exciting part of the tale featured his ordeal in the mine shaft, it was fitting that Mr. Cross should speak from the crest of a dump only a few yards from the mouth of the actual shaft referred to in O'Connor's story.

The final activity was a braai at the Kongesi Ruins on Mr. H. Barber's farm. Nearly 100 members had survived the rigours of a scorching day and were able to enjoy solid and liquid refreshment and the spectacle of the full moon rising in suitably historic and very delightful surroundings.

Matabeleland outing to Inyati

On 4th February, 1973, following the A.G.M., about 100 members gathered in the Inyati Mission grounds at noon where Mr. Simons gave a short talk on the events leading up to the arrival at Inyati of the four Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1859.

After a lunch break Mr. Simons continued his talk at 2 p.m. telling of the happenings at the Mission from 1859-1896. The story was one of sadness and

hardship, but the faith of the Missionaries enabled them to overcome the trials and tribulations which beset them daily.

The party was then taken over the ground where the Missionaries settled and the sites of the houses have now been marked by cairns by the National Monuments Commission.

The cemetery, the site of the spring from which water was obtained, the remains of the furrow which led the water and the well to which it was led were all inspected.

This outing was particularly enjoyable as the weather was very pleasant and the whole country green—something greatly appreciated in Matabeleland.

Matabeleland Branch visit to Fronseca's farm

With the kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. E. Rushmore about 100 members assembled on their farm "Spring Grange", 26 miles out on the Falls Road, at 10.30 a.m. on Sunday 25th March and Dr. Oliver Ransford led the party a short distance to the site where Col. Gifford's Shiloh Patrol was heavily engaged by rebels on 7th April, 1896. Dr. Ransford gave a most interesting talk on the battle and thanks to the kindness of Mr. R. W. Stacey of the Bulawayo Public Library each member was supplied with a cyclostyled map of the battle area taken from the "British South Africa Company's Report on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia 1896-97."

After the talk Messrs. Jeremy Winch, Malcolm Clewer and Michael Patrick of the Military History Society of Rhodesia produced and demonstrated the type of arms used in the battle from the famous Matabele stabbing spear and knobkerrie to the old tower muskets, Winchester 44s, Martini-Henrys and the Enfield .303. A shot was fired from a Martini-Henry rifle for the benefit of the members.

Mr. E. F. Donkin of Conex, Nyamandhlovu, kindly displayed aerial photographs of the area which were viewed by members through a stereoscope.

After a lunch break in the shade of the long avenue of gum trees planted by the late Mr. George Mitchell (father of Mrs. Rushmore and a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia) in 1915, the party went to the site of Fonseca's farm a few hundred yards distant and here Mrs. Rushmore told us about her family's arrival at the farm in 1912 when they were surprised to be supplied with fresh apples from Fonseca's orchard planted about 1894. The apple trees have all since died but two mulberry trees from the original orchard survive.

Mrs. Rushmore took us from the old orchard to the site of Fonseca's house (huts) on the nearby hill overlooking a large tract of flat country through which the Umgusa river flows to the Shiloh hills some 15 miles distant.

Finally the party gathered at the grave of Mr. George Mitchell on a nearby hill overlooking the avenue of gums and here wreaths were laid by Mr. H. J. Vickery for the Rhodesiana Society, Mr. T. H. Cooke for the Goldfields Company of which Mr. Mitchell was a director and Mr. H. Winter of Barclays



The Mazoe Special.

(Photos: Ministry of Information)



Bank in recognition of the fact that Mr. Mitchell opened the predecessor of Barclays Bank in Bulawayo in 1894.

Mr. and Mrs. Rushmore went to a great deal of trouble renovating farm roads and clearing grass for the outing and this was much appreciated by all who attended.

THE MAZOE VALLEY SPECIAL

Tony Tanser reports:

The Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society was not altogether surprised by the interest shown when its decision to organise a railway journey to Glendale was made known. There are many people, particularly the younger ones, who have never travelled on a train. Certainly only a few people had made a train journey through the fertile farm lands of the Mazoe Valley.

The Rhodesia Railways Historical Society had contemplated holding some function as a final salute to the steam locomotives, shortly to be replaced by diesel engines.

So the Branch and the Society agreed to collaborate in undertaking a train journey in which one of the gallant 12th Class steam locomotives would haul a train carrying Rhodesiana members, their friends and families to Glendale and back on Sunday, October 29th, 1972.

The train became 'The Mazoe Valley Special'.

So great was the interest that arrangements had to be made for two engines instead of one and for extra coaches and saloons. Even then the number of tickets available was limited, and there were many disappointed people who failed to obtain a booking.

The appeal to members that they might wear, for the occasion, dress of the pre-First World War period, struck a responsive note. It was a day of straw boaters and striped blazers, of toppers and whiskers for the men, and for the ladies, carrying reticules and pretty parasols, full and elegant dresses with leg-o-mutton sleeved blouses, and little boys in sailor suits and little girls in long frocks and big ribbon bows.

The two engines, Nos. 251 and 258, still active after 43 years in service, in which they had each travelled nearly two million miles, equivalent to eighty equator journeys round the world, puffed, and panted up the hills and coasted down them.

At Selby, where Mr. Duncan Black had some of his sleek, Black Angus cattle to greet the passengers, Tony Tanser gave a talk on the Mount Hampden area. At Tatagura there was a number of horsemen, while everyone, Europeans and Africans, turned out at Jumbo to give the train a welcome. Richard Franks told the story of the Jumbo Mine and then off again to Concession, Whitecliffe and to the terminus, Glendale. There was lunch and a visit to the Railway Museum and a talk by Tony Baxter on the history of the Mazoe line.



The Mazoe Special.

(Photo: The Sunday Mail)

Then the return. The Whitecliffe hill proved a severe test for the stalwart engines. They reversed and had a second run at it and there was clapping and cheers as they topped the rise.

Another stop at Concession and a talk by Tomas Kennedy-Grant on what the concession was and who gave it to whom.

And back in Salisbury there was a gathering of passengers to sing Auld Lang Syne and to give a farewell pat to the engines and to end a pleasant but sentimental journey, for the picture of a passenger train, speeding through the veld of Mashonaland, with its plume of smoke and steam, has gone for ever.

It is not possible to print the number of letters that have been received about this trip. All were appreciative of its imaginative planning and excellent organisation. Mr. and Mrs. Cecil and Stella Hulley comment—"one felt the spirit of the old Rhodesia, that gay and unconquerable land with its courageous and resourceful pioneers". Mrs. Constance Driver writes—"I think you will be interested and amused to hear that a snippet of film on The Mazoe Valley Special was seen on Austrian television. We have a son in Vienna and had written telling him of the famous journey. He replied—"we were interested to

hear about the train trip as we saw it on television about a week ago. It was on the news as the last item, when they try to put on something amusing to distract one from world problems. We saw a two-engined train pulling out from a small station with passengers in straw bachers, etc., and a crowd of African children waving. The whole item lasted about 15 seconds.' He doesn't mention what the commentary was."

Another member was inspired to break into verse:—

Watch them come—the ordinary people,
Remembering the past, slightly embarrassed.
(Well, it isn't usual to be in fancy dress on Sunday morning.)
Where've you been? Haven't seen you in years.
Must get my stamps, but where can I find a seat?
The engines look new with their brasswork all gleaming.
We'll remember this—it's the last steam train, you know.
Did I shut the cat up? Have you got the car keys?
All individuals, all carrying ourselves with us.
Like a flight of birds ourselves have vanished.
Just with the bell, that ancient bell, it was done—
Transformation from ones and twos into a joyous whole.
History unfolding in the golden morning sunshine.
Then through lengthening shadows, abandoning the past—
Engines straining, striving, stopping, finally defeated.
Faces at the windows; train crew tired as death,
And a host of unseen hands of those long gone—
The ghosts of the valley pushing the last train up the hill.
Day full of memories—day to remember.
And all ourselves are waiting there to repossess us.
(Well, you do look a bit funny in fancy dress on Sunday evening.)

I.I.B.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL DINNER AND SIR HENRY MCDOWELL'S ADDRESS

The 1972 Annual Dinner of the Society was organised by the Manicaland Branch and held on Saturday, November 18th 1972, at the well-known Montclair Hotel, Inyanga, in a setting of some splendour and dignity, thanks to the interest and co-operation of the proprietors, Mr. and Mrs. W. Lount, whose contribution to the occasion was warmly acknowledged by the Manicaland Chairman, Mr. R. A. R. Bent, O.B.E., at the end of the evening. One hundred members and guests were present.

In his introductory address, Mr. Bent especially welcomed Lady Wilson and Mrs. Cripwell. Sir Ian Wilson and Mr. Cripwell, then National Chairman, had taken a leading part in proceedings when the dinner was last held in Manicaland in 1969. He paid tribute also to the outstanding work over some years done for the Society and Branch by the Rev. Ted Sells, whose recent death

had been a great setback to Manicaland activities. Of them and of Mr. Gordon Deedes, C.M.G., whose health had recently forced him to leave Manicaland after holding the branch together during Mr. Sells' absence, Mr. Bent said, "Their monument is their lasting contribution to our national life."

Mr. Bent also referred to the discovery near Bonda announced a few days previously of an unknown graveyard. It was significant and encouraging that the discovery was made by a schoolboy. The interest of young people in Rhodesia's past was live and it was important that the Society should follow its aims in fostering it. History began at home and became alive when people were seen to have roots reaching back into the past. Rhodesia's history was part of the web of life.

Sir Henry McDowell, K.B.E., L.L.D., Chancellor of the University of Rhodesia, and Lady McDowell were the guests of the evening.

Sir Henry McDowell's address was on the value and place of the study of history in our modern life. Rhodesians had something to learn from historians in dealing with the problems that faced this country.

It was of the essence of history that generalisation must not be allowed to come between the historian and the truth, he said.

"Perhaps from a proper historical refusal to be guided by general impressions we have something to learn which can be applied to a wider range of the problems which face us in Rhodesia.

"Here—as in other countries—we tend to simplify at least some of the more formidable problems which face us by resorting to generalisation.

"Particularly when we're looking over a colour line, at people many of whom live in a pattern of society which is common to them but is different from our own, we feel an inclination to generalise about them, and then to treat our generalisations as evidence, without further question," he said.

Before acting or arguing on the basis of those generalisations Rhodesians should, like true historians, ask themselves whether there was other evidence which in individual cases might be a clearer and more accurate guide to the truth.

The study of history had often been called into question, Sir Henry said. Defenders of history in consequence felt called upon to prove that historical studies had a value.

Many of those who pleaded that history was something more than a description of what happened in times past had, for example, affirmed that history was a kind of treasure-house of useful lessons, valuable precedents and profitable warnings. The study of history therefore would provide a continuous and reliable guide for the thought, the decisions and the action of later generations.

Another justification for the study of history saw its usefulness in serving an end beyond itself.

"On this view history provides the raw material for the construction of a proper science of man, or a science of man in society . . . On this view history

provides the material from which scientific deductions can be made about the conduct of man. These deductions can in turn be used to make scientific predictions about the future."

The rules, the scientific laws, deduced from the study of man's past determined the framework—"parameters is the 'in' word"—within which any future development of man, or man's society, must be worked for.

Although there might be a little substance in both these views, Sir Henry said he was convinced that reliance should be placed on neither, nor on any view which sought to establish the worthwhileness of history on some value which lay outside the study of history as an end in itself.

He wished to make three further claims for the study of history.

- The motive force of the effort put into the study of history was that persistent rational curiosity which was one of man's distinguishing qualities and made for his and society's advancement.

- History was pre-eminently a humane study.

- The study of history called for the careful exercise of powers of reason, discrimination and judgement and also the ability to recognise and desire the supreme human value of truth.

What constituted truthfulness and how it was to be achieved in the approach to history was a question that had been hammered at for centuries.

It was generally accepted that a historically true account must rest on the best evidence and on all the evidence which was available. Any historian worth the name must take into account all the evidence before reaching a conclusion on any historical subject. By the same token he would discard what looked on the face of it like evidence but on further investigation proved to be something else. (*Umtali Post*, 20.11.72).

Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E., National Chairman of the Society, expressed the Society's appreciation of Sir Henry's scholarly and absorbing address and spoke of the Society itself. Its membership was now 1 400, scattered throughout the- world, including a number at American universities. These people took a keen interest in what went on in Rhodesia.

He commended to society members the watchword given to the people of Rhodesia by a former Governor: "We are all of one company". "We certainly are all of one company in our historical interests."

Visit to Ziwa

On the Sunday morning following the dinner members and their guests, again to the number of one hundred, visited first the Ziwa Museum and the Ziwa ruins and the excavated early culture sites there. They were fortunate in being shown round by Mr. F. O. Bernhard, a Society member and an Umtali Trustee of the National Museums and Monuments, who had been responsible for the discovery of the sites and for their careful investigation over many years. The party went on with Mr. Bernhard to the Van Niekerk Ruins, where some of the more accessible walling and terracing were seen.

It was of particular interest that visitors to the Ruins that morning included Mrs. Manica Harmer, (nee Moodie), the first European girl born in Manicaland, and Mr. van Niekerk, a Society member and son of the discoverer of the Ruins.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1973

The Annual General Meeting of Members of the Rhodesiana Society was held in the Queen Victoria Museum Auditorium, Salisbury, on Wednesday, 28th March, 1973, at 5.15 p.m.

Present Colonel A. S. Hickman, M.B.E. (National Chairman—in the Chair), Mr. C. W. H. Loades (National Honorary Secretary) and approximately 50 members.

1. *Minutes of Previous Meeting.* The minutes of the 1972 Annual General Meeting had appeared in *Rhodesiana* No. 26. These were taken as read, confirmed by the Meeting and signed by the Chairman. There were no matters arising from the Minutes.

2. *Chairman's Report.* The Chairman's report on the Society's activities during the year ended 31st December, 1972 was presented and adopted.

3. *Financial Statement.* The audited financial statement of the transaction of the Society during the year ended 31st December, 1972, which had previously been circulated, was adopted.

It was noted that the income did not cover expenditure and it was suggested that subscriptions be increased. This would necessitate an amendment to the Society's Constitution. The Chairman ruled that the notice prescribed for constitutional changes could not be waived but drew attention to the procedure for a Special General Meeting. Last year's amendment to the Constitution had not resulted in any increase in income—in some cases where husband and wife had each been members they now subscribed to the cheaper family membership.

4. *Election of Officers.* The following, having been duly proposed and nominated, were elected to serve on the National Executive Committee for 1973—

National Chairman	—	Mr. G. H. TANSER
National Deputy Chairman	—	Mr. R. W. S. TURNER
National Honorary Secretary	—	Mr. C. W. H. LOADES
Committee Members	—	Col. A. S. HICKMAN, M.B.E. Messrs. E. E. BURKE M. J. KIMBERLEY W. V. BRELSFORD T. W. H. KENNEDY GRANT R. D. FRANKS J. KERR

5. *Any Other Business.* The Chairman mentioned that Mr. Ronnie Howland, a life member of the Society, now residing in South Africa, had initiated a campaign to preserve the mortuary used in Mother Patrick's day. He also

reported that, owing to his own indisposition, Mr. Tanser laid a wreath on behalf of the Society at the annual ceremony celebrating Cecil Rhodes's death—it was the only wreath of plumbago, Rhodes's favourite flower.

Mike Kimberley proposed that the meeting should record its appreciation of Col. Hickman's long and loyal service, not only as a Society member, but as a member of the Executive Committee and latterly as Chairman—the proposal was seconded and carried by acclamation.

THE ANNUAL REPORT: BY THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

Last year I gave you a very comprehensive report, which can be found in *Rhodesiana* No. 26 at pages 77 to 80, but do not propose this year to refer to matters in such detail.

As usual I have been ably supported by all members of our National Executive, and in particular I mention Tony Tanser, my Deputy Chairman, who is also Chairman of our Mashonaland Branch of which he is a very live wire in the matter of organisation.

His Deputy in turn is Rob Turner, to whom the same remarks apply. Our new National Secretary is Colin Loades who has taken over from Mike Kimberley and in his first year of office had done a great deal of work, although relieved by a firm of Chartered Accountants, S. A. Rowe and Partners, who have undertaken a large volume of responsibility including finance, and the despatch of issues of *Rhodesiana* on a world wide scale. I would like to mention the name of Mrs. Macguire of that firm as one who has looked after our interests beyond the normal call of duty.

The names of our present National Executive Committee members and those of the branches are set out in the latest publication, No. 27 of *Rhodesiana*. There is still no branch for the Midlands.

Membership

The number of members as on 31st December, 1972, stands at 1 327, and there are five life members. At page 75 of *Rhodesiana* No. 27, this is incorrectly recorded as 55.

Publications

Rhodesiana No. 26 of July, 1972 contained 114 pages and No. 27 of December, 1972, 110 pages. Unfortunately the newest issue did not reach you until well into this new year. Vernon Brelsford continues to be our editor, ably assisted by Ted Burke. There is no lack of suitable material, and I'm sure you will agree that our last two publications have been full of articles of the greatest interest thanks to these gentlemen.

In the past the work of our major contributors has been very greatly appreciated and has been recognised to some extent by the supply on request of not more than six copies of the relevant publication. Then those of you who kindly undertake the book reviews receive some compensation by the retention of the book which has been reviewed.

There is another category which is entitled "Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives" and "Periodicals and Articles of Interest". Respectively the first is compiled by Chris Coggin, and the second was a survey by Alison McHarg, two members of our National Archives who contributed in this way for some time though Dorothea Rouse has taken over from Alison McHarg. They supply most interesting material and long may they continue to do so. In the case of Alison, she has married and gone to live in the country.

Finance

Cash in hand on 26th March, 1973 stands at \$2 533 and there is one large outstanding account for \$1 795,50 with Mardon's for our publication No. 27. In the current year we are due to publish two more issues, in July and December.

Branches

The Matabeleland Branch as usual has been extremely active this past year, and now as I draft this report I have been sent a list of lunch-time lectures to be held in the Small City Hall at Bulawayo. From the calibre of the named speakers the lectures should be of the greatest interest.

Their expeditions always attract a large following and the latest took place on Sunday, 25th March to "Fonseca's" Farm, a rebellion site of 1896 and the adjoining area.

The most outstanding expedition organised by the Mashonaland Branch took place on 29th October, and is described as "Salisbury to Shamva line: farewell to Steam". Because of its popularity extra carriages had to be provided and we pulled out from Salisbury with two steam locomotives hauling no less than 400 passengers. Many of them were dressed in Edwardian costume and an excellent day was enjoyed, though at one time it appeared doubtful whether the heavy train would surmount some steep gradients. It is hoped that we shall have an article on this expedition in our July issue.

Activities of the Manicaland Branch are mentioned later.

Medals

As I forecast last year gold medals were awarded in 1972 to Councillor G. H. Tanser and to Dr. Oliver Ransford. They were presented by our Minister of Internal Affairs, the Hon. L. B. Smith, I.D., M.P. with due ceremony as recorded at pages 64 to 67 in *Rhodesiana* No. 27. Citations on the recipients are included as well as the Minister's inspiring speech. Our National Archives was the venue, where over 200 guests assembled for an excellent social gathering on 25th August, 1972.

National Functions

(i) On 24th August, 1972 Mrs. H. A. (Sunny) Cripwell, widow of our National Chairman from the formation of the Rhodesiana Society until his death in 1970, presented the H. A. Cripwell Collection of books and manuscripts to our National Archives. They were received on behalf of Archives by the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Hon. L. B. Smith, I.D., M.P., who made a gracious speech of thanks to Mrs. Cripwell for her generous gift for all the people of Rhodesia. As the Minister remarked next day "some of the material in this

collection is at present being used by one of today's recipients of the Gold Medal, Mr. Tony Tanser, who has been commissioned by the B.S.A. Police to write the remarkable history of Murray's Column".

(ii) The Rhodesian Government accepted our Rhodesiana Society's nomination as a candidate for the Council of National Arts, namely Dr. Oliver Neil Ransford.

(iii) The next function, the sixth annual dinner, took place at the Montclair, Inyanga, on Saturday, 18th November, 1972. It was organised by the Manicaland Branch Committee, and was a very great success. No less than 104 members of the Manicaland and Mashonaland branches sat down to dine in a convivial atmosphere, and there is no doubt that this function, as I predicted last year, has restored the local branch to welcome activity and I am sure it will carry on now increasing in strength. The guest speaker was the Chancellor of the University of Rhodesia, Sir Henry McDowell, K.B.E., LL.D., who delivered a most erudite and thought provoking speech. I hope it will be possible to reproduce it in '*Rhodesiana*'.

In conclusion I wish my successors in office every success and in particular the new National Chairman when he is elected. I am sure he will have the loyal support of all members of our 'Rhodesiana' Society. I have very much enjoyed my term of office.

A. S. HICKMAN,
National Chairman.

The Annual General Meeting of the Mashonaland Branch followed with Mr. G. H. Tanser in the Chair.

Annual Report by Chairman, Mashonaland Branch, 1973

During the year the Executive Committee of the Mashonaland Branch, in co-operation with the Railway Historical Society, organised a train journey to Glendale.

This event aroused considerable interest and most regretfully a number of wishful participants were unable to obtain tickets. Members and their friends responded gallantly to the suggestion that appropriate dress should be worn. While the gentlemen did their best with bright blazers and period whiskers to look the part, the ladies were elegant and gracious in their beautiful frocks.

As usual a brochure was written and was printed for us by the Rhodesian Breweries, to whom we are greatly indebted.

I am sure it will be realised that the organisation of this tour called for much hard work on the part of your Committee. Eight meetings were held as well as a work party for the despatch of circulars and tickets.

Many appreciative letters have been received. My Committee, for its part, would like to comment on the happiness, friendliness, and co-operative spirit of all who took part.

You will be aware that members have been asked to make proposals for future activities. There has been a most gratifying response to the appeal and the incoming Committee will have a wider field from which to select undertakings on your behalf.

It is the turn of Salisbury to organise the National Dinner so the Committee is likely to have a busy year.

At December 31st, 1972 the Branch had a credit balance of \$550,96, which I suggest is a most satisfactory financial position to be in. Needless to say these funds are available for the promotion of further tours on behalf of you, our members.

As Chairman I would like to express my thanks to the members of the Committee. They have been an excellent team. Robert Turner, the Deputy Chairman, Tomas Kennedy-Grant and Richard Franks, both of whom spoke so well on the Tour, Wendy Hedderick and Jimmy Robertson have always been ready to help with the problems which arose and to solve them.

A special thanks must go to Mrs. Rhona Barker who has given untiring, excellent and most tactful service as Secretary and Treasurer.

G. H. TANSER,
Chairman, Mashonaland Branch.

Notes

QUEST FOR RHODESIAN THESES

The National Archives of Rhodesia is building up a collection of research theses by Rhodesians, about Rhodesia, and theses which record research carried out in Rhodesia. If any readers have written up theses as part of higher degrees, or know of anyone who has done so, the Director would be glad to receive brief details. The address is P.B. 7729, Causeway.

Authors of theses will be invited to lend them to the Archives for photocopying: copies will be added to the Library and the originals returned to the author. Alternatively, should an author prefer to present an original copy this will be gratefully received. Any conditions of access stipulated by the author regarding study and photographic reproduction will, of course, be strictly observed.

THE BULAWAYO PUBLIC LIBRARY AFTER 75 YEARS

An article in *Shelfmark* No. 36 of August, 1972 outlines the history of the first 75 years of the Bulawayo Public Library which was started in 1896.

Prior to that date "the intellectual and social life of the community had centred chiefly on two pioneer hotels." Then a body of citizens held a meeting to consider the development of recreational and intellectual amenities following which a deputation was sent to Cecil Rhodes asking his assistance in promoting a public library. Rhodes gave substantial help and he and Earl Grey became the library patrons.

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* was slightly sceptical of the project but it went ahead, its first home being the old Bulawayo Club in Main Street. In 1898, with the help of a loan of £5 000 from the B.S.A. Co., a library building was erected on part of the present library site.

The National Free Library of Rhodesia (*Shelfmark* is its Bulletin), was fathered by the Bulawayo Public Library.

NADA Vol. X, No. 5, 1973

This issue marks the fiftieth anniversary of *NADA*, started in 1923 as *The Native Affairs Department Annual*—a full length title no longer used. The annual was intended as an experiment "to foster the desire for a broader knowledge on which to base the study of natives and native administration, and to lead to a more general appreciation of the problems which confront the country". It was an experiment that has certainly proved eminently successful.

E. E. Burke, Director of National Archives, in a Foreword, says—"NADA has several distinctions; it is one of the oldest annuals published in Rhodesia; a full set constitutes a very rare item of Rhodesiana as the early issues were produced in very small quantities; and allied to this it is the only Rhodesian

journal to have merited a reprinting in part for the benefit of collectors and research workers."

This issue contains thirteen articles including several of historical interest. D. K. Parkinson writes on *Chibi Station, 1897-1912* and G. L. Henson on *History and Legend of the Vanambiya*. There are contributions on tribal affairs, on sociological subjects and on folklore. An article by J. G. Hillis on *Commerce and the Tribal Trust Lands* strikes an important topical note and there is an appropriate appreciation of Hostes Nicolle, Secretary for Internal Affairs from 1965 to 1972.

Altogether a worthy 50th anniversary number.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

Air Vice-Marshall Sir Charles Meredith, K.B.E., C.B., A.F.C. served in the R.F.C. during the 1914-18 war and in the R.A.F. and South African Air Forces before coming to Rhodesia in 1939 as Staff Officer for Air and Director of Civil Aviation. He has been Commandant General of Southern Rhodesia Forces and Secretary for Air. He retired in 1946 and became the first Chairman of the Central African Air Authority which covered the three territories—Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mrs. Hylde M. Richards was born in Middlesex in England in 1898. She and her husband, after farming eight years in England, came to Rhodesia in 1928. They farmed at Nyabira and later in Mazoe. Mrs. Richards wrote a weekly rhyme in the *Herald* feature "Under the Clock" every Friday from 1930 to 1941. She has had 13 books of rhymes published and one book on life on a farm in Rhodesia, *Next Year Will Be Better*, was published in 1952 and reprinted in 1966.

Roger Howman was born in Fort Victoria in 1909, the son of a pioneer Native Commissioner. He was educated at Plumtree School and while serving in the then Native Department was awarded a Beit Research Fellowship for study in Sociology and Race Relations in London and the U.S.A. (1935-1939). He retired as Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Internal Affairs, in July, 1969 after 42 years service. He has been a member of the Rhodesiana Society since its inception and contributed an article on history to the second issue of this Journal.

BOTSWANA NOTES AND RECORDS

Volume 4, 1972, of this journal maintains in size, variety and quality of articles, the high standard set by the three previous issues. It is an annual and this volume comprises thirty articles, eleven research notes and reviews and illustrations in 302 pages.

Any subject connected with Botswana is "grist to the mill" and there are articles on *History and Pre-History in Botswana*, *The Taming of the Okavango Swamp*; on mental health and eye diseases in the country; on veterinary, educational and mission affairs as well as on various aspects of tribal, sociological linguistic and historical matters. An unusual article is one on earthquakes in

Ngamiland and there is a record of the first Tswana newspaper, published as early as 1858.

Of Rhodesian interest is a long, well illustrated article "The Boer War as seen from Gaborone" by D. Will and T. Dent as Rhodesian forces were involved in the area. Also, D. G. Broadley, Keeper of Herpetology in the National Museums of Rhodesia, writes on the Horned Viper in the central Kalahari.

Each issue costs R\$4,00 and can be obtained from the Botswana Book Centre, Box 91, Gaborone, Botswana.

THE RHODESIA PIONEERS' AND EARLY SETTLERS' SOCIETY: GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION

The Gold Medal of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society was presented to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Tredgold, K.C.M.G., P.C., on Saturday 28th April at an evening gathering of that Society at the Wise Owl Motel, Umtali. The President of the Society, Mr. C. L. Honey, C.B.E., in making the presentation, spoke of Sir Robert's great work as his predecessor over many years in building the Society and integrating the several Pioneer and Early Settler groups. While holding this office earlier, he had consistently declined the award which was now all the more inescapably merited both as the builder and historian of the Society.

Sir Robert Tredgold in replying spoke of early days in Rhodesia before the First World War and said that his contribution to the Society had been a labour of love which could not have been avoided and which found its fulfilment.

RHODESIANA SOCIETY GOLD MEDALS

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

THE PIONEER VOL. 2,1972

Journal of the Rhodesian Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society

The first volume of *The Pioneer*, published in 1968, was sub-titled "People, Places and Items of Historical Interest in and around Bulawayo" and it commemorated Bulawayo's 75th Anniversary.

This volume is sub-titled "Early Days in Rhodesia" and consists of eight chapters. There is a narrative of *John Pascoe and the Mazoe Patrol*; Mrs. Jack Nesbitt's reminiscences of the Moodie Trek; an account of a journey from Beira to Salisbury in 1895 by Frank W. Inskipp; there are stories of the old hunters in Matabeleland and a strangely worded chapter—*Cactoblastis—a Story of the Early Days of Dr. Jameson's Administration of Mashonaland* by P. S. Inskipp.

Details are given of the Frederick Clayton Trust which was set up in 1918 to give financial assistance to descendants of the men of the 1890 and 1893 Columns. The first Cecil Rhodes Commemoration Lecture, delivered by Harry Oppenheimer at Rhodes University in 1970, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the arrival of Rhodes in South Africa, is printed here in full.

In his Foreword, Sir Robert Tredgold, Hon. President of the Society says, its purpose is "to make available to its members and to the public material relating to the early days that has not previously been published or that throws some light upon material that is already available. The emphasis is upon the personal and the human interest, for it is these that bring life to the dry bones of history." This volume, with its varied contents, amply accomplish its purpose.

The Pioneer is published by the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, P.O. Box 100, Bulawayo and non-members may purchase copies at \$1.60.

EXCHANGE WANTED

Mr. P. G. B. Skea, Box 1583, Salisbury has spare copies of *Rhodesiana* Nos. 4, 6, 12, and 13. He wants Nos. 10 and 11. Will any reader interested in an exchange please deal direct with Mr. Skea.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY COLONIAL RECORDS PROJECT

(We have been asked by Rhodes House to insert the following notice. Editor)

The project completed its task at the end of last year, but work continues on the preparation of guides to the larger collections of papers. Over eighty of these guides have so far been produced. As well as material of general Commonwealth interest, they describe papers concerned with specific territories—East, West and Central Africa, the Middle and Far East, West Indies, Pacific and other areas. Copies of guides concerning a particular region can be obtained from The Librarian, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, where the collections are housed. There is no charge, but refund of postage is welcomed.

"THE HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS OF RHODESIA"

The first book dealing with this subject was in hardback by R. J. Fothergill and was published in 1953.

This new volume is a limp covered pocket book containing full descriptions and historical notes on 135 monuments, including the 72 that have been proclaimed since 1953. There are thirty photographs and five pages of stylised area maps showing how the monuments can be reached.

A preface elaborates on how monuments are classified under five major headings—Stone Age, Painted Caves, Iron Age Ruins, Places of Historic Interest and Places of Scenic Beauty. Cairns, Markers, Site Museums and Displays are also listed.

Written by C. K. Cooke, F.S.A., Director of Monuments, it was published by the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, it is obtainable from the National Museum, Box 240, Bulawayo, or from the Queen Victoria Museum, Box 8006, Causeway, at a price of 60 cents.

Correspondence

Sir,

SINDEBELE WORDS: PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

In *Rhodesiana* publication No. 27, December 1972, there are the following mistakes in Sindebele words. My criticism is supported by Mr. E. C. W. Trollip. In your alphabetical list of Forts:

1. On page 1 you print (No. 13) INUGU and it should be INUNGU (a porcupine) and the error is repeated later.
2. No. 16 you quote as KWE KWE. If this refers to Que Que then the word is HWE HWE.
3. No. 20 you have recorded Manzinyama but this should be in full AMANZIAMNYAMA but MANZAMNYAMA is sufficient.
4. No. 22 should be spelt MTSHABEZI.
5. I am almost sure that Filabusi should be FILABUSO.

On page 60 is seen "Mfasimiti". This is wrong. The word in full is: UMFAZI-O-MITIYO. If you abbreviate you should write UMFAZIMITI. I'll wager you have never said UMFASI. A woman is UMFAZI.

I must remind you that I do not follow nor do I agree with the modern orthography which has created difficulties and inconsistencies, e.g. *qhubeka* with an 'h' but *qubela* without an 'h' and numerous other examples could be given.

I am not sure that I am not wasting my time in drawing your attention to these matters for my criticism is after the event but it is a pity that the errors should be allowed to interfere with the authenticity of the magazine.

Yours, etc.,

D. G. LEWIS, J.P.,
45, Greengrove Drive,
Greendale,
Salisbury.

(We are grateful to Mr. Lewis for drawing our attention to these errors which are regretted. Mr. Lewis has kindly offered to edit any future articles containing Sindebele phrases.—Editor).

PILGRIMAGE TO RHODES' GRAVE, 1927

Sir,—On 26th March last, I was unfortunately unable to attend the Pilgrimage by the Matabeleland Branch of the Society to Rhodes' grave to commemorate the 70th Anniversary of his death but was interested to see the photograph of this ceremony on page 74 in the July issue of *Rhodesiana*, No. 26.



C. J. Rhodes, 25th anniversary memorial service. Matopos, 1927.

I enclose a photograph taken in March, 1927 of a similar ceremony to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Rhodes' death. I was present on this occasion but not pictured in it, and can, with the help of Mrs. Petal Coghlan-Channels, identify twelve of the men present.

National Archives very kindly had an excellent enlargement made for me and to this I have the names of the men I am able to identify.

It may be of interest to readers of *Rhodesiana* who may recognise some of the "old timers" in it.

Yours, etc.

MADELINE HEALD,
(Mrs. M. A. Heald)
Box 19, Bulawayo.

Key to photograph:

1. Mr. Justice A. Fraser Russell.
2. The Rev. A. Munn, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church.
3. The Rev. Oliver Roebuck, Methodist Church.
4. Archdeacon E. G. Harker, St. John's Anglican Church.
5. Mr. A. G. ("Tottie") Hay, Auctioneer.
6. Mr. J. C. Coghlan, Brother of Sir Charles.
7. Mr. F. E. Coe (my father).
8. Mr. H. R. Barbour, Mayor of Bulawayo.
9. Mr. Justice Robert Hudson.
10. Major Robert Gordon ("Boomerang").
11. Mr. George Sutherland, Manager of Standard Bank.
12. Mr. H. Gill-Banks.

FRED C. DEARY, AUGUSTE GREITE AND F. GREITE

Sir,—In Mr. de Beer's "Gleanings from the *Gazette*, 1895," at page 55 in the December, 1972 issue of *Rhodesiana*, he states that Fred C. Deary advertised as an accountant and collector in Salisbury, February, 1895.

This must have been the same Frederick C. Deary who was a hunter, trader and concessionaire in South West Africa during the 1870's and 1880's. I note that there was a Mrs. Deary listed as a member of the Society in 1970 and I guess that her husband was a relative, perhaps a son, of F. C. Deary. I should appreciate your giving me her full name and address so that I can write her about this.

As for Mr. Hepburn's note, "August Greite and F. Griete", in the same issue, I can only say that he has posed very nicely a problem in identity that I have long been aware of. A pity that neither he nor I can solve it!

Yours, etc.

EDWARD C. TABLER,
2305 Windham Road,
South Charleston, West Virginia, U.S.A.

"R. S. FAIRBRIDGE—FATHER OF KINGSLEY"

(An article with the above title, by L. M. McBean, appeared in the December, 1972 issue.—Editor).

Sir,—Seeing a picture of Mr. R. S. Fairbridge in a recent issue of *Rhodesiana* recalls to my mind memories of a well-known family in this district and their home "Utopia".

We were very well-acquainted with the Fairbridge family and, as I remember Mr. Fairbridge, looking back to my early childhood, he was a very gentle man and very kindly towards children. He had a keen sense of humour, and undoubtedly some eccentric ways. The picture published of him is very typical. He wore a wide-brimmed hat with a pugaree, a type used by most of the men in those days as a protection against the heat of the sun. Round his waist he wore an old vest folded into a wide band which corresponded to the cholera belt used in India. Over this was a leather belt into which a sheath-knife fitted. He always carried an umbrella, not only for the heat of the day, but also for the deluges Rhodesia used to experience in those years. He was not a robust man. He liked a fire in his bedroom, and preferably a smoky one, to ward off mosquitoes, but I cannot remember whether he suffered badly from malaria. I don't think any "old timer" escaped the disease.

Their house in Umtali was unique, built of stone with a wide room which ran through the middle of the house. In here was a fireplace shaped around the old iron rim of a waggon wheel. The room was partly divided by bookshelves, for the family were great readers and had collections of the best literature. The front of this room had only a low wall with pillars similar to a verandah

and opened on to a thatched porch. It was artistically curtained, and in those days the Fairbridges anyway feared no intruders. It was a room which typified their warm hospitality.

I know there was laughter about Mr. Fairbridge eating rats and white ants. As a surveyor in Rhodesia prior to 1900, and even afterwards for some years he must have worked his way through wild country and more than likely at times ran out of supplies. Maybe he did try some African fare. Certain it is to me that he would never have eaten a common house rat, *Gonzo*. Probably he tried the cane rat, a large rat with a white tip to its tail, called *Pinga*, a great delicacy to the African. Indeed, not so many years ago I was told how the Africans in the Inyanga area would send packages of these roasted rats to their friends and relatives working in town. Quite recently an African told me—"The house rat is for the cat and the dog, not for us. We eat the rat which lives and feeds in the fields. He is very fat and has a short tail."

On the other hand I know an English family living here who sat down at a very conventional table and enjoyed python steaks for dinner. That was too much for the African cookboy. Next morning he had vanished.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Fairbridge spoke with great pride and affection of their son, Kingsley, and passed on the many pamphlets and reports they received about his Farm School. Kingsley left Umtali and entered Oxford University in 1908. As is well known it was there in England he was able to set the wheels in motion for the establishment of his School to give an opportunity to children of humble origin in a new country and away from the squalor of big cities. It was opened in Western Australia near Perth in 1912. He and his wife, as may be expected, had to overcome many difficulties and for him the pleasure of his project was short-lived. He died in 1924, a young man of 38. From my parents' friendship with the family and in particular their love for Kingsley, I saw for myself the grief his parents felt. They had never had the joy of meeting his wife and their four grandchildren.

However, they had two married daughters in Rhodesia and they were always a most united family, frequently gathering for reunions or visits to the old home of "Utopia". It still stands today, somewhat changed but with some of its originality and so far, withstanding the demolition hammer. It must date back to 1897 or 1898. Situated on the crest of a fairly steep little kopje it has a commanding view of the town and is a fair distance from the centre of town. Mrs. Fairbridge in her carriage drawn by two donkeys was a familiar sight as she went on her shopping rounds or visiting friends.

I remember happy parties in old Utopia, particularly at Xmas, with Mr. Fairbridge dressed up as Father Xmas. The dining room was large enough to accommodate an almost full sized Xmas tree. There was no electricity then, but the hanging oil lamps, the candles on the tree, and the gaily painted Japanese lanterns made an unforgettable Xmas scene. New Year was another great occasion at Utopia with the thrill of treasure hunts, and, at the magic hour of midnight, the wide circle of young and old holding hands and singing Auld Lang Syne.

In those days Umtali was a very happy little community. Those of us privileged to be born and brought up in a new, young country, cherish the memories, not only of a life not to be found in this present world, but also of men and women who had endurance, kindness and who tackled the day and its problems with cheerful courage.

The following is a quotation from Kingsley Fairbridge's autobiography: "I was sixteen when we went to the Mazoe; there I learnt to know and love my father. Although there were times when we did not meet for days, yet dangers faced and difficulties overcome together brought us very near. Looking back now I see him as a very young light hearted man, with a happy nature which not even the struggle for a livelihood and the great hardships of the early days could overcloud. To the natives he was Chikwira Makome—climber of hills."

Yours, etc.

STEPHANIE MARITZ,
Umtali.

Reviews

The History of the B.S.A.P. Vol. I—The First Line of Defence. 1889-1903 by Peter Gibbs. (B.S.A. Police, Salisbury 1972. 266 pages. Illustrated. Maps. Price 16,00).

The present British South Africa Police force is "a direct descendant" of the military force that was raised to accompany the Pioneer Column in 1890. Its creation was unusual in that it was formed in Bechuanaland, outside the country in which it was to be used, and that recruiting began in November, 1889 before the country in which it was to be established even existed. Of the original force of 500 men, 100 were former members of the Bechuanaland Border Police so the B.S.A. Company Police, as it was originally named, started off with a nucleus of trained, experienced men. But the force as a whole was a "hotch-potch" collection of characters including "aristocrats and street Arabs", out-of-work miners from the Rand and deserters from the army and navy, artists and a few oddities such as an unfrocked clergyman, a doctor who had lost his diploma and a former circus ringmaster.

The author refers to the force as the first line of defence because during its first six years its duties involved more military activities, some of them outside the country, than the maintaining of law and order within Rhodesia. Its first crisis, immediately after the Occupation, was the securing of Manicaland and the fight with the Portuguese and this was followed by several more unorthodox military operations which included some piratical gun-running by sea from Port Elizabeth to the Limpopo river.

After the Occupation the force was reduced to 150 men and the name changed to Mashonaland Mounted Police. Volunteer military units were organised that could be called in if any fighting had to be done. After the Jameson Raid almost all the officers and N.C.O.'s were summarily removed from the force which was further reduced to 80 men. So that during the Matabele and Mashona rebellions the Police was reduced to fighting, not as a unit, but as individuals or groups in the Volunteer units. For instance, there were only two regular policemen in the Shangani Patrol although they played a significant part in the Mazoe Patrol and, in all, 32 police were killed during the Rebellions. Also, later, during the Boer War, there were some police dispersed both in besieged Mafeking and in the relieving forces. The author retells the stories of these episodes, and of others, particularly as far as the police, and police units, were affected.

The several changes of name and the dispositions of the force that have taken place over the years are detailed. It was not until after the end of the Rebellion, in 1897, that the force took its final name of British South Africa Police, leaving out the word "Company". At that time it included a Bechuanaland section and the whole force came under the direct control of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South Africa.

This first volume ends in 1903 when a major reorganisation of the force took place. At that date it consisted of three divisions—Mashonaland, Matabeleland and Bechuanaland, each with its own Commandant responsible only to a Commandant-General. In the reorganisation of 1903 the Bechuanaland division ceased to exist and the Mashonaland and Matabeleland sections were amalgamated under one Commandant. Military titles and ranks were abolished and it was ruled that officers must be appointed, whenever possible, from the ranks of the N.C.O.'s not, as hitherto, from Imperial military units. The force was reorganised for police work, not as the military "first line of defence", and detachments were scattered at stations or towns throughout the country.

The first Commandant of this "new concept" police force was Lt.-Col. William Bodle, D.S.O. He was already a tradition in the force as he had been the first man enlisted in the British South Africa Company Police, fourteen years earlier, when he had been appointed Regimental Sergeant Major entrusted with the recruiting of the military force to accompany the Pioneers. He had been a professional soldier before joining the B.S.A.C.P. and had then taken part in all the military episodes in B.S.A.P. history. For all that, he made a fine peace time commander of the new-look force.

The author recounts the lives and exploits of Bodle and of many of the other men who have left the stamp of their personalities and the memory of their actions in the traditions of the force. And he is not above criticising or giving his own opinions on some of the leading figures in his story. Although there is plenty of historical, regimental and personnel detail in this book the author has selected that which is essential for the unfolding of the history and this is no dull recital of police facts and figures. It is a human history of the force. The author tells of many acts of bravery and gallantry and he emphasises the hardships and dangers of those early years. For example, at the Hartley station seven men died in one year, 1897, of malaria.

This is a stirring story of adventure and courage as well as being a most readable and valuable piece of Rhodesiana.

One would have liked a few more illustrations and a fuller bibliographical and reference section.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

J. Marlowe. *Cecil Rhodes- the anatomy of empire*. (London, Paul Elek, 1972. 304 pages. Price £5).

One wonders why the author, an expert on the affairs of the Middle East, chose to write this book, but it is explained in the Introduction. He reduces the period of imperialist surge in England, a period when the Empire was regarded as a worthy end to be actively developed in the best interests of all, to one of 30 years. This extended from the 1860's to the South African War and during it, he says, "the new doctrine captured the Conservative, and part of the Liberal, Parties, shook the opposing doctrine of Free Trade to its foundation,

involved Great Britain in several colonial wars, added thousands of square miles to British overseas possessions and secured the passionate and vociferous support of a large majority of the British middle and working classes".

This period coincides very closely with Rhodes's career and as the author developed an interest in the effects of British imperialism elsewhere so in the end he has turned to Rhodes as its epitome, as far as one man can be. Hence the book is intended as a study of the workings of that imperialism from 1870 to 1900 as demonstrated by the work of Rhodes. It is therefore a new study of an old subject but there is not a great deal in it that is new.

The author's main manuscript sources are those of Rhodes House at Oxford and the papers of Sir Graham Bower from various sources, as well as some material of George Cawston, Sir Lewis Michell and W. T. Stead. The list of published sources is very extensive with 117 titles which include most that one would expect.

He demonstrates and synthesizes to produce a very readable account and this is well seen in the chapter on the Jameson Raid where the results of much speculation and partisanship are neatly reduced to a coherent sequence and a convincing narrative of who was responsible for what.

A definitive study of Rhodes would be welcome but this is not it. Nevertheless it has much value and can be recommended as a starting point for the newcomer to the literature on Rhodes. It is attractively produced but there are some mistakes which the author should correct in any further writing, thus Colquhoun should be Colquhoun throughout, and Rochfort Macquire should be Maguire.

E. E. BURKE.

Valley of the Ironwoods by Allan Wright (T. V. Bulpin, Cape Town, 1972. 397 pages. Illustrated. Price \$9).

The author states this volume is—"a personal record of ten years served as District Commissioner in Rhodesia's largest administrative station, Nuanetsi, in the south-eastern lowveld."

The Boma at Nuanetsi had been excised out of the Nuanetsi ranch once, at 2½ million acres, the biggest surveyed ranch in the world. The district as a whole, the ranch, Tribal Trust Lands, Native Purchase Areas, Forest and other lands, contained some of the most magnificent game in Rhodesia. A good deal of the book is concerned with game and with the author's idea, which became a positive obsession with him, of turning a portion of the district into a game reserve. After long, and sometimes bitter battles with almost every authority and department concerned he eventually succeeded and now Gona re Zhou ("The rocky fastness or refuge of the elephant") is a National Park and one of the finest game areas in Africa.

But almost every phase of a District Commissioner's life, its multifarious duties and interests, is covered in the narration. There is a history of the district

and its African peoples as well as stories of the early Europeans. The mundane, day to day affairs are described—routine administrative matters, public works, building, road and bridge making, cattle and veterinary matters and the care and encouragement of development schemes of various kinds. The author discusses the role of the D.C. as magistrate and high court assessor, illustrating his points from experience, and he discourses on the psychology of the African and the ever-present, even today, belief in witchcraft and its effects. Typical battles with headquarters to obtain modern equipment, radios or welding plants, for an apparently backward outstation, are retold with gusto. The author always browbeats the "desk-wallahs" in Salisbury and his development schemes went ahead. He reckons that the old, quiet, gentlemanly life of the hunting and fishing District Commissioner is no more, even in remote areas. The ability to ensure the smooth running of technical and professional development projects, to guide the political life of the tribes and to be vigilant against unrest is more important than a casual passion for the outdoor life of the bush.

About all this variety of work the author expresses opinions, and gives vent to criticisms, not only on the policies and actions of the administration but also on those of other departments, with a freedom and forcefulness that is unusual, albeit refreshing, even in a retired civil servant. (The author retired on the grounds of ill-health in 1969).

Politics obtruded into the bushlands of Nuanetsi when the Gona re Zhou Restriction Camp was built in the district. The author tells of how, in 1965, after the restrictees' influence had been allowed to spread throughout the area, his intelligence system revealed that an armed rebellion of the Shangaan people was imminent. A state of emergency was proclaimed and the rebellion scotched but, he goes on, if it had occurred it might have been the most serious since the Mashona Rebellion of 1896/7.

As an ex-D.C. (of another country), this reviewer found Allan Wright's memoirs particularly evocative, nostalgic and intensely interesting. It is a self-centred piece of work and the author makes no bones about what he thinks, but, after all, it is "a personal record" and, as such, it is written with terrific enthusiasm. It reveals in a very positive fashion how the active and constructive life of an outstation D.C. can result in satisfaction and fulfilments that are not usually found in more commonplace jobs.

There are a few criticisms. For the general, and particularly the non-Rhodesian, reader there is too much localised, lengthy detail and minutia. This criticism is enforced by the lack of maps. Most of the places mentioned do not appear on the sketchy end-paper map and in reading of roads, schemes, chiefs and villages one is completely lost. Also, it is sure that the value of this lengthy book is such that people in the service will want to refer to it and, if an index was impossible then, at least, there should have been chapter headings, to facilitate reference.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Travel and adventure in South-East Africa, by F. C. Selous. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1972. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, vol. 25. (12), xviii, 503 pages, illustrations, map. Price \$7,20.)

Selous wrote four major classics of Rhodesian literature. The first was *A Hunter's wanderings in Africa* (1881) covering his life as a professional hunter from 1871 to 1880, which was reprinted as vol. 14 in this same series. *Travel and adventure in South-East Africa*, first published in 1893, was the second, carrying his experiences forward to 1892, and the third was *Sunshine and storm in Rhodesia* (1896), vol. 2 of the Rhodesiana Reprint Library, largely concerning the Matabele Rebellion. The last was *African nature notes and reminiscences* (1908), a miscellany of hunting experiences from Mashonaland and Matabeleland, which has been reprinted by the Pioneer Head Press.

Of the three narrative books *Travel and adventure* covers the widest expanse, both in time and incident.

From 1882 to 1887 Selous was collecting game specimens for the British Museum and the South African Museum and the first part of the book takes the reader over his hunting expeditions as far as the Zambezi; there is also some account of Matabele raids and of the Bushmen then to be found in the north-west of Rhodesia.

He established a permanent camp south of the Hunyani, opposite the end of the Umvukwes, commemorated by the present Selous siding and farming district, and from here he made forays to the north and east. It was in the course of one of these, in 1887, that he visited the Sinoia Caves, the existence of which he made known in an account published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society in 1888.

Then he went north across the Zambezi and it was here, amongst the Mashukulumbwe (or the Ila) that he had what was perhaps the most unnerving experience of his African career, as he said at the time "I confess I did not like the appearance of these warlike looking savages, for in all my travels I had never before met with a tribe whose members apparently never stirred from their huts unless fully prepared for battle". There, near the Kafue, his camp was attacked at night and Selous found himself destitute of supplies, carriers, in fact everything except a rifle and four cartridges—an adventure story in the heroic mould.

His next expedition was an attempt to follow the Mazoe river from the Zambezi, an exploration which negated this approach to Mashonaland for the B.S.A. Company and turned them to the access from the south. Then followed his association with the Pioneer Column and here his account of how it came about is at variance with that of Frank Johnson.

"Upon reaching Cape Town, I proceeded to Kimberley and saw Mr. Rhodes, and was delighted to find that far-seeing statesman was fully alive to the absolute necessity, in British interests, for the immediate occupation of Mashonaland, and was determined that the country should be taken possession of, in the name of the British South Africa Company, during the coming year,

1890. I then laid before him the plan for the occupation of the country by a new road, passing to the south and east of the country actually ruled over by the Matabili. This plan Mr. Rhodes did not at first approve of, but it was finally accepted as the only means of effecting the immediate occupation of Mashonaland, with the minimum of risk of collision with the Matabili."

Then follows his history of the occupation of Mashonaland and Manica and of a year's work making treaties and cutting roads for the Company concluding, for good measure, with a chapter on "Remarks concerning the relative merits of large and small bore rifles" and another of "Further hunting reminiscences".

It is a large book, large in every sense, in sheer size (503 pages), in scope and in breadth of experience and the facsimile reproduction is as splendidly faithful as others in the Reprint series.

Mr. P. Emmerson, of the National Archives, has contributed an historical foreword to this Reprint edition which usefully sets the background.

Curiously the same title has, April 1973, also been issued by the Pioneer Head Press. One doubts whether, important as the book is, it warrants two separate facsimile reproductions within six months of each other.

E. E. BURKE.

Portuguese on the Zambezi by M. D. D. Newitt. (Longman 1973. 434 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Price £4,50).

The last few years have witnessed an outburst of interest on the part of non-Portuguese scholars in the history of Zambezia. Whereas before 1967 this had been limited to chapters or even paragraphs in works dealing with Portuguese East Africa as a whole, there have appeared since then Schebesta's *Portugals Konquistamission in Südost-Africa*, Isaacman's *Mozambique. The Zambezi Prazos* and Pagagno's *Colonialismo e Feudalesimo*, all of which are concerned with the area. And now we have the book here under review, which, of them all, will have the widest appeal to the general reader. Though treating most explicitly of Zambezia, its scope is wider, showing as it does, for example, the country's place in the Portuguese economy as a whole. Moreover, while much academic history today clothes itself in drab garments, Dr. Newitt's book, while meeting the most exact standard of scholarship, is also a pleasure to read.

What will most interest Rhodesians are the two periods when their country was most closely connected with Portuguese enterprise along the Zambezi. These are, first, the years 1607, when the Muene Mutapa handed over mineral rights and later sovereignty to the Portuguese, to 1693, when they were hustled out of Mashonaland by the Changamire; and secondly the years 1870 to 1890 when the country hung uncertainly between British and Portuguese domination. By the Portuguese must not be understood the power of the Portuguese crown, but of the *sertanejos*, backwoodsmen as Dr. Newitt calls them, who were

proud of their Portuguese connections, but had no intention at all of allowing them to interfere with their private interests.

Of neither period can Portugal be proud. During the first, the *sertanejos* plundered the country and exploited the people in their attempts to extort gold in every possible way. This is well enough known. But what Dr. Newitt brings more fully to light is their even worse conduct during the twenty years before the British ultimatum of 1890 led to the establishment of stable frontiers. Livingstone and others referred to it often enough, but here the story of its savagery is explicitly told.

What the book also shows is the full extent of Portugal's penetration into the continent during these two decades, and that, if Lord Salisbury's own criterion for sovereignty be accepted, namely effective occupation, she could claim much of the territory which ultimately became British. North of the Zambezi British travellers were prepared to admit that if the claims of Africans who nominally acknowledged Portuguese sovereignty were admitted, this would cover the whole of the south-east quarter of the later Northern Rhodesia.

South of the river there was a still more vigorous drive and by May 1886, before Rhodes had begun seriously to think of the country beyond the Limpopo, all was ready for the Portuguese descent into Mashonaland, But it was held up by a defeat at Mtoko, and more seriously by an anti-Portuguese alliance formed by the Cruz family of Massangano. This forced a retreat to the Zambezi and so left the country to the south open to Rhodes. Dr. Newitt comments, "The fact that a large part of Mashonaland fell to the British and not to Portugal . . . has therefore less to do with Cecil Rhodes and Lord Salisbury than with the African politics of Mtoko, Barue, Sousa and the da Cruz." It is a bold conclusion, but if Rhodesians are disposed to dispute it, they had better read the book.

One slip should be mentioned, namely the reference to Antonio da Conceicao as "the Jesuit chronicler". Conceição was hardly a chronicler, but he was perhaps the greatest ecclesiastic sent to East Africa during three centuries, and, though it would be nice to claim him as a Jesuit, it would be untrue; he was in fact an Augustinian.

W. F. REA, S.J.

Teaching Rhodesians by Norman Atkinson (Longman, 207 pages, with 14 pages, Transcript of Documents, 16 pages of Biography and Index. Price £3,50).

The title of the book 'Teaching Rhodesians' is not thought to be a good one. For even with the sub-title 'A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia' it gives the impression that it is written only for teachers and those interested in educational matters. It is very much more than this. It is a factual account of the manner in which our European and African schools and the University of Rhodesia have come about and have achieved their present status, and how their development has been affected by sociological, economic, financial and political circumstances. Because of this it should be widely read by all teachers,

educational administrators and parents, and by all who are interested not only in the past but in the future of Rhodesia, whether they be sociologists, economists, financiers or politicians.

Having traced the first efforts of those interested in bringing education to the children of the early settlers, a small community widely dispersed over a large expanse of country, the author shows how un-denominational schools were established to overcome the problems arising from a continuous shifting of population, of difficulties concerning the language of instruction, of the backwardness of the scholars themselves and of the frequent change of teachers.

The financial endowments of Alfred Beit enabled facilities for European secondary education to be provided.

In more recent times the effects on education of the Tate Report with its support for compulsory education, correspondence tuition, farm schools and more boarding accommodation are analysed. The upheavals caused by the Fox report, of which the author appears to approve, receive examination. The disastrous effect of the recommendations, which imported Inspectors sought to put into practice, were fortunately minimised by a number of stalwarts who saved the Rhodesian system from being overwhelmed by the exaggerated freedom from discipline and the unlimited experimentation which have led to the unhappy condition of English schools.

The outcome of the threat to parental freedom of choice of schools by the introduction of 'zoning' is discussed.

The study of African education under Keigwin and Jowitt is carried out with an analytical approach. This is followed by an account of the development of secondary education. The demand of the Africans for an academic type of curriculum may well surprise some readers. The Government's review of African education policy led to the appointment of a commission under Dr. Kerr and, ten years later, the Judges Commission. The appointments of these commissions, at least, showed the Government's concern, if not interest, in the educational needs of the Africans.

Meanwhile the advent of Federation had brought about a Federal Department of European Education charged with the care of three territories, each of which had developed distinctive practices. Once again the Government sought the help of specialists. Bray and Ayerst both made proposals regarding the educational system, and the effect of some of them, which were adopted, is examined.

The chapter on the setting-up of the University, with its conflicting issues, is an absorbing one, while the chapter headed 'Independence' deals with education since U.D.I. The final chapter, 'Barriers', bringing the history right up-to-date with the verdict of the Pearce Commission, expresses the "need for a close and stable partnership between people of different ethnic groups, in the common interest of the community."

The book is well written, and, despite its interpretation of fact, is easy to read and well documented. It cannot be expected that everyone will agree with the author's opinions.

For Rhodesian readers there might have been an added interest if some of those who played a major part in the formation of educational policies had been given names instead of anonymity. The only Director of Education named is Foggin, but 'the Director of Education in 1934', or 'enlightened and far-sighted educational administrators' might well have been given names. Men of the calibre of Duthie, Cowling, Cowie and Morgan should not be forgotten.

G. H. TANSER.

The Life of Bishop Hartzell by Kare Eriksson. (Rhodesia Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, Rhodesia. Printed by the Rhodesia Mission Press, Umtali. 51 pages, annotated, photograph).

This small book has been written and published on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Bishop Hartzell's arrival in Rhodesia.

Joseph Crane Hartzell was ordained as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church after working his way through school and two years before he graduated at Illinois Wesleyan College in 1868. He volunteered to join the 'Freedmen's Aid Society', an organisation set up by the Methodists to teach and preach anywhere in the Southern States where there was a need for their services. Hartzell laboured in New Orleans among the coloured people for twelve years before being transferred to Cincinnati where he became the secretary of the Society.

When he was 54 years old Hartzell was appointed Missionary Bishop of Africa, succeeding Bishop William Taylor in 1896.

Taylor had set up self-supporting missions in Liberia, Angola and Mocambique. Immediately he was appointed Hartzell visited the missions and introduced a policy of payment of salaries and pensions for the missionaries. He then came to Rhodesia intending to establish a mission under the British flag. At the opening of the railway in Bulawayo, on November 4th 1897, he met Cecil Rhodes, who invited him to visit Umtali to see about the opening of a mission there.

Umtali had been moved to a new site and Old Umtali was granted by the B.S.A. Company to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a condition being that the Church would open a school for the European children in the new Umtali.

The author heads one chapter "An attempt at evaluating Bishop Joseph Hartzell and his methods of work in Africa". He discusses Hartzell's use of personal contacts with such people as Henry M. Stanley, Theodore Roosevelt, the King of Portugal and the German Kaiser, and the Bishop's crusade against dagg-smokers and beer-drinkers.

Though Hartzell retired in 1916 he still retained a great interest in Africa and carried on correspondence with people who had supported his work.

On his 86th birthday the Bishop was assaulted by two young men who entered his apartment. He never recovered from his injuries.

The introduction of the book indicates that it is not an exhaustive history of Hartzell. In the small volume it would not be possible to do this, nevertheless the book is an important item of Rhodesiana.

G. H. TANSER.

Ex Africa . . ., by Hans Sauer. (Books of Rhodesia, vol. 27, 1973. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, 335 pages, 12 photographic illustrations. Price \$7,00).

This book has always been one of my favourite Rhodesiana volumes, for from the first page, where the father of Hans Sauer, the author, obtains a farm in exchange for a beaverskin topper, there is a continuous flow of incidents in a life full of exciting experiences, simply but entertainingly described.

Hans Sauer lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the Kimberley diamond fields and the Witwatersrand Goldfields were being developed. He qualified as a doctor at Edinburgh University and then made his way to Kimberley. Then wandering to the Barberton goldfields, he attempted to win from the Portuguese for the British Empire a small island outside Lourenco Marques before returning to Kimberley.

Here he took part in the smallpox war being waged between those doctors led by Dr. Wolff, his partner Dr. Jameson, and Dr. Rutherford Harris, who were conniving at concealing that the disease raging through the town was smallpox, and Sauer, who pressed for recognition of the loathsome disease for what it was. Sauer routed his adversaries and they were fortunate that their careers as medical men were not terminated.

Sauer found himself taking part in other activities in Kimberley, bringing him into contact with Rhodes, Beit, Barnato and others, and was by no means overwhelmed by them. He moved to the Witwatersrand, being engaged by Rhodes and that man's business friends to obtain claims along the newly discovered reef. Sauer's activities on the Rand, the fortunes he missed and the successes he made provide absorbing reading. He was present when Johannesburg was being born and made big profits by backing his own hunches and making the most of the business opportunities which presented themselves.

Gradually he gave up medicine and then decided to study law. When he had obtained a lawyer's qualifications in England he returned to South Africa to become a Rhodes man. He visited Rhodesia and was there at the outbreak of the Matabele War. At the end of the war he bought a large number of farms near Bulawayo from those who had been granted "loot" farms for their services as volunteers, and gave the name Sauersdale to his estates. He sold his properties to Rhodes, naturally making a handsome profit.

Restless he returned to Johannesburg to become a member of the Reform Committee and to participate in the events leading up to the Jameson Raid. He was arrested and goaled for his activities but was released on payment of a fine and was back in Bulawayo to accompany Rhodes at the peace Indaba in the Matopos.

The book *Ex Africa . . .* finishes at this point. It is a pity that Sauer was not able to write another volume for in Rhodesia he was the power behind the Rhodesia Eldorado Banket Company which brought about the 'Banket Boom'. He was a Town Councillor of Bulawayo and a member of the first Rhodesian Legislative Assembly. His own accounts of these and other of his business associations, interests, occupations and concerns would have made another absorbing volume. For Sauer wrote well and the book he wrote is full of meat, with lively observation and interesting sidelights on personalities he encountered and on events in which he played a noteworthy part.

The reprint now made available (the original book is very scarce) is of the usual excellent standard of volumes published by Books of Rhodesia.

Ex Africa . . . is highly recommended to those who are interested in the background of Rhodesia's story.

G. H. TANSER.

The Forthright man, by Sally and Betty Stent; edited by Paddy Cartwright. (Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1972. 194 pages. Illustrations. Price R4,75).

Vere Stent's name is familiar to most Rhodesians. In Baden Powell's well-known illustration of the "Great Indaba", Stent is seen sitting behind Rhodes taking notes for what was to become the most famous of all accounts of the event. At that time Stent, an assertive 24-year old, was correspondent for the *Cape Times*. For his age he was already an experienced soldier and journalist, having participated in the Matabele War and in General Joubert's campaigns in the Northern Transvaal.

In this chatty biography, written by Stent's two daughters, a fascinating picture of the journalist's entire career emerges. The indaba was only one of a series of major historic events that Stent experienced at first hand: he wrote eye-witness accounts of the Boer War, the events leading to Union, the Boer rebellion, the South West and East Africa campaigns and many more. His talents were given full rein when he was appointed editor of the *Pretoria News*, a post he held from 1902 to 1920. An ardent imperialist, he accepted editorship of the paper on condition that he could dictate its policy. As a result, the newspaper became a respected, dynamic journal under his direction. Stent never hesitated to attack or give advice to individuals in high office, from politicians to priests. This he did with particular incisiveness in his Saturday leaders, which were presented in the form of "open" letters. One of these almost led to a physical attack on him by a mob of infuriated strikers in 1913.

If it meant getting a scoop, Stent could be ruthless. A sweeper in the Raadsaal passed on to him the carbons of a speech which was to be made by the Transvaal's first prime minister. Stent published the speech in the *News* two days before it was supposed to be delivered. On another occasion, hearing of the existence of an important draft bill in a minister's office, he instructed a young reporter to enter the office during the lunch break and take down a shorthand precis. The bill appeared in the paper that evening!

The authors have drawn extensively on Stent's original writings to present a balanced portrayal of the man, showing both good and bad points. Stent's writing was nearly always trenchant, and at its best imaginative and almost lyrical as well, as the reproductions in the book show. Unfortunately, in most cases the reader cannot know which of the excerpts are from personal writings, and which from published texts, as no sources are given. In either event, Stent's writings were a brilliant commentary on the South African scene at that time, and a selection, suitably edited, would make fascinating reading and warrant the publication of a volume to itself.

The book abounds in punctuation and typographical errors, and here and there one is left with a strong impression that it was hastily compiled, edited, and seen through the press. For all that it is an absorbing, lively account, and well worth reading.

c. COGGIN.

The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province by Gerald L. Caplan. (C. Hurst & Co. 270 pages. 9 illustrations. Maps. Price £3,30).

Mr. Caplan is a Canadian who gained his Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and held an appointment at the University College of Rhodesia. The book was written in 1966-7, following three visits to Barotseland, of which far the longest, of four months, took place in 1965.

The early chapters are occasionally enlightened by traditions acquired through verbal evidence, but in general they have little new to tell and show a quite extraordinary lack of appreciation of the difficulties of the British South Africa Company, which takes the blame for almost everything of which the author disapproves. The Company, for example, is accused of renegeing on nearly every commitment it made to the Barotse (p. 55) and particularly of not paying the £2 000 under the Lochner Concession for the first seven years. As Lewanika had repeatedly, and in writing, repudiated the Concession, the Company at the least had some excuse. Mr. Caplan says that—"the annual grant to the king of £2 000 set down in the Concession and never paid, was reduced to the sum of £850." Although he goes on to say that the Lozi would not sign the agreement unless a further clause was added excluding the Barotse Valley for prospecting or settlement, he omits to explain that this accounted for the reduction of the subsidy from £2 000 to £850. Company rule may easily be criticised, but at least the criticism should be informed.

Again there is little awareness of what would have happened to the Lozi if they had not come under the Company's administration.

While the main value of the book is the oral evidence of certain Lozi narrators, it is fair to say that most of them, judging by Mr. Caplan's short biographies, were either enemies of the ruling Litunga, or early adherents to UNIP, or both.

It is curious that Mr. Caplan warns himself of three dangers in accepting this type of oral evidence, that (1) the accounts of participants are bound to be highly biased (p. 231), (2) oral tradition is passed down through the members of the ruling classes, and in consequence is the story of those who have been victorious (p. 232), and (3) oral tradition . . . recalls largely that which remains important to the present generation (p. 212), with all of which one would associate oneself, and yet he has made little attempt to get oral evidence from senior European officials who took part in the same events and are still living in retirement in England, Rhodesia, and South Africa. The remaining official records are unlikely to record the whole of the story.

Having regard to the short periods spent in Barotseland, the author can be congratulated on the comparative absence of obvious misunderstandings. However a few may be mentioned. The Rennie who was Provincial Commissioner in 1929 was Charles, and not Gilbert who was later Governor (p. 142); tax evasion was a criminal and not a civil offence (p. 100); lung sickness and pleuro-pneumonia were the same disease (p. 145); only a minority of the Lozi turned to the Watch Tower Movement in the '30' s; and the wage level in Barotseland in 1935 was seldom if ever as low as 3s. to 5s. a month. It is also curious to read that Walubita resigned as Ngambela in 1956 because of differences with Mwanawina (p. 248), without mention being made of his increasing deafness which was making him unsuitable to preside at the hearing of cases in the *kuta*.

Nevertheless for those who have served at any period in Barotseland, there is much of interest in this book.

GERVAS CLAY.

(Resident Commissioner, Barotseland, 1958-61).

The Autobiography of an Old Drifter by Percy M. Clark. (Books of Rhodesia, 1972. Vol. 26 of Rhodesia Reprint Library. 272 pages. Illustrated).

The Old Drift was the name of the early settlement, about five miles upstream of the Victoria Falls on the north bank of the Zambezi, by the shallow ford where wagons crossed into Northern Rhodesia before the Falls Bridge was built. When Percy Clark first arrived there in 1903 it comprised a pole and dagga village, including two or three small stores one of which also served as a hotel, with a population of about a dozen white men. It was a pestilential place, the men riddled with malaria and blackwater. In one season alone eleven men died and the author has some gruesomely amusing stories of drunken undertakers falling into graves with the corpses. It was a rough, tough place, the main pastimes of the residents and of the numerous "Wallabies" (wandering prospectors and hunters) being drinking, fighting and gambling, which Clark describes with zest.

Clark was born in London in 1874 and photography was his trade. He came out to Rhodesia to open the photographic section of the first chemist in Bulawayo and he tells of life in that tin-shanty town where the amusements were the same as those of the Old Drift.

After a while he left the chemist and went off on his own, wandering around Southern Rhodesia with his cameras taking pictures of scenes, game and especially, under contract, of the early mines such as Gwanda, Geelong, Penahlonga and others.

Then to the Old Drift from where he made lengthy trips up the Zambezi with a fleet of canoes hunting, trading and, of course, taking photographs. He met and photographed the famous Paramount, Lewanika, who commented that Clark was the first white man to visit him who did not want some concession or other.

With the arrival of the railway, and Clark photographed every exciting stage of the building of the Falls Bridge, the Old Drift died and Livingstone was established. But Clark moved to the Southern Rhodesian bank, to the Victoria Falls settlement where he built picturesque huts, stocked with curios, that became renowned as a tourist attraction. His book was first published in 1936. He died in 1937.

Percy Clark was a colourful character and his rumbustious book is a change from the normal run of Rhodesian Reprints. It is not so much sober history as lively and humorous reminiscences of a way of life that was hard and precarious but, at the same time, romantic and adventurous.

His photographic and curio business is still carried on at the Falls by his son, Victor.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Robert's People: The Life of Sir Robert Williams, Bart., 1860-1938, by Robert Hutchinson and George Martelli (London, Chatto and Windus, 1971. 254 pages, illustrations and maps. Price £3).

This is an unusual and important book for those interested in the history of Southern Africa and in the story of the personalities involved in the making of this history. For Robert Williams not only had an extraordinary career, but he seems to have been aware that he was making history and therefore kept a full diary with detailed "notes of any important events or conversations in which he took part". George Martelli, the surviving author adds: "He also wrote regularly to his wife telling her everything he was doing. His life is therefore exceptionally well documented".

The book also has an unusual history: some years before he died Williams started to write his memoirs and to help him in this task he employed 'ghost' writers. But for various reasons the work was not published during his lifetime. Some three decades later, Robert Hutchinson, his grandson, undertook to write Williams's biography but he died in 1969 before completing the book. Mr. Martelli undertook to complete the book using Hutchinson's text as well as the earlier memoirs. Thus the book could well embody a multiplicity of ideas which could tend to distract from the value of his original material it should be based on. Indeed, one is sometimes left with the wish that, since Williams left an "exceptionally well documented" account of his life, the diary and letters

had been allowed to speak for themselves, and that the authors had been editors.

Robert Williams was a brilliant Scots engineer who had a profound effect on events both north and south of the Zambezi: he had a decisive influence in all the major mining centres—Kimberley, the Rand, Rhodesia and Katanga.

Along with Jameson and Beit he is regarded as one of Rhodes's closest associates. He writes: "I became one of Rhodes's men. I worked at first for him and afterwards with him, and his lofty inspiration and tremendous vision have been an absorbing influence colouring the whole of my life's work".

Williams records that a lecturer on Livingstone first turned his thoughts to Africa and that he felt that he, too, must do something for the welfare of the African peoples. He regarded the development of the resources of the continent as the best means of civilising the natives. Livingstone's "Commerce and Christianity" linked with Rhode's British South Africa Company's "Justice, Freedom and Commerce" were his guiding stars throughout his life. When receiving the Freedom of Aberdeen he said: "were I asked what has been the greatest factor in any success I have had in Africa I would say without hesitation that it was the good name I had with the natives".

Perhaps one day Sir Robert's diary and letters will be published but until they are *Robert's People* will provide the best account of the work of a great man.

R. W. S. TURNER.

Eminent Victorians in South Africa, by V. C. Malherbe. (Cape Town. Juta, 1972. 225 pages. Illustrations. Price R7,50).

Sometimes, when reading accounts of well-known episodes and personalities in South African history, one is surprised to discover that certain men and women, famous by virtue of achievements ostensibly unrelated to southern Africa, ever visited the country. Such revelations are intriguing, but seldom does one get the opportunity of discovering the why's and wherefore's of their presence in the country. This carefully prepared work is a portrayal of four such men—Froude, Stanley, Gordon, and Kipling—although, perhaps because of his literary prestige, the last-named and his association with South Africa is perhaps better known than the other three.

Froude had already established a reputation as a leading British historian when his friendship with Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, led him to visit South Africa in 1874 with a view to gauging opinions on confederation. His itinerary, which took him to the Cape, Natal, and the two Boer republics, convinced him that confederation was feasible. Froude visited the Cape again in 1875. That his influence did not result in voluntary confederation was not Froude's fault, but stemmed to a great extent from Carnarvon's handling of the issue. Froude played a significant role in tempering the Boer's critical attitude towards Britain, and he regarded the annexation of the Transvaal as a "grave error".

Major-General Gordon (of Khartoum fame) arrived at the Cape in 1882 to take over as Commandant-General of the forces there. Gordon was already a legendary figure, and the Cape government had the "romantic notion" that his ability and courage would solve the problems of the Basutoland rebellion. Gordon met Rhodes in the Leribe district, and the two found much in common. The climax of Gordon's mission was a meeting, under what were then depicted as dangerous conditions, with the leader of the rebellion. The author contends that this meeting inspired Rhodes' own later conduct at the Matabeleland indabas.

Henry Morton Stanley's story is by far the most readable and absorbing in the book. Of the four Victorians, Stanley's trips to South Africa were "more casual, and less relevant to South African affairs, than the visits of the others". Perhaps it is for this reason that the author deals with his career as a whole in some detail. Stanley's most significant visit to South Africa was in 1897 when he was invited to attend the celebrations marking the arrival of the railway in Bulawayo, which town he described as "the Chicago of South Africa". Kipling's ties with South Africa stemmed from his friendship with Rhodes and Jameson, his involvement with the Boer War, and his literary efforts in the cause of British imperialism in South Africa.

The author's portrayal of the four Victorians is sensitive and perceptive. The end result is to whet the reader's appetite for further accounts of other famous Victorians who called at the Cape. Perhaps Mrs. Malherbe already has more of them up her sleeve.

C. COGGIN.

GENERAL

The Life and times of President Brand, by T. B. Barlow. (Juta, 1972. 267 pages, illustrations, maps. Price R7,50).

Johannes Henricus Brand was President of the Orange Free State from 1864 to 1888. At the time that the Volksraad sought him out he was conducting a very successful legal practice in Cape Town. The uncertain political and economic policies of Pretorius had led the young O.F.S. to the verge of collapse and a strong man was needed if it was to survive; Brand proved to be that man.

One of Brand's first successes was so to rally the burghers that they were able to contain the Basuto and establish a firm frontier with them. The next crisis arose from the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal in 1867 in territory to which the O.F.S. had strong and valid claims. Britain denied these and in 1871, annexed the area as Griqualand West. The dispute was eventually settled with a cash payment to the O.F.S., but Britain retained the diamonds. Brand was very active and a very able negotiator in the subsequent dispute between Britain and the Transvaal, from 1877 to 1881, but far from involving the O.F.S. on the side of the Transvaal he accepted the ultimate British annexation of the latter. His contribution to the Pretoria Convention of 1881 led Queen Victoria to offer

him the G.C.M.G. which, perhaps mistakenly, he accepted, as the burghers considered it to be alien to republican principles. In his latter years he was aloof to ideas of Afrikaner nationalism and preferred the concept of a federation.

Thus he played a considerable part in the fashioning of South African political history but curiously he has not previously been the subject of a major study. The author was born in Bloemfontein and then, after qualifying as an advocate, was librarian at the Supreme Court in Cape Town and subsequently an assistant to the Attorney-General. He has a close personal interest in his subject and has made much use of archival sources in South Africa and London; the book fills a gap.

The Rhodesian interest is only indirect, in the history of the troubled early days of the diamond fields and Griqualand West, where Rhodes found himself in 1871, when it all began.

E. E. BURKE.

The Drakensberg of Natal, by Doyle P. Liebenberg. (T. V. Bulpin, Cape Town, 1972. 178 pages, illustrations and maps. Price R10).

To the ancients, mountains were places of refuge, or mystery, or homes fit for the gods. The impact of height and quiet cloudy bleakness allows modern man a transient tranquillity and clarity of vision never found in crowded anonymous cities.

A book about mountains is always exciting, especially since this volume describes the magnificent Drakensberg, that is almost on our doorstep.

The author is a distinguished mountaineer and holder of the gold badge of the Mountain Club of South Africa. His subject is the Drakensberg of Natal, whose spectacular fastnesses will always challenge the casual traveller or the climbing addict.

Chapters on interesting facets of the mountain are short and authoritative—the geological structure and known history of the region; its flora and fauna; a lengthy list of bird, fish and snake species found in the area, and an account of hotels and rest-camps. The climber will find a description of mountaineering achievements and a list of recorded climbs, and the novice will enjoy the section on climate and vital clothing and equipment, the treatment in cases of exhaustion, accident or snakebite, and the need for fitness in order to enjoy oneself to the full.

The most striking feature, apart from superlative colour photographs, is the collection of sketch maps of the Escarpment. These are incredibly three-dimensional, showing the outlines of the peaks against the skyline, with the contours and paths so clearly drawn that even the most dismal failure at map-reading need never get lost.

We are given the sombre warning that already this area shows signs of erosion and deterioration due to overgrazing and the annual burning of the grass. These factors will impair the value of the Drakensberg as South Africa's

chief water-catchment area, and pleas are made for progressive policies of land conservation before it is too late.

This book will be invaluable to any visitor to the Drakensberg, and to the collector of Africana.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY.

Southern Africa—Its Natural Wonders. Interesting People and Coming Events: presented by T. V. Bulpin. Art direction by Jenny Miller. (Published by T. V. Bulpin, 1972. 60+ pages. Pen-drawings, 50 coloured illustrations, maps. Price R6).

This is the first volume of a series, to be published periodically, to present the most beautiful and extraordinary features of Southern Africa.

With this end in view the contents have been varied. There is a description of the game animals of Southern Africa with the beautiful colour paintings of Edmund Caldwell reproduced. With the article on the Little Karroo and the National Road N 12 there is a map and, despite a statement that the books will always be completely free of the pollution of advertising, details of the hotels and their rates. There are some striking photographs of beauty spots on the route.

The Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve and the Domain of Flowers lend themselves to illustrations and there are many coloured pictures.

The purpose of the twelve-month South African Calendar of Coming Events is not understood, as the year does not seem to be given anywhere, and, in any case, a calendar must date the book.

According to the Introduction, the books 'are to be a showpiece of printing and colour reproduction achieved in this part of the world'. These desirable qualities are well exhibited. The technical work is of a very high standard; the pen drawings are good and, in some places, amusing.

It will be noted that the title is Southern Africa, presumably including Rhodesia, so that future volumes may well include subjects of more direct interest to Rhodesians.

G. H. TANSER.

Madagascar by Nigel Haseltine. (Pall Mall Library of African Affairs. 334 pages. Maps. Price £3,75).

Although it is so close to Africa, Madagascar's population is not of African origin. It has some African admixture dating from the later days of slavery but the then uninhabited island was occupied, about the 8th century A.D., by people from the Malayo-Polynesian archipelago. Traces of this origin are still seen in the colouring and physical features of the people; in such objects as the zylophone and out-rigger canoe which they introduced to the east coast of Africa; in Indonesian style quadrilateral homes built on stilts and in

irrigated paddy fields; in the large circular fishing nets of the Malay type; in specialised tools and looms; and, of course, in language and customs.

There have been other racial mixtures. Many European pirates and slavers made Madagascar their base and intermarried. In the 18th century there were a good many European adventurers living along the coast with their Malagasy families and during the period of French occupation there were many intermarriages.

Madagascar was penetrated much more easily than the interior of Africa and the people welcomed the advent of Europeans in much more friendly fashion. The effect is seen in the relatively advanced state of the Malagasy today.

All the original inhabitants came from the same ethnic group and spoke the same language. Today, there are no tribes, only clans. From the 14th century onwards people of the fair skinned Merina clan or caste of the interior highlands began to exert a unifying rule over the whole island. They became the ruling oligarchy with a King over a highly organised state. By the middle of the 19th century the island had a written code of laws based on a highly developed body of customary law.

European occupation came slowly and it was not until the early 19th century with the advent of missionaries, Protestant (British) and Catholic (French) that the European presence became continuous. The rivalry between Britain and France became more intense but it was France who followed up the mission influence by establishing industries and giving higher education to the Malagasy.

In 1885 Madagascar became a French protectorate and in 1896, following a rebellion, France conquered the island by military force, deposed and exiled the reigning Merina queen. That was the end of the centuries old Merina hegemony.

The French took over a well established and advanced system of Malagashe government which had established diplomatic relations with European countries. It was made a "Territory" of the French Republic in 1946 with elected members in the French Republic Assembly but in 1947 rebellion again broke out. It was "hushed up" as far as possible but at one point one-sixth of the island was in guerilla hands. The rebellion lasted about eighteen months and 60-80 000 people may have died. The author describes fully the political history of the country since the rebellion, the freely negotiated Independence from France in 1960, and events up to 1970.

In addition to the very detailed history of the "State and Politics" of the country the author describes the physical features of the island, its geology, climate, flora and fauna, its people and their social organisation and ends with a lengthy study of the economy and the country's prospects for development.

This is a book for the serious student. It must be the most comprehensive book in English on Madagascar and will remain the authoritative work for a long time.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

The Politics of Kinship: A Study in Social Manipulation Among the Lakeside Tonga by J. van Velson. (Manchester University Press. Limp cover. 338 pages. Illustrations. Map. Diagrams. Price £1,80).

The lake side Tonga of Malawi are a heterogenous amalgamation of at least four different groups of people who coalesced under pressure of the Ngoni raids during the 1880's.

Probably because of their disparate origins the Tonga have an inchoate political system. There are chiefs with hereditary titles but "their constitutional position is ill-defined and traditionally the office lacks sanctions." The post of headman is also "lacking in definition and formality." The headman does not control land and he is only associated with three customs—girls' puberty celebrations, a system of arbitration and his own installation. There is no sign of a governmental heirarchy and every Tonga considers himself to be the equal of any headman or chief. In such an individualistic society, with no trace of ancestor worship, no traditional religious practices and few rituals, there are inevitably constant quarrels, arguments and disputes which, the author says, take the place of rituals and "re-enact and emphasise crucial relationships and values".

There are no clearly defined village areas, clusters of scattered kinship huts form what can only be described as loose "confederations of hamlets."

The hamlets are continually breaking up and alignments between groups are constantly shifting. But the author shows how overall social and political cohesion in the tribe is achieved "through a wide network of relationships between individuals and small kin groups rather than through a structured ranking".

The author describes this "unstructured" society by a method he calls "situational analysis". Cases and illustrations are not so much given as isolated or "apt illustrations" but rather situations and events are woven into the text. The book is thus also an important contribution to theoretical sociology.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Black Africa: Its peoples and their Culture Today. Ed. by John Middleton. (Collins-Macmillan. 457 pages. Illustrations. Map. Limp cover. Price R5,35).

Dealing with Africa south of the Sahara this volume comprises a series of 28 papers by different authors on the changes that have taken place in Black Africa over the last thirty years or so. The spheres covered are, broadly, economy and labour, government and law, family and kinship, religion and magic, associations in town and country, nationalists and Negritude.

There are papers concerning this part of Africa on urbanisation and migrant labour with reference to Salisbury, the Copperbelt and to the Mambwe tribal area in Zambia; on "Millennium" movements in Malawi and on *Magic, Sorcery and Football among the Zulus*.

In the area studied the drift to the towns has had its most serious effects in central Africa. The effects of the absence of men from the tribal areas are too well known to repeat but one author comments that, with the young men away, the people left behind are enabled to maintain much of the rural traditional way of life.

In the towns the African population is "linked and cross linked by ties of many sorts, some tribal but other new, maybe political, religious or sporting". Africans should not be regarded as tribesmen in towns but as "townsmen in towns" because they will act and behave as tribesmen where tribal matters are concerned but as townsmen in urban or industrial affairs.

Beliefs in witchcraft, magic and sorcery persist in the towns but expand and change to take in the new life situations. The new conflicts and animosities are not covered by custom and accusations of sorcery and magic occur during competition for jobs, in sitting exams, in sport and in business competition.

One result of the drift to the towns by men has been the rise of the independent status of the African woman. Left alone in the village she alone becomes responsible for the feeding and upbringing of the children. And a feature of town life is the increasing number of women who find they can, without marriage, be free to earn their own living and also feed and bring up any children they may have in casual liaisons.

The chapters on political change, based mainly on research during the early 1960's, have been overtaken by events but the rest of the book comprises not only a very full and detailed study of the changes, many of them radical and irrevocable, that have taken place in tribal and urban areas but also of changes in African attitudes. And there is a traditional African attitude. In the final chapter on negritude, concerning the "pan-tribal universalistic Africanness" that has become an African ideology, Senghor is quoted as saying—"Emotion is Africa, as Reason is Hellenic."

W. V. BRELSFORD.

Rhodesian History: The Journal of the Central African Historical Association. Salisbury, Volume 1, 1970. Edited by R. S. Roberts.

Professor R. S. Roberts of the Central African Historical Association is to be congratulated for producing the first issue of *Rhodesian History*. The issue, which is referred to Volume 1 but would probably be better as No. 1 as there is to be only one publication a year, contains six historical articles: "Asians in Rhodesia and Kenya: a comparative political history" by P. Stigger; "Engine without a governor: the early years of the British South Africa Company" by J. S. Galbraith; "The Zimbabwe Ruins re-examined" by P. S. Garlake; "The Tete Agreement" by P. R. Warhurst; "African labour in the Chartered Company period" by J. M. Mackenzie; and "White working-class disunity: the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party" by M. C. Steele. These are all thoughtful articles that are well documented; they are the work of competent historians and deserve a wide circulation.

R. W. S. TURNER.

Publications of National Museums of Rhodesia

Volume 5 of *Arnoldia*, the series of Miscellaneous Publications, is completed with the issue of Nos. 31-40. No. 32 is *An Arab Coin from Zimbabwe* by T. N. Huffman who also wrote No. 39, *Test Excavation at Nakuru, Rhodesia*.

Vol. 6. Nos. 1-8 and the other numbers of Vol. 5 comprise the usual wide variety of studies of mammals, fish, birds, insects and fossils.

An *Occasional Paper* published in December, 1972 is an illustrated study of two migratory eagles, the Steppe Eagle and the Lesser Spotted Eagle with comparative notes with other large raptors.

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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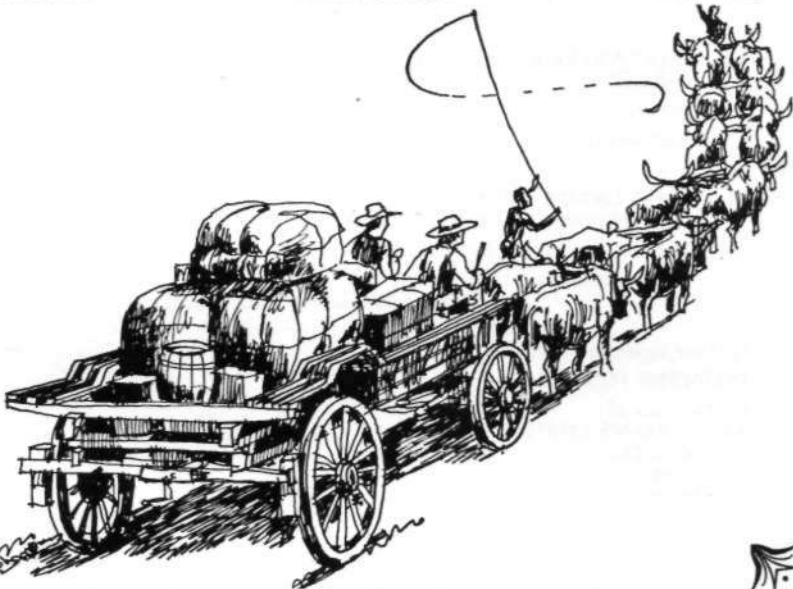


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