

RHODESIANA

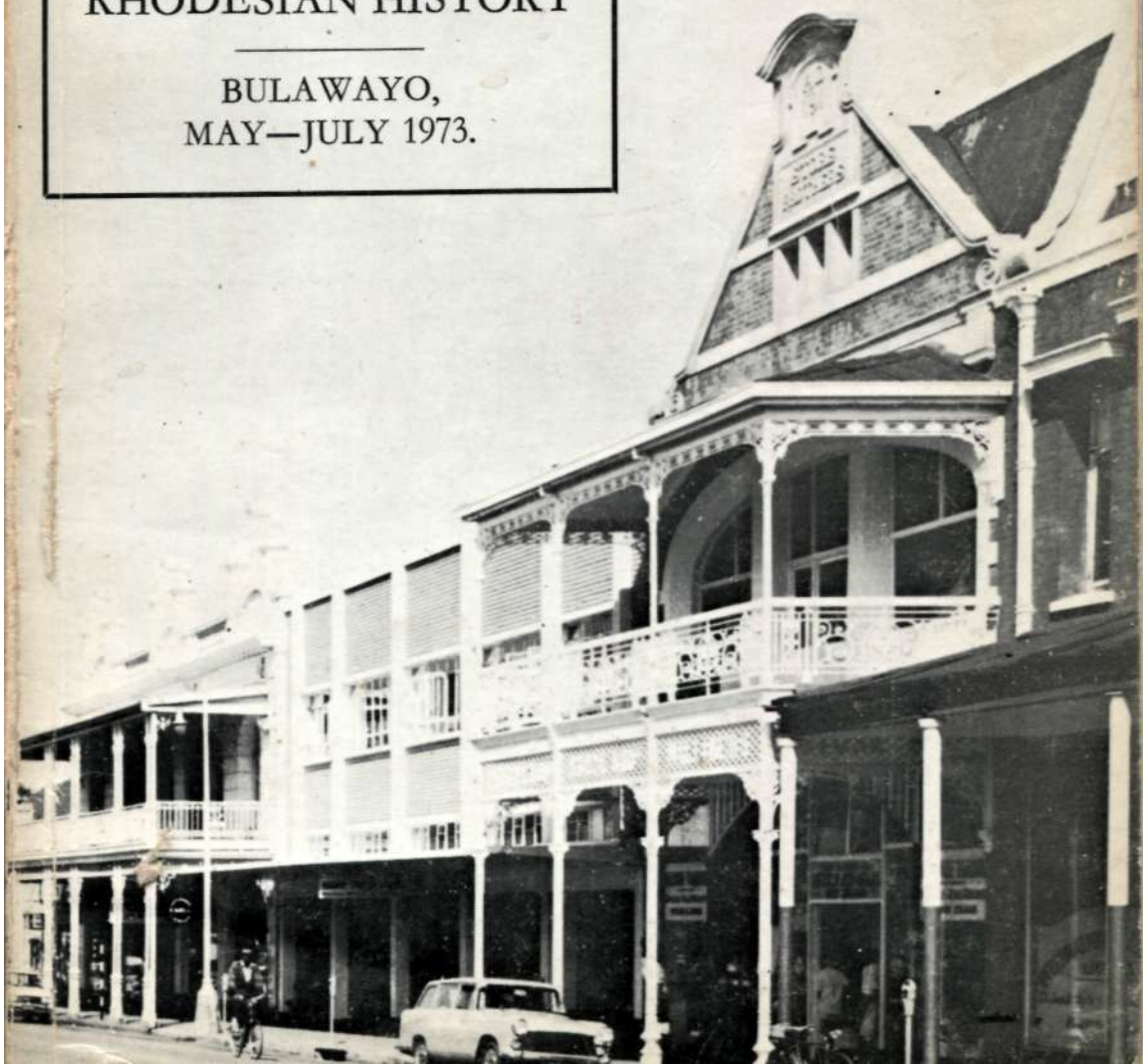
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DECEMBER, 1973

SPECIAL ISSUE

LECTURES
ON ASPECTS OF
RHODESIAN HISTORY

BULAWAYO,
MAY—JULY 1973.





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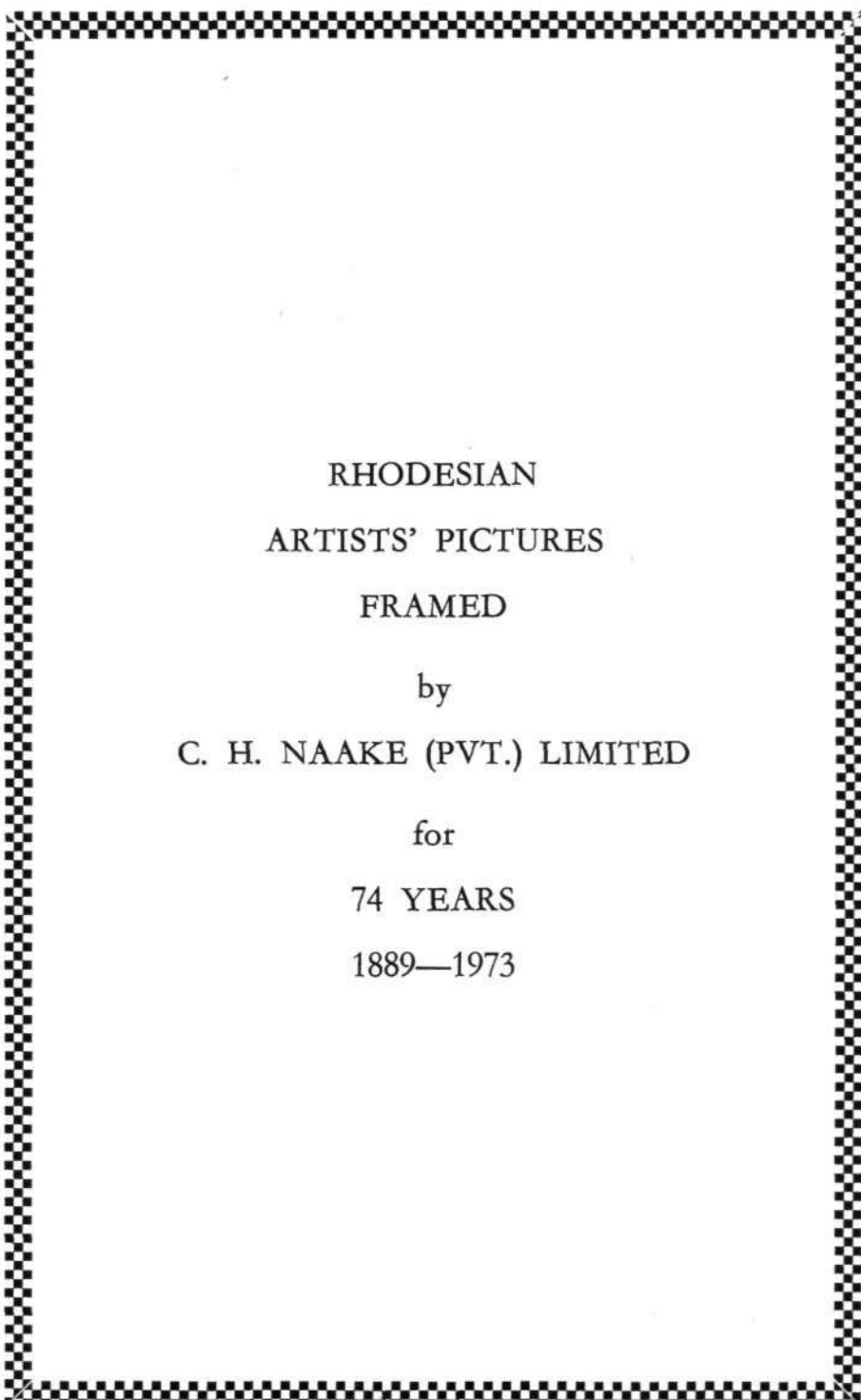
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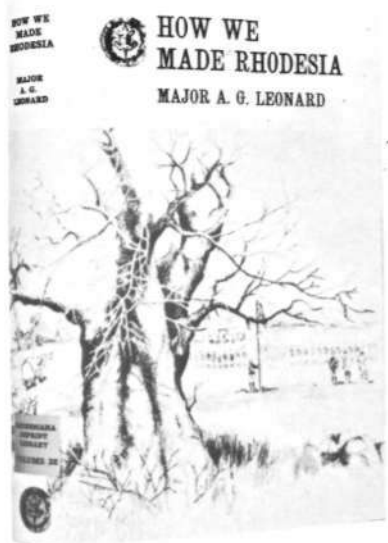
Captain Nesbitt received the Victoria Cross for his leadership and though this award was well deserved, it seems unfortunate that the courage of both the survivors and those who lost their lives was not more publicly recognised at the time. It is to be hoped that "REMEMBER MAZOE" will serve as a fitting tribute to brave men and women.

The beautiful dust jacket, frontispiece and end-papers, as well as the sketches at the beginning of each chapter, were designed and drawn by Salisbury artist J. E. Don Johnson F.S.I.A. (R.)

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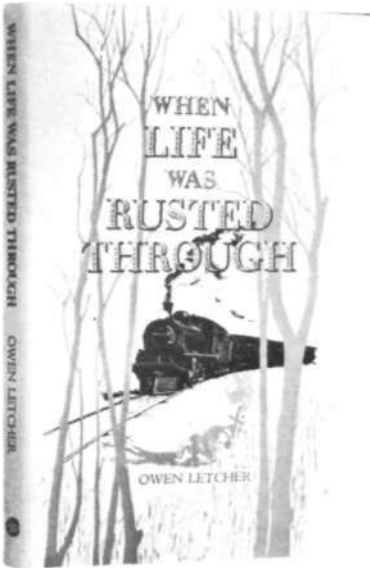
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RHODESIA

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RHODESIANA

Publication No. 29 — December, 1973

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

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

The Rhodesiana Society

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.

There is no entrance fee; the subscription is \$3,00 Rhodesian currency (\$5,00 U.S.A. or R3,30) a year, and this entitles paid-up members to those numbers of *Rhodesiana* issued during the year. There are two issues in each year, dated July and December.

For further information and particulars concerning membership please write to:

The Honorary National Secretary, Rhodesiana Society,
P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

For information about Branch activities please write to:

Matabeleland Branch, P.O. Box 192, Bulawayo.

Manicaland Branch, P.O. Box 136, Umtali.

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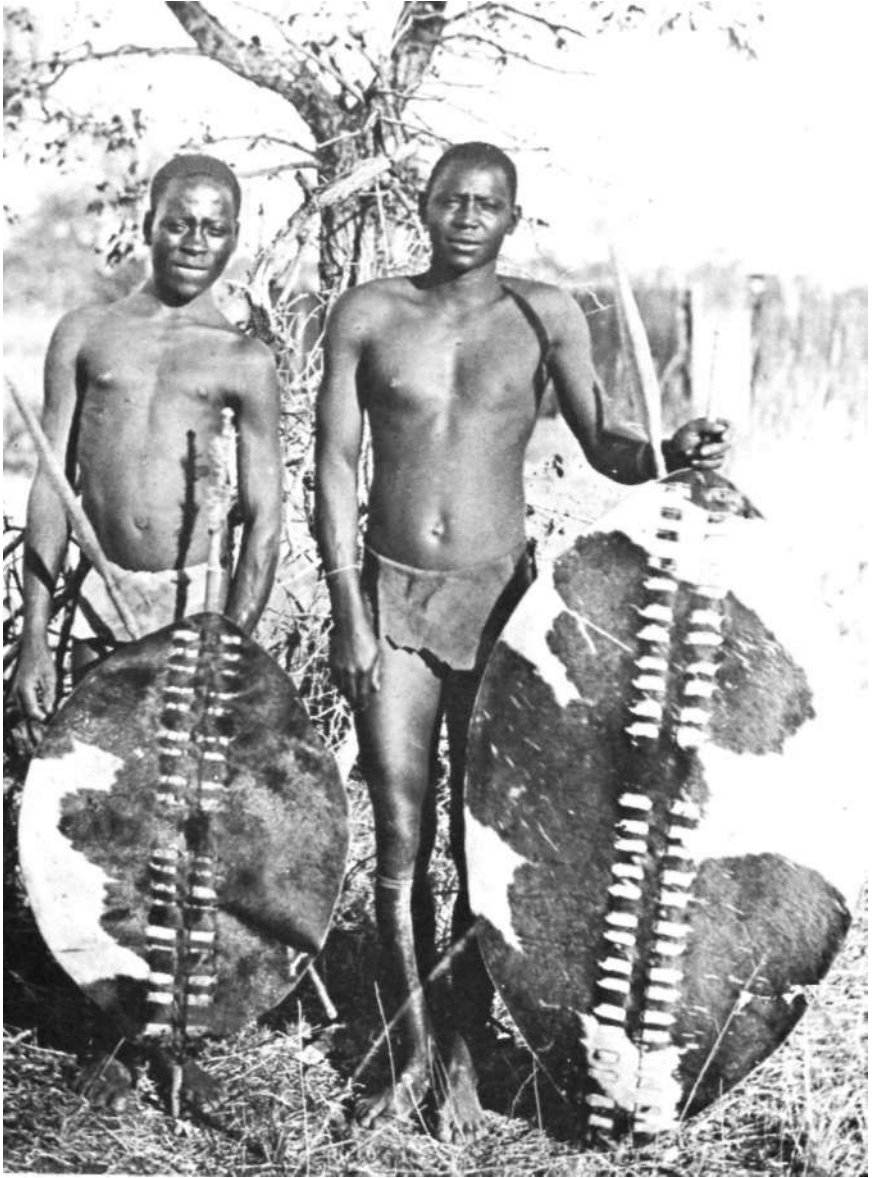
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SPECIAL ISSUE

Lectures on Aspects
of
Rhodesian History

Bulawayo, May—July, 1973



Matabele warriors, 1896 (Lecture 4).

(Photo: National Archives)

Lectures on Aspects of Rhodesian History

Since it was formed on 14th January, 1968, the Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society has held 31 outings to places of historic interest in the precincts of Bulawayo, with a total attendance of 4 500 to 5 000. The majority of these have been all-day Sunday occasions, of an average round-trip of 60 to 100 miles, although members once travelled to the Shangani River, site of the last stand of Allan Wilson and his party, a distance of some 280 miles. Exceptions to the day trips were long-week-end camps held at Tuli and Hartley.

These numerous and varied site visits, all of which have been backed by informative talks, have given members an intimate, first-hand knowledge of local historical events. The programme, although ambitious, has always been well supported and it has stimulated follow-up reading of the Journal and of the many excellent works of Rhodesiana now available.

Seeking to offer its members even greater variety, the Branch Committee decided, towards the end of 1972, to launch a series of mid-week lectures during the winter months of this year. Doubt was at first expressed as to whether lectures would have the same appeal as the popular outings; however, the small City Hall in Bulawayo was hired for lunch hours on Tuesdays, nine lectures being arranged between 15th May and 24th July. A sub-committee under the chairmanship of Mr. E. T. Hepburn, planned and organised the programme, and publicised it widely to the public, as well as to members of the Society and members of the Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society.

The lecture programme covered a broad canvas, starting from the Stone Age, Iron Age and Ruins periods, the Bushmen, early African peoples, and the Portuguese of the fifteenth century, to the pre-Pioneers, the impact of various invasions, the concession-seekers, and some notable individuals, and finishing with a round-up of the organisations which work to preserve the past. Ten of the most authoritative speakers in these fields were enlisted, including Dr. P. R. Warhurst, Mr. T. N. Huffman and Mr. H. R. G. Howman, who kindly came from Salisbury to participate. Bulawayo speakers, in order of appearance, were Mr. E. T. Hepburn, Mr. C. K. Cooke, Dr. O. N. Ransford, Mr. E. Greenfield, Mr. H. B. Simons, Dr. J. Shee and Mrs. Paddy Vickery. The three last-named speakers gave a three-part lecture on one Tuesday on Thomas Baines, Jan Grootboom*, and Mrs. E. Tawse-Jollie. Mr. C. K. Cooke spoke for a second time when he wound up the series on 24th July.

A charge of 20c was made per lecture and refreshments were available for

purchase. The programme proved extremely successful with a total of 1 300 paid attendances, plus a number of scholar guests. The average attendance was 150 per lecture.

All the talks were recorded for the Society by Mr. James Robinson of the R.B.C. and were later transcribed with a view to being made available to those who attended. However, the National Executive Committee of the Society kindly offered the entire December 1973 issue of the Journal for their publication, and it is with the greatest pleasure that the Matabeleland Branch now presents the full texts of the complete programme to all members of the Society.

L. w. BOLZE,

Matabeleland Branch Representative

(The lectures are not printed in the order in which they were delivered. The order here is roughly chronological according to subject. Various amendments and additions have been made in order to adapt the lectures more to the printed than the spoken style.—Editor.)

* The researching for this lecture, delivered by Dr. J. Shee, was done by Mrs. Gwenda Newton.

The Stone Age in Rhodesia

by C. K. Cooke

The subject "The Stone Age" is a rather dry one and I am not dealing with it in any great detail. An archaeologist is concerned in wresting facts of historical meaning out of the intractable materials left behind by man. It is very difficult for most people to visualise the man behind the manufacture of these things and the history of an individual—or individual persons—can never be found, particularly in the Stone Age periods. Therefore, the pre-pioneers of whom I am going to talk can usually be recognised by their implements or very, very occasionally by bones and skulls that have been preserved in suitable situations. This is quite a rare occurrence in Rhodesia because the only suitable soils for the preservation of bones are the limestone deposits, that is the dolomites. One question that has to be answered before one can talk of the Stone Age at all is "When did man first appear, and how?" Early investigators endeavoured to link this occurrence with the supposed date of creation. During the early seventeenth century an Irish Archbishop calculated that the earth was created in 4004 B.C. Ussher, for that was his name, did not say in what part of the year this event had taken place but within some circles it was practically taken, or regarded as equally inspired, as the sacred text itself. Adam Bede in the eighth century A.D. and Vincent of France in the thirteenth century A.D. thought that it must have been in the spring. Others favoured September and the Equinox—amongst them a certain Dr. John Lightfoot who was Master of St. Catherine's and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, who agreed to this in his book entitled "A few and new observations on the Book of Genesis, the most of them certain, the rest probable, all harmless, strange and rarely heard before." This was written in 1612. Later Dr. Lightfoot refined his dating and declared "heaven and earth, centre and circumference were created all together at the same instant. This took place and man was created by the Trinity on October 23rd, 4004 B.C., at 9 o'clock in the morning." Perhaps he was prejudiced as Vice-Chancellor by the beginning of the English academic year and the beginning of an academic day. If these comfortable dates are accepted, and many people of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and some even later *did* accept them, then pre-history was not very long. But unfortunately, we cannot be as precise as this and all is not easy and the gap to be filled is not a mere 6 000 years but something in the region of 1 500 000 to 2 500 000 years. This is so because by modern dating techniques early hominid remains have been dated which fit in with these very, very remote and early periods. If we accept the radioactive carbon and other isotopic means of dating we must accept the age of the earth and a very early appearance for man.

In simple terms a man has been described as a tool-maker. But before this there were tool-users and we presume that they were in this part of the country, but when they were here is rather difficult to assess because the evidence is too slight for a reasonable assumption to be made. We do know, however, that small hominids lived to the north and south of us well over a million years ago. There is acceptable evidence that these little men who had human dentition, whom we call the Southern Ape Man, and whom scientists call *Australopithecines*, used and possibly manufactured tools for very general purposes. Places like Swartkranz, Kromdraai, and other limestone deposits in the Transvaal, have tools possibly associated with the remains of these hominids. But the first true man to appear on the scene was *Homo habilis*, the "handyman", as Leakey called him, but who is probably synonymous with *Homo erectus*, the first upright walking man (at least it was thought to be so at one time). Once again, we have no skeletons to prove that he wandered through this territory but again he is found and known in the north and in the south.

Now when the first stone tools were found they were variously described as thunderbolts, arrows and elfshot—whatever elfshot may be. The bones of a mammoth found in the River Thames in association with stone tools was thought to be a Claudian import of a Roman elephant. In 1797, or thereabouts, John Frere said of stone axes, which were by that time recognised as implements: "The situation in which these weapons were found may tempt us to refer them to a very remote period, even beyond that of the present world." What he meant by this is difficult to understand but nevertheless it was just another attempt to explain away the antiquity of man. It is only just over a hundred years ago that a great age for early man was considered more or less a proven fact and that 6 000 years from 4004 B.C. to the present could not contain the prehistory of human beings.

However, about 60 000 years or so ago, *Homo rhodesiensis*, that is the Broken Hill Man, appeared on the scene. He was not at one time considered sapient but he is now grouped, as ugly as the reconstructions show him, as sapient. His bones have only been found in Zambia, Hopefield in the Cape and one or two other areas in southern Africa. And finally *Homo sapiens sapiens* who belongs to the same race as we are, and people of bush and negroid blood came on to the scene.

Up to 2 000 years ago our inhabitants were nomadic, or semi-nomadic, hunter/gatherers. They lived off the game animals both large and small, fruits, roots which were supplied by the bountiful nature that we have around us. In the earliest times animals were hunted with simple hand-tools; possibly the hunters dug pit-traps; large antelope could be driven into swamps and when they were immobilised they were probably battered to death with stones and sticks. There is a great deal of evidence for this in the old lake beds of Tanganyika and Kenya and although we have no evidence, real evidence, for it here we can presume that it did take place because the same animals are found and the same degree of bone-breaking and fossilisation is found in several places in Rhodesia. Because the artificial lighting of fires was unknown, man would have eaten his



"Broken Hill man" or Homo Rhodesiensis. Found in 1921 some 90 feet below the surface at Broken Hill.

(Photo: National Archives)

meat raw and would have lived on raw vegetables and fruit. The next big step forward was when man, instead of using a stick or a stone to throw at an animal or to beat his enemy, found some method of placing or hafting a piece of stone or bone on to a wooden shaft. This would have been a much more effective weapon, it could be used as a stabbing spear at close quarters and probably could have been thrown for short distances with a reasonable degree of penetration of the skin, of most of the antelope anyhow, but would not have been an effective weapon for killing the larger animals.

At about this time in Rhodesia the whole country was very dry, completely desiccated and covered with wind-blown Kalahari sands. Even the large rivers such as the Zambezi were probably completely choked. Whether the water was running underneath the sand we do not know but the rivers were certainly choked by Kalahari sand and by bands of ferricrete. This was a very catastrophic period, it covered many thousands of years causing man and animals to migrate to areas where there was water; man would naturally follow the source of food that he required. The southern rivers, possibly the Limpopo and those further south, would still have continued to contain a certain amount of water. Tools and weapons were very similar to those of the earlier periods, but possibly because the people were far more nomadic, they tended to be rather cruder and

rougher in every way. But some of the tools could only have been used for the manufacture of wooden things like spear-shafts or possibly for the cutting of saplings for making shelters. With the onset of the desert sands there is little doubt that the wind would have been cold, there would have been more frost than now and it is very possible that at the height of this very dry period the country supported little or no human life and the animals were reduced to those that could live on an absolutely minimal water supply in the same way as some of the antelope can today.

Gradually, however, things improved and the rains came back and the country returned to grassland and light forest conditions, allowing man and other animals to become re-established in many of our areas. The remnants of these Kalahari sands still remain around Bulawayo; there is one deposit in Hyde Park, just outside Bulawayo; there is another just near the Airport and there is a very big area of it on the Criterion Farm near where the new Municipal waterworks are situated. Underneath these remnants we find evidence of the earlier cultures, whilst on top of them there are some of the later ones. This is a simplification of a very complicated problem, but is given as an illustration to show how evidence may be built up and used for dating the different periods of the Stone Age.

With the onset of these better conditions—rain, better grass, more animals—hunting needs changed considerably and man diversified his tools and weapons to meet this challenge. Where at one time he had only grasslands or desert and open conditions he had to adapt his weapons for closer forest conditions. Spear-heads became very much lighter; they were more accurately balanced which made for a much better throwing weapon and being lighter it was easier to manage in these closed-in conditions. Man still had no agriculture nor had any animals been domesticated and he still lived purely by hunting and food-gathering. All these developments bring us to a period of about 20 000 years ago when there was a peak in the rainfall, which no doubt made man seek cover in the caves and shelters in the granite, dolomites, sandstone and other suitable lithological areas, and to use these more as homes than he had done in the past, but there is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way settled and had completely given up his nomadic way of life. However, they did leave in these caves large deposits, middens, containing their weapons, the bones of the animals they ate, and many other things that have not been preserved under the acidic conditions of the cave soils. Sometimes we find preserved seeds which show that they did eat certain nuts such as the marula nut, and the bones show the method by which they obtained the last ounce of meat out of the animals killed. They pounded all the long bones for the marrow and they smashed the skulls for the brains and they ate everything that was edible.

It was about this time that a very big invention took place and the bow and arrow was introduced; we don't think it was invented here but it may have been; there are spontaneous inventions that happened all over the world, anyhow the bow and arrow was known at this particular time. The country was occupied by a people who may well have been the ancestors of the modern bush people;

they certainly, from the evidence we have in paintings had the steatopygia or very-thick buttocks and the lordosis of the spine characteristic of the present-day bush people. All the skeletons that have been found have some of the characteristics of these small bush people. We cannot be certain; we have no direct line of descent from the *Australopithecines* to the bush people or to the negroids. We don't know whether there were changes in population by replacement or absorption or by changes in physical or mental attributes or whether purely by movement when different waves of people came in from various directions and replaced the older people. After the invention of the bow there was a period of very rapid development and many things that now appear very simple to us—minor happenings in our history—were the start of the industrial tools of today and, unfortunately, of the weapons of war. All the projectiles, one can say, started with the simple bow and arrow.

These Later Stone Age people were also the artists and the paintings are very definitely part of the Stone Age. There is no evidence from the middens in these painted shelters that they had any knowledge of metals or that they had any pottery. They were purely Stone Age nomadic people living off the veld, they had not domesticated any animals; they had, as far as we know, planted no crops—not in their earlier times anyhow.

It is through these paintings that we have been able to get quite a lot of evidence about the life of these Late Stone Age people. In these pictures one sees the weapons that they used; one knows by the paintings that they had the bow and arrow; they had a variety of arrows and if one compares them with modern—or fairly modern—iron weapons, they had weapons for particular purposes. The modern steel weapons are used for artery cutting, bone cutting and general penetration. Some of them have loose heads. The Stone Age arrows quite frequently had loose pieces of stone held by mastic and if these penetrated a large buck, as that animal ran so these small pieces of stone would move about, cut more and more of the muscles and so the animal would bleed more quickly and probably die fairly rapidly. The dress that they wore is shown in our paintings, their hairstyles, and many other things. The weapons of these people are a study on their own and the methods of manufacture are still used by some of the bush people in South West Africa and in Botswana. One can compare very well the use of these weapons with the manner they are used today although in South West Africa, instead of using stone they use pieces of sardine tins and any pieces of insulator or glass—anything of that nature in fact—the same way as the Australian aborigine uses them today. The Australian aborigine has taught us a great deal about the methods of making stone implements and why they use certain stones and why they use certain arrows for different purposes. Really the paintings are a subject on their own and cannot be dealt with in a short lecture but this will give you an idea of the importance of the rock paintings in the study of the inhabitants who lived here long ago.

The bush people were finally pushed out of this country by Iron Age immigrants who came down from the north-west or possibly north-east. They used the hunting grounds for agriculture, cattle-herding and thus disturbed the earlier

inhabitants. The Bushmen accepted the sheep and cattle as more wild animals and killed them, this annoyed the early Iron Age immigrants and they in turn killed the Bushmen. As these Stone Age people were pushed out of the country they moved possibly southwards and south-westwards and finally ended up by being hunted in South Africa by European farmers. They were treated almost as another form of baboon and were almost completely annihilated so that we have very few bush people living today. The Hottentots more or less disappeared and the bush people survive only in a very few isolated groups. The modern bush people of the Kalahari may or may not be the descendants of the artists but the painters certainly were pedomorphic people who hunted and painted here as late as 2 000 years ago and in many other localities in Africa.

In the last 20 minutes I have covered well over a million years but the story I have told you has many gaps. Until the arrival of the agriculturalists and animal husbanders, man was a very, very small part in a balanced ecological pattern. Since those days the results of unbalance can be seen around us; it is unfortunately too late to do anything about that, but it was undoubtedly the bringing of agriculture to this country that started the erosion pattern and loss of soils that exists today.

"ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SOUTHERN AFRICA"

This is the sixth edition of a one-volume encyclopaedia published in 1961 and compiled by Eric Rosenthal. It is published by Frederick Warne & Co. at £4.

It is a large work, comprising over 5 000 entries with 11 colour plates (mainly of natural history subjects), 28 half-tone illustrations, 33 pages of maps and numerous line drawings. There are 22 longer articles by named experts on a variety of subjects such as archaeology, the Bantu, cricket, snakes, transport, diamonds, birds and climate.

As the name indicates, it is an encyclopaedia of southern Africa and in addition to the Republic it covers Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi, South West Africa, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. As well as many single subject entries Rhodesia is represented by 11 columns of history with a chronology, four photographs and maps.

In each edition, statistics and developments in technology, industry, legislation and other spheres are all brought up to date and mentions of new personalities in all walks of life are added.

This is a valuable and essential reference book for southern Africa that improves in interest with every edition. Moreover, its style makes it the sort of book to browse through.

Prehistory—Iron Age, Ruins Period

by Thomas N. Huffman

One of the most outstanding events of Rhodesian prehistory was the rise of Zimbabwe. Today, I would like to describe the scientific theory on Zimbabwe and to place it in its Iron Age context.

The Stratigraphy on the Acropolis

The chronological stratigraphy on the Acropolis at Zimbabwe represents the few hard-core archaeological facts that are available, and every hypothesis about Zimbabwe must be based on the stratigraphy there before it can ever be regarded as a theory. The first human habitation of any consequence—Zimbabwe Period I—was an Early Iron Age occupation in the ochreous hill earth on bedrock, some 12 ft. below any stone walls. This level was marked by pottery and pole-impressed hut-daga, and has been radiocarbon dated to A.D. 320 ± 150 .

Zimbabwe Period I is now classified as a Gokomere occupation. Other Gokomere sites in Rhodesia are radiocarbon dated between the second and sixth centuries A.D. These sites are the earliest villages in Rhodesia, and they represent the first migration of Early Iron Age people across the Zambezi. These people were mixed farmers at a subsistence level, cultivating millets and sorghums as well as herding small stock.

Few human skeletons have survived from any phase of the Early Iron Age, but the half-dozen adult skeletons which have been found have all recently been identified as negro. Some other Early Iron Age skeletons which were too fragmentary for racial analysis exhibited several types of dental mutilation. Some specimens had upper and lower central incisors removed and others had them filed to points. This practice is not recorded for Bushmen or Hottentot communities, but it is a well known negro trait and helps confirm the negro racial identification.

The material culture of the Gokomere people changed sometime after A.D. 600, and the next 300 years represent a second phase. No pottery of this phase was found on the Acropolis, and a sterile sand-level between Periods I and II probably indicates a significant chronological gap.

Period II on the Acropolis was a Later Iron Age occupation which was above the Gokomere level but still some 2-10 ft. below the stone walls. This level was characterised by pottery, pole-impressed daga, cattle figurines, cattle bones, bone points and a few glass beads. It has been radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1075 ± 150 .

The Zimbabwe Period II culture has not conclusively been found anywhere else in Rhodesia, but a very similar culture, Leopard's Kopje, occurs at the same time in Matabeleland. All Later Iron Age cultures begin in Rhodesia after A.D. 1000, and they all appear to emphasise cattle in their economy.

The material culture of the Later Iron Age is so different to that of the Early Iron Age that it most likely represents a new population. Skeletons from Later Iron Age sites have also been identified as negro, and many of these have various forms of dental mutilation.

At one time, some of these skeletons were identified as Bush/Boskop, but more recent research has shown this concept to be artificial and incapable of describing a breeding population. All those individual specimens from the Rhodesian Later Iron Age, which were re-examined by some form of cluster analysis, were within the negro range of variation.

The deposits above Period II represent the Zimbabwe culture and are known as Period III/IV. Solid daga huts, stone walls and a multitude of trade imports characterise this period. Charcoal from this occupation on the Acropolis has been radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1440±150 and a similar deposit near the Great Enclosure has been dated to A.D. 1380±90.

Trade items from outside Rhodesia also help to date this period. Fourteenth century Chinese celadon and fourteenth century Persian glass have been found in Period III/IV deposits, as well as an Arab coin which was probably minted at Kilwa between A.D. 1320 and 1333.

In 1952 two timbers from drain 7 underneath the inner wall in the Great Enclosure were radiocarbon dated between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. Recently, one of these timbers has been redated to A.D. 1320 and, consequently, no conflicting evidence remains concerning the chronology of Period III/IV.



A stone wall and drain associated with a Period III/IV hut.

It was during Period III/IV that Zimbabwe had a large population and extensive trade contacts with the East Coast. At the same time similar settlements were built in other parts of Rhodesia. Some of these ruins, such as Khami and Dhlo-Dhlo, have a few architectural features which distinguish them from Zimbabwe. These sites are usually called Khami-phase ruins. Khami-phase ruins do not have the fourteenth century imports from the Arab trade, instead they have sixteenth-seventeenth century Chinese imports traded by the Portuguese. These later imports are absent at Zimbabwe and help demonstrate that it was virtually abandoned by the sixteenth century.

The Period III/IV deposits were separated from Period V by another level of sterile sand, which corroborates the suggested chronological gap between the two periods. Period V represents the nineteenth century Duma Karanga who were living on the northern side of the Acropolis when Adam Render and Carl Mauch visited Zimbabwe in 1871.

The stratigraphy at the ruins, therefore, places the Zimbabwe culture between A.D. 1200 and 1500. The two pre-Zimbabwe Iron Age occupations under the walls show that Zimbabwe could not have been built before A.D. 1000.

Secondary state theory

Scientifically, the state that Zimbabwe represented has never been classified as a civilisation. It never had writing or the need for any sophisticated accounting system. Zimbabwe was not a city; no overall street or building plan and, apparently, no master architect ever existed. The one attribute that Zimbabwe did share with true civilisations, monumental architecture, was also unsophisticated in every trait other than size; there were no bonded corners, arches, or domes. Instead, the walls were built as curves, which were wide at the bottom and narrow at the top.

The beginning of Zimbabwe was also markedly different from the development of recognised civilisations. Civilisations elsewhere developed in agriculturally rich areas which were surrounded by a poor agricultural district; the Nile valley is a classic example. These communities were able to increase their populations because of the surplus produced by intensive agriculture, and, as their populations grew, their social organisations became more complex. Since it was easier to pay tribute than to die in the desert, military conquests were able to amalgamate these cities into nations.

This sequence did not happen at Zimbabwe. First, Zimbabwe is not an extremely rich agricultural district, especially for people with a simple hoe technology, and the Zimbabwe culture appears always to have practised subsistence horticulture. Secondly, the population did not gradually increase, but accumulated almost instantaneously. Consequently, Zimbabwe could not have been a primary civilisation.

The scientific theory today is that Zimbabwe was a secondary African state which developed as a result of the East Coast gold trade.

The single most common mechanism known for the development of secondary states out of a subsistence economy is through trade contact with an existing civilisation. Ample evidence is available to demonstrate that trade contacts with the East Coast existed before the rise of Zimbabwe:

- (1) glass beads are common finds in Early Iron Age sites which date after A.D. 700;
- (2) a Sofala with a rich hinterland of gold is mentioned by Arab chroniclers of the tenth century;
- (3) the earliest radiocarbon dates for ancient mining are in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;
- (4) the fourteenth century document of Ibn Battuta mentions a gold trade between Sofala and the East African city-state of Kilwa;
- (5) an increase in prosperity at Kilwa during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries corresponds with the rise of Zimbabwe; and
- (6) sixteenth-century Portuguese documents described an extensive trade between the Monomatapa empire and Kilwa.



A daga hut from a Period III/IV hut complex.

The secondary state theory has remained unchanged since 1905. Randall-MacIver concluded in his *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, "And as Zimbabwe, being the great distributing centre, must have owed its very existence to that trade with the coast first opened up by the Arabs of Magadoxo, the *earliest possible* date for *any* settlement there is the eleventh century A.D." (p. 86). And Caton-Thompson echoed the same conclusion in her *Zimbabwe Culture*: "The trade connection with India is undoubtedly strong—indeed, I believe it to have been the primary stimulus which led to the development of the indigenous Zimbabwe culture" (p. 196).

Trade stimulus

Trade probably contributed to the rise of Zimbabwe by introducing a new and large source of wealth. Prior to the East Coast trade, gold presumably had little or no value to the indigenous Iron Age people. Virtually no subsistence community independently values a luxury item such as gold, and gold has never been found in any peasant site in Rhodesia, only iron and copper. Before the trade, the subsistence economy would have been a closed system, with any wealth recycled within the tribe. Once an outside value was placed on gold, even though only glass beads and cloth may have been exchanged, the new source of wealth would exceed any amount that could be generated within the society, and the normal redistributive channels would not be able to assimilate this excessive amount. The surplus wealth could then be concentrated into the hands of the hereditary leaders, and normal kinship ties would gradually become less important after the wealthy could afford to hire strangers or unrelated tribesmen. Once a bodyguard or army was formed to collect tribute, or taxes, a state would emerge.

Trade implies a physical contact, which must have been important, but the single most important factor was the change in the socio-economic base.

As the excess wealth became concentrated, the surrounding peasant communities would naturally gravitate towards the royal settlement. The large population at Zimbabwe began sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The social organisation at Zimbabwe had to adapt to the increased population, and among other things, the large new labour force needed to be organised. One alternative would be the formation of an army and another the construction of royal buildings. The stone walls at Zimbabwe, then, would have been one means of occupying an idle army or labour force, as well as an ostentatious display of wealth. Walls as large as those at Zimbabwe could never have been built before Period III/IV, since the necessary wealth and labour were not available.

Decline of Zimbabwe

The large population at Zimbabwe must have seriously depleted the local wood supplies in a short time. Early Pioneer photographs depict a treeless region around Zimbabwe even in the late nineteenth century. The stratigraphy

on the Acropolis and the lack of any Portuguese Period imports demonstrate that Zimbabwe was virtually abandoned by the sixteenth century, and a degraded environment appears to have been responsible.

The state that Zimbabwe represented, however, continued in at least two forms, the Khami and Monomatapa empires. The Khami ruins near Bulawayo are almost as large as Zimbabwe, and Khami probably had a similar population size. The material culture at Khami is a direct continuation of Zimbabwe, and it is probable that Khami became the new centre of the Zimbabwe culture.

When the Portuguese explored Rhodesia in the early sixteenth century, they found two rival states, Changamire/Torwa and the Monomatapa. The Monomatapa was near Mt. Darwin and the Changamire/Torwa state was in Guruswa to the south. According to some oral traditions, the last king at Zimbabwe took his people to northern Mashonaland where he was given the praise name *Mwene Mutapa*, thus starting the Monomatapa dynasty. Changamire was supposed to have been a rebel who broke away from the Monomatapa to establish his own kingdom.

If the sixteenth-century Changamire/Torwa state in Guruswa can be associated with Khami, then the oral traditions cannot be true, and must be Monomatapa biased. Archaeologically, Khami is the direct outgrowth of Zimbabwe, not the Monomatapa state. The Monomatapa probably developed from one of the Zimbabwe ruins, such as Lekkerwater, Mtoko or Zwongombe, which were established in Mashonaland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Whatever the case, these two states were fighting each other in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and they continued to do so off and on for another 200 years. The war was financially supported by the imports from the gold trade, the trade was restricted because of the war, and, among other things, the war was over the control of the trade. Portuguese expansion at this time helped to fragment the Monomatapa Empire and helped further to disrupt the East Coast trade. Consequently, both states were severely weakened by the end of the eighteenth century and, a short time later, Nguni-speaking negroes were able to defeat the Changamire state.

Other than refuge walling, building in stone had probably ceased in Matabeleland by A.D. 1750. The tradition of stone building died in northern Mashonaland during the seventeenth century, soon after the Monomatapa moved his capital into the Zambezi Valley, away from good building material.

So when English-speaking Europeans entered Rhodesia in the nineteenth century, they found the Ndebele in the old Changamire area, and only peasant Karanga around Zimbabwe. The Karanga did not claim to have built Zimbabwe and, under the circumstances, it was logical to look for an exotic origin of the ruins. At this time, the Phoenicians were used to explain virtually every stone monument in the world, including Stonehenge and the Easter Island statues, and the Phoenicians were the obvious choice.

The conclusion that Zimbabwe represented a secondary state and not a

primary civilisation should not be considered as the destruction of a mystery but only as a partial elucidation. The Zimbabwe phase was an outstanding period of prehistory and we hope that current research can be seen as merely the most recent cog in a *continuum* of constant refinement of the Iron Age sequence of Rhodesia.

"JUMBO GUIDE TO RHODESIA, 1973-74"

This is the second edition of a most attractive and comprehensive guide-book to Rhodesia.

As with the first edition it is aimed primarily at the tourist and the basic information about climate, formalities, hotels and the major tourist attractions is supported by numerous colour plates, maps and diagrammatic route plans.

There is also an outline history of Rhodesia, sections on geographical and geological features, on the people of Rhodesia and on the African and his customs.

Readers of *Rhodesiana* will find great interest in the histories of the towns of the country, of areas such as the Lowveld, the Eastern Districts, the Midlands and of the development of National Parks.

It is published by Wilrey Publications, Salisbury, at \$1,50, and the Standard Bank is distributing copies freely throughout South Africa.

African History

by H. R. G. Howman

Africa, "the continent without a history", has been transmuted into the continent with the longest history . . . where man was born. So we must be careful.

Some kind of man was making stone implements and hunting in East Africa some 2 500 000 years ago.

Today we are concerned only with the people of Rhodesia who form part of what are called the Bantu. "Bantu" is a term first adopted by linguists to classify a family of languages among the over 1 000 languages of Africa. It came into usage as a convenient way of referring to the people who spoke such languages.

So who are the Bantu? The experts tell us that they are a biological and cultural mixture of negro and Nilots or Hamites which occurred round about the southern Sudan. There are still tribes of distinct Nilots in East and Central Africa, and it seems that they represent an intrusion into the continent of a Caucasoid stock from the Suez area and up the Nile.

The negro? For those who study prehistory he seems to be the great mystery. No remains of prehistoric man have been found in West and Central Africa. He was probably there, but the acid forest soils ensured no human fossils. Then, at least 150 000 years ago, it is claimed, the negroes and pygmies appeared in West Africa—the pygmies as a result of some dwarfing process associated with the dense tropical forest habitat. To this hidden race the name of Congoid was given to serve as the source of negroid characteristics, the pigment of the skin, the extra sweat glands and other physical and mental responses to West Africa evolved over hundreds of thousands of years.

Until about 5000 to 4000 B.C. there were very few Congoids but then one of the earliest systems of agriculture appeared around the Niger River on the edge of the forest belt. This allowed relatively large settled communities and population growth which promoted, in conjunction with climatic changes, migration.

The negro, hemmed in by the deserts of the north and the impenetrable forests of the south, spread east along the savannah corridor and in the area of Sudan-Uganda-Kenya he began to mix with Caucasoids from the Nile Valley and the Horn of Africa, maybe even with indigenous Caucasoids in East Africa, because the experts disagree as to whether certain prehistoric skulls unearthed there are Congoid or Caucasoid.

This is the mix which produced the Bantu, or as one authority put it, produced a population belt that runs down the highlands of East Africa in which Caucasoids shade into negroids in clines (character gradient) which are no more than 10 000 years old. This melting-pot of races and cultures we call the Bantu was stirred for many thousands of years because the area has been well described as the "shock absorber" of the turbulent Nile and Ethiopian civilisations. It may also be the source of many beliefs, myths, skills and names carried by tradition down Africa and so provide intriguing occupation for those knowledgeable enough to engage in comparative studies.

In Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania there are many legends, called the Misri legends, in which both Bantu and Nilotic tribes recount how their ancestors came from a land in the north called Misri . . . and Misri was the name for the land the ancient Greeks called Egyptus.

The Misri legend seems unknown in Rhodesia. In its place we have legends of great waters, the great lakes, and an origin in Guruuswa—or names resembling that—which some writers, having translated it as "great grasslands", have identified with grassy areas in Rhodesia and even located on maps!

Generally, with many exceptions of course, origins are claimed far to the north, sometimes Zaire associated with an ancestor like Baswi, sometimes from Tanzania and a name like Ukaranga (Livingstone mentioned such an area near Ujiji). On the soapstone bowls found in our ruins are carved cattle with large lyre-shaped horns characteristic of the Hima-Ankoli cattle of the inter-lake area. There are also "divine kings" there whose attributes so strangely resemble our legends about Mambo.

These traces of origin are matched by tales of a fearsome little people with big heads who are recalled as the first inhabitants. Here, if you encounter a strange little chap in the bush who asks "Makandionera kupi?", you are warned to reply "far away over there" . . . to show how big he is. Otherwise he will get into a temper and you will be in trouble. The story and its greeting has been recorded away up north. Another word commonly known is Mudzimudzangara—the spirit of those who follow the spoor—and in the Victoria area as a name for Bushman paintings.

The Bantu came from the north, but considering the facts of Africa I think those historians who write of "Bantu hordes", "great human upheavals" and "waves of immigrants driving vast herds of cattle invading south of the Zambezi" are being extremely fanciful, if not absurd. And are even more fanciful when they give names to these invasions such as Karanga or Protokaranga, date them in the 1300's or 1100's, and speak of military organisations sweeping through the land and forming empires. They seem to have been unduly influenced by the Portuguese . . . which reminds me of Prester John.

We are all aware of the romance of the King-Priest of Africa. At the time of the Crusades tales of a wondrous, powerful Saviour able to come to the aid of Christian Europe against the Islam world were accepted by kings and popes. By the fourteenth century these hopes had faded but Prince Henry the Navigator



Prester John from *Description de l'Univers*, by A. M. Mallet, 1685.

and the Portuguese explorations searched for Prester John and discovered him in Abyssinia. The black Christian king was found to be neither rich nor powerful but the Portuguese continued to magnify him and the rest of the world followed suit. Maps of the 1500's and pictures entitled, "The Great Magnificence of Prester John, Lord of Greater India and Ethiopia" gave credence to a myth which persisted for 500 years.

How similar are the maps and pictures and verbal splendours of the Portuguese versions of the Monomatapa Empire of Rhodesia! Beware of the records, of the normal literary style of those times.

Africa is a landscape of grandeur and desolation, of volcanoes, lakes and limitless savannahs, of heat and glare, of huge areas dominated by an insect (the tsetse-fly) and roamed by wild animals in countless numbers—and on this vast

face of Africa where man lived, and still lives in insignificant and tiny clearings, you ask me to trace his wanderings between the Limpopo and the Nile!

You even ask me to say who these Bantu people were and, making it more difficult still, you already know who they are. For you have them wrapped up in bundles labelled tribes—Mashona and Matabele or, for the more discerning, Karanga, Manyika and so on by subdivision. We even reach the stage where we find some 300 tribes each ruled over by a chief and we accept as a commonplace that tribes in fact exist, that they exist in the Tribal Trust Areas and that they are ruled by tribal authorities. These are tribes by definition in law, a kind of legal personality, but that does not necessarily mean a tribal identity, a psychological reality.

The tribe is something real to us, therefore, you may say, it should not be too difficult to give an account of tribal histories and movements!

I wonder if you realise what an enormous, obscure and intricate problem is the problem of identity? The Black presence moulds our thoughts and we pick up labels—the way we think—which are most convenient to lump together and identify those we are talking about, regardless of the great diversities among them. If we spoke of "nationalities"—as we do under cover of the label "European"—instead of "tribes" we might get nearer to appreciating the great difference among those black faces we see every day.

But what is a tribe? If I said there was no such thing, only a number of useful fictions used by outsiders to identify strangers, I would not be far wrong. So let us see what happens to this kind of identity in delving into history.

Since the war historians have been busy trying to recreate the past, and, like all historians happy to use documentary evidence as the facts for their pictures, especially if a document has the stamp of approval by a university press. And in ironing out differences, selecting material, weighing the records, a smooth, neat, clear-cut and unconfused picture has emerged with names and dates specified.

It is as if a monopoly of thought has gained ascendancy in the chaotic market-place of ideas and put order into confusion.

The dominant version is this—an invasion by a Karanga tribe seeking pasture for their vast herds of cattle ousted the Bushmen and other pre-Bantu communities in Rhodesia. This Karanga tribe had a high-god called Mwari and their monarch Mutota of the fifteenth century, troubled by a shortage of salt, led a "formidable army" northwards, vanquished the Tavara people to capture the salt-pans and established himself in the Zambezi Valley of present-day Sipolilo and Darwin districts. The vanquished Tavara called Mutota the Mwene Mutapa, meaning the "master of ravaged land". He and his descendants adopted it as a title to create "an incredible Bantu dynasty" which conquered an empire stretching from the Limpopo to the Indian Ocean.

This was the empire the Portuguese found when Antonio Fernandez arrived about 1510. He described a fortress called Embire (note the name) of the King

of Monomatapa to whom they sent the Jesuit da Silveira, who was murdered in 1561.

The picture unfolds into rivalry between two sons of the Monomotapa. The younger one named Changa declared a U.D.I, for the southern area called Urozwi and assumed the Arab title of Amir which fused into his name to provide the title of Changamire of the WaRozwi tribe. Then, according to the story, Changamire's warriors overran the Karanga empire, reduced the Munumutapa to a sorry remnant in our north-east corner and ruled most of Rhodesia until the Rozwi power was overthrown by the Nguni of Zwangendaba in the late 1820's, when they skinned alive the last of the Mambos at Ntabamzi kaMambo near Inyati.

How valid is this account? Apart from the minor disagreements over names.

Perhaps we should note in passing that the names, titles and areas mentioned—and used for speculations as to origins and meanings—were derived from Portuguese records with many spellings, so we are utterly at the mercy of careless questioners, hopeless interpreters and the fancies of those scholars who, delving into ancient manuscripts, had to compare and select the particular renderings they thought appropriate.

Let us return to prehistorian confusion . . . and its pleasures.

The earliest investigators after the Occupation, who were simply interested, not committed to writing history, could find no trace of a Munumutapa legend. Some of them, having heard of Portuguese accounts, deliberately looked for such traces. Summers, a professional historian, summed up the situation as late as 1958, "Monomotapa is unknown to the Shona".

The only tribe—being a name of an area or a nickname—which came anywhere near to matching Portuguese accounts was the WaRozwi and they now exist only in small pockets of dispersal among other tribes. They have preserved traditions of a great and proud past under a long succession of Mambos, some of them ruling at the same time I think likely, and the legends of these Mambos are a fascinating field of study even today. From a pinnacle rock hill near Wankie to Mt. Tirikwi near Inyazura there are tales of digging up the granite massifs to provide a throne for Mambo; even tales of scaffolds being built to reach the moon as an amulet for Mambo to wear.

If you cannot find the way to Regina or DhloDhlo or Khami Ruins ask for Mambo's Ruins. And near Inyati you have the Ntaba zika Mambo hills which, before the Matabele came, was Manyanga where Mambo had his house and throne of elephant tusks. In those days when people spoke of *the* Zimbabwe they referred to Manyanga, not the Zimbabwe near Victoria. Many of our Shona chiefs had to be appointed by Mambo, indeed some of our present-day chiefs are not legitimate holders of office unless they have been anointed by a Murozwi priest, and those who uphold the Mwari cult in the Matopos call themselves "children of Mambo".



The Monomotapa, a seventeenth-century French concept.
 (Photo: National Archives)

One could go on about the Mambos, even link them up with the Bavenda of the Transvaal and traditions of a Mambo in the Congo, but the point to be made is that each Rozwi tribe has its own particular ancestral tree and legends—usually different and contradictory—and not one of them revealed a trace of Monomotapa and all would repudiate any suggestion that they are Karanga. They are rather mixed up and to get to the genuine identity the tribal label has to be dropped. Digging deeper you find they are the "people of the heart totem", Moyo, and by some hidden link closely akin to the people of the monkey totem, Shoko. And the Shoko? Thirty years ago I found the so-called Mashona, Maswina or Holi people officiating at the Mwari shrines in the Matopos were all Shoko—and only Shoko may perform such functions.

As an insight into their conceptions of Mwari: when the world was young the trees had no holes so the frantic squirrels had no refuges; Mwari, so a praise name says, "put holes in the mopani for the tired squirrels".

I hope I have not digressed too far by bringing history to Bulawayo's doorstep but in doing so I come to the point—that most of our identification by tribe

is meaningless, that the real consciousness of identity is that of the totem, mutupo. Only when you ask after a person's mutupo—and much else—are you really finding out what he belongs to, who he is, what his real identity is. Any history which ignores this and relies on convenient blanket terms, disparaging or offensive nicknames, names of territorial areas whose residents were constantly changing, is likely in varying degrees to be spurious and misleading.

For instance, we call the people of Victoria Province VaKaranga just as the Portuguese earlier called the inhabitants of their Karangaland Karanga. To save trouble or satisfy ignorant enquiry most of them will answer, "we are WaKaranga" but in fact there is no specific tribe called Karanga, only WaJena, WaGovera, WaDuma and so on. And word fashions change. Early explorers called the area across the Limpopo Banyailand and you will recall that the Adendorff invasion trek of 1890, which caused such consternation, was based on a treaty obtained from the Banyai covering the land from the Limpopo to the Zambezi—and who hears nowadays of the Banyai tribe!

Livingstone mentioned a Monomotape on the Zambezi and said "Mono" means "chief" and Mutape was chief of the Bambire, a tribe of the Banyai. Bishop Knight-Bruce referred to Banyai villages on the Zambezi. So we have Banyai cropping up all over the place. Bambire—apart from one historian saying he was leader of the Karanga invasion—is the name now of a tribe under Chief Swoswe of Wedza, as well as of a minor chief in Darwin, and both are totem Shoko people acknowledging that their area of origin far north of the Zambezi was Mbire.

Once it was accepted as true that a Bantu invasion from north of the Zambezi in the form of a Karanga tribe took place about 1300 a fresh field for historians opened up.

In that remote corner, where the terrorist campaign is operating, the traditions among the Korekore there included ancestral chiefs called Mutapi, Munembire and Mutota. Because the Portuguese records mentioned a Mutota as one of the Monomotapas a lively field for study and speculation by scholars to link up oral tradition with documentary evidence opened up. The Korekore became an immense invading Karanga host in spite of contrary versions that a band of hunters led by Mtota subdued the Tawara who nicknamed the band Goregore or Garekare because they lived in temporary shelters.

To complicate matters, over the past 30 years school-books have reproduced the Portuguese ideas and a fresh generation of Africans has been imbued with staking a claim to ancestry with the glorious Karanga of Monomotapa. Pupils have been asked to trace "any relationship between your tribe and Munumotapa's people". As a result I have seen various tribal histories and articles produced by Africans in which a superstructure has been added linking particular tribes with Karanga antecedents, sometimes almost word for word from a textbook, till it is impossible to know what is genuine tradition and what is history as taught.

Let us reconsider this idea of a Karanga invasion.

If you consider the staggering difficulties of those pitifully equipped little parties of Bantu moving down Africa; the sheer battle for survival day and night; the probability of whole communities being wiped out or disorganised and scattered by thirst, famine, diseases, pests and predatory bands of hunters, must we not conclude that this migration occurred over a time of centuries, very slowly, a little each year and only in tiny parties or clans? If they were pastoralists, who are more prone to migration and conquest, and they owned the alleged vast herds of cattle, how did they survive the tsetse-fly, if it was there in those far off times?

After drafting this paper I was lent a book to check on the tsetse and to my surprise learned—

1. That the tsetse-fly existed in the reptilian age long before man in Africa.
2. That there was a continental fly-belt across Africa below 4 000 ft.
3. That cattle entered Africa only some 2 000 to 3 000 years ago and so have no immunity to tsetse, like the biological immunity gained by indigenous animals, including man. They all evolved together and adjusted to infection. (I am not talking about sleeping sickness.)

There the question which perplexed me was set out. How did cattle traverse the continental fly-belt to reach the fly-free regions of southern Africa? The discreet answer was—if the historians are correct it was a remarkable achievement. The rough answer was—it would be a most complex process: only where cultivators preceded pastoralists and had converted bush or forest to cultivated areas free of tsetse, where habitat and animal hosts of tsetse had been eliminated, could pastoralists move in. So the rate of expansion of cattle is dependent on population growth of humans in sufficient numbers and energy to clear land of bush and animal hosts and provide infection-free corridors for pastoralists to move through tsetse belts.

Furthermore, I was delighted to find a paragraph reading: "Early attempts at African history . . . give the impression of great hordes of people continually roaming the continent and driving each other out of the lands they temporarily occupied . . . the movement of the great mass of the people . . . was more often a matter of genetic and cultural drift that resulted from comparatively peaceful contacts between ordinary people."

The biologists, as represented by John Ford, the author of the book, seemed to me to be getting down to the inescapable realities of Africa and indicating a basis for sounder history to be written than that based on Portuguese papers and tradition.

Let us pursue the argument. Those clans which survived did so because they evolved an ability for social organisations, mutual help and co-operative effort essential to survival.

They evolved small-scale civilisations based on kinship; on a fine attention to modes of ensuring conformity and cohesion; on meticulous rules of good

manners or etiquette, respect for elders, care of family, and government by discussion, as well as legal systems designed to hold members together; on a development of rhythm, drumming and musical abilities for expression and recreation which evoke admiration today; on a style of life notable for its elaboration of spiritual affairs; and on a body of knowledge and skills devised to stay alive in a generally harsh environment, a kind of "Don't die in the Bundu".

Furthermore, these little civilisations, even the ones in fertile areas such as the great lakes where much larger concentrations were possible, kept to themselves and did not confront each other over boundaries, for they were separated by wide zones of uninhabited or uninhabitable no-man's land and developed languages and cultures as distinct as French and English, German and Dutch.

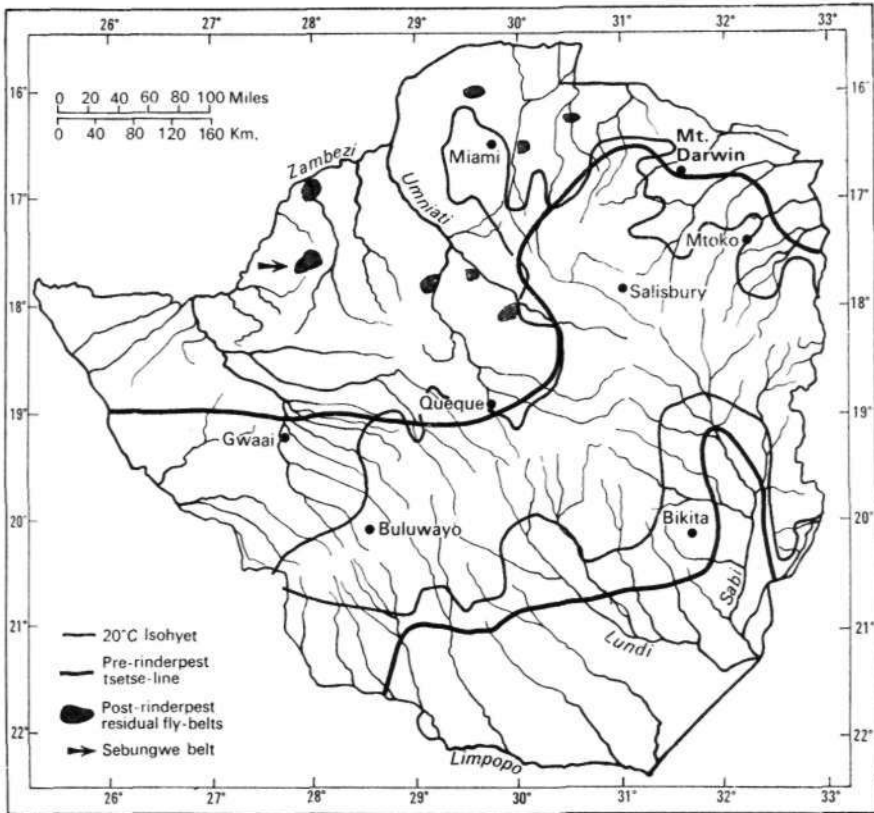
Above all, an ability to move was a condition of survival and only those groups who evolved such a basis for their civilisations survived. Africa's thin covering of fertile soil which so quickly becomes exhausted forced cultivation to be shifting. Africa's tropical diseases forced villages to move to new sanitary areas, and white-ants often reinforced the command to move. Africa's vast spaces and herds of game attracted adventurous spirits and prolonged the original hunting or predatory life.

Add to this the inherent stresses of politics based on the kinship system to provoke splits in the cohesion of the clan, and of the village (what anthropologists call "fission", it is so characteristic) and you get the picture of a slow, inexorable change of position by groups of families unable to stay still for long like ships on an ocean, and always probing for new arable land and water. And if my authority, the tsetse man, is right, only after the cultivators had cleared the land could pastoralists with their cattle dare to move in.

I am stressing this picture with its diversity of small-scale civilisations finely adapted to the biological and social niches of Africa because we have been conditioned by age-long, conventional pictures, or preconceived ideas, of "Darkest Africa"—dark only to Europeans. An Africa peopled by savages living in barbarism (whatever that may be), primitives who rushed about Africa destroying each other; cannibals around a cooking-pot—no history, no education, no moral values—which leads on to the stupid assumption that all Africans have the same habits, customs and character.

Even our histories have picked out the wars, the slaughters, the cruelty of despots and murderous episodes as characteristics, not of particular groups or times and conditions, but of that abstraction we call "the African" to contrast with another abstraction called "the European"—both mental images, no more true than all images.

Rather than create and subsequently rely on historical fictions such as a massive Karanga tribe and sensational armies marauding about, I think we would come nearer the truth if we assigned the word "Karanga" to some far-away area instead of a tribe, and if historical studies were devoted to a variety of very gradual, generally peaceful, penetrations by clans or family groups.



The *G. morsitans* fly-belts in Rhodesia before the rinderpest and after its passage in 1895. The Sebungwe belt is indicated. From "The role of the Trypanosomiasis in African Ecology"—by John Ford, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.

It is often claimed that the Shoko totemic clan was the earliest Bantu penetration of Rhodesia. It is quite possible that they appropriated a pre-existing Bushman or Iron Age deity they called Mwari, just as the Matabele encrusted the deity with their conceptions of Mlimo.

We have the Moyo clan to which are attributed special skills and renown under a Mambo; the Mbeu (mouse) clan showing much evidence of filtering in from the East Coast with Islamic beliefs and special skills which made them welcome wherever they went here and in the Transvaal.

There are, of course, many totems and every African you meet will have his special identity in a Mutupo or Isibongo, much more important to him than a tribal name which more often than not reflects an address, so to speak, in some territorial area.

In dealing with indigenous versions of history one must allow for one of the arts of life—wonderful expressions of drama and rhetoric. Delightful heroes

such as, "he who could disembowel an ox with his fingernail", or another who could "peg an ox hide out on solid rock with wooden pegs", and my favourite Fupajena who by real ingenuity acquired the daughter of a famous rain-maker as his wife. Accounts of wars which stir hearts with magnificent embroidery of massed warriors, of slaughter and piles of white bones on a hill, and fearful deeds ... a drama easily shattered by inconsiderate questions. "How many were killed?" "Two" could be the bland reply over some ancient squabble where many words and a few spears were thrown.

All this was changed by Chaka, however.

I have, within the time available, been trying to reach the basics of history and ancient movements, leaving it to other speakers to deal with the theories which have emerged out of the existence of influences from the East Coast going back to 1500 B.C. and trade with Arabia, India, China and Malagasy.

There remain the Ngoni invasions for brief mention.

An epoch making event occurred when the tyrant Chaka of Natal was taught to make and use the short stabbing assegai instead of the ancient throwing spear, which once thrown usually terminated hostilities. Chaka revolutionised South Africa as surely as gunpowder revolutionised Europe.

Chaka, forcibly unifying several little tribes, had by 1820 introduced a regimental system; he insisted, on pain of death, that each warrior return with his assegai in hand, and from his innovations developed the devastating, ruthless excursions—genuine invasions—of Zwangendaba into Rhodesia, Malawi and as far north as Tanzania where he died after teaching the Zulu regimental system to a tribe up there; of Sotshangana into Mozambique and eastern Rhodesia; and of Umziligazi with his nicknamed Matabele into this part of Rhodesia. All of these were called Madzwiti by the Shona, "invaders" or "disturbers".

To conclude. We can look forward to more fascinating speculations and theories by scholars turning up old names, traditions and cultural practices to compare with one another but we must also be prepared to accept a rewriting of Africa's history by Africans anxious to counter European images of Africa and to appropriate or interpret that history for the emotional and political prides and satisfactions all histories convey. Already it is apparent that this will involve another kind of assembly of selected material for speculation which would eliminate or minimise all alien influences and prove something called "Negritude", "Authenticity" and "the special, distinctive African personality". It is a search for identity, distracted by an enormous jump into an abstract "Continentalism" or "Pan-Africanism"—miscalled "nationalism"—which is hardly aware of, or ignores the astonishing variety of ethnic types and cultures in Africa.

The Impact of the Various Invasions from Sociological and Economic Angles

by E. Greenfield

Rhodesia has been a much invaded country. By my reckoning a full complement of the invaders and settlers would have to include the bush people, the Hottentots, the early and later Iron Age settlers and their successors who may well have been the ancestors of the people we today call Shona, the Arabs and the Portuguese, peoples who did not long endure in this part of the world and, finally, the Nguni invaders, closely followed by the Europeans.

Attractive though it would be to attempt a long perspective, I doubt whether I could do justice to such a story in a brief lunch-time talk, and I therefore decided to concentrate on the later arrivals and their impact on the people they found here. In order to discuss the impact of the various invasions, it is necessary to consider the nature of the society that was being invaded. The picture of invading hordes has, in my opinion, been over-drawn. The Bantu penetration of Rhodesia was, no doubt, accomplished by very small groups whose solidarity was based on ties of kinship. These communities were exogamous, that is to say, they took and received wives from yet other groups, each group being distinguished by a clan name, called by the Africans *mutupo* and by some Europeans a totemic name.

These groups cannot be considered as tribes in the usual sense. They shared a common culture with their neighbours with only minor differences. At some stage, variously estimated as being within the period from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, a greater political cohesion developed on the foundations of the gold trade with the coast. For the first time African society knew wealth, in the accepted sense of the word. Where there is wealth men will always try to control it. At Zimbabwe and no doubt at other centres there developed a ruling class, the main features of which we can describe. In the middle of the fifteenth century an upheaval took place which saw this ruling class split into two main dynasties, those of the *Mwenemutapa* and the *Rozwi* under their leader *Changamire*. The ethno-historian, D. P. Abraham, would have it that the founder of the Mwenemutapa dynasty, Mutota, voluntarily left the Fort Victoria capital for the Zambezi Valley, in search of salt. Mr. Abraham's sources, not surprisingly, are closely associated with the line of Mutota. It seems to me that this tale

is a typical face-saving rationalisation. The truth is more probably that a group of Karanga were driven out under their leader, Mutota, and that because of their superior civilisation they found it easy to subjugate the still primitive and disorganised communities in the Zambezi Valley. There some sort of empire was set up but it was a faint shadow of the state held at the Fort Victoria Zimbabwe which now entered its heyday under undisputed Rozwi leadership. The Portuguese encountered the Mwenemutapa kings at the height of their power when they were a force to be reckoned with almost as far as the coast, but almost from the outset these lesser tribes struggled to regain their independence. The Portuguese arrived at a critical time. They didn't succeed in making contact with the Rozwi kingdom in the south until very much later and even then on the most tentative basis. It was in the southern kingdom that most of the real gold wealth of Rhodesia lay, although by now this was beginning to fail. Additionally, local consumption of gold was on the increase. The Portuguese were disappointed in the volume of the gold trade and their own explanation, namely of warfare in the interior, was probably not far short of the truth. It is hardly likely that the rural chiefs and headmen of the Mwenemutapa would have passed on Portuguese traders and explorers to their rivals and enemies in the vast kingdom they knew as *Butua*, the Rozwi sphere of influence. Yet trade there undoubtedly was for this period in Zimbabwe's history was the richest in trade goods of all kinds. The main Rozwi trade contacts were probably with Arabs who certainly continued in great numbers in both courts up to the time of the death of the Jesuit priest, Father da Silveira, who was executed on the orders of the Mwenemutapa Ngomo in 1561. From that time onwards the Mwenemutapa empire went into a decline and with it, incidentally, the Portuguese, who seemed to have left, of all the invading races, almost no permanent mark upon the people of Rhodesia as such, although of course their influence closer to the coast has been pronounced throughout the period. Although the subsequent fortunes of the Mwenemutapas are well known, the detailed history of the Rozwi hegemony is correspondingly obscure. A Rozwi ruling class, manifested through a large clan with Mutupo Moyo, meaning "heart", was not incompatible with the local autonomy of numerous other clans. Rozwi overlordship carried with it some Rozwi influence in the succession of these local rulers to the chieftaincies, and probably the payment of tribute, though in what form precisely we do not know. Most historians of this period feel convinced that Rozwi control was to a large extent exercised through the religious system which is so closely associated with their ruling class. Some description of this is necessary as religion is one of the most persistent features in Rhodesian African culture.

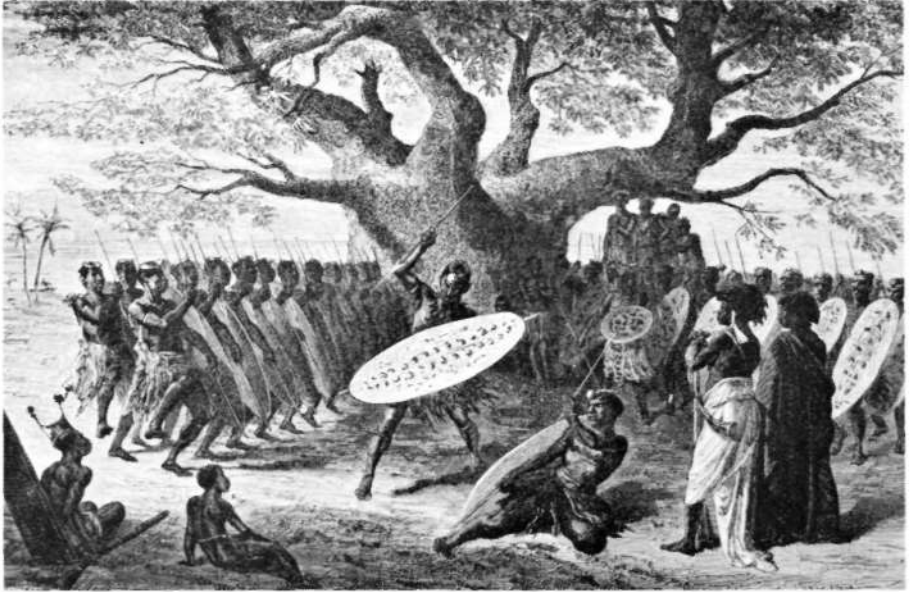
Zimbabwe was a religious centre. Even Carl Mauch who visited Zimbabwe as late as 1872, long after the Rozwi had departed from that centre and their power had been broken by successive Nguni invasions, was able to meet people who could give him elaborate descriptions of rituals which had taken place there during their lifetimes. Whether the Rozwi introduced the cult of Mwari or not we do not know. Today, as it was in the past, the high priests of the Mwari cult

at its principal shrine in the Matopos where it was transferred from Zimbabwe possibly even before that capital was raided by Zwangendaba, are not Rozwi, but people of a different Shona tribe, the Mbire with the Mutupo Shoko. Abraham considers the Mbire people to have been the first of the Shona to have entered Rhodesia from the north, and there is certainly some connection between these people and the Mwenemutapa empire. It is by no means unlikely that the Rozwi took over and adapted a pre-existing religious cult in much the same way that the Ndebele tolerated the cult of Mwari in the Matopos, whom they honoured under the name Mlimo. The Mwari cult, as it is organised now, and as it appears to have been organised in the past, is oracular in nature. The god speaks through a mouth, and the other high officials are known as the ear and the eye. This latter post was always held by a Murozwi and it is believed that in this way the Rozwi maintained a secret intelligence service which covered the whole of their kingdom under the cloak of the priesthood, as it was the duty of the eye to gather information which would then be reported to the cult headquarters.

An equally important element in Shona religion is the system of ancestral spirits of great historic personages who fulfil a tutelary function and are brought into contact with the living through means of spirit mediums (swikiros) also known as Mhondoros. There is some dispute between authorities as to whether the cult of Mwari and the system of tutelary spirits are complementary or whether they are two entirely separate conceptions of the supernatural which, at some point, overlapped or which had been syncretised. Certain it is that the cult of spirit mediums is more firmly entrenched as a separate and distinct entity in northern Mashonaland, the area of the old Mwenemutapa empire.

But to return to the Rozwi, to this day they are everywhere said to have known God and they formed a multitude of the children of God who travelled about the country as religious companies, claiming certain rights and privileges from all who met them. Mwari is also a god of fertility and rainfall, and undoubtedly a great part of the power of the cult and, therefore, of its Rozwi masters lay in the power of Mwari to bless or curse the land and crops. There was a strong mystical connection between the fertility of the land and the Rozwi king who had many of the attributes of the so-called sacred king. In particular, there are traditions too numerous to disregard that the king was killed when his sexual power began to wane, lest his impotence render the land infertile.

On the eve of the Nguni invasions, therefore, we are to imagine a relatively peaceful and stable society in the central and southern parts of Rhodesia, dominated, but not oppressively so, by the Rozwi ruling class who had by this time established a number of subsidiary provincial capitals. The Rozwi court was one of considerable sophistication with a love of ostentation which is clearly evidenced by the later buildings they erected. The common people lived a life that cannot have been greatly different from that they followed at the time the Europeans first arrived here and described it, that is to say, in villages based on the extended family, pursuing a simple agricultural and pastoral existence. There were very limited economic specialisations in these communities, some



Dance of Landeens or Zulus, arrived at Shupanga to lift the annual tribute of the Portuguese. From "Narrative of an expedition to the Zambezi and its tributaries; and The Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa 1858-1864" by David and Charles Livingstone, London, Murray, 1865.

iron-making and possibly cloth-making in some parts from wild cotton, with the manufacture of domestic pottery a widespread women's chore. Hunting of game was widely practised, and it is evident that, here too, there was some degree of specialisation. Summers considers that most of the gold mines were worked out before the Nguni invasions, but it is probable that some mines continued production in all areas right up to the end.

A glimpse of this society through the eyes of one of its destroyers is revealing, and I would like to quote a passage taken from Professor Ranger's book, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, where he quotes the memories of an old survivor, an old soldier of one of Zwangendaba's people who came up and smashed the power of the Mambo.

"Of all the countries we passed through, said the old man, there was one that struck us as most desirable. This was a country in which a people called the Abalozwi lived. They built their villages on granite hills which they fortified with stone walls. Their Chief, Mambo, put up a stubborn fight and then fled into the very hilly granite country, making it difficult for us to subdue him. Zwangendaba and his men then laid siege to this place which was the hill we call today Ntaba zi ka mambo but which was known in those days as Nyanganga hill."

And he then goes on to say—this old man—

"they gave us beads and skins and hoes and offered us cattle and sheep to go away and leave them in peace but we were not to be propitiated. Next day they came out again from the rocks and directed us to stand below a certain

strange overhanging rock; it looked like a big balcony giving standing room to about 200 men. Thereon were gathered the Mambo and his counsellors jabbering and chattering like a lot of monkeys; this rock stands about 100 ft. above where we were standing with a sheer drop and it is here that the Mambo threw himself down in our midst to fall dead and-mangled at our feet." (Other versions, of course, have given it that the Mambo was captured and flayed alive.)

Now, as Professor Ranger points out, it is curious the element of scorn that there is in this interpretation; that the very sophisticated nature of the Rozwi court was something quite unintelligible to their destroyers. They just appeared to them as a parcel of monkeys chattering and jabbering and yet there is no doubt that it was a moment of intention, intense emotion and probably ritual, up on that rock.

The exact pattern of Zwangendaba's raiding is not known, but he destroyed every Rozwi centre of power. This took place about 1834. Within five years of the departure of the Amaswazi the Ndebele had arrived and completed the destruction of the Rozwi rule. The Ndebele were something more than a tribe; they were a nation founded on military and caste principles. They had come up the hard way, having to fight themselves clear not only of Chaka but also of the Boers in the Transvaal. When they arrived in Rhodesia they were, quite simply, predators. Yet very few people now doubt that the tales of their depredations have been somewhat exaggerated, not least by Chartered Company minions who were concerned to prove that Lobengula's dominion extended over the whole area of Rhodesia. This was quite certainly untrue. There were very considerable areas where the Ndebele had never raided, notably throughout northern Mashonaland and in the eastern parts of Rhodesia. After a relatively short space of time in which they had made themselves a name to be feared by the arbitrary nature of their acts of cruelty, the Ndebele settled down to a system of milking those Shona communities which recognised their paramountcy. Carl Mauch, who had very good personal reasons to avoid the Ndebele, describes one such visit while he was living near the Duma people in the Zimbabwe ruins. There is no doubt that this visitation was dreaded by the locals, who took precautions against being despoiled, but there is something of an anticlimax in Mauch's account when the warriors sit down to discuss the vagaries of Matabeleland weather, evidently much the same then as it is today, and petty politics, before asking for a guide to take them on to the next kraal. Still, the violent nature of the Ndebele occupation should not be minimised.

The Ndebele left the political system of the Shona largely intact, apart from ensuring that the Rozwi never again regained their ascendancy by, *inter alia*, killing off the most important of the Rozwi spirit mediums, the swakiro of Chaminuka. The Rozwi cult of Mwari, however, had already moved to the Matopos where it accommodated itself to its new masters. Another feature of the Ndebele system was the incorporation of subject elements into the nation. Cattle were not all that the Ndebele raided; they would take women and children too, the latter to build new regiments of warriors which formed an integral part

of their nation. In a very understandable manner these people, the ones that were incorporated, enthusiastically adopted the culture of their new masters, taking their language, Ndebelising their names and generally becoming more Ndebele than the Ndebele.

The principal feature which strikes the modern observer about the Ndebele is the tremendous centralisation of their state. All authority was concentrated in the king. There was a great council of indunas, but this was purely advisory.

The Ndebele nation was really a superb fighting machine. At adolescence the young men were called up into regiments and each regiment was sent out to found a new town. In due course, when the young men had proved themselves and were aged probably about 30 years or so, they were permitted to marry.

The caste system of the Ndebele has been referred to. Briefly there were three castes recognised; the Zansi, or people who traced their ancestry directly back to those who had left Zululand; the Enhla, or those who were gathered on the way, mainly Swazi and Sotho peoples, and the Amaholi; the latter caste comprised those elements incorporated into the nation from among the Shona tribes, and the name is a term of disparagement. Inter-caste marriages were prohibited and it is said that even illicit unions were severely punished. However, it is also said that no less a person than Lobengula himself, the son of a Swazi woman, and therefore suspect to some of his people, conducted amorous affairs with lower caste women and he is reported to have said "A cow raided from afar may be milked." Various authorities have recognised that within a relatively short space of time a great deal of the Zansi blood had become diluted through inter-caste relations. By the end of Lobengula's reign the Zansi element was probably a fairly small proportion of the whole. It has been estimated that when Mzilikazi entered Rhodesia he had some 30 000 to 40 000 people with him but by the time that the Europeans came there were probably about 200 000, vastly more than could be accounted for by natural increase.

It is time now to turn to the final invasion of Rhodesia. The African attitude towards the solitary Europeans who had made their appearance in Rhodesia from the 1860's onwards was ambivalent. On the one hand, many Africans appear to have recognised the technological superiority of the white men, and the Ndebele at any rate were aware that they were members of a large and vigorous tribe which they respected for virtues not at all incomprehensible to a military nation. Yet one cannot but be impressed by the way that many of the chiefs greeted their early European visitors—rather in the relaxed manner of a member of the English aristocracy receiving a formal visit from a person of respectable but decidedly inferior social antecedents.

By the time that the Pioneer Column came through, many of the chiefs throughout Rhodesia must have received such visits. From the African point of view, whether Ndebele or Shona, the occupation of Rhodesia must have seemed like the Trojan Horse operation. There was a sense of shock and indeed outrage when it was realised that the character of these European visits had

altered and that the white men had come to stay. This is reflected in oral traditions, some of which are no doubt merely metaphorical expressions of this shock. For example, the story, probably apocryphal, is told that on the morning after the whites had arrived and hoisted the famous flag at Fort Salisbury, they found a red ox tethered to the pole as a sign of welcome. But after some months, when the Pioneers had shown no signs of moving on, they found a black ox tied to the pole as a kind of delicate, but nevertheless emphatic, indication that they had overstayed their welcome. Not merely had the whites remained, quite ignoring such warnings, but they were now rudely interfering with African life on an increasing scale. For instance, they expected an abundant supply of labour and when this was not forthcoming, there was no thought of offering greater inducements to work. Ranger cites an instance when one Inspector Bodle led a police patrol to a kraal because the headman had refused to send his men to work, saying that "his men were not going to work for white men and that if the police came he would fire on them". The headman was arrested and fined a considerable quantity of stock and given 50 lashes in the presence of men of his own and other kraals. And there were, of course, some much more serious instances where there was considerable loss of life. Now whatever local Africans felt about the presence of white men in their country and whatever, in theory, the Chartered Company felt about its own title, most of the white pioneers were completely untroubled by the niceties of their constitutional position and regarded the country as having been taken over for their own benefit. This attitude was expressed on occasion even by hostility to the Company when it attempted to bring about more order in relations between black and white.

Without going into the question of the treaties, one finds the position to be that a large European settler force was busy possessing itself of the choicest parts of Mashonaland on the basis of the fiction that this area was the territory of the Ndebele king who had authorised them to do so. In the meantime the interests of the settlers were in complete conflict with those of the said Ndebele king whose actual relations with the area in question were those of a military parasite, alternately raiding its peoples and levying tribute by force. The Shona, on the other hand, whether in the area subject to Ndebele influence or not, merely desired to continue their age-old way of life, which included a good deal of bickering among themselves.

The Matabele Rebellion was in some ways a much more simple affair than that in Mashonaland. Competent contemporary observers considered that the Ndebele had not really been beaten in the 1893 war which had ended for all practical purposes with the death of Lobengula. The Ndebele state was highly centralised on the person of the king and the frightening demonstration of small numbers of men armed with modern weapons defeating huge regiments followed by the death of the king was quite enough to bring about a temporary hiatus.

It was not within reason that a proud and warlike nation should simply acquiesce to white rule. These observers were not wrong. What was quite startling to practically all the Europeans was the Mashona Rebellion because

the Mashona people were despised as cowardly and pathetic creatures and the myth of their gratitude for liberation from Ndebele oppression was assiduously cultivated. As it transpired, the Mashona rebellion was in all ways more difficult to deal with. The most adequate modern study of this rebellion, that of Professor Ranger, has emphasised what was clear in retrospect to Europeans of the day, that the old Shona religious system had provided the centralising power to control the rebellion which was so lacking in Shona life generally after the defeat of the Rozwi. Ranger has argued that the mediums who led the revolt did not merely aspire to a restoration of the *status quo ante*, but sought to establish a new order. Whether the participants saw it in this light is debatable. The fact remains that had the rebellion succeeded, the order which would have been established thereafter must necessarily have been novel. Previously the religious system was not without its political overtones. To this we must attribute the success with which these mediums were able to step into a directly political role in 1896. It is clear that in the African mind there is no such clear cut distinction between matters of church and state as Europeans now tend to conceive. Not that this is some racial characteristic as even the most cursory examination of European history will show. Similarly, we must notice that when societies are menaced by a threat which is beyond their intellectual comprehension, they often tend to react in a manner that is irrational or regressive, retreating to supernatural explanations for their misfortunes and relying on superstitious practices to try and overcome this. In 1896 there was no established hierarchy of political power such as had been provided by the Rozwi, and the mediums had to negotiate with a collection of chiefs. It was in such a situation that it was possible for individual charismatic mediums to assume personal control of the movement.

I mention in passing that these facts have some significance for us today when so many Europeans fail to understand why African ministers of religion play such a prominent part in politics.

Momentarily during the rebellion it had seemed as if the Shona and the Ndebele might be able to co-operate in driving out the white men. Ndebele warriors moved into western Mashonaland and some seem to have been quartered at the kraal of the Shona chief who took the leading part in the Rebellion. This supreme diplomatic achievement of the mediums did not endure, and one wonders whether the impi in question was not a Holi regiment.

We must ask ourselves why white settlement brought about a show of unity among the Shona which the Ndebele raids quite failed to evoke. The answer is complex and must of necessity be tentative. But it is, I think, relevant to consider that despite all their outrages thereon the Ndebele did not consider trying to change the way of life of the Shona, whereas from quite early times it must have been clear to more perceptive and especially to the upholders of traditional religion that the Shona way of life and the European way of life, even that part of it imposed by Europeans upon Africans, were basically incompatible.

Now we must have a look at the main changes that have come about since

European penetration of the country and of course this is a vast subject which one cannot deal with in any great detail. I merely wish to extract a few points that seem to me to be particularly relevant for our modern consideration. We must realise in the first place that although there have been profound and widespread changes in African life brought about by European culture and occupation, yet in some other areas of African life we have found that their culture has proved surprisingly resistant to change and there is no doubt that the policy of maintaining Native Reserves, or Tribal Trust Lands as we now call them, have tended to cushion these changes.

In the political field we must notice that the Rhodesian administrations did not resort to indirect rule through indigenous authorities, and it is recognised that until the present Government took power, the authority of the chiefs had been eroded to a position where it is open to question whether it can actually be rehabilitated. In Matabeleland, the non-replacement of the Ndebele king left a great gap in the nation only partly filled by the Administration which has endeavoured to occupy the same centralising role in relation to the Indunas as was occupied by the King. The result has been that after realisation and acceptance of the fact that there would be no restoration the Ndebele nation has drifted, until today when it can hardly be called more than a group of people speaking a common language and sharing an increasingly divergent culture of custom.

In Mashonaland the already fragmented policy meant that there was no such drift, but it cannot be said that the indigenous authorities fared any better. For one thing a surprisingly large number of chiefs were either killed during the Rebellion or were executed afterwards. In Matabeleland this did not, in fact, happen as the war—the Rebellion—was ended on an armistice basis rather than by an outright victory, for the Europeans and the Administration found it politic to overlook the activities of some of the Indunas in actual murders.

Gradually the chief was reduced to a person lower than a constable in criminal matters and to the most inferior sort of civil magistrate whose every decision was open to appeal, often by men who could be chiefs' grandsons in age and whose knowledge of tribal law was taken from one or two rather incomplete and erratic textbooks left by early Native Commissioners. The chiefs' mystical connection with the land was often shattered by imposed tribal movements, and the suspension of practices which were deemed to smack of witchcraft, the onset of Christianity, and finally the removal of his right of allocation of land. This was transferred to agricultural authorities of the Government and it no doubt had a profound effect on weakening the authority of the chief over his people.

More important, perhaps, is the fact that the African concept of an ideal chief did not, in major areas of life, coincide with that of the Administration. There is a paradox at the heart of our approach to this institution of chieftainship. We want to uphold traditional rulers who must derive their authority from traditional sources, but we want them to be leaders in matters of innovation.

Little wonder then that many of the chiefs have chosen to adopt a sullen passivity as the way of escaping an impossible conflict.

It is even less easy to sum up change in the field of family relations in a few words. The old forms continue to a large extent, but some of the goodness has gone out of them. We are now beset by a host of social problems, particularly in the urban areas because we were too slow or too clumsy to pay attention to these changes. Generally, there has been a weakening of all social authority, and with it a rise in the incidence of self-willed and antisocial behaviour. Social norms to a very major extent rely on the regulative aspects of community life, social disapproval, the quest for social esteem, and so on.

Labour migration broke the bounds of the tribal social order and residence for long periods of time in the vast human melting-pots that we call towns completed the bad work. Some of the changes came about for economic reasons. Lobola, for instance, is now quite often reckoned in money, and that has brought some subverting consequences. Another thing is that the failure to find a complete lobola payment at the commencement of marriage, never a traditional requirement, has some particularly vicious consequences in the modern setting. We like to be able—we the Europeans—like to be able to say that people are either married or not married, and we have not allowed for the particular African forms of betrothal and socially-approved cohabitation even though lobola payments have not been completed. Only a person duly issued with a marriage certificate, for example, can obtain municipal married accommodation.

Professor Holleman has noted that African attitudes towards wealth as such are to some extent survival from the past. Wealth, traditionally, could be used only to acquire social status and esteem, mainly through the procreation of a large family and many wives. This aim has remained strong, and although great opportunities exist in the African areas which are protected from white economic competition, relatively few Africans have yet sought to use wealth as a means to capitalistic advancement.

The influence of traditional concepts of the supernatural and practices associated therewith have remained very strong. Africans have simultaneously taken to Christianity in a big way. We are increasingly coming to realise that the two are not incompatible in the eyes of Africans. Curiously enough it seems to be those Africans who have adopted strange forms of Christianity, these forms with notable traditional elements, the people we know as the Makwistori or the Amapropheti, who were not at all well disposed towards traditional African religion. My own view is that some of the earlier observers underestimated the part that Mwari, the Shona high god, played in the culture of many Africans and that it was not very difficult for many of them to accommodate Christianity or our idea of a strong monotheistic religious system to their own.

One of the most profound changes brought about by Europeans was the opening up of the whole country to travel, leading to further disruption of traditional life through labour migration. Tribalism remains strong, yes, but anthropologists have long since shown the segmentary nature of societies, that

people are usually members of a vast number of groups and associations based on kinships, work, residence and many other affiliations. People are capable of feeling and cementing their solidarity at any of these levels. Africans have, therefore, become aware of themselves as Africans, not merely as Ndebele, or Shona, or more probably as vaZezuru or the people of Chief so-and-so. It is unfortunate that such unity is almost always brought about by the spirit of opposition.

I would like to conclude by noting that while many of the early explorers and investigators thought of the Africans as a people without a past, known either to themselves or anyone else, a modern ethnohistorian who has been spectacularly successful in uncovering much of that past maintains that the Shona people have a strong sense of historical self-awareness. That modern Africans show some desire to reach back into that past and build upon it is not surprising. We may laugh at nationalist politicians who refer to Rhodesia as Zimbabwe, and any fool can see that in some ways it is a most unsuitable name—just as well call the U.S.A. "skyscraper" or Egypt "pyramid". But we must understand that despite all appearances to the contrary, there are themes of continuity which permeate our Rhodesian history and which we ignore to our loss.

"BIRDS OF ZIMBABWE AND ENVIRONS"

The area surrounding Great Zimbabwe abounds in bird life and this handy booklet describes 59 species that can be seen in the vicinity. All of them are illustrated with magnificent colour photographs of the birds in their natural habitat. There are brief physical field identifications and notes on habits, food and voice.

Written by Peter Ginn and illustrated with photographs by the author and several other photographers it is essentially a book for the casual bird-watcher or for young people. For those who want to make a deeper study references are given to Roberts *Birds of South Africa*.

Longman Rhodesia are the publishers on behalf of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia. It is priced at 75 cents.

European Pre-pioneers, 1500-1890

by E. T. Hepburn

The pioneers have been praised—and rightly praised—for the part they played in the development, in fact the very creation, of this country; but let us have a look at the chaps who preceded even the pioneers and who did so much to pave the way for them and make possible the successful entrance of the 1890 Column.

The activities of the famous ones like Livingstone, Moffat, Thomas Baines, Selous and other prominent characters, mainly the ones who could write, are well known, so I propose to touch on some of the other 600-odd people recorded as having made visits to what is now Rhodesia prior to 1890.

In about 1514 Antonio Fernandez, trader and explorer, travelled up from Sofala past Umtali and Inyanga up to Makaha—the gold-fields north of Inyanga—westwards and northwards in the Mtoko and Mount Darwin districts: he wouldn't like to do it today, mind you. He traversed along the Mazoe Valley and then came south and west to near where Salisbury now lies. By the 1550's—40 years later—there was a Portuguese trade route up the Zambezi which penetrated Rhodesia in three places; from Tete up the Mazoe westwards to Portuguese towns called Mazose, Masapa, Boece and Bocuta which was somewhere near Shamva; then further up, from about half-way between where Cabora Bassa now is and Kariba, they travelled southwards to a town called Zimbae. That's not our well-known Zimbabwe. So far as I know the word simply means a walled town of some sort. This place was just north of Sipolilo. And lastly, they travelled westwards, along the Zambezi to about where Chirundu now lies. There are Portuguese forts on the Angwa River and there is one at Chakari, near Hartley. In 1967 Garlake excavated a Portuguese town at Dambarare which is just west of the Jumbo Mine and ancient workings, near the Mazoe township. Brickwork, pottery, beads and burials—there were 31 burials—yielded evidence which dated it positively as of seventeenth-century Portuguese construction. Dambarare is described by someone writing in 1675 as "a rich and noble town". It was a trading town, based on the ancient workings—they were mining gold there; there was copper nearby and so on. Feira means a fair or trading centre and, as you know, there is a place of that name today near the junction of the Luangwa River and the Zambezi. The same chap who wrote about Dambarare mentions that the Portuguese "held great estates along the Zambezi". Their trade was gold, ivory and, I imagine, a slave or two, with beads probably as a major item of currency. Useful for archaeologists, beads, like pottery, are very, very difficult to destroy and they furnish very useful evidence

to the chaps that come after and scratch about looking for evidence of past existences. In 1878—I'm making a big jump because I don't know much about the period between 1500 and 1700—another Portuguese called De Serpa Pinto walked from Angola on the West Coast and got to the Zambezi where he met the Coillards—those famous French missionaries who did so much in Northern Rhodesia afterwards. He thoroughly enjoyed their hospitality—they were very nice to him. He then went down as far as Pandamatenga where there was a trading station opened up by Westbeeck—another great character, a very famous and highly respected man. Pinto in his book mentions a man called Meyer who was growing vegetables at Pandamatenga; this was in 1878 and Pinto records with gratitude how nice it was to eat something that wasn't—I don't know—"donkey berries", or whatever it was he lived on while on the road.

Pinto gives the names of five people buried at Pandamatenga at that time. Jolly, who was a hunter and trader; Frank Cowley who was a young Englishman; Robert Bairn who was one of Westbeeck's traders, as far as is known, or his storekeeper; Baldwin, who incidentally was a Cambridge wrangler—funny place for him to die—but he was a brother of the famous hunter and he died there of fever. And then Walter Carey Lowe, another man buried there who was just an elderly tourist. I've just fenced those graves in and tidied them up—they are now a National Monument.

A man called Gouveia who came from Goa inherited an estate in the Gorongoza area somewhere (about the 1860's or 1870's, I imagine) and soon made himself a power in the land on the lines of the feudal barons. He fought the native tribes and traded, including a bit of slave-trading. He built a fort in Rhodesia, about 30 miles north-east of Salisbury but he got chased out by Mtoko's people in about 1890. He explored what is now Manicaland in the 1880's with D'Andrada and he was captured at Mtasa's kraal in late 1890 by a small British South African Company force commanded, I think, by Major Patrick Forbes. It was an affair that Forbes handled with great neatness and efficiency. These two chaps were sent back to Portugal and were then released. Gouveia came back and two years later he was captured and killed at Makombe's kraal; I think that is just over in Portuguese territory.

The first Europeans (other than the Portuguese who had been in and out for the previous 300 years) to penetrate what is now Rhodesia from about the 1850's, when interest in these parts revived, were hunters, traders, explorers—people of that nature. But the first one I'm going to mention is famous for other things—he was Hendrik Potgieter and he was a very resolute, bold and capable Voortrekker who led a raid into Matabeleland about 1847. Crossing the Limpopo where Tuli now stands and coming up past the Antelope Mine area, he fought the Zwangendaba regiment and got away with cattle. The fight took place at a place called Ntabamnyama which I haven't been able to locate but it must be somewhere near Figtree I think. He was rather admired by the Matabele—he stood up to them, captured their cattle; they got some of them back, and later on, when he settled in the Transvaal and wasn't quite such a menace he communicated on friendly terms with Mzilikazi. His memory is perpetuated in this

country by Hendrik's Pass which is a narrow gap—a narrow pathway, really—near the Badzha Plateau in the West Matopos. His party was guided by one Lottering who was recorded as having been in the country in 1845. I don't know anything more about him, I'm afraid. Another early man was Sam Edwards. He and Robert Moffat were the first Europeans to visit Mzilikazi in Matabeleland. He was the son of a London Missionary Society missionary down south and was obviously an extremely capable man. He explored, traded, acted as a guide and interpreter, managed mines and was also an agent for the British Government. He gained the rank of Major in Sir Charles Warren's force in a campaign against the freebooters in Stellaland and Goshen, on the Bechuana border. His main job there, I believe, was interpreting. He hunted in Matabeleland from 1854 onwards. Apparently he and Moffat got on very well together when they first came up here. He was a young man and Moffat was getting on. But what happened I don't quite know but I understand that Robert Moffat, because Sam didn't follow in his father's footsteps and become a missionary, referred to him as a "hoary-headed infidel"—I suppose he was trading and swindling—but I don't really know about that.

Now both Lobengula and King Khama of Bechuanaland had complete confidence in Sam Edwards. Lobengula gave him a concession over the Tati area—the area below Rhodesia which was always in dispute between the Bechuana and the Matabele. And this commission read in part: "... I Lobengula, King of the Amandabele, do hereby authorise you, Samuel Howard Edwards, with power to delegate ... to make by proclamation all such laws, rules and regulations ... " His influence with the Matabele was a great help in the negotiations preceding the signing of the Rudd Concession in 1888. A photograph of the old chap shows a benign, venerable-looking old man with a long white beard and Captain Alf Taylor, who was called Bulala Taylor for some reason which I haven't been able to find out, writes . . . "it was here (that was on the Blue Jacket Mine down in the Tati in 1886) that I met Sam Edwards. He ran a small store on the mine site. He was then about 60 years of age, very quiet until you became friends and then to find him a dear old man." He died in Port Elizabeth in 1922. He has always been one of my favourite characters—he must have been a good chap.

Other names are Glynn who was later Sir Richard, he was a traveller and hunter; Green, a hunter; Henry Ogden, a miner; Reader, a trader; the Chapmans. The Chapmans caused a bit of difficulty. There was Edward George Chapman who was a trader in Rhodesia in the 1860's and then there was Edward George Chapman who was a trader in the 1870's and 1880's—not the same Chapman, another chap. So don't ever get them mixed up because your history will go all wrong, if you do. And then there was, of course, James Chapman (no relation whatsoever) who was a pretty great man. He was a hunter, a naturalist, trader and explorer. He was in Rhodesia in the early 1850's and he was heading for the Victoria Falls in 1853 but his bearers wouldn't follow him because there were rumours of Ndebele raids in the area and they reckoned it was too dangerous. So he was foiled of an opportunity of reaching

the Falls two years before Livingstone tripped over the thing. There is another slight confusion to the budding historian in the Greite (or the Greita) family. One Greite who spelt himself Griet was a miner who sank a shaft near the Umfuli River for Sir John Swinburne in 1868. The Umfuli is the river that runs past Hartley. The other Greite was August Greite, a hunter and trader who lived at Lobengula's capital and sold his store to the Jesuits in 1878 or 1879. Now Tabler, who is usually an extremely reliable guide, calls the miner August Griete "ie" and the trader H. Greite "ei". However, we know it was the trader who was A. Greite "ei" as we have his signature on the contract in the book about the Jesuits. Now one of our historians reckons that they are one and the same chap and he said so in *Rhodesiana* but I don't think he had verified his references. It was further complicated for me by the great-grandson of one of the Greite's coming into my office about two months ago and claiming that he was the great-grandson of both of them. And then Thomas Baines, who wrote voluminous journals, talked about Griete the miner, and he spells him "ie" in the first two volumes and then switches to "ei" in the last volume which mixed me up again.

Now Adam Render. He was the first European, so far as we know, to have seen Zimbabwe. He apparently was a German who emigrated to America and then came to South Africa in about 1842. He hunted from the Transvaal and came across Zimbabwe in 1867 and settled there in 1868, marrying—or living with—the daughter of a local chief. He had a perfectly good wife and family in the Transvaal but whether she was a bit of a battle-axe or a nagging shrew that made him stay up there I don't know, but he did stay here anyway and, so far as we know, died and was buried somewhere in the Fort Victoria district. A man who visited him was another German, called Carl Mauch, a geologist. His diaries which he wrote in an absolutely microscopic script and in some quite awful dialect of some German state or other, were recently translated and published thanks to Mr. and the late Mrs. Bernhard of Umtali; they are extremely interesting and worth reading. He was a hard-working chap, was Mauch. Apart from his geological work and surveying and that sort of thing, he botanised and his drawings of some of the plants he came across are extremely good—completely recognisable and he knew a great deal about botany. He always seemed to be hard up; he was often short of food. I gathered from his Journals that he was a pretty rotten shot, his boots wore out and he grouched about that. His instruments got smashed in the rough travel, quite understandably. He had trouble with his carriers, he was an awkward sort of chap, I think; but he pushed on. He met a young Matabele warrior somewhere north of the Nuanetsi River just above Beit Bridge and all he says is "a very unpleasant encounter!" You can just imagine it—this strapping young tjaha with an assegai and poor old Mauch on the other side. During an earlier trip of his to Rhodesia, he visited the Hartley area with the hunter, Henry Hartley, another grand old man incidentally, about whom I'm not going to speak. And, of course, it was his geological reports on the gold finds around Hartley that created this terrific upsurge of interest in what is now Rhodesia. Before he visited Zimbabwe he had listened to Merensky

who was a missionary in the Northern Transvaal, to his stories about what he had read of Zimbabwe—he had probably read the early Portuguese authors—and then in addition to hearing these stories he chipped off a bit of wood that was a portion of the ruins—it was a buttress across a wall, or doorway, and it was scented, which made him think of the cedars of Lebanon. It was not a cedar of Lebanon, of course. It was tambuti wood, *Spirostachys africana*, which is highly scented. It is of the Euphorbia family, with a whitish sap, and certain of the Bantu used to make a sort of hair-oil out of it long ago.

Finally the third thing that Mauch noticed was all the ancient workings in this part of Africa. So there were three factors—Merensky's stories, the tambuti wood which he thought was the cedars of Lebanon and the ancient gold workings. Hence he worked out that this was the ancient land of Ophir, and that is what has given rise to the Queen of Sheba theory about Zimbabwe, which has created such a lot of hot air over the last 50 or 70 years.

Mauch walked up from Pretoria, crossed the Limpopo near where Beit Bridge is now, came up to Zimbabwe, stayed there for about a year, set off again via Sibombombo's Kraal (I've never found out where it was, I think it must have been somewhere near Enkeldoorn) and his object was Quelimane on the Mozambique coast a few miles north of the Zambezi mouth. So he walked from Pretoria to Zimbabwe, past Marandellas up to Makaha above Inyanga, and then down to Quelimane—over a thousand miles, a pretty good trek. I believe that he discovered the Makaha gold-fields but he certainly named two mountains, one after Bismarck and one after Moltke. Bismarck Mountain is recorded as Nyahokwe, where the ruins are, on an old map of mine dated 1905, but whether that is completely accurate or not, I could not say.

Holub—a Dr. Holub—was a physician and a museum collector, a German from Bohemia; he came out here in 1875, passed Pandamatenga on the way to the Falls and his main claims to fame are his writings and the specimens he collected for European museums. Mohr was another naturalist and scientist; his journals have just been republished by Books of Rhodesia. Old President Kruger, long before he was President, hunted near Buhwa Mountain which is about 40 miles up river from where the Salisbury/Beit Bridge road crosses the Lundi River. He interrogated Mauch about his travels and apparently he was satisfied with the answers. There was John Halyet who was a sea-faring man and a builder who wandered into Matabeleland in about 1873. He built a house and wagon-shed, the walls of which are still standing, for Lobengula and he worked at Hope Fountain for the missionaries. The Amandebele called him Johnny Mubi—*umuntu mubi* is a bad man or a dirty man or something of that sort, so whether Johnny Halyet was particularly ugly, or stropky or whether he just didn't change his socks often enough, if he wore any, I suppose we'll never know, but there was some reason.

There was a very different character, a man named John Lee. He came up here in 1862, and acquired a large piece of ground in the Mangwe district on the south-western edge of the Matopos, which he got from Mzilikazi. He was



Emil Holub
(*Photo: National Archives*)

useful to the King as a sort of ear in regard to people coming up from the south—as you probably know, anyone who came up through Bechuanaland (Botswana) in those days had to come through the Mangwe Pass, and they had to pass by Lee. Their routes were quite restricted because of tsetse-fly; you could come up farther to the east but if you came with any oxen you were in trouble because there was tsetse all the way round there right up to the Sabi, so they had to come up through the desert here. He got into disrepute later on with the British South Africa Company because he refused to take action against people whom he regarded as his friends, the Matabele, and I believe he was stripped of his land. These things happen on the spur of the moment, in the heat of the moment, but I've always felt he deserved better treatment than that.

Another man who lived there was van Rooyen, a famous hunter. Both these two have descendants living in Rhodesia today. There was one old hunter called Haarmse—his whole family were up here in 1862, with a man named Wood. Haarmse, his five daughters, Wood and three or four of the servants all died of fever on the Umfuli. Poor Mrs. Haarmse and her son of 10 or 11 years had to take over control of the wagon and make their way back. Finaughty, in the Bulawayo area at the time, recalls how the poor lady broke down completely when she came across a white man to whom she could pour out her

troubles. This Finaughty was a very successful elephant hunter; he used to hunt on horseback and he did a bit of gun-running. He tried, I think he succeeded, in smuggling a cannon to Sekukuni, one of the Basuto chiefs in the Northern Transvaal, in the false bottom of a wagon. He says in regard to stories of Sekukuni's fortune in diamonds that their idea of wealth was cattle, ivory, guns and ammunition, beads, etc. He says, and he was referring to the Matabele in Mzilikazi's time, that he never saw any gold—that is raw gold—among the Matabele. So don't ever go hunting for Lobengula's treasure; it's just a waste of time because there isn't any.

W. C. Baldwin, F.R.G.S., writes most interestingly of his experiences. Here are a couple of samples of the "*glamour*" of being an elephant hunter:

"I am wearied to death: long hot dreary walk. Wagon broke down, hard work putting in new axle. We found a flaw in the wood not however until the first axle was nearly completed and had to seek another (tree obviously) and all our work to do over again."

These early chaps preferred wagons with wooden axles because you could always replace a broken one. If an iron axle broke you were finished.

He goes on:

"elephant hunting is the very hardest life a man can chalk out for himself. Two blank days riding five hours at a foot pace to a vley where the Masaras (or Bushmen) tell you they have drunk: sleeping in the bush with nothing to eat, a drink of muddy water in the morning out of a dirty tortoise shell to do for breakfast lunch and supper."

But he carried on and was a very successful hunter and as I have pointed out was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Not that he was always grousing by any means, his book is full of interesting information.

I'll get on to the one rather tragic incident—a Col. Patterson came up here and he got across the King straight away. The Amandabele were afraid that he was an emissary coming to seek retribution for some complaints laid by a young man called Frewen who had been unwise enough to threaten Lobengula with troops some time before when he thought that Lobengula had thwarted him in getting up to the Falls. So they didn't like Patterson from the start. Anyway, he pressed Lobengula for the road to go up to the Falls and after a lot of disagreement old Loben agreed. So they set off. One of Thomas Morgan Thomas' sons accompanied the trip, again much against Lobengula's wishes. All three of them died with their servants *en route* and the story was that they died of drinking foul water but there were rumours that Lobengula had had them blotted out and nobody really knows the story. Thomas Morgan Thomas himself, even though his son was one of the victims, maintained that Lobengula would never do a thing like that. And that was the exception. Time and again, these chaps in their journals and diaries record the kind treatment—the fair treatment—that they got from the old King and from his main counsellor, Lotshe.

Just one more story. Young Cooper Chadwick looked after Lobengula's armoury here in Bulawayo from about 1890-92 or 1888-90, and then a few years later he was hunting in the Mazoe Valley with a shotgun and he was standing leaning on it, like a silly ass, and his terrier knocked the trigger and blew both his hands off. Well, he staggered back into camp and they rolled him in a blanket, I suppose, and shoved him into the scotch-cart, took him to Salisbury, amputated what was left, sent him down to Cape Town, got him to a hospital in England and he wrote his reminiscences with a pen tied to one stump, for the interest of his old father who was ailing at the time.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, they were a mixed bunch, these people. They ranged from missionaries who were burning to save the souls of the heathen to scallywags like old Johnny Halyet who couldn't bear the discipline of civilisation. But between these extremes were many venturesome souls who came "for to admire and for to see", as Kipling says. There were scientists, naturalists, geologists, geographers, widening their knowledge; hunters looking for new lands for their game; traders who didn't want to sit on their backsides in a store but trekked around buying cattle for beads and selling guns for cloth. And there were of course people, emissaries of various governments, trying to expand their territories; but I maintain they all had something in common. Tremendous courage and resolution and a profound belief in themselves; that is, they had that self-confidence that stems from the knowledge that you are doing the right thing, namely that each in his own way was convinced that he was spreading a bit of light over darkest Africa, because the deep conviction that civilisation, as they saw it, European civilisation, was the only hope for the benighted races of Africa, was in those days a tremendous driving force. It is dissipated today because of self-doubt in Europe, as Dr. Salazar sadly pointed out a little while before he died. It is to the detriment of Africa, in my opinion. These men had integrity; if they made a promise they kept it, even if it meant stuffing a cannon into the false bottom of a wagon and running it through. They were patient and patience is so necessary when you are dealing with a people whose whole attitude to life, whose standards, manners, morals and ideals differ so profoundly from one's own. It is a thing to remember—you've got to be patient with these chaps. These qualities, ladies and gentlemen, courage, resolution, self-confidence, integrity and patience, the Africans admire, and these pre-pioneers generated and established that moral ascendancy which did so much to smooth the way for those who came after. I assure you it wasn't only the machine-guns at Bembesi that won Rhodesia for us. It was started by these men.

Europeans, Nineteenth Century Onwards, British, Dutch, Portuguese

by O. N. Ransford

The subject I have been given to discuss this afternoon is rather a wide one and from the large body of facts I propose to present a selection of significant events that either deserve to be better known, I think, or which seem to me to be especially meaningful at this particular moment of time. Let me just clear the way by talking a little bit about the antecedence of the nineteenth century in this country. The generally accepted story is that Bushmen were living in this country until about the eighth century A.D. when the people named the Karanga crossed the Zambezi and settled in Rhodesia. They recognised a Paramount Chief whom they called the Mambo. The Mambo dwelt in an oasis-like area which developed into the complex of stone buildings we now call Great Zimbabwe. About A.D. 1450 the Mambo of his time—his name was Mutota—an important name for us to remember—marched off into the Zambezi Valley with a large army of Karanga. His adversaries were so impressed by the size of this army that they called his soldiers the KoreKore which can be translated as "The Locusts". The KoreKore subdued the Tonga and Tavara and drove them away from the middle Zambezi Valley. The defeated tribesmen spoke of the Mutota as the Master Pillager, or Monomotapa, and Mutota adopted this as his domestic title. The centre of gravity of the Karanga realm thus became sited in the Zambezi Valley and Mutota made his capital on the Zambezi Escarpment. When he died Mutota was succeeded by one of his sons named Matope. He was only allowed to become the Monomotapa after performing ritual incest with his half-sister Nyamhita Nehanda, another name for us to remember. Matope turned out to be an energetic soldier and he extended his domain so that it stretched from the Limpopo and Gwaai rivers as far as the Indian Ocean, covering most of Rhodesia and a good deal of Mozambique. He left one of his sons named Changa to rule the southern province of Guruhuswa from whence the Karanga came and he established his provincial capital at Great Zimbabwe. Changa identified his interests with the priestly Rozwi clan and announced the first Rhodesian U.D.I. when he declared that Guruhuswa was independent of Matope's kingdom. Sometimes it was called Urozwi or Butua.

To this capital of Zimbabwe flocked scores of Arab traders—they addressed him admiringly as Emir and Changa tacked it onto his name and adopted the

title Changamire for his dynasty. Then as the Monomotapa empire came under Portuguese influence and declined in power so the realm of Changamire increased and extended its boundaries. In 1720 the Monomotapa had become so concerned by Changamire's threat that he moved his court into Mozambique near Tete. The 24th Emperor of the dynasty of Monomotapa was reigning in 1856 when Livingstone came to Tete but he was practically powerless and the only semblance of his power was his extraordinary prestige among the KoreKore and his possession of 100 wives. The 27th Emperor of the dynasty—this famous dynasty—was deposed in 1917 after revolting against the Portuguese. But the Monomotapan descendants are still recognised and greatly respected by the KoreKore.

Such, very briefly, is the stage onto which marched the Europeans in the nineteenth century. But first of all we must appreciate that the Portuguese had been here for several hundred years. In 1693 they were virtually ruling most of Mashonaland, but in that year the Changamire of his time, named Dambo, led an army northwards again and attacked the Portuguese. By 1700 he had evicted all Europeans from Rhodesia except for a few traders—Portuguese—who were hanging on in Manica. The Changamire dynasty then gradually absorbed most



Mapondera—Chief of the Makori-Kori, 1893.
(Photo: National Archives)

of the Monomotapan Empire. The Portuguese maintained fairs or markets in Manicaland until 1832. In that year a horde of Nguni invaders, refugees from the holocaust in Zululand, moved into Manicaland and killed or drove away all the Portuguese. That event is generally understood to be the end of the Portuguese influence in this country but this is not quite true. There is a good deal of evidence that the Portuguese continued to trade in what is now Rhodesia after that date. In 1859 Dr. Livingstone met a Senhor Ferrao at Tete who told the Doctor that his father, not very long before, had made a trading journey into what is now Rhodesia, and there had stumbled across a number of European houses which were falling into ruins. So quite clearly he had gone as far as Dambarare or one of the other old Portuguese settlements. There he had met half-castes with light countenances and long hair who were employed as musicians at Changamire's court. The very next year Dr. Kirk, also on the Zambezi Expedition, met a Senor Isidore at Sena. Isidore told him that he had only just returned a few weeks before, from a long journey through Rhodesia which had lasted 14 months and that he had penetrated to Mzilikazi's country. He had then come back with a great deal of ivory, some ostrich feathers, together with oxen and sheep, but had lost most of the cattle and sheep when he passed through tsetse country. Isidore also told Kirk that he had deliberately avoided Robert Moffat who was just establishing himself at Inyati. The Portuguese, as you know, continued to claim valid occupation of Manicaland until the end of the century and actually contested its occupation with the Pioneer Column of 1890.

I want to talk now for a short time about the Afrikaaners' association with this country during the nineteenth century. If you ask most Rhodesians who was the first European to enter Rhodesia from the south the answer is invariably Dr. Moffat and the date 1854. But this is wrong. The right answer would be Andries Hendrik Potgieter, 1836. And this, remember, is a time when the Matabele were still living in the Marico Valley near Zeerust. Potgieter led a party of Voortrekkers out of the Cape Colony in 1836 seeking a land free from British influence which was served by a port. He knew all about Lourenco Marques and Inhambane and Sofala and he intended to settle in the hinterland of one of these ports. After moving north for some time through the present Orange Free State, he left most of his party on the Sand River and rode on with only a handful of horsemen to the Zoutpansberg where he made contact with Louis Tregardt who had preceded him there. From the area of present-day Louis Trichardt he rode into Rhodesia with a handful of horsemen. Luckily one of them named Bronkhorst kept a journal so that we know what happened to the party. They crossed the Limpopo well above the confluence of the Nuanetsi and then rode through the Lowveld and the south-east corner of Rhodesia to the Sabi River and they probably reached up the river as far as the present Birchenough Bridge. But their horses were sickening—they had been through tsetse country, and were probably suffering from *nagana* or perhaps heart-water. At all events Potgieter decided he couldn't reach the port of Sofala and must turn back. He rode back into the Transvaal, convinced that because of tsetse-fly

Rhodesia was not the promised land for which the Voortrekkers were looking. But the country was not forgotten by the Voortrekkers. Two years later, in the June of 1838, Louis Tregardt, by now at Lourenço Marques, despatched his elder son, Carolus, to explore the hinterland of Sofala. He sailed by boat to Sofala and from there Carolus Tregardt made an epic journey inland which carried him right up to the vicinity of Salisbury. He decided that the Mashona highlands were totally suitable for the Voortrekkers, but he took some time to return to Lourenço Marques; he had many adventures; incredibly he went as far north as Abyssinia, and also visited Madagascar before arriving at Lourenço Marques. There he found his father was dead, and the trekkers by now committed to Natal and the Transvaal. And so the plan of settling in the Mashona highlands was abandoned for a time by the Afrikaaners. Potgieter, incidentally, makes another appearance, as you all know, on the Rhodesian stage in 1847 when he led a cattle raid into the Matopos and reached the vicinity of Bulawayo before deciding he must return and cross into the Transvaal.

Now, let us turn for a moment to the British presence in Rhodesia during the period we are examining. Of course, the chief landmarks of the British concern with pre-occupation Rhodesian history, are the three journeys by Robert Moffat to this country in 1854, 1857 and 1859, and the establishment of the Christian missionaries at Inyati in 1859. But these pioneering feats are a familiar story to us, and I would prefer this afternoon to speak to you for a little time about Livingstone's association with Rhodesia. And perhaps it is particularly fitting that we do so since this is the centenary year of his death. For the most part Livingstone's journeys happened to skirt the present Rhodesian boundaries. But we do know that in 1860 he crossed over the Zambezi into Rhodesian territory because he sketched the Victoria Falls from a place just south of the modern township, and paced out measurements of the gorges and inserted them on his sketch. There is some dispute as to whether Livingstone ever came into Rhodesia on some other occasion, and I submit that he probably did. He was a great writer, he kept his journals very carefully and turned them into books later. In the *Narrative of the Zambezi Expedition*, at page 325, we find him writing that he was camped at the Pendali Stream just below Kariba on the north bank of the Zambezi, that is in modern Zambia. But he goes on to say that an hour's walk along the south bank allowed one to come upon an incredible amount of game. So it does seem that he did walk in Rhodesia on one other occasion than the 1860 entry. And again on page 321 of the same book Livingstone talks about going ashore at Mpande's island opposite the mouth of the Sebungwe River. Again this was Rhodesian territory but, of course, it is now submerged under the waters of Kariba. Kirk, incidentally, who was with Livingstone on this Zambezi expedition made a point of noting that he found tsetse-fly on the Rhodesian side of the Zambezi near Chirundu on two occasions. So he also came into Rhodesia in 1860.

Livingstone may not often have come into Rhodesia but he was fascinated by what he saw from the north bank of the Zambezi and he refers repeatedly to stories he heard—rumours sometimes—coming from what is now Rhodesia.



Trek-wagons crossing a river. From "The Great Trek" by O. Ransford, London, John Murray, 1972. From an etching by W. H. Coetzer.

(Copyright Africana Museum)

One day he wrote down that the local Africans just above the Victoria Falls believed that a large sea monster lived here in the Zambezi. They had seen him many times and it was powerful enough to upset a canoe. One wonders whether this myth is still held by the local Africans. On another occasion when Livingstone reached Zumbo from which the Portuguese had been evicted, he noted that the Portuguese had fled because Changamire led an army towards Zumbo in 1831. He refers repeatedly to the gold that was mined or found in the rivers in Rhodesia, particularly in the river Mazoe, and he writes about the gold that was obtained from fairs held in the Que Que district and at Dambarare near Mazoe. When he was at Tete he again came back to the subject of the amount of gold the Portuguese had extracted from Dambarare and notes that the Portuguese believed Manicaland was the Ophir of King Solomon. One wonders whether this published remark may have been the one which incited Rhodes's interest in the gold potential of Rhodesia—in the Ophir which he expected to find there. On another occasion Livingstone says that Mzilikazi's principal cattle posts were situated at the headwaters of the Sanyati River which, as you know, flows into the Kariba Gorge. But this is not of great help to us because the headwaters of the Sanyati stretch from near Gwelo almost to Marandellas; they don't really tell us how far north Mzilikazi's cattle posts were situated. Livingstone was fascinated by the Tonga of the Zambezi Valley who, as you all know, still knock out the front upper teeth of their women, but in his time the men did the same thing, and this has disproved, I think, the commonly held theory that the women's teeth were knocked out to make them unattractive to slavers. Livingstone was fascinated, too, by the diminutive breed of cattle which the Tonga herded; he calls them "a very small breed of beautiful shape and remarkably tame". And when writing to his brother, Charles, Livingstone says that these cattle "live in their houses as Irish pigs do" and they were so tame that they never had to be driven; they followed their masters everywhere. As we

know, the Mashona still have a very small breed of cattle and it struck me when I read Livingstone's story about their living in their owners' houses that perhaps there is a clue here to the slave pits of Inyanga which are such a mystery. You will remember that the pit itself is kept dark by the curving of its entrance—and the living-hut is built on top of the slave pit; one wonders whether the Africans in those days kraaled their cattle in the daytime in the darkened pit where they would be free from tsetse-fly bites, and grazed them only at night, again when they would be free from the tsetse.

Finally, I want to discuss the reaction of the Shona people during the nineteenth century to the advent of the Europeans. The inter-reaction between these two culturally different people is of significance to us at the present time. There's no doubt at all that the Shona to begin with welcomed the advent of the Europeans; these white strangers provided a new source of trade for them. The Shona looked on the Pioneer Column as rather a large gold caravan which would obtain as much gold as it could in the shortest possible time and then disappear. And also these white people turned out to be good allies against the Matabele who were raiding the Mashona. Finally, they provided unprejudiced umpires to settle all sorts of tribal disputes. But gradually the Shona people realised that these Europeans had come to stay; they intended, too, to break up all the old Shona trading patterns and replace them with an economy which they controlled. And so the Shona attitude to the advent of the white people, in about 1892, began to change. The Pioneers, quite naturally, never recognised the tremendously powerful religious ties which bound the Shona together and gave them their strength and even today these spiritual bonds are not fully appreciated by us all. The Pioneers looked on the Shonas as a cowardly down-trodden race; they didn't realise that instead they were a very proud people who looked back on their great days of Monomotapan Empire with pride and nostalgia. These people, the Karanga, Mashona—call them what you like—believed in a high god who was the creator of the Universe. They called him Mwari. We may note that when the Matabele came to this country they appropriated Mwari as their god too but, of course, they called him the "Mlimo." Their high deity was believed by the Shona people to be the creator of the Universe, and so detached from themselves as to be unapproachable. So to intercede with their god, the Shona peopled their living world with the spirits of their ancestors. Through them they believed themselves able to intercede with the high god. (The Matabele, on the other hand, propitiated "Mlimo" messengers, who fulfilled the same intercessionary purpose.) These tutelary spirits were very real things to the Shona, as indeed they are to this day. The spirits were able to communicate directly with the high god and also with themselves, with the people through spirit-mediums. The ancestral spirits provided them with advice and warnings by using people who had been "possessed" by them—human intermediaries—intermediaries in fact between the living and the dead whom they called Svikiros. These people, these media, were hosts during their adult lifetime to a single ancestral spirit. They were ordinary men, and sometimes women, who by exhibition of certain arcane signs, indicated that

they had become "possessed" by one of their ancestral spirits. They were tested very searchingly before being recognised by the ordinary people and they were only accepted if they knew all there was to know about the history of the ancestral spirit they represented, his genealogy, his background and habits. The true mediums were very powerful people and what is curious to us perhaps is that they accepted their dissociated personalities without any incredulity at all; they did it sincerely. There was nothing of the charlatan about their attitudes; they really believed they were representatives of one of the spirits, and they were perfectly genuine as far as they went. Admittedly charlatan-mediums did emerge from time to time but these were the exception rather than the rule and they gained their position by dint of happen-chance successful prophecy, or by performing some impressive conjuring tricks. When these true mediums were "possessed", in what we call a trance, they spoke to the ordinary people with the voice of the respected ancestor. And so far as their audience was concerned, they were, to all intents and purposes, those ancestors. They were allowed, even encouraged, to arbitrate on all kinds of domestic disputes and tribal matters. On the whole the advice these mediums gave to the Shona was conservative and sensible. But occasionally it was radical and even revolutionary. The Shona accepted a whole hierarchy of spirits in their spiritual pantheon. The most important ones they called Mhondoros, lions, because they believed that when a human medium died, the ancestral spirit inhabited a lion until he had sought out and found another suitable medium. But by 1890, when the Europeans came to this country, nearly all these mhondoros were dormant—only a few of them were still active. Even Chaminuka, the greatest of them all had never reappeared in human form after his last medium's execution on Lobengula's orders. The next in importance was Mutota, the spirit of the first Monomotapa to whom we referred earlier. Mutota was active in 1890 and he seems to have counselled co-operation with the white invaders. The next most influential of these ancestral spirits was that of Nehanda who, we may remember, had performed ritual incest with her brother, Matope. In 1890 this spirit "possessed" a middle-aged woman living in the Mazoe district. And as the Shona attitude towards the Europeans began to become hostile, she advised her people to resist them. Nehanda herself and another medium, less important, but very active, called Kagubi, together preached sedition throughout Mashonaland. They were a very efficient team and what we must realise is that their spiritual influence far exceeded the secular power of the Paramount Chiefs. In 1893 these two mediums came into close touch with the dissident Indunas of the Matabele who were based on the Matopos. And they co-operated with them in instigating the rebellion of 1896. First the Matabele rose in rebellion and then the Mashona rose at Nehanda's behest. The rising took the European pioneers very much by surprise and only gradually and belatedly did they realise the tremendous influence that these mediums possessed. But when they did appreciate it, they made every effort to capture Nehanda and Kagubi. In this they were successful. Both mediums were executed and this in fact brought the Mashona Rebellion to an end. The spirit of Nehanda was dormant for a year or two after the execution of her earlier medium and then she came to "possess" another woman, also of the Mazoe



Nehanda and Kagubi, 1897.
(Photo: National Archives)

district. By 1906 the authorities began to realise that this other Nehanda was exerting great influence in the Shona people. She had prophesied that a great white spirit would come from the north and liberate the Shona. The authorities watched her carefully but this woman medium succeeded in remaining on the right side of the law. There is no direct evidence that she instigated the Ma-pondera rising of 1900, but there is a good deal of suspicion that she did. This rising is today an almost forgotten chapter of Rhodesian history, and I must say a few words about it.

Ma-pondera was a great warrior who happened to be out of the country at the time of the 1896 rebellion but he came back soon afterwards and his tribe rose in 1900. It was defeated and Ma-pondera himself fled into Mozambique. There he made contact with the titular Monomotapa and gained his support. And in 1901 he invaded Rhodesia at the head of a large KoreKore force, and marched on Mount Darwin with the intention of killing all the whites living there. He clashed with a force of Police which eventually scattered the KoreKore. Ma-pondera was captured and died in gaol during a hunger strike. Then in 1910 another medium appeared—his name was Kamota and he represented the spirit of an eighteenth-century Monomotapa. Kamota entered Rhodesia and for five years tried to subvert the KoreKore but without success. Then the medium crossed over into Mozambique and instigated the great Shona revolt of 1917 which cleared the Portuguese from the Zambezi from Zumbo to Tete. Kamota also intended to lead an army into Rhodesia and march on Mount Darwin and Salisbury. He never succeeded in doing this but the pattern of history can now be detected in the reaction of these mediums. And if the Europeans of 1890 were slow to recognise the influence of the tutelary mediums on the KoreKore,

the same charge cannot be laid against the agents of ZANU—the nationalist organisation. A few years ago they began to recognise the influence of the present Nehanda medium who was an old, old woman, an aged crone of 80 who was "taken by the spirit", as they say, as long ago as 1919. They recognised the long tradition of resistance to Europeans that this spirit-medium represented and in November of 1972 ZANU agents abducted the modern Nehanda, and hold her in Mozambique at present. There is little doubt that they have used the influence of this medium to subvert the KoreKore during the last year, and that much of the trouble we are experiencing now on the north-eastern border stems from the advice which the Nehanda medium has given to them. So the pattern of history has unfolded once again, and at this moment a great deal of Rhodesiana is being written in the north-east part of Rhodesia. And there is a salutary lesson for us all I think here. We can see that there is some advantage to be gained from peering backwards through time into the past, for if history does not repeat itself, human nature always does. And if we know how human nature has reacted to past stress, we can predict the future and plan our own reaction to it with maximum effect. This is one of the great values, I maintain, of history and I submit a valuable dividend which we earn from the study of Rhodesiana.

NOTE

Among the British Museum's collection of maps is one drawn and annotated by Livingstone which shows that he also landed at Sinamane's, also on the south bank. It also indicates a district named Chirongo, just east of the Lobola River (which runs into Kariba at Binga), which he writes is known as "God's land" and is never tilled.

Concession-seekers and the Scramble for Matabeleland

by P. R. Warhurst

A century ago, Lobengula, King of the Ndebele, could proudly command his kingdom from its centre at Bulawayo. He was a powerful monarch of a centralised state and his impis would raid far and wide, leaving death and destruction in their wake. Ndebele power extended well beyond the kingdom—the nuclear kingdom—of the Ndebele, which was approximately 100 miles in radius round Bulawayo, and a number of Shona polities to the east and the north-east were under the control of the Ndebele king. Some were tributary, paying regular annual tribute to Lobengula, but the degree of subjection varied amongst the different Shona groups. With others Lobengula would make an arrangement whereby in the event of a disputed succession the final decision would be Lobengula's. In this way the King was able to influence politics in that particular polity. In the east the Ndebele held sway as far as the Mtilikwe River, the limit of the Gaza of Chief Mzila, another Zulu-speaking king. The Gaza raided up to the Mtilikwe from their centre, Manhlagazi—near Mount Selinda. Lobengula was later to become related to Mzila by marriage. To the north-east, the farther from Bulawayo, the less Ndebele presence was felt, until Mount Hampden and beyond where there was almost none. To the north in what is today Lomagundi Lobengula had a vassal in the Chief Nenakonde (Lomagundi) but over a wide area and even across the Zambezi, the Ndebele impis raided, with periodic forays into Barotseland north of the river. The Shona country had been under the sway of the Portuguese in the seventeenth century but the Portuguese presence had long since disappeared, except in Manica.

If Lobengula was the king of a feared warrior people, he did not enjoy complete internal security within his own kingdom. He had become king in 1870 only after a bitter succession war and many of the Ndebele did not accept him as the rightful heir to his father, Mzilikazi. This latent hostility to the king was a constant factor through Lobengula's reign. To strengthen his insecure position Lobengula made the first concessions to Whites. Whites were not unknown to Mzilikazi, who had, for example, allowed the London Missionary Society to establish a station at Inyati in 1859. Lobengula continued his father's policy of limited favours to the London Missionary Society by allowing them to open a new station at Hope Fountain in 1870, but he was hoping to gain their support which he needed in the internal situation in the politics of the Ndebele state.

Lobengula was pestered by other, more mercenary Whites looking for concessions. But throughout his reign, right up to the bitter end, Lobengula was well disposed towards White people. In 1870 he confirmed a concession to the London and Limpopo Trading Company led by Sir John Swinburne but shrewdly he made the concession in the Tati area. The Tati area had attracted the London and Limpopo because of gold but its significance to Lobengula was not the gold aspect but the fact that it was disputed territory between himself and Chief Kgama the Christian king of the Ngwato. It was an astute move to plant the Whites there under his auspices and in this way secure his borderlands. In 1871 he granted another concession—this time to the famous painter-explorer Thomas Baines and the concession in this case was in a very different area, between the Gwelo and the Hunyani rivers. He allowed Baines to operate mineral concessions for gold but made quite sure that no land was involved in the arrangements. Baines, however, was in financial difficulties. He persevered and eventually secured enough capital to operate the concession, but he died on his way to Mashonaland. Lobengula granted no major concessions for many years. Why not? Lobengula had deliberately granted these concessions in order to bolster his own position, and as he became stronger he no longer felt the need to placate the few White concession seekers in his kingdom. This was a fundamental point in Lobengula's policy. Basically Lobengula wanted to continue the policy of his father Mzilikazi, what Moffat called "Chinese isolation". He wanted to keep his kingdom completely intact and although he was well disposed towards the Whites he did not want them inside his kingdom.

There was, however, someone who was going to destroy that isolation—a century ago, in 1873, Rhodes went up to Oxford. At the age of 20 he was already a successful young man from his work on the Diamond Fields. Rhodes's approach to life is well illustrated by an anecdote told by Colonel Weston Jarvis:

"I remember so well," wrote Weston Jarvis, "once during the Matabele War* we were marching one lovely moonlight night—and a very cold night it was in the African winter—expecting a brush with the Matabele at daybreak, when Rhodes suddenly said to me: 'How glorious this is, and what a lucky fellow you are to be here! Now why are you here? Let's analyse it: You are here because turnips in Norfolk don't pay. Now suppose turnips in Norfolk had paid, what would then your life have been? I suppose an average country gentleman, and a fairly respectable Member of Parliament; but what an existence!! How much better to be enjoying this glorious life and feeling that you are taking part in a much more practical way towards the development of the British Empire!'"

This was the spirit of Rhodes and Rhodes's dream was a map of Africa painted red from Cape to Cairo for he believed that the British could offer a superior government and way of life. Furthermore, he intended to open Africa—or at least the plateau right through the heart of Africa—to British settlement and

* Mr. H. Simons has pointed out that this should presumably have been "Matabele Rebellion".

British enterprise, in order to promote modern development. With his dynamic approach and a feverish energy generated psychosomatically to an extent, through his knowledge that his life would be limited by a heart complaint, Rhodes drove on relentlessly to achieve his aim. His imperialism was fed at Oxford but trained in a different way through his contacts in South Africa. Rhodes was a Colonial and distrusted Whitehall and the humanitarian influence of Exeter Hall.

While Rhodes was commuting between Oxford and Kimberley, there were few striking events in the Ndebele Kingdom. Lobengula still had to struggle for complete mastery of the state and he never did secure the degree of obedience his father had enjoyed. Times were changing. The Ndebele were no longer the formidable force that they had been in previous years. Indeed more than one Ndebele army was defeated in the field, in the various raids made around Matabeleland. There was no White threat at this stage to the independence of the kingdom but in 1877 when Sir Theophilus Shepstone from Natal took over the government of the Transvaal, the White presence came somewhat nearer. Shepstone had actively intervened in Ndebele country during the succession



Marquess of Salisbury, 1889.
(Photo: National Archives)

crisis and when he sent up a certain Captain Patterson with a letter of introduction, the Ndebele were apprehensive as to his intentions. Patterson and his two companions disappeared and died in mysterious circumstances. They were the only Whites known to have been killed—probably by the Ndebele—right through until the war of 1893. In 1879 Lobengula relaxed his policy towards the missions somewhat by allowing the Jesuits to enter but as no conversions were allowed the Jesuits did not stay and had left the country by the time of the Occupation. Their contemporaries who did persevere, the London Missionary Society, achieved, ostensibly at least, nothing. This has been recorded as the greatest failure in mission history though there was an even more striking example when German missionaries laboured in Namaqualand for 50 years without a single convert.

The imperial factor entered the picture through the road to the north, from the Cape northwards into Central Africa, when that road became threatened by the Boers expanding westwards from the Transvaal. The London Convention of 1884 had returned most of their independence to the Boers of the Transvaal but in order to safeguard the road to the north which was both the missionaries' road and the trade route, the Boers were not permitted to expand either to the east or to the west. They were, however, allowed to go north. The northern boundary of the Bechuanaland Protectorate when the British expanded northwards in 1885 was laid down as 22 deg. South and it was not perceived by either side at the time that in fact this line ran north of the Transvaal and appeared to prevent the Transvaal from expanding northwards into Matabeleland. When this was realised, the line was modified so that the Boers would no longer be cut off. In 1885 after the Bechuanaland Protectorate had been proclaimed, a mission was sent to Lobengula to explain the new situation and he proved very conciliatory.

Sir Charles Warren, whose expedition had led to the Protectorate, pressed for further expansion and was strongly supported by the High Commissioner at the Cape, Sir Hercules Robinson. Robinson did not, at this stage, refer to Matabeleland and Mashonaland—he only wanted Chief Kgama's territory, which stretched to the Zambezi, brought entirely under British protection, which would have taken the British boundary up to the Zambezi River. He repeatedly pressed this point with the Colonial Office, and repeatedly they refused. There was a deal of feeling within the Colonial Office that the Boers ought to be allowed to expand and take over Matabeleland and this was certainly the attitude of Gladstone's Government, Gladstone being more favourable towards the Boers than were the Conservatives. This feeling was shared, rather strangely, by the imperialistic Shepstone himself. When there was a rumour of a Boer trek into the land north of the Limpopo, Shepstone's advice was that the British Government should accept this and stay well clear because, he said, "it furnishes a safety valve to the hatred of everything English that is so strong in the mind of the Boer". When another Boer trek was rumoured, the Permanent Under Secretary of State to the Colonial Office, Sir Robert Herbert, commented in a very revealing statement in February 1887, that although Mashonaland

ought to be British, the Boers would probably take it, and none of his colleagues dissented.

The Boers were not the only foreign claimants to Matabeleland and Mashonaland. The rumours of another Boer trek in 1885 had been forwarded by O'Neill, the British Consul in Mozambique, not only to his own Government but also to the Portuguese Governor-General of Mozambique. The upshot was that the British Government informed the Portuguese Government that the British had no intention of proclaiming a Protectorate over Matabeleland. The Portuguese had published a map in 1861 showing what they understood as the limit of their claims in Central Africa. This limit was the Sanyati River. In 1886 Portugal concluded treaties with both Germany and France which would have allowed all the territory between Angola and Mozambique to have become Portuguese, and there were British subjects like Sir Donald Currie (founder of the Union Castle line) who pressed for an alliance with Lobengula to counter this Portuguese intrusion as he saw it. Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, advised the Colonial Office to study Currie's proposals very carefully but the Colonial Office had little time to spare for the far interior and regarded Tongaland as a matter of more urgent concern than any Portuguese action in Mashonaland or Matabeleland. Robinson tried again to secure an extension to the Zambezi and once again it was shelved. Herbert minuted, "The question of Tongaland for one takes precedence."

Robinson's warnings were given new point in July 1887 when Piet Grobler, a well-known Boer trader in Matabeleland, negotiated a treaty of alliance between Lobengula and the South African Republic (the Transvaal). Doubts were subsequently cast on the validity of this treaty but it is clear that the treaty was obtained although what is not so clear is the significance of that treaty to Lobengula. Lobengula seems to have regarded it as a renewal of the agreements of friendship made with the famous trek leader Hendrik Potgieter, known to the Ndebele as Enteleka, and his son. But in fact the treaty contained provision for a Boer Consul with wide powers and provision for the Ndebele to come to the help of the Transvaal if this help were ever invited. Lobengula had secured an ally but were the terms onerous? Did he in fact appreciate the significance of what had been signed? He sent two indunas to Pretoria but the alliance with the Transvaal faded—it was not pursued by the Transvaal partly because Consul Grobler was murdered in territory claimed by Kgama. The Colonial Office was not unduly disturbed by news of the Grobler treaty. Even rumours of a Boer Protectorate which was said, erroneously, to have been proclaimed, prompted the comment from Herbert: "Having decided not to protect Lobengula ourselves, we cannot effectively protest against the Transvaal doing so. The expansion of the Transvaal is the feature of South Africa today." And another official at the Colonial Office commented "There can be little doubt that annexation to the Transvaal is the ultimate fate of Matabeleland, whether it has already been accomplished or not." Only one of the officials, Bramston, expressed any doubts and wished to reserve Britain's position. The British Government took no decisive action either way.

Rhodes wanted decisive action. He had already been making his plans. In 1885 an old Oxford friend and fellow imperialist, Sir Sidney Shippard, had become the Deputy Commissioner in charge of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and within months Rhodes was writing to him on 3rd January, 1886:

"The only thing we have now to work for is that the Germans shall not take Matabeleland. I think you will have to lay your plans for several years' residence in Bechuanaland."

Rhodes was waiting for a long haul but his plans were made. This fear of German expansion, however, was grossly exaggerated. It remained a constant feature of British policy but in fact the Germans had no designs on the centre of southern Africa. Shippard in his advantageous position in an adjacent territory to Lobengula's country continued to exert pressure and warned Lobengula against the Boers, Portuguese and the Germans, much to the consternation of the Colonial Office.

Rhodes had another powerful ally in the High Commissioner at the Cape, Sir Hercules Robinson. Robinson was a man capable of independent thought but he was also under the spell of Rhodes and agreed completely with his plans for British expansion. Thus it was that Rhodes influenced Robinson into taking action to thwart any Boer presence in Matabeleland. Robinson instructed the Deputy Assistant Commissioner at Bulawayo, the ex-missionary, John Smith Moffat, to obtain a treaty with Lobengula. Lobengula, alarmed at what people told him he had granted to the Boers, decided to switch his alliance and signed a treaty with Moffat on 11th February, 1888. Under the terms of the Moffat Treaty, Matabeleland did not in any sense become British but the British secured the vital concession that Lobengula would not grant his country to anyone else without previous approval from the British Government. Lobengula had surrendered something of his sovereignty in return for an alliance with a powerful country, Great Britain.

The Moffat Treaty took the Colonial Office by surprise. It was not their initiative nor had they authorised it. They were very reluctant to assent to the treaty at first and kept on referring it back to the High Commissioner but Robinson had such persuasive arguments as to the need to protect British interest and particularly the Cape's commercial interest in Matabeleland, that eventually they accepted. The High Commissioner had in fact written to the Colonial Office asking their advice but—and whether this was by accident or design will never be known—it would have been too late even if the Colonial Office had sent an immediate message asking him not to take any further action. It seems that the High Commissioner under Rhodes's pressure had stolen a march on the Imperial Government. Robinson followed up the Moffat Treaty with a request to the British Government to proclaim all the area, that is Matabeleland and Mashonaland, a sphere of British influence which would keep out the Boers, the Portuguese and the Germans permanently. There was further reluctance on the part of the British Government because to have taken this step would have alienated Portugal. Portugal had, in fact, abated her claims to Matabeleland or at least shown willingness to do so, but the Moffat Treaty

led to a strong protest by Portugal because the king's domains—Lobengula's country—were defined in the Moffat Treaty as not only Matabeleland but also Mashonaland. To some extent Lobengula was using the treaty to reinforce his own claims to Mashonaland. But the Portuguese Government claimed that they had prior rights in Mashonaland; their claims to Matabeleland were very tenuous but certainly the Portuguese were active in Mashonaland and claimed that their ancient presence there gave them rights to Mashonaland which was not under the jurisdiction of Lobengula. The Moffat Treaty spurred the Portuguese both to negotiate on the one hand and, on the other, to send expeditions to Africa to reinforce their claims. Lord Salisbury, however, was angry with the Portuguese, not over this question but over their action in restricting the British aid to those fighting the slave traders on Lake Malawi. Sidney Webb, then an official at the Colonial Office, noted: "Lord Salisbury had been for some time cross with our ancient ally." Salisbury wanted a sphere of influence proclaimed to try and ward off the Portuguese expeditions. The sphere was proclaimed but it did not have the desired result. The Portuguese continued their expeditions, especially that of the intrepid explorer Major Andrada, destined to play a very important part at a later stage in Mashonaland. Andrada journeyed far and wide collecting treaties with the various Shona chiefs.

The Shona were only too delighted to sign these treaties with Portugal because they ensured guns with which they could fight the Ndebele, and they readily took to guns as a means of defence against their old enemy, at least those who were not under the direct control of Lobengula. Salisbury took a harder line and declined to negotiate with the Portuguese any further because he said the Portuguese were sending expeditions to Africa and also because they did not seem keen to make concessions while there was a possibility of winning on the ground itself. "We shall get nothing out of this Portuguese Government" grumbled Salisbury. On the vital question of whether Lobengula controlled Mashonaland, which was the point of view put forward in support of Lobengula by Rhodes and the British Government and equally zealously denied by the Portuguese, neither Britain nor Portugal was correct. Selous summed up the position more accurately when he wrote:

"Various communities of Mashona are subject to Lobengula, pay him tribute, and keep the great herds of cattle owned by the Matabeles. They are well-treated and have little to complain of in so far as they are looked up to. But alongside of them live numerous tribes of Mashonas, who are in no wise subject to Lobengula. They pay him no tribute and when they are attacked by his Nobles, they take refuge in the caves and on the summits of their mountains, and defend themselves and their property as well as they can against the invaders."

(When Selous joined Rhodes and the British South Africa Company he made no further such comments about Shona independence because he had been bribed into silence by Rhodes. Rhodes wanted Mashonaland as well as Matabeleland and could not afford any of this talk about Shona independence.)

Salisbury had kept the Portuguese out by the Moffat Treaty which excluded

that he favoured Rhodes, and by force kept out one of Rhodes's competitors, Wood, to whose syndicate (Wood, Chapman and Francis) Lobengula had given a concession in the Shashi area—once again the disputed area with Kgama. Other potential rivals who had obtained a concession from Lobengula in previous years—the Leask, Fairbairn, Westbeeche and Phillips combination—threw in their lot with Rhodes and on 30th October, 1888, Lobengula agreed to the Rudd Concession.

The story of how Rhodes obtained this famous Concession is well known. What is not so well known is the Ndebele side of the picture. This is partly because that story has not yet been fully written up and indeed there are several people working in this field. Richard Brown has produced the best provisional account in *The Zambesian Past* (ed. E. Stokes and R. Brown). This must be supplemented by the unpublished ideas of my colleagues, Dr. Bhebe and Mr. Cobbing, on the political history, and of Messrs. Summers and Pagden on the military side.

On first sight the Rudd Concession, which granted Rhodes the mineral rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, seems a major breach in Lobengula's policy of rotating his favours with a few limited concessions. Why had he given this major concession to the British South Africa Company? The situation had changed radically—the Ndebele were no longer left undisturbed. There was renewed interest by Boers, Portuguese and British elements and Lobengula was pestered by concession-seekers, especially after the discovery of the Rand. Was it not possible that a second Rand might be discovered in Matabeleland? Lobengula began to fear for the independence of his country; he knew it would be impossible to hold the Whites at bay and so he began to temporise by selecting one group. His choice was probably influenced by Shippard who made sure that he "happened" to pay an official visit to Lobengula with an impressive escort, just at the time when Rudd needed him. Yet is this sufficient explanation of the terms which Lobengula conceded? Rhodes had intended all along to send a Pioneer Column of hundreds of Whites who would to a large extent take over Mashonaland under the Rudd Concession. Could this possibly have been what Lobengula envisaged? Clearly it was not and yet the Occupation in no way infringed the Rudd Concession as it was written down and translated to Lobengula. The explanation of this apparent contradiction lies in what the missionary, Helm, who interpreted for Rudd, later wrote privately. (This was published in an appendix to the edition of Rudd's Diary in the Oppenheimer Series.) It seems that Rudd made verbal promises to Lobengula during the discussions. The activities of the Whites coming into the country would be strictly limited: for example, only 10 men would come in and they would be under the instructions of the King. Thus to the Ndebele the Rudd Concession was understood in the light of the explanation given by Rudd which was not radically different from those of previous concessions, though the extent of the mineral concession was much larger than previously and the rewards of £100 per month, 1 000 rifles and 100 000 rounds of ammunition and a gunboat on the Zambezi, proportionately greater. But to Rhodes it was only the written

document that counted and he was to employ this almost as a title deed in Mashonaland. Seen in this perspective, the Rudd Concession was the biggest swindle in Rhodesian history and the ill will it generated contributed much to the bad relations between the Ndebele and the Whites.

Rhodes's rivals were quick to discredit the Rudd Concession. Lobengula himself published a repudiation and in order to establish the truth sent two indunas to Britain with E. M. Maund of the Exploring Company. On the way Rhodes tried in vain to "square" Maund but subsequently the Exploring Company sold out to Rhodes leaving Lobengula without any effective ally. Rhodes wanted a Royal Charter, to give him a monopoly and the power to establish an administration in Mashonaland. The decisive factor in his favour, as Robinson pointed out, was that by means of a charter to Rhodes, Britain would secure control of Matabeleland and Mashonaland without having to pay a penny of the taxpayers' money. While Rhodes was working to secure his Charter, Lobengula had become finally disillusioned, and he put to death with all his family one of his senior councillors, Lotshe, who had advised him to accept the Rudd Concession—a reminder of the brutal side of Ndebele society. After he had secured the Charter Rhodes sent his right-hand man, Dr. Jameson, to "keep the king sweet". Jameson turned on his charm and also applied his medical knowledge to help ease Lobengula's gout. Lobengula, although disenchanted, did not want a clash with the Whites for unlike many of his people he knew that the Whites could destroy them. His dilemma henceforth was to keep the peace externally while not giving way too much to weaken his own position internally. At one stage Rhodes was tempted to try a disreputable plan sponsored by Frank Johnson who had a personal vendetta against Lobengula. Johnson was to lead a commando raid against Bulawayo but fortunately Rhodes changed his mind and sent the Pioneer Column to Mashonaland. Rhodes now had everything he wanted except the land. In 1891 Lobengula saw a chance to use the land issue as a counterweight to Rhodes and he granted the right to land to Renny Tailyour from whom it was subsequently acquired by Edward Lippert. However, Lippert later sold his concession to Rhodes though in 1918 the Privy Council declared it to be worthless. When Lippert went to Bulawayo to seek confirmation of the concession, Moffat was instructed not to reveal Rhodes's interest. The ex-missionary's conscience was tortured but he felt that only the disappearance of their military state could save the Ndebele. Rhodes had now secured his ends, and Lobengula was doomed.

Some Notable Individuals, Black and White, and Their Impact

(This lecture was in three parts.—Editor.)

Part 1

THOMAS BAINES

by H. A. D. Simons

Baines was certainly a notable individual, and there is an overwhelming weight of evidence to support this contention. I am not, however, certain about his impact.

The first feeling of uncertainty was engendered by the memory of a visit to King's Lynn some years ago, where I had arranged an interview with the Town Clerk. I talked about Thomas Baines, and I was told by the Town Clerk that he knew little about him. He suggested that I should go to the Librarian, who might know more. To a limited extent this was true, and the Librarian knew a little more about this illustrious son of King's Lynn, but he confided in me that King's Lynn really did not know just how important Thomas Baines was, and in fact quite a sizeable proportion of the population of that fair city had never heard of him.

I asked an assistant in a Rhodesian library what she had on Thomas Baines, and she answered with a pleasant smile, "He was a pioneer, wasn't he?" I asked the art teacher in a Rhodesian high school "What do you think of Baines's work?" "I don't really know anything about his work," was the reply.

None of which helps with the impact angle.

But then I thought that this was surely the burden that Baines has always carried—a lack of recognition by all but a few.

It is entirely due to the efforts of the few that at last we are beginning to hear something and know something about this remarkable man.

Limited recognition has been accorded to him for many years. The year after his death, in 1876, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, President of the Royal Geographical Society, said of him "He was a man of marked individuality of character, a born artist and explorer, a lover of wild life, and skilled in all the shifts and resources of an explorer's career. Few men were so well endowed with these

and other qualifications for successful African travel, and perhaps none possessed greater courage and perseverance or more untiring industry."

Francis Galton said "Probably no living man, not even excepting Dr. Livingstone himself, has so pertinaciously engaged in travelling."

Sir Harry Johnston wrote in 1891 "It is quite time justice was done to poor Thomas Baines." Sir Harry might well have omitted the word poor when describing Baines, for Baines would be the last man to ask for pity of any description. He was used to roughing it for protracted periods, and being let down by others, but this sort of thing brought no complaints from him. He would just cheerfully set about clearing up the mess wrought by others, with no other thought than a desire to see things righted.

Our present-day historian, Edward Tabler, says of him "Baines was Southern Africa's greatest artist and the first to depict the Victoria Falls. He was an accurate cartographer and a man of great energy and intellectual curiosity, so that his diaries are a mine of interest and exact information about the countries he visited. He was a resourceful and experienced traveller and a reliable observer who was liked and respected by nearly everyone, with only two notable exceptions."

This limited recognition accorded to him by men of known ability and high standards points along the road leading to general acceptance of Baines as one of Africa's foremost explorers.

His impact on the "Far Interior" lies therefore in two directions, as an artist and as an explorer.

Baines's ability as an artist is undoubtedly of a high standard, but his industry as an artist was truly amazing. For example, on his voyage to the Cape in 1842 his works included 37 water-colours as well as pencil sketches.

In April of 1847 he went from Cape Town on a short trip to Simonstown. His output in this week consisted of 11 pencil sketches varying from 15x22 cm to 18x23 cm, five water-colours of similar sizes, and nine oils varying from 18x23 to 94x86 cm.

On a short journey from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown in the following year he produced 18 works in various media, and hard upon this, as a member of the Liddle Expedition, between 18th March and 21st June he produced an amazing 137 water-colours, pencil sketches and oils.

A little over 20 years ago, Professor J. P. R. Wallis said that he had personally seen well over 400 oil paintings and knew of many others in private collections. There were many recorded that cannot be traced now. Besides, there are his Australian and Matabeleland albums, and miscellaneous water-colour sketches almost innumerable, to say nothing of countless pencil sketches. The production of a full catalogue of his pictures undoubtedly would prove to be arduous and prolonged, but it would be of immense value. Wallis adds "It would be idle to impugn his art for defects of imagination, inspiration or style,



Thomas Baines

(Photo: National Archives)

as idle as to damn them with the faint praise of being 'Historical', or to patronise them as the products of self-taught skill of a man of plebeian origin." His modest talent served to express his sense of pleasure in setting down and preserving scenes which were a wonder and a delight to him.

Baines's writings have long gone from the general view, and but for such publications as our own "Books of Rhodesia" many would never see them. He wrote in a simple unsophisticated style, and one which expressed his own modesty and honesty. He wrote for a leisurely age, and could afford to be fulsome in his descriptions.

His observations on matters of scientific interest and his cartography were of a high order. Tabler makes reference to his superior ability in this respect on several occasions. For example—"Baines, who actually measured it, made the distance from Tati to Manyamis 82½ miles, and he is more reliable than Selous, Mathers, Oates, Jeppe and the map of Hall and Neal.

"The latitude of Bulawayo as determined by Baines is more correct than the same measurements as made by Oates, Kerr and Maund", also "For many years after Baines completed his maps, they remained the best for those parts of the Far Interior in which he worked, and better surveys were not made until Southern Rhodesia was founded."

He had a lighter side to his nature as witnessed by his newspaper publication *Blue Jacket Journal and Chronicle of the Blue Waters* which he produced whilst on the high seas, and featuring Timothy Touchemoff. Later, and in the heart of early South West Africa, came the light-hearted weekly paper *The Desert News, and Otjimbingue Chronicle and Walfisch Bay Intelligencer*, in which he revived Timothy Touchemoff, who refers to the explorer Andersson as "His Excellency the Governor of the City of Otjimbingue". He burlesqued Hamlet and Othello at a Christmas party in Tati in 1869.

His final effort as leader of the South African Goldfields Company's expedition in obtaining the first mineral concession in Mashonaland ranks him as one of the Founders of Rhodesia. The fact that his company denied him necessary money and equipment to follow up his concession meant that his last years in Durban were shadowed by his constant endeavours to pay off debts legally incurred for the company. For five years he had worked for his unappreciative masters, only to be ignored, abandoned, and left to do as best he could.

His death came swiftly in May of 1875, following upon the worst attack of dysentery he had known. Characteristically, Baines refused to believe that the end was near, and when advised to make a will, he shrugged the matter off, somewhat light-heartedly. Three or four hours later, his cheek upon his hand, Thomas Baines, the traveller, died.

Professor Wallis says of him, "His achievements as an artist and in exploration, scientific discovery and investigation do but enhance his humanity, his quiet courage and fortitude, his steadfastness of purpose, his versatility and resourcefulness, his unflinching kindness and goodness of heart, his deep-seated unobtrusive reverence, his unflinching good humour and his modesty." As a witty friend of the Professor phrased it, after hearing of Baines's fullness and variety, "He was not a man, he was a syndicate!"

Baines's life was full of frustrations, and he met with a greater share of the world's setbacks that in fairness should have been his due. There were times when this gentle Christian man was castigated by those whom history has treated far more kindly, and who should have known how wrong they were. But Baines did not pause to analyse his bad luck as we do. Whatever the outcome of his endeavours, he loved every moment as he moved over the path that led to his own fulfilment. In the final assessment no tribute could better his own words to John Lee, "I must be either justly proud of my success or not ashamed of my failure."

Part 2

THE GO-BETWEEN—JOHN GROOTBOOM

by Gwenda Newton

Foreword by J. Charles Shee

When I was invited to give a short lecture on John Grootboom to the

Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society on the 17th of July, 1973, I readily accepted. I knew that there had not been a great deal written about Grootboom and I thought the task would prove an easy one. However, when I came to look up references I was suddenly struck by the fact that few books published in the 1890's had indices and, therefore, to extract the information about Grootboom, I had not only to collect all the books referring to Rhodesia in this period but also to read through them in detail.

It was at this time that Mrs. G. Newton's husband rang me up and suggested I might care to see her notes as she had always been interested in Grootboom and had collected and collated all the published information she could find about him.

I readily accepted this generous offer and found it to be an easy task to give the required lecture, drawing freely on her notes. It did seem, therefore, that it would be proper for Mrs. Newton, rather than me, to write the article on Grootboom for this issue of *Rhodesiana*.

Her account is an excellent one, outlining almost all that is known of Grootboom and it is very sad to think that we do not know and probably never shall know how he met his end. I did mention in my talk that there is a photograph of him in Sykes's book *With Plumer in Matabeleland* and I thought that this picture showed a remarkable resemblance to a youthful Jomo Kenyatta. Although Grootboom spoke several languages including English and some Dutch, we really do not know what his own racial background was. One can strongly suspect that the various tribal affiliations which have been attributed to him by European authors, as mentioned by Mrs. Newton, were largely the result of his own vivid imagination and he clearly was rather a leg-puller and preferred not to reveal his true origin. And so he fades into the background of our history.

We do not know whence he came or where he ended but he was quite a remarkable man, loyal, brave and resourceful and Mrs. Newton has undertaken an excellent task in helping to carve for him a memorial in the history of our country.

Vere Stent, writing to the organisers of the Rhodesian Pageant for the 1936 Empire exhibition, says, regarding the Indaba scene, ". . . I do hope you are not forgetting to have someone to impersonate John Grootboom. Don't forget that he took the initial and greatest risk of all, when getting into touch—through the native Inkosikaas—with the great chiefs. Grootboom was a Fingo, and not persona grata with the Matabele. He is left out of most of the stories, pictures and memorials because, I suppose, he is just a 'nigger'. But I can tell you he was a very important 'nigger' that day. Our lives were in his hands and it was upon his assurance that we went into the hills . . ."

What do we know of this man, John Grootboom? We do know that he first came to Rhodesia as a wagon driver for the Rev. C. D. Helm, and lived at Hope Fountain for a good number of years. His tribe is uncertain, as he has been described by various authors as a Fingo, Zulu, Msutu, Xhosa and Tembu. What is certain is that all who knew him attributed him with intelligence, great courage, and the ability to extract himself, and any companions from highly dangerous situations. It followed that this was the man who was given the unenviable task of acting as intermediary on two occasions, when the course of Rhodesian history was in the balance.

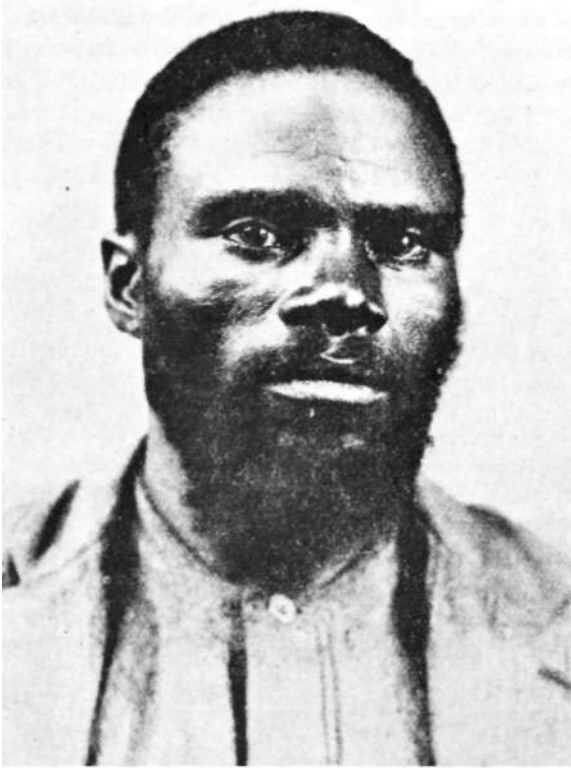
In appearance he was powerfully built, very black, with a high intelligent forehead, and broad nose. He would shave his beard, and wear his hair in a dhlo-dhlo, or plaited ring, when he wanted to move freely among the Matabele to glean information. Besides his own language he could speak English, Ndebele, and a little Dutch.

The first time he acted as an intermediary was on 7th November, 1893, when along with two other "colonial boys", he volunteered to take a letter of amnesty written by Dr. Jameson to Lobengula. Lobengula was on the run, after Bulawayo had been taken, and was believed to be about 30 miles north of Bulawayo near Shiloh. Grootboom and his two companions were at that time serving with Capt. J. W. Nesbitt in the Salisbury Column. The most dangerous part of this mission was the journey to meet up with Lobengula; once they reached him it was thought they would be relatively safe.

Fortunately, after some anxiety as to their safety, the three messengers arrived back on 9th November. They brought with them a letter from the King, written by John Jacobs, Lobengula's "secretary". They had been taken prisoner at Shiloh by the Imbezu, and kept under close guard while their letter was sent on to Lobengula. Grootboom had managed to talk to Umjaan, the Imbezu chief, whom he had previously known while with Helm. The messengers were given to understand that the Imbezu and Ingulu no longer wished to fight, but other regiments did. They also confirmed the death of Capt. Williams. The letter from Lobengula stated that he would return, but wanted details of accommodation, etc.

It became obvious, however, that the King was not returning but fleeing north and Grootboom then joined the three scouts, Ingram, Bain and Burnham. Burnham considered that Grootboom should have been named M'Slopagaas, after Rider Haggard's character as he had many of that hero's characteristics. In the ensuing dash to catch Lobengula, Burnham and Grootboom were asked by Major A. Wilson to verify an account that the King's wagons had crossed the Shangani River, about seven miles from their camp.

At 3 a.m. that day they arrived at a native village, near the reported crossing. Burnham and Grootboom crawled into a hut of sleeping Matabele, selected their victim, and with Grootboom's hands at his throat and Burnham's cartridge-belt around his legs dragged him some distance away. Whereupon they extracted the information that there were about 200 of Lobengula's guard sleeping in the



John Grootboom

(Photo: National Archives)

village, and that spoor of the King's wagon could be seen crossing nearby. Grootboom and Burnham verified this, and released their captive. As they were making their way back, they were suddenly confronted by over 30 Matabele herders, with the King's cattle. Now we see Grootboom's mastery at bluff coming into use. He told the herders that he was their friend although he was accompanied by a white man, and if they wished to save themselves they must get away quickly, as there were many more white men in the vicinity. The herders apparently believed him and took off smartly.

Another example of Grootboom's courage and quick thinking was on 1st December, 1893, when he and the three American scouts were scouting several miles ahead of the column. (There are at least three accounts of this same incident, written respectively by Burnham, Major Forbes, and Mhlalo.) Ingram had started back to the column as his horse was completely exhausted. The remaining scouts decided to rest, and feed their horses in the long grass, when out of the grass arose 25 armed Matabele. (Burnham's account stated about 15, Forbes over 20, but Mhlalo said that Gambo told him to take 24 men with him.) Grootboom's immediate reaction was to roar at Mhlalo's men, demanding to know how they dared advance with weapons in the presence of an induna.

There followed a lengthy altercation between Grootboom (interpreting for Burnham) and Mhlalo, each one trying to bluff the other into going to meet

their respective leader. Mhlalo stated in his account that one of the scouts asked for some water, which was brought in a calabash by one of the Matabele. In return Manondo, a Matabele, asked for tobacco, which was handed over to him in a pipe. Manondo took three puffs, and returned it to the scout, who himself took a puff. (This seems to be a carry-over from the American scout's days among the Indians!)

Meanwhile each side had kept a wary eye on the other but Bain in spite of this managed to regain possession of his gun which had been resting against a tree, and level it at Mhlalo's belly. After several more manoeuvres had taken place, with each side trying to gain the upper hand, and during which Grootboom fearlessly kept up his flow of rhetoric, the scouts managed to mount and start slowly back. Gambo's men followed alongside in the grass for a while. Gambo's account is that they did this for about three miles, until they saw the scouts regain the column.

On 4th December, 1893, Allan Wilson's last stand took place, and a few days later Mhlalo, who had taken part in the fight, met up with the same native that he had seen in the previous incident, whom we know to be Grootboom. Grootboom told him he had been with the white men on the Shangani and had fought the Matabele, but had escaped death by hiding down a large ant-bear hole to avoid detection when the Matabele went up to the dead. Mhlalo stated that this was a survivor of the Shangani Patrol. (It is interesting to note, at this point, that a gallant last stand was made by a member of the patrol next to an ant-heap.)

However, disputing this evidence is Major Forbes's account that on the morning of Allan Wilson's last stand he had told Grootboom, who herded the slaughter oxen, to go and look for them. (The oxen had been turned out of the centre of the laager the previous evening when Borrow's men had left, so that the laager could be closed up.) Some time later firing was heard from across the river. When Grootboom returned, after finding the cattle among some native cattle about 800 yards away, he told Forbes that he had also heard the firing while asking the natives for the return of the cattle.

On the retreat from the Shangani, Grootboom, along with three other "colonial boys", was sent to reconnoitre and they were told that if they did not find signs of the relief wagons two were to return and two to go on to Inyati, with a letter asking Capt. Delamore to come down to Longwe to meet the column. As one of the "boys" had returned immediately, alleging he had hurt his foot, and the other two returned without having spotted any signs of the wagons, it was left to Grootboom to go on alone to Inyati.

Alfred Drew, who was at Inyati with the relief column, said it was feared that besides Allan Wilson's Patrol, Major Forbes's column had also been annihilated. The relief column were waiting for reinforcements from Bulawayo, and preparing to go to the rescue when, in his words; "... News was brought in by the faithful Fingo native John Grootboom, giving us the whereabouts of Forbes and his men."

During the years between the Matabele War and the Rebellion, it appears that Grootboom returned to his home and family at Hope Fountain, as it was to Hope Fountain that word was sent in April 1896 for him to join Brand's column at Dawson's store, 18 miles away. In the Mzingwane Valley he was to travel on foot, but would be given a horse at Dawson's. Unfortunately on arrival he found that the column had already left and decided to follow on foot. He met with a Matabele rebel who knew him but Grootboom bluffed him into believing he was going to check on the safety of some of his cattle. The Matabele told John to be careful as there were white men in the area! His next escape was when a party of Matabele following Brand's spoor caught sight of him and gave chase. After quite a hair-raising pursuit when he was nearly cornered, he eluded them by the simple expedient of taking off his shoes and his tracks became lost among those of the Matabeles. After dark on that day he travelled through the night and slept most of the next day before he finally caught up with Brand's column and took part in their fight on 8th April. He must have been given the promised horse, because we know it was killed in this action. On being questioned by Sykes on this action, Grootboom gave his opinion that because so many rebels were killed by so few white men, the Matabele who were massed and ready were deterred from making an all-out attack on Bulawayo.

On 22nd April, 1896, Selous joined up with a patrol of "colonial boys", John Grootboom being among them, under the command of Capt. Bisset. During the skirmish that took place between this patrol and the Matabele on the Umguza, John took a hefty swipe with his gun at a warrior and on missing his opponent unseated himself and was dragged with his foot in the stirrup for several yards. Fortunately for John, Selous and Capt. Flynn were close at hand and averted any attempt on Grootboom's life by the Matabele.

When the order came to withdraw the "colonial boys", Selous galloped out to tell the more advanced "boys", and after telling them, he decided to have a few shots at the Matabele. He dismounted from his horse to do this, and as he thought he was alone, was surprised to hear Lt. Windley point out that they were being attacked from the left. Selous then realised that the two of them were cut off, which would not have been any problem, except that at that moment Selous' horse took off, and Windley was unable to catch it. Windley's horse refused to carry two riders, and Selous ran alongside it, holding on by its bridle. In this fashion they came near to Grootboom and five or six other "boys", who checked the pursuing Matabele with a volley of firing. "Old" John, as Selous affectionately calls him, at once gave Selous his horse, and they all made their way back to the maxim-gun. Then on 25th April a patrol under Capt. McFarlane left for the Umguza and in the ensuing fight John was hit in two places, while driving rebels out of a donga.

His wounds could not have been serious, because in June, six days before Plumer's attack on Thabas Amambo, Grootboom set out on foot from Bulawayo to reconnoitre the area reckoned to be the best defended and most dangerous fortress of the Matabele. He worked his way right into the midst of the rebels, listening to conversations, and saw some of them returning from

interviews with the M'Limo. Again he was nearly caught, after he had gone between two rocks, he looked back and saw a fire had been lit by the rear exit and that there was another fire just above him but, being Grootboom, he managed to extricate himself and make his way to Inyati.

When Plumer reached Inyati, Grootboom gave him his intelligence report which enabled Plumer to make out his plan of attack on Thabas Amambo. Plumer's tactics did not meet with Grootboom's approval. He said the only way to fight the Matabele was to go on pursuing them, night and day, fighting from the cover of rocks, and not as Plumer did, fighting out in the open, and then withdrawing to camp in the evening. Grootboom compared Plumer unfavourably with Colonel Baden-Powell (or "Baking Powder", as he called him), for whom John had great respect and admiration. The feeling was certainly mutual, for Baden-Powell described John as "a man of exceptional courage and soldierly ability". It is from Baden-Powell that we learn that Grootboom would disguise himself as a Matabele, and go among their women to get his information.

On the 25th July, 1896, Baden-Powell took Pyke, Tagili and Grootboom into the Matopos, to the gorge of the Mtshabezi River about 15 miles east of their base camp. They mapped out the ground and tried to work out the position of the Matabele, and then returned to a kopje to watch. Grootboom and Pyke were left to keep watch, while Baden-Powell made his way back to the camp to see if it were possible to find another route, as the one they had taken was impassable to the wagons.

On 4th August Baden-Powell, Richardson of the Native Department, and five "colonial boys" (John being one of these) left camp and made their way across the Msengezi Valley to the Matopos. They passed the scene of Brand's fight, and Grootboom pointed out where his horse lay dead and gave Baden-Powell a graphic account of the battle.

During August it became clear that no headway was being made and Rhodes, hating the senseless slaughter that was going on, decided to make an attempt to get in touch with the Matabele leaders. Again the lot of intermediary fell to Grootboom. He said he would travel by night and watch by day in an attempt to contact the rebels. He then had a talk with Richardson and Colenbrander, went to collect some food and blankets, and returned for further orders. He brought with him a native who has been noted as N'Yatikazi or M'Kuza, and who wanted to accompany him. One of Colenbrander's "boys", John Sail, also wished to go, which pleased Rhodes. Rhodes said they would be rewarded, but wanted particulars of how he could help their families, in case they did not return.

Richardson accompanied them for some distance, and although he had expressed a wish to go the whole way, Rhodes thought this might endanger the mission, and had refused. There are varied accounts of how and when contact was actually made, but most of them do mention an old woman who had been a wife of Mzilikazi and an agreement with her about flags to be flown, if the chiefs wished to meet Rhodes. Some reports state that she was actually captured

and brought back to camp before Grootboom was sent out as intermediary, and others that Grootboom and his companions did all the negotiations themselves with her in the Matopos.

Whichever the details may have been, Grootboom's party arrived back on the sixth day with the heartening news that although they had not met up with all the chiefs, they had seen the senior ones, who had agreed to meet Rhodes and three other white men. They stipulated the meeting was to be held in the morning, two days later, and that no guns or arms were to be carried. Only Rhodes and Grootboom adhered to this latter stipulation.

Vere Stent, in his book, gave a very descriptive account of the Indaba, which he had to commit to memory. The reason for this was that John Grootboom particularly insisted on no pen and paper being shown. Stent says, "After the way they were swindled over the Concession, the natives dreaded the sight of writing, to which they attributed some vague magic power." John Grootboom was on foot, with Rhodes, Hans Sauer, Colenbrander and Vere Stent on horseback. Grootboom directed them to some open ground, rimmed by kopjes, with the remains of a big ant-heap and tree stumps in the centre. The Matabele began to appear, and tension mounted, as retreat was now impossible. The white men dismounted next to the ant-heap at Rhodes's command, and a few seconds later Grootboom pointed out the Matabele advancing with a huge white flag.

Vere Stent said, "... A wonderful smile broke over Rhodes and he said 'Yes, yes there they are. This is one of the moments of life that make it worth living. Here they come . . .'" Rhodes apparently was the calmest of the five and Stent says after him the most placid was Grootboom.

On returning from the Indaba, Rhodes asked Grootboom what he could give him as a reward. One report states they each got £25, but McDonald who was with Rhodes at that time, said that Grootboom asked for a horse and bridle, which Rhodes insisted was not sufficient reward. Grootboom then told him he did not need more as he was going to Barotseland, "to help the missionaries" and would not be returning. It had been an idea of Rhodes to have him work on one of his farms, but on hearing this he gave his blessing to the project. He then told McDonald, in John's presence, to make a note to give Grootboom, any time he asked for it, 100 acres of land, a wagon, a span of oxen, 12 cows, a horse and £100. Grootboom thanked him and promised to go to McDonald if he ever wanted them. (John Grootboom's case is recorded in the office of the Rhodes Trust.)

When the Matabele asked for Sir Richard Martin to be present at the second Indaba, he arrived on that morning with a fully-armed and mounted escort of over 20 police, to which both Grootboom and Colenbrander objected. This objection was upheld by Rhodes in the ensuing controversy.

Besides being involved in the Indabas, Grootboom went with Mr. Carnegie, early in the peace negotiations, into the hills, to search for his converts. They had fled into the hills when the rebels looted and burnt Hope Fountain Mission

before the Matabele relief force arrived. Mr. Carnegie and John made their way through rebel strongholds, and had to use all their wits to stay alive. They eventually found the converts, who escorted them to safety at Fort Usher.

The next time we hear of John Grootboom is in 1897 when he accompanied Rhodes, Dr. Jameson and Le Sueur who was Rhodes's secretary, to Umtali to purchase farms. When two ponies got lost, John Grimmer and he went after them and caught up a few days later with the main party. Rhodes completed purchase of the farms, and went to Inyanga while Dr. Jameson went on to Tete. Rhodes became ill, and his fever got worse but he refused their offer to send for a doctor as he wanted to wait for Dr. Jameson's return. Le Sueur and the others became anxious and decided to take matters into their own hands. They sent off Grootboom on the best horse, which Rhodes had just bought for Le Sueur. Grootboom returned two days later with a doctor, who was able to give Rhodes relief, but killed the horse by over-riding it.

Rhodes received telegrams asking if he intended to be at the opening of the railway at Bulawayo, but he made his health the excuse for not doing so and moved back to Umtali. Grootboom had become interested in Inyanga, and was given £100 to go to Bulawayo to fetch his wives and donkeys, etc., as he said he wanted to settle there. Le Sueur says he never returned and stated, as many authors do, that Grootboom had settled down north of the Zambezi, helping the missionaries!

Whether or not he ever settled there is still a mystery but there is a photograph entitled "First Expedition to Northern Rhodesia 1899" which shows John holding a dog and states he was Mr. Grey's boy.

Perhaps we can see how much Grootboom was esteemed, and remembered, by those who knew him, by the following action of Rhodes recorded by McDonald: "When Rhodes was ill with a heart attack a year or two after the Indaba, he scribbled a note to McDonald 'Dear McDonald, don't forget about Grootboom. He did a fine bit of work for me. See he gets his reward.

Yrs. C. J. Rhodes.' "

Part 3

MRS. E. TAWSE-JOLLIE

by Mrs. Paddy Vickery

As the only woman speaker in this series and having been given the only female subject to be dealt with, I feel I have a great responsibility to what Mrs. Tawse-Jollie would have called "the sex", although I realise that I haven't very much time in which to do justice either to her, or to the sensible woman's point of view which she represented.

When I was first asked to speak about Ethel Tawse-Jollie I thought—"Oh good! There are plenty of people who remember her; I'll be able to get some

genuine personal comment and evaluation." But it didn't work out quite like that. A retired senior police officer said: "Oh yes! I always used to call her Mrs. Jollie Drawers. Frankly I was terrified of her."

And this seemed to be the general reaction. She was a fluent and persuasive speaker, but she was also rather imperious and alarming and found it difficult to make contact, particularly with young people. As a result, the personal glimpses I had of her showed her flourishing her umbrella at Sir Charles Coghlan's daughter who was driving down Manica Road one morning; hailing her like a taxi and demanding to be driven to Mrs. Reineke's house which was about five miles away.

Or again in the Legislative Assembly where she sat between Colonel Birnie and Colonel Du Port making a grand entrance and taking it as her right that they should make her comfortable by arranging at her back the cushions she had brought—but that seemed to be as far as her softening influence went!

Or again—drumming up support for Responsible Government with R. A. Fletcher in the Bulalima-Mangwe area, and steam-rolling everyone to such an extent that all the farmers in the Figtree and Marula districts were scared stiff of her.

An impact she certainly made—but if it had all been of this somewhat uncomfortable kind, then I don't think that Mrs. Tawse-Jollie would be remembered in Phillipa Berlyn's words as: "a person who stands high on the list of people to whom the Rhodesia of today owes a debt".

I think we have to look beneath the facade of the domineering woman playing a kind of suffragette role in public affairs, and try to find out what her real place was in Rhodesia; what she thought about the country; and why she worked so hard to secure for it what she believed would be an honourable future and a recognition of Rhodesia's right to responsible self-government.

Ethel Tawse-Jollie's association with Rhodesia can be said to begin with her marriage in 1900 to Archibald Ross Colquhoun—who had been, as you know, the first B.S.A. Company's Administrator of Mashonaland. She visited Rhodesia with him in 1904.

However, after Colquhoun's death in 1914, she flung herself into war-work, and at the request of the War Office she started the Free Buffet for Sailors and Soldiers at Paddington Station in London.

I haven't been able to find out quite how Mr. Tawse-Jollie got into the act—whether he was captivated by her tinned-salmon sandwiches, or whether she topped up a good pot—but by 1915 she had married him, and shortly afterwards we find her living on his farm in the Melssetter-Chipinga district.

It would have been very extraordinary if a woman of her undoubted ability had been content to do nothing more than meet the challenge of life in the sticks. Her home near Mount Selinda was a 10-days' walk from Umtali. But despite the remoteness of her situation, in less than two years she was hard at work as Organising Secretary for the Responsible Government Association. She had

considerable experience behind her. She had been on the executive of the Woman's Unionist Association, the Imperial Maritime League, the British Women's Emigration Association, and the National Service League, as well as having a number of books to her credit, and after Colquhoun's death having been the editor of the journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.

So much experience and versatility couldn't be caged for long, and it's not surprising to hear that she trained a staff of African women—a real innovation this—to man the home front and look after her husband while she braved the rigours of travelling and took herself off to Salisbury and other centres where she could be in touch with events, read the newspapers on the day of publication, and have access to books and periodicals in the libraries.

As a reward for her hard work as secretary of the Responsible Government Association she was, in 1920, elected a Member of the Legislative Council for the Eastern Districts. Her own account of the circumstances connected with her election is typical and illuminating.

"The Council of 1920 had another new feature in the presence of the first woman elected to a Legislative Council in the history of the British Dominions . . . It may be of interest to record that the honour conferred on the writer of being nominated and elected was not the result of any effort on her part. She had worked hard at the political organisation of the party, having much previous experience of this class of work, and the nominations given her by two Trade Unions in her electoral district, as well as by the principal business men and farmers, was spontaneously offered, and not accepted until it became evident that no candidate more likely to carry the seat was available. This personal reference is made to show the broad-minded political attitude of Rhodesian men, but at the same time the writer's experience of political life confirms her in the belief that a woman suffers from an essential handicap when she enters it as a principal and not as an auxiliary, and that even the hardest work and self-sacrifice will not place her on an equal footing with men. Only exceptional circumstances, in her opinion, justify a woman in entering on a career where she is at such a perpetual disadvantage and where home duties can no longer take precedence, and only exceptional health would enable a woman to undertake the responsibilities involved in representing such constituencies as that of the writer, which is nearly as large as England and has to be traversed to a great extent on horseback." (From *The Real Rhodesia* (1924), p. 75.)

However, disadvantages notwithstanding, Ethel Tawse-Jollie *did* take her seat in the Council Chamber on 10th May, 1920. When Sir Drummond Chaplin, the Administrator, rose to address them, he noted that the number of elected members had reached 13. As the Bingo caller says—Lucky for some!

Mrs. Jollie's maiden speech, if a twice-married woman can make a maiden speech, was made on 12th May. To her fell the honour, and she was deeply sensible that it was an honour, of seconding the motion put forward by Sir Charles Coghlan petitioning for "the Responsible Government which this Terri-

tory urgently requires for the proper development of its resources and the freedom and prosperity of its people".



Ethel Tawse-Jollie

(Photo: National Archives)

Her speech was a good speech—identifying herself as a Rhodesian by virtue of her two marriages, both names belonging to pioneers of Rhodesia, so she felt that *she* was a Rhodesian pioneer twice over. She went on to work through historical precedent and valid economic and socio-political reasons for Responsible Government and ended with a thumping peroration:

"All our predecessors on the question of Colonial Government have passed through the door of Responsible Government. The Imperial Government expects us to do so at the first opportunity. There is the open door. It is the only door open under the constitution of the Charter. The people of Rhodesia are able to pass through that door and realise those expectations." (Applause.)

And then it was Mr. Lionel Cripps' turn to speak.

After this rousing beginning she held her peace until 18th May when she had something to say in the Budget debate. I like the opening. The *Rhodesia Herald* reports: "Mrs. Tawse-Jollie said the few remarks she wished to make on the Budget would not take the form of a polished speech because she had not expected to rise on that occasion; but an opportunity was given her of making a few observations which might perhaps be helpful."

And I think this word "helpful" characterises her attitude throughout her public life. She was always making helpful suggestions—sometimes popular and sometimes unpopular, but usually sensible and expedient, and on every topic from maternity assistance to the need for a national museum.

All through 1921, 1922 and 1923 the Responsible Government issue was in the melting-pot. And Ethel Tawse-Jollie worked tirelessly towards it. She believed passionately that neither the prolongation of Company Rule nor a union with the then Union of South Africa was desirable. Rhodesia in her view deserved something better—Rhodesia deserved to have, because Rhodesians had earned it, completely responsible self-government within the British Empire. The Referendum of 29th October, 1922, showed that the mass of Rhodesians were behind her. The elections of 1924 confirmed her constituents' faith in her, for in April of that year, standing for the Rhodesia Party, she was returned to the newly established Legislative Assembly as Junior Member for Umtali. In this way she earned her niche in Parliamentary history as she was the first woman to sit in a Parliament in the British Empire.

The first session of the 1st Parliament of Rhodesia met in what was called the Assembly Chamber on 30th May, 1924. Mrs. Petal Chennels, whose father was Sir Charles Coghlan, the first Premier, showed me a photograph of this very exciting occasion. The Assembly Chamber looked, even in sepia, suspiciously like the old Prince's Cinema, and Mrs. Jollie was there sitting very upright and conspicuous in a large pale hat with a wide dark ribbon.

From 1924 to June 1928 she continued to attend all sessions of Parliament, and it was ironic that the last debate in which she took part should be on the Electoral Bill, for after she had had her say in that she was never elected again.

In September 1928 she was defeated by the independent candidate John Martin; and in 1933, standing as Rhodesia Party candidate for Selukwe, she was defeated by Robert Gilchrist of the Reform Party.

However, she had some consolation in that in 1930 she was awarded the O.B.E. in recognition of her services to the Colony.

When asked about his close association with Mrs. Tawse-Jollie in the sphere of public life, Sir Charles Coghlan was heard to remark at a dinner party:

"Oh well, you know, Politics makes strange bedfellows!"

All I can say is that Ethel Tawse-Jollie made herself a very hard bed, and lay in it with determination and courage. If it hadn't been for her forceful personality and passionate conviction about the worth of Rhodesia and Rhodesians we might today have been a province of South Africa with all the problems which that implies, instead of the Independent Republic of Rhodesia—with all the problems which that implies! But I can only hope that we shall all live to see the day when Ethel Tawse-Jollie's faith in our future will be amply and honourably justified.

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

Under this heading, in our last issue, July 1973, we indicated that the Society's Gold Medal was presented to Sir Robert Tredgold in recognition of his services to the Pioneers' Society.

This is not so. Sir Robert was given the award, not as a historian of the Society, but for his other contributions to the history of Rhodesia. Our misrepresentation is regretted.

Present and Future Action to Preserve the Past

by C. K. Cooke

You have listened to a series of lectures on all phases of history, from the earliest Stone Age to the Bantu movements and the arrival of the Pioneers, and even the records of some of those Europeans who arrived much later, but who played an important part in our development. These talks should have given you a background to the heritage which is yours, but what are you doing, or what is being done, to preserve the past for the future generations of Rhodesians? This, I think, is the most important factor arising from these lectures, and must be given full consideration.

Many people have the impression that history only started when the Pioneers crossed the Shashi in 1890. We hope this series of lectures has dispelled the narrow view, if not in everybody's minds at least in the minds of all the people who have attended the talks, and that these talks have engendered an interest in the lives and doings of all the people who have lived or passed through this country during many thousands of years.

This area was occupied by hominids and many tribes, sects, and even races of humans, all prior to the arrival of the true sapient groups. The earliest as far as we are presently aware was Broken Hill Man, *Homo sapiens rhodesiensis*, and we are now completely populated with *Homo sapiens sapiens*, although on some occasions one wonders just how sapient some are. The various movements and invasions, and how and why all this happened, has been dealt with by authorities on the subjects, and they have covered the periods in time when these other people were here.

To answer part of the question I posed in my first remarks: "What is being done to preserve the past?" is fairly simple, for the body sponsored by the Government and charged with the preservation of all monuments and relics dating prior to 1st January, 1890, is the body known as the National Museums and Monuments. Perhaps it is well to once more define two items—a "monument" is an immovable object, which by its very nature, is of historic importance to the people of this country whether it be a tree, building, a ruin, an open site containing Iron Age or Stone Age material, a fossil-bed or any other object of aesthetic or scientific interest; a "relic" is a movable object with similar attributes. By law nothing of this nature may be moved, interfered with or destroyed unless permission has been sought and granted by the Director of National Museums and Monuments.

The same body is also empowered to recommend to the Minister proclamation of any monument or relic made or erected after the 1st January, 1890, if it is of sufficient interest or value to be considered as a National Monument.

These very wide powers are difficult to enforce in a country of this size, but a small staff of European and African Inspectors and Custodians do a great deal towards reaching the ideals which we have set ourselves. Nevertheless, we lean greatly on public support for the spread of preservation and the prevention of vandalism. We feel that it is the duty of every Rhodesian to see that we preserve this heritage which was left behind by all the people who were involved in the making of our history.

In an endeavour to preserve different facets of our past various societies have been formed in many centres of the country; some, like museum societies, cater mainly for the young, and thus are helping to educate them by instilling a pride in their country. Others, like the Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society, help to investigate past history by encouraging archaeologists and historians to lead groups on expeditions, and it also undertakes the study of many other scientific disciplines. The Ranche House School in Salisbury annually mounts an archaeological school at which the main lecturers are drawn from the staff of the National Museums and Monuments, whilst experts from other museums and universities are visiting lecturers. These schools enable adults to learn something of the methods used by archaeologists in investigating the past and preserving relics for the future. Often the pupils become enthusiastic helpers on the digs, or undertake minor excavations themselves. The Rhodesian Prehistory Society was formed around the staffs of the National Museums and Monuments, and some of the people who attended the Ranche House archaeological schools. This society can, by reporting sites and surveying areas, play an important part in preserving and recording the past. One thing the Prehistory Society is doing in Salisbury is an archaeological survey of the area to be flooded by the new Hunyani Dam. This is very valuable because once the reservoir is filled the evidence will no longer be available.

The Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, whose members are the descendants of the 1890-93 Pioneers and of the Pre-pioneers, are basically not a society interested in anything prior to the first European arrivals, but nevertheless, have had, and still have, a part to play in the preservation of the monuments and relics of the not-so-distant past.

The Rhodesian Scientific Association, the oldest society of its kind in the country, has, from its first publications, given room for articles of archaeological and historical interest and, indeed, has a monthly programme of lectures in Bulawayo, some of which are of historical interest.

The newly-formed Historical Association will, no doubt, contribute towards the later periods by recording legends and tales from the people themselves. This is a very valuable way of storing history.

Old books are repaired, preserved and generally looked after by national

libraries and in the collections of individuals. These form the basis for research into pre-pioneer and pioneer times, and, therefore, are something to be well looked after. Well-documented photographs are very often a most valuable asset to the historian and for that reason should be kept. Old photographs with no writing are seldom of great value and unless the owners know who is in the photograph, what the buildings are, and so on, they are of little value to the historian. Early paintings should also be preserved—early paintings, paper and other materials become fragile; these are often thrown away and frequently discarded when they could be put back into order by experts and preserved for the future. There is a lot of interest in some of these early paintings. I had some given to me the other day from Pietermaritzburg, done—they don't know who the artist was—on a Zeederberg's coach trip from Kimberley to Bulawayo when one of the coaches turned over and the whole history of the journey is recorded in little thumb-nail sketches. These things are historic documents and like books should be looked after.

It is sincerely hoped that many of you who spend time in the veld will help in keeping an eye open for sites which may be of interest to the Archaeological Survey of the Museums and Monuments organisation. If you know of sites which we have not recorded please let us know, whether they are of historic or prehistoric interest. An unrecorded site can so easily become a lost one in these days of rapid building expansion and road building.

Though there are many of them that probably a lot of you know—you've seen them hundreds of times—we may not have them recorded. There are many places in this country, little places that you have kept in the back of your mind, and said, "Well, we'll keep this a secret; we'll only show our friends", that we never hear of, and yet they may be most valuable clues to our past. If you do find these we will always check on them and we will always thank you for letting us have the information even if we have had it before. If it is on something for which we have no expert in Bulawayo, we will naturally call in experts from other areas or from other museums so that these places can be examined and properly recorded.

An enormous number of sites are being lost before they are recorded, therefore chapters in our history are being torn up. Many valuable sites have been discovered in the course of excavation for swimming-baths, foundation trenches or even just digging in a garden. The rubbish heaps of the past are the treasure houses of today and from them we learn so much of our history, even up to Matabele and early European times.

Methods used for preservation of sites are many—fences, custodians, walls, and any other method that will prevent vandalism. One of the most effective, before the country's population increased and land became occupied, was known to us as "Preservation by Neglect". In other words we did not let the public know of sites and left them alone, only doing essential repairs if damage was done by trees or animals. This was very effective because people were not travelling about the country, roads were not as suitable for country travel as

they are today and if we left things alone and didn't tell anybody about them, they didn't come to any harm, but, unfortunately, there are so many of you today that you seem to find all the things we are trying to keep secret!

Fencing is never popular, but unfortunately if we are to prevent erosion by cars and human feet it is essential. The barriers are necessary in these cases to keep animals, both wild and domesticated, away. We have recently adopted the policy of having labyrinth entrances to caves and other sites instead of locked gates. So far this seems to have been fairly popular—we have not noticed any increase in vandalism either on purpose or by carelessness and we hope that if this is a success we will eventually do away with locked gates and put in these labyrinths so that humans may enter but the other animals may be kept out. We sincerely hope that the public will co-operate in this exercise and will not commit vandalism. If we find that there is an increase in vandalism, we will have to go back to our old methods of preservation, to your inconvenience.

One of our biggest problems is stopping the magpie-like habit of the average human who will pick up pieces of pottery, stone implements, beads, skulls and , any object which takes their fancy. This may not appear serious to the layman, but to the people trying to unravel the past, these things removed from their original position may well be the clues that are being sought and by this haphazard collecting the evidence is lost forever.

We have had quite a number of skulls brought into us which are obviously very early—not pre-sapiens—but early, and the evidence of exactly where they were found has been lost forever. Skulls in this country, in fact, any human bones—are very rare because the acid nature of our soils destroys all this type of material very quickly.

The question of preserving rock paintings is a difficult one because here, again, once lost, they can never be replaced. Splashing of water onto them or oiling them to improve clarity in photography have, in places, ruined some of the finest sites throughout southern Africa. The famous painting known as the Lady of the Brandberg is completely ruined—it has a covering of salts deposited from the hard water of the Brandberg streams. I believe today they go even further by taking bottles of soda-water and shaking them up and squirting them onto the painting through the railing so they can get better photographs. This is the type of action we are trying to prevent here.

As you can imagine, once oil has been applied dust gathers all over the paintings; we have an example of that at Pomongwe Cave when in a moment of enthusiasm an early curator of the Matopos in 1928 put oil over these paintings and hoped that the clarity would be improved and now, of course, they are covered in dust and we can do nothing to remove it. Solvents with which we have tried to cleanse paintings of oil have just removed the pigment from the rocks as well and all we have left is a dirty stain. Recently we've had two cases of this form of vandalism, one in the Mtoko area and the other at Lions Head near Shamva. In both cases paintings have been defaced, we believe, by the same people, but we can't prove it. Now the other thing on the question of

paintings is that most people believe they are fading although we have little actual scientific evidence of this, but exfoliation is definitely taking place on the cave surfaces. The fact is that granite is not stable—it gradually breaks down into sand grains—and we know that gradual erosion of this nature must eventually destroy all our paintings. It won't be in our time, it may take thousands of years to destroy a lot of them, but, nevertheless, a lot are going and many will disappear. So in an endeavour to protect the paintings against this fate experiments are being carried out with various agents to stabilise the surface and prevent fading. Only unimportant isolated figures have been treated; some materials after 10 years appear to be successful—if this is the same after 50-100 years the experiment can be said to be of some use. It is hoped that in the not too distant future artificial ageing by the use of ultra-violet rays may result in conclusions more quickly. One of the main objections to most of our experiments is that after some years of exposure the materials used turn from colourless transparent to a yellowish translucent colour. So far the most successful agents have been silicones and artificial resins.

To protect sites of other types presents quite a different problem, one which needs constant vigilance against animals, both human and wild. Some of the methods have been outlined; others such as reducing visitors by charging entrance fees and limiting the number of motor-cars and people to a specific site are constantly under review. This is something which is going to be very unpopular—it's something which is coming; it has come in other parts of the world. In places like the Yellowstone Park in America you can no longer take your car inside the park—you have to park it outside in large parking areas and then get in a bus with 200 other people—a sort of trolley-bus—and you are taken to the sites to see them; you are taken to your hotel in the middle of the Yellowstone Park when you have finished seeing what you want to—and then you get in the bus and go and pick up your car again. This is what we are trying to avoid. But unfortunately tourism is a popular thing as far as money is concerned, but its not always so popular where the preservation of our monuments is concerned. Unfortunately we have had to consider these things and we have considered them, and in the case of Zimbabwe, to preserve the relics that are underground we have had to stop cars from moving along certain routes and people have to walk.

Relics, which I haven't mentioned at all, are preserved mainly in museums because they are movable. Relics which are picked up, anything from a stone implement to a horseshoe, if brought in and we do not know the exact place of finding because perhaps we are told: "Oh Johnny picked it up somewhere around there about three or four days ago—or three or four months ago"—is of absolutely no use to us. It gives us no pointer to its history; it gives us nothing at all. It might just as well be thrown in the wastepaper basket for it is something completely wasted as far as the archaeologist or historian is concerned.

It is the legal duty of everyone who knows or discovers a site, painting, ruin, relic, historical site, fort or anything pre- or post-1890, to report to the authorities, whether they are the owners of the land or not. We feel that we must

have this co-operation if we are going to preserve the past and you would not be here if you were not interested in its preservation. We look to a great deal of co-operation from you. We get it in certain areas, and we also get a lot of resistance by people who say, "Oh why should I report it, why should I tell you I have paintings on my farm? I'm going to have all the people in the country coming here and tramping through my lands, looking at the paintings." That, in actual fact, is not so because we have on our records some 3 000 sites of various types, all recorded by map reference, description, photographs and so on, but the number of national monuments is only somewhere in the region of 200. So out of 3 000 sites really only a very minor portion is accessible to the public. Anybody who has something on their farms need never fear that we are going to let the public rush all over them unless he particularly wants them to come there himself. We've got to preserve these things, and we also have to preserve the goodwill of the farmers and owners of land. In the societies I have mentioned there must be a considerable body of people interested in the past, but there are still insufficient if we are going to preserve our monuments and relics for the future. The Government-sponsored body—that is, the Trustees of the National Museums and Monuments—is doing a great deal towards this ideal but I do feel that if we don't get the whole-hearted support of both town and country we can't hope to preserve everything.

Great Zimbabwe: A Review Article

by T. N. Huffman

(*Great Zimbabwe* by Peter S. Garlake is published by Thames and Hudson, 1973. It has 224 pages, 17 colour plates, 113 monochrome plates, 29 figures and also maps. Price £4,75.)

Peter Garlake was the Senior Inspector for the Historical Monuments Commission of Rhodesia from 1964 to 1970. During that time he test excavated at least four Zimbabwe ruins, Little Mapila (Garlake, 1968), Zaka (Garlake, 1969), Nhunguza and Ruanga (Garlake, 1973), and he included over 70 in a study of architectural styles (Garlake, 1970). Thames and Hudson asked Garlake to write a book on Zimbabwe just before he left Rhodesia. Consequently, *Great Zimbabwe* was written over the last two years in Nigeria, Garlake's new home.

Great Zimbabwe is beautifully produced. Seventeen of the 130 photographs are in colour, and the 29 text figures help fill the few gaps left by the plates. Garlake's book gives an almost complete account of Zimbabwe. Chapter I explains the architecture of the ruins, while the next three outline the previous research. Chapter II covers the relevant Portuguese documents and the discovery of the ruins by Render and Mauch, Chapter III covers the first examinations by Bent and Hall, and Chapter IV presents the scientific investigations of MacIver (1905), Caton-Thompson (1929) and Summers, Robinson and Whitty (1958). Chapter V discusses the objects from Zimbabwe in terms of craft specialisation, symbolism and trade. Zimbabwe is placed in its Iron Age context in Chapter VI, and co-ordinated with oral traditions in Chapter VII. The final chapter attempts to explain the rise and fall of Zimbabwe in an African setting.

All professional archaeologists who have worked on the Zimbabwe culture support the theory that Zimbabwe was an essentially African state intimately involved with the East Coast gold trade. "Essentially African" is merely a general label for a complex situation, however, and considerable argument exists within this framework.

Garlake apparently believes that religion is the key to understanding Zimbabwe. According to him, religious reasons probably dictated where Zimbabwe was built (pp. 175, 184); religion was probably the single most important factor in the development of the state (pp. 183-4); Zimbabwe was a major Mwari-cult centre (p. 174); religious authority and not military force permitted the continued existence of Zimbabwe settlements in other parts of the country (pp. 164-5, 176, 196, 203); and Zimbabwe continued as an important religious sanctuary after its economic decline (p. 180). External trade, he says, was important only after the initial development of the state (p. 184), and had little influence on the basic subsistence economy (pp. 178, 197).

This religious hypothesis appears to be based on a subjective opinion about the role of religion in Bantu-speaking African societies, an uncritical acceptance of oral traditions and documentary evidence, and a misinterpretation of the Leopard's Kopje archaeological culture.

Garlake's concept of African religion is not supported by the available anthropological evidence. He implies that the Leopard's Kopje/Zimbabwe culture had a religious elite, or that a religious elite developed within their society, which was able to organise communities—apparently by religious authority alone—and begin the process of state formation.

The development of a religious elite is the kind of social phenomenon that is part of the growth of complex societies which are based on intensive agriculture. To my knowledge the internal development of an institutionalised priesthood, such as Garlake suggests, has never been documented for any subsistence-based society. Furthermore, the characteristics of this proposed religious elite are not compatible with the role of religion in Shona-speaking societies today (Gelfand, 1962). Religious leaders just do not have the kind of power that would have been necessary to consolidate a people and then organise a sustained labour force. At present, there is simply no evidence that any primarily religious group, such as the Mwari or Chaminuka cults, was in control of a political organisation (D. N. Beach—personal communication).

Garlake critically evaluates previous archaeological work but does not extend his criterion of acceptance to other disciplines. He accepts the oral tradition that the Mbire were the original Zimbabwe people and that they brought with them the Mwari cult (p. 174). Religious factors are then implied for the siting of Zimbabwe (p. 184). Since it is most doubtful that Shona traditions go back more than 400 or 500 years, it seems fruitless to use oral traditions to discover the 800-year-old origins of a state.

Secondly, it is highly doubtful whether oral traditions about the origins of a state would have an historical veracity, since these traditions often function as a symbolic support of the ruling group.

Although he does not commit himself, Garlake implies that the Zimbabwe site was specifically chosen because it was already an important religious centre. He rejects the "favoured environment" hypothesis of Summers (1963; 106) because many other well-watered places exist along the south-east escarpment (p. 184). It is true that Zimbabwe is not the only "green island", but all of these good areas (e.g. Bikita and Buchwa) contain many Iron Age sites (Garlake, 1969; Huffman, 1973) and obviously Zimbabwe could only have been built at one place. One must also remember that unless Zimbabwe was an exotic colony, no people went there to build a state, it just happened. The Early Iron Age component at Zimbabwe shows that other people considered the area favourable for subsistence agriculture, and it is not logically necessary to postulate a specific reason for the placement of Zimbabwe.

The evidence that Zimbabwe was a major Mwari cult centre is also extremely suspect. Carl Mauch's informant at Zimbabwe (Burke, 1969: 215) was not a

Rozwi or a mixed Rozwi as Garlake asserts (pp. 63, 180), but a Manwa. Mauch's use of the term "high priest" in reference to this person was more in keeping with his Biblical commentary than as a status description, and the ceremony that Mauch described appears to have been no more than a common remembrance ceremony. This ceremony was supposed to take place every two or three years for three to four days (Burke, 1969: 216). This is hardly the intensity one expects from a Mwari cult centre.

The religious hypothesis is also partly based on a misinterpretation of the Leopard's Kopje archaeological culture. As previously mentioned, Garlake wrote *Great Zimbabwe* two years and 1 000 miles away from Rhodesia, and consequently, he is out of touch with current research. Three years of salvage excavations at Zimbabwe and continuing research at Leopard's Kopje have greatly expanded our knowledge of these two cultures.

Leopard's Kopje II is placed in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. (p. 155), and the culture is described as having flimsy huts (p. 156), central cattle kraals (p. 156) and pottery virtually identical, if not identical, to that of Zimbabwe Period II (pp. 158, 169). Leopard's Kopje is now divided into two geographical clusters, a northern branch (Tjolutjo to Gwanda) and a southern branch (Gwanda to the Limpopo). Leopard's Kopje II in both the northern (Mambo) and southern (Bambandyanalo) areas is dated to A.D. 1000, the huts were substantial dwellings, cattle were not penned in a central enclosure and in no way can Leopard's Kopje and Zimbabwe Period II ceramics be considered the same (Huffman, 1971; 1972: in press). The important point still remains, however, that these two archaeological cultures probably had an identical way of life (pp. 159, 182). But this common way of life was probably also shared with every other Later Iron Age culture in southern Africa (e.g. Kalomo, Musengezi and Harare).

Garlake argues that Early Iron Age cultures do not differentiate through time (p. 154), but since Later Iron Age cultures do, Leopard's Kopje and Zimbabwe must have had a common origin. Early Iron Age groups in Rhodesia which date after A.D. 600 are unquestionably more diverse than their earlier counterparts, and for some time a common origin for the Early Iron Age in east, central and southern Africa has been accepted (Oliver, 1966; Soper, 1971). Later Iron Age cultures in Rhodesia do not differentiate through time in the same way, but nevertheless they are thought to have a common origin too. Leopard's Kopje and Zimbabwe should not be singled out in this regard, though, since all Later Iron Age groups in Rhodesia were related.

The proposed similarity between Leopard's Kopje and Zimbabwe becomes more important to Garlake's argument when he discusses later Leopard's Kopje. Leopard's Kopje III (Woolandale in the north and Mapungubwe in the south) is placed in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries A.D. (p. 156). At this time several centres were said to be concentrating wealth and power and developing a stratified society (p. 157) because of the increasing importance of a religious minority. Since Leopard's Kopje and Zimbabwe Period II were

thought to be the same (p. 158), the changes in one would herald the changes in the other (pp. 159, 203), and Zimbabwe was considered as another place where religion caused the first steps towards the cohesion and stratification of the society (p. 184).

Leopard's Kopje III sites do not date before A.D. 1200, and possibly not before A.D. 1250-1300, in other words, at least contemporary with the start of Zimbabwe III/IV, if not later.

One aspect that appears to be constant within a ceramic tradition is the placement of certain motifs on particular parts of a vessel. Bambandyanalo (Leopard's Kopje II) jar decoration is characterised by upright triangles and loops in the neck, but in the later Mapungubwe facies triangles point down on the upper shoulder. The only known group in Rhodesia at this time which incorporates jar decoration of this nature is Zimbabwe III/IV. The changes in later Leopard's Kopje, then, appear to be imitations of the Zimbabwe culture, and the changes which are independently attributed to Leopard's Kopje communities (p. 182, 184, 193) probably happened at Zimbabwe first.

Garlake's emphasis on the non-influence of external trade on the basic subsistence economy and on the importance of religion appear to be an over-reaction to the exotic school of thought. Religion may well have played an important part in the rise of Zimbabwe, but the evidence cited in relation to the placement of Zimbabwe, to its use as a Mwari cult centre and to Leopard's Kopje does not prove it. Of all the multiple factors in Zimbabwe's development no other one appears to have been more important than the excess wealth from the gold trade.

The economic decline and abandonment of Zimbabwe are associated with certain oral traditions about the origin of the Mwene Mutapa dynasty (pp. 53, 175, 178). According to this interpretation, the Mwene Mutapa was the last king at Zimbabwe. After he took his people to the Dande area, two vassals, Changamire and Togwa, rebelled and established independent dynasties. If this outline was correct, then there should be an archaeological *continuum* from Zimbabwe sites to Mwene Mutapa sites to Khami sites. However, the archaeological evidence strongly indicates that there is a direct *continuum* from Zimbabwe to Khami with the Mwene Mutapa sites splitting off somewhere in between. This Mwene Mutapa dynasty, therefore, may have developed out of some Zimbabwe settlement in Mashonaland (such as Lekkerwater or Mtoko) which was a provincial arm of the Zimbabwe state during the fifteenth century. Under the circumstances, the Mwene Mutapa dynasty may have been the rebel, not Togwa and Changamire. Whatever the case, this particular oral tradition appears to be more functionally relevant than historically accurate.

It is true as Garlake states in his Introduction that both black and white political groups have associated themselves with Zimbabwe by emotion rather than by any reference to the available evidence. In the Epilogue, however, the importance of isolated events (pp. 203-4) are greatly exaggerated, and Garlake incorrectly implies that all valid research about Zimbabwe terminated with his

departure. *Great Zimbabwe* is the most accurate book in print about Zimbabwe, but contrary to Sir Mortimer Wheeler's prediction (p. 9), this book will not be the final account. Garlake's work has been extremely valuable, but it still is only part of a *continuum* which includes others before him as well as present archaeological and historical research by individuals from both within and outside Rhodesia.

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Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

(Does not include books reviewed in this issue.—Editor.)

Africana curiosities, edited by Anna H. Smith, Johannesburg: A. D. Donker, 1973. 148 pages. Illus. \$5,85.

Based on a series of lectures given by staff members of the Johannesburg Public Library and the Africana Museum, the articles in this work deal with commemorative medals, almanacs, archaic maps, beadwork, and coins. Each is written by an expert and, in her introduction, Miss Smith expresses the hope that the articles will inspire collectors "to pioneer new fields and to undertake some serious research . . . and thus add a little more to our small fund of real knowledge of Africana". Looked at as a guide to those interested in Africana of any sort, the book has much in common with Denis Godfrey's works on collecting, and is likely to become as much sought after as his are.

The British Empire, by Colin Cross. London: Hamlyn, 1972. 158 pages. Illus. \$4,50.

This could be called a concise but comprehensive pictorial account of the British Empire. Virtually every facet of the rise, pre-eminence and decline of the Empire is presented in its pages. The standard of printing and colour reproduction adds to its lustre.

Doctor to Basuto, Boer and Briton, 1877-1906: memoirs of Dr. Henry Taylor. Edited by Peter Hadley. Cape Town: David Philip, 1972. 231 pages. Illus. \$6,00.

Dr. Henry Taylor took part in the Gun War and the Baphuti Rebellion both as a soldier and as a doctor. This work vividly and often humorously recounts his experiences during those episodes, as well as during the Anglo-Boer War when he had a private practice in Ficksburg in the Orange Free State. Edna Bradlow writes in the preface, ". . . The observations of a trained and intelligent mind like Dr. Taylor's give depth to the official accounts of events."

Kruger's Pretoria: buildings and personalities of the city in the nineteenth century, by Vivien Allen. With drawings by Hannes Meiring. Cape Town: Balkema, 1971. 270 pages. Illus., col. plates. \$11,25.

Illustrated with numerous black and white photographs and drawings, as

well as some striking coloured plates (one from a painting by Baines), this work is a vivid portrayal of what was then the last outpost of civilisation in wild Africa. The story of Pretoria—its personalities and the historic events of which it was the centre—emerges as an integral part of the buildings which are described so carefully and in such detail. Both from an historic and architectural point of view, the work is an enchanting record of the city and a fine piece of Africana.

Dr. Robert Broom, F.R.S., palaeontologist and physician, 1866-1951: a biography, appreciation and bibliography, by G. H. Findlay. Cape Town: Balkema, 1972. 175 pages. Illus. \$6,75.

Robert Broom was famous as the South African palaeontologist responsible for the discovery of the early relics in the Sterkfontein Cave, including the bones of the semi-human "Mrs. Ples". Many of his conclusions on human origins have successfully withstood close scrutiny in the 20 years since he died. This authoritative work is divided into two main parts; the first, biographical, traces his life as a Scottish youngster, through his career as a doctor and palaeontologist in America, Australia and South Africa, and finally to his active octogenarian years. The second part is a description and assessment of Broom's scientific work *per se*. There is also a bibliography (Broom produced 456 papers in his lifetime) and a chronology.

A Grand illusion: the failure of imperial policy in the Transvaal Colony during the period of reconstruction, 1900-1905, by Donald Denoon. London: Longman, 1973. 293 pages. Maps. \$6,80.

In this learned work, based on numerous primary sources, the author examines the aftermath of the Boer War in the Transvaal, a period of reconstruction in which the imperial factor planned to restore its influence there. The reasons why political reverses frustrated these plans, and the part played by African initiative in precipitating many of the difficulties which beset the Crown Colony administration, are examined in some depth. This study of a comparatively neglected period will be of particular value to those interested in the Boer War and its long-term effects on the history of southern Africa.

Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600, by Eric Axelson. Cape Town: Struik, 1973. \$7,50.

In this book, published on behalf of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies, the author outlines the main events in Portuguese exploration of the coasts of south and east Africa. He writes of the founding of trading and marine stations, and of early penetration into the interior, up the Zambezi, and into the lands of the Mwene Mutapa, in search of gold. A vast array of sources form the basis of the work, which is a logical and welcome sequel to Axelson's previous scholarly treatises on the Portuguese in this part of the continent. There is a useful glossary of Portuguese terms, a full bibliography, and an adequate index. The book will be a valuable shelf-mate for *Documents on the Portuguese*

(published by the Centro de Estudios Historicos Ultramarinos and the National Archives of Rhodesia) which the author used as one of his sources.

River of tears: the rise of the Rio Tinto-Zinc Mining Corporation, by Richard West. London: Earth Island Limited, 1972. 201 pages. \$4,30.

The title comes from a quotation of President Kruger's—"every ounce of gold taken from the bowels of our soil will yet have to be weighed against rivers of tears". Kruger was talking about his own country, but the span of this book is wider, taking in, as it does, Rhodesia, South West Africa, Lesotho, Australia, New Guinea, and several British sites. The author of the controversial *The White Tribes of Africa* describes the activities and the role of Rio Tinto in these countries, and analyses its place in their political framework.

"Rough but ready": an official history of the Natal Mounted Rifles and its antecedent and associated units, 1854-1969, by Eric Goetzche. Durban: Natal Mounted Rifles, 1973. 408 pages. Illus., col. plates. \$8,35.

The history of the Natal Mounted Rifles, through its antecedents, goes back to 1854. Many well-known South Africans served in its ranks (Johan Colenbrander, the colourful Rhodesian pre-pioneer, was one of them), and the regiment has participated in every war and insurrection affecting South Africa since then. This souvenir volume describes, in detail, the beginnings of the N.M.R., its role in South Africa, and its achievements in the numerous operations in which it has been involved. Nominal, medal, and honours rolls, together with a general index and an index to every unit mentioned in the text, add to the value of the work.

The Zulu War, by David Clammer. Newton Abbot (Devon): David and Charles, 1973. 239 pages. Illus. \$8,30.

Although not so comprehensive a study as Morris' *The Washing of the Spears*, this is a useful account of the war. Based on a wide range of official and other sources, the book places the conflict in its political context and also concentrates on the military detail. Clammer concludes that the opportunity of achieving a peaceful and lasting settlement of Zululand after the war was missed because of Wolseley's policy of partition.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by Dorothea Rowse

African Affairs (*London*)

Vol. 72, No. 288, July 1973, contains an article by R. Palmer entitled *European resistance to African majority rule in Nyasaland*. The article describes the aims and activities of the Settlers' and Residents' Association of Nyasaland, 1960-63. It analyses their reservations about living in an African-ruled state and depicts this against a background of the political development of Nyasaland to independence.

Geographical Journal (*London*)

Sekeletu's sugar mill by J. McMartin in Vol. 139, No. 2, is a chronological account of David Livingstone's attempt to purchase a sugar mill for Sekeletu, Chief of the Makololo. The article describes Livingstone's attempts to raise money for its purchase and gives details of the mill's design. Realising the impossibility of transporting the mill all the way to Sekeletu's country he erected what remained of the mill after an accident on the Zambezi, at Tete. The writer then goes on to discuss the importance of Baines's water-colours of sugar mills already in existence at Katipo. The article is illustrated with reproductions of three paintings by Baines and the manufacturer's diagram of the layout of the mill.

Journal of African History (*London*)

The development of African workers' responses to their role in the industrial sector of the Rhodesian economy has usually been described in terms suggesting that it is a recent phenomenon. An article entitled *Worker consciousness in black miners: Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920*, by Charles Van Onselen in Vol. 14, No. 2, 1973, using an examination of labour relations in a specific area of the economy sets out to demonstrate that from the earliest stages in their contact with the mines the workers were keenly aware of drawbacks in conditions or under which they worked. Their consciousness of the situation showed itself in the conscious rejection of certain employers, in strike action, desertion and a deliberate slowing down on the amount of work achieved. Later developments such as the growth of the Watch Tower Society were simply a more articulate expression of an existing worker consciousness amongst mine workers in Rhodesia.

Makoni Clarion (*Rusape*)

During 1971 extracts from a thesis by Miss D. Vermaak on the history of Rusape were published in this periodical. Vol. 4, Nos. 1-2, April-May 1973, contain further chapters of this thesis. These issues describe the setting up of a

junior school in Rusape. The hardships and problems of the staff and pupils in the early days both in the teaching and in the primitive nature of the accommodation are vividly depicted. The articles are also a useful source of information about early residents of Rusape.

Outpost (*Salisbury*)

A further account of Dr. Oliver Ransford's expedition through Botswana in the steps of Livingstone entitled *Livingstone—apostle to Africa* is given in Vol. 51, Nos. 5-7, May-July 1973, by R. M. Gilbert. The article describes the route taken by the group and their day to day experiences *en route*. It includes brief accounts of David Livingstone's activities in the various places the group visited. The series is to be continued.

Rhodesia Railways Magazine (*Bulawayo*)

The issue for August 1973 contains an illustrated two-page item entitled *Rhodesian military insignia—the past and the present*. The illustrations of certain of the insignia are a little too indistinct to allow for positive comparative identification to be made from them. However, the article does provide a very interesting pictorial survey of army, police and air force insignia—from the medical corps to bandsmen and chaplains. Inclusive dates are given for the existence of each unit illustrated and the Federal Army is included.

Society of Malawi Journal (*Blantyre*)

Two articles of interest may be found in Vol. 26, No. 1, January 1973. *Some notes on the history of Zomba district* by J. Watson describes the history of European settlement in Zomba commencing with the mission established there by Bishop Mackenzie in 1861. The first coffee plantation belonging to the Buchanan brothers and the building of the Residency in 1887 (later the home of Sir Henry Johnston) are described against a background of constant raiding and interference by the Yao. The article is also extremely useful for its description of the chiefs of the Yao in the Zomba area and their relations with the more warlike Angoni. The issue also contains an article by J. Desmond Clark on the *Archaeological investigation of a painted rock shelter at Mwana wa Chencherere*. A detailed description of the locality and of the finds made during the investigation is given.

South African Journal of Science (*Johannesburg*)

Mining amongst the prehistoric peoples of southern Africa is a subject **on** which little material has been amassed but the study of which casts considerable light on the movement and state of development of them. *The ancient pigment mines of Southern Africa* by P. Beaumont, Vol. 69, May 1973, contains a detailed analysis of the location of pigment mines throughout southern Africa. The approximate dates during which the mines functioned, the pigment mined and the estimated quantity of ore removed from the mine are given for each area.

Society Activities

The Matabeleland Branch outing to Killarney Mine, Filabusi—Sunday, 28th May, 1973

This was an outing with a difference as it covered the full inspection of a modern gold mine.

Gold was the incentive which brought most of our Pioneers to the country and it was thought fitting that members should know something of the detail of prospecting for this elusive metal and the methods used in winning it from the earth.

Mr. R. D. Kennedy very kindly agreed to conduct us over his mine, the Killarney, and the 120 members who were present enjoyed an interesting and informative morning.

The Killarney Mine has a history going back to 1894 when it was first worked and it was gold from this mine which was the object of the one and only "stage-coach holdup" in the early times.

Mr. Kennedy, assisted by his Manager, Mr. R. H. Adams, conducted parties through every section of the mine explaining in detail each process from the initial prospecting to the delivery of the mined gold to the bank.

Mr. Kennedy demonstrated the fascinating technique of divining for reefs with brass brazing rods and many of the members tried their hand.

Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Adams went to a great deal of trouble to give members an entertaining morning and in this they were completely successful. The Society is indeed most grateful to them.

The Matabeleland outing to Nkantola—Sunday, 15th July, 1973

The "Nkantola" is a range of high and impressive kopjes in the eastern portion of the Matopos, roughly between Fort Usher and Toghwana Dam.

Lobengula had a brick building built in these kopjes which he is reputed to have used as a retreat and which the Boer hunters called the "Kantoor" (office). It is believed that the name Nkantola is derived from the Matabele pronunciation of "Kantoor".

The day broke fine and at 10 a.m. when over 100 members had assembled near the Nkantola, it had turned into one of those balmy sunshine days which make walking in the Matopos an absolute joy.

Mr. Harry Simons gave a very interesting talk, well illustrated with large-scale maps, of Plumer's advance into the kopjes and his attack on the Matabele general Babyaan in his Nkantola stronghold.

After the talk and a quick picnic lunch, Mr. Simons led the party on a three-hour walk (about 7-8 miles) down the valley between the Nkantola and Balawi kopjes where Plumer's main action was fought. This led down the Tuli

River and across the Nkantola to the area of Babyaan's Kraal. Then on to Lobengula's "Kantoor" which is now only a mound of burned bricks. The party turned here and followed the Inyogandi River valley to the area where Coupe's scouts were ambushed and Sgt. Warringham was killed. Further on Mr. Simons pointed out two large clumps of stones which are thought to be the mass graves of those killed in the action.

About half-way through the walk, an elderly African approached the party and he was immediately recognised by Mr. Simons as his old friend Mr. Benzies, who had given him valuable help during his many trips in search of the various places referred to by Plumer, Baden Powell, and Sykes in their books about the Matopos campaign.

Mr. Benzies had once shown Mr. Simons how to "make fire" by rubbing two sticks together and he readily agreed to show the party how it was done. He collected the correct sticks from the bush nearby, seated himself on the ground with a ring of watchers, many of whom were clicking cameras. Within 20 seconds he had a spark sufficient to light a cigarette.

This was a memorable outing and the Society is indebted to Mr. Simons and Mr. Benzies for their hard work over many months in searching out the places of interest and importance.

The visit of the Mashonaland and Manicaland Branches to Fort Haynes and Makoni's Stronghold

On Sunday, 23rd September, 1973, over 200 members from both branches made this visit. Interesting talks were given by Mr. Ian R. Allen on the military actions that took place during the 1896 Rebellion, by the District Commissioner, Mr. G. R. Broderick, on the history of the tribes in the area, and by Mr. T. N. Huffman on the prehistory of Makoni's caves as an ancient place of refuge.

The Society's grateful thanks also go to Mr. Collen van der Linden, on whose farm Makoni's Stronghold is situated, for his kindness and hospitality; and also to Mr. G. R. Edwards on whose farm Captain A. E. Haynes and Privates S. Vickers and W. Wickham, who were killed in the first attack on Makoni's, are buried. A printed illustrated souvenir brochure to mark the occasion of the visit is available at 25c per copy.

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL DINNER AND SIR KEITH ACUTT'S ADDRESS

The Mashonaland Branch also organised the Society's highly successful Seventh Annual Dinner which was held on Saturday, 27th October, 1973, at Meikle's Hotel. There was an atmosphere of good fellowship among the 150 guests, and it was pleasant to meet old friends many of whom had travelled great distances.

Sir Keith Acutt, the guest of honour, contributed much to the success of the evening. His speech is reproduced after this note. The National Chairman,

Clr. Tony Tanser, closed the proceeding with a word of thanks, and Mr. Robert Turner, the Chairman of the Mashonaland Branch, was Master of Ceremonies.

Following is the text of Sir Keith's address:

"I have been brought up in the belief that the past is a powerful instrument in the moulding of the future. Sane continuity and confidence and often inspiration and enlightenment can come from the recorded past. A sense of history must be developed and kept alive in Rhodesia but it must be founded on the truth.

"The more I hear reports or read biographies which have been produced recently about people who played an important part in the development of Rhodesia, the more alarmed I have become by the distortions of fact which are allowed to go unchallenged or wilfully encouraged. The modern author it seems is trying to find some new way, however fallacious it may be, of presenting the character and the events in order to sell the book. Others perhaps have different motives.

"Sir Robert Menzies who was for so many years Premier of Australia said 'So many prominent men in public life repose either their hopes or their fears in what they describe as "The verdict of history." ' He accepts that politicians and others are very apt to use and distort historical material to suit their own ends. Dean Achieson, who was a remarkable and brilliant American, in dealing with the cant phrase 'The verdict of history' said that a verdict is the product of a Jury under the Anglo-American legal system. It represents the Jury's unanimous opinion upon the facts; the law, however, is given to the Jury by the Judge: but both come out in the verdict as a rather scrambled egg! This he says is regarded by some people as an excellent method of administering law tempered by justice but its most ardent admirers would hardly advocate this as an adequate way of establishing the truth. He goes on to argue that, when we talk of the verdict of history we are really talking of the verdict of historians. Now historians are human and too often the object is to produce a readable and essentially saleable book. Very often the ungarnished truth about most peoples lives is fairly colourless and even the most responsible writers seem to feel a compulsive need to gild the lily. Many years ago I read a book on Paul Kruger which was written by a friend of mine. Quite a long chapter of this book was devoted to an emotional conflict which was supposed to have arisen in Paul Kruger as he sat on the river bank watching a naked African girl bathing. I tackled the author about this and got a reluctant admission that there was really no substance in this but that quite clearly it was going to shock a number of people—it would be controversial and should increase the sales of the book.

"Now all biographies, company histories and even historical novels depend very much on the contemporary material which is available. Regrettably today there has been a very great deterioration in contemporary reporting of events, together with an impermanence in modern communication media—Radio and Television. We must, therefore, expect some pretty garbled accounts of present day events when these become part of history.

"So, in looking at many historical accounts written well after the event, we really have to try and establish what are the facts and what is fiction. Contemporary records, of course, are also susceptible to prejudice and exaggeration but they are at least written at the time or shortly after the event and in the light of current attitudes. As these will form the basic material for history it is extremely important that contemporary events should be accurately recorded. It is very clear that historians add something or subtract from the original account and they may, more by good fortune than by design, produce something near to the truth or they may compound the errors of their predecessors. The contemporary account or record which may in any case have been prejudiced or wrong, gets thoroughly scrambled in the hands of successive historians and now we are getting a plethora of biographies or historical novels and reports which, by wrong emphasis, either wilfully or unintentionally, convey a totally wrong impression.

"Rhodesia being a small country with a comparatively short recorded history, has produced many remarkable men and its conquest or development has motivated a great number of people. Our real history started not with the myth and legend of Monomatapa or the builders of Zimbabwe who left no written evidence, but with Livingstone and the Missionaries who came after them. Then we had Cecil Rhodes—Mr. Rhodes as he is still affectionately talked of in the Kimberley Club by very old residents. We had the pioneers under Dr. Jameson and the administrators and directors of the British South Africa Company until self-government and, in very modern times, we have had a very great man—Godfrey Huggins, later Lord Malvern, who was probably as great a Rhodesian as any we have ever had. It saddens me that very little has been done to record or to show appreciation of what Malvern did for the country. I personally tried to get him to write an autobiography and he did from time to time make notes but some day somebody is going to produce a proper biography of Malvern but unfortunately it will be written at a time when attitudes will have changed very considerably and I am fearful that it will not do justice to the subject.

"If we take only the people that I have mentioned, in practically every case in the last few years there have been new and provocative, and in many cases, distasteful biographies and articles. Livingstone is said to have undertaken his work purely for the money and to get away from his wife. Cecil Rhodes was a calculating mercenary, twisted and thoroughly dishonest. Dr. Jameson and the British South Africa Company bled the country for the sake of the shareholders who incidentally, if the truth be known, got no return on their investment for countless years and certainly very little from their Southern Rhodesian assets, and so it goes on.

"This seems to be an age of destruction when everything that has been done is said to have been done for ulterior purposes. Fine motives are suspect and everybody has to be denigrated. This is a tremendous pity because its affect on the present generation must be profound. History and a sense of historical continuity is valuable for its lessons and for the responsibility it engenders in

the generations that come after. A sense of pride and emulation is the only sure safeguard of the future.

"This is so clear in Africa where so little is known of the origins or endeavours of the early African people. Most of our information on them is based on supposition and folklore. There is no alternative and I accept this but nevertheless it does not lead to a sense of belonging, a communal sanity and collective responsibility. Of course all the people who developed Rhodesia worked with the ordinary normal faults which beset the human race but I am sickened by the present desire to dishonour all those who came here in the early days. This is very prevalent in Rhodesia today and I believe that your Society, in publishing first-hand accounts of the period, is doing a great service. I hope that you can extend this to more contemporary events as what happens today will become history in a very short while.

"The last ten years have brought about many changes in this country and I dread to think what historians will make of the contemporary reporting, most of which will have to come from the newspapers. We must keep alive a fair and reasonable sense of history and an appreciation of what people have done and are doing, otherwise progress and civilisation will cease. It is important that all the allied activities, such as the preservation of historic buildings, should receive encouragement, as these are all part of the necessity to retain a country with a soul. I believe that anything that can be done to secure and maintain a pride in our history and in the past will be well worth while. I would hope that, perhaps with the help of our friends at the very excellent Archives, factual records of current events and situations of importance could be published from time to time. As someone said to me many years ago—if you don't look backwards how can you see the pitfalls of the future."

NOTES

THE LECTURERS

The 10 people who gave the lectures reproduced in this issue were:

C. K. Cooke. Born in England and privately educated. Is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London. His publications include books on Rock Art in Africa and many papers on Stone Age succession in Africa. Was Secretary/Member and later Director of the Historical Monuments Commission over a period of 21 years. Is presently Curator of Monuments and Senior Keeper of Antiquities of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia.

E. Greenfield. Born in Bulawayo in 1938. Educated in Rhodesia and South Africa and graduated from the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (as it was then) in 1959. For approximately 10 years was employed by the Housing and Amenities Dept. of Bulawayo Municipality in the city's African townships during which time was seconded for one year to the Domboshawa Training Centre as a trainer in Local Government. Is presently employed by a firm of attorneys in Bulawayo.

E. T. Hepburn. Born in Bulawayo in 1909 of Pioneer missionary stock on both sides. Educated at Plumtree School. Served on various bodies—Hillside Town Management Board, R.N.F.U. and Intensive Conservation Area Committees, Rhodesia Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society and Rhodesiana Society. Was 15 years in the Territorials.

H. R. G. Howman. Born in Fort Victoria in 1909, the son of a Pioneer Native Commissioner. Educated Plumtree and whilst serving in Native Department was awarded Beit Research Fellowship for study in Sociology and Race Relations in London and the U.S.A. (1935-39). Retired as Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Internal Affairs, in July 1969 after 42 years' service.

T. N. Huffman. Born in Wisconsin, U.S.A., in 1944. Educated Denver University, 1962-66, graduating with B.A. (Honours), University of Illinois, 1966-69, graduating with M.A. in Anthropology. First came to South Africa and Zambia in 1967, again to Rhodesia in 1968 and again to Rhodesia in 1967. Is presently at the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, as Keeper/Inspector of Antiquities.

Dr. O. N. Ransford. Born in England in 1914. Educated at Bradford Grammar School, University of London, Middlesex Hospital. Qualified in 1936 and proceeded to M.D. (London), F.F.A. R.C.S. (England), D.A. (England). Joined Colonial Service, Nyasaland, 1939. Served as Major, Consultant Anaesthetist, R.A.M.C, during the War. Now in private practice in Bulawayo as Specialist

Anaesthetist where has lived since 1947. Has written seven books (six published by John Murray). Was awarded the Rhodesiana Gold Medal in 1972 and the Book Centre of Rhodesia Literary Award in 1973.

Dr. J. Charles Shee practices as a Consultant Physician in Bulawayo. He came to Rhodesia in 1948. He has published a number of papers on the medical history of Africa and, particularly of local interest, on the ill health of Cecil Rhodes and on the personalities and life-stories of the various doctors who were friendly with Mr. Rhodes. Dr. Shee is a member of the Board of Trustees of National Museums and Monuments.

H. A. B. Simons. Born in England 1914 and educated there. Teacher in England until 1939. Served in R.A.F., 44 Rhodesia Squadron, Bomber Command. Squadron Leader on retirement. Came to Rhodesia as teacher in 1946. Served as headmaster, various primary schools. Seconded to Ministry 1965. Education and Training Officer, Wankie Colliery, 1966-70. At present teaching science at Milton High School. Has been Chairman of the Matabeleland University Association, of National Arts Council, Rhodesia Schools Exploration Society, of Matabeleland Branch of the National Historical Association and committee member of Historical Monuments Commission, Matabeleland Branch of Rhodesiana Society and other organisations.

Mrs. Gwenda Newton, Born in England 1936 and educated there. Worked in the library of the Newcastle Library and Philosophical Society and in the Civil Service. Married a Rhodesian in 1962 and came out to Shabanie Mine. Now lives in Bulawayo. Interests include art, music and gathering material on interesting characters in Rhodesian history.

Mrs. Paddy Vickery. Born in England and educated at the Convent de La Sagesse, Newcastle upon Tyne, and at Durham University, graduating B.A. (Hons.) English in 1946. Came to Rhodesia in 1947 and worked for two years for Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting department. Married in 1955. From 1960-63 was on staff of Eveline High School, Bulawayo. Transferred to the Teachers' College in 1964. Left at end of 1971 with rank of Senior Lecturer in English. Takes part in broadcasting and TV programmes usually on some sort of panel.

Dr. P. R. Warhurst. Born in England. Educated Johannesburg and Oxford. Schoolmaster in the Transvaal and Rhodesia. Since 1964 lecturer in history at the University of Rhodesia. Author of *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-Central Africa, 1890-1900* and of several articles. Is joint editor of the journal *Rhodesian History*.

ZURO, 1972

Zuro, which is a Shona word meaning "yesterday", is the title of the magazine of the History Society, Umtali Boys' School. The magazine was started in 1968 and this is the fifth issue.

It is a 63-page roneod journal with a cover containing features on a wide variety of historical subjects. There are reports of lectures given to the Society—

"Manicaland in the 19th Century" by the Rev. E. T. Sells; "The Rozwi: Their Rise and Fall" by C. J. Latham; "Sofala and the Save River Mouth" by R. J. Dickinson; and others on Parliament, Apollo XI and the Schools Exploration Society.

There are articles on "The Foundation of the N'Debele Nation" by R. Knight; "Fort Hill" by J. C. Barnes; "The Gold Route to Manicaland" by R. Plowes; "Community Development" by J. C. Barnes; and "Umtali's First Mine: the Rezende" by Jan Bekker.

Excursions made by the Society to St. Augustine's Mission, to Buhera and to the National Archives and Parliament are reported on, as are notes and discussions and interviews with the Rev. E. T. Sells, Mr. F. Sargent and Miss A. Cripps, all on matters of historical interest.

There are 53 members of the Society but its most interesting and valuable publication is worthy of a much wider readership.

THOMAS HONEY: A RHODESIAN HORTICULTURAL PIONEER

(The following account was written by Mrs. F. G. Day, of Bulawayo, who is the daughter of Thomas Honey.—Editor.)

Thomas Honey was born in 1872, in Oxfordshire. After leaving school he became a gardener (nowadays known as a horticulturist). He trained at Kew Gardens in Richmond, Surrey, England. After leaving Kew, he worked at one of the Royal Estates in Scotland, and then went to France. From France he went to Turkey and, whilst in Turkey, he laid out a scenic garden for the Sultan of Turkey. Thereafter, he went to Greece, and laid out a scenic garden at the King's Palace in Athens.

Somewhere about the year 1895, Thomas Honey set sail for South Africa, and met his future wife, Kathleen Hickling, who was travelling on the same ship, but she was *en route* to New Zealand to stay with cousins there. During the voyage Thomas and Kathleen became engaged to be married. Whilst in New Zealand Kathleen made quite a name for herself in singing, and taught music at a convent in New Zealand.

Whilst in South Africa, Thomas Honey, in his job there, planted many trees on the well-known De Vaal Drive in Cape Town. It was whilst he was in Cape Town that he first met Cecil John Rhodes, who requested him to come to Rhodesia, which he did, and arrived in Bulawayo about 1898. Whilst in Bulawayo he worked for Cecil John Rhodes at Government House, Bulawayo, and lived in a cottage which had been erected not far from the now famous "Indaba Tree". His task in Bulawayo was to lay out a scenic garden at Government House, and he was also responsible for providing some of the trees which are still growing in the Park in Bulawayo. He also planted the trees on the Lady Stanley Avenue.

In late 1899, Kathleen Hickling sailed from New Zealand *en route* to Rhodesia to marry Thomas Honey. In her diary she wrote "I believe we are to land at a place on the East Coast of Africa called Beira, and from there to the hinterland by narrow gauge railway, and from a place called Salisbury to Bulawayo by Ox-wagon." However, she actually landed at Cape Town and travelled to Bulawayo by rail, on an armoured train, because it was during part of the Boer War. Another entry in her diary was that, when the train stayed long enough at a wayside station, she and her travelling companion ran up to the engine to have their teapot filled with boiling water!

Kathleen and Thomas were married in Bulawayo by the Rev. Father Sykes of the Roman Catholic Church, which was in Fort Street/10th Avenue in those days. This was in the early part of 1900. Their first child, Rowland John, was born in 1901, but subsequently died. His grave is still outstanding because it has three of the original four trees still growing on it, and although it has no headstone, the number of the grave is 1416 or 1417 in the Bulawayo Cemetery.

Their second child, Kathleen Mary, was born in January 1904, and is reputed to be the oldest living white person born in sight of Lobengula's Kraal. Their third child, Frances Gertrude, was born in 1905, but she was born in England where Kathleen had gone for a short holiday to see her family. They returned to Bulawayo late in 1905. Thomas and Kathleen's two daughters are still resident in Rhodesia.

Whilst in Bulawayo, Thomas's wife Kathleen, was well known in the musical life of the town. She used to run the choir in the Old Catholic Church, and sang the solos at the opening of the present St. Mary's Cathedral, situated in Lobengula Street, in 1903.

From Bulawayo, Thomas Honey and family went to Lourenço Marques in 1906, where Thomas laid out the well known Vasco da Gama Park. He laid it out on the site of an immense sand dune and a swamp. The Vasco da Gama Park is one of the leading attractions in Lourenço Marques today, and there is, I have been told, a plaque up somewhere in the park to the memory of Thomas Honey.

From Lourenço Marques, Thomas Honey migrated to Beira, where he was Director of Agriculture for the Moçambique Company (Director de Agricultura de Companhia de Moçambique) until his death in February 1937. Whilst in Portuguese East Africa Thomas Honey learned to speak, read and write the Portuguese language fluently.

Thomas Honey was also involved in testing the soil at New Year's Gift Estate outside Umtali, owned by Ward and Phillips, for its suitability for growing tea. I believe this was the site where the Tanganda Tea Estates first started. He was also involved in the export of the first oranges from Southern Rhodesia to England, about 1926-29. He was also responsible for the Rhodesia Railways using Panga Panga timber for railway-sleepers. This timber came from the Amatongas Forests in Portuguese East Africa, near Gondola. He was also a judge at the Agricultural Shows in Salisbury between 1921-30.

During 1936, it was arranged between the Moçambique Company and the then Southern Rhodesia Government, that Thomas be seconded to the S.R. Government to lay out a scenic garden at Victoria Falls. He was to start the project in May 1937, but this never came to pass because Thomas Honey died at Volks Hospital, Cape Town, in February 1937, after being taken ill in Beira and sent by sea to Cape Town for special treatment.

"ENCYCLOPAEDIA RHODESIA"

Here is a splendid book that has been needed for some time, *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*. Published by College Press, Salisbury, it is a large volume, 445 double column pages and profusely illustrated with colour and monochrome plates, line drawings and maps. There must be about 2 000 entries on almost every subject connected with Rhodesia.

History is not related as a chronological story but by the description of events, of particular periods with biographies of leading figures from the pre-Pioneers onwards. Government, Constitutional and Parliamentary developments are similarly covered in numerous items. In this sphere are included notes on all the Concessions, Committees and Commissions that have played an important part in the political development of the country. Even obscure ones are included. What was the Warren Expedition of 1884, the so-called Humbug Concession, 1891, the Cave Commission of 1919 or the Buxton Committee of 1921? The answers are here.

The development of agriculture, industry and banking as well as all the services supplied by government are dealt with in separate items on particular crops, minerals, mines or organisations.

The biographical entries (227 of them) cover a very wide field—explorers, missionaries, Pioneers and early administrators. Governors, Prime Ministers and Judges, dead or alive, are given space but no other politicians. Leading figures in commerce and industry do not appear; this is not a Who's Who. The plethora of political parties in Rhodesia's history seems to have defeated the compilers. Apart from the present day parties, three European and one African, only the odd party of the past is mentioned.

But everything else seems to be there in concise, clear form—the main physical features, climate, the history of cities, towns and villages, the armed forces, railways, airways, broadcasting and, of course, African tribes, tribal history and customs.

The book is particularly thorough-going on natural history. There are few pages of text without a drawing or a picture and a scientific description of some tree, animal, bird, snake or insect. But this is only to be expected when the book is about a country of wide, open spaces where the bush is on everyone's doorstep.

The detailed cross-referencing forms a most valuable feature of the book. For example, under the item "African Customs" there are no fewer than 35

references to other items. The text generally will not date as variable and annual statistics of all kinds have been confined to the numerous appendices.

The book has been meticulously researched. It has taken three years to produce this first edition and the publishers have taken great pains in getting the material checked by National Archives, National Museums, government departments and expert individuals in order to produce a rich and authentic work.

The compilers, or contributing editors, are Peter Bridger, Margaret House, John House and Beryl Salt. The general editor is Mary Akers, the production editor the Rev. David Yates and the research co-ordinator is Felicity Wood.

This is not only an essential reference book for schools, libraries and offices; it is a piece of Rhodesiana that the general reader will enjoy. (Price \$9, library edition \$12,50.)

Correspondence

Sir,

VARIANTS OF THE 1857 EDITION OF LIVINGSTONE'S MISSIONARY TRAVELS

In my contribution entitled, "The Variants of the 1857 edition of Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa", which appeared in the recently published book *David Livingstone 1873-1973*, edited by Mr. B. W. Lloyd, I inadvertently made an error which I would not like to see perpetuated. (*Reviewed in our last issue, July 1973.—Editor.*) This error was drawn to my attention by Mr. Anthony Clarke.

In the "Table Showing Variants of Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, 1857 edition", which appears on pages 14, 15 and 16 of Mr. Lloyd's book, I described three plates, viz. the frontispiece, the plate opposite page 66, and the plate opposite page 255, in variant 6, as "Chromolithographs in four colours by W. West". This description, based on written information received from various sources is, however, incorrect. (Incidentally, the plate opposite *page 255* is a misprint. It should read "the plate opposite *page 225*".)

The correct description would appear to be as follows: "Lithographs with black and three tints, presumably grey, buff and blue by W. West, with some hand-colouring . . ." It is difficult to know whether the hand-colouring is contemporary, but it is probable that it is. In answer to a query from me, Mr. E. E. Burke, Director of the National Archives of Rhodesia, replied as follows, on 16th May, 1973:

"The plates described as 'chromolithographs' appear to be the tinted plates fortified by hand-colouring. The tints of the tinted plates are clearly visible in the upper parts of the frontispiece of the Victoria Falls. The hand-colouring can be readily detected by a comparison of Lake Ngami in my copy with the one reproduced as the frontispiece to Lloyd's book, as there are significant differences between them. For example, the African attending to the oxen has red breeches in mine and brilliant yellow breeches in the other; the figure of Mrs. Livingstone has a green gown in mine and a blue one in the other, and so on."

This information would seem to indicate that the hand-colouring was not done on all copies of the plate at the same time, because the normal practise was for several colourists to make copies from a master-copy at the same time, thus ensuring a certain uniformity.

The chromolithographic process proper as distinct from tinted lithography was not widely used in 1857 and only came into its own in the late 1870's.

An anomaly with regard to the plate opposite page 66 entitled "Lake Ngami. Discovered by Oswell, Murray and Livingstone, from a drawing made on the spot 1850, by the late Albert Ryder, Esq.", is that whereas West's hand-coloured treble-tinted lithograph, as used for the frontispiece of Mr. Lloyd's book, does not show Livingstone, the double-tinted one by T. Picken used in variants 2 and 5, and the woodcut by W. J. W. Whympner as used in variants 3, 4, 7 and 8, both show the explorer standing next to his kneeling wife and daughter in the picture. In fact West's lithograph depicts a quite different scene from that depicted by Picken and Whympner. Nevertheless all three plates are described as "from a drawing made on the spot 1850, by the late Albert Ryder Esq." The family group, the position of the children, and of the two canoes, are differently placed and depicted in both pictures. Picken's lithograph, and Whympner's woodcut are much closer to the original water-colour by Ryder, owned by the Library of Parliament, Cape Town.

In examining two copies of the *Missionary Travels* in the collections of the South African Library, I noticed recently that they are both bound in contemporary cloth and both bear a small gummed label on the pocket which holds the map end of the book. This label reads: "Bound by/Edmonds & Remnants/London." This fact may be of interest to bibliophiles.

I trust that this information will put the record straight and be of interest to your readers.

Yours, etc.,

FRANK R. BRADLOW,
P.O. Box 341, Cape Town.

Sir,

RHODESIANA REPRINTS

I feel I must comment on Mr. Burke's review of the Rhodesiana Reprint edition of *Travel and Adventure in South East Africa* by F. C. Selous in the July 1973 issue of *Rhodesiana*. It is perhaps unfortunate (but not curious) that the Pioneer Head reproduction should appear at about the same time. However, our edition does endeavour to reproduce faithfully the original work, particularly with regard to size. The actual text of the Pioneer Head edition was printed several months before publication, which was delayed due to certain difficulties in obtaining suitable binding materials.

Coincidence is a strange fact in publishing and it is noticeable that each year different publishers overseas will issue books on the same subjects and even with similar titles.

Nevertheless, with regard to *Travel and Adventure*, I do feel that there is room for both editions.

Yours, etc.,

A. E. OSBORNE,
PIONEER HEAD

Sir,

SIR CHARLES MEREDITH

There are some errors in the reference to me in Notes on New Contributors on page 89 of *Rhodesiana* No. 28.

Line 1; There should be only one 1 in Marshal.

Line 2: Gives the impression that I served in the R.A.F. after the 1914-18 war. This is not so. The line should read ". . . the R.F.C. and R.A.F. during the 1914-18 war and in the . . ."

Line 3: Forces should read Force.

Line 6: I was NOT Chairman of the Central African Air Authority. This was a Governmental body with a representative from each territory and, prior to Federation, was the Licencing authority for all Civil Aviation. If I remember correctly, Guest was the Chairman but I am not sure. I established and was the first Chairman of the Board of Central African Airways which was financed as to 50 per cent Southern Rhodesia, 35 per cent Northern Rhodesia and 15 per cent Nyasaland. Welensky (N.R.) and Barrow (Nyd.) were Members of the Board. This was before Federation. When Federation was dissolved, C.A.A. split up and the local remnant is now known as Air Rhodesia.

Yours, etc.,

SIR CHARLES MEREDITH,

45 Churchill Avenue, Salisbury.

Sir,

SINDEBELE WORDS: PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

I refer to a letter by Mr. D. G. Lewis on misspelling of Sindebele words, published in *Rhodesiana* No. 28 on page 92.

Had Mr. Cross (in whose article on Rhodesian Forts these "mistakes" occur) been writing an essay on Sindebele then one would concur with Mr. Lewis's strictures, but what Mr. Cross did was to take the spelling from Garlake's article (*Rhodesiana* No. 12, September 1965) and other references from the relevant period.

Looking back to these books for forts and place names, one finds in the reprint of "With Plumer in Matabeleland" Inungu and Mtshabezi spelt correctly and Filabusi spelt Filabusi and in some other book Kwe Kwe spelt Kwe Kwe (Mr. Cross v. the critic: 15 in all). Baden Powell, however, in "The Matabele Campaign" printed in 1897 describes Fort Inungu (*sic*) and mentions the Chabez River (Mr. Cross v. the critic: 40-15). Umfazimiti spelt by Cross, Umfasimiti is spelt by the map-makers on 1 : 250 000 S.E. 35. 16 Gwelo Sheet "Umfasimete" so he errs in good company.

Incidentally if Mr. Lewis is going to rebuke everyone who uses the Shona "Ch" instead of the Ndebele "Tsh", he is going to have a busy time, because he's got to go back to the days of "Chaka" Zulu.

Mr. Lewis says it should be "Umfazi o mitiyo" but according to my expert that is only if the lady is the one you saw last week. The hill on the spot is surely Umfezi u miti elided to Umfazumiti. And in any case I think it should be spelt "mithi".

While the new orthography does sometimes feel a bit hard in the mouth I regard it as a genuine and on the whole successful attempt to codify the nuances of a spoken tongue, the subtleties of which require a far greater vocabulary of sounds than those needed for the "brutal Anglo-Saxon monosyllables" which comprise the major part of the English language. Even when we do incorporate a foreign word we very soon cut it down to size, e.g. the R.S.M.'s "esprit de dee corpse".

I hope, therefore, that when Mr. Lewis edits future articles containing Sindebele phrases he will utilise the new orthography so that we know where we are.

In conclusion I assure Mr. Lewis he is *not* wasting time. Sindebele is a beautiful language and errors in its presentation must be corrected. But place names are tricky. Custom, usage AND manageability come in here.

Yours, etc.,

E. T. HEPBURN,
National Museum, Bulawayo.

Mr. D. G. Lewis comments on the above letter:

"I thank you for giving me a sight of Mr. Hepburn's letter commenting on a letter of mine in *Rhodesiana* No. 28.

"I am not prepared to argue with anybody in regard to the spelling or pronunciation of Ndebele words for very often there appears in print a different approach to the matter.

"Pelling has recently entered the lists and has published his spellings and methods thereof and no doubt there will follow other versions. I much prefer Elliott's approach to the matter.

"With the modern orthography I find it difficult to decide where to put the wandering aitch (h). Pelling says to "become free" is KHULULEKA and yet freedom is without an aitch INKULULEKO. An aitch has been placed in the beginning of the word KHATAZA but the aitch changes its position in INKATHAZO meaning trouble.

"In regard to the small hill under discussion may I point out that the relative pronoun of umfazi (singular is 'o' not V) and plural 'aba'. Mr. Hepburn has been misdirected if he was told that only if you saw the woman last week would you say 'umfazi o mitiyo' or mithiyo. I would remark just that if I were this instant looking at such a woman.

" 'Umfazumiti' would do for the hill unless you wished to indicate the origin of the name which is as follows: Very early in our Matabele history, it

is said, two Matabele warriors enquired of a pregnant girl the way to a certain place. She could not reply in Sindebele so fearing some evil omen they killed her. This is said to have occurred near the Koce River.

"The relative pronoun is one of the great difficulties of Ndebele but is worth studying, 'u' is not the relative pronoun of umfazi. May I point out that 'a' is the relative particle meaning 'who', 'which', and should coalesce with 'u' in Umfazi to become 'o', and may I add that when 'a' has to coalesce with 'i' it becomes 'e'. The person who is dying would be umuntu o(= a-u)fayo. The dog which is running would beinja e(= a-i)gijimayo.

"I dislike the new orthography so have not used it.

"In this country there is a variation in pronunciation (or hearing). There is difficulty when listening to Africans speaking to detect whether the word spoken has a 'd' or a 't' or a 'b' or a 'p'. If I say umbobo (a gun) you would be at a loss to decide whether or not to spell it umpopo. In civilised society literature assists stability of spelling. There is only now appearing Ndebele literature. Is it possible to find in Ndebele the exact equivalent of an English word? I do not think so, at least not always.

"Mr. David Nlazo of the Literature Bureau agrees with my comment regarding the pregnant woman."

Yours, etc.,

D. G. LEWIS, J.P.,

45 Greengrove Drive, Greendale,
Salisbury.

Sir,

ORLANDO BARANGWANATH

I read with great interest the article by Roger Howman on Orlando Baragwanath, in the July 1973 issue, particularly what Mr. Baragwanath had to say about J. L. Carpenter, one of those murdered at Filabusi during the Rebellion.

He was a relative and I can tell you a little about him. He was the son of a farmer near Exeter in Devon and must have been in his early twenties. His name was Jack. The L. probably stood for Loram, his mother's maiden name. I was always told what a grief it was to his mother, my great aunt, that she never knew anything about how he died.

It was 10 years before any of his relations came to Rhodesia and I doubt if they ever made any inquiries. They were my mother, Mrs. B. I. Collings, and her brother, W. C. (William Carpenter) Loram, his first cousins. Both have now died.

Yours, etc.,

CHRISTINE BULMAN,
P.O. Box 782, Salisbury.

Reviews

To the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi, by E. Mohr. (Books of Rhodesia, 1973. Vol. 28 of Rhodesiana Reprint Library. Four coloured plates, woodcut illustrations, map, xiv, 462 pages. \$9,35.)

This was first published in Leipzig in 1875 as *Nach der Victoriafällen des Zambesi* and then translated into English by N. D'Anvers for issue in London in 1876. Books of Rhodesia have done a major service to collectors in reprinting the English translation as this is one of the rarest of Rhodesiana to come by.

Mohr's journey apparently resulted from the news from his fellow countryman, Carl Mauch, of his discoveries of gold in Tati and Mashonaland and was inspired by Dr. A. Petermann of Gotha, who was Mauch's patron. Mohr was not new to travel, nor was he to Africa, as he had previously prospected on the Californian gold-fields, been to South America and the Far East, and hunted in Zululand.

The Victoria Falls journey followed the then usual route to the interior from Durban, via Pietermaritzburg, Harrismith, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Shoshong and Tati. From there it was necessary to go to the Matabele authority to get permission and assistance. Mohr made an abortive attempt down the Gwaai River but this was November and excessively stormy weather and a flooded country turned him back, so then he went north from Tati to the Falls.

Mohr was about the 20th European known to have visited the Falls between 1855 and June 1870 when he arrived there, and his book the sixth to describe them. They were, therefore, comparatively well known to the armchair traveller by this date but the value of Mohr's work does not lie in the end achievement but in the charming, indeed racy manner in which he gives the day by day incidents. The journey comes alive. There are some interesting and valuable sidelights, for example of Lobengula, who was then in the period between Mzilikazi's death and his election to the paramountcy, he writes: "As we were dining together in my tent he (i.e. Lobengula) noticed a gold medallion, containing a coloured portrait of my deceased mother, which I wore round my neck. He asked to look at the picture, and talked a great deal about it to my driver, who told me the prince saw a likeness to some one in it; and when he heard that the lady it represented had long been dead, he said 'Oh, you white men are fortunate; your art is so great that you can still see those who are gone: your hearts need never be sad.' No interested person could have expressed himself with more tact. My visitor took his leave . . . with all the politeness of a chivalrous knight." There is a pleasant pen picture of Baines, a fellow traveller on the *Asia*, at the height of a storm off the Isle of Wight, when the ship's compasses had been washed overboard, directing a course with his pocket compass illuminated by his cigar. These examples give the style of the book.

How much of its charm is due to the skill of the translator is not to be judged without a close examination of the German original. Mr. Bolze has

provided a very full historical introduction to this reprint but does not relate much of D'Anvers. This was in fact the pseudonym of a prolific translator from French and German, Mrs. Nancy R. E. Bell, who was born Meugens; so perhaps part of that charm lies in a feminine touch.

A book to be recommended.

E. E. BURKE

God's Irregular: Arthur Shearly Cripps. A Rhodesian Epic, by Douglas V. Steere. (S.P.C.K., London, 1973. 158 pages, portrait frontispiece. Price £2,50.)

One of the admirable things about this altogether admirable book is its title. A. S. Cripps was one of that odd and remarkable company, the English eccentrics, who, part of the conventional scene, have emphasised the conventions by defying them. His background, Charterhouse, Oxford, ordination into the Anglican Church, is deftly drawn in the first two chapters, set in that time of apparently infinite leisure and causerie, vigorous country walks and earnest symposia, a time, the clock seeming to stand eternally at "ten to three", that now seems to us so curiously remote— as someone has put it, "Alfred Lord Tennyson more legendary a figure than King Alfred burning the cakes." It was the closing day of the genuine amateur, when, besides becoming a fine classical and medieval scholar, Cripps could also row and box for his college and run the three miles.

Then came the call and the defiance and the lifetime of sacrifice to the cause of the Mashonaland African. This in itself makes this biography an absorbing social study, and, moreover, a valuable addition to the recorded history of Rhodesia. As is pointed out in the preface, Cripps' story from his arrival at Umtali in 1901 to his death in 1952, "covered all but a decade of the whole span of Rhodesian history up to the coming of the ill-fated Federation". It is the more valuable, as it is directed from an unusual angle, not uncommitted but, coming from the outside, one that gravely taxes our national conscience. Dr. Steere is not only a distinguished American professor of philosophy, but a leading member of the Society of Friends. This naturally gives a "slant" to the book. He does not, for instance, deal generously enough with that other dedicated amateur, Dr. Godfrey Huggins, with his debonair pragmatism that was probably the only reasonable answer to the shapeless politics of the time; nor, I think, is sufficient personal credit given to the understanding of that dynamic generalissimo of the Church, Archbishop Edward Paget, who so generously realised the value to his forces of such an outrider as Cripps.

The story itself is beautifully told, the result of careful documentation and research, intelligent inquiry, and a personal exploration for the scene and the man. What vividly emerges is the picture of that gaunt and lonely figure some of us still remember walking the dusty tracks, disappearing over the frontiers of the reserves into a world we were too timid or too supercilious to explore. That the picture itself, the patrician scholar seeking so passionately to identify

himself with a barbaric culture he took—or mistook—for a latter-day Arcadia, is now an anachronism in face of the century's invasions upon it—this, as any anachronism is bound to be, makes a fascinating study for the social historian of Rhodesia. The portrait (from the National Archives) that is the frontispiece of the book, has it all: the huge shapeless boots, the "gentle shepherd" hat, the old-fashioned jacket, supporting against the background of rough brick and African thatch the fine arrogant gesture of the upthrown head, the unsmiling stare into some unimaginable future.

Dr. Steere told me that the book is much shorter than he had planned; although he cheerfully admits that the pruning demanded by the publisher may have been salutary, I think perhaps this has edged out an adequate assessment of Cripps as poet. The poetry is mentioned and quoted at strategic points in the narrative; but it could be that he will live in the future as poet rather than prophet or protagonist. A young and eclectic culture such as ours is still looking for an assured expression in its poetry. In this, as in everything else, Cripps stands alone; and again the anachronism persists. He strives, almost desperately, to put his strange and peculiar experience into the late Victorian idiom, and the effete mannerisms are not able to carry it. Yet the paradox also persists, for this oddly hidebound poetry with its passion and its exaggeration and its mystical Franciscan undertones, gives the impression of a life lived closer to the bare bosom and loins of Africa than any other white man has lived, or is likely to live.

The author says that in collecting his material, he was surprised to find how vividly the legend of "Baba Cripps" still lived with the Africans who had known him. Legends, especially in the strident confusion of today's voices, become distorted, then elusive, at last extinguished. This book does a great service in preserving with such careful clarity one of our few authentic legends.

N. H. BRETTELL

The Jameson Raid, by Hugh Marshall Hole. (Books of Rhodesia, vol. 30, 1973. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, 297 pages. Publisher's introduction of 9 pages and 5 illustrations, 8 photographic illustrations, 2 maps. Price \$7,50.)

Of all the many incidents of South African history surely there is none so intriguing as the Jameson Raid, the disastrous gamble, the extraordinary episode that was the prelude to the Matabele and Mashona Rebellions and the main contributory cause of the Anglo-Boer War.

The Raid has been described as a military fiasco but a political earthquake. Rhodes had taken for his goal the federation of South Africa and had been prepared to work towards it by economic means. When these proved too slow he became impatient and determined to use more forceful methods.

In his way was Paul Kruger, fearful that his people might be overwhelmed by the "Uitlanders", the outsiders, the immigrants, mostly from Britain but with many from other European countries, who were flocking into his country for one purpose only, to make money.

Rhodes backed the Uitlanders to create a revolutionary situation in which the Kruger regime would be overthrown. When the rising on the Rand was to take place an armed force was to enter the country, ostensibly to protect the women and children.

The force was to be police drawn from Rhodesia and the Bechuanaland Border Police under the command of the Administrator of Rhodesia, Dr. Jameson. So, in the last days of 1895, Jameson and his men crossed the border of the Transvaal riding to disaster, for his incursion ended with his capitulation at Doornkop.

The enquiry following the Raid brought to light many new factors, many new questions. The webs of intrigue involved famous participants. There was Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary, Flora Shaw, the Colonial Correspondent of *The Times* and Joseph Chamberlain, "Pushful Joe", the Colonial Secretary, all with a finger in the pie.

There was complexity of events and elements of mystery. There was puerility in thought and stupidity in execution, argument and controversy. There were indications that Rhodes, Jameson and Rutherford Harris, "on the surface a genius but, under the crust as thick as they are made", were all pulling at the rope of intrigue, not always in the same direction.

The Reformers in Johannesburg failed lamentably. Lacking conviction in their cause and not knowing their own minds they became involved in a bewildering tangle of side issues, despatching obscure telegrams but taking little, or no, positive action.

It was this welter of words, discrepancies, crises, fifth-column activities, with its touches of political intrigue that Marshall Hole, more than 30 years after the Raid, set out to disentangle. His effort was wholly successful and gave an excellent, readable account of the events which led up to the Raid, the incidents of it and a summary of the consequences.

This was not surprising for he had been closely connected with the Rhodesian characters who played their parts in the drama.

Since Hole's book was first published in 1930 there have been further studies of the Raid. Private papers and documents have become public, enabling authors to probe more deeply into the mysteries surrounding it. Hole's book, however, should be read because it has many of the fundamental facts and was, until later publications, by far the best detailed study of the colossal blunder.

The publisher's introduction gives a succinct account of the political complexities of the time. The additional illustrations, even though the artists may have been somewhat fanciful in their depiction, are of considerable interest.

The book keeps up the high standard always given to volumes in the Rhodesiana Reprint Library.

G. H. TANSER

The Recollections of William Finaughty, elephant hunter, 1864-1875. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1973. 274 pages, illustrations. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, vol. 29. Price \$6,50.)

William Finaughty, a self-confessed harum-scarum, hunted on and off in much of present-day Rhodesia between 1864 and 1875. He can be said to have belonged to the Nimrod Club of which Selous, Hartley and others were also members: on one of his hunting trips his ivory spoils brought him in about \$7 700. He stopped hunting when the elephants retreated into "fly" country, necessitating his going after them on foot, and the remainder of his days appear to have been spent in trading and, according to Tabler, in freebooting and gambling.

The *Recollections* were originally written by R. H. Hall, editor of the *Rhodesia journal*, who visited the old hunter in Bulawayo on several occasions and took down his reminiscences, subsequently publishing them in his newspaper in 1911. Five years later they were privately published in the United States in an edition of 250 copies. The next edition, which followed in 1957, was published in South Africa, with editorial comment by E. C. Tabler.

Although the present edition is part of the Rhodesiana Reprint Library, it is not a facsimile as the text has been reset to make way for new material. Tabler has revised his own notes and introduction; the publisher himself has provided a useful preface; a map, photographs, reproductions of some of Baines' paintings, and an index are all additional features which greatly enhance its value. The end result is one of the best productions in the series.

Finaughty's tale is, on the face of it, a catalogue of elephant slaughter. However, even allowing for the fact that Hall must have cast the reminiscences into acceptable journalese for his readers, it soon becomes clear that Finaughty was a humorous and shrewd observer of the personalities who crossed his path. There are illuminating glimpses of Mzilikazi, Lobengula and such early Rhodesian travellers as Baines, Jan Viljoen, Hartley, Sam Edwards, Mohr and Mauch. Furthermore, the atmosphere of life in the veld is effectively conveyed in matter of fact terms: the harsh conditions that challenged those early travellers is tellingly portrayed in the story of three Natal men who, having lost their oxen and servants, had been besieged by lions for three months, taking shelter in a hastily constructed zariba of thorn-bushes.

The best illustration of Finaughty's wry humour and ability to tell a tale is found in a nail-biting account which also provides intriguing background to the two cannon now at the entrance to the Bulawayo Museum. Finaughty purchased three cannon—including these two—with the object of running them to Chief Sekukini in the Transvaal, in expectation of ample reward in the form of diamonds of which the potentate was rumoured to possess a large stock. He and his brother set off with the first of these guns hidden in their wagon, but Boer scouts were soon on their scent, and it took all of Finaughty's cunning to keep his head—literally! His brother landed in jail Finaughty dropped the idea and sold the other two cannon to Lobengula.

Admittedly, some of Finaughty's tales seem to be far-fetched, but his bantering tone in recounting them invites his listeners to make their own choice as to whether or not to accept them. In fact, his exaggerations add delightful touches of atmosphere, and Tabler's notes almost invariably put them into true perspective. All in all this edition of the *Recollections* makes very entertaining reading.

C. COGGIN

Through Mashonaland with Pick and Pen, by J. Percy FitzPatrick. (Ad Donker, Johannesburg. Africana Library, 1973. Reprint of 1892 edition. 135 pages, jacket illustration. Price R3,90.)

This volume is the first title in a new series called "Africana Library", published under a new South African imprint, and is edited and introduced by A. P. Cartwright.

As FitzPatrick says of this his first book, it "is merely a collection of newspaper letters, somewhat amplified and very slightly revised"; the result is refreshing, spontaneous and amusing. The author was then 29, and had recently been curtly snubbed by Lord Randolph Churchill when he volunteered to help and advise him on his trip through southern Africa. Due to this, we find gently malicious and hilarious accounts of Lord Churchill's mountains of luggage and his contacts with local dignitaries.

Since this book would interest prospective visitors to Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the description of the best route (through Pietersburg and Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury) is graphic and packed with useful hints for would-be travellers. Among the graves of those who died along the way was one headstone that was quite irresistible: "JOHN SMITH is not BURIED HERE". He visited Zimbabwe *en route* and seemed rather incredulous about Theodore Bent's grandiloquent theories of its origin.

He paints an optimistic picture of the future of Fort Salisbury, though he felt that the Mining Law of the Chartered Company, which demanded a half-interest in all claims, should be revised. Throughout, attention is paid to gold mining—the ancient workings, current ventures in Mazoe, Fort Victoria and Tuli. There are gossipy reminiscences of hunting incidents, and the threat posed by lions.

The book ends with the homeward trip through "Khama's country", which was then dry in more ways than one.

This is a delightful book, due not only to the author's talents, but to the introduction by A. P. Cartwright. He gives additional information about FitzPatrick and an insight into Lord Randolph Churchill's character, without which the contents would not be nearly as vivid.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa, by F. C. Selous. (The Pioneer Head, Salisbury, 1972. 303 pages, illustrations, map. Price \$15.00.)

This is the fifth volume in the Heritage Series, published by Kingstons Ltd., under the imprint of the Pioneer Head. The book, originally published in 1893, is too well known for any comment on the content to be required and a facsimile reprint of the book from another publisher was reviewed in our last issue.

The aim of the Pioneer Head is to publish reproductions as near as possible in size, style and colour to the original publication, with some additional material. This volume has buckram covers with the illustrations on spine and front cover copied, not redrawn, from the originals. The paper used is off-white and gilt-edged at the head. There is an additional four-colour frontispiece, showing gemsbok, from an original water-colour by G. E. Caldwell, 1898, that is in the Johannesburg Africana Museum, and the full-colour dust-jacket, of elephant hunting, is from an original Thomas Baines' water-colour.

The Heritage Series comprises collectors' items in limited editions, this one of 2 000 copies, each copy being numbered. There was a *de luxe* edition of this volume of 112 copies at \$30,00 each.

Rhodesia is indeed being well served in the reprinting of its historical literature.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Years Between, 1923-1973, by W. D. Gale, M.B.E., published by H. C. P. Andersen, Salisbury. (Stiff paper covers, 91 pages, 2 maps, illustrations, chronological table of events. Price 75 cents.)

The author, William Gale, has for many years made a close study of Rhodesia's history and affairs. He has written, and written well, in his *One man's Vision*, *Zambesi Sunrise* and *Heritage of Rhodes*, and in his novels about the history of our land.

The Years Between covers the period since Southern Rhodesia obtained self-government, shaking off the administrative control of the British South Africa Company. During the 50 years a nation has developed from infancy into one capable of managing its own affairs and showing determination and a strength of purpose in a troubled world.

There have, of course, been mistakes and disillusionment, but there have been outstanding successes and triumphs. Gale, with his background as journalist, has been able to trace this interesting story and portray those men who played the chief parts in the achievements which have established Rhodesia's nationhood.

The book is factual and it brings our history up to date with an account of the development of the African, the fight against sanctions and the terrorist threat.

It is particularly opposite that a well-written account of our history and of current events should be made available at the present time and in a form less expensive than a hard-cover book. It is strongly recommended.

G. H. TANSER

The Genuine Shona: Survival values of an African Culture, by Michael Gelfand. (Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1973. 205 pages, illustrated. Price \$3,70.)

Professor Michael Gelfand is Professor of Medicine with special reference to Africa at the University of Rhodesia. His appointment is based on the fact that the various medical problems that confront the black man can be rather different from those that afflict the white man. He enjoys a world-wide reputation in treating the sick African. His knowledge of the Shona in particular is intimate and deep, being founded on a lifetime of experience.

The fact that Professor Gelfand is not a professional social anthropologist has resulted in some of his writings being criticised in sociological circles. A recent review of *The Genuine Shona* under the caption "Noble Savagery" in the *Times Literary Supplement* is typical of such attacks. The author is accused of loving the Shona too much and thus portraying them in too virtuous a light. The fact is the various attitudes, codes of behaviour and religious beliefs are carefully recorded by the author. He sets them down simply as Shona ideals. As a doctor he is fully aware that no man is perfect in body or behaviour. Are Christian codes, such as coveting neighbours' wives or stealing, never violated?

There is much of interest to the general reader, for example: the survival value of many of the Shona's attitudes are relevant to the fact that there were probably only about 300 000 of them when the Pioneer Column took over the country in 1890; again, the importance of the deep sense of belonging engendered in the Shona baby by being carried in a sling on its mother's back for the first two years of its life has many repercussions; and the problems a tribal culture has to contend with under the stresses of life in the townships.

R. W. S. TURNER

Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: Corridor to the North, by Norman H. Pollack, Jun. (Duchesne University Press. 576 pages. Price U.S.\$15,00.)

The author begins by pointing out that, during the nineteenth-century "scramble for Africa", "one of the curious ideas that developed in the process of carving up the continent was the desire of each of the main contenders to have a strip of territory from ocean to ocean". Portugal, Germany and France each tried to link up their colonies from east to west. But the British, through Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company, tried to cut across all the others in order to link the Cape with Egypt. Having obtained his Charter over Southern Rhodesia the occupation of north-western Rhodesia and Nyasaland

was essential to form a spring-board for a further bound forward into north-eastern Rhodesia and so into East Africa. This book is a history of these countries.

But Rhodes's plans came to a full stop after the establishment of British control over Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; he got no farther. He failed to get Katanga; a concession which his emissaries had obtained over an area along the western shores of Lake Tanganyika was seized from the messenger taking it to the coast and destroyed by a member of Stanley's expedition; and a treaty between the British East Africa Company and King Leopold, which would have given Britain a strip of land from the southern end of Lake Albert to the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika, was never ratified.

The author, having told of "the race for the interior", the pacification of Nyasaland and its becoming a protectorate, the founding of the B.S.A. Company, and of the Barotse Concessions, does not continue chronologically. He deals fully with separate subjects covering both territories—the establishment of administrations, mining, economic and agricultural developments and particularly with what he calls "the heart of the problem" of opening up new countries—transportation, by river, road and rail. He describes "the clash of cultures" in Nyasaland, the labour problems in both countries and then deals with missions, education, health services and political affairs before 1925.

This is a thorough piece of factual history and the author displays no unscholarly bias. There are no harsh condemnations of Rhodes, Johnston and other leading figures although the book is really a study of British imperialism in Africa. He makes the point that, because of Britain's policy of making the colonies pay for themselves, had it not been for the British South Africa Company she would not have been able to maintain a presence at all north of the Zambezi.

It is an extremely well documented book the author making particularly extensive use of *Accounts and Papers* 1887-1925 as well as *Hansard* of the British Parliament. With its pattern of interrelating all the problems of climate and topography, economics and development with administrative and political policies the book becomes the most exhaustive history of the period of the two countries. And it is written for the general reader as much as the specialist.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Art of Black Africa by Elsy Leuzinger. (Studio Vista, 1972. Translated from German. 378 pages, numerous illustrations, maps. Price £5,50.)

The author deals with Black Africa south of the Sahara. In her historical introduction she postulates the now somewhat discredited hypothesis—a dispersion of ruling classes on the break-up of the middle-Nile kingdom of Meroe about the fourth century A.D. The cultural influences of the Meroe on customs, regalia and all forms of art on the later Black African kingdoms is, she says, unmistakable. Several routes were followed by the defeated kings, priests and officials - to the West Coast, to the Congo region and south through the lake

districts of East Africa, this last route as far as the kingdom of Monomotapa and Zimbabwe. "The dignified stone eagles of Zimbabwe," she says, fall into the same category of rounded representational stone sculptures typical of the ancient kingdoms of West Africa and the lower Congo.

The institution of divine kingship with its ritual and regalia, with court sculptors and artists turning out elaborate work for the glorification of the king and for the worship of ancestors is typical of these sacral kingdoms and masses of ancient sculpture, wood-carvings, masks and decorative artefacts have been found in West Africa and the Congo regions. The author is very confident in associating Zimbabwe directly with the Meroe dispersal people with only a few relics to support the assertion. There is a very noticeable comparative paucity of artistic objects connected with Zimbabwe. There are plenty of utilitarian artefacts, some gold and copper jewellery as well as much imported material such as beads, glass and ceramics, and in this book there are also a few pictures of Barotse utensils. But the massive artistic inspiration of the other two routes of dispersion seems to have faded on the eastern side of the continent by the time the Zambezi was reached. The whole of East Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa merit only a few pages in this large book with no Rhodesian illustrations. It would be interesting to know if the author would regard the present highly praised school of Shona sculpture as really a revival that proves her theory.

Each area is described historically and ethnologically and its art illustrated and analysed stylistically and functionally. There are 26 coloured plates, other monochrome plates and several hundred small illustrations, sometimes 6-8 on one page. It is thus a magnificent reference work for students and artists.

The text is scholarly but eminently readable. The author emphasises that "Africans create their (traditional) art largely as an instrument to make contact with supernatural sources: it helps them to overcome the dangers of their environment: it is the expression of their religion." The sculptured figures of ancestors, the masks, the wooden carvings and other cultural objects are the links between man and the spirits. The first thing we look for in European art today is, says the author, "the expression of spiritual ideas in an artistically convincing form" and this traditional African art accomplishes. Ever since African art was "discovered" at the end of the nineteenth century it has been seen that African artists could express immaterial and abstract conceptions with an astonishing power. Because they are extroverts, she goes on, they have an extraordinary capacity for intense experience and the expression of spontaneous, violently seized ideas.

This is a delightful, sumptuous book and although one may not agree with all the author's theorising its scholarliness and detailed illustration certainly take it out of the "coffee table" category of books.

W. V. BRELSFORD

War and Society in Africa, ed. by Bethwell A. Ogot. (Frank Cass, 1972. 268 pages, maps. Price £4.00.)

This volume comprises 10 studies presented at the fifth Annual Social Science Conference at the University of East Africa in 1969.

As a result of the many military coups that have taken place in Africa since 1960 a good deal has been written about the nature and role of the military in Africa and some writers contend that the African army is the most significant colonial institution inherited from their former masters. "Africa's armies were an extension of the West." The European powers created them and still train and equip them.

The editor contends that we cannot understand the role of the military in post-independent Africa unless we study its role in pre-colonial and colonial times and these 10 studies are of both those eras. The full study of these periods may lead to a revision of the idea of pre-colonial Africa as being in a constant state of inter-tribal war and that chiefs such as Chaka were merely blood-thirsty savages. Instead, as a result of his building of the Zulu nation, Chaka "may even emerge as the Napoleon of Africa".

Wars about successions in Uganda and religious wars in Ethiopia in pre-colonial times are described as well as anti-colonial wars and rebellions against the imposition of taxes and land settlement in several East African countries. The war and rebellion of the 1890's in Rhodesia are discussed with the conclusion that although the Africans lost the wars they won the peace by gaining concessions—a result that also occurred after two East African rebellions described here. Violence paid.

The Boer War has often been dismissed as "little more than a ruling class squabble" since it was a convention on both sides, but for different reasons, that Africans must not be used. But Donald Denoon, in his paper on this war, regards it as a true African war and, being anti-imperial, as one of "the first African nationalist movements". It is a pity there is no study here of the 1914-18 war in East Africa when Africans were used on both sides.

The editor says that three important themes emerge from these studies: (i) the role of the prophets was important in several of the wars and rebellions; (ii) the anti-colonial uprisings were usually precipitated by taxes or forced labour or land disputes; and (iii) there are several examples of people losing a war but gaining important concessions.

At the beginning, the editor asserted that we could not understand the present-day role of the military in Africa unless we studied its role in pre-colonial and colonial days. But in no way does he relate either the incidents described, or the three themes, to modern military regimes backed by sophisticated weapons (not prophets) and supporting nationalist (not tribal) ideologies. But there is a great deal of interest in this volume for the student of modern, and older, history of Africa.

W. V. BRELSFORD

GENERAL

African Sunset, by Robin Short. (Johnson Publications, 1973. Illustrated, maps, 280 pages. Price £3,50.)

Robin Short is blessed with an intensely inquiring mind, an honesty of purpose and fearless determination to follow dedicated principles, wherever they may lead. These qualities stand out throughout this account of his 15 years as an Administrative Officer in Northern Rhodesia, and—very briefly—Zambia, from 1950 to 1965—a period almost certainly presenting the greatest challenge and problems which the Provincial Administration of that country had ever faced.

Mr. Short's interest lay in the people of the land—their customs, their well-being, and, it follows, in the policies and politics which affected their lives and their future. Paradoxically, it is the very breadth of his interests which is at times disconcerting to the reader who, when comfortably engrossed in a most explicit and accurate description of local customs (Short acquired a close knowledge of African customs wherever he was stationed), is suddenly pitched into political discussion or political unrest—only to be soon involved once more in the world of witchcraft and spirits. Disconcerting it may be—but surely this was indeed the very essence of an officer's work during those years, when at one and the same time he dealt with the primitive and traditional problems of the African villager and all the complex problems and unrest brought about by the creation of Federation and the growth of African nationalism.

Most of Mr. Short's service was spent in the North-western Province—often described as the "Cinderella Province"—and it is perhaps because of this that his strong anti-Federation comments will not be accepted in their entirety by officers who worked in some other Provinces more fortunate in their progress and in natural resources. In particular one can question his contention, "We, and I speak for the bulk of the Administration, felt contaminated, as under orders, we put forward the official brief (for Federation) or its advantages . . ." and that it seriously affected the morale of the Administration. This simply was not the case in Provinces where the post-war development plans offered opportunities and encouragement to Government officers of all departments and their African staffs. There was no lack of morale here. After years of uncertainty, Federation presented a challenge which many believed could be made to work to the benefit of all. Mr. Short is more correct when he speaks of the disillusionment which set in five or six years later, when difficulties and frustrations arose in certain important matters, formerly Territorial, then Federal, responsibilities such as Rural Health Centres, as a result of faulty organisation and delays by officials far distant in Salisbury.

Mr. Short, a great admirer of Sir Arthur Benson, may not know that the latter, often pictured as the arch-opponent of Federation, stated on several occasions at that time that he was not opposed to the concept of Federation, but rather to the manner in which certain aspects were being implemented.

Undoubtedly Mr. Short is on much surer grounds—and in this "will be supported by the bulk of the Service"—when he contends that the British Government overestimated the true strength of African nationalist movements and that this London policy was reflected in the Lusaka Government's handling of the situation. Mr. Short gives graphic descriptions of the disturbances engineered by U.N.I.P. during the years 1960-62 and he tells how they were firmly handled and kept under control by the Administration and messenger staff working in full co-operation with the Police and the chiefs and their councils. He believes that in fact U.N.I.P. could never have gained power had there been a "Will to Govern" from London. Many will agree with Mr. Short that 1960—the year of the Monckton Commission—"was the vital year and that the tragedy lay, not in the weakening of the Federation, but in the surrender by the British Government to extremists, who used the grievance as a stepping stone to power in its failure to treat them as what they were and to give moderate and responsible Africans a fair chance to take control. In other words, a collapse of will." The last chapters are an indication of this—and the examples of loyalty and courage set by the chiefs deserve study in Rhodesia's present context. The final debacle, leading to U.N.I.P.'s victory and the abandonment of the moderate, loyal African makes sad reading and is a bitter commentary on the last days of British rule in this country.

There is much to discuss and, yes, dispute in this book. It is well worth reading and not only by those with experience of what is now Zambia.

DISTRICTER

The Early History of Malawi, edited by Professor B. Pachai. (Longman Group Ltd., 1972. Limp cover, 454 pages, illustrated, maps. Price £2,00 sterling.)

In his introduction the editor points out that before about the 1950's studies on Malawi history were very few. No archaeologist set foot in the country until 1950 and there was no systematic archaeological investigation until 1965. There were, of course, general accounts of the country and its peoples by early travellers, missionaries, traders, civil servants, soldiers and journalists, usually interesting and valuable but not of the depth or variety upon which scholars could draw.

This symposium of 24 papers by professional scholars was presented or delivered at a conference on the early history of Malawi held at the University of Malawi in 1970. It forms a very comprehensive survey of what is known of the history of Malawi up to 1914 and it certainly does a great deal to fill in some of the lacunae indicated by the editor.

The book starts with chapters on prehistory, including one by Professor J. Desmond Clark, who initiated archaeological research in the country. There are papers on the origin, early history and political organisations of the main tribes and a discussion on the origin and meaning ("flames") of the words Maravi (referring to the people) and Malawi (referring to geographical place names).

The "chronic insecurity" of the nineteenth century is described with the Nyanja peoples caught between the incursions of the Yao and the Ngoni. The story of the Arab wars and the first establishment of European administration by Harry Johnston follows. The very important contribution of the missionaries to the basic development of Malawi is particularly stressed in several papers with detailed histories of the progress of the two main mission societies, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the Dutch Reformed Church.

There are studies on economics, agriculture, European settlement, labour and communications. There is an assessment of the importance of the Rev. John Chilembwe, who led a rising in 1915, in the political history of the country. And there is a significant study and comparison of the policies and problems of Johnston and Jameson in their imposition of colonial rule in their respective countries.

Many of the chapters pose questions and suggest subjects that require further investigation so this stimulating preliminary volume should prove to be a source for future detailed studies of aspects of Malawi history.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Lawrence Green: Memories of a Friendship, by John Yates-Benyon. (Howard Timmins, 1973. 224 pages, illustrated. Price R4,95.)

This book is essentially a tribute to Lawrence Green, the man, by a much younger friend who regarded him as a father-figure. John Yates-Benyon had lost his own father at an early age, and Green replaced him when he became friendly with his mother, a talented woman and a fine character.

The friendship appears to have been entirely platonic, but in every other respect it was a deep and satisfying relationship. Why they never married is not satisfactorily explained, but Lulu Yates-Benyon remained a widow and Green a confirmed bachelor.

Lawrence Green was a prolific writer of books (in the author's opinion, the greatest writer South Africa has produced, which is carrying adulation a bit too far) and the picture that emerges from them is of a tireless traveller, a great gourmet, an expert on food and wines. But the reality, as revealed by this book, was very different.

He travelled extensively, true, but he much preferred to live in a Seapoint flat or in his beach cottage at Blaauwberg Strand. He was an authority on food, but he had an incredibly weak digestion and picked fastidiously at his meals to guard against the stomach cramps that followed the slightest indiscretion. His knowledge of wines was extensive, but his tastes were confined to a very limited range of reds. He was full of paradoxes.

He was a lonely man, in spite of his devotion to Lulu, and he had only a few real friends. He could be brutally rude in company and was unable to suffer fools gladly. Yet on occasions he could be charming and urbane and a delightful host.

In one sense he was a fortunate man—he lived his life as he wished to live it. Son of a former editor of the *Cape Argus*, he had an assured career in South African journalism, but he hated the tyranny of newspaper work and by sheer perseverance developed his writing talent until he broke free and was able to devote all his time to writing books. He wrote over 40 books between 1933 and 1972, the year of his death.

He had a wide and admiring public and his books had an assured sale. Whether this book, revealing all, warts and all, is likely to increase those sales is, I think, doubtful. Lawrence Green the author is a more attractive personality than Lawrence Green the man.

W. D. GALE

David Livingstone: "Heroic Myth" behind the real man

A review of three centenary books

by B. W. Lloyd

Livingstone, by Tim Jeal. (Heinemann, 1973. 427 pages, line illustrations and monochrome plates, maps. Price R8,25.)

Livingstone, Man of Africa, ed. by Bridglal Pachai. (Longman, 1973. Limp cover, 245 pages, 17 plates, 8 maps. Price £1,25.)

Livingstone in Africa, compiled by Oliver Ransford and T. W. Baxter. (Jackdaw Publications No. 122, London, 1973. 9 display charts, 5 reproductions of broadsheets. Price \$1,25 approx.)

Disillusionment with Dr. Livingstone is not a new kind of protest. Dr. Stewart, aged 27, threw his copy of *Missionary Researches* angrily into the Zambezi. Yet—15 years later—he was zealously founding Livingstonia as a mission, adding Christianity to commerce and civilisation—today's criteria of progress in Malawi (as Dr. Pachai affirms).

Thus, Tim Jeal's attack on the Livingstone myth, revealing the "unknown man behind the Victorian image of saint, heroic explorer and Missionary statesman" is not original. He endeavours to show that, after Livingstone's rescue, Stanley misled posterity by saying the Nile source had been found by an explorer "as near an angel as the nature of living man will allow". Such encomia re-established the worship and applause Livingstone had received in 1856-58. By 1863 his public image had waned, with the costly failure to find a Zambezi route and establish missions in Central Africa. By 1874 the myth was nation-wide, due to Stanley and the burial in the Abbey of Livingstone's hallowed remains.

Mr. Jeal's detailed study of Livingstone's correspondence, and of the many recent books and fresh MS. materials found, enable him confidently to claim that his is a truer biography than those of three clerics.

Livingstone certainly had no part in creating the myth, though it forwarded his three C's for liberating Africa from the Arab slave trade. His own writings—modest, scientifically exact—enable Mr. Philip Birkenshaw in his *The Livingstone Touch* (1973) to reveal more of the heart of the man than Jeal does.

In his public appearances he never sought to claim to be other than the instrument of his Maker, concerned with Africa's liberation. Yet this book regards his 30-year-long crusade as a failure; as a missionary—"only one convert" (a myth), as a father—"wife and children sacrificed to his ambitions", as an explorer—"little accomplished" (though he walked 27 000 miles and mapped about 1 000 000 sq. miles!). Admittedly, as an advocate of colonialism ("a volte face") he aided future British policy towards annexation.

This damning indictment is supported by over 400 pages of narrative, well annotated and illustrated. Many of Livingstone's obvious weaknesses and virtues are stressed. His insensitivity to European colleagues, obstinacies and frequent faulty judgements have all had much stress since Seaver, Schapera and Martelli used fresh sources. To these, Jeal adds an amount of little-known gossip as to failings in Charles and Mrs. Livingstone. (Anyone familiar with tropical travelling knows how individuals succumb to physical weaknesses.)

Mr. Jeal does not minimize such failings, but seeks to explain them. He is sympathetic and objective in his fresh study of the effects of Livingstone's early life on his whole character. His book makes a valuable contribution to a study of the whole man behind the myth, but it has not the charity of the "spiritual adventurer" found in Dr. Seaver's *Life and Letters* (1957). The latter wrote from several years' sojourn in Central African bush in the 1920's.

To end this review with three provoking questions: does its exploding necessarily end a myth? Will many readers forget the myth and remember the hero? Could the course of history—and future events in Africa—possibly prove that the present tendency to belittle Livingstone's aims and achievements is itself originating a new myth?

Dr. Pachai's symposium-essays comprise 10 most detailed researches on Central Africa. They give the African side of the aftermath of Livingstone's work. Each contributor has some valuable fresh insight to add to biographies on Livingstone.

Prof. Shepperson describes his preparatory years, dwelling on the Scottishness of his character and unique views of Africa in the *Travels* (1857). Prof. Pachai's own contribution shows that Livingstone was far ahead of his era on the Zambezi's possible navigability. (Kariba and Cabora may well vindicate his forecast.)

Other studies go into interesting details of early mission relationships, Mang'anja society and early Malawian history. All are well illustrated, and the book has an attractive cover. It should be most helpful to students of the period, researching on the results of Livingstone's life.

Livingstone in Africa is a timely Jackdaw, full of helpful visual aids to any teacher dealing with his achievements. Following a series of five concise articles on Africa before 1840, Livingstone's journeys and their results, there are fac-similes of his letters and journal, maps and Stanley's famous despatch. All are admirably edited to give reality to the events of 1840-73, enabling children to appreciate that Africa then required the utmost devotion and endurance of a real hero. Dr. O. Ransford and Mr. T. W. Baxter have chosen wisely and well from a mass of material not hitherto available to schools. Of particular interest to all schools in Africa.

PLANT GATHERERS OF THE ZAMBEZI VALLEY

Gathering Among African Woodland Savannah Cultivators: A Case Study: The Gwembe Tonga by Thayer Scudder is a continuation of the studies made both before and after the African resettlement consequent on the building of Kariba.

Because of the risks, detailed by the author, associated with agriculture in the middle Zambezi valley the Tonga were always subject to periodic famines and to seasonal hunger periods so that the use of wild plants as food was widespread. To date 131 wild plants, eaten by the valley Tonga, have been identified and are listed here. No other woodland savannah cultivators in East or Central Africa utilise as wide a range of wild produce as do the Tonga. This is put down to the fact that the Tonga live in a habitat whose vegetation is ecologically complex and also because they have been there for a long time—up to a thousand years—so have had plenty of time to familiarise themselves with this habitat.

The author tells the story—much publicised at the time— of how, in 1959, 54 people, mainly women and children, died in four months in the Lusitu Resettlement Area. After long medical investigation of the "Lusitu Condition" the conclusion was reached that vegetable poisoning was the cause, young, inexperienced women and children gathering plants in a new habitat during the initial, first year food shortage period in the resettlement area.

This 50-page booklet is *Zambian Papers* No. 5, published by the Manchester University Press for the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia.

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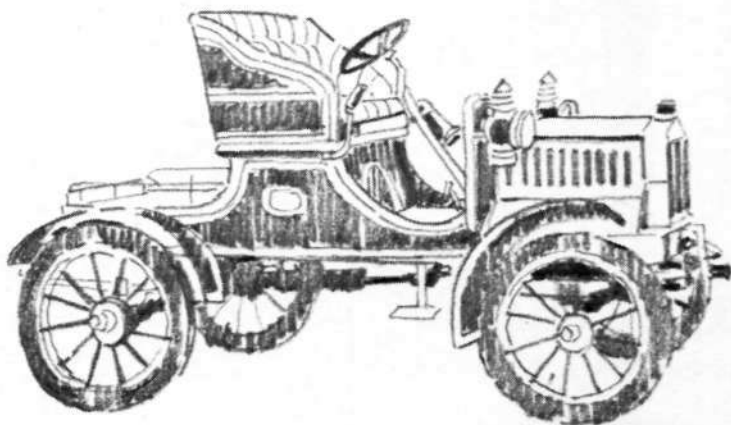
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For Charles Duly, it was a rough one; he cycled all the way up from Johannesburg, arriving in 1894 in the town which was to be the headquarters for his lifetime. At 24, he was a fully qualified engineer with a pioneering spirit. Bulawayo already boasted 3 newspapers, 6 hotels, a race-course and several sports clubs — and Duly saw the growing need for faster transportation. He opened up his first Cycle Shop in Abercorn Street, where the Carlton Hotel stands today, and that was the beginning of Duly's in Rhodesia. Bulawayo saw the arrival of the very first motor car in the country — imported by Charles Duly in 1902. Then came motor cycles . . . the first Ford car . . . tractors . . . trucks . . . more branches across the country . . . and the ever-growing Duly organisation.

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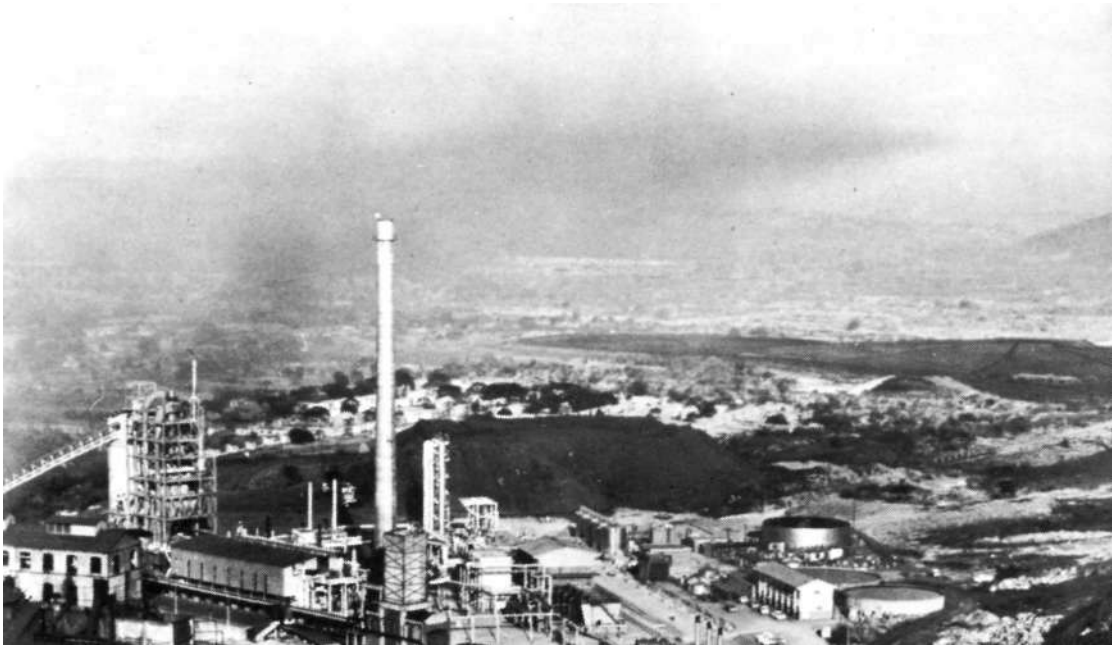
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Above: Main exhibition area in the Beit Trust Gallery



Above: Exhibition to mark the centenary of Livingstone's death

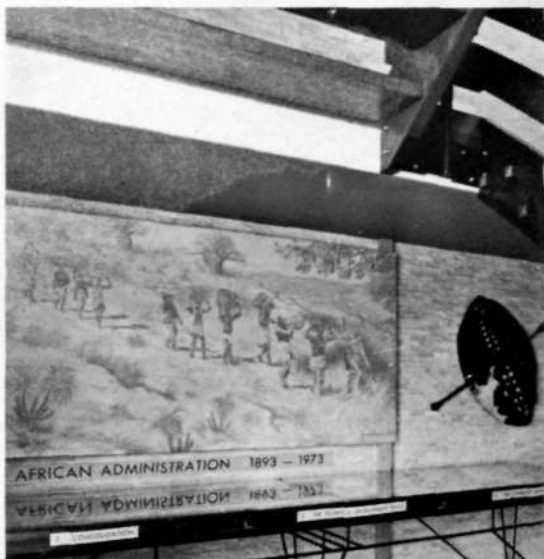
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Some of the more important documents and pictorial matter relating to the history of Rhodesia are on display in the Beit Trust Gallery. Rhodesia's Declaration of Independence is on permanent display. Exhibitions to mark outstanding events are staged from time to time: presently there are three such exhibitions relating to Responsible Government, David Livingstone and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Below: Fifty years of Responsible Government



Below: Eightieth anniversary of the founding of the Ministry of Internal Affairs





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