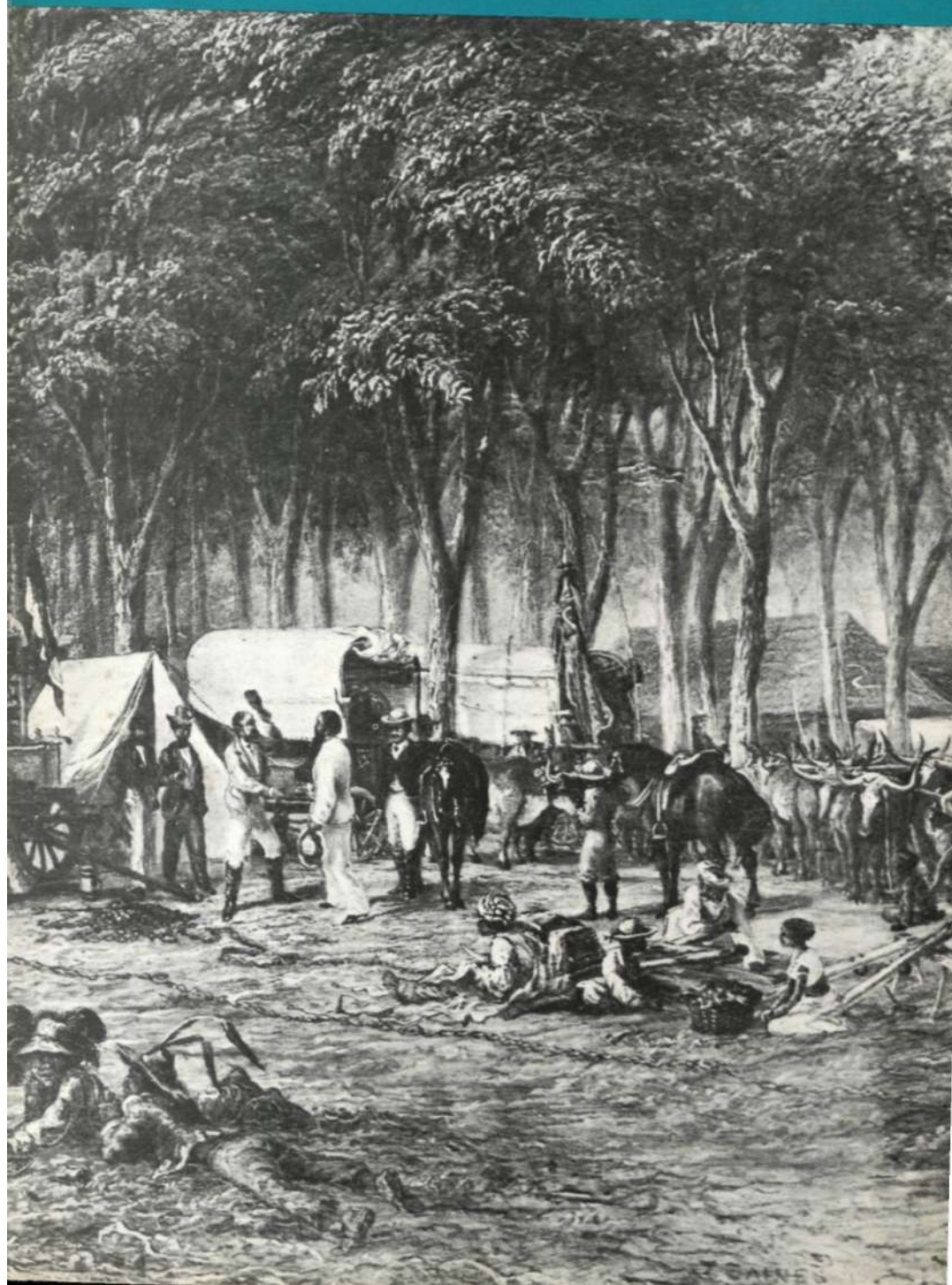
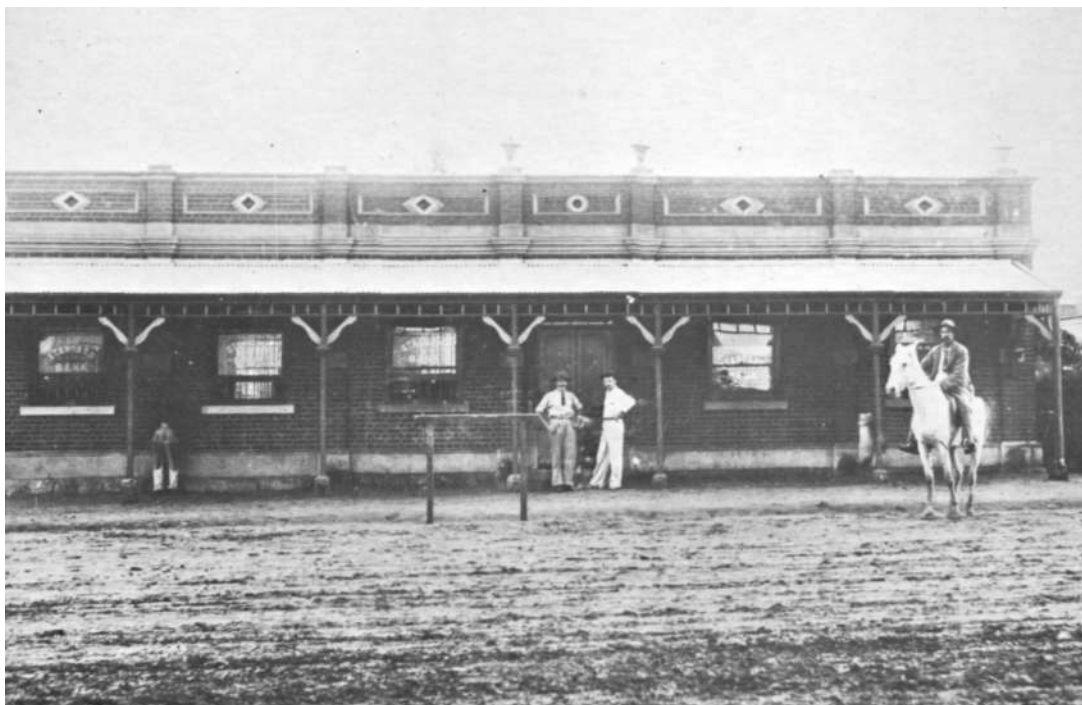


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THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

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The cover picture is from a painting by T. Baines, showing his expedition on the market-square in Pietermaritzburg, 1869, prior to his departure for the Interior. An expedition by E. Mohr was there at the same time; the two explorers are seen greeting each other.

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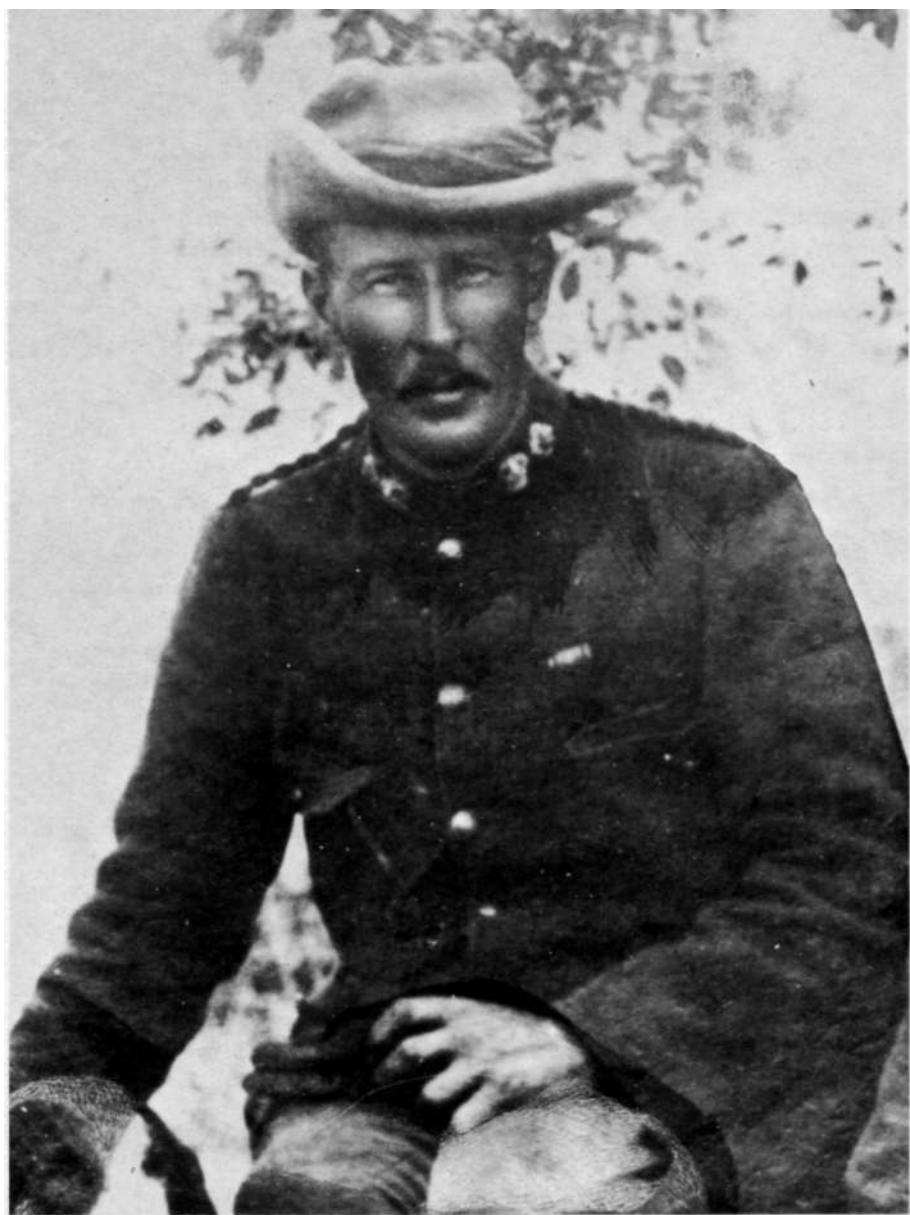
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(Photo: National Archives)

The Battle of Massi Kessi

by J. C. Barnes

The march of the Pioneer Column, which began late in June 1890, made a confrontation with Portugal, Britain's oldest ally, inevitable. There were two direct clashes; one at Mutasa's kraal on 15th November, 1890, the other at Chua Hill outside Fort Massi Kessi on 11th May, 1891.

An outline of the Anglo-Portuguese conflict is necessary if one is to understand the significance of the battle. The issue that arose between the British South Africa Company and the Portuguese was basically one of whether a particular portion of East Africa was to be seized by pioneers willing to establish a viable settlement or to remain the unimproved property of an exhausted nation. A question such as this however is not based on merits alone. European diplomacy demanded that Portugal's ancient claims be respected as long as they could be substantiated by facts. Portugal is undeniably credited with being the first European power to invade this part of the world: by 1520 she had displaced the Arab traders and gained control of the coast from Guardafui to Delagoa Bay. Military expeditions inland in the seventeenth century had all met with disaster. While a few trading posts did exist up country, no effort at government was made beyond the occupied coastal regions.

Nineteenth century Portuguese maps still coloured the country west as far as Lobengula's kingdom (i.e. including the territory of Mutasa, chief of the Manyika people) as a Portuguese possession, but only late in the century, when they saw their opportunities fast disappearing, did the Portuguese make feverish attempts to infuse new life into their scattered outposts. During the 1880's, an energetic soldier, Major Paiva d'Andrada, endeavoured to increase Portuguese ascendancy over the interior. He obtained permission from his government to develop mineral and commercial schemes, though little came of this until December 1888 when the newly-founded "Companhia de Moçambique" edged its way up the Pungwe, thence across country to the Revue River where the Company's headquarters were established in a reconstructed fort associated with an old trading post called Massi Kessi (six miles north of the present town of Vila de Manica or "Macequece" and twenty two miles east of Umtali).

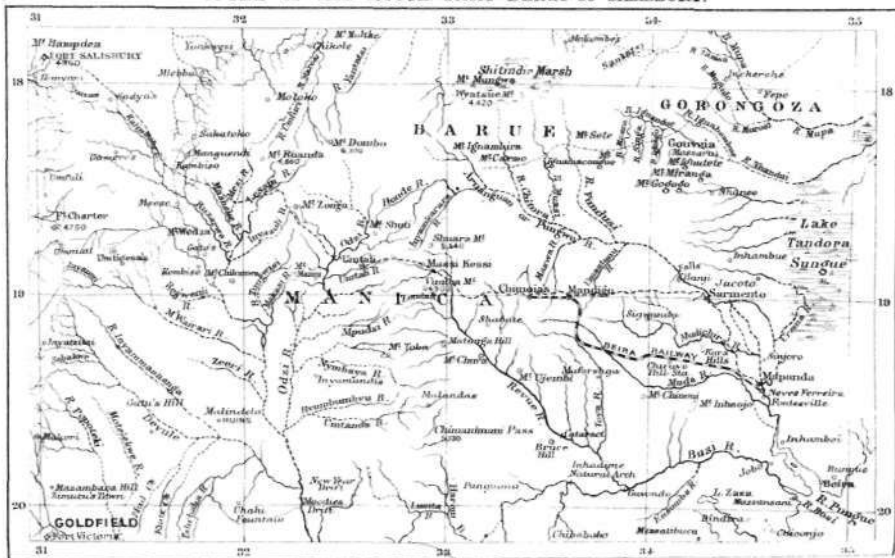
d'Andrada, together with the local representative of the Companhia de Moçambique, Baron Joa de Rezende, to further Company policy, enlisted the aid of Manuel Antonio de Sousa, commonly called Gouveia. A half-caste Goanese "prazo de coroa" (crown estate) holder, he was renowned as a ferocious slave trader, terrorising surrounding natives and raiding petty chiefs who refused to recognise his authority. The Companhia de Moçambique found him useful as a "colonising agent" who coerced several chiefs into accepting the Portuguese flag. Gouveia claimed that in 1875 Mutasa had made voluntary submission of his domain to him in gratitude for Gouveia's having kept Makoni from attacking

his lands. Furthermore, Mutasa was regarded by the Portuguese as a feudatory chief under Gungunyana, whom they stated was himself a vassal of the Portuguese crown. To emphasise Mutasa's subjection to the Portuguese, d'Andrada in 1889 raised the Portuguese flag at Mutasa's kraal, "Binga Guru".

October 1889 saw the granting of a Royal Charter to the British South Africa Company. The first clause of this charter defined the Company's area of operation as being in "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic and the west of the Portuguese Dominions". If this clause seems suitably vague and ill-defined it must be remembered that to lay down specific boundaries would have required an international agreement. In any case, were not the pioneers setting out with the intention of occupying Mashonaland only? Rhodes, however, was fully aware of the necessity of securing land to the east of Mashonaland, if possible to include a corridor to the sea. Consequently, before the Pioneer Column began its move north, he instructed A. R. Colquhoun, the Administrator Designate of the new country, to secure by treaty with native chiefs as much of the eastern highlands as was possible.

In August 1890, with the Pioneer Column well on its way, Britain and Portugal struggled to define their respective boundaries in East Africa by means of a Convention. Negotiations progressed rapidly and on 20th August the Convention was signed between Lord Salisbury, British Foreign Secretary, and Senhor Freitas, Portuguese Minister in London; all that was now required to make things final was ratification by both governments. The Convention had been signed over the head of Rhodes, and, whilst it was satisfactory to the

A MAP OF THE ROUTE FROM BEIRA TO SALISBURY.



The route from Beira to Salisbury in 1892. Although at the time of the battle of Massi Kessi the railway had not been constructed this map illustrates the places mentioned.

(Photo: National Archives)

British in Nyasaaland, it was extremely unsatisfactory to the directors of the Charter Company. The Sabi River was to form the eastern boundary of Mashonaaland in other words the whole of Manicaland had been ceded to the Portuguese. Lord Salisbury had realised that Portugal's pride was greater than her poverty; that no convention, no matter how liberal, was likely to prove acceptable to them if it entailed the sacrifice of ancient claims. He informed Rhodes that Portugal's case for Manicaland might be weak but that the Charter Company had no case at all for they had yet to reach the area. The British Government could make no claims to the eastern highlands unless the Charter Company "effectively occupied them" or at least obtained treaties from the chiefs of the district. Colquhoun's role was becoming even more vital.

In Lisbon, when the Convention was published on 21st August, those terms concerning Nyasaaland were violently attacked as an act of robbery. Windows in the British Embassy were shattered by angry crowds. In the face of strong opposition the Cortes resigned on 15th October the Convention was never ratified.

Meanwhile in "Rhodesia", Colquhoun, oblivious of developments in Europe, was preparing to carry out Rhodes's instructions. On 3rd September a group which included Jameson (although he was later forced by injury to return to the Column) Colquhoun, Selous and a mounted escort from "A" troop of the B.S.A. Company's Police left the Pioneer Column at Fort Charter and set off for the eastern highlands. On 14th September Colquhoun entered into a long interview with Mutasa in which the latter denied his subjection to the Portuguese and insisted that Manica was an independent state and that he, in his own estimation, was a paramount chief who owed allegiance to no one. Mutasa, his position lying between the Portuguese and the British, adopted a submissive policy to both in an attempt to gain what he could while still retaining his independence. He and two indunas penned their marks to the treaty which Colquhoun had brought with him.

This treaty was a comprehensive document. In return for a promise of British protection and an annual subsidy of £100 or the equivalent thereof in trading goods, Mutasa ceded the rights of all minerals in his territory to the B.S.A. Company. Further the Company would have the authority to appoint a British Resident, establish a police force, construct public works, maintain schools and build commercial and industrial enterprises. Finally Mutasa agreed not to make any more territorial concessions without the consent of the B.S.A. Company in writing.

The Portuguese authorities were hardly pleased with Mutasa's *volte-face*. Selous was received with cold politeness at Massi Kessi and told that the B.S.A. Company was trespassing on Portuguese land which was theirs by virtue of old treaties, the originals of which could still be seen in the Archives at Goa. Rezende, in a formal letter of protest, alleged that threats were used against Mutasa and complained of this armed intrusion into the land of the Crown of Portugal. Colquhoun denied these allegations and pointed out that he was acting on instructions from the B.S.A. Company. Considering matters closed,

Colquhoun left for Salisbury to arrange for the effective occupation of Manicaland.

A peaceful occupation would be more convincing that the presence of a military force — a number of prospectors were provided with wagons, oxen, provisions and ammunition and induced to "drift" into Manicaland. Such a prospector was A. "Sandy" Tulloch who, in October, was prospecting in the Hartley district when he was approached by Capt. Heany with the offer of three months rations and the right to peg ten extra claims if he went to Manica. When questioned as to the reasons, Heany explained that Colquhoun wanted "a sort of spontaneous and unofficial rush of as many men as we can get" to occupy the country and support the September concession.

Nevertheless Mutasa had been promised a police force and so Sergeant-Major Montgomery and four men of 'B' Troop left Salisbury to act as its advance party.

Much to his consternation, Colquhoun heard from Selous on 24th October that the Portuguese were approaching Mutasa's kraal with some 270 natives. Three days later he received an urgent telegram from Rhodes who, in the light of the failure of the August Convention, stressed the importance of occupying Manicaland. Reinforcements were drummed up and command was entrusted to Major P. Forbes who arrived in Manica on 5th November. The Portuguese, with their superior numbers, were not slow to act. On 8th November, Gouveia, with about 70 of his retainers, entered Mutasa's kraal and raised the Portuguese flag in front of the chief's hut. He was joined at the kraal on 14th November by d'Andrada and Rezende who invited white settlers to attend a meeting to hear from the chief's own lips to just whom Manicaland belonged.

Chances of positive intervention were fast dwindling when, at 2 p.m. on 15th November, fifteen late reinforcements rode into the B.S.A. Company Police Camp at 'Umtali' (then positioned immediately south of the present site of Penhalonga village). Forbes decided to act at once; the upshot was that in a bold and decisive action, d'Andrada, Rezende and Gouveia were arrested as they emerged from the hut at the conclusion of their meeting with Mutasa. Released on parole, Rezende was permitted to return to Massi Kessi; d'Andrada and Gouveia were taken under escort to Salisbury from where, after having discussed the matter with the Administrator, they were transported to Cape Town.

Forbes meanwhile, with a party of eight men, had headed east in the hope of acquiring further territorial concessions from independent chiefs towards the coast. He occupied Massi Kessi on his way through and was moving rapidly towards Beira when, on 29th November and only one day's march from the port, he was, to his bitter disappointment, recalled by Colquhoun to Salisbury. To discover the reason for this we must return to events in Europe.

After the failure of the Convention, Lord Salisbury made fresh approaches to the new Portuguese ministry. On 14th November — that is one day before Forbes's attack on Mutasa's kraal — the Portuguese and British ministries

concluded an interim *modus vivendi* on a basis of the *status quo* pending the conclusion of a new treaty to settle once and for all their respective quarrels. The delineation of boundaries was left open; the Portuguese naturally enough regarded it as confirmation that the Sabi River was still their western boundary — that is, Manicaland was well within their sphere of influence.

News of the *modus vivendi* reached Colquhoun on 23rd November, hence his urgent withdrawal of Forbes from his position near Beira. Rhodes, who was not to be baulked by matters of European diplomacy, sent a telegram to Colquhoun asking the Administrator to see to the occupation of Beira but it arrived in Salisbury only on 14th December, too late to affect the issue. The opportunity to acquire a seaport for the new British Colony had, like a grain of sand, slipped between closing fingers.

The news of the arrests at Mutasa's kraal caused a popular furore in Portugal. The Portuguese maintained that Forbes's action was a violation of the *modus vivendi*; the British replied that the action was undertaken at a time when it was impossible for him to be aware of the agreement. Furthermore, Salisbury argued, by virtue of Colquhoun's treaty with Mutasa, by Portuguese rejection of the August Convention and by the *modus vivendi*, Gouveia was usurping British rights when he raised the flag at Mutasa's kraal on 8th November. It was then pointed out by the Portuguese that the Colquhoun treaty was null and void, as it had not been ratified by the British Government in accordance with Article 3 of the Royal Charter. Lord Salisbury reiterated that whilst this was true, until the treaty was cancelled by any arrangements completed once the *modus vivendi* expired, it was to remain in force. The retention of Manicaland



Major P. W. Forbes.
(Photo: National Archives)

was justified on the grounds that it was acquired by the B.S.A. Company while it still had a free hand in South-east Africa. On these grounds a detachment of Company Police was put into Fort Massi Kessi in December, although later in the month it was withdrawn with the exception of a sergeant and six men.

The publication of d'Andrada's report in Lisbon added fuel to the fire. He had, he argued, attended Mutasa's court in his official capacity as Managing Director of the Companhia de Moçambique. Rezende was the Company's local representative and Gouveia their labour agent. For protection against wild animals they were accompanied by a few hundred "machalieros" (baggage carriers) armed with rifles and sword bayonets. And he, as an officer in the Portuguese army, a member of the Portuguese nobility and her most valuable servant in East Africa had been arrested by a crowd of British filibusters on land that had for centuries belonged to Portugal!

Popular sentiment was deeply stirred. The government initially attempted to maintain a dignified attitude without introducing an element of the ridiculous. Proceedings were brought against the B.S.A. Company by d'Andrada and Rezende in the Court of the Queen's Bench. Damages for assault were demanded and a court injunction was sought to prevent the repetition of similar annoyances. Students demonstrated in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra and formed a patriotic battalion; they clamoured for a war of revenge. The newspapers, too, demanded a military expedition to repair the dent inflicted in Portugal's national pride.

In these circumstances two minor incidents in Manica assumed major proportions. On 23rd December, Major Bettencourt arrived at the Police Camp, Umtali, stating that he had been sent as Mining Commissioner from the Governor of Moçambique with orders to remain at Umtali. He was well treated and left the following day with a letter from Capt. Melville Heyman, Commanding the Company's forces in Umtali, to the effect that he was not allowed to remain in Umtali in that position.

On 3rd January a Portuguese Officer, Ensign Almeida Freire, and four soldiers with a large number of carriers, arrived at Massi Kessi. According to Major Sapte, who was later ordered to investigate the incident, Freire gave the sergeant in charge to understand that he had come to occupy the fort but as there was no interpreter present neither party could clearly make themselves understood. After some talking Freire was allowed to enter the fort and the four men were put up at a Frenchman's hut nearby. On 5th January Heyman, who had come to Umtali in November 1890 over the Mutasa incident and had assumed command after Forbes's departure, came to see the Portuguese, who stated he was a trader. Heyman therefore asked him to sign a paper agreeing to obey B.S.A. Company regulations, upon which he stated he was an officer and produced a letter from the Governor of Manica pointing out that in terms of the *modus vivendi*, Massi Kessi should be handed over to the Portuguese. Heyman immediately asked him to leave. Freire replied that he could not regain his carriers. He was told to remain in the fort, practically a prisoner, but that as soon as he could get carriers he might return to the coast. His four soldiers were also brought into the fort. Still the Portuguese made little attempt to get carriers;

Heyman consequently informed Freire that he was going to send him with a road-making party under Lieut. Bruce towards the Busi. Carriers were suddenly found and the Portuguese set out for Gouveia.

Strong protests reached Lord Salisbury from Portugal; he consequently ordered the B.S.A. Company to evacuate Massi Kessi, thereby counteracting arguments that he was breaking the *modus vivendi*. The fort was left with two civilians as caretakers — one subsequently died leaving "Fanie" Maritz as the sole European on the site.

In Portugal the army of revenge was taking shape. It included, firstly, the 1st Regiment of Infantry, complete with a detachment of engineers — according to Hans Sauer it was known as the Queen of Portugal's Regiment, it was nominally 800 strong and it was publicly blessed by the Archbishop of Lisbon in the great square of that city. It sailed on 15th January and, in February, 325 men under Col. Cotinho docked in Beira; secondly, a student volunteer army reinforced by expatriates from Brazil which landed at Delagoa Bay in February before moving up the coast (numbers uncertain); thirdly, a large body of native auxiliaries (approximately 400) from Angola who attached themselves to the main expedition at Beira; and, fourthly, a volunteer force of 230 men formed within four weeks at Lourenço Marques. In addition, a gunboat steaming from Lisbon to Macao was stopped at Aden and diverted to Manica.

The first group to move inland was the students. "There is something pathetic," writes W. D. Gale, "about this crowd of boys, inspired by the highest motives of patriotism, being subjected to trials far too severe for their physical stamina or moral strength." Fresh from Europe and encountering one of the worst seasons on record, they soon discovered that their worst enemy was not the British but the anopheles mosquito; the further they advanced inland, the greater became the casualties from malaria. Struggling through the dense tropical vegetation, exhausted by the heat and humidity, led by inexperienced officers and with insufficient food and medical supplies, it took the party over two months to traverse the 150 miles from Neves Ferreira on the Pungwe to Massi Kessi. Lionel Cripps reckoned that less than fifty completed the journey; the balance were abandoned on the road, sick with fever, to return to Beira as best they could.

The official Portuguese force did not fare much better. The paper *O Dia*, 30th March, 1891, records that the Engineers were building a series of forts along the route to Massi Kessi. The main attacking force, however, incapacitated by fever and lack of transport — after the events at Mutasa's Kraal the Portuguese found it difficult to get carriers — was held up at Neves Ferreira. As late as 24th April, according to M. Poulin, there was still part of this force in Beira awaiting more troops and guns.

The British in Manica were not unaware of the Portuguese build-up. As early as 2nd January, Victor Morier wrote in his diary that troops were said to be collecting at Beira. In February, rumour had it that a large Portuguese force had landed at Sofala and was marching up the Busi River. One of the Chiefs on the Busi, Mafarga, with whom the B.S.A. Company had made a treaty, sent one

of his indunas to Lieut. Bruce (who was cutting a road to Umliwan's in the belief that the best route to the coast was via the Busi, not the Pungwe) to request protection. Bruce informed Heyman who in turn asked Morier to reconnoitre. Morier began his 170 mile, 46 day journey on 6th February: he found the Africans full of rumour and fright but saw that there was no real danger of an attack.

On 9th February, Heyman asked Lieut. Tyndale-Biscoe to go to Chimoio, a recognised Portuguese trading post only fifty-two miles from Massi Kessi, to make enquiries. Arriving on the 14th, Tyndale-Biscoe could find no evidence of Portuguese military occupation, nor had the local chief heard of any of Gouveia's people as being on the road, But the rumours continued. On 18th February, Maritz at Massi Kessi received a report from a native to the effect that there were twenty Portuguese at Chimoio, ten at Sarmento and fifty at Hora. There was no sense of urgency on the British side however: on 22nd February Tyndale-Biscoe was granted leave by Heyman to go to Salisbury as the latter considered there was no danger of a Portuguese attack.

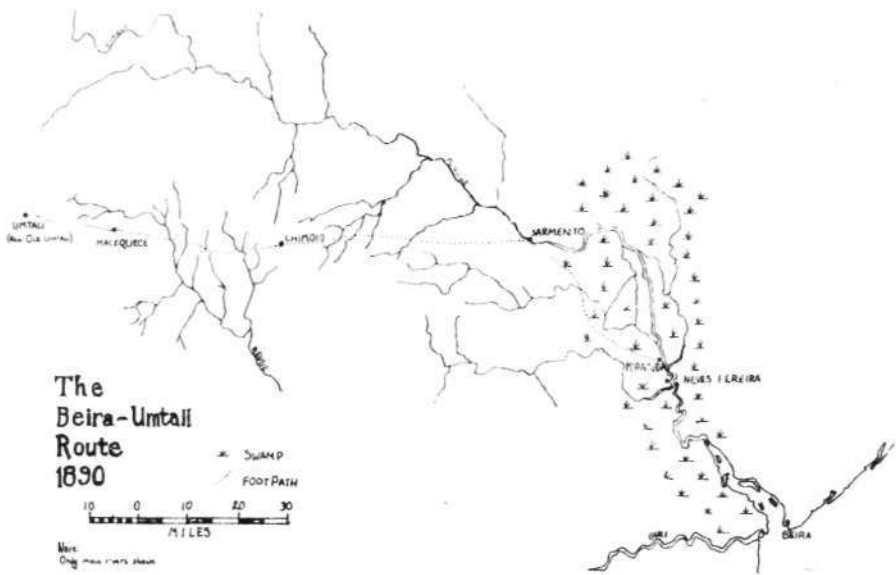
On 7th March, Heany, of the firm of Messrs. Johnson and Co., who was at Umtali, set off for Chimoio as he thought the rumours referred to a road-making party sent by his company to cut a road from the Pungwe to Massi Kessi. Heany was made a prisoner of war by the Portuguese near Chimoio and was sent to the coast, to be released only after the engagement at Chua Hill was completed.

To look ahead briefly and to realise the extent to which these rumours escalated, one only has to read a letter written by Henry Borrow from Salisbury to his mother on 6th May, 1891:

"On the one side we hear the Portuguese are full speed ahead on Manica with 1200 Portuguese, 10,000 bearers and no end of nondescripts carrying their master's arms, etc. On the other hand we hear of 5 or 10 thousand Boers — in these times a few thousand is a mere flea bite — coming at us across the Limpopo."

(The "10,000 bearers" probably refers to armed natives collected by the Portuguese at Sena under the command of the Governor of Quelimane, one of the duties of which was to act as an auxiliary force in support of that at Massi Kessi). Borrow in fact rode the 165 miles to Manica in three-and-a-half days but arrived two days too late for the battle.

Until February 1891 the Portuguese adhered to their side of the *modus vivendi*. When they heard however that "SS Countess Carnarvon" was running guns via their territory to Gungunyana to fulfill the terms of a draft concession drawn up in October 1890 between Gungunyana and the B.S.A. Company, they reiterated that the Company was exploiting the *modus vivendi* for its own nefarious purposes. In the opinion of Colonel Machado, Governor-General of Sofala, a state of war existed between his race and the B.S.A. Company — it would have been absurd to pretend it did not. On 18th March, on his own authority, he issued a decree proclaiming martial law throughout the districts of



Manica and Sofala. The port of Beira and the Pungwe River, in direct violation of the *modus vivendi*, were closed to everyone connected with the B.S.A. Company. Beira, little more than a few tin shanties erected on a sun-scorched sand-spit, surrounded by reeking black mud at low tide and fever-haunted mangrove swamps, suddenly sprang onto a pedestal of importance.

By the end of March Rhodes, who had been in London to converse with Lord Salisbury, was back in Africa. He deliberately set out to provoke an international incident in the belief that Britain, in the developing crisis, would occupy Beira before the *modus vivendi* expired on 14th May. Undoubtedly, Rhodes, Machiavellian to the core, can be accused of duplicity for, to him, the end justified the means. Sir John Willoughby, English to the hilt, was sent with three ships to test the B.S.A. Company's right of way up the Pungwe River. On 13th April, the flotilla anchored off Beira. For months rumours had been circulating amongst the Portuguese that 250 British troops were preparing to sail to Beira from Durban with the purpose of marching to and reinforcing Manica. The Portuguese were certain that this invasion force was now anchored off Beira; in fact Willoughby's "army" consisted of Heany's road-making gang with food supplies, building materials and an American mail coach! Willoughby, under surveillance from Portuguese naval vessels, requested permission to continue up the Pungwe but was abruptly informed that nothing would be allowed to proceed to British territory. He pointed out that this was a breach of Article II of the *modus vivendi* whereby the Portuguese government undertook to "permit and facilitate transit over the waterways and land routes of East Africa". Two days later Willoughby advised the authorities that money had been deposited with agents to cover duties and that he intended to continue upstream without official permission. Portuguese gunboats covered his path and he was ordered by the military commandant to land. A shot was fired over his vessel

which was flying the British ensign. Willoughby, his work done, hove to and was allowed to depart.

Rhodes was delighted and viewed with satisfaction the public sensation caused by the "Beira outrage". The British and South African press called for war but Lord Salisbury was not to be baited; he acted firmly enough in demanding the opening of the port and river at Beira and he sent three warships from Simonstown to see that it was done, but at the diplomatic level this show of force encouraged both sides to adopt a more rational approach to the problem and negotiations were begun in earnest for an Anglo-Portuguese agreement to replace the *modus vivendi*.

At a more mundane level this "insult on the British flag" did much to gain the sympathy and support of the British public for the events of 11th May, 1891.

The Battle

Many conflicting accounts have been written about the events of May in Manica. Taking a strictly chronological account and using only the records of those who were directly involved, it might be possible to dispel some of the misconceptions faithfully reproduced in many published works.

On 28th April, Lieut. Colonel E. G. Pennefather, Officer Commanding the B.S.A. Company's Police, arrived in Manica to investigate the rumours of the Portuguese build-up. Information from native informants prompted him to recall Lieut. Bruce and the eighteen members of his road-making party from Umliwan's (they arrived back on 22nd May) and to reconnoitre for himself the Revue Valley. On the afternoon of 4th May however, and before he had made his surveillance of the Revue, a telegram arrived from Rhodes brought by special messenger from Salisbury stating Portuguese intentions and adding calmly: "You must drive them out." This was no easy task: of a total seventy men of the Police in Umtali only thirty eight were fit in that the others either had fever or had no boots! (Members of the Pioneer Column had left all spare clothing at Mafeking before entering Rhodesia and it had not since arrived; those whose boots had worn out after ten months' active service had no way of replacing them — the only alternative was to use pieces of saddle cloth as sandals.)

The telegram also brought news of a threatened Boer invasion from the south which, in Pennefather's words, "gave me no option but to leave Umtali and go to Tuli". Before riding south he ordered Heyman to take up a position in the Revue Valley from which he could watch the roads to Mutasa's kraal, Umtali camp and Umliwan's; furthermore to contact the Portuguese and ask if there had been any change in the international situation as regards control of Manica.

At 1 p.m. on 5th May (some accounts claim 6th but a telegram from Heyman to Pennefather on the evening of 5th confirms the date) the Portuguese re-occupied Massi Kessi and, after raising their imperial flag, fired three shots by way of celebration. The officer commanding was Colonel Jayme Jose Ferreira but the precise numbers of his forces are not known. The Commandant of the

Portuguese garrison at Chimoio later told Major Sapte that there were 150 white troops, 100 black soldiers and armed carriers. It is doubtful if the number of whites as stated is correct — there was probably considerably less. Pennefather stated in a despatch of 13th May that by the 7th there were 50 white and 300 black troops in the fort (these figures he obtained from Heyman's despatch from Chua of 8th May). The numbers of natives was probably increasing every day as armed carriers arrived. Morier, in his diary, recorded that the fort was occupied by 70 white men and 600-700 regular black troops consisting of uniformed West Coast natives and armed East Coast bearers.

"Fanie" Maritz, an Afrikaaner whose loyalty was later questioned by the Civil Representative in Umtali, Macglashan, but was not found wanting, had seen the Portuguese coming, cut down the B.S.A. Company flag and, with two natives and two horses had made good his escape. Of the natives, both of whom were very scared, one was sent to inform Heyman.

On the same day, 5th May, there were three other events of importance. Heyman had a 7-pdr. gun in Umtali and, before he knew that the Portuguese had in fact occupied Massi Kessi, he sent it via the less direct but less steep wagon road over Christmas Pass with a span of ten oxen and the six men who worked the gun. Their instructions were to get within three miles of Massi Kessi and to lie hidden until Heyman joined them. That night, when news of the Portuguese occupation arrived, the civilians were called out, a laager of wagons formed and the place put in the best state of defence possible.

On the morning of the 5th, Lieut. E. W. Fiennes had been sent from Umtali to Mutasa to ask for an impi to be sent as assistance. He did not see the Chief but two of his headmen Zambazo (son of Mutasa) and Matika (induna) promised to inform the chief who would, they assured him, send men. And finally, in Salisbury, Colquhoun asked Selous to take to Umtali a contingent of men and two wagon loads of ammunition. He was joined by Lieut. Adair Campbell and twenty ex-pioneers and they left on either 5th or 6th, confident that there would be no engagement until 15th May: the Portuguese, it was argued, would not launch an attack until after the *modus vivendi* had expired on 14th May. It took Selous nearly nine days to traverse the incomplete road, arriving three days too late!

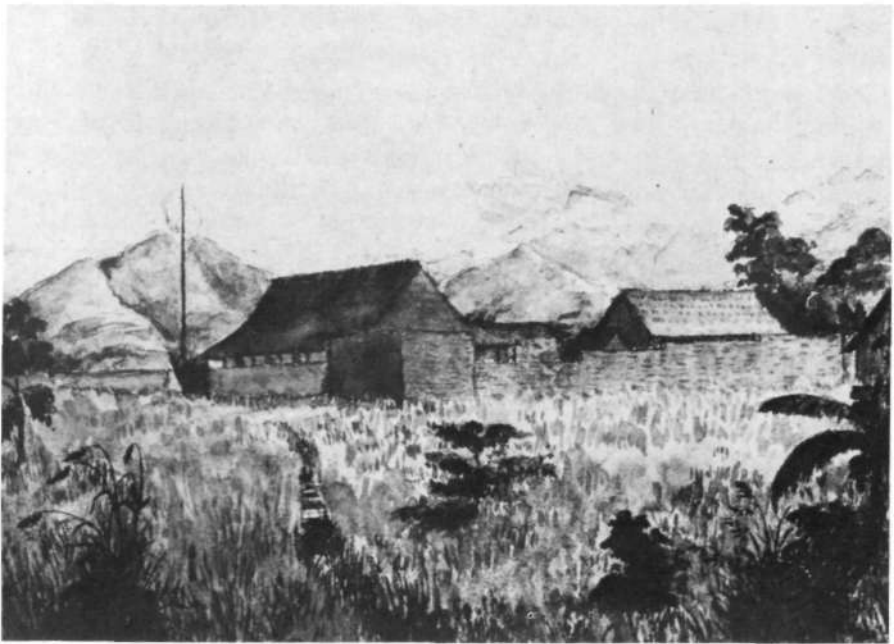
On 6th May, Heyman set about assembling his forces. Sandy Tulloch later remembered asking Heyman if he wanted volunteers; he was told to "beat up any recruits" as Heyman intended leaving the unserviceable half of 'A' Troop in Umtali camp to act as a support and to fall back on if necessary. It is difficult to determine the exact numbers that made up the British force — estimates vary from forty-two to fifty-one. Morier states that besides himself and Heyman there was a doctor (Dr. Farrell, Veterinary Lieut. with the Pioneer Column), thirty men of 'A' Troop, B.S.A. Company's Police and ten ex-pioneer volunteers. This gives a total, together with the six men with the 7-pdr., of forty-nine. Six horses could be found that were not affected by horse sickness, together with sufficient native carriers. On 9th May Heyman sent a request that Dr. Lichfield should join him at Chua from Umtali — this would bring the number up to

fifty, which is the figure given by Heyman in a brief note after the battle and by Tyndale-Biscoe in his diary. Lionel Cripps, Col. Pennefather (thirty-three Police, fifteen volunteers) and de Waal (the latter came up with Rhodes in October) record forty-eight. Lieut. Fiennes was left in charge of Umtali Camp.

Also on the 6th, Pennefather, who was on his way to Tuli, was met by a mounted messenger with telegrams informing him that Sir John Willoughby was going to Tuli; he therefore felt free to return to Manica but as Major Forbes had issued no orders for any movements to meet the threatened Boer invasion he rode on to Salisbury. His arrival there the following day caused something of a stir as he officially confirmed Portuguese activities in the east. Nearly all available members of 'B' Troop volunteered with the result that two days later Pennefather, Graham, Slade, Tyndale-Biscoe and seventeen men left for Manica. Those who were mounted arrived on the 12th, the remainder on the 19th. Nor were they the only ones to miss the engagement: on 10th May Pennefather, one day out of Salisbury, received a message from Heyman requesting 100 reinforcements. This was forwarded to Forbes in Salisbury who despatched another ten volunteers — they arrived on the 21st, ten days too late!

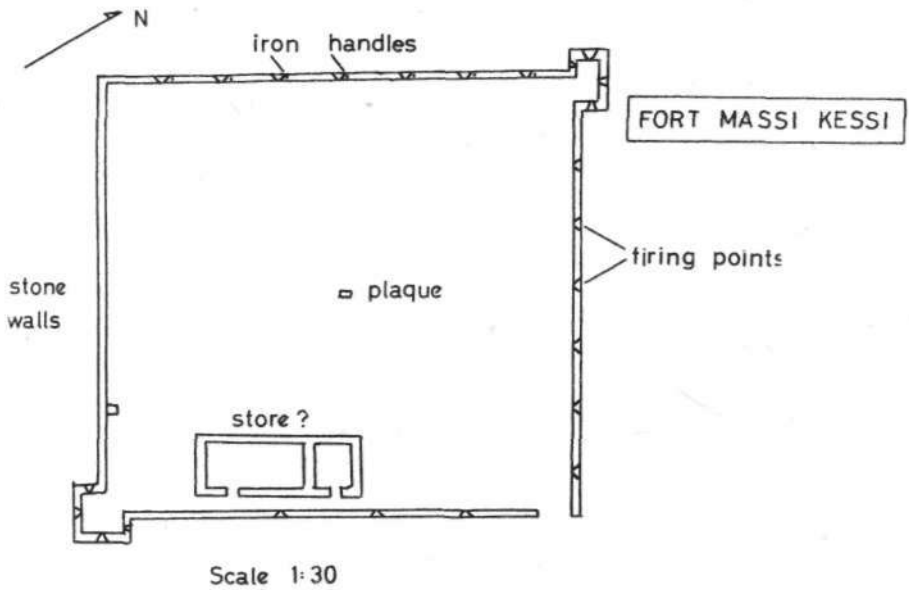
Let us return however to Manica and to Heyman's small force on its way to Massi Kessi via the Penhalonga Valley. The night of the 6th was spent camped on top of the divide at the "Crow's Nest". The next morning they met Maritz who confirmed the events of 5th May. Heyman sent the ten ex-pioneers of his force to join the gun on the wagon road. According to Tulloch the 7-pdr. and its detachment were lost but were located "by some sort of miracle"; it took the party three days to drag the gun through rivers, reeds, scrub and timber, a task that Morier described as "herculean".

Heyman, taking Morier as translator (Victor Morier, son of Sir Robert Morier, Ambassador at St. Petersburg, could speak fluent Portuguese) left the main body of Police with instructions to Serg. Major Hickey (late 8th Hussars) to continue with the men and take up the best position he could around Massi Kessi. Heyman and Morier rode directly towards the fort in accordance with Pennefather's instructions on making contact with the Portuguese. Carrying a flag of truce, they were stopped by a large picket of Angolan troops until Major Bettencourt (whom Morier had met before and thought well of) came out to *meet* them. They were blindfolded and led into Massi Kessi and into the presence of Col. Ferreira, Governor of Manica, who denied any knowledge of news of a recent settlement. Heyman suggested that it would be wise to refrain from any movement of troops until after 14th May and the expiry of the *modus vivendi*, at the same time pointing out that the British had voluntarily retired from Massi Kessi. Ferreira replied that martial law had been proclaimed in Manica and that he would drive out the British whenever he thought fit. If however Heyman would withdraw the Company's forces to the west side of the Sabi River he, Ferreira, would facilitate the opening of the coast route. Heyman told him that he had men approaching Massi Kessi, that he had no intention of withdrawing and that if the Portuguese advanced, a fight could certainly not be avoided, this probably meaning war between England and Portugal. The



The Portuguese fort at Massi Kessi abandoned by the Portuguese troops after a skirmish with B.S.A. Company's Police under Capt. Heyman, 1891. From a watercolour by Col. E. G. Pennefather.

(Photo: National Archives)



Governor curtly replied that "he knew that perfectly" after which Heyman and Morier retired.

They rode back to find that Hickey had chosen the western mount of Chua Hill, approximately two miles from Massi Kessi, as the most advantageous position and Heyman set about making preparations for the conflict which he now knew to be inevitable. He sent a despatch to Umtali asking for one hundred reinforcements, and for Dr. Lichfield, and enclosing an account of his interview with Ferreira.

From 8th to 10th May the small British force was feverishly busy. The 7-pdr. was manhandled to the hilltop and put in the corner of a shallow fifty foot trench (sometimes called Fort Heyman); the surrounding ground was cleared of high grass so as to allow the least possible cover for an advancing force; pickets were placed on the highest peak in the neighbourhood. Morier has described the conditions: "What with outlying pickets, guards and entrenching fatigues we worked like slaves, soaked to the skin at night by the heavy dews, which in these latitudes wet one like a heavy shower of rain. At night we just lay in our overcoats in the trench standing to our arms from an hour before daylight. With glasses we could plainly see into Massi Kessi." At daybreak on the 8th, Heyman sent out a strong reconnoitring patrol to ascertain the strength and position of the Portuguese pickets. It was found that the Portuguese held the heights immediately overlooking Massi Kessi (presumably the nearest hill top to the fort, completely separated from Chua Hill). Back in Umtali camp Macglashan, who signed himself "Acting Civil Representative", was sending out in all directions for meal and rice but he found local kraals deserted as the inhabitants fled to Mutasa for protection. Defensive works continued and all pioneers and prospectors in the district were called in to the fortified camp.

On the same day, an impi from Mutasa of between 160 and 200 men and led by Zambazo and Matika set out for Heyman's position. Despite their war dress and guns they were, according to Macglashan, "a miserable looking body, and, beyond making a show of strength, cannot be reckoned to do much good in the field. He (Umtasa) (*sic*) is defending his own kraal." They flatly refused to do anything they were told and posted themselves on a hill some two miles to the left of Heyman on the path to Mutasa's kraal and did nothing. There was one unexpected result, however, in that the natives around the fort deserted when they heard Mutasa was collecting his men. A large convoy of Portuguese carriers ran away before reaching the fort, taking everything with them although on 10th May one hundred carriers arrived with ammunition, perhaps thereby determining the date of the Portuguese advance.

On the afternoon of Sunday 10th, a Portuguese deputation was seen to be approaching Chua Hill under a flag of truce. Heyman, guessing that the object was to survey his strength, concealed his 7-pdr. and ordered the majority of his men to hide; the remainder lounged about in nonchalant attitudes. The ostensible reason for the visit was to urge the British to withdraw but all the time the Portuguese were eagerly noting the apparent weakness of Heyman's force. It was

later discovered that the deputation had reported that there were only thirty blacks and ten whites in the British position.

Also on the 10th, and curious as it may seem, Machado lifted the state of siege from Sofala and Manica.

Morier notes that after this "inspection", a Portuguese force moved out of Massi Kessi and entrenched themselves in the eastern end of Chua Hill, this effectively cancelling a plan mooted by Heyman of occupying that end of the hill by night and shelling the fort. As it was each side occupied kopjes on the east and west ends of the hill crest (Chua Hill has three humps; those at either end were occupied but the tallest was in between the two parties, preventing them from being directly visible to one another). In front of the British was a deep ravine, the opposite bank of which was well wooded and 400 yards away. To the south was the Revue Valley, to the north precipitous wooded hills.

On Monday, 11th May, whilst the British were at lunch, their outlying picket reported by signal that the main Portuguese attacking force was marching out of Massi Kessi in two bodies. The numbers involved would appear to be about sixty whites (nine officers) and three to four hundred black levies from Angola, led by Major Caldas Xavier. Heyman's deception of the previous day had been so effective that the Portuguese left behind in the fort their machine guns of which they had at least nine.

One might pause here to consider that, as Lord Knutsford was quick to point out, Heyman was in the wrong: the Portuguese were rightfully at Massi Kessi and Heyman was exceeding his orders and acting without cause. Nevertheless, in the eyes of may, the fact that it was the Portuguese who initiated the attack justified the subsequent British action.

The Portuguese occupied their earthworks on the eastern kopje before moving on. At a range of approximately 1 000 yards Heyman fired a blank shell from the 7-pdr.; the Portuguese replied by advancing at the double. All wore white uniforms and, wrote Tulloch, the effect was picturesque. The Portuguese halted near a kopje about fifty yards from Heyman's picket to serve out ammunition. The pickets "gave it to them" as they did so, wrote Borrow to his mother. The Portuguese came on in two columns and the pickets, who were about 700 yards ahead of the main British force, retreated, returning the fire as they went. One, Tyndale-Biscoe recalled, fell into a farm pit and remained there for the rest of the engagement! As the exchanges heated up so did the native bearers and servants of the British flee, all except Morier's servant, Marufo, who kept his wits sufficiently to drive the horses and cattle into a place of safety.

At 600 yards the Portuguese deployed into line and opened a heavy fire. The Europeans were using repeating (magazine) rifles — the new small-bore 'Australian Rebel' (at first the Police thought they had brought machine guns with them) — whilst the Angolans had Sniders. It took the Portuguese some considerable time to adjust to the flat trajectory of these rifles with the result that the Portuguese volleys went over the heads of the British; the pioneers and Police however, delaying their fire until the enemy were well within range

(approximately five hundred yards) and well accustomed to their Martini-Henrys, poured volley after volley into the Portuguese ranks. Unlike the Portuguese, the British had not obtained smokeless powder with the result that a cloud of smoke hung in the air and since the engagement started the Portuguese, despite their white uniforms, were invisible in the blackness — this might explain the discrepancies in the estimates of the numbers involved.

Heyman, who as an old Cape Mounted Rifleman and a good artilleryman was renowned for his coolness and judgment, had divided his men, sending a sergeant and ten men ahead of the trench as skirmishers. The 7-pdr. was firing 'C' (cannister, or grape) shot — a total of twenty three shells were fired — "pretty good going from a muzzle loader," wrote Tulloch, "when you think of all the sponging and ramming and priming that had to take place".

Approaching open ground the Portuguese deployed right and left as if on manoeuvre, doubled across the grassland and into the timber. They came to a halt however at the ravine. Much though their officers shouted, threatened, pleaded and hit them with the flats of their swords, they could not get them to advance further. Twice the Portuguese came to the 400 yard mark; twice they retreated.

There were some close shaves. In the early stages the effectiveness of the 7-pdr. was reduced by a tree which curtailed its range of fire and exposed its crew to a Portuguese sniper who, however, did no damage beside twice hitting the gun. Tulloch went out with an axe to remove the obstacle. A bullet struck the tree above his head but that was as close as he came to being hit; after several minutes of frantic work, he scampered back to cover as the tree toppled and the 7-pdr. came into action. This episode rated special mention from Heyman after the battle.

A sniper bullet hit the trunk of a tree against which Morier was pressing to take aim — the splinters blackened one of his eyes. Marufo, Morier's servant, had a bullet strike the butt of his rifle just below the hand — the rifle had been a present from Morier after seven month's service.

Fearing an outflanking movement, Heyman stood in a prominent position and, by means of signals and rockets, corresponded with an imaginary force in his rear. These were read by a Portuguese engineer; a flanking movement was not tried and the frontal attack continued.

For two hours the firing continued until, at about 4.10 p.m., the Portuguese native troops broke: first two or three, then twenty or thirty, and finally a rush. The whites retreated in reasonable order. Sometime in the battle — it is difficult to determine exactly when but it would appear to be towards the end — the British concentrated their fire on Major Bettencourt whose brave attempts to rally his men were making him conspicuous, and he fell with a bullet in his neck. He was to survive, but the incident added considerably to the Portuguese disenchantment.

The Portuguese officers tried desperately to stop the rout but to no avail. As they left the battlefield they paused on the ridge and raised their hats to the

victors — war was still a gentleman's game! The only exception was "little" Major Xavier who shook his fist! Heyman's crowd stood on the side of the trench and cheered and yelled, firing several volleys to help the Portuguese on their way.

There is a story that originated with Tulloch that the last shot fired by the 7-pdr. struck the roof of the fort and set fire to the thatch. Immediately afterwards the gun was put out of action when the limber and trail were smashed by a shot from the Portuguese. It is difficult to explain why, when the Portuguese were still so close as to be firing at the 7-pdr., the gun was concentrating its fire on a target so distant as the fort. Was it an accidental, mis-directed shot? or was it a deliberate shot sometime after the battle was finished, in which case the destruction of the trail and limber is a later embellishment to the story but completely fictitious? Certainly the gun, which stands today in the Boulbee Gallery of the Umtali Museum, shows no signs of such action, but it was later used to scare lions away from Old Umtali and must therefore have been re-serviced, probably thereby removing all traces of battle damage. Certainly when the British later entered the fort, they found that a shot from the 7-pdr. had found its way into one of the huts.

The British had no casualties besides one slight wound. The Portuguese casualties are more difficult to assess and only Portuguese military records will be able to solve the problem. Estimates at the time ranged from four to thirty killed (Henry Montague claimed that forty-seven bodies and many rifles were later found in a hole of water!) and from nineteen to sixty-three wounded, mostly African. (Lieut. Bruce, making his way back from Umliwan's, heard that Portuguese casualties were thirteen whites and fifty blacks.) These variations are not difficult to explain: the Portuguese carried off most of their casualties and the high grass made searching for the dead impossible although, according to Morier, the "appalling stench" several days later suggested that there were still bodies lying in the grass.

The British took two prisoners: one native who was badly hit with half his forehead blown away — he died about a week later — and a European who was left behind in the retreat. He was seen crouching behind the trees and when two volleys were fired at him he put up his hands and was brought in by Trooper Hay. On learning that he was a Delagoa Bay policeman, Sgt. Tommy Paxton patted him on the head and commented "You're a long way off your beat". It was from this prisoner that the British learnt that the attacking force was only part of the main army, which had remained at Neves Ferreira incapacitated by fever and lack of transport; the white force against which the British had fought was in fact composed primarily of students and Lourenço Marques volunteers.

The British sat down to supper and their cheerful mood reappeared; nevertheless that night extra precautions were taken against a night attack.

The British success is not difficult to explain. Heyman had the advantages of position, height and cover. The Portuguese had to fight after a strenuous up-hill climb and were moreover surprised by the unexpected strength of the



**Herman Melville Heyman
(1859-1938) A photograph
about 1910.**

(Photo: National Archives)

British. The Portuguese native levies, accustomed to tribal conflicts and unused to their new rifles, were soon dismayed. The British nonetheless were unanimous in their praise for the courage displayed by the Portuguese officers who had shown tremendous bravery in difficult circumstances.

* * *

The events resulting from the battle have probably been more grossly misinterpreted than any other part of this whole episode. I do not pretend that what follows is the whole truth but certainly the facts are stranger than fiction.

Next morning, 12th May, the Portuguese flag was flying in the fort but there were no signs of movement. Shortly after daylight Dr. Farrell was dressed in Heyman's artillery uniform, given a horse, a flag of truce on a bamboo pole and possibly one man as escort and ordered to offer the Portuguese the services of a doctor if required. Those on the hilltop anxiously watched the progress of the little white flag as it was held high through the long grass before disappearing into the fort.

Farrell found the fort empty of Portuguese but full of natives. Mutasa's impi (they had watched the engagement from a large rock but had done nothing until the Portuguese retired at which event they fired off their guns wildly — many of the British involved felt that Mutasa's men hoped the British would be

defeated after which they, the impi, would have turned on them, the British, probably because by this time Mutasa had realised the permanent nature of the British occupation) had seen the Portuguese evacuating in the night and had taken their chance to loot the fort. To the obvious reasons for the Portuguese evacuation one can add a report by a neutral eye-witness to the fight, Mr. Lorenzo, a Portuguese trader in Massi Kessi, who stated that in the night the Portuguese heard the tramp of horses' hooves — it was more probably the movement of oxen or of Mutasa's impi — and this encouraged their rapid departure. The Portuguese thought further that Heyman's "reinforcements" (as signalled to in the battle) were about to arrive and that with the seven-pound shot in the fort the British gunners had worked out the range of their huts to a nicety.

Farrell signalled from the walls his findings to Heyman who promptly occupied the Portuguese earthworks on the eastern side of Chua before sending Morier with ten men to officially take over the fort. At about 2 p.m., Tulloch and Banks' were detailed to take a case of dynamite and "blow the place up" as the British force was not strong enough to defend it against a concerted attack. Once in the fort Tulloch saw all the Police with the exception of Morier dodging in and out of the barrack huts where they were finding all sorts of loot. Morier was crossing the square, dragging a machine gun by the trail in his right hand and with a box of ammunition in his left; he had a Portuguese helmet crosswise on his head and was sweating hard, partly from the work but mostly from cursing his men: "For God's sake, give me a hand; they might be back any time!"

Heyman arrived soon after and ordered as much of the foodstuff and as many of the guns as possible to be taken away. The remainder were piled into a heap, saturated with spirits of wine and ignited. Because Heyman's bearers had all fled during the battle comparatively little could be removed but Farrell, by holding a revolver to the heads of some of Mutasa's impi, "persuaded" them to carry out of harm's way some of the more useful articles.

Tulloch, going to the walls, loosened a few stones and, putting two packets of dynamite in each corner touched them off without doing much damage. Meanwhile Heyman had fired the barrack huts and there was a rush for the main gates with loose ammunition popping all round. As Tulloch ran out he picked up two cylinders and put them in his shirt; on examination they proved to be a thermometer-looking instrument for testing spirit and a chart of the Mozambique Channel!

The list of stores as taken included:

7 Hotchkiss machine guns, both three-pound and one-pound, only one of which was retained as the others had broken springs and they could not all be dragged back to Umtali;

2 five-barrelled Nordenfelt machine guns. All the machine guns were in position on their carriages but were useless in that the breech blocks of the Hotchkiss and hoppers of the Nordenfelts had been removed by the Portuguese;

250 rounds of ammunition for the Hotchkiss;

6 000 rounds for the Nordenfelts;

10 000 rounds for magazine rifles;

Foodstuffs, which were to be appreciated by the people of Umtali who, because of the severe rains and transport difficulties, were desperately short of supplies;

Utensils. Theodore Bent, who visited Umtali six months later, reported that the Officers' Mess in the Police Camp was stocked with Portuguese cutlery. When the Governor of Massi Kessi visited Umtali "they had nothing to seat him on save his own chairs, nothing to feed him off save his own plates, and nothing to give him save his own tinned meats. But Portuguese politeness rose to the occasion and no remarks were made."

Candles, cigarette papers, boots, a few yards of limbo;

The Portuguese colours, which were eventually hung at Groote Schuur;

The Government gold balance;

A sword, which hangs today in the Umtali Museum. At the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo in 1953 this sword was labelled as having been surrendered by the Portuguese at Massi Kessi in 1891. The Portuguese Consul lodged an official protest on the grounds that no officer had surrendered his sword after the battle and the label was promptly changed!

Dynamite and detonators;

Spirits of wine and Vino Tinto;

Several articles of feminine underwear;

"Diana", a retriever which was sitting mournfully in the middle of the fort and was commandeered by Morier.

Morier was sent by Heyman with despatches to Pennefather giving an account of the battle. Heyman indicated that he was unable to follow up immediately the Portuguese retreat because of his lack of carriers and horses and because his men were so poorly kitted out as to be unable to withstand a rigorous march of pursuit. With the arrival of reinforcements in Umtali however he hoped to be able to begin follow up operations on 15th May. It had been learnt from the prisoner taken after the battle that only one sergeant and three men with a doctor and ambulance had been left at Chimoio and one sergeant and five men at Sarmento.

In Umtali, Fiennes had continued to strengthen the defences and improve the water supply. Before the arrival of the various odd troops from Salisbury his force consisted of forty-three men composed of seven civilians, seventeen Police and nineteen serving under special conditions drawn up by Colquhoun, each man getting £20 per month and free rations. Fiennes had requisitioned from Messrs. Johnson and Co. twenty wagons, 238 oxen, sixteen drivers, eighteen leaders and eleven horses. Pennefather replied to Heyman's despatches by ordering him to quit his position and return to Umtali; Fiennes was instructed

to take sufficient transport to Chua to collect and remove the captured stores; Maritz was placed in charge of the fort again.

On 22nd May Fiennes returned with two wagons and a scotch cart loaded with loot which was duly delivered to the Charter Company. This loot was to be sold (with the exception of the arms and ammunition which were reserved for the Company) and the proceeds distributed amongst the men who had done duty at Chua on 11th May. What actually happened is uncertain; Jameson told Tulloch that his share would be between seventy and eighty pounds sterling. The money was never realised and when, two years later, Tulloch traded his loot Right to a storekeeper for five pounds weight of sugar the latter always claimed that he had been diddled! Heyman later reported that the value of the stores burnt in the fort was £239.2.10; the Mozambique Company demanded £10 000 as compensation for damages done to the fort and the loss of the stores but the claim was never recognised.

On the 14th May Pennefather rode with Selous, the latter having only just arrived from Salisbury, to Massi Kessi. Pennefather's first impression was that the reports of the quantities of stores confiscated was exaggerated although Mutasa's men had obviously taken a lot. Shortly before Pennefather's arrival Col. Ferreira's secretary had appeared with a flag of truce, ostensibly to request to be put in charge of the stores left at the fort but in reality to check on, and delay if possible, pursuit. He was shown the ruined fort and told of the removal of the stores after which he left.

The following day Pennefather, Selous and two men rode out to reconnoitre the Portuguese line of retreat. The black troops, it was discovered, were making for Gouveia at Gorongoza Mountain; some of the whites set out for Lourenço Marques despite the very real threats of malaria, lions and crocodiles; the majority, on their way to Beira, reached the fort at Chimoio half a day ahead of the small British party. The rocky nature of the area, the tall grass and the rapid flow of most streams, made it obvious to Pennefather that a properly organised and equipped pursuit party, with pack animals in particular, was necessary. Without further ado they returned to the fort, arriving on the 19th.

In Beira, garbled rumours began to arrive of disbanded troops of Portuguese soldiers roaming about the country revenging themselves on all English-speaking folk. Although the rumours were probably unfounded Colonel Machado declared the route to Manica closed as he could not be responsible for the safety of anyone attempting to pass through Portuguese territory. In Umtali, it was decided that a more permanent defensive structure was necessary: on 15th May the Police and civilians in the camp, together with the mounted men of 'B' Troop who had arrived the previous day with Selous, were set to work building a fort on the hilltop immediately west of the Police lines. Known as Fort Hill, the remains of the structure are clearly visible today south of Penhalonga village. When completed sometime later the three guns removed from Massi Kessi were proudly positioned in the fort facing out over the valley — it is fortunate they were never required to fire a shot in anger for, with the breech

blocks missing, they were quite useless. According to Frank Johnson they eventually found their way to Salisbury.

Heyman, having met Fiennes at Massi Kessi and seen him begin the loading of the stores, arrived in Umtali on the 17th. Four days later he rode with Pennefather to Mutasa, partly to insist upon his co-operation and partly to reprimand his men for looting Massi Kessi. After seeing the chief Pennefather continued on his way to Salisbury, closely followed on the 23rd by the Portuguese prisoner and a prospector from the Inyamcarara valley, T. Luther, both under escort. Luther's position is interesting. He had left for Chimoio early in May, probably to join the Portuguese; hearing of their defeat, he promptly returned and offered his services to Heyman who would have nothing to do with him. Pennefather ordered him to Umtali where he was interviewed by Macglashan. Not happy with Luther's story he sent him on to Salisbury where, on 1st June, he signed an affidavit promising to "abide by the present and future laws and regulations of the B.S.A. Co." A similar incident was that involving P. A. Campion, representative of the Sabi-Ophir Co. in Manica, who on 9th May had written to the Officer Commanding Portuguese Forces, . . . will you "respect the rights of the Sabi Ophir Reefs, the Bartisol Reefs and in the event of fighting taking place near here will you give orders that our houses and property be respected?" The letter was intercepted and confiscated and Campion, together with another prospector, Holladay, was instructed by the Charter Company not to fight.

Pennefather left for Salisbury having made no preparations for an expedition to follow-up the Portuguese retreat. And yet four days after he had gone, Fiennes and party set out on their well-known pursuit. What had happened to induce this change of heart? It took no little time for news of the battle to reach the outside world. On 19th May Lobengula had officially been informed of the engagement by Colquhoun. On the 24th the captain of a B.S.A. Company steamer on the Pungwe River telegraphed a careful message composed from the garbled reports of Portuguese officers, and on the 25th, two weeks after the battle, the first rumours reached London. In the Salisbury Archives is a letter from the Secretary, B.S.A. Company, London, to his counterpart in Cape Town in which he acknowledges receipt of a telegram which read:
"Cape Town 29th May, 1891.

Referring to telegram from High Commissioner to Colonial Office 29th May with overland news of engagement... you will observe that Portuguese employed black men and attacked Police Force after we were gone from Massi Kessi in the belief that the Police were weak and starving. After such gross breach of Agreement you must press for occupation of Beira and cession strip of territory as far as Mashonaland, as you know Portuguese officials and soldiers in S.A. will not obey Lisbon, any treaty will be nominal, no railway, if it is agreed to, will ever be built by them. You cannot develop Mashonaland with 1600 miles land route. It is now the best time for action, now is your chance."

It is not difficult to detect in this telegram, and especially in the last sentence, the influence of Rhodes himself, particularly if one remembers his words of some time earlier: "Take all you can get and ask me afterwards." And yet there

is no evidence to show that a similar message reached Umtali or Salisbury, nor is there any signs of the excitement or urgency that the arrival of such an instruction would bring.

The explanation must be sought in the events in the eastern highlands. On 19th May, M. Poulin, a trader who had left Beira on 24th April, arrived with the news that the main Portuguese force was some considerable distance away at Iobo on the Busi River. On the 24th two Frenchmen, an Italian and a Spaniard arrived in Umtali having seen the Portuguese in a pitiful condition: carrying their wounded, weak from fever and short of stores they went in dread of pursuit. Few remained at Chimoio. It was after this news that Heyman decided to act. On the 26th, two days later, Fiennes and eighteen men left on horseback for Chimoio. "They will endeavour", wrote Macglashan, "to capture the Portuguese position if they can in the hope of finding the missing blocks of the captured machine guns and so make them serviceable". On the evening of the 29th Fiennes and three men inspected Chimoio without being seen after which they decided to retire and, early next morning, bring up more men and open fire on the fort.

Before examining Fiennes' movements further, it is necessary to go back in time and move to the coast. In late April, the British Governor at the Cape, Sir Henry Loch, had sent his military secretary Major Sapte, fully briefed in recent diplomatic developments, to report on the position in Manica. Sapte landed at Beira on 12th May, leaving for the interior on the 15th. No sooner had he done so than Bishop George Knight-Bruce, who in January had been appointed the first Bishop of Mashonaland, landed and himself sailed up the Pungwe for Manica. At Neves Ferreira, 160 miles from Umtali, he met up with Sapte and both were told of the recent "collision" at Massi Kessi. The Portuguese commandant at Neves Ferreira refused to allow anyone but Sapte to proceed but a day after Sapte had gone Knight-Bruce persuaded the commandant to allow him to travel with a Portuguese artillery officer who was on a similar mission to that of Sapte. After two days the Bishop had gone ahead of his companion and, by the fourth day had overtaken Sapte. On the morning of the 29th Knight-Bruce arrived at the fort at Chimoio and had breakfast with the commandant before continuing. Meanwhile of course, Fiennes had been reconnoitring Chimoio and the surrounding villages. The Bishop, continuing his journey that afternoon, has described their meeting:

"One of my native teachers, Bernard, was walking ahead alone. Suddenly — he found an English officer and two troopers on horses, waiting for him.

"Who are you?" said the officer.

"I am Bernard."

"Yes, but who is with you?" said the officer.

"The Bishop."

When Knight-Bruce appeared, the mystery was explained. Apparently the natives had told Fiennes that a white Portuguese was approaching, hence his caution. The Bishop slept that night with Fiennes' patrol and sent back a note to the Portuguese commandant at Chimoio giving him his word that he had no



E. C. Tyndale-Biscoe, in the uniform of Lieutenant, Royal Navy, about 1889.
(Photo: National Archives)

idea any of the B.S.A. Company's men were so near. Furthermore, the Bishop told Fiennes that he knew that at an international level peace had been agreed upon and that Sapte, who was close behind him, would provide the relevant details. This obviously put Fiennes' expedition in a new light.

Rhodes, perhaps not fully aware of the nature of either the terrain or the expedition and seeing in Fiennes a means of gaining an outlet to the sea, never forgave the Bishop for "interfering", nor Fiennes for listening to him.

Sapte must have reached Chimoio shortly after Knight-Bruce left. He too was well received by the Commandant. Whilst he was there a black soldier came in to report that Knight-Bruce had met with four mounted men of the Company's Police — this is presumably the message that Knight-Bruce sent back. Later, one of the African soldiers on outpost duty reported that he had had his rifle taken from him by a soldier of the Company's Police.

Sapte left Chimoio at 6 a.m. on 30th May and met Fiennes and three troopers three miles from Chimoio. He confirmed the peace negotiations between England and Portugal ("But why didn't you put Sapte in irons", Rhodes is reputed to have said, "and say he was drunk?") after which Fiennes continued to Chimoio but only to return the rifle taken from the sentry the previous day. There is a story that the Commandant at Chimoio opened several bottles of wine over declarations of Anglo-Portuguese friendship and informed

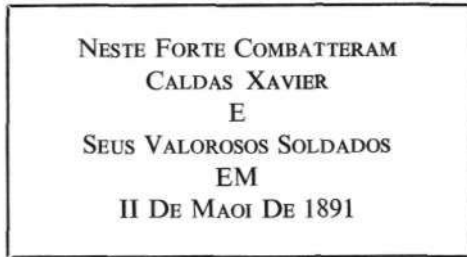
Fiennes that, if he had been called upon to surrender, he would have done so even though he had sixty men and four machine guns. By 2nd June the British force had returned to Umtali.

After discussions with Sapte, Heyman issued instructions to the effect that no one was to prospect "beyond the Umtali ridge east" until the boundary had been settled as it was important that "the road should be opened at once". Meanwhile, the Portuguese had peacefully reoccupied Massi Kessi and on 5th June the "Manica Rifles", as Heyman called them in a letter to Colquhoun on 3rd June, were disbanded.

What was this peace to which Sapte and Knight-Bruce referred? Lord Salisbury and Portuguese representatives had been hard at work drawing up a permanent treaty to replace the *modus vivendi* and early in May the final articles were agreed upon by Salisbury and the Portuguese minister in London, M. de Soveral. On 14th May, the *modus vivendi* was extended in order to give the Cortes time to accept the new treaty. The collision at Massi Kessi, in the opinion of Rhodes, was just the excuse needed to revise the treaty in Britain's favour and we have already seen his telegram pressing for authority to occupy Beira and for the cession of a strip of territory from the coast to Mashonaland. The Portuguese colonials, according to Marshall Hole, were so cowed by the reverses in Manica that they might have given effect to Rhodes's demands without serious opposition, but with negotiations at ministerial level so far advanced and a memorandum recently initialled by the Portuguese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Count Valbom, and with the lack of accurate information on the engagement at Chua, Lord Salisbury was reluctant to delay further the signing of the long-overdue Anglo-Portuguese agreement. The Portuguese of course were prepared to accept peace at any price to save themselves from further disaster. On 30th May a neutral zone five miles wide was arranged between Portuguese and Charter territory and both sides set out to get the Convention signed as quickly as possible.

The preliminary steps were hurried through and on 11th June, 1891, the Portuguese House of Peers gave its assent by a majority of 83 votes to 6. On 3rd July the new treaty was formally ratified by both powers. It concerned conflicts in Nyasaland as much as in Manica but the relevant clauses were first, that the eastern boundary of "Rhodesia" was to be drawn as to include the whole of the plateau in the English sphere but that it should, "if necessary, be deflected so as to leave Mutasa in the British sphere, and Massi Kessi in the Portuguese" (Article II), and secondly that the Portuguese Government engaged "to permit and to facilitate transit for all persons and goods of every description over the waterways of the . . . Pungwe, the Busi, the Limpopo, and Sabi, and their tributaries..." (Article XII). Furthermore the transit of goods across Portuguese territory to the British sphere would not, for twenty five years, be subject to duties exceeding 3 % (Article XI) and the Portuguese Government undertook "to construct a railway between Pungwe and the British sphere" or allow other interests to do so (Article XIV).

What remains today at the scene of the engagement? Fort Massi Kessi still stands, the outer walls in particularly good order; it is a Portuguese national monument and the plaque reads



("At this fort fought Caldas Xavier and his brave soldiers on 11th May, 1891.") No reference is made to the outcome of the engagement! On Chua Hill, Heyman's trench is still visible. It would be interesting to return to the site after bush fires have cleared the grass and the first rains have removed the upper level of soil to make a surface collection. An approach should be made to the local Africans as a kraal has been built on the site of the battle and no doubt much has already unwittingly been lost.

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The Return of the Trappists

by Hylde M. Richards

(This is Part 2 of the history of the Trappists in Rhodesia. Part 1, in Rhodesiana No. 28, July 1973, told of the arrival of the first Trappists early in 1896 and their departure in October of the same year on account of the Rebellion. Twelve years later they came back.—Editor.)

When the Trappists left Triashill in 1896, the African population resumed its normal life.

In a letter to the Surveyor General, dated 7th February 1901, Father Sykes, S.J. wrote: "I have been endeavouring for the last three years to induce the Trappists to come back to the farm and have at last obtained a conditional promise that they will do so."

The Trappists were then granted six month's extension within which to occupy the property. The British South Africa Company paid up the quit-rent from mid-1896 (£67 12s. 6d., being £10 per annum, including stamps).

In reply to this the Abbot Gerard and Brother Nivard (one of the 1896 party) now en route for Europe, broke their journey at Beira and visited Triashill to see if it were possible to start a mission there. But if the site had been too far from Old Umtali, it was now still further from the new township. The Abbot decided that it was "too far from the railway, too inaccessible, too mountainous to form a suitable base for mission work. Our first care therefore was to secure, nearer the railway, a piece of land that would better repay the toil of the brothers than the rocks and boulders of Triashill. A tract of land of 5,000 acres on the Fairfield Estate near Macheke, answered our purpose well."

Brother Leopold, described as "a wonderfully ingenious monk who knew everything there was to be known about gardens and farms" and who "was full of devices for overcoming difficulties," was sent up from Mariannahill, Durban, to take charge. This mission was called Monte Cassino.

Brother Leopold found the soil very rich but in need of draining. He cleared the bush, stumped the trees and ploughed the land. Shortly afterwards he was joined by Father Hyacinth (of the 1896 party), Father Amadeus and Brother Zacharias, who was to play so big a part in founding the Trappist missions in Rhodesia. He was a self-taught bricklayer, carpenter and jack-of-all-trades.

Monte Cassino is a very pleasing spot. The land runs down a gentle slope to the Macheke river, and on the far side is a range of hills almost mountains. On one of these the monks erected a great white cross. When visited in 1969 only the upright remained. These hills are full of caves and the baboons living there used to watch Brother Leopold plant his crops and then, when they were ready to harvest, they would come leaping down to enjoy them.

On 21st April, 1902, six months after his arrival, Father Amadeus died of fever. His grave lies in a corner of the little cemetery. Then, two months later, Father Hyacinth had become so weak with fever that he had to go back to Mariannahill where he died on 12th April, 1904. Fathers Odilio and Robert Dunzenhoser were sent up to replace them.

Still Triashill remained unoccupied and on 11th January, 1908, the Administrator wrote to the Father Superior at Mariannahill asking why the farm should not be "resumed" under the Ordinance. Three months' extension was granted in February. No promise of occupation being received, the Secretary of the Estate Office wrote on 6th June, 1908, to say that the farm would be gazetted as derelict and would be resumed by the Company in six months' time. Before a reply could be received, Father Robert Dunzenhoser of Monte Cassino wrote promising to occupy Triashill.

Living at Monte Cassino, the Trappists had realised that Triashill was not nearly as inaccessible as they had thought. It was only 29 miles from Rusape station and goods for Triashill could be railed there. Rusape would be a halfway-house between the two missions.

In September, 1908, Father Robert set off with four African catechists, Johankim Kurida, Alphonse, Robert Tsuru and another.

Father Robert decided on a central site for the mission. It was on an escarpment overlooking a thickly populated valley, beyond which could be seen the three distinct peaks of the original site.

This site slopes back from the edge towards a running stream. Halfway down the slope he found an abandoned stone building which had been erected by a Portuguese trader called by the Africans Chumbya. He had employed a native to run it for him and there was an identical trading-hut on St. Faith's Mission which had been demolished.

This hut, a long, dark building 34 ft. x 12 ft. (still standing, see picture in Part 1) was a great boon to Father Robert as it provided shelter, while pole-and-daga buildings were erected. The season was too near the rains to make brick-making possible that year.

Further down the slope a Methodist teacher, Faranisi from Old Umtali, had established himself. He had taught Christianity to a few natives but none had been baptised. Father Robert had some difficulty in persuading the Methodists that this was a "Catholic area". The Methodists had been given Old Umtali by Cecil Rhodes.

Rhodes's idea in giving large tracts of land to the various churches was that they might form Christian villages where their converts could live safe from the opposition, often victimization by their families. These were like the Reductions in Paraguay where, years before, the Jesuits had established places of refuge for the Indian Christians.

William Bingura, who was a child at the time and who helped put up the temporary buildings, says that the first Mass was said under a huge *musamba* tree which can still be seen sprouting out in many branches from a cluster of rocks.

He points out the actual bare surface which was used as an altar. He says the early morning sun used to shine on it but now it is overshadowed by great gum trees. He confirms that the stone building was used as the first chapel and points to the tiny cross on top of the thatch.

Father Robert who knew the native language perfectly, immediately started a school and classes were taken in the open air. There were sixty pupils, both boys and girls.

A month later, in October, Brother Flavian came from Monte Cassino and put up a circular mud hut for the fathers and brothers to sleep in and a two-roomed hut for a refectory.

Mr. Ambrose Majongwe, a former member of the Rhodesian Parliament who grew up on the mission and still lives in the district, translated the answers put to William Bingura, Raymond Potsikayi, Noah Tenda and Bonaventure. Mr. Majongwe has a good grasp of the English language and so the evidence of the four elderly Africans is not in the simple words they would have used.

William said that he still remembered Father Robert "at that starting stage when during the day, every day, all the old people used to come to visit the Father here to see him, some of them, even the Chief himself would bring a fowl or a goat and Father in return would give a blanket or a piece of cloth to any or all of the men if he thought they were poor or needed them."

Mr. Majongwe mentioned one of the pioneer girls, Ida, who attended school who, he said was "Head girl when I was a young boy at the mission."

Ida, who is now a pensioner on the Mission and who creeps up with the aid of a stick to Mass every morning, says that she remembers hearing from her



Monte Cassino Church built 1915. Convent of the Precious Blood Sisters (on right) built 1926.

parents and elders that before the coming of the white people they dressed in skins only, and the children went naked. She said that during the Matabele raids they "could only make very small fields" and grow very little maize so that they lived chiefly on cooked wild roots and hunga (munga?).

She says that the traders were the first Europeans to come to these parts and that the people were very frightened as they thought these newcomers would eat them, but later on they were glad because, from them, they learned to wear clothes and how to use money.

The first building of importance was a provisionary church. This was made of pole-and-daga and the foundations have been cemented and preserved so that the position can still be seen. This was finished by Christmas 1908 and though the inside was still rough, it was used for Christmas Mass which was attended by hundreds of natives who had walked from a large kraal (Chimonga's) some four hours away. In this mountainous district distance was measured not by miles but by walking hours.

Early in 1909 the Missionaries were joined by two Brothers, Zacharias and Aegidius. Brother Aegidius was a highly educated man and had taught Latin at Mariannahill. He spent his life visiting and helping the Africans.

The four elderly Africans answered questions about this brother eagerly, "Yes, we clearly remember Brother Aegidius."

Mr. Majonjwe summed it up like this: "Brother Aegidius was known to all the Manica. He was the man who really established the Faith in this part of the country. He was living according to my people . . . he spent months in Manicaland, even went into Portuguese territory itself. He pioneered most of the places which are now our Missions. Brother Aegidius would spend six months away from the mission and there was anxiety among the people as to whether he was alive or dead. On several occasions he was carried back on a stretcher. His first catechists were Michael Nyamamba and Paul Majonjwe (Ambrose's father) . . . he would take them and leave them in the hands of the headman or chief to start the nucleus of the Faith there, while he proceeded further with Paul Majonjwe mostly. . . . and Brother Aegidius would give to the children possibly the only piece of bread he had, and then his food was sadza. He would sit with the old men and women. That's how he used to live in our country. A well known fact about Brother Aegidius is that, when his catechists went with him to carry things he would pull off his sandals to give them if their feet were sore. At nightfall, they would either share the same blanket or the Brother would surrender his blanket and sleep in his habit.

"All these years of God's service were spent on foot. He used to carry a big sack with blankets and food from the mission. The food would not go very far, barely to the end of the day before it was finished."

Brother Aegidius was the most beloved of all missionaries and he is remembered to this day. Ask any elderly African if he remembers him and his face will light up. "Ah! Brother Aegidius!" Even the younger Africans will say "Yes, our fathers have told us about him."

Both Brother Zacharias and Brother Aegidius deserve mention in the history of Rhodesia.

In June of that year, 1909, Father Robert returned to Mariannhill and his place was taken by Father Mayr who saw at once that if the children were to learn civilised habits there must be boarding-schools. One could not be built for the girls until Sisters arrived from Mariannhill, but by the dry season 20 000 bricks were made and a boarding-school was built for the boys early in 1910.

Unfortunately the East Coast fever which had been killing cattle over the country now spread to the Inyanga district. On their way to Rusape to fetch building-materials, one of the oxen drawing the waggon died and the authorities seeing that the others were infected ordered them to be shot. This was done and the Brother in charge had to send to Triashill for young men to carry the material back. The Africans now showed their willingness to help. One hundred and fifty of them, boys and girls, volunteered to walk to Rusape and carry back loads. This was done in the cool of the night and the carriers were of course paid for their work. Some of them could not manage their loads and left them by the wayside, but others, a hundred, volunteered for a second journey and by the next week the job was done. The elderly Africans mentioned were among the volunteers also two of the women living there, one of which was Ida.

Ambrose Majonjwe, although only two years old at the time, remembers his father Paul Majonjwe telling him about the epidemic.

He said "I remember well the East Coast fever for the reason that my father was one, who according to law, was compelled to look after his cattle in quarantine. I remember this because it was almost a legendary story among my people, because my father had two head of cattle and would not herd them in quarantine because he was teaching catechism (in the outstations). He decided to kill his cattle rather than break up the catechumen classes. That's how I remember. The people used to mock me even when I was a boy. 'Because of the faith your father killed the only two cattle he had. When you grow up what are you going to use as lobola?' "

The Trappists then exchanged their wagon for a smaller lighter one and bought six donkeys for £10.

A few weeks later, four Sisters of the Precious Blood were sent up from Mariannhill. They journeyed from Rusape in the light wagon. Sister Olympia describing the journey, many years later, said that there was not enough room in the wagon for all the Sisters, so one of them rode on a mule. She added: "That Sister fell off many times" (herself).

They took possession of the original stone hut and this had to serve as dormitory, dining-room, kitchen and laundry. A lean-to brick kitchen with a chimney was added and this made things easier. (This can be seen in the picture.)

They found everything very difficult and for the first few months were practically starving. Sister Olympia said "Everywhere we dug to try to make a garden was rock and stone . . . it was literally like trying to turn stone into bread." However they persevered and soon had a flourishing garden down by the river.



Monte Cassino. Administration and classroom block. The Natal Mahogany tree (on right) marks the spot where the first "monastery" was built. The rock with the date 1896 engraved on it is on the hill on the left of the picture. (See part 1).

When they opened the boarding school for girls some of the parents were bitterly opposed to their daughters attending school but the girls, instead of running away from school, ran away from home *to* school. One day, old Ida relates, an angry crowd of Africans armed with spears and arrows crowded outside the room where the Sisters were teaching. But she says that when they saw the brave way in which the Sisters stood still waiting to be attacked they stopped. Later, when the fathers spoke to them they went away and the next day sent word that they thought it better to leave their daughters at school.

Ambrose Majonjwe said: "I was almost brought up in Sister Polycarp's arms." Of Sister Dulcissima, he said, "When she came to see that we were fed, I would put my hand in the pocket of her habit to see if she had any biscuits for me. Sister Olympia," he said, "is well known and remembered as the mother of all the orphans of our people here." Pointing to Noah Tenga, he said that his son had married one of the orphans.

On 3rd June of the next year, 1911, William Bingura was down at Rusape station with the donkeys fetching building material. During the night the donkeys strayed on to the railway line and were run over by a train. William said that he remembers the tragedy vividly and will never forget it.

Mariannahill had sent up an expert builder, Cassian, and an expert carpenter, Paphnutius, to build a convent for the Sisters, but they said they would prefer to have the permanent church built, they could manage as they were, and were far better off than the fathers and brothers who only had a mud hut.

Brother Cassian made 10 000 bricks and blasted the rock on a site towards the edge of the escarpment. Built on a slope, the foundations had to be dug very deep and filled with rock. As the church was 120 ft. x 25 ft., walls 20 ft. high, it took many months to build and Brother Cassian was a very sick man. The only help he had was from a few picannins who of course knew nothing of building. It was a wonderful achievement because the walls are 20 ft. high and there is an archway between the chancel and the nave. The roof was on by Christmas and then Brother Paphnutius the carpenter, took over. Brother Cassian, instead of resting, then started on the Sisters' convent on the left side of the church. The priests' house was to be built later, on the opposite side.

In 1913, the Trappists were given a plot of one acre near the railway at Rusape. This has always been called the Trappists' Site. A brick cottage and tiny chapel were built and opened early in the fateful year of 1914.

Now that the East Coast fever was over, the Mission possessed 35 head of cattle and so the land could be ploughed for better crops. They also had milking cows, hens, pigs, a flourishing garden and fruit trees. Of the thirteen outschools, the Sisters visited the six nearest once a week and those further away once a month. All was going well when Father Fleischer brought the news that war had been declared between England and Germany and nearly all the fathers, brothers and sisters were German.

This was a terrible blow because all their money and supplies came from helpers in Germany. These were immediately cut off and eleven of the catechists were recalled because they could no longer be paid. These, having been taught a trade found work in Umtali. Brothers Aegidius and Zacharias walked hundreds of miles closing down the schools because the missionaries were all confined to their own property.

Early in 1917 when the war was going against Britain, there was an outcry against Germans living in the country. The fathers and brothers were sent back to Natal and the sisters, both of Triashill and Monte Cassino, were interned in Salisbury. They say they were treated very kindly. During the 'flu epidemic, the sisters asked if they might help nurse the sick of Salisbury. They did wonderful work and when it was over they were allowed to go back to their missions and were publicly thanked.

The priests and brothers were not allowed to return for some time but Father Ignatius, a Pole, was allowed to do so in 1919. He found that the inhabitants of Triashill and the surrounding districts were dying of 'flu. He was a natural recluse and student, loved and revered by the Africans but he now "flung his energy into caring for the sick, journeying, here, there and everywhere, through rough and rugged country, curing those he could and preparing those in danger of death." He eventually caught the disease and when he had staggered back to Triashill, he collapsed and died.

When the fathers and brothers were allowed to return, the little community bravely picked up the threads but many of them had been broken beyond repair.

In 1924, Brother Zacharias was sent far out into the Keterere country, ninety miles from Triashill, to start a mission farm at Nani. He was to build a school and a chapel.

On the night of 25th September, 1925 a leopard took one of his heifer calves and partially devoured it. The brother poisoned the remains and with it baited a trap. Paul Majonjwe was with him at the time and he related the story to his son Ambrose, who says:

"The following day they found that the gun (of the trap) had fired. My father advised Brother Zacharias not to track down the wounded animal until he had fetched some older men who were familiar with the tactics of the animal and had spears. But unfortunately, when my father had gone, during the day, the brother was impatient and went with two boys in pursuit of the leopard. The leopard suddenly sprang on the poor brother and mauled him."

Another account says that Zacharias, although sixty years old, had the strength of a young man and grappled with the leopard, seizing it by the throat until one of the Africans split its head with an axe.

Paul Majongwe sent a runner back to Triashill and Father Arnoz, a Pole who had taken the place of Father Ignatius, borrowed a cart and set off with the Sister Infirmarian. By urging the horses to their uttermost they made the journey in two days and taking Brother Zacharias aboard they journeyed thirty-four miles back, stopping at the farm of Mr. Miene. There they nursed him until he had gained sufficient strength to be carried to Triashill, but it was some days before he was fit enough to be taken to Rusape where he was put on the train and so to hospital. His arms were terribly mauled and he never regained the use of his hands. He was sent back to Mariannahill.

Early in 1921, the Trappists learned that Rome had decided that the Zambesi Mission was to be divided into two jurisdictions. Those Jesuits who were settled in Matabeleland, were to come up to join the Mashonaland community while the Trappists in Triashill and Monte Cassino were to leave and join those in Matabeleland. This change was a bitter blow for the missionaries. It is said that thousands of Africans wept when they heard that Brother Aegidius was leaving.

Before he left, the brother walked ninety miles to Umtali to visit the parish priest, Father Quin, S.J. Father Quin wrote: "I found Brother Aegidius here, very heartsore . . . he seems to have got the idea that I am taking over Triashill and came to see if I could offer him work as a catechist, but of course I can do nothing of the sort, the old chap is heartbroken at leaving after twenty years there and I can feel for him."

So for the third time the Trappists had to leave Triashill and this time for good.

The Jesuits took over Triashill, St. Barbara's, Monte Cassino and St. Benedict's.

In 1945 Bishop Chichester, S.J., finding the whole of Mashonaland and Manicaland could not be covered by his Order, invited the Irish Carmelites to

take over, which they did. Monte Cassino was left in the hands of the Jesuits until January, 1971 when it was transferred to the Precious Blood Sisters and the mission is now served by the Irish Franciscan Fathers.

It is now a flourishing mission and, though many new buildings have been erected, the first church is still in use. A new and bigger cross has been erected in the same place as that planted by the first Brothers and is visible for miles around.

Trappist gave way to Jesuit and Jesuit to Carmelite but the Sisters remained, giving over sixty-three years of faithful service, nursing and teaching the African people. They are now geared to continue for many more useful years.

"AFRICAN ENCYCLOPEDIA"

Oxford University Press have added to the list of African reference books (we know Rosenthal's *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* and our own *Encyclopaedia Rhodesia*) with its large *African Encyclopedia*.

Nowhere in the introduction (at least not in the paperback edition) is it elaborated upon as to why it was given this restrictive title. For, apart from the fact that it covers the whole of Africa, it differs from the other two works mentioned in that it is a general encyclopedia with articles as diverse as those on Space Exploration, Heredity, Christian Science, Restoration Drama and Eskimos. And there is an article on every country in the world.

But the whole treatment is angled towards a readership in Africa. General topics such as Agriculture, Natural History, English Language, Geology are all covered mainly in an African context and the photographic illustrations generally show African examples in all categories.

In addition, there are numerous items of purely African interest that would not easily find a place in a typical western encyclopedia. There are brief descriptions of numerous tribes, illustrated articles on African arts, dancing, divination and on obscure development schemes. Terms or concepts such as Nationalisation, Socialism, Immigration, Politics and Industrial Revolution are all explained as they apply in African countries. There are biographies of many leading European and African personalities in all walks of life on the continent. Throughout, Rhodesian coverage is proportionately fair and is generally factual.

This is an excellent production and invaluable for all those persons and institutions needing reference books on Africa.

It has 608 treble-column pages, 500 photographs and 150 maps and diagrams. Price R\$3,45 paperback: R\$8,80 hard cover.

Jumbo Mine: A Brief History

by R. D. Franks

The history of the present community of Jumbo is associated very largely with that of the Jumbo Mine, from whence the village or community derives its name. When the Pioneer Column was disbanded on 27th September, 1890, after the establishment of Fort Salisbury, prospectors spread out into Mashonaland and one of the first blocks of claims pegged was the Jumbo reef comprising 20 claims registered by Thomas Maddocks on 27th October, 1890. Three days later, Charles Benjamin Lovemore, one of two Pioneer brothers, registered the Jumbo N.E. Extension, a block of 15 claims.

Some mystery surrounds the origin of the name of the Jumbo Mine. Mr. G. H. (Tony) Tanser relates a tale told to him by an elderly inhabitant that the Jumbo and Alice Mines at Mazoe were named after two famous elephants which were part of a circus in England during the 1880's. Jumbo was described as the largest, most powerful and most intelligent elephant in captivity who was bought by the Americans and shipped across the Atlantic. Alice is said to have been disconsolate at the loss of her mate, refused to carry out her circus duties and was finally sent to Regent's Park Zoological Gardens. She broke out of Regent's Park and travelled across North London leaving a trail of terror and destruction so that she was eventually shot by the police. As Mr. Tanser points out, however, the Alice Mine was pegged some six weeks after the Jumbo and by a different person, so that too much credence should not be given to this report of the origin of the names of the two mines.

The history of the Jumbo Mine can be divided into three stages, of which the first would be the period 1890-1917. This seems to have been the most colourful period in the history of the mine.

Thomas Maddocks died in 1896. His Jumbo claims lapsed in September, 1899 and were re-pegged in that month by Capt. C. E. Wells; early in 1903 the Mayo (Rhodesia) Development Company Limited floated the Jumbo Gold Mining Company Limited to take over the original 20 Jumbo claims and this heralded the beginning of the first substantial development of the mine.

Although the Jumbo Gold Mining Company engaged a complete staff of American miners and mining specialists, so that it has been said that the mine was in American hands, the end of the Boer War had seen a large number of Englishmen seeking new opportunities in Rhodesia, and Canada, New Zealand and Australia were well represented in the labour force employed on the construction of the installations on the mine.

Buildings were put up to house the large number of workers engaged in the construction of the mine. A large African compound took shape and a considerable number of dwelling huts were erected for European workers. A wood and iron store was amongst the first permanent buildings and was opened in

1903, run by Mr. Whitfield, later an auctioneer in Salisbury. A boarding house was run in conjunction with the store and in due course a bar was added. The boarding house operated as a mess, serving meals for the miners and construction workers, and later became an hotel.

On the mine itself a 20 stamp 1 050 lb. mill was erected in May, 1906 and in November, 1907 a further 10 stamps were added to the mill. Water was obtained from the Marodzi River, about two miles away, in pipes of large diameter.

By this time, the Jumbo Gold Mining Company had also secured most of the other claims in the vicinity of the Jumbo. These included the Jumbo N.E. Extension, the block first registered by C. B. Lovemore, and the Ceowara block of 20 claims on nearby Amatola Farm, first registered by Maddocks with and forfeited with his Jumbo claims, and with these, re-pegged by Capt. C. E. Wells in 1899.

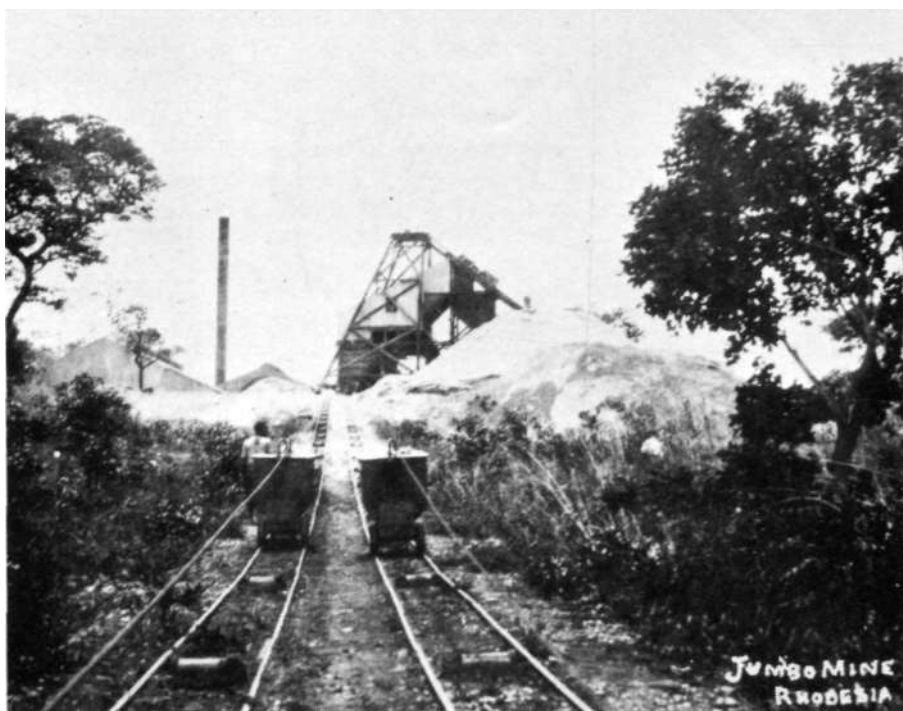
The dropping of the stamps signified the completion of a great undertaking in mining and mechanisation and at that time the Jumbo Mine seemed to have a rosy future. With the completion of the construction work, large numbers of construction workers left the mine and the Jumbo was now left with a settled population, was described as a populous and lively place and seemed sure to provide the nucleus for a brilliant future for the whole district.

The siting of the original mine and settlement was on the hillside above the present Mazoe Consolidated Mines complex and the hillside shows widespread signs of mining operations, including the foundations of the old mill and cyanide tanks. The foundations of the latter are made of very large granite blocks, some of them approximately 3 ft. x 5 ft. in dimension, all showing signs of very careful cutting and fitting. It is said that these granite blocks were not obtained in the locality and must have been transported for some considerable distance.

The old store, butchery and boarding house were situated in the saddle between two hills to the south of the mine on either side of the present Jumbo-Mazoe Road.

In the early days of the mine, transport was extremely difficult. East Coast fever had taken a heavy toll of the bovine population so that oxen were not available for transport wagons and mules were used in their place. Later two steam traction engines with trains of wagons provided the transport between the mine and Salisbury, and Skipper Hoste was prominent as the man responsible for keeping the roads passable for the traction engines.

At about this time the mail coach linking Mazoe and Salisbury made two trips each week. The Jumbo Gold Mining Company provided a runner to meet the coach at Mazoe Post Office and to receive and carry the Jumbo mail to the mine office, where the Company correspondence was retained and all other mail placed in a basket and sent round the various dwellings from door to door. Each person took out what was addressed to him and sent the messenger on his way. Following local agitation, a Post Office with resident postmaster was established



and a post-cart was run to Salisbury under a contract with the Government. The earliest contractor was Mr. F. Clayton who later lost his contract to Zeederberg.

A railway line to Jumbo was constructed in about 1911. In 1901-1902 a 2-foot gauge line had been constructed from Salisbury to the Ayrshire Mine in the Sinoia district, known as the Ayrshire or Lomagunda Branch, this being converted to a 3-foot 6 gauge in 1913-1914. The development of the Jumbo Mine prompted the construction of a railway line from Mt. Hampden to Jumbo and in 1913 this line was extended to Shamva.

Probably the most important man on the Mine at that time was Colonel (later Sir) Raleigh Grey,* the Secretary of the Jumbo G.M. Company throughout the period of its operations on the mine. Tom Cook was the first mine captain, D. M. Mitchell the last; H. Plipps was the first battery manager, followed by Willie Steele; D. G. Morris was compound manager and storekeeper; Hirst, Hubert Cook, E. T. Saunders and Mat Jackson were machine men or engineers.

So there came a time in the history of the mine when the population seemed fixed and settled and the potential of the mine great. The amenities came to be observed and music was cultivated, sport and dances took place and a monthly ball was a standing arrangement, music provided by gramophone. For theatricals, local talent supplied author and actor.

* He had been an elected member of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council.

However, the hopes for the mine were not to be realised in those days and the first stage in the history of the Jumbo Mine drew to a close with a gradual decline in the mine. As the depth of the workings increased the results became increasingly disappointing and in 1912 development in depth was stopped. Mining continued on an annually-reducing scale until 1917 when milling was finally stopped. During the period May, 1906 to March, 1917 the Company had crushed 322 837 tons of ore, producing 147 587 ounces of gold, a recovery of just over 9,1 cwts. per ton.

In 1903 a most interesting case was heard in the High Court of Southern Rhodesia in which the rights of the Jumbo Gold Mining Company to the claims were challenged. When registering the claims in October, 1890, Thomas Maddocks had been acting in terms of an agreement made in February, 1889 in Kimberley with Cecil Rhodes, representing the Matabeleland Syndicate which possessed all the mineral rights in the territory then known as Mashonaland and Matabeleland. This agreement was extended in July, 1890 by Rhodes, then acting for the British South Africa Company which had succeeded the Matabeleland Syndicate as holder of mineral rights in the territory. After the death of Maddocks in 1896, the Jumbo claims had been purchased from his estate by a Bulawayo stockbroker, Mr. J. M. Macaulay, but in 1899 the British South Africa Company declared the claims forfeit and dispossessed the executor on the grounds that the executor had failed to carry out the necessary amount of development work in terms of the Mines and Minerals Ordinance which had been introduced in 1895. The claims had accordingly been thrown open and on 20th September, 1899 had been pegged by Capt. C. E. Wells from whom, through the Mayo Development Company, they had been transferred in 1903 to the Jumbo Gold Mining Company.

Macaulay sued the B.S.A. Company and the Jumbo Gold Mining Company for an order that the claims be restored to him and for an account for the proceeds of mining, or alternatively damages of £250 000. His case was based on the contention that the claims were in the nature of a special grant to pioneers in consideration of their services, and that the passing of subsequent legislation could not affect the rights of the claimholders. The High Court of Southern Rhodesia found that the claims were subject to the Mining Regulations and had so had been properly forfeited. The matter went on appeal to the Supreme Court of South Africa then sitting in Cape Town which upheld the decision of the Southern Rhodesian court.

The second stage in the history of the Jumbo Mine follows the closing down of the Jumbo Gold Mining Company in 1917. In June, 1917, the mine was let on tribute and production continued until 1920; but thereafter no serious attempt at mining was undertaken until 1932 when a syndicate was formed to treat the sands.

During the 1930's the Jumbo area was a hive of small workings which at some stages numbered 15 within 5 miles of the siding. Names such as Cam Brae, Birthday, Jumbo, Connaught, Bojum, Bucks and Flowing Bowl — these

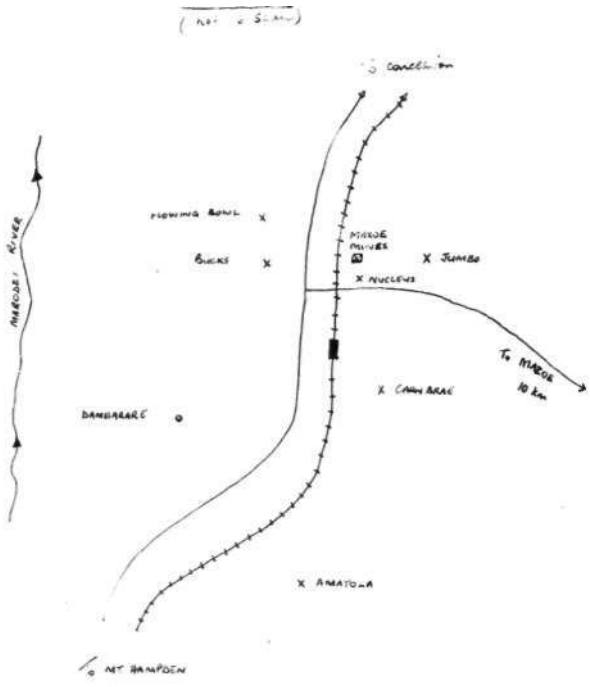
were all individual self-contained small workings, each operating on an east-west striking northerly dipping reef. The only major exception to this series of reefs was the Commonwealth, striking from north to south and some distance to the west of the other reefs.

The syndicate formed in 1932 to operate the Jumbo comprised Charles Marsh and Ikey Cohen, a Salisbury auctioneer. They re-treated the sands and milled ore from the upper workings of the Jumbo, first through a one-stamp mill and subsequently through a five-stamp mill. They sold out to a Mr. Gray.

The Carn Brae reef was discovered in 1929 by B. P. Thornthwaite in a small ancient working; the mine was taken over in 1936 by J. Murdoch Eaton and was held by him and his sons for almost thirty years before being transferred to Mazoe Consolidated Mines Limited. Mr. J. Murdoch Eaton was responsible for the last gold discovery of consequence in the Jumbo area — on the Nucleus claims in 1950. The reef did not out-crop and so had been missed by the ancient prospectors.

In 1943 the Commonwealth claims were tributed by J. Scott and a payable reef was found underlying the house which had once been the residence of Sir Raleigh Grey, a former secretary of the Jumbo Gold Mining Company and, prior to 1923, one of Salisbury's most important mining and political figures.

1954 heralds the beginning of the third stage in the history of Jumbo, the year in which Mazoe Consolidated Mines Ltd. (now Corsyn Consolidated Mines Ltd.) started to take over Jumbo claims including the two blocks pegged by Maddocks and Lovemore, and the various blocks of claims in the vicinity,



so that today the mines whose names have been mentioned above are no longer operated from the surface but are all connected by cross-cuts below the surface and are operated as part of the Mazoe Mine.

Thomas Maddocks and his successors were not the first men to seek gold at the Jumbo. In the area embracing the Jumbo reef, there was ample evidence of the work done by the ancients whose workings extended from one end of the property to the other. The ancient workings which attracted the attention of Maddocks in 1890 were said to be among the largest discovered in Rhodesia, taking the form of a quarry four to five hundred feet long and over fifty feet wide. Being on a hill-top the ancients had not struck water and workings were one hundred feet deep in places.

An interesting illustration of the attention given to the mineral deposits in the area by the ancients is to be found on Amatola Farm about two miles to the south of the Jumbo Siding. Now a National Monument, the workings are in a small hill and contain regularly cut galleries with arched roofs.

Old time prospectors explored and sampled these workings and were surprised at the absence of signs of gold. There was however an abundance of ironstone and the discovery by prospectors of 'tuyere's' or nozzles scattered in places on nearby Doxford farm suggests that these workings were the source of iron ore which was smelted in the Portuguese settlement on Doxford farm to which reference is made below. [A 'tuyere' was a nozzle or pipe made of clay through which air was forced into a hearth or furnace.]

No report on Jumbo would be complete without a reference to the Portuguese settlement at Dambarare, and for my information on this subject I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Garlake, formerly of the Historical Monuments Commission, for his report on his excavations at the site. Mr. Garlake writes that after their establishment at Sofala in 1505 the Portuguese directed their activities in South East Africa at the exploitation of the gold resources of the interior, and during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by agreement with the ruling Mwene Mutapas, established trading "fairs" in Rhodesia and later permanent Portuguese settlements. These were concerned primarily with trade but also with the mining of gold, missionary activity and administration. Of the settlements, Dambarare was one of the three most important.

Extracts from contemporary Portuguese documents give an indication of the history and development of Dambarare. In 1631 Dambarare was listed as a fair with a church and in 1634 reference is made to the place as a fort, a market and an area in which there were gold mines. In 1667 it was described as "a noble settlement and good sized town" and "the centre of that conquest, with many rich inhabitants . . ."

After a decline following disease and disorder, the Portuguese re-established a garrison and erected a new fort and gold production started again. In November, 1693 the settlement was attacked and destroyed by a local warrior, Changamire Dombo, who went on to destroy all other Portuguese settlements in Rhodesia. Although the site appears to have been re-occupied in 1769 it never regained its former importance.

The sites of four earth-works which formed part of Dambarare have been discovered in the area to the west of Jumbo, between the railway line and the Marodzi River, each earth-work being half a mile to one mile from one another. On the largest of the sites on Doxford farm, excavations were carried out during 1967; although on a very limited scale these showed that the site contained two churches and a burial ground inside an enclosure wall. The churches were built of brick with clay mortar and the brick foundations of the enclosure wall probably formed the base of a timber palisade and core of a small earth bank. In the limited area of excavations thirty-one burials were accounted for which were identified as both Caucasoid and Negroid bodies.

In his report, Mr. Garlake gives a description of the very extensive range of imported ceramics which had been collected from the immediate vicinity of the excavations during 1944-1945 by Mrs. E. Goodall. These included a wide range of Chinese, European and Persian porcelain, stoneware and earthenware, glass and shell beads and metal bangles and ornaments. On the basis of the number of burials in relation to the small area excavated, Mr. Garlake expresses the view that Dambarare was probably the most important burial ground used by the Portuguese during their seventeenth century settlement of Mashonaland.

There is clearly a link between Dambarare and the ancient workings on Amatola Farm, the latter lying about half a mile east of the site of the excavations. The proximity of the workings and the regularly cut galleries and arched roofs in the Amatola workings, which are not characteristic of the "ancient" mining techniques, suggest that the mining on the Amatola workings was done under Portuguese supervision.

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The writer is grateful to Messrs. P. Waddell and H. Murdoch Eaton, both of Jumbo, and to Mr. A. Marsh, for assistance in the preparation of this article.

"MINING IN RHODESIA, 1974"

This annual contains a variety of articles, including — on mining in the TTL's; on open pit mining; and on Rhodesia and the energy crisis. There is a list of all the principal minerals mined in Rhodesia and their utilisation. Of reference value are the names and addresses of all the mining companies operating in Rhodesia and another list giving the situation of operating mines and what they produce. It is published by the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia.

The Zeederberg Coach

by C. K. Cooke

Introduction

Only two of this type of coach are known to survive in Southern Africa. The one on exhibition in Bulawayo at the National Museum of Rhodesia was, after a rather chequered career, handed to them by the Historical Monuments Commission for preservation as a national relic during 1964. It is a twelve seater coach manufactured in Concorde, New Hampshire, U.S.A. by the Abbot Downing Co.

Modern History

After Zeederberg's finally closed their coach business during 1930 this coach was in fair condition and was sold to the Bulawayo Municipal Council in 1932 for £25. It was repainted by them and used for Pioneer and anniversary appearances. The actual date of repainting is not certain but it may well have been when it was exhibited at the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg. However, there are photographs of it being used in processions, the last appearance being in 1950 during the 60th Anniversary celebrations in Bulawayo, when it was painted in brown with the Municipal crest on the doors.

In July, 1950, the City Council gave the vehicle to His Excellency the Governor of Southern Rhodesia for exhibition at Government House, Bulawayo. It was housed under a thatched open-sided shelter, where its near side was exposed to the afternoon sun. By 1959 the coach had deteriorated very badly and after discussion between the Governor, Vice-Admiral Sir Peverill William-Powlett, and the writer it was decided to remove the vehicle to safer storage.

A shed was found at the back of the Old Memorial Hospital where the coach was stored safely for 3½ years. No further deteriorations were apparent during this period. In 1964 the coach was sent to the National Museum for repair and exhibition.

The two journeys were arranged by the Bulawayo City Council whose City Engineer lent a low loader for the work. The journeys were undertaken in the very early morning before other traffic became a hazard.

The vehicle is at present housed on the second floor of the Museum twenty-eight feet above ground level. To hoist it into this position presented many problems because even after removing the complete forecarriage and the rear wheels the only available crane allowed a 7,5 cm (3 inches) gap between the load and the floor.

The lifting operation took 3½ hours and was undertaken by Messrs. Fox and Bookless (Pvt.) Ltd., who now own the business once run by Zeederberg.



The Zeederberg Coach in the Bulawayo Museum.

Mr. Bookless was a book-keeper for Zeederberg's and later became the general manager of that firm, and later a partner in the new firm of Fox and Bookless.

Earlier History

The Zeederberg bothers were also contractors for the transport of Royal Mail from one centre to another. This service was not economic, therefore Zeederberg's was subsidised to a total amount of £11 000 per annum by the postal authorities. This sum was reduced in proportion as the coach services were replaced by railways.

The coach took ten days for the journey from Mafeking to Bulawayo, travelling day and night. The fare on 5th June, 1895 between these two points was £45.

The Abbot Downing Company ceased coach building many years ago but its name was purchased by the Wells Fargo Wagon Company Inc. of San Francisco and its books are in the safe custody of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

According to the account by Roger Summers (Summers 1967) the coach is numbered 566 under the jump seats. However, the number 538 also appears on an iron plate at the front end of the forecarriage. The rough treatment these coaches had on the journeys through South Africa and Rhodesia must have resulted in many mishaps and breakages. It is not surprising to find that the coach in the National Museum had parts in it that were pirated from another one. The damage likely to occur is well illustrated by the photographs.



Rough work.



An accident.

The two coaches from which the present one was assembled were made for George Heys and Company and were delivered for shipment in New York, No. 538 on 28th September, 1888 and No. 566 on 9th October of the same year (Summers, 1967).

George Heys and Company ran coach services to Pilgrims Rest and other places in the eastern Transvaal as well as mails and passengers from Cape Town to Kimberley. Because of the Anglo-Boer War these services were disrupted, and if resumed at all it was only for a short time as the firm went out of business.

The Zeederberg brothers first monopolised the wagon transport from Kimberley northwards, but also wished at the same time to enter the passenger service. However, the total outlay was beyond their means, for a coach cost over £1 000 landed at Cape Town and a team of mules at least another £300. It was also necessary to establish posting stations every ten miles (16 km) or so, each of which would have cost at least £500 to be established.

Two coaches were bought later by Zeederberg's from a Swede named Arlikson for £500, a price which included five horses. (Zeederberg, H., 1971). The brothers renovated the vehicles, putting them into service early in 1886. These were also made by the Abbot Downing Company, but were of a heavier type than those used subsequently. During 1892 Zeederberg's imported four Abbot Downing coaches directly from America; none of these appear to have survived the rough roads of Africa. One of them was written off when it turned



Another accident.

over, and two further coaches were burnt by a Matabele impi whilst on the way to Salisbury.

When George Heys and Company ceased operating between Johannesburg and Pietersburg during 1895 the Zeederbergs bought an unspecified number of coaches from them. It is highly probable that amongst those bought were the two coaches which together now make up the one on display in the National Museum.

During 1896 Doel Zeederberg decided to only operate north of Pietersburg and on the internal routes in Rhodesia, whilst the firm of the Zeederberg Coaching Company continued working in South Africa.

After obtaining full details from the American records (Summers, 1967) the coach was repaired and repainted in its original colours. The name C. H. Zeederberg, No. 1 is on the board above the door whilst on the door appears, C. H. Zeederberg Royal Mail Contractor (see illustration).

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NADA 1975

NADA, the Rhodesian Ministry of Internal Affairs Annual, appears in a brighter format this year with a coloured cover showing four District Assistant uniforms dating from 1895. It refers to an article "The District Assistant and his Uniform, 1895-1974" by A. J. Bundock. A list of authors and subjects dealt with is listed under the feature "Periodicals and Articles of Interest" in this issue of *Rhodesiana*.

The editor (E. E. Burke) is aiming at a wider readership among the interested general public. So, while there are a number of the usual specialised articles for those involved in various ways with the African population there are others of a wider historical or current affairs interest. Such is C. Coggin's review of African Administration, which reached its 80th anniversary in Rhodesia in 1974, under the light-hearted but significant title "Don't worry Headquarters". Others are "The Pioneer Route 84 years on" by M. M. Fox and "The Tribal Areas of Rhodesia Research Foundation" by A. J. B. Hughes.

An unusual contribution is a highly technical and authoritative article by S. Alkema on "A Study of African Rhythm" in music, especially in drumming. He deals with the impression that — "to the general Western Listener, an African drum song sounds lively but repetitive and often monotonously long" in a knowledgeable fashion.

M. P. Bowden: Pioneer and H. W. M. Paulet: Early Settler

by R. R. Langham-Carter

(It is regretted that no photographs of Bowden or Paulet suitable for reproduction have been found.—Editor.)

Montagu Parker Bowden and Henry William Montagu Paulet had a good many things in common. They were much of an age, they shared the same essentially Victorian Christian name, both came of wealthy parents. One was an England cricketer, the other an aristocrat. Each of them established some records that stand to this day. These two handsome and popular young men seemed to have the world at their feet.

After an enjoyable and prosperous career in Rhodesia Paulet was the premier marquis of England for sixty-three years. Unlike the cricketer he almost reached his century and he had the longest life of any peer in English history.¹ I am told he has a fine memorial in the ancestral church at Amport in Hampshire. Bowden died in Rhodesia when he was twenty-seven, probably insolvent, possibly of excessive drinking. His coffin was a whisky case, he never had a tombstone and the exact place of his burial is not known. The story of these two men shows the great uncertainty of adventuring into a new land. It can lead to fame and fortune — or it can lead to ruin and early death.

M. P. BOWDEN

Bowden was born on 1st November, 1865, the son of John Bowden of London. The pioneer nurses who knew him in Umtali thought him very handsome and this seems to be confirmed by two group photographs in which he appears.² He was educated at Dulwich College and made his first appearance in the Surrey county cricket eleven in 1883.³ In 1887 Surrey won the county championship for the first time since it started fourteen years before. They won it again in the following year but, with Bowden gone to Africa, lost it in 1889. A stylish batsman whose late cut was described as "crisp as a blown kiss,"⁴ he kept wicket for the Gentlemen of England against the Australians in 1888 and appeared in both the Gentlemen and Players matches of that year.

Bowden came to South Africa as a member of the first M.C.C. team ever to play in that country. Managed by Major R. G. Wharton and captained by C. Aubrey Smith, the side reached Cape Town in the *Garth Castle* in December, 1888. Bowden played in nearly every match and in the two test matches (the first in South Africa) at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town in March, 1889.² The team then returned to England except for Smith and Bowden, both of whom went to Johannesburg and started in business as stockbrokers.

In April, 1890 they played for the Transvaal against Kimberley in the first Currie Cup match ever staged. Transvaal won the cup, almost entirely owing to Bowden who scored more than half the runs made by his team, 63 in the first innings and 126 not out in the second. He established several records in this match. His century was the first to be scored in Currie Cup cricket. His average of 189 is still the highest average in Currie Cup cricket up to the present time. And he achieved a further record which must have amused him. Though not officially a bowler he bowled a few overs against Kimberley and took two wickets at an average cost of 2,5 runs each. He is top of the Currie Cup bowling averages to this day.

Aubrey Smith went back to England soon after and later became a famous actor and a knight. If only Bowden had gone home or had remained a Transvaal stockbroker all might have been well with him. But the Chartered Company was forming a pioneer corps to occupy Mashonaland in that same year and Captain Frank Mandy was enrolling recruits in Johannesburg. On arrival in the new country each pioneer would be given a grant of three thousand acres of farm land and fifteen licences to prospect for gold. It all sounded marvellous. The Rand was suffering a business recession and Bowden, like many other young men in England and South Africa, felt the lure of adventure and joined up. The Johannesburg contingent arrived at Mafeking on about 1st May and were soon joined by the main body from Kimberley. The pioneers were now formed up into three troops and Bowden found himself in A Troop under the command of the American Captain Maurice Heany. The column reached the Salisbury area on 12th September and was disbanded on 1st October. Like the other pioneers Bowden was awarded the Mashonaland medal and clasp.⁵ He probably went quite soon to Umtali* though he may have gone there only after the Company had called pioneers' attention at the end of March, 1891 to the excellent prospects in that region. He received several grants of land and built a hut on his main farm which he called Milton⁵ but never had time to start cultivating. He also took up some mining claims. But his main activity was in trade. He was given a stand in Second Street in Umtali and became a partner in E. Slater and Company.** Despite its fine name the firm was a small and shaky affair which soon went bankrupt.⁵ Bowden must have been involved in this insolvency but evidently made great efforts to recover as he was reported at the time of his death as having "every chance of success in trading and prospecting enterprise."⁶

The cost of importing goods into Mashonaland by road being prohibitive, pioneer traders used the Beira route. From Umtali they would have to march about one hundred and sixty-five miles along native trails through the bush. When they reached M'panda's kraal on the Pungwe river they could travel down to Beira on a small launch. Goods were brought up from South Africa by sea and, having made their purchases, the traders set out on their return journey. Owing to tsetse fly on much of the route animals could not be used and loads had to be carried by African porters. Malaria and blackwater fever were also

* This was the town established in 1890 which became Old Umtali when the main town of Umtali was moved to a site some miles to the south-east in 1896.

** Slater's Hotel was one of the earliest in Salisbury. A Slater died of cancer in Salisbury in October 1891. If this was Bowden's partner his illness and death might have been one of the reasons for the bankruptcy.

rife and it was while Cecil Rhodes was moving up to Umtali in October, 1891 that he came upon Bowden in bad health (possibly from fever) and gave him a bottle of whisky.⁷ When he felt better Bowden struggled on to Umtali where the pioneer nurses cared for him in their primitive hospital.⁷

Bowden died four months later. There are at least two curious circumstances in his death which perhaps illustrate the great uncertainty of life and death in early Mashonaland. In the first place (possibly in October, 1891) and at any rate some time before he actually died his death was incorrectly reported in England.³ And, in the second place, at least three different reasons for his death have been recorded. In a roll of pioneers he is said to have died because "crushed by wagon near Umtali."⁸ The nurses have left the only account of Bowden's last days.⁶ He had been to Salisbury, probably with goods imported from Beira as he had an ox wagon with him on his return journey. Pioneers normally rode or walked and Bowden certainly had a horse as Rhodes had given him one. He was presumably feeling unwell as he was riding on the wagon when he was thrown off. He mounted again and reached Umtali on 12th February, 1892. He felt fit enough to play cricket on the following day but did not show his usual skill. Two days later he had an epileptic seizure and was taken to hospital with a temperature of 107°. He died there four days afterwards⁶ and was registered as having died of epilepsy.⁵ As lions and other wild animals had been known to raid the hospital a man sat up in the hut all night with a loaded revolver. Next day Bowden was placed in a coffin made of whisky cases which was covered with dark blue limbo cloth and taken in an ox wagon to the cemetery. The resident white community was only about twenty strong but they all attended the burial.⁶ His personal effects were valued at only £3 15s. 6d.⁵, which suggests that he had almost no trading stocks in hand.*

One author⁹ declares that "the fevers of the low-lying country of the Pungwe killed him." It is very probable that Bowden did suffer from fever. But he complained to Rhodes of exhaustion and not of fever and the nurses make no mention of his having fever at all when he died though the high temperature suggests it. And medical encyclopaedias tell us that epilepsy by itself is never a cause of death. With great reluctance I feel that we must consider yet another possible cause of his death and that is alcohol. Conditions in early Mashonaland were extremely arduous. Many pioneers failed to make immediate fortunes and others were reduced to destitution. The first two summers of the occupation were exceptionally wet and feverish. Medicines were in short supply. Men had very little to spend their money on except liquor which was in big demand and in plentiful supply. Some drank because they were unhappy or felt unwell, many because they believed that liquor kept off or cured fever. Much of it was of very poor quality which further weakened health and in some cases caused death. "Deerhurst who drank a glass the other night changed into as many colours as a chameleon and he has no wish to try another."¹⁰ Others were not as wise as Deerhurst. When a man died of drink kindly attempts were made to conceal the fact: "men die of drink and their friends charitably call it fever."¹¹

* His real assets were more than that as they would include his farming and mining concessions.

Doctors also tended to put down epilepsy rather than alcoholism as the cause of death. Rhodes' gift of the bottle of whisky is capable of several interpretations which need not be detailed here but we should note a curious remark of de Waals's.⁷ As the Rhodes party was itself short of liquor he objected to the gift to Bowden but adds that he would have approved it "had I thought it possible that, taking Bowden's circumstances into consideration, one bottle of whisky could have saved his life." With such conflicting facts before us I would prefer to give Bowden the benefit of the doubt and hold that he died from the combined effects of his accident and of epilepsy and fever.

M. W. M. PAULET

If Bowden's life ended in tragedy Paulet's included much comedy. Paulet was one of Nature's eccentrics who could be relied on to do the unexpected thing. He was born in London on 30th October, 1862, the second son of the fourteenth Marquess of Winchester. Unlike most of his fellow aristocrats who went to Eton he was educated at the Naval Academy of Gosport — and thenceforward had nothing further to do with the Navy. As a younger son he had little prospect of succeeding to the ancestral title and estate, so he decided to seek his fortune in Africa. He was luckier than Bowden in two respects. He missed the pioneers' first and most arduous year and he operated in a healthier part of the country.

He arrived in Cape Town in the *Melrose Castle* in July, 1891, went up by train to the then railhead at Vryburg and thence by road to Salisbury. There is no evidence in his autobiography¹² that he had had the slightest training as a builder, a trade never practised by young noblemen. Nevertheless he tendered for the contract to supply building materials for the Chartered Company's offices at Fort Victoria and was successful. He opened a brickfield five miles out of the village, erected sawmills and set to work. He must have supplied good materials for the fort and some of the other public buildings at Fort Victoria have lasted to the present day.* He adapted himself very well to colonial life and, generally known as "Timmy Paulet", was very popular.

In January 1892 Paulet went down to Cape Town for two reasons in particular. He planned to buy more efficient sawing equipment. And he was going to get married. He had first met his bride in the hunting field when she was Charlotte Carnett of Arch Hall in County Meath where she was rated the best lady rider. Samuel Garnett had since died and his widow now came out to the Cape. One of Paulet's records is that he is the only man who is known to have had a dog as the best man, the wedding taking place in St. George's Cathedral on 23rd February "in the presence of my dog Paddy who was allowed to act best man by special permission of the Dean."¹² (It was disappointing to find that this abnormal animal had not signed or even affixed his paw mark in the Cathedral register.)

The honeymoon was spent at a hotel at Muizenberg and the happy couple then took train to Kimberley from which Charlotte returned to Cape Town and

* The fort and the bell tower date from 1891 and the second tower from 1893.

sailed for England. Paulet, accompanied by his sawing machinery and, we may be sure, by the faithful Paddy, went on to Fort Victoria where he completed his work for the Government buildings. I found him listed as a member of the committee which arranged to erect the town's first Anglican church (since demolished). I could find no evidence of who built it but builders must have been scarce in that small town and it seems probable that Paulet had a good deal to do with it.

Paulet had a number of other occupations including that of transport rider and it was perhaps at about this time that C. E. Finlason met him in the Umzingwami river between Tuli and Fort Victoria.¹³ Paulet was bringing up a wagon for the Northumberland Syndicate and it was stuck fast in the sand. Finlason learnt that the convoy had lost a good many oxen on its trek and had had to buy more at exorbitant prices. Other Rhodesians were complaining that the Syndicate had thus forced up the price of cattle for everyone and also that it had raised the barter rates by giving the African villagers too many blankets and beads in exchange. It is not clear how far Paulet was involved in all this and, in any event, he was soon on his restless way again and returned to England early in the next year.

Paulet and his wife were back in Cape Town by June, 1893 but again went their several ways, she staying at Government House with Sir Henry and Lady Loch while he proceeded to Fort Victoria by way of Johannesburg and Pretoria. He arrived at the start of the Matabele War and found the white inhabitants in fear of attack by the armed bands of Matabele who were roaming the countryside. The town's magistrate was ill and pending his recovery Paulet was put in charge of the defences.¹² Here again he seems to have had no special knowledge or experience. But his defence arrangements were evidently adequate and Fort Victoria was not attacked.

Paulet does not say what else he did in the war but he was involved in an incident at the end of it. Chief Lobengula had sent a thousand gold sovereigns to the Company's forces in token of surrender. These were embezzled by two troopers and Paulet was one of the assessors at their trial. Though convicted in the lower court they were acquitted on technical grounds on appeal.

After the war Paulet made his headquarters in Salisbury where he operated the town's sawmills and where conditions were by now sufficiently civilised for his wife to be able to join him. Besides transport riding he tried his hand as a mining prospector and as a big game hunter, on one occasion going on a lion hunt with Cecil Rhodes. He would no doubt have served in the South African War but only two months after its outbreak his life took another unexpected turning. His bachelor elder brother was killed at the battle of Magersfontein and Paulet found himself the sixteenth Marquess of Winchester.

He returned to England and took over at Amport but continued to be concerned with Africa, becoming a director of the Chartered Company and chairman of the Victoria Falls Power Company. His Marchioness established many further contacts in the First World War when she was a founder of the South African and Rhodesian Officers' Club in London.

After so many years of happiness and success Paulet's latter years were sad ones. He lost his first wife and also his second. Although a wealthy man he foolishly tried to add to his fortunes by deals with the financier Clarence Hatry. But Hatry proved a fraud and in his financial crash Paulet was heavily involved and in 1930 was adjudged insolvent. The Paulets had to retire to a small castle in France and he had to spend most of his remaining years living cheaply on the Continent. Nowadays many people in England and elsewhere do their own housework but it was rare forty years ago — and unheard of for the nobility. Unable to afford servants the Winchesters started the new fashion, Paulet acting as butler and cook and his wife as housemaid and gardener.¹⁴ He also wrote his life story but Hutchinsons, his intended publishers, feared the account of his financial affairs would land them in libel actions. Paulet therefore published his book privately in France — and was not put into court for it.

Most marrying men tend to marry girls when they are young and widows when they are older. Paulet, inevitably, did things the other way round. His first two wives were widows and he became engaged to a third widow in 1951. She was the mother of the writers Ian and Peter Fleming and Paulet was to travel to the West Indies to marry her.¹⁴ The engagement fell through but Paulet, now aged ninety, did marry again. This time he chose an unmarried lady and his choice was unusual in another way as she was an Indian, being the daughter of a high priest of the Parsees in Bombay. She has her small place in history as England's first non-European marchioness.

When Paulet died on 25th June, 1962 he was only four months short of his hundredth birthday. Perhaps his choice of Monte Carlo, the playground of Europe, to die in can be regarded as his final eccentricity.

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Kingsley Fairbridge:

A Review Article

by Hugh Finn

(Kingsley Fairbridge: His Life and Verse. (*Books of Rhodesia*. 1974. Vol. 34 in *Rhodesiana Reprint Library*. Bulawayo. *Publisher's Introduction to the Life. Foreword to Verse by N. H. Brettell*. 246 pages of *Life*: 117 of *Verse*. New illustrations. Price \$9,30. *Autobiography* first published 1927.)

Once again, the publishers of this admirable series have produced a volume to be proud of, a genuine and well-deserved tribute to a man whose idealism, warm humanity, and sheer inspired common-sense have made him an outstanding figure in the early records of modern Rhodesia — a visionary, indeed, but one whose visions were backed up by action and a remarkable resourcefulness. With what must have been a rather scrappy education, and with a feckless-sounding father, Fairbridge is a surprising figure to succeed as a writer. Born in Grahamstown in 1885, at the age of eleven he moved to Umtali with his family. His father, a land-surveyor, used him as one of the youngest assistants ever known, surely, in that profession; and during long journeys of exploration the lad must have conceived the remarkable idea of peopling the vast emptiness of Rhodesia with child-immigrants from the slums of Britain. Later, as one of the earliest Rhodes scholars at Oxford, he studied forestry, wrote poetry, gained his boxing "blue", and founded the Child Emigration Society (later named the Fairbridge Society). The emigration scheme proving impracticable for Rhodesia, Fairbridge transferred it to Australia, where he built up the first of his farm-schools (at Pinjarra, near Perth) virtually from the soil with his own bare hands. At Pinjarra, and at later Fairbridge Centres in Australia and Tasmania, hundreds of children from industrial Britain have been given a new and effective start in life. A Scholarship Award Scheme offers young people the chance of university education in Australia and Canada; while the Fairbridge Memorial College was founded in Bulawayo after World War II. Not a bad legacy to be left by a young self-educated lad from the wilds! It is sad to note that his health must have been broken by his early years of malaria in Rhodesia and the back-breaking labour in Australia, for he died at the tragically early age of 39 — fifty years ago this year.

Remarkable though the books in the Reprint Library often are, it is debatable how many of them can be said to have survived to be read for their own sakes, and not merely by specialists in matters Rhodesian. The books of Selous, of Baines, perhaps, possibly Cullen Gouldsbury's? One can be fairly sure that such volumes as *The Downfall of Lobengula* and *The Jameson Raid* are read largely for their "I-was-there" immediacy as history, and in spite of their frequent flatness.

Fairbridge is quite another matter. His *Autobiography* has something of the same quality that has made Fitzpatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld* an enduring (and endearing) classic of its kind, kept in print virtually from its first appearance until today (as, too, Fairbridge's *Autobiography* in its numerous editions); the same quality that gave Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* its unmistakable stature as the first really significant novel to emerge from Southern Africa, a work which still, however creaky, "Gothick", and turgid its plot may be, remains vividly readable. What is it which has kept the three so vital? The honesty; the sincerity; the sensitivity; the genuine humanity which these three writers show? It is partly these qualities, true, although these have been shared by other writers in the Rhodesiana Series; but it is mainly another factor — all three are genuine *writers*: not biographers or autobiographers, local-historians, compilers of travel-books and reminiscences — but *writers*. In Fairbridge's case, particularly, one is aware of the difference: his quality, unlike that of Fitzpatrick and Schreiner, is that of the poet. He is sensitive to the atmosphere of a place, of a time; he feels *with* people, with a combination of wry knowledge and undeluded sympathy; and as well as visualising what he is writing about (like any good novelist), he also *listens* to the sound of his words, their timbre, their cadence. One would expect this in the writer of verse, as in the moving melancholy of "Burial" —

Here on the hill the wind blows cold,
And the creepers are wet with the driving mist,
as the Manyika mother buries her dead infant,
Alas! I am old, and you are the last —
Mwanango, the last of me, here on the hillside.

Less expectedly, the strain of poetry shows in the prose of the *Autobiography*, too. In Chapter XIII, "The Zambesi", for example, read Fairbridge's account of his three days and nights of delirium — what a perfect trap this episode could have been for a self-educated writer reared in the Victorian tradition! Melodramatic, self-pitying, corny? . . . On the contrary, it is simple, concrete in its imagery, vivid yet dream-like — framed neatly and unerringly between the meal of eggs and sweet-potatoes at the start, and the curiously *thick* layers of ash in the dying fire at the end, lies the terrifying realm of his visions, with their last simple cadence, "and after a while they slipped into the dark". The man who wrote that was a poet: consciously or unconsciously, in that delicate, almost Biblical cadence Fairbridge was aware of the sound and the sense together. Look, too, at page 114, at the spring of the lion, Shumba; "to be killed suddenly — a *bronze flash*, a shout, and death" — the brief, vivid evocation *is* the lion itself; and, "The water-lily roots. These," he said, "when cooked are as good as the yolks of eggs; but the elephants had stolen most of them" — in the rhythm of the simple words, their immediacy and concreteness, there shows again the shaping hand of the poet. Indeed, in the prose of the *Autobiography*, Fairbridge is often more the poet than he is in the avowed poems of *Veld Verse*: and it is an interesting experience to compare the differing approaches to the Zambesi venture of the *Autobiography* (in Chapter XIII) and the poem, "On the Veld"

(page 111 in *Veld Verse*) — knowing that the poem is a metrical version of the same journey.

Poetry does not necessarily preclude humour: and Fairbridge shows a delighted apprehension of the nonsenses of life. Read, for example, the American-auction-style offer of marriage by the little girl, Mavu, where he sees both the absurdity and the simple humanity of the situation.

One could continue quoting at length from the *Autobiography*, to show its humour, its sense of character (and of "characters"!), of its nature of Rhodesia's land and its peoples; refer the reader to the poems, "Burial" (one of the first real poems written in Rhodesia, surely?), "Magwere", and "Dubura Taka" (with its, "Saw beneath his skin/ Like nests of pythons on a sunlit pool/ The coils of muscle writhe upon his arms./" — but really Fairbridge needs no further recommendation. Making due allowance for the occasional lack of education, the old-fashioned quality of much of the verse, the journalistic hand-me-downs of the hurried writer (when, during such a busy life, *did* he find the time to write?), one can still safely claim him to be a considerable writer. Without pretending him to be of world class, he is a worthy forerunner of any local literature; and still, after many decades, very readable for his own sake.

As always with the Reprint Series, this volume is very well produced. There is a long and interesting factual introduction by Louis Bolze preceding the *Autobiography*, and containing much useful information concerning Fairbridge's family (including Charles Aken Fairbridge, founder of the Fairbridge Collection in the S.A. Library in Cape Town; Dorothea Fairbridge, the historical writer, and editor of the letters of Lady Anne Barnard; and William Fairbridge, founder of the Argus printing enterprises in Rhodesia — not to mention Kingsley's own children, one of them, Wolfe, being a noted Australian poet, and the numerous Rhodesian relatives). There is a comprehensive bibliographical note. The *Autobiography* includes Fairbridge's own preface (located in the National Archives) in place of the usual prefaces and epilogues by other hands; and, most interesting of all, it includes selections from the unpublished parts of the original MS in the Archives, amounting to about forty pages of print. For an epilogue a synopsis has been made of "Pinjarra" (the book by Fairbridge's widow, Ruby, concerning the Farm Schools in Australia), with supplementary material from the Fairbridge Society in London and from other sources. The Appendix gives the full text of the speech of Fairbridge at Oxford which led to the formation of the Child Emigration Society.

The final third of the volume consists of a reprint of the 1909 and 1928 editions of *Veld Verse*, augmented by six more poems, and preceded by a sensitive and just foreword by the distinguished Rhodesian poet, N. H. Brettell — a notable addition to the meagre body of critical work in print concerning the literature of Rhodesia. Mr. Brettell has also contributed perhaps the finest tribute that one poet can pay to another: in his own poem that stands at the beginning of the whole volume, he attests to the enduring influence of Kingsley Fairbridge.

The Chishawasha Story

by Heather Jarvis

On 28th July, 1974, about three hundred members of the Mashonaland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society began a 25,6 km coach journey from Salisbury, which was to serve as a fitting introduction to the Chishawasha story.

The old route to the mission was followed, and a halt was made along the Arcturus Road, where a very interesting talk was given by Mr. E. E. Burke, at the grave of "Lion" Stevens.

Charles Trelawney Stevens, one of a family of seven children, was born in Port Elizabeth in 1848. His family came from Rochester in Kent and settled in Observatory in the Cape. His two brothers were pioneers on the Rand and in Rhodesia. A. H. B. Stevens arrived in this country in 1904, became Editor of the *Gatooma Mail* and died in Bulawayo in 1944. George Stevens, who apparently bore a striking resemblance to King Edward VII, was associated with Rhodes and visited Lobengula in 1889.

Charles was known to have been in Rhodesia in April, 1891, when he received a prospecting licence. Later he established mining claims in the Penhalonga valley. He gained his nickname of "Lion" Stevens through an incident which occurred in 1892. A party consisting of the Reverend Isaac Shimmin, a Wesleyan missionary, Stevens and two others were searching in some bushes for a wounded lion. The creature charged, the safety catch of Shimmin's gun jammed, and Stevens wounded the lion. The animal then attacked him, but with great presence of mind, Stevens stuck out his foot and allowed the lion to chew his boot, until the rest of the party succeeded in killing it.

He was less fortunate when four years later he became involved in the Mashona Rebellion.

This uprising, which began with murders at Beatrice and Norton on 15th June, 1896, spread to the Mazoe area a day or two later and reached Salisbury by the 19th of June, took the authorities by surprise. Manpower was in short supply, as most of the men of the Rhodesia Horse Volunteers were deployed against the Matabele in Bulawayo, so martial law was proclaimed and the Field Force, which was hurriedly mustered, was supported by a sixty strong Natal Troop. The first task was to warn and escort to safety those endangered by the uprising, and the community at Chishawasha was believed to be in danger of attack.

News of the revolt had earlier reached the mission, but initially all was quiet, even though four men from the Enterprise mine took refuge with the Chishawasha staff. By Sunday the 21st of June, however, two intruders had been shot and the concerted attack on the mission had started. A relief party, led by Captain St. Hill, was forced to turn back on the outskirts of what is now the suburb of Highlands, but early on the 25th of June, Captain Taylor of the Natal

Troop, with 43 men and a maxim gun approached from Newlands and Kamfinsa Park areas. "Lion" Stevens, who had a farm beyond Arcturus, had earlier joined them as a guide.

The mission was evacuated within half an hour, and Stevens suggested to Taylor that the party use the old 'Prestage road' on its return to Salisbury. Taylor agreed, and the leaders were abreast of some rocks when a shot rang out, the group scattered and "Lion" Stevens was killed.

On the outing on 28th July, 1974, members filed past a cross, which was erected by the Rebellion Memorial Committee to mark the spot where he fell on the 25th June, 1896, before continuing their journey to the escarpment overlooking the mission itself.

Here, an absorbing account of the early days of Chishawasha Mission was provided by the Reverend Dr. W. F. Rea:

Chishawasha, the oldest mission in Mashonaland, was founded in 1891 on a site given to the Society of Jesus, in the person of Andrew Hartmann, who had been a chaplain to the Pioneer Column. Formal occupation of the area was then established by Father Peter Prestage, who built a hut and began ploughing the land.

In July, 1892, the first band of missionaries crossed the ridge and looked down on a desolate valley, which had been ravaged by fire and plunder. Soon, however, a cross was erected on the Chishawasha Kopje, and the seven pioneers, who included Father Francis Richartz, the future Superior of the Mission, and five brothers, among them a cook, a carpenter and a wheelwright, created the first mud and wattle Mission House. The site near the Mtenje stream proved to be a fever trap, and two of the missionaries died within four years, and four more succumbed with seven years. An exceptionally heavy rainy season, poor communications and a shortage of labour added to the community's problems, but, in time, Chishawasha, with its trees and cattle, stables and pigsties, became a thriving concern. In 1894, Father Biehler established the first school, and, when a year later, Frank Rhodes visited the Mission, he was impressed by its permanent buildings and its progress.

Signs of the impending disaster came on the 15th of June, 1896, when news of the Mashona Rebellion reached Chishawasha, but the missionaries felt capable of defending their property and themselves. A Brother and an African rode out to advise Salisbury of this fact, but en route the African was killed, and within days the Mission was under seige.

Reasons given for the onslaught, which was the only attack on a mission, are varied and controversial. An injudicious remark made by Father Biehler during a private conversation with Earl Grey, and which was subsequently transmitted in a letter to the Administrator's wife, has been interpreted by some as evidence of the existence of mutual hostility between the missionaries and the Shona. But a more realistic explanation may be found in the fact that rinderpest was rife in the country, the Mission possessed the healthiest cattle within miles, and during the final raid, the attackers acted as rustlers rather than as plunderers.



Father A. Hartmann.

(Photo: National Archives)

**Chishawasha Church:
1898.**

*(Photo: National
Archives)*



Whatever the objectives may have been, no doubt exists regarding the nature of the attack. The community house was seized, and an advance was made on the double-storied barn, which was being used by the inhabitants as a fort. Some of the attackers were killed, and finally a stray shot from one of the defenders passed the refectory window, and by breaking a glass jar on a table, caused the Shona to beat a panic-stricken retreat.

Three days later, a patrol arrived from Salisbury, and on 27th June, 1896, the deserted mission was subject to a last attack. Chishawasha remained largely unscathed, and in due course a peaceful settlement would evolve there.

After this piece of history had been related members of the 1974 outing settled down, amid the beautiful scenery, to enjoy their picnic lunches. Ahead lay a visit to the mission itself.

The record of the progress of the Chishawasha church and community was presented to members by Rev. Dr. Rea.

In the early days of the Mission, bricks were made and trees were planted. Then, around 1902, a lime kiln was established and over the next twenty five years, the productivity of this kiln acted as a type of "barometer" of the country's progress. A measure of the good times was that water was pumped and the piping was given by George Pauling, one of the most prominent men in the early history of Rhodesia.

A church was built in 1898, the year after the Mashona Rebellion had ended. The original building however proved to be too small, and the church in its present form dates back to October, 1902. In its day, the Chishawasha Church, with its model gardens and plantations whose products won prizes at Salisbury Agricultural Shows, was one of the "wonders of Rhodesia" and regularly attracted visitors from Salisbury. Brother Lindner, who had been one of the first arrivals at the mission in 1892, was the architect and builder, while Brother Krechel was responsible for the soap-stone carvings, which may still be seen on the altars, and Brother Timmer added the iron work.

Contributions to the school, which had been re-established at Chishawasha after the Rebellion, were made by the Dominican Sisters, who in 1898 introduced schooling for girls, and by Father Biehler, who instituted the famous Chishawasha Band, which played before the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, at Mafeking in 1903.

Today, facilities at the Mission include the Seminary where African priests are in training, the centre for social work and the St. Ignatius Secondary School, while 700 children live on the site of the original mission house and of the barn and of the old road used by "Lion" Stevens.

A similar blending of the old and the new intrigued members, when during their final visit of the day, they re-enacted the first outing made by the Rhodesiana Society after its inception twenty-one years ago. Standing in the modern Chishawasha Library, poring over seventeenth century books brought to Africa by the missionaries, became for most people the last haunting chapter of the Chishawasha saga.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to all the speakers mentioned in the MSS for their kind co-operation in permitting me to have access to their notes and to record their speeches.

(The Mashonaland Branch have produced a printed souvenir brochure of the visit. It gives a detailed history, with map, of the mission. It can be bought from the Hon. Sec. Mashonaland Branch, P.O. Box 3946, Salisbury for 25 cents.—Editor.)

"THE LANDS AND PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AFRICA"

This locally produced book (201 pages in limp cover from the Longman Group) is intended as a text book of the geography of Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi, the textual matter being explained and considerably enlivened by the prolific use of photographs, maps and diagrams. In addition to the conventional geographical headings of physical features, geology, climate, vegetation and so on there are chapters on population, mining, power, industry, wild life, tourism and other varied topics. An interesting feature of the book is the "case studies" of specifically named farms, industries and projects.

The book aims to teach not merely to make statements and there are "Self-testing questions" throughout the text and "Things to do" at the end of each chapter.

The authors are W. D. Michie, E. D. Kadzombe and M. Naidoo.

Some Recent Additions to the Library of the National Archives

Compiled by C. Coggin

(International Standard Book Numbers are given as an aid to identification. The list does not include books reviewed in this issue.—Editor.)

African apprenticeship: an autobiographical journey in southern Africa, 1929, by Margery Perham. London: Faber, 1974. 268 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 571 105351. \$7.20.

Dame Margery Perham is well known for her learned work on African themes. In 1929, as a young Oxford don, she travelled round the world as part of a Rhodes Trust Travelling Fellowship. This book is based on her travels in southern Africa on that journey. A useful foreword familiarizes us with the situation in southern Africa at that time and the narrative that follows therefore falls into clear perspective for the reader. It is a fascinating account of an era that is now past, covering social, political and educational aspects in a perceptive and often witty manner. It sets the scene for the winds of change that were to blow thirty years later. Two chapters are devoted to the Rhodesias as they then were.

Battle for the Bundu: the first world war in East Africa, by Charles Miller. New York: Macmillan, 1974. 363 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 02 584930 1. \$8.03.

Charles Miller is an American who has written many feature articles for leading magazines and has travelled extensively through Africa. In this work, which promises to become one of the most important in the field, he draws a sweeping, vivid picture of the grim war in East Africa; the part played by Lettow-Vorbeck, whose superb leadership resulted in the 250 000-man British army being held at bay for four years; the enduring qualities of Smuts; the heroism, cowardice, achievements and frustrations that are the soldier's lot. There are numerous references to the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment and other allusions of interest to Rhodesians.

Beloved partner: Mary Moffat of Kuruman, by Mora Dickson. London: Victor Gollancz, 1974. 238 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 575 01791 0.

Mary Moffat worked alongside her famous missionary husband of Kuruman for fifty years. She endured ill-health, drought, famine, tribal wars and upheavals caused by Boer migrations but never allowed these to weaken her resolve to stand by her husband in his work. She often had to run the mission station herself when he was away. Mary Moffat's eldest daughter married Livingstone: while the missionary-explorer was accepted as one of the family,

Mrs. Moffat nevertheless disapproved of many of his actions and was forthright in making her views known to him. This is a moving portrait of a dedicated woman.

Beyond the Cape frontier: studies in the history of the Transkei and the Ciskei; edited by Christopher Saunders and Robin Derricourt. Cape Town: Longman. 243 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 582 64587 5. \$7,50.

Until recently, the Transkei and Ciskei have been the "poor relatives" of South African historiography. This book contains papers read at a conference held at Rhodes University in 1973 aimed at reviewing recent research on the subject. Monica Wilson, in the concluding chapter, indicates fields for further research.

The papers appearing in the volume include studies on Nguni settlement, the Cape frontier wars, the Griquas, the role of Wesleyan missionaries in the developing territories and the relationship between Natal and the Transkei.

A Cape childhood, by Norah Henshilwood. Claremont: David Philip, 1973. 111 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 949968 02 1. \$4,38.

In the previous contribution in this series, two books published by David Philip were mentioned. This, the third, is an equally attractive piece of Africana. It gives a first-hand account of the Cape Peninsula in the years between the Boer War and World War I. Familiar names, places and events are all touched on with lingering nostalgia and charm. The photographs, line drawings and layout admirably capture the spirit of the narrative.

The Dam, by Michael Fisher. London: Constable, 1973. 320 pages. ISBN 0 09 459010 9. \$4,40.

This is a novel by a medical doctor who spent his childhood in Rhodesia. It revolves around the building of a dam in a tribal area, the various interests working to prevent its completion, and the part played by the engineer in charge and his African assistant. The atmosphere of life in a Rhodesian rural district is convincingly captured.

The great hunters: selected with an introduction, biographies and notes by Geoffrey Haresnape. Cape Town: Purnell, 1974. 144 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 360 00232 3. \$4,50.

This selection from the writings of hunters who traversed the far interior in search of adventure provides valuable sidelights on African tribal leaders and other familiar historical figures. The men whose hunting experiences are skilfully recounted include Cornwallis Harris, Cumming, Baldwin, James Chapman and Selous. In his introduction the editor traces the history of big game hunting from its earliest beginnings on the sub-continent, and touches on the impact it has made on English prose and poetry.

The Rand rush, 1886-1911: Johannesburg's first 25 years in pictures, by Eric Rosenthal. Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1974. 137 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 949937 04 5.

From the pen of this prolific writer now comes an attractive pictorial history of Johannesburg. 180 contemporary photographs recreate the golden city and its development during its most eventful period that began with the ox wagon and mail coach and ended with the first aeroplane. Each illustration is fully captioned, and there is an introduction which deals with the artists and photographers of the time. This is the first in the new series *Pictura Africana*.

Stanley: an adventurer explored, by Richard Hall. London: Collins, 1974. 400 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 00 211734 7. \$8,44.

Drawing on a remarkable range of source material, Richard Hall has produced a new comprehensive biography of the enigmatic Stanley. The pace of the narrative is as urgent as the tempo of Stanley's own career, and graphically portrays the hardships the explorer endured in his African adventures. Hall does not resist the temptation to conceal the more intimate aspects of Stanley's personal life, and in so doing reveals to the reader a succession of hitherto unknown love-affairs in which the explorer was involved. The volume is an attractive one, and contains numerous illustrations.

Thank God we kept the flag flying: the siege and relief of Ladysmith, 1899-1900, by Kenneth Griffith. London: Hutchinson, 1974. 398 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 09 120540 9. \$10,25.

Kenneth Griffith, the actor, has become well known recently as the producer of controversial documentary films, including one on Cecil John Rhodes. This is his first book. In it, Griffith shows just why the siege of Ladysmith captured the imagination of Europe, and in so doing he conveys the very spirit of the town in such a way that readers visiting it will have a new understanding of its exciting history. Attractively produced, there are numerous photographs and some first-class maps. An exceptionally good index enhances the book, which promises to be the definitive study of the subject.

Through lightest Africa, by John Barratt. London: William Luscombe, 1974. 206 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 86002 000 2. \$7,35.

John Barratt is a school teacher in England. His wanderlust prompted him to take two terms leave and he spent this in travelling through Africa. He wrote regular letters to his parents describing his progress, and this book is based on them. The result is a book that is at one time fascinating, humorous and sometimes exciting. He visited little-known areas of great beauty, and sheds new light on spots which those of us who live on the continent will find familiar. There are some pleasant colour plates from photographs taken by the author.

The Zulu kings, by Brian Roberts. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974. 400 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 241 890438. \$8,84.

Brian Roberts presents a colourful, comprehensive account of the Zulu dynasty from the reign of Shaka to the downfall of Dinizulu. Although he touches on the breakaway Nguni movements and their northward expansion, including descriptions of the Matabele nation, his main thesis lies with Shaka and Dinizulu. The former he sees as the founder of the Zulus; the latter as "the beginning of the end" of the nation. He has drawn on a wide range of sources which throw new light on the intrigues of the white adventurers who visited the Zulu kraals from the early 1820's and through whose eyes accounts of the Zulu people have been viewed in the past.

SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

The July 1974 issue contains the second part of the analysis of African population censuses between 1901 and 1966 by C. Coleman. A Rhodesian writer, C. J. W. Fleming, contributes Part I of "The Law of Obligations in Northern Malawi". Dr. K. J. McCracken of Stirling University gives a history of the attempts, during the 1920s and 1930s, to make the Overtoun Institution into "the University of Livingstonia". Other articles are on "co-operation in food consuming"; on how Chichewa is coping linguistically with modern English terms; on new bird distributions; and on edible fungi.

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A survey by R. G. S. Douglas

Bulawayo Public Library: first triennial report, 1971-74 (*Bulawayo*)

In his address to the 75th anniversary meeting, the Chairman read an account of the origin and development of the Library, now the country's second largest legal depository of printed books and Rhodesiana.

From its foundation, which deflected the community's intellectual life from the two pioneer hotels, the Library successfully weathered the vicissitudes of debt, litigation and a failure to obtain a much-needed Carnegie Corporation grant from lack of official support. Its more recent history is recalled as a record of the efforts of its first Librarian, Dugald Niven — who was far-sighted enough to urge the necessity of an archives office in Rhodesia years before the present Department was established — to promote an awareness of library services and requirements.

Illustrated Life Rhodesia (*Salisbury*)

The national exhibition of Rhodesian honours and awards at the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, is the subject of a popular article by Alexandra Nicholas in the issue for 28th November, 1974.

She recounts in anecdotal fashion some of the exploits from which Rhodesians have emerged with decorations during the last three-quarters of a century, and outlines the newly-established honours and awards with their many individual gradations.

Journal of African Studies (*Los Angeles*)

This is a new quarterly publication from the African Studies Center, UCLA.

While the Fall 1974 issue does not contain any articles more suitable for inclusion in *Rhodesiana* than "Prospects for a southern African common market", there is hope for the future to judge by the inclusion of several names on the editorial advisory board list: among them Terence Ranger, J. Desmond Clark, and John Galbraith, author of a study of the British South Africa Company reviewed recently in these pages.

Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History (*London*)

"The limits of colonial power: race and labour problems in colonial Zambia, 1900-53" is an article written by Ian Henderson in v. 2, no. 3, 1974, on the restraints imposed on African development in Northern Rhodesia, originally a labour reservoir for the south.

Under-development, the result of pressure exerted on Colonial Office control by formidable entrenched mining interests and assisted by an official

lack of knowledge, manpower, and funds, is seen in Marxist terms. He touches upon Sir Herbert Stanley's role in implementing measures to further the ideal, less expansive than Rhodes's, of a white-dominated corridor from Cape to Kenya.

NADA (*Salisbury*)

The Ministry of Internal Affairs annual, 1975, under the new editorship of E. E. Burke, provides more than a dozen extensive articles on a diversity of subjects ranging from tribal history in the north-eastern border area, the early district administration of Mashonaland, the Shona law of adultery, customary law, Chaminuka, and the Njanja iron trade, to Kalanga praise poems and district assistants' uniforms. C. J. K. Latham, C. Coggin, M. Gelfand, M. F. C. Bourdillon, R. C. Woollacott, J. M. Mackenzie, S. Masola Kumile and A. J. Bundock are the respective authors, many of them well-known for their contributions to Rhodesian history.

Outpost (*Salisbury*)

The August 1974 issue contains an account by George Style of the confines of a banking life and his attempts to join the British South Africa Police in the 'twenties.

Outpost carries fewer articles of local historical interest than formerly, when it earned a reputation as a source for such information.

Rhodesia Calls (*Salisbury*)

An article, "50 years of Parliament in Rhodesia" in the July-August 1974 issue commemorates the Golden Jubilee celebrations held last year.

In spite of its title it is, refreshingly, no account serving to perpetual constitutional bickering, but an illustrated guide to the august premises themselves.

The following articles, extracted chiefly from non-current periodicals, were also among those acquired recently by the National Archives of Rhodesia: Cooke, C. K. "The rock paintings and engravings of Africa" (*Tarikh*, v. 1, no. 3, 1966, *Ibadan*).

"Gli arditi dello Zambesi," (*Missioni della Compagnia di Gesù*, no. 5, May 1965, *Rome*).

Outlines Jesuit activity in Zambesia from the time of Gonçalo da Silveira. Leva, A. E. "Livingstone: esploratore dell 'umanita' " (*Africa*, December 1973, *Rome*).

Oliver, R. "Too cheaty, too thefty" (*Twentieth Century*, April 1959, *London*).

The seeds of nationalism in Nyasaland.

Pacheco, A. M. "Un voyage de Tete à Zumbo en 1861-1862" (*Bulletin de la Société de Geographic de l'Est*, v. 9, 1888, *Nancy*).

Pager, H. "Rock paintings in Southern Africa showing bees and honey hunting" (*Bee world*, v. 54, no. 2, 1973, *London*).

- Summers, R. "An ancient ivory figurine from Rhodesia" (*Man*, v. 49, no. 96, 1949, *London*).
An artistically and ethnographically important discovery at Khami Ruins.
- Trevor, T. G. "Some observations on the relics of pre-European culture in Rhodesia and South Africa" (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, v. 60, 1930, *London*).
Covers ancient mining, ruins, irrigation, coins and gunpowder.
- Valery, P. "My early days in England" (*Bookman's Journal*, v. 13, no. 51, 1925, *London*).
An account by one of the greatest French poets of this century, including his experiences as a propaganda translator for the Chartered Company in London where he fell in with Lionel Declé and considered beginning a new life in Rhodesia.
- White, F. "On the ruins of Dhlo Dhlo in Rhodesia" (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, v. 31, 1901, *London*).
- Williams, R. "The Cape to Cairo railway" (*Journal of the African Society*, v. 20, no. 88, July 1921, *London*).

Notes

THE LADY RHODESIA?

While looking up a quotation in *Stevenson's book of proverbs, maxims and familiar phrases* (1949) I came across the following at page 97 under the heading of Art:

"Ars longa, vita brevis?" said Doctor Butts

R. H. Barham, *The Lady Rhodesia*. (1840)"

This was somewhat startling as it seemed to indicate that the word "Rhodesia" had an unsuspected antiquity; it was worth pursuing — and who, too, was the Lady Rhodesia?

R. H. Barham (1788-1845) was easily identifiable but there was no book of this name. However the first series of his Ingoldsby Legends covered the date of 1840 and here indeed was the answer. The 16th in this series is "The Lady Rhohesia", and the narrative of the Lady's remarkable recovery from her death-bed on hearing of the disposal of her assets.

Stevenson's misprint is unusual.

E. E. BURKE.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

R. D. Franks was born in Rhodesia in 1934. He was educated at Prince Edward School and Cape Town University where he obtained degrees in commerce and in law. He is now a partner in a firm of attorneys in Salisbury. He was on the Mashonaland Branch Committee of the Rhodesiana Society in 1972 and has been on the National Committee since 1973.

Jeremy C. Barnes was born in England in 1946 but educated at Umtali Boys' High School and Rhodes University. He has taught history at U.B.H.S. since 1969, being Senior History Master since 1971. He has been closely associated with the U.B.H.S. History Society and its publication, *Zuro*.

Hugh Finn was born in Port Elizabeth in 1925. He was educated there and at Rhodes University where he gained a B.Sc. He came to Rhodesia to the Education Department in 1950. He is now in charge of Science at Mount Pleasant School. He is Chairman of P.E.N. Rhodesia, a past chairman of the Salisbury Arts Council and a member of other literary bodies. He is one of Rhodesia's best known poets and has had work published internationally.

Heather Jarvis was born in Rhodesia and educated in Kenya. Works for the Standard Bank and is tutor at a local college. Has had many articles published in Rhodesian and South African journals and newspapers and features broadcast by the R.B.C.

"BOTSWANA NOTES AND RECORDS"

Vol. 6, 1974, of this annual is as large (238 pages) and varied in content as earlier issues. There are 17 articles as well as Research Notes and Reviews.

There are articles dealing with archaeology, climate, geology, caves and the "pans" of the Southern Kalahari. E. Pinhey of the Bulawayo Museum continues his illustrated (black and white) check list of the butterflies of Botswana. Among the longer articles are "The Functional Web of Interdependence between Pre-Independent Botswana and South Africa" by Richard Dale and "A Review of Botswana's Financial History, 1900-1973" by Quill Hermans.

There are several historical and sociological articles, also two studies of current administrative interest on "Brigade Education", a "strategy" for creating rural employment for primary school leavers.

Janet Hermans in "The Rhodesian Reprint Library Series: Its Relevance to Botswana" reviews the books in the series to see in what way they describe Botswana, or Bechuanaland, as it was when the books were originally published.

The address of the Botswana Society, which publishes the annual, is P.O. Box 114, Gaborone.

RHODESIAN POETRY COMES OF AGE

Issue No. 12, 1974-75, of *Rhodesian Poetry* marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of The Salisbury Poetry Society in 1950. This later became the Rhodesian Poetry Society. And, that poetry flourishes here is shown by the fact that 310 poems were submitted for this issue of the journal. Forty-three poems by 24 poets, including three Africans, were accepted.

All the well-known Rhodesian poets, many of whom have been published internationally, as well as new names, are represented here. Most of the poems are on Rhodesian themes. Such are Viki Tapiwa's "African Music", Pamel Greager's "Naked Jacaranda" and Colin Style's "Closing of the Sanitary Lanes". Our political troubles are reflected in Charl Sisson's "The Terrorist", in Phillippa Berlyn's "Border Road" and in Vernon Crawford's "Tune me the Ages" which is accompanied by a glossary of Rhodesian Army slang.

The journal is edited by Colin Style who is also Chairman of the Society. The address is P.O. Box A.294, Avondale, Salisbury, and the annual subscription is \$3,00. Country membership \$1,50. The journal sells at 95 cents.

Simultaneously, comes a publication *Two Voices*, of poetry by two of Rhodesia's best known poets, Phillippa Berlyn (33 poems) and Olive Robertson (68 poems). Many of the poems have been published before so this volume is in the nature of an anthology.

In his introduction, N. H. Brettell says this combination is a happy partnership because the two poets are complementary, Olive Robertson being "more faithful to the tradition of rhyme, metre and stanza" and Phillippa Berlyn being "more adventurous" in style. Both are wives and mothers. Phillippa Berlyn is a "roving and indefatigable journalist"; Olive Robertson is a physician, city councillor and Senator.

We are all, goes on Brettell, looking for a characteristically Rhodesian poetry and this book goes some way towards it. Without the obvious and

forced use of exotic images and rhymes these poets have reconciled the European poetic tradition with the "still mysterious challenge" of colourful Africa.

Published by Two Tone Publications, P.O. Box MP 79, Mount Pleasant, Salisbury, the book, mimeographed with stiff cover, sells at \$2.

RHODESIANA IN SOUTH AFRICA—ERRATA

In a Note under the above title in *Rhodesiana* for July, 1974, in the third paragraph there is a reference to "Plumstead School". This should read "Plum-tree School".

The error is regretted.

SCHOOL HISTORY MAGAZINES

In the July 1974 issue of *Rhodesiana* we asked for information on any school history society magazines as *Zuro, the Magazine of the History Society, Umtali Boys High School* was the only one with which we were acquainted.

No information has appeared so it seems that *Zuro* is the only publication of its kind in the country.

The 1974 issue of *Zuro* has now been published, 71 foolscap, roneod pages with a stiff paper title page. The main feature is a series of six articles on Zimbabwe inspired by a school expedition there. It includes a most valuable resume of all the main theories concerning the origin of Zimbabwe, a scientific explanation of radio-carbon dating and notes on other aspects of the ruins. Other articles of Rhodesian interest are on the old buildings of Umtali; on the battle of Mkanda Hill; on the attack on Mutasa's kraal; and on some incidents in the Rebellions.

In the wider field there are contributions on the Hellenic civilisation; the Warsaw Ghetto; the last ten days of Hitler; Charles Lindbergh; the Six-Day War in the Middle East; the recent military coup in Portugal and China's role in Africa.

This is an outstanding publication and the wide interest and authenticity of the material would do credit to a professional learned journal. The Society must be one of boundless enthusiasm.

SERIMA MISSION CHURCH

Serima, named after the dominant chieftainship in the area, is a small Tribal Trust Land in central Mashonaland. The Catholic mission of Serima lies off the main road between Umvuma and Fort Victoria and its church is a remarkable example of modern African decorative art.

It is the creation of the Swiss, Father Groeber (1903-1972) who, in 1948, was commissioned to start the new mission in the Serima Reserve. He built the mission to his own plans and in order to embellish it he encouraged any sense of creative artistry among ordinary primary school boys. Their carvings, paintings and decorations now adorn school buildings, classrooms and the church.



Serima Church. Glimpse of the interior taken from behind Our Lady's Altar towards a section of the centre and over to the left side nave. Here the Serima arches come fully into their own.

It is the church that embodies the most extraordinary display of artistry. Every beam, every piece of wood in the church is carved with figures or masks of apostles, angels and other biblical characters. There are over 80 figures on the roof and window beams alone. There are coloured murals depicting biblical events and coloured ceramic tilings around altars and fonts showing scenes in the life of Christ. Let into sockets on the walls are vividly carved figures representing the Stations of the Cross. Stools, carved out of solid drums of wood, are decorated with stylised carvings of the animals of the bible. Some altars rest on the huge pots used by the Shona for storing grain or water, pots beautifully engraved with the story of the Uganda martyrs or with ordinary village scenes. Arches are filled with wooden panelling with burnt outlines of Old and New Testament events and screens are filled with carvings of angels blowing trumpets.

Externally, doors, and entrance pillars are decorated and there are free standing figures in the porches. The belfry tower pillars are cement angels with instruments.

The pupils were given free rein to express their religious feelings and impressions in their art and the paintings and carvings are not so much realistic as symbolic: they form an African expression of Christianity.

Mambo Press, Gwelo, has produced a book of splendid photographs, many in colour, of the church and its art together with descriptive text. Price \$4,95.

THE SOCIETY'S DECADE MEDALS

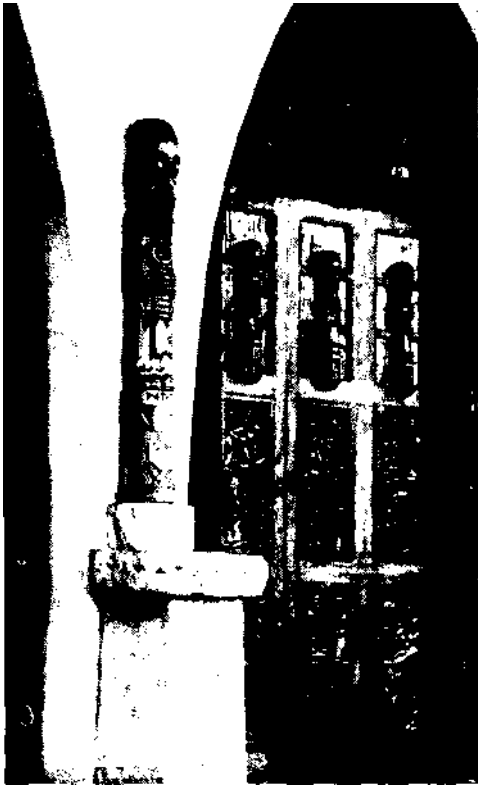
The idea behind the Rhodesiana Society's Decade Medals was twofold: to create an attractive souvenir of the 1970s, and use the small profit on the venture (if any) to pay towards the cost of the Gold Medals that are awarded to those individuals who have either made a major contribution to Rhodesian history, or who have done much to further the aims and objects of the Society.

The Decade Medals are facsimiles in bronze, of the Gold Medals. Each one is unique as it has a different serial number. These numbers will appear in a printed roll against the names of those who invest in them. (The word invest is used advisedly as a number of these medals have already made their appearance on sales of Africana in Johannesburg). The total number struck was only 500 and as soon as the last one is sold the printed list of the owners will be published. Only members of the Society may buy the medals for themselves and for members of their families.

There are a few medals left for sale and those members who are interested are invited to purchase them; they cost only \$3,50 each.

"JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES"

This new publication from Oxford University Press is an international journal of work of a high academic standard. It aims to present original material



Serima Church. The two doors of the entrance are clearly separated by a statue of St. Peter in the centre. Beside the door on the right, carved pillars represent the Prophets. On the left, a like set of pillars depict the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The doors themselves show in high relief incidents of the Old and New Testaments all related to the history of Salvation.

on almost every serious subject connected with southern Africa — economics, social anthropology, demography, administration politics, history and international relations. "It represents a deliberate effort to draw together the various disciplines in social science and its allied fields". Presentation is at all times objective — not ideological.

The region covered embraces South Africa (with South West Africa), Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Rhodesia, Zambia and, occasionally, Zaire, the Malagasy Republic and Mauritius.

In this first issue, Vol. I, No. I, October, 1974, Martin Legassick writes on Post-1948 South Africa; John Comaroff on Chiefship in a Homeland; Charles Harvey on British Investment in Southern Africa; I. R. Phimister on Rhodes, Rhodesia and the Rand; Michael Wade on Myth and Truth in the Fiction of Sarah Gertrude Millin and Sholto Cross on Politics and Criticism in Zambia. There are Notes, Correspondence and Book Reviews.

The journals' editorial board comprises 14 well known academics from 12 British universities. Publication is twice a year, March and October, and the annual subscription is £4.

RHODESIANA TIES

There are less than 50 Society ties left in Rhodesia. These are on sale at Meikles, Salisbury and Bulawayo, at the price of \$2,10. If further stocks have to be ordered (from overseas), the price is likely to be doubled.

Society members will realize the advantages of being able to recognise at a glance persons with similar interests, and what better way than by displaying the Society's handsome neckwear.

It is no longer necessary to produce a note establishing Membership of the Society before these ties can be supplied. So first come, first served.

Correspondence

MRS. TAWSE JOLLIE

Sir,

As a member of the large audience which greatly enjoyed the brief talk given by Mrs. Paddy Vickery (not Vicary) to members of the Rhodesiana Society in Bulawayo last year, I was most surprised at the comments made on it by Mrs. K. M. Hammond in your June 1974 issue.

To begin with, the talk was certainly not perfunctory, nor was it flippant. It gave the impression of having been prepared with meticulous care and skill to fit it into the short 10 minutes allowed. The warm applause the speaker received reflected the audience's appreciation of this, and of the delightfully humorous touches with which Mrs. Vickery enlivened her subject.

I myself grew up in the Bulalima-Mangwe area, and well remember the farming community's reaction to Mrs. Tawse Jollie. They greatly admired her ability — and were, as Mrs. Vickery put it, "scared stiff of her". "She's not interested in anything but politics, and I can't talk politics," was the comment made by one farmer's wife after entertaining her to tea.

Clearly, in her youth Mrs. Hammond was very interested in politics, so she and Mrs. Tawse Jollie were (to put it flippantly) on the same wavelength. Other young people did get the impression that she was rather unapproachable.

If Mrs. Hammond reads the printed version of Mrs. Vickery's talk again, I am sure she will find in it much praise of Mrs. Tawse Jollie's hard work, determination and courage. It was in fact a very sincere tribute to an outstanding and at the time unique, Rhodesian woman.

Yours, etc.,

MRS. H. C. PARRY,
12A Oxford Rd., Hillside, Bulawayo.

Sir,

Like Mrs. K. M. Hammond, I was upset and angry over Mrs. Paddy Vickery's apparent lack of respect for such a very important and dedicated Rhodesian as Mrs. Tawse Jollie. I was unaware I could write a protest for a magazine like *Rhodesiana*. My father E. H. Bulman was managing Rezende mine at Penhalonga at the time of the Responsible Government Referendum and Ethel Tawse Jollie stayed with us many times during her indefatigable and hard work to this end. She remained a life-long friend and I was instrumental in getting Archbishop Paget and Lord Robins to fly her out from Poltimore Castle Nursing Home (where I had visited her) where she was just pining away. They arranged for her to have a flat and income and live in Salisbury until her death in her beloved Rhodesia. The repeated remark in the article that certain men were "terrified of her" showed how single-minded and determined she was in all she undertook.

Finally, the phrase — "Mrs. Jollie's maiden speech, if a twice married woman can make a maiden speech" — is, I think, offensive in the circumstances. Mrs. Ethel Tawse Jollie, O.B.E., please.

Yours, etc.,

MRS. CAROL MCEWAN,
Leisure Isle, Box 156, Knysna, Cape, South Africa.

HISTORY OF FORT VICTORIA

Sir,

I have been sponsored by our local Museum Society to collect the material for and write a book on the history of Fort Victoria. I am not sure yet of the period I will endeavour to cover, but it will probably be between 1890 and 1923-1930. I intend visiting the National Archives as soon as possible and am contacting all possible sources of information known to me so far.

Would it be possible to include something about this project in your next issue of *Rhodesiana* as a means of gaining further probable sources of information, and asking people to contact me at the address below if they have any relevant information, suggestions etc.? I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours, etc.,

MRS. KAY SAYCE,
P.O. Box 123, Fort Victoria.

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT: S.W. DISTRICTS

Sir,

Having been a resident of West Nicholson from 1926-1942, I was most interested in a *Rhodesiana* No. 31, Sept. 1974. My husband is mentioned; he arrived in West Nicholson in 1922. Sorry I must correct the account of the Dunsmuir tragedy. The date was 24th December, 1930 — not 32. My husband, self, nursemaid and children aged 2½ years and 8 months, only just crossed Bembezi at 3 p.m.; at 6.30 p.m. the Dunsmuirs arrived on the south side. Mrs. Dunsmuir was terrified of crossing the smallest stream. Mr. Stan Rogers took his truck across but she refused to go over but eventually agreed, the flood seemed to be dropping, they got about a quarter way back when the engine conked. The men were all walking round the truck trying to get it started.

Mr. Lane started in from the West Nicholson side to give assistance — nobody had noticed a wall of water approaching — they could easily have all walked back, up to that moment. Mrs. Dunsmuir in her terror of rivers had climbed on to the roof of the truck with the little boy and as the truck was overturned and carried downstream she must have been pitched into the main current, which my husband was also caught in. She was in front of my husband but the current was taking her as fast as he could swim, a log came along and pushed him under water and when he surfaced she had vanished. All the others had been washed out on the south side, excepting the little girl. The nursemaid

afterwards reported Freddy Dunsmuir had the child in his arms, but he was dashed up against a big boulder which knocked him unconscious — he let go the child and she went down in front of the nursemaid's eyes. My husband managed to grab an overhanging branch and haul himself out and had to run to West Nicholson to give the news. It was nearly dark, although lanterns were taken to the bank nothing of the victims was seen, although by shouting across the river we were able to verify who was safely on the other side. At dawn a fruitless search was made, the irony was that only a small trickle of water was crossing the drift in the morning.

I think another item might be of interest. A Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald came to the village and found an ancient working site, in the vicinity Mr. Jack Rogers' house is now standing. They purchased a shaking machine, with crepe rubber blankets, on which they washed the soil. They found small gold beads, fragments of beaten gold, copper beads, tiny stone anvils and ostrich shell beads. Needless to say the thrown out debris was of great interest to the children. Mrs. Mac said they could have anything they found, my little daughter found a perfect little pair of bronze tweezers still in working order, but she wasn't allowed to keep those. The Macdonalds finally decided the venture was too expensive and gave their small collection to the Bulawayo Museum.

Incidentally, Tods Hotel was Dunsmuir's homestead originally, and was opened as a hotel in 1935. When we were there lion prowled around, also elephants.

Yours, etc.,

(ALDERMAN MRS.) F. LANE

Warwick Park, P.O. Box 484, Que Que.

AUGUST AND BERTHA GREITE

Sir,

I refer to correspondence which appeared in Vol. 18 (July 1968), Vol. 27 (December 1972) and Edward C. Tabler's reply in Vol. 28 (July 1973), of the *Rhodesiana* magazine.

To add to Mr. Hepburn's letter (Vol. 27 of December 1972) I should like to refer to T. Baines's *Gold regions of South Eastern Africa* in which August Greite is mentioned and in particular, the reproduction of a letter written by him from Potchefstroom, dated 20th December 1871, on his assessment of ore samples. The letter, signed "Aug. Greite" appears under Chapter V, The Gold fields of the Trans-vaal Republic, of *Gold regions . . .*, and says of his examination of the ore "as good as some of the best I have seen in Australia". August Greite, hunter and trader must have had connections in Australia as Erna van Belkum's letter (Vol. 18 of July 1968) mentions "a magnificent lion skin karross which was beautifully lined in Perth".

The reference to August Greite's mining knowledge does seem to cast doubt on the theory that Greite the miner at Tati and Greite the trader and hunter at Bulawayo were two different people. Greite is not a common name in this part



Bertha Greite (nee Wulff)



**Erna van Blommestein, nee Greite,
holding son, later Dr. J. H. G. van
Blommestein.**



August Greite

of the world, and, furthermore, one that is easily misspelt. I believe that there is a strong possibility that not only was the name misspelt but that it picked up wrong initials from time to time, but they all refer to the same person: August Greite. (Certainly Mr. Tabler's reference to H. Greite is, with little doubt, incorrect).

I brought up this matter of identity with two of A. Greite's grandchildren, Mrs. Erna von Belkum (daughter of Erna Greite who was born in Bulawayo) and Dr. Jack Henry Greite van Blommestein, the latter being the grandfather of my sons, hence my interest. Dr. van Blommestein lent me the enclosed photographs of August and Bertha and their daughter, Erna holding him as a baby. (Note lion's claw brooch which is halved for daughter, the other half is said to have been given to the other daughter). A copy of Erna's Baptismal Certificate is also attached; she was born in Bulawayo in 1875 and only baptised in 1892 in London.

August Greite pre-deceased Bertha who married again to one Heinrich Diedrick of Zeerust where they are buried.

August Greite was born in Hanover, about 1833. Bertha's maiden name was Wulff, of Germany. Further research is necessary before all the problems concerning the identity of Greite can be resolved.

Yours, etc.,

MARGUERITE GRAY,
Private Bag 7729, Causeway, Salisbury.

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BAPTISMS solemnized in the Parish of ST. MARGARET, WESTMINSTER,
in the County of Middlesex, in the year 1892

When Baptized.	Child's Christian Name	Parent's Name		Abode.	Parish of Residence.	By whom solemnized.
		Christian	Surname			
Born 1872 Baptized June 23 1892	Erna	August	Greite	Zeerust	South Africa	W. W. W. W.
1878 - Baptized 1892	Bertha			South Africa		Reeta

A true Copy, With or my hand, this 12th day of September 1895

W. W. W. W.

*Could have copy
H. H. H. H.*

Photocopy of original copy of Baptismal Certificate of Erna Greite born Matabeleland. Certified as a true copy by Dr. J. H. G. van Blommestein who holds the original.

Reviews

The Right of the Line. The History of the B.S.A. Police. Vol. 2. 1903-1939 by Peter Gibbs. (Kingstons, Salisbury. 1974. 244 pages. Maps. Illustrations. Price \$7).

This volume covers what Gibbs calls "the formative years" during which the force changed from being a military style mounted infantry unit into more of a civilian police force. It was a gradual change over. At the beginning of the period troopers still "regarded police work as an unwarranted intrusion on their more colourful regimental duties" and during the 1914-18 war the force was again put on to a military footing as it had been during the Boer War. It served in the Caprivi Strip, where it struck just about the first blow against the Germans, in the north of Northern Rhodesia and in East Africa. The story of these campaigns is told here.

Town Police, independent of the B.S.A.P., had been formed in Salisbury in 1892 and in Bulawayo in 1903. During this latter year these police were taken over by the government (the B.S.A. Company) and named the Southern Rhodesia Constabulary. But the B.S.A. Police, as a semi-military force, remained under the ultimate control of the British High Commissioner in South Africa. Although control was split, there was some interchange of officers until 1909 when the S.R.C. was absorbed by the B.S.A.P. The combined force was then taken over by the government, the only condition laid down by the High Commissioner being that the B.S.A.P. would no longer undertake any military duties unless he agreed, which meant unless Britain was at war. And the force was still to be reported on by the Imperial Government's Inspector-General of Overseas Forces. The only purely military force remaining in the country was the Southern Rhodesia Volunteers.

The policy of appointing commanding officers from serving members was established about this time and carried on until 1913 when, as war seemed imminent, the Imperial authorities requested the appointment of a senior officer from outside. This was Major General Sir A. H. M. Edwards, K.B.E., who was destined to become Commandant-General of all Southern Rhodesia armed forces. He was a man of vast military experience and had also been Chief Constable of the Metropolitan Police for six years. Gibbs stresses heavily the importance of this appointment to the history of the B.S.A.P. and tells how this remarkable man had more to do than any other in moulding the B.S.A.P. into the tradition and pattern that it was subsequently to follow.

The semi-military emphasis in the force lasted long after the 1914-18 war. The colourful Mobile Patrols of forty or more mounted troops that rode through the remote areas of the country "showing the flag" and, in pre-war days, acting as warning against any more rebellions, were undertaken until well into the 1920s. Interesting cases are related illustrating the way in which the first soldier-constables stumbled through unfamiliar legal technicalities when

confronted with police work. The arguments concerning the type of recruit needed for the new style B.S.A. Policeman continued for many years. A public school background and the ability to ride and shoot were qualifications that held the day for many years although hardly essential for a civilian policeman.

Many famous B.S.A.P. characters appear in these pages. W. Bodle, the first man to attest in the Company's police in 1889 with the immediate rank of R.S.M. became the first Commanding Officer of the amalgamated (Mashonaland and Matabeleland units) Force in 1904 and retired in 1909 at the age of 53. Although he never mastered the intricacies of the English language he had acquired, during his rise, "the dignity of command" and he retired as the very "personification of the 19th Century soldier". The first commanding officer to rise from the rank of trooper was A. J. Tomlinson appointed in 1926 after the lengthy service of 32 years. He had been in the thick of the Jameson Raid, at the relief of Mafeking and commanded the 1st Rhodesian Native Regiment in the 1914-18 war. (There was an article about him in *Rhodesiana* No. 26, July 1972.)

Of the other R.S.M.s the "colourful and incomparable" James Blatherwick is the best known and the mention of his name recalls many inimitable stories. Jock Douglas, an intractable and undisciplined trooper, who served a sentence for desertion, rose to serve for 13 years as a respected R.S.M. "second only in reputation and regimental renown" to Blatherwick.

This is not a dry history book or an official chronicle of regimental orders and staff changes. It is full of good stories, of pen portraits of outstanding and unusual characters, of interesting episodes and events all put together in a lively and readable style.

It is a pity a few more illustrations could not have been included. An enhancement to its value as a piece of history, without detracting from the unencumbered narrative, would have been a few short appendices of such subjects as a chronology of significant changes, a bibliography and a list and dates of commanding officers.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Railways of Rhodesia; the story of the Beira, Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways by A. H. Croxton. David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1974. 315 pages. Illustrated. Map. Price £4,75.

David and Charles, of Newton Abbot in Devonshire, are a most enterprising firm which has, amongst other things, specialized in publishing railway literature, much of it nostalgically devoted to steam. This is a most splendid volume in a series of railway histories of various countries — written with authority, meticulous, eminently readable and well set up. It is most strongly to be recommended as an essential in any collection of Rhodesiana, a book which has long been needed.

The author worked on the old London and North Western Railway and the London, Midland and Scottish which absorbed it, before coming to Rhodesia in 1927. He had 35 years service with Rhodesia Railways and retired as Assistant

General Manager (Operations). The book is the result of a purpose that he set himself on his retirement and in fulfilment of it he interviewed many of those with a personal knowledge of the growth of the system and its early days; hence the authority of the work.

Some of the most entertaining reading — and the author's style throughout is pleasant and attractive — concerns the war-time and post-war problems of the Railways and the schemes for modernisation. The last chapter deals with recent events and the split with Zambia. To those who have a particular attachment for locomotives there are full descriptions of the various types used in the Railways' history and of the change to diesel power.

Who remembers the Ganz experimental diesel railcar, imported from Budapest in 1936 that made a daily return trip, Salisbury to Shamva, 3½ hours each way?

To repeat, an essential book, strongly recommended.

E. E. BURKE

Three years in Savage Africa by L. Declé. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1974. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, Vol. 35. [xiii], xxxi, 594 pages. Illustrations. Map. Price \$9,40).

This is a facsimile reproduction of the second edition of the original dated 1900, with a new foreword by Dr. M. C. Steele of the History Department of the University of Rhodesia; it is the 35th volume in Mr. Bolze's Rhodesiana Reprint Library.

A Frenchman, the author was entrusted by the French Government with the conduct of an expedition to cross Africa from the Cape to Uganda, for purposes of ethnographical study, and to obtain for it firsthand reports on the development of the great areas of the continent to the south of the main French colonies.

Declé is not well known to the average collector of Rhodesiana and hence this reprint is the more to be welcomed; nevertheless some 200 pages of the book are devoted to southern Africa.

He reached Cape Town in May, 1891, and was given every help by the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, and by Rhodes; indeed the book is dedicated to Rhodes. His first effort was through Botswana to Barotseland and from there he went to Bulawayo. There are some valuable glimpses of life in Lobengula's kraal in 1892, so shortly before its extinction; of it he writes — "Imagine a huge plain, extending for miles, with only two or three trees rising above a short, miserable looking grass, all over which were strewn bones, the remnants of Lo Ben's victims ... On the left was a rise, on the top of which could be seen the tips of a stockade, Lobengula's kraal. In the middle of the plain were three groups of miserable tumble-down native huts, half a dozen of which stood together surrounded by a reed fence. These were the habitations of the only three European settlers in the place". H. M. Stanley who wrote the Introduction

to the original volume compares this with the Bulawayo of some five years later when the Palace Hotel was entertaining 300 guests for the opening of the railway.

Thence, DeCle went via Salisbury, Sinoia and Sipolilo to the Zambezi at Tete, and so into Malawi. The rest of his book deals with his travels in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya.

This is a simple tale, with much that is of value concerning the African's way of life.

E. E. BURKE

The Shattered Nation, by J. G. Storry. (Howard Timmins, Cape Town, 1974. 175 pages. Illustrations. Price R5,95.)

The Shattered Nation sets out to describe the Ndebele nation from the time of its arrival in Matabeleland to Lobengula's death some fifty-six years later. It concentrates, in fact, almost entirely on the period following Mzilikazi's death and could be described as a compact history (152 pages of narrative) of Lobengula's reign.

Mr. Storry has made careful use of a daunting array of sources, both published and unpublished (including African oral sources). Unfortunately these are not cited consistently, and quite often the reader is told the findings and views of other observers without being given the precise source. Possibly specific references such as this were kept to a minimum in order to sustain the pace of the narrative, but their inclusion would have been helpful as it is not always clear as to whether a particular view or conclusion is the author's own or another observer's.

The first chapter deals briefly with Mzilikazi's break from the Zulu nation, the growth and fortunes of the emergent Matabele people, and their clash with the Voortrekkers. It ends with an outline of Mzilikazi's reign in present-day Rhodesia. In the next chapter we meet Lobengula the child, and follow his career as herdboys, carriers and soldiers. Storry shows that Lobengula enjoyed European company from an early age and as a result learned to ride and hunt on horseback. The pace of Storry's narrative increases from the third chapter which is a fascinating account of the succession crisis that occurred with Mzilikazi's death. It is not always realized that Lobengula's position at this time was a difficult one, and various theories and accounts are critically examined in an attempt to establish the identity of the true heir.

The following two chapters describe the military, social and legal systems of the Ndebele under Lobengula. As an aid to the understanding of Lobengula's attitude and actions towards white visitors to his territory, they are extremely enlightening. Equally illuminating is the chapter devoted to the *Incwala* or "Festival of the first fruits": this is a vivid description of the colourful celebration held once a year in honour of the spirits and of nature's bounty to the Ndebele nation.

The joy embodied in this festival is quickly dissipated in the atmosphere of foreboding which the author conveys in the next chapter. Here we read of the concession seekers, the pioneers, the resentment of Lobengula's younger warriors; the inexorable move to conflict and Lobengula's own predicament in wishing to avoid this. Ensuing events are traced carefully and objectively by the author; the killing of Lobengula's emissaries at Tati, the main battles of the War, Daniels's and Wilson's trickery, the annihilation of Allan Wilson's patrol, and the pathos of Lobengula's own end. Useful corollaries to the story are accounts of Lobengula's burial place, his supposed treasure and the fate of his sons and widows. A glossary of Ndebele words, a bibliography, and index round off the book.

Many of the aspects covered in this account are already reflected in detail in such works as Child's *The history of the amaNdebele*, Summers's and Pagden's *The Warriors*, Glass's *The Matabele War* and Preller's biography. But Storry's is a fresh approach and for that reason he could perhaps have dealt with the whole subject at greater length. However, as a balanced summary and, in places, an in-depth study, the book is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature on the Ndebele.

C. COGGIN

Cecil Rhodes, by Richard Tames (Shire Publications Ltd., Aylesbury, England, 1973. Lifelines series No. 5. Limp cover. 48 pages. Illustrations. Price 40p).

This little paperback is No. 5 in the publisher's Lifeline series each of which describes "the career of a man who has stamped his mark on his own age and on subsequent generations". It is good to see the founder of Rhodesia in the top ten! Mr. Tames, a lecturer in history, has a highly competent and compact style that makes *Cecil Rhodes* a delight to read. (One becomes immediately aware of the reasons why the author was chosen to contribute to the colour supplements of the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer*.)

It is an excellent and well-balanced potted biography of the great man that will hold the interest of the general reader and is a useful introduction to the student. It is a pity, however, that this review must end on a sour note. On page 37 the following statement refers to the Rebellion in Mashonaland: "The well-equipped columns of Colonel Baden-Powell killed some eight thousand rebels before 'order' was restored". Where does Mr. Tames get the figure of 8 000 from? By all accounts only a fraction of that number were killed in the *entire* 1896-97 Rebellion. Furthermore, Baden-Powell was merely a staff officer at the time, the forces being under the command of General Sir Frederick Carrington. In this one sentence the author has, with no justification, attempted to empty a bucket of slime over two great Englishmen — one the founder of a new country and the other the founder of an international movement. One can only wonder why.

R. W. S. TURNER

Cecil Rhodes, a Study of a Career, by Howard Hensman. (C. Struik (Pty.) Ltd., Cape Town. Reprint Africana Collectanea Series, Volume XLVI, 1974. 346 pages, Appendix and Index. Illustrations and map. Price R10,50).

It is a bold author who dares claim in writing a biography that in his book there will be "nothing omitted that is essential, and nothing included that is superfluous" about his subject.

As Howard Hensman in his book *Cecil Rhodes* was writing the first biography to be published of Rhodes, he was unable to make use of research possibilities that have become available to later writers. The book is a contemporary work, first published in 1901, a year before the death of Rhodes.

The author obtained a considerable quantity of information from those who were intimately connected with Rhodes during his early years. He also gained knowledge of him from his contemporaries, records which have been used by later writers.

Though Hensman states, "I decline absolutely to regard Mr. Rhodes either as a heaven-sent statesman or the incarnation of all that is wicked", it is quite clear that in his recital he considers Rhodes to be nearer the angels than the devils. For example, in connection with the conditions under which the Jameson Raid was executed — an event which Hensman calls a foolhardy and criminal enterprise — he exonerates Rhodes with the statement that it was impossible for him to foresee, and absolutely impossible to prevent, the Raid.

The book carries the life of Rhodes no further than the siege of Kimberley. Then it becomes bogged down with Rhodes's gift to the Liberal Party in England and his dealings with "the chief wire-puller of the Liberal caucus", a Mr. Schnadhorst, who the author reports as having deceived everyone alike, and having figured in a very unpleasant light in the whole affair of the gift.

The book meanders towards its close with Hensman's valedictory statement that, with the closing of the Schnadhorst incident, "the present volume may be fittingly brought to a conclusion."

The real value of *Cecil Rhodes* lies in the fact that the work has been unprocurable for a long time and that it has now been made available in a new edition.

The edition is one of the Africana Collectanea Series, limited to 1 000 copies. It is published by C. Struik of Cape Town and is excellently produced.

G. H. TANSER

Anatomy of a Rebel: Smith of Rhodesia: A Biography by Peter Joyce (Graham Publishing Co., Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1974. 480 pages. Illustrated. Price \$9,75).

Ian Douglas Smith has been Prime Minister of Rhodesia for over ten years (since April 1964), longer than any other Prime Minister of this country except Sir Godfrey Huggins (Lord Malvern). The period has been a critical one so that an interim biography is justified. But, says the author, "for a number of

sound reasons, Mr. Smith felt unable to co-operate in the project. Nor would a high percentage of his past and present friends, colleagues and associates."

So this biography is lacking in asides, reflections, personal explanations and individual recollections or opinions. The man Smith is revealed only through his public utterances in Parliament and elsewhere. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, has had no such reservations about his encounters with Ian Smith and Peter Joyce quotes frequently the many petty, disparaging remarks in Wilson's recent book about Smith and his colleagues, but only to show how absolutely Wilson had underestimated Smith.

The first three chapters cover Ian Smith's family background, his boyhood and early manhood and his redoubtable and creditable war services. The rest of the book, lacking in personal colour, is, in effect, a full and detailed political history of Rhodesia from the time Smith entered Parliament in 1953 up to the Pearce Commission with, of course, special emphasis on Smith's actions or speeches in connection with specific events. The enforced impersonal descriptions do not detract from the book's value or interest because it is not possible says the author, to write about Ian Smith in isolation. He is "the political Smith", his character shaped and his actions motivated by political events, many of them remote and others over which he has no control. Peter Joyce makes out a case to prove that even U.D.I. was "historically inevitable".

It follows that Ian Smith appears as a somewhat austere figure, almost a father image. But all is not praise. Smith, says Joyce, was simple enough to be beguiled by Butler equally as much as was Field, whom he had replaced. He is critical of Smith's over optimistic assessment of the results of a U.D.I.; of his "apathy" in putting over the benefits of the 1971 settlement terms to the Africans; of his belief in the "myth", shattered by the Pearce Commission that the African masses were blissfully content; of his "panic" closure of the Zambian border and of his failure to intervene and support the Constitutional Council during several recent discriminatory measures. Casting a light on Smith's type of leadership, Joyce says that he refused to intervene because he always allows his subordinates too much freedom of action and because he is the leader of a party composed of "collections of originally anti-establishment action groups" that might break away if pushed too hard on liberal measures.

Mr. Joyce's Ian Smith emerges as a leader whose unswerving aim is the maintenance of civilised standards in Rhodesia. The author explains his shifts and turns over Federation and the 1961 Constitution in this connotation. Smith is no extremist: he has never been regarded as one, goes on the author. He believes in the inevitability of majority rule but is determined to try and control the pace at which this proceeds.

Failing personal assistance and guidance from Ian Smith the author has to make his own interpretation of many of Smith's political statements and actions. This he does intelligently and plausibly and he leads the reader very confidently through the tangled maze of abortive constitutions and settlements.

W. V. BRELSFORD

A Guide to the Rock Art of Rhodesia by C. K. Cooke. (Longman Rhodesia for the Trustees of National Museums and Monuments. 1974. Limp cover. 64 pages. 23 colour plates: 3 monochromes. Map. Price \$2,25).

This small book has been produced for the tourist rather than for the serious student of archaeology and the twenty two sites, caves and rock shelters that are described and illustrated have been chosen, not only on artistic merit or archaeological significance, but because they are reasonably easy of access. Stylised route maps are given. The many sites deep in the Tribal Trust Lands are not dealt with, but, in order to complete the pattern of what is known about rock art in Rhodesia, there is a distribution map of all the known sites as well as a list of the more important ones not described in the book.

Rhodesian rock art does not date from remote ages. Although intrinsically hard, the surface of granite, on which most of the paintings are found, is affected by dampness and by flaking so, over long periods, the paintings can disappear.

The author distinguishes six distinct Styles, in order of age, the oldest one being dated from 3 000 to 2 000 years old and the latest from 100 years old to the present. All the Styles are developed from the earliest in which the paintings were simple silhouettes. Outline painting followed. Dating is sometimes complicated by later Styles being superimposed on to those of earlier Styles.

The historical notes and artistic descriptions of the various sites and paintings, and of materials used, are full but not too technical. The colour plates are very finely reproduced and show the paintings quite clearly while the descriptive captions fit the subject into its particular Style.

This is a delightful publication and, even though it is aimed primarily at the visitor, it does form a colourful introduction to rock art which, with its easy text and attractive pictures, interested Rhodesian readers will find pleasant to peruse.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Other Livingstone by Judith Listowel (David Phillip, Cape Town. 1974. 292 pages. Illustrated. Maps. Price R18).

A spate of books about Dr. Livingstone has appeared during the past year because of the interest quickened by the ceremonies commemorating the centenary of the Doctor's death. The latest offering by Judith Listowel is based on the denigratory theme that Livingstone exploited other men's work for his own purpose, and then dropped them.

This book can be conveniently divided into three parts. In the first Lady Listowel contends that the credit for the discovery of Lake Ngami belongs to William Cotton Oswell rather than to Livingstone. It is true that Oswell's share in the triumph went largely unnoticed, but this was due to his modesty and self-effacement. His interest was more directed at killing game than in discovery; and although it is accepted that Oswell financed the expedition, it was Livingstone who assumed its leadership, while its success more than anything

else was due to the Doctor's command of the local language and to the ascendancy he established over the suspicious chiefs he met along its course. And it must be noted too that apart from a temporary rift in their relationship during 1850, the two men remained lifelong friends, which surely would have been impossible if Oswell indeed harboured a grudge against Livingstone.

The second section is the most valuable in this book. Thanks to new material she has unearthed and to her own Hungarian antecedents, Lady Listowel has been able to give us an account of the travels in Central Africa of the mysterious Hungarian, Laszlo Magyar. She affirms that Magyar (and also Silva Porto) reached the Upper Zambezi before Livingstone, that the Doctor found Magyar's routes invaluable but yet refused to meet him, and that he even denied that he had ever heard of Magyar.

Finally the author deals with the identity of the real discoverer of Lake Nyasa. The reviewer has already examined Snr. Candido Cardosa's claim to have reached the lake during 1846, and Judith Listowel, after invoking the same evidence and the rather less reliable memories of Candido's descendants at Tete, concludes with some justification that Livingstone again turned a Nelsonian eye on an event which might discredit the priority of his own discoveries.

What the author has failed to emphasise is the point that because Livingstone charted his routes by astronomical observations with such care, it became possible to draw maps of the African interior accurately; and secondly that as a highly literate man Livingstone was able to reveal his discoveries to the world. On these two counts, the Doctor thoroughly deserved his fame as an explorer, for the other men failed to publish their discoveries.

And a third point is ignored in *The Other Livingstone*: the famous missionary-explorer remains beyond the calipers of ordinary judgement until it is appreciated that he came to believe he was in a state of grace, that the Lord had chosen him as His servant to open up Central Africa to Christianity and to discover evidence of the Bible truths which would counter the heresies of Darwin and Colenso. Livingstone accordingly regarded his discoveries as having been "reserved" for him by the Almighty, so that, through the prestige of His designated instrument, the sacred design for humanity might be fulfilled. Thus towards the end of his life, Livingstone wrote that the discovery of the Nile sources was valuable "only as a means of enabling me to open my mouth with power among men."

Unhappily the text of this book is liberally sprinkled with errors. It is obligatory, when reviewing it for so authoritative a journal as *Rhodesiana*, to correct those mistakes which caught my eye: Edward's first name was Rogers; Sechele did not reside at Mabotsa; Livingstone was married on 9th January, 1845; Cape Colony was never called "Kuruman Colony"; within three pages Mankhokve is spelled in three separate forms; it was Robert Livingstone not Thomas who changed his name to prevent further dishonour falling on his father; d'Andrada and Gouveia did not spend nearly a year in a Cape Town

prison; the brig "Hetty Ellen" did not rate H.M.S. before her name; Livingstone's boat, the "Lady Nyassa", was spelled in the older form; the saintly Scudamore died of erysipelas not malaria; during his last journey Livingstone tramped round the southern and not the northern end of Lake Malawi; Livingstone induced Chief Cazembe to liberate Mohamad bin Saleh and not Bogharib; and, finally, Nyasaland Protectorate was never a British colony.

O. N. RANSFORD

GENERAL

Heaven's Command: An Imperial Progress by James Morris. (Faber & Faber. London. 1973. 554 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Price £4,95).

This is the first volume of a trilogy on the British Empire during the Victorian Era. Each volume will be complete in itself and the second volume *Pax Britannica*, was published in 1968. This work covers the rise of the Empire from the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837 to her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 at which date the Empire was at its apogee.

No attempt is made to produce an academic text book in chronological sequences. Mr. Morris selects episodes, characters and scenes writing them up in colourful, fluent narratives. Most of the dramatic stories of Empire are related — the fantastic armies of the Afghan Wars, the Boer Wars that shattered British military pride, and the "scramble" for Africa that was "a chronicle of squalor that tainted the divine belief of Victorian Imperialism".

But many not so well known aspects of Empire are described. Such are the half century occupation of the Ionian Islands; the near-war with the U.S. over islands north of Puget Sound; the revolt of the Metis (French-Indian half-castes) in Canada; the end of the Tasmanians and, the saddest chapter of all, the story of what Morris calls "the centuries of oppression" in Ireland, always the "most alien" of British possessions.

We meet all the great figures and, again, many of the lesser known men who left a mark, or a blot, on some page of history. There is "Hangman" Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, who hung the leader of the opposition; Bishop Colenso of Pietermaritzburg, an "ecclesiastic maverick" who was refused admission to his own cathedral because he supported the Zulus; Sleeman, who stamped out Thuggee in India; the eccentric, half-mad Gordon of Khartoum and, particularly, that group of Anglo-Irish generals, larger than life with a "sense of the theatre", all brought up in the miseries of the great famine and who flung themselves into the Imperial adventure with an extra gusto. Such were Garnet Wolseley the ubiquitous "Only General" sent to every difficult Empire war, Napier of Sind, The Lawrence brothers, Macnaughton of Kabul, Colley of Majuba and others.

But the biggest blot of all on the escutcheon was made by Dr. Starr Jameson. The Jameson Raid, says Morris, was the "ostentatious climax" of Empire. It was a "craze of *fin-de-siecle*": it was "underhand, mean and it failed" and the Empire never recovered from the ignominy.

Morris says that in the beginning the British Empire was a Christian empire. Spurred by the abolition of slavery the Victorians felt it incumbent to follow up and protect and care for Africans, create havens such as Sierra Leone and convert the former slave areas. They were militant Christians, and missionaries poured into every corner of occupied land. It was not until about 1870 that Imperialism, a sense of vocation, a deliberate expression of colonisation plus commercial opportunism took over and the aggressive secular colonialism lost Britain nearly all her friends.

This is a brilliant survey of Empire through which the reader is carried at a spanking pace. The tremendous amount of implicit research is masked by the flowing style, the lively characterisations and the graphic descriptions of many a wide-flung colonial station, town and landscape.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Paul Kruger: His Life and Times by John Fisher (Seeker and Warburg, London. 1974. 278 pages. Illustrations. Map. Price R5,50).

The author, for fifteen years a diplomatic correspondent for a group of English newspapers, shows sympathy and a light touch as he writes of a complex and dramatic period in South African history.

His vivid portrayal of Paul Kruger is without bias. Most people are familiar with Kruger's later image — a grizzled and implacable figure, redeemed by an occasional impish flash of humour. After reading the book, one has a far deeper understanding of the man himself.

We are shown how his early hardships formed his character; his immense strength and stoicism, and enduring family loyalties. He had a good business sense, an inherent shrewdness and knowledge of people, that were to be of value in the testing years of political life. Three months of school and a thorough grounding in the Scriptures would hardly be a qualification for a politician today!

The prominent figures of nineteenth century South Africa are described — Rhodes's ambitions and the Jameson raid are mentioned in some detail, with Kruger's remark of Rhodes that "This young man will cause trouble if he doesn't leave politics alone". Rhodes, in his turn, was rather envious of Kruger's land expansion "without a 6d. in his Treasury".

After the Boer War, the exile. One must be moved by his last message to South Africans. "I have learnt to accept the bitter thought of death as a lone exile in a foreign land, far from my kith and kin, whose faces I am not likely to see again; far from the soil of Africa upon which I am not likely ever to set foot again; far from the country to which I devoted my whole life in an effort to open it up for civilization and in which I saw my own nation grow. But this grief will be softened if I may cherish the belief that the work once begun, continues; for then the hope and the expectation that the work will end well will give me strength. So be it."

This is a most readable book and a very useful gift to anyone who is studying this period of South African history.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

They Came our Way: A Miscellany of Historical Tales and Sketches of the old Cape Colony by Basil Holt. (Howard Timmins. Cape Town. 1974. 175 pages. Illustrated. Price R5.95).

Basil Holt is a type well known to members of associations like the Rhodesiana Society — the enthusiast who carefully collects material, often not well known before, about the earlier days of his country and occasionally enriches our knowledge of the past with a book or article.

Fellow enthusiasts and professional historians alike have reason to be grateful to these enthusiasts. It was often, indeed, men like this who founded some of the more important collections of Africana and Rhodesiana.

They Came Our Way is Mr. Holt's second book. The first, *Where Rainbirds Call*, which I have not yet read but hope to, deals mainly with the Transkei where the author grew up. The new one is somewhat wider in scope, being described as a miscellany of historical tales and sketches of the old Cape Colony.

Mr. Holt has avoided writing about the major figures and incidents of the Cape and has concentrated on people who are lesser known or, in some cases, not known at all even to the student.

The result is that he has produced some valuable footnotes to the social and economic history of the old Colony and, to a minor degree, of Natal — the kind of material that helps to put flesh on the bones of history.

I found the chapters on the pioneer missionaries at Genadendal, the first mission station in South Africa, the most absorbing and interesting in the book. Particularly welcome is the account of Mr. Holt's comparatively recent visit to the mission and his account of its present situation.

This story goes back to 1737 with the arrival at Cape Town of Georg Schmidt, a Moravian Church missionary, who obtained permission to start a mission to the Hottentots at Baviaans Kloof in the Caledon district. His labours were successful enough to evoke opposition from the Dutch Reformed Church and after a few years Schmidt was forced to leave the Cape. He had won a good deal of support for his work but never managed to return.

For nearly 50 years the Moravians sought permission to resume their work in South Africa but it was not until 1791 that permission was given. Three missionaries were sent out and went back to Schmidt's station where one of his original converts was still living. This was the real beginning of Genadendal which still flourishes.

The chapters on slavery at the Cape are a useful corrective to attempts sometimes met to whitewash the practice. Mr. Holt shows clearly that slavery at the Cape could be cruel and inhuman as elsewhere.

The final chapter, Valley of the Pringles, suggests an interesting exercise for Mr. Holt or similar enthusiasts: to follow the trail of the early settlers and find out where their descendants are and what they have contributed to their country's progress.

For sheer human interest the story of Laurence Hynes Halloran, "parson without permit", is the gem of the book. Halloran was a schoolmaster of

exceptional talents who could on merit easily have made a name for himself in that field. But he attempted to improve his social standing and prospects by forging credentials as an ordained minister of the Church of England.

His sins first began to catch up with him at Cape Town where he spent a couple of years as chaplain to the military and naval forces and as founder of a successful grammar school. The reason why he was unmasked and sent back to England in 1810 was not inefficiency at either of his jobs but a quarrelsome nature which wrecked all the many chances he had of advancement in England, at the Cape, and, at the end of his life, in Australia. There must have been a touch of something like genius about Halloran and we almost feel some probably undeserved sympathy for the rascal.

The interest level of the subjects of this book is naturally somewhat variable and one or two chapters might have been omitted like the extracts from a diary of a trip from England to Natal by sailing ship.

One chapter I should have liked to see is one telling us more about the author and his researches. There must be quite a story in them.

In the foreword Mr. Holt says: "Ever since then (his schooldays in Umtata) I have devoted much of my spare time to delving into South Africa's past — in dusty archives . . . exploring old cemeteries . . . and copying precious documents."

Many of us, I am sure, would like to know more about Mr. Holt's lifelong hobby and how he pursued it. If there is to be another book in this series I hope he will be a little less self-effacing and tell us something about the man behind the books.

W. E. ARNOLD

The Arts of Black Africa by Jean Laude. (University of California Press. London. 289 pages. 196 monochrome illustrations. 5 maps). Translated from the French.

Both text and illustrations are based almost completely on material from what used to be French West Africa, British West Africa and the Congo. There are four Zimbabwe illustrations (and a mysterious and unexplained reference to the "thunder cults of Zimbabwe"), one mask from Zambia, one obelisk from Ethiopia and two from Algeria. But the author's interpretations and classifications fit into the historical perspective of African art generally.

Up to the end of the 19th century African art had been regarded as primitive, rough and clumsy. The classical ideal of sculpture was still the model of European perfection and Da Vinci's opinion that painting was the foremost art meant that traditional African art, with its limited expression in that form, was ruled out as being a contribution to civilisation. It was not until European artists of the stature of Picasso, Matisse, Braque and others saw in African art not curiousness or grotesqueness, but pure force and intensity, that it "entered the contemporary aesthetic hall of fame" and was "promoted to the dignity of an inspirational source".

Laude does not merely describe the various African art forms; he relates them chronologically to cultural environments. The hunter-gatherers painted on rock shelters and in caves. Masks are associated with the later settled agricultural communities. They are used at funerals and initiation rites representing the spirits that instruct mankind and hold the still fragile communities together. In the early, loosely organised ironworking cultures the artist was the blacksmith but in the later, highly centralised powers the artist has become a professional with a privileged status and he makes statues to glorify his ruler and his ancestors. This relationship and reaction to cultural change is vividly exemplified in the 15th century European objects, ivory cups, spoons and pepper shakers made in Benin for the Portuguese and by the 16th century Congo brass and copper crucifixes and other objects linked with Christianity.

Even so the author stresses not only the stylistic variety and diversified inspiration of traditional African art but also the scope left for individual expression within any one cultural region. For instance in some Baluba sculptures the style of individual artists can be recognised. It is only when produced without spiritual stimulus that African art becomes stereotyped in form. There are concessions to a uniformity in some symbols and patterns. In Congolese carvings of kings, authority is expressed by a specific pose as well as by standard royal accoutrements. Among the Dogon in Mali the historically important myths of migration are symbolised by the many statues of young men carrying old men.

But there is no faithful portrayal of anatomy in African sculpture. Emphasis is laid on significant features, especially on the head, and the crouching position is often employed in order to counterbalance the overweight of the head. Swollen buttocks and breasts indicate life and fertility, not sex. No other art, says the author, has been so indifferent to sexuality. Moreover, it is a serious art — "African art does not smile". The solemn, unchangeable spiritual influences are all pervading. Traditional African art was set in a sacred ambience.

Whilst concentrating on masks and statuary, Laude opens up many new perspectives in the study of traditional African art and he puts down its disappearance, not so much to the dissolving of traditional societies and religions under the impact of colonialism, as to the fact that under modern regimes the artist lost his status as he had to become part of the new economic and social structures.

M. Laude's perceptive and knowledgeable study certainly confutes the earlier pejorative epithets about traditional African art and demonstrates that it was mature, distinctive and significant.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Botswana, a short political history, by A. Sillery. (Methuen. 1974. Studies in African History, No. 8. 219 pages. Maps. Price £2,50).

This volume, one of a series of Studies in African History edited by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene of St. Antony's College, Oxford, is very apposite at a time when Botswana is of increasing importance in the Rhodesian context. The

author is well qualified for his purpose; he was Resident Commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (as it then was) from 1947 to 1950 and he has several other works on the country behind him.

He commences with the first contacts with Europeans, in 1801 when Commissioners for the Government of the Cape Colony first made contact with the Tswana — the Commissioners' report is oddly to be found included as a "supplementary article" in John Barrow's *Voyage to Cochin-China* (1806). After describing the country Dr. Sillery deals with the work of the missionaries, Moffat and Livingstone prominent among them. It is apparent that Botswana derives its political significance, as it always has done, from its lines of communication with the Interior — first the Missionaries' Road which traversed the western flanks of the Boer republics to enable the mission workers to get to Mosilikatsi and Barotseland, then the waggon tracks which followed and then the railway, destined in Rhodes's mind to end at Cairo. Today the considerations are much the same, and history is unusually enlightening.

Bechuanaland came under British control in 1884 when it was occupied by General Sir Charles Warren in order to prevent annexation either by the Boers from the east or the Germans from the west, the latter leading to the undesirable possibility of a continuous German presence from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The southern part of Bechuanaland became part of the Cape Colony and the northern part became the Bechuanaland Protectorate and it is with the latter that the author largely deals.

The fiasco of the Jameson Raid put an end to Rhodes's ideas of the incorporation of the Protectorate in the territories of the British South Africa Company and set it on the road to eventual independence. Much of the book relates to more recent events — up to 1972 — and the periodical arguments for and against incorporation in South Africa. The work ends with a survey of the country's potentialities and an assessment of her relations with other African states, especially South Africa.

E. E. BURKE

"The Flag-Wagger": errata

In our review of *The Flag-Wagger* by Harry Franklin in the September 1974 issue we made an error in the price. It should be £6,95 not \$3,95.

The correct name of the publishers is Shephard-Walwyn, not Shephard-Welwyn.

The errors are regretted.

National Museums Publications

No. 38 of Vol. 6 of the *Arnoldia Series* is "A Bibliography of Rhodesian Archaeology from 1874" by C. K. Cooke. This is the third major archaeological bibliography published in Rhodesia. The first, in 1959, was compiled by R. Summers and C. K. Cooke and the second by C. K. Cooke in 1970. In his

introduction the author says — "Prehistory in Rhodesia is normally considered to end with the arrival of the Pioneer Column in 1890, and therefore this bibliography is restricted to descriptions of sites which predate that year, excavation reports and archaeological syntheses."

No. 7 of Vol. 7 is "The Linguistic affinities of the Iron Age in Rhodesia". The other papers in this batch have more scientific than historical interest.

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