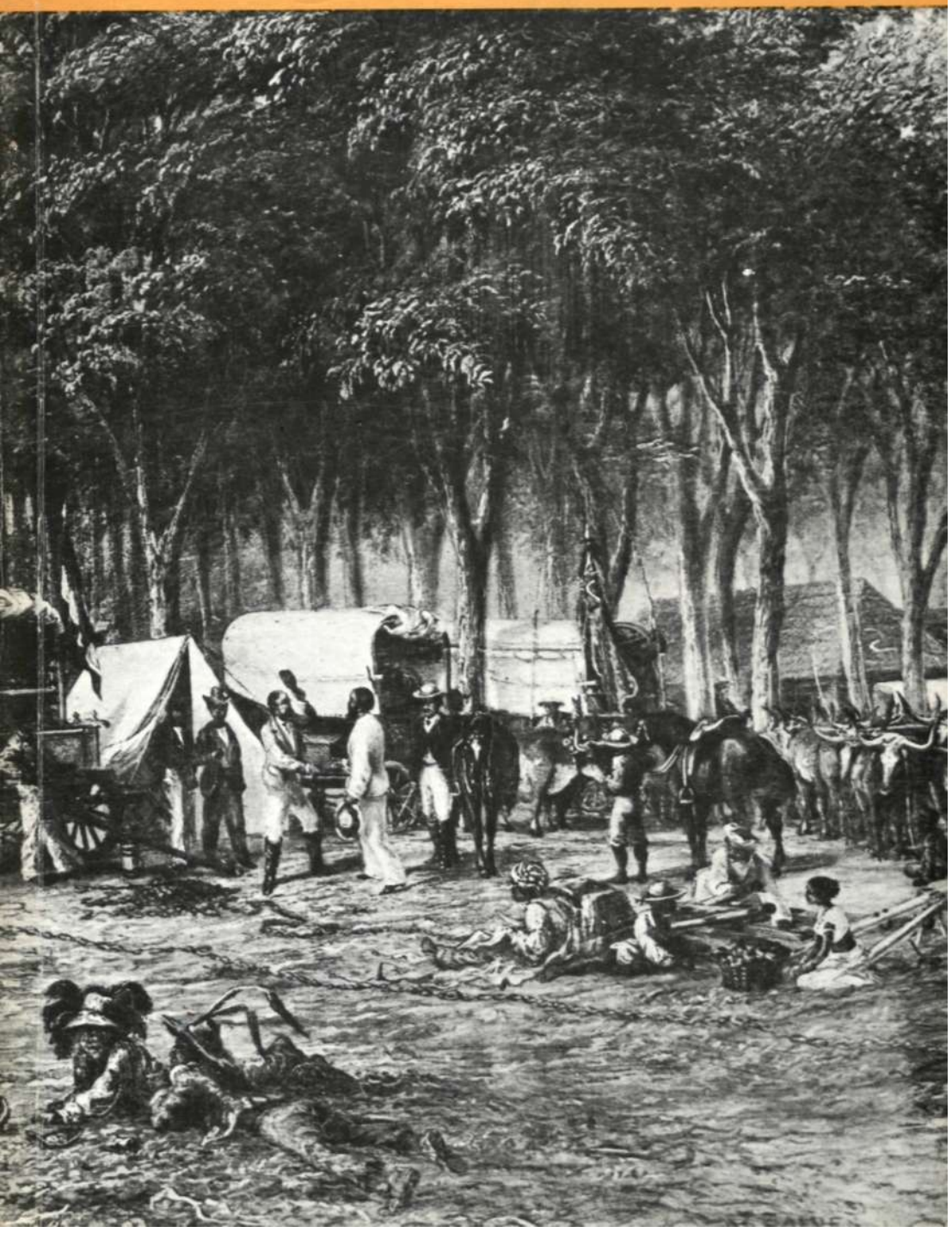
RHODESIANA

PUBLICATION No. 33

SEPTEMBER, 1975



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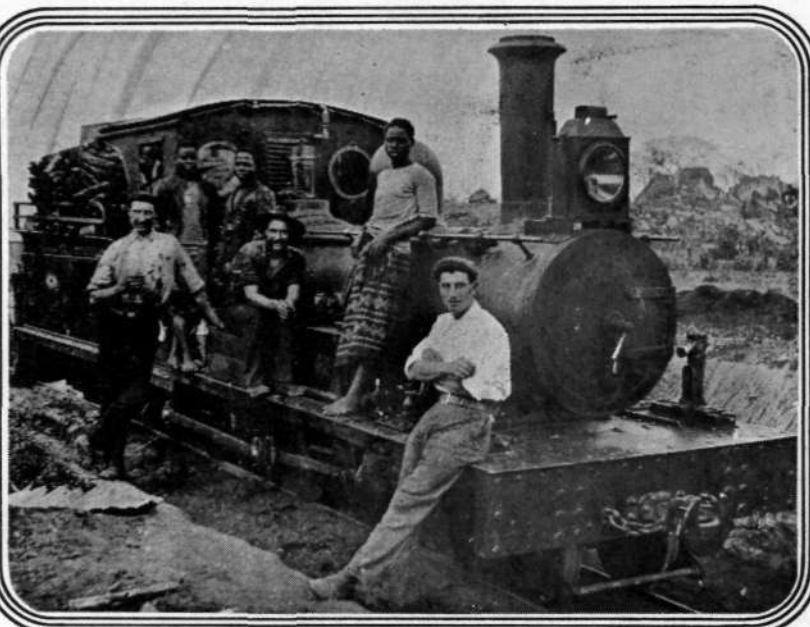

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THOMAS MEIKLE,

1862-1939

The founder of the Meikle Organisation sailed from Scotland with his parents in 1869. The family settled in Natal where Thomas and his brothers John and Stewart gained their first farming experience.

In 1892 the three brothers set off for Rhodesia with eight ox-wagons. Three months later they had completed the 700 mile trek to Fort Victoria. Here they opened a store made of whisky cases and roofed over with the tarpaulins that had covered their wagons.

Progress was at first slow, nevertheless, branches were opened in Salisbury in 1893, Bulawayo and Gwelo in 1894, and in Umtali in 1897. From these small beginnings a vast network of stores, hotels, farms, mines and auxilliary undertakings was built up. These ventures culminated in the formation of the Thomas Meikle Trust and Investment Company in 1933.

The success of these many enterprises was mainly due to Thomas Meikle's foresight and his business acumen, coupled with his ability to judge character and gather around him a loyal and efficient staff. His great pioneering spirit lives on: today the Meikle Organisation is still playing an important part in the development of Rhodesia.

PUBLICATION No. 33 SEPTEMBER, 1975

RHODESIANA

Publication No. 33 — September, 1975

THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY
Salisbury
Rhodesia

Edited by

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Authors are responsible for their own opinions and for the accuracy of statements they make.

ISSN 0556—9605

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September 1975

The cover picture is from a painting by T. Baines, showing his expedition on the market square in Pietermaritzburg, 1896, *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.*

The Rhodesiana Society

Founded 1953

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

There is no entrance fee; the subscription is $4,00 Rhodesian currency ($7,50 U.S.A. or R4.40) a year, and this entitles paid-up members to those numbers of *Rhodesiana* issued during the year. There are two issues in each year, dated June and September.

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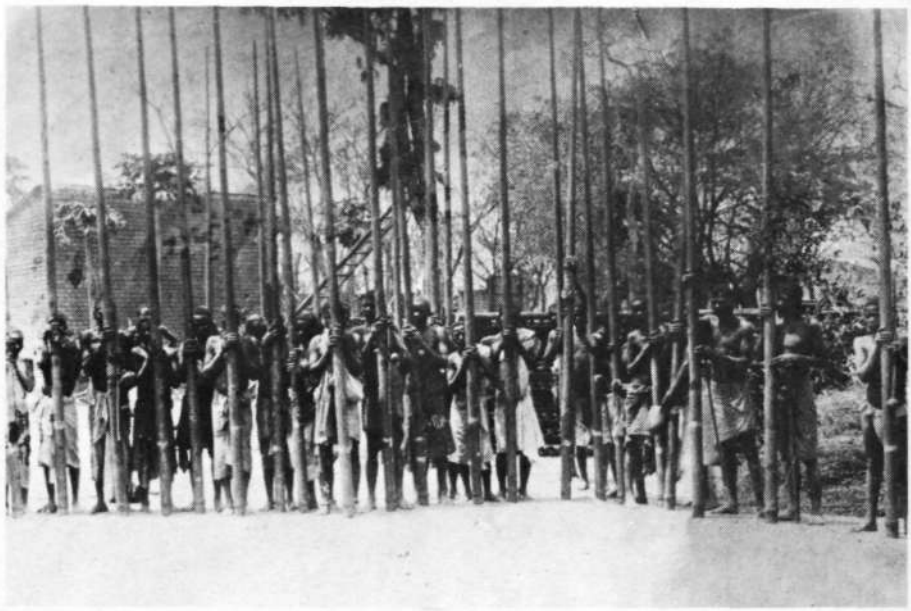
The Dove, **one of the African Lakes Company's ships that plied on the Shire and Zambezi rivers.**
(*Photo: National Archives*)



Transporting telegraph poles.
(*Photo: National Archives*)

The Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Line

by R. Cherer Smith

INTRODUCTION

Rhodes's idea of a Cape to Cairo railway with an accompanying telegraph was a bold one, and was a corollary to his vision of having a succession of British territories down the whole length of Africa. In fact, the Royal Charter establishing the British South Africa Company had specific provision for the extension of the telegraph system.

Although the scheme was initiated with speed and determination after the incorporation of the Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Company, it floundered for a number of reasons. More advanced forms of communication were in the offing: Rhodes was a sick man, and he blotted his copy-book through his implication in the Jameson Raid into the Transvaal in 1896.

The section of the route that had been completed had shown that its economic viability was doubtful, and by the time the line had reached Ujiji in German East Africa (Tanzania), the company had run out of funds. Rhodes, however, accepted the fact that the telegraph might not pay, but considered it essential to the fulfilment of his overall plan.

Sir Abe Bailey was an enthusiastic supporter of the idea, and recorded the following thoughts about the project in the early nineties:

"When I first heard about it from Rhodes in his very best enthusiastic manner, he thought it was not likely to be a payable proposition, but probably a great instrument of civilisation. We had a long talk, arguing the pros and cons of the scheme. He, of course, could only see any argument in favour of the project. Pulling out his map of Africa, which was blue pencilled, he quickly showed me what the whole idea really meant for the benefit of the British Empire. The only religion Rhodes had was to work for the British Empire and the English-speaking races. Soon after, without asking me, I sent him a cheque for £10 000 and asked him to put my name down for shares. He wrote back thanking me, and seemed very pleased because my contribution was unsolicited, and said in the letter, 'A memorial should be erected in South Africa to this project, and on it inscribed the name of the first subscriber to the Trans-Continental Telegraph Co.' Then again, as is known, he had considerable difficulties with Germany; whilst Belgium agreed to an exchange of territory, Germany had objected. I fancy that after the proposal re German scholarships, Germany was more amenable. Cecil Rhodes was at this time very keen on bringing down cable rates and placing South Africa in cable communication

with Europe at much lower rates than were current. In discussing the construction of the Trans-Continental Telegraph, we used to talk over the way the elephants would knock down the poles and the white ants attack them if they were made of wood. I never knew who gave him the first idea. He always made everyone who conversed with him go away with the conception that he was giving his own ideas—very clever of Rhodes—but I do think Sir James Sivewright had first spoken to him about it, and I believe in all his big schemes Rhodes always felt comfortable because he knew Alfred Beit was always there to support him."[1]

Whether Sir James Sivewright first thought of the idea or not, (and the evidence seems to suggest that he did) Rhodes seized upon it as part of his expansionist programme for Britain in Africa.

A few years before, a trans-continental telegraph had been constructed across Australia connecting Darwin to Adelaide—a distance of some 2 000 miles through desert and inhospitable country. If the Australians could do it, so could South Africa. After the idea had been given some publicity, the Cape Government offered a subsidy of £15 000 per annum for fifteen years to any person or company who would construct and work a telegraph between England and the Cape; the Natal Government similarly voted £5 000 per annum for a period of twenty years.

An offer was made to the Cape Government to form a company to lay a submarine cable on the east coast, but as the cost was estimated to be £1 million, and as undersea cables had a life expectancy of about 15 years, financial backing was withheld.

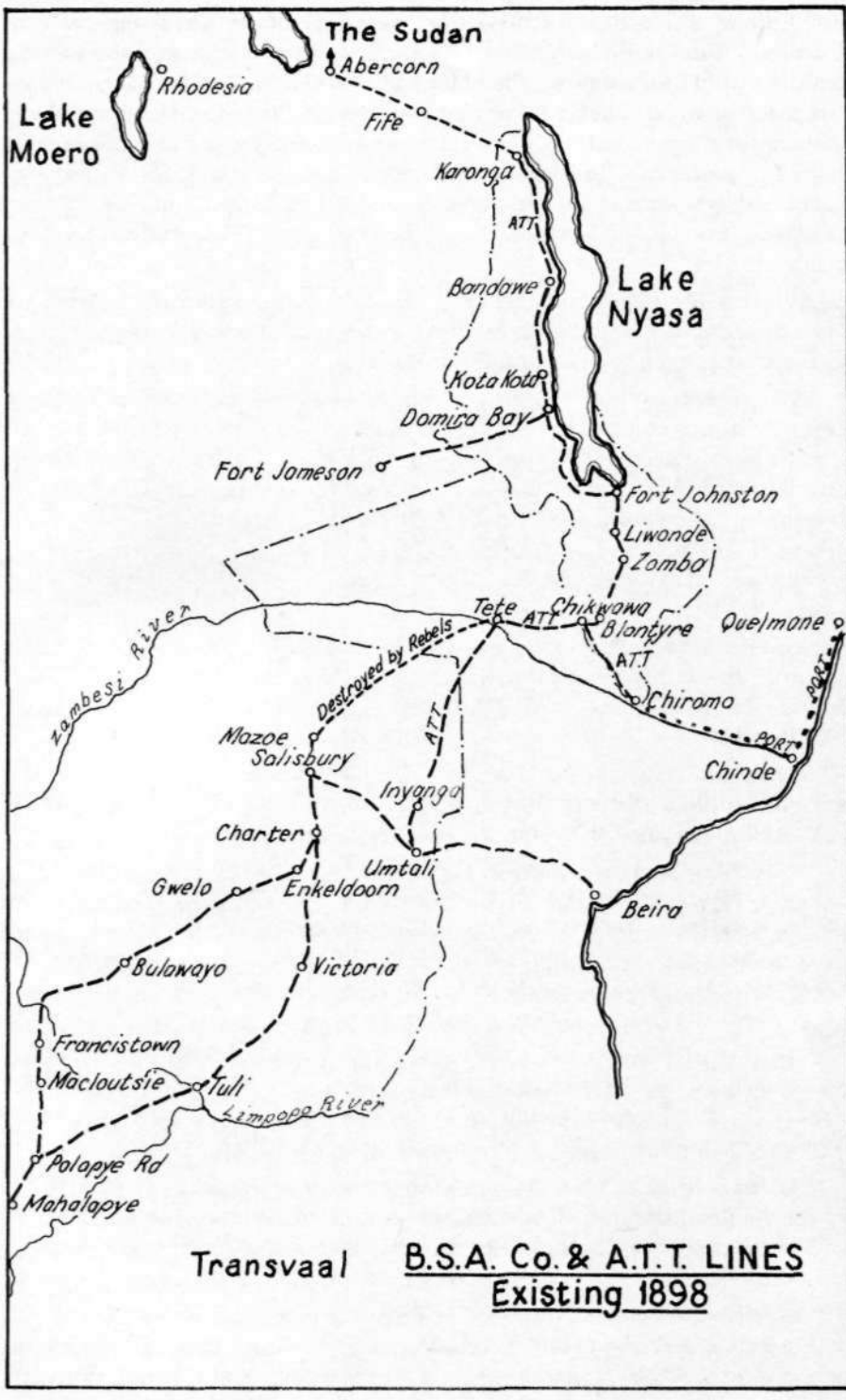
The result was that the alternative land line scheme was suggested and received strenuous support from Sivewright, who lectured on the subject in South Africa and later in London before the Society of Engineers.

A feasibility study was made in London and found in favour of the scheme. Estimates were prepared which indicated that the cost from Khartoum to Pretoria, a distance of 4 000 miles, would be £400 000 to which had to be added the cost of two lake steamers, land, and other miscellaneous items amounting to about £100 000. The maintenance charges were calculated to be £45 000 per annum, and revenue was estimated at £39 000 per annum.

Although the scheme was enthusiastically received and supported from many quarters, there were those who foresaw the difficulties. They were the experienced explorers of the African Continent and included such persons as Sir Samuel Baker, Sir John Kirk and H. M. Stanley.

Stanley pointed out that the section between the north end of Lake Nyasa and the southern borders of Egyptian territory would be the greatest obstacle. He, however, laid most stress on the unhealthiness of the interior, and between the northern part of Lake Nyasa and the Sudan, he estimated that the death rate of staff would be 20 per cent per annum.

Sir Samuel Baker who had travelled a lot in the upper Nile region, foresaw that the wire would be extensively stolen by the natives for the purpose of making


The Sudan
Abercorn
Rhodesia
Lake Moero
Fife
Karonga
ATT
Bandawe
Lake Nyasa
Kota Kota
Domira Bay
Fort Jomeson
Fort Johnston
Liwonde
Zomba
Tete
ATT
Chikwawa
Blantyre
Quelmone
A.T.T
Zambesi River
Destroyed by Rebels
Chiromo
Port
Mazoe
Salisbury
ATT
Chinde
Inyanga
Charter
Umtali
Gwelo
Enkeldoorn
Beira
Bulawayo
Victoria
Francistown
Macloutsie
Tuli
Limpopo River
Palapye Rd
Mahalapye
Transvaal
B.S.A. Co. & A.T.T. LINES
Existing 1898

arms. He wrote, "I do not think any police supervision would protect a wire of gold from London to Inverness and I think it would be equally impossible to protect a wire of iron through the tribes I have named."

He also laid stress on the unhealthiness of the country and for these reasons advocated that the line should be routed along the East Coast of Africa, and for the telegraph to link up with the submarine cable at Aden. He expressed the view that until railways had opened up Central Africa, and he saw little prospect of this happening, the territories would remain sealed.

Sir John Kirk, who was Consul-General of Zanzibar at the time, favoured the idea, but suggested a different route north of Nyasa. A route along the east coast as far as Guardafui or Berbera and then across to Aden by cable would be less risky than through central Africa.

In spite of the interest in the scheme, it hung fire. Spurred on by Sivewright's activity in London, the Eastern Telegraph Company decided to forestall any competition from the proposed overland telegraph and decided to push ahead with the extension of the submarine cable. In 1879, the cable reached Zanzibar, and then the Company extended it to Durban. This cable proved of such value that it was unable to cope with the public demand. A second cable along the west coast was laid in 1889, and terminated at Port Nolloth, north of Cape Town.

Meanwhile, concurrently with the occupation of Mashonaland, plans for the construction of the railway and telegraph systems were put in hand.

The extension of the telegraph system from Vryburg in the Cape to Salisbury was considered part of the responsibility of the British South Africa Company, although it became necessary for Rhodes to finance the telegraph system out of his private purse.

Rhodes appointed Sir James Sivewright as organiser of the construction of the railways and telegraphs. Here he had the foresight to choose a man of outstanding ability, and the one who had been regarded as the originator of the scheme. Sivewright had graduated with a Master's degree from Aberdeen at the age of 18, and three years later he was appointed manager of the Cape Telegraphic Company.

He entered politics, and before long became the member for Griqualand East, and a cabinet minister in Rhodes's government. He was responsible for pushing the railway from Colesberg in the Cape to Johannesburg through the Orange Free State. For this he was awarded the K.C.M.G.

Under Sivewright's direction, and with the assistance of Lt.-Col. William Standford and other trained telegraphists lent by the Cape Administration, the work progressed rapidly, the section between Mafeking and Palapye covering a distance of 240 miles, being completed by October, 1890.

The line consisted of a single line iron No. 6 gauge wire erected on iron poles between Mafeking and Matibis Kraal, and then on wooden poles from that point to Salisbury, following the old pioneer route. Construction of the line

was accomplished at a rate of about three miles a day. A force of about 250 labourers had been recruited in Bechuanaland through Chief Khama and other minor chiefs.

The telegraph reached Salisbury on February 16, 1892, and was soon afterwards extended to Mazoe where a lot of prospecting was taking place.

With the arrival of the telegraph at the capital of Mashonaland, Rhodes again took up the idea of the Trans-Continental telegraph. With the occupation of Mashonaland becoming a reality, the telegraph had already proved its worth in opening up and administering the territory.

During the course of a speech made at the Chartered Company's annual general meeting in 1892, he asked for assistance to enable him to extend the telegraph from its terminus at Salisbury to Zomba, and thence via the Lakes and Tanganyika to Uganda, the ultimate object being to connect with the terminus of the Egyptian Telegraph system at Wady Haifa, and thence through to England.

He estimated that the cost by this means would be 2s. 6d. per word, less than a third of the cost of sending a cable by the submarine system.

Rhodes only obtained a third of the finance he required, but made up the rest from his own resources. The Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Company was incorporated on December 27, 1892 with a share capital of £140 000 which was regarded as being sufficient to construct the line as far as Uganda. It was expected that the total cost from Salisbury to Egypt would be about £500 000, but the balance would be raised at a later date as construction progressed.

Immediate steps were taken to order the material sufficient to construct the line between Salisbury and Zomba. Half the material was consigned to Salisbury and the other to Chikwawa on the Shire River, so that construction could be expedited by working from both ends towards the middle which was the Zambezi at Tete.

Major P. W. Forbes[2] who was acting Administrator of North Eastern Rhodesia was appointed superintendent of the construction work on the section south of the Zambezi[3] whilst Mr. H. H. (later Sir Harry) Johnston, Commissioner and Consul-General for Nyasaland, was to take charge of the northern end.

A survey of the route to be followed was made from Salisbury to Tete. It was decided to follow the line from Mazoe, where a telegraph office had already been established on September 24, 1895, and then along the Mazoe River to Mount Darwin and thence to Rusambo and across the Luia River to Tete. It was originally proposed to route the line through Mtoko via Enterprise, but it was feared that the tribes in this area would sabotage the line.

An agreement was arrived at by the British South Africa Company, on behalf of the telegraph company, with the Portuguese Government for the construction by them, with the telegraph company's materials, of that part of the line, covering about 120 miles, which crossed Mocambique.

When the telegraph reached Zomba it was the intention to commence construction of the next section to the north end of Tanganyika via Lake Nyasa, the Stevenson road and then to the east side of Lake Tanganyika—a distance of about 800 miles.

An agreement was concluded with the British South Africa Company whereby they would pay for the section between Bandawe on the shores of Lake Nyasa and Abercorn and to maintain and work it.

In 1898, Rhodes asked the Company to increase its capital by £160 000 in order to construct the section from Abercorn to Uganda. Due to losses suffered as a result of the Mashona Rebellion amounting to something like £46 000, the company was running short of funds. Upon receipt of these further funds, the line eventually reached Ujiji in 1903, and was surveyed as far as Kisumu, the terminus of the Uganda Railway on Lake Victoria. Had the line reached Kisumu it could have been connected to the Ugandan telegraph network, but it was destined to end here just about the time that its author ended his earthly sojourn.

In the following pages will appear the saga of the construction parties that erected that single strand of wire for a distance of 1 500 miles of African territory.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE LINE

Mazoe-Tete Section

The material for this section of the route was manufactured by a firm in Yarrow and despatched from the United Kingdom. At Rhodes's instigation the poles were to be produced in three sections, a circular base plate which had a hole in the centre through which the lower cast iron base of about four feet in length was fitted and then buried in the ground. The upper tube was then inserted and carried the bracket, insulator and wire. The purpose of having them manufactured in this manner was so that they could be easily handled by African porters who would have to carry them over long distances in a country devoid of roads. The total weight of the pole was 56 lbs.

After completing the survey of the Mazoe and Tete section, the route was cleared of trees and construction commenced at both ends. Owing to the exceptional difficulties caused, principally by the scarcity of labour, the shortages of water due to prolonged drought and the rocky nature of the country beyond Mt. Darwin, progress was not as rapid as had been anticipated. A temporary connection, however, was made with Tete in October 1894 by stringing the wire onto trees along the route. By 1895, 162 miles of permanent line had been erected and another 75 miles of temporary construction needed replacement. Tsetse fly was encountered about 15 miles south of Dombo's kraal at Mt. Darwin, and a good deal more in the neighbourhood of Matatima's kraal.

The following season was characterised by an unusually heavy rainfall, and although the contractor endeavoured to work through the wet season he was unable to make any progress, and in the month of January, reported that the

A telegraph construction camp, 1895. This is at Mazoe, on what is now the floor of the Mazoe Dam—the Poort in the background.

(*Photo: National Archives*)

whole country was a swamp. In consequence of the unprecedented storms and the very great scarcity of foodstuffs—meal the staple diet of the African having gone up from £1 per bag, when the work was commenced, to £5 per bag—the contractor was obliged to shut down.

Two out of three of the white men who were left to look after the camps died of fever. The telegraph company was reluctant to accept this as an excuse, and thought more work should have been done during the previous dry season. The contractor, J. J. Roach,[4] was summoned to Cape Town where the Postmaster General, Somerset French, cancelled his contract, which was subsequently confirmed by Rhodes.

Rhodes had in the meanwhile instructed Major Forbes to supervise the completion of the Tete section, but Roach was unwilling to assist in a subordinate capacity and consequently took no further part in the contract.

One of the constructors in this area recruited labour in the Pfungwe area, and it appears that he used more than verbal means of persuasion to obtain recruits for the line. Upon receiving a report that one tribesman had been killed and others flogged, Edwards, the Native Commissioner from Mrewa, set out to investigate the matter.

A Captain MacCullum was placed in charge of the section between Matatima's kraal and Tete and he commenced work on June 1, 1896, although previous gangs had been employed by Roach transporting and depositing material at various stations along the route besides clearing the line and digging holes for the poles.

The Mashona rose in rebellion in June, 1896 and the telegraph line became the subject of attack. Indeed, the terminus at Mazoe featured prominently in that epic action known as the 'Mazoe Patrol' when the beleagured community at the Alice Mine were rescued.

Major van Niekerk proceeded from Salisbury with a force of 75 Europeans and 40 Africans with a view to protecting the telegraph line. Posts were established at Mount Darwin and the Luia River. In the meanwhile Major Forbes accompanied by a party of labourers left Tete for the Luia to work backwards from that point. He also established a food depot here.

Captain MacCullum remained at Matatimas, and two of his colleagues, Grant and Morkel, supervised a gang of 600 Africans who had been recruited from the Lake Nyasa district, to transport the material from Mount Darwin to Matatimas.

On June 25, 1896, the entire labour force, apart from three who were sick, proceeded with Grant and Morkel towards the Luia River, leaving Captain MacCullum with two domestic boys in the camp. Shortly afterwards 13 Mashonas, who described themselves as coming from Matopi's district, appeared in camp and ostensibly sought employment. They spoke to McCullum's boys, and from them learnt that the rest of the party had gone to the Luia. They approached MacCullum who was sitting outside his hut and asked him for employment. He consented and ordered his servant to bring out the books in which he registered the names of workmen employed on the line. While in the act of entering their names, one of them struck him on the back of the head with a battle axe. Stunned, he fell to the ground, and while falling another stabbed him in the heart with an assegai.

Captain MacCullum's boys, on seeing the murder of their master, fled and caught up with the party which had left in the morning. Morkel and Grant, accompanied by a party of three hundred porters, returned to find that MacCullum's body had been mutilated in a most revolting manner, and that it bore nearly 30 assegai and gunshot wounds. Apparently his murderers had returned to do further violence to his body.

He was buried with full military honours, although there were few to witness this last tribute to a fine man.

With the news of the rebellion spreading, H. H. Pollard, the Native Commissioner of Mazoe, proceeded to warn Major Forbes of the events that were taking place, and to advise him and his colleagues to withdraw from the Luia camp. Upon his return journey, Pollard was set upon near Mount Darwin by his own police who murdered him and then mutilated his body.

These events had a serious effect on the construction of the telegraph line. The labour from Nyasaland became alarmed and told the whites that Salisbury had been wiped out and its inhabitants annihilated and that the country was no longer safe. There was no way of confirming the report, which was probably based on the fact that Salisbury had gone into laager as a means of defence. As a consequence, these labourers refused to work and returned to Tete, where

another force of 400 labourers who had been engaged in the construction from that end southwards also decided to leave. Consequently all the work was completely stopped. Major Forbes retired to Blantyre with five white men and 35 native police.

The material for the line was abandoned in various dumps between Matatima and Mount Darwin.

Major van Niekerk, who had by now arrived on the scene, discovered that the line from Mazoe to the Luia—a distance of 160 miles—had been practically demolished and that the material that had been stored at Matatima's kraal and elsewhere along the line had, with the exception of heavy iron poles, been carried off by the rebels. For many years reports were received through hunters and prospectors of discoveries of stacks of material that had been disposed of in this way. During the 1939/45 War, when there was a scarcity of materials in the country, the Post Office sent E. G. Fry to investigate the position, but he found that the quantities and difficulties of recovery would not justify an attempt to retrieve the materials.

After this disaster, responsibility for the line was placed in the hands of G. H. Eyre, the newly appointed and first substantive Postmaster-General.

Inyanga-Tete Section

Having been informed of the disaster that had taken place, Rhodes gave the matter serious consideration, and whilst travelling to Salisbury from Hartley, the thought suddenly struck him that an alternative route could be from Inyanga, which was already in telegraphic communication with Umtali.

Upon his arrival at Salisbury, he instructed the Postmaster-General to proceed on these lines, and in the meanwhile he arranged for the British South Africa Company, on behalf of the Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Company, to enter into an agreement with the Portuguese for the line to traverse their territory from this point.

It was originally the intention that the company's telegraph line should not be connected to any Portuguese owned line, but at the request of the Portuguese authorities, temporary arrangements were made for the acceptance of telegrams at Tete, which put that centre in communication with Delagoa Bay (Lourenco Marques), Mocambique and the outside world generally. Although the arrangement was regarded as temporary, it remained in force for more than fifty years. The procedure was for the Tete telegraph office to plug into the line at specified calling times to send and receive any traffic for either the Salisbury or Blantyre terminals. The system was discontinued during the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland when the Federal Post Office installed a direct VHF link between Umtali and Blantyre which carried all the traffic between Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The value of the facilities at Tete to the Portuguese increased as they extended their own network of communications. A telegraph line was constructed from Tete to Chinde, an important shipping port on the Zambezi, thus

facilitating the shipment of goods to and from North Eastern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the Zambezi region of Mocambique.

By 1897, the telegraph line had reached Tete via Inyanga, Kateraras and Ruenya. This section was often the subject of long interruptions due to the dilatory nature in which the Portuguese handled faults. It often became necessary to despatch a lineboy from Inyanga into Portuguese territory to repair the line. However, after diplomatic representations were made the position improved.

Tete-Blantyre Section

Material for the construction of this section was shipped from Britain to Chinde. It included a number of extra long poles which were to be used for crossing the Zambezi at Tete. These were to be cemented at suitable intervals into the river bed and at both banks. In spite of taking these precautions, the line was sometimes inundated during heavy flooding, and trees floating downstream got entangled with the wire causing severe interruption to telegraphic traffic. On one occasion, a Portuguese gunboat came into collision with the wires and cut them. A second receiving station was installed on the opposite bank so that messages could be ferried across the river by boat, and retransmitted during periods of prolonged interruption.

This section was never regarded as being very reliable as it passed through some heavily wooded country. Taking the line of least resistance, the constructor avoided cutting as many trees as possible and consequently the line weaved in and out of the bush. The many angles placed a severe strain on the line and it often broke down.

Construction of this section was completed on April 21, 1898, and with its arrival at Blantyre, the Nyasaland authorities through Harry Johnston made representation to the Company to construct a feeder line from Chikwawa to Chiromo, so that the system could be linked with Chinde and Quelimane through a line belonging to the Portuguese. Rhodes agreed to the proposal which had the support of the Cape Postmaster General. The proposal was seen to offer a substantial increase in revenue for the Telegraphic Company as Chiromo had become the main port for Nyasaland and North Eastern Rhodesia, and handled a lot of business for the planters, merchants and business people of the territories concerned. The link with Britain by telegraph had previously stopped at Mocambique and telegrams exchanged by the Commissioner and the Foreign Office had to be conveyed between Zomba and Mocambique by land, river and sea, so that it took them about a month to travel—almost half as long as it took ordinary despatches. The coming of the telegraph was, therefore, of great benefit all round.

Postal arrangements in the territory were, prior to 1891, in the hands of missionaries and traders who made their own arrangements for the conveyance of their mail, mostly through the African Lakes Company's steamers that plied on the lake and down the Shire and Zambezi Rivers. Finally, this mail was handed over to the British Vice-Consul at Quelimane who arranged for the letters to be stamped with Portuguese postage stamps.

The Commissioner and Consul-General, H. H. Johnston, made his first official arrangements for the establishment of a formal postal system in the territory at Chiromo, and asked the Cape postal administration to assist by lending an officer of that department (H. H. Harrhy) to organise a postal system of mail runners from Port Herald to Chikwawa and Blantyre as well as other centres in the Protectorate. He arrived at Chiromo in June 1893, and succeeded a man named Marshall who had been appointed by Harry Johnston as Post-master of the Ruo district with headquarters at Chiromo in 1891[5].

The extension of the line to Chiromo was built from a quantity of material diverted from the Blantyre-Zomba section. Traffic between the Portuguese link to Chinde had, however, to be retransmitted as the two systems terminated on opposite banks of the river. It was not until June 22, 1899, that the wires were extended across the river. Prior to this date all messages had to be carried across the river by ferry. Soon after the line was connected, the telegraphist died, and all traffic was handled by the Portuguese office. The arrangement worked so well that it became necessary to re-open the Trans-Continental telegraph office there.

Chinde Post Office (originally spelt Tshunde) closed in 1923, just after the Trans Zambezi Railway from Beira reached the Zambezi. It was regarded as a British Concession in Portuguese East Africa which could be likened to the Treaty ports in China, which gave it 'extra territorial rights', and all goods and passengers landed or shipped there were free of all Portuguese dues. Mail regulations laid down specifically that internal British Central Africa rates only applied to or from people actually living inside the Concession; those in the town of Chinde had to pay foreign rates.

Blantyre-Karonga Section

The material for this section was of a lighter construction in order to facilitate porterage into the hinterland. Two hundred miles of the material was shipped from the Clyde in June 1894, which the African Lakes Company undertook to deliver to Chikwawa. The material was specially made up into packages weighing 50 lbs. and duly classified in sections so that when active operations commenced there would be little difficulty in securing its distribution at the various depots at a minimum of expense.

The construction of the extension north of Blantyre was, however, delayed because of a difficulty in securing a suitable person to take charge of the work. Eventually John Fox was engaged as the Chief Constructor, and he made an excellent job of the long and difficult task he was asked to undertake.

It was decided to route the main line via Zomba, the headquarters of the administrative staff of the Protectorate, and from thence to Mpimbi on the upper Shire, and from that point to Fort Johnson following the left bank of the river. The distance was approximately 130 miles divided as follows: Blantyre to Zomba—40 miles, Zomba to Mpimbi—20 miles and Mpimbi to Fort Johnston —70 miles.

Sending cable to London. The Transcontinental Telegraph Line reached Fort Victoria in August, 1891. This picture depicts the sending of the first message to London. From Lord Randolph Churchill. *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* **(Sampson, Low, 1892).**
(Photo: National Archives)

The telegraph company owned a small brick house, built at a cost of £230, at Blantyre which was used as a telegraph office, and they also owned a block of 500 acres adjoining the township on which there was a compound which was used by its officials passing through or on a temporary residence in Blantyre.

The route from Fort Johnston followed the western lake shore to Karonga. The terrain around Fort Johnston was very flat and covered by palm trees and was a favourite haunt of elephants who occasionally were responsible for damaging the line.

Material for the line was taken by carriers from Chikwawa to Mpimbi from where house boats were able to transport it up the Shire to Fort Johnston and up the lake.

The African Lakes Company operated a number of vessels on the Lake, and had contracted to transport the materials for the line to be built as far as Uganda.

At Karonga a depot of telegraph material was established at the Kambwe lagoon. This was necessarily a large depot, since all material from this point had to be carried by hand along the next stage of the route to Kituta at the south-east of Lake Tanganyika—a distance of 230 miles.

The A.T.T. appointed the African International Flotilla and Transport Company as its agent to look after its interests at this end of the line.

After the line had reached Kota Kota, on May 28, 1898, an interesting experiment in communications was carried out, whereby the Cape Town

Observatory was placed in direct telegraphic communication through the use of numerous repeaters to transmit longitudinal signals to the Anglo-German Delimitation Commission that was operating in the area.

It was natural that a line of this magnitude and covering, as it did, some very wild and hostile territory, should have claimed a number of lives from one reason or another. Perhaps one of the most remarkable incidents occurred during the construction of this section of the route, where the line along the lake shore passed over some extremely rough country, and it was with great difficulty that the construction was carried on. The region is very mountainous and rugged, the hills dropping sheer into the lake, necessitating some very long spans of wire across rivers and gorges.

Included in a party of ten white men and a number of Africans scattered along a distance of several miles in little camps was a man named Ernest Brockman, a telegraphist who had come from Australia via the Cape. The men slept in grass huts, and during the night a lion entered Brockman's hut, and began sniffing at his blankets. Paralysed with fear, he was unable to utter a sound. After a struggle with the animal it fastened its teeth into his shoulder and dragged him away. Some distance from the camp, it began toying with him as does a cat with a mouse. This woke some members of the camp, who came to the rescue. The lion ran away into the bush dragging its victim along with it. He settled down under a tree where he began to pierce Brockman's flesh and suck the warm blood that flowed from his wounds.

In trying to protect himself, Brockman pushed the lion's head away with his hands, and he immediately seized his hand biting a deep hole into the palm of his hand and taking off three of his fingers. While the lion was sitting chewing Brockman's fingers, Morkel, who had been roused, shot the lion dead.

Brockman had been severely mauled and suffered much pain and anguish. A mission doctor attended to his wounds and he was sent to Beira, and after hospitalisation at Beira and Durban, eventually reached England for medical treatment. It was more than a year later that he was fit enough to work again, but he refused to return to the wilds of Central Africa, and instead was given a job in the Cape Town telegraphic office.[6]

Domira Bay—Fort Jameson Section

In May 1895, the North Charterland Exploration Company was formed to acquire a vast tract of territory in North Eastern Rhodesia. The territory covered 10 000 square miles and was bounded on the east by Nyasaland and on the south by Mocambique. Its lands were granted to it in the form of a Concession. Following the development of the area and the founding of the township of Fort Jameson in October 1898, it became essential to establish lines of communication with the outside world.

A road of about 40 miles was constructed to Misale on the Mocambique border and the Portuguese Government improved the road from Misale to Tete—a distance of 185 miles.

These improved facilities enabled some of the material required for the construction of the telegraph line to be taken by carriers to Fort Jameson and then beyond to Abercorn, but it was a long way for carriers to travel from home, and the scheme did not prove too successful.

A road to Nyasaland was also constructed and when Major Forbes arrived, he had the dual task of managing the telegraph company's affairs and administering the territory. It was logical for him, therefore, to arrange for his headquarters to be connected with the main line at Domira Bay. This branch line necessitated the construction of 123 miles of single telegraph wire on iron poles, and was opened on October 18, 1899.

This telegraph line has shown a remarkable degree of stability over the years, despite the removal of many of the iron poles, which have been replaced by wooden sticks by those who found a better use for the poles.

During 1957 the author inspected the line and found it propped up on sticks to keep it off the ground. At one point where it traversed some cultivated lands, it was so low that goats jumped over the top of it. There were no insulators fitted to these sticks, but despite its condition it was still being used as a telegraph line between Fort Jameson and Lilongwe.[7]

Karonga-Kituta-Ujiji Section

After reaching the northern part of Lake Nyasa, the route the line was intended to follow took a westerly turn along the northern boundary of Northern Rhodesia. This was to avoid passing through Tanganyika which was then under German control, and to take advantage of the use of lake transport for the distribution of materials required for construction purposes.

The line was to follow a large expanse of country much of which covered some difficult terrain. The road from Karonga to Fort Hall, which was situated on the border of the Nyasaland Protectorate was impossible for wheeled traffic, running through broken and hilly country. Neither the Protectorate Government nor the Telegraph Company was willing to face the expenditure to put it right at the time.

Transport as far as Fort Hill had to be performed entirely by means of carriers and it was this section of the route that constituted a continual bottleneck. Added to these problems, following an outbreak of smallpox at Karonga and Mweru during 1900, thousands of carriers deserted, leaving their loads strewn along the Nyasa-Tanganyika road. Fortunately the natives never tampered with the material as they had little use for it and regarded it as possessing some form of magic.

The road from Fort Hill to Fife had to be remade so that wagons could be used, and a lot of work had to be undertaken to make drifts across the rocky beds of streams that abound in the area. Between Fife and Abercorn, the road was in reasonable condition, and wagons were used to transport the material, which was distributed at short intervals along the entire route.

A temporary office was opened at Ikawa, but this was taken over by the British South Africa Company and renamed Fife in honour of the Duke of Fife, then a director of the B.S.A. Company. (Fife was completely destroyed during World War I and the district headquarters moved to Isoka, 75 miles to the south).

In 1899, the line reached Abercorn, which was originally known as Mbala, the name to which it has reverted since Zambia gained its independence.

The immediate direction of the telegraph transportation on this section was under Marshall, who had responsibility for handing over the material to the Chief Constructor, John Fox. The Telegraph Company owned three wagons and a scotch cart, and were in possession of 110 trek oxen. In addition they contracted with the Flotilla Company to transport material along this section of the route. One of the drawbacks in this sparsely populated area was the scarcity of food, and hence it was not easy to obtain labour. During the rains vehicular transport was almost impossible. Labour from outside the area was recruited through a German army officer whose duties ceased with the completion of the building and launching of the steamer *Hedwig von Wissman* on Lake Nyasa.

The line to Abercorn was completed in September, 1900 after which construction into German territory was commenced. The first telegraph office in their territory was opened on October 2, 1900 at Kassanga, which was renamed Bismarksburg. The place was also known as Wissmannhaven and was the German headquarters for Southern Tanganyika.

With the opening of this office, the A.T.T. system operated 16 telegraph stations at the following places: Inyanga, Tete, Chiromo, Blantyre, Chikwawa, Domira Bay, Nkata Bay, Florence Bay, Karonga, Kota Kota, Liwondi, Zomba, Abercorn, Fort Jameson, Kituta and Kassanga (Bismarksburg).

The Company purchased a mile square of freehold property at Kassanga, but progress into German territory was slow and interrupted. Rhodes had completed an agreement with the Germans for the telegraph line, and whilst inspecting the line in 1900, R. Codrington, who was then managing the Company's affairs, saw the agreement for the first time. He was somewhat put out at not having been given a copy and asked for the matter to be rectified.

At Karonga, a distance of 230 miles away, were between 25 000 and 30 000 loads of material for which the company was anxiously awaiting carriers.

When the line eventually reached Ujiji, its extension was abandoned and Rhodes's dream of having a telegraph line running through Africa from the Cape to Cairo petered out.

LIQUIDATION OF THE COMPANY

The Directors of the British South Africa Company, at a meeting held on December 20, 1911, stated that in 1892, when this enterprise was initiated, the high cable rates ruling justified the expectation that it could have a successful

career. The subsequent great reductions in ocean rates frustrated this hope, and they had reluctantly been driven to the conclusion that an overland trans-continental telegraph through Africa was not, under prevailing circumstances, or under conditions that were likely to obtain, an enterprise of commercial value or promise. Accordingly, it was resolved to place the Company into voluntary liquidation. The amount at which the shares stood in the books of the British South Africa Company's books were written off.[8]

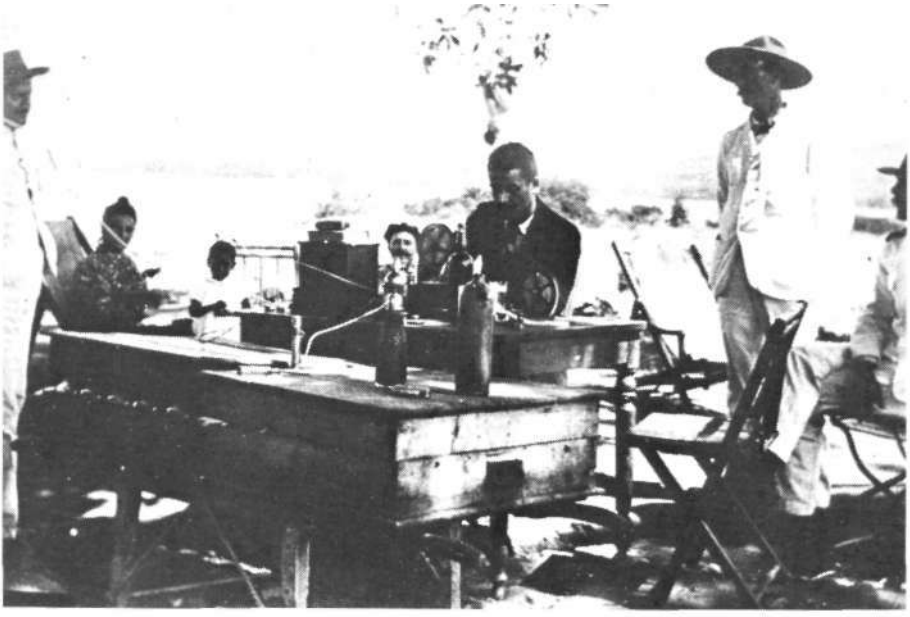
The outbreak of the 1914/18 War interfered with the negotiations to dispose of the line. The northern sections of the system suffered at the hands of the Germans, who raised and took away large quantities of material stored at various places along the route.

In 1916, the Nyasaland Government leased a portion of the system and used it for military purposes in the campaign against the Germans in northern Nyasa.

The company had during its lifetime constructed nearly 1 500 miles of line which traversed five countries. The section falling within each territory was taken over by the respective postal administration.

For many years the line between Inyanga and the Mocambique border was listed separately in the assets of the Southern Rhodesian Postmaster-General's annual report.

One of the final acts relating to this line occurred during 1957, when the Federal Ministry of Posts sold that portion of the route between Abercorn and



The first message crossing the Zambezi at Tete, 1897.
(Photo: National Archives)

the Lake, and which had fallen into disuse, to a local resident who required the poles for a fencing project.

TARIFFS

A working agreement was made with the British South Africa Company with regard to telegraph rates which followed the general lines of the South African Telegraph Union. The following charges were fixed in regard to telegrams originating within the sphere of the Company's operations:

For telegrams exchanged between Trans-Continental telegraph offices south of the Zambezi, and for telegrams from those offices to Rhodesia—3d. per word; and a similar rate for telegrams exchanged between offices north of the Zambezi.

For telegrams between offices north and south and from the northern side of the Zambezi to Rhodesia—6d. per word; whilst for telegrams addressed to the Cape Colony and other parts of South Africa generally, in addition to the local rate there was a charge of 1s. for the first ten words and 6d. for every five additional words. Press messages were charged at quarter rates.

The following charges were raised in respect of telegrams to and from Mocambique:

Minimum charge 5s. for ten words, plus 6d. for each additional word; telegrams for Chiromo an additional 2d. per word. Telegrams to Tete and other nearby places cost Is. per word plus an additional 8d. per telegram, plus a ferry charge of 2d. per message.

In 1900, the Company hoped to reduce its tariff from its offices to the Cape and other parts of South Africa. Owing to the refusal of the Cape telegraph administration to accept the same share of the charge on telegrams to and from the Africa Trans-Continental system as to and from Rhodesia, the reduced rates were not realised, but on September 1, 1900, the rate for cablegrams originating from the ATT system was reduced from 5s. 8d. per word to 4s. 5d. per word, and the rate for government cables was concurrently reduced to 2s. per word. The Imperial Government paid a subsidy of £1 000 per annum for the transmission of official telegrams from the Nyasaland Protectorate. However, the value of this traffic at normal rates would have been £2 254.

The Company handled 9 036 official telegrams during 1900, of which 4 178 were on behalf of the Imperial Government, and the remainder originated from the Portuguese Government, the British South Africa Company and the Africa Trans-Continental Telegraph Company. These telegrams represented 288 904 words at a value of £5 642.

Although telegraph traffic improved by 47 per cent and receipts amounted to £3 347, this fell short of the expenditure for operating and maintaining the line which amounted to £6 555 inclusive of an amount of £934 for the Tete office.

The Company had to pay other administrations for the use of their systems so that the nett receipts were greatly reduced, and the South African War also had an adverse effect on traffic.[9]

NOTES

1. *Cape to Cairo Volume* 1 edited by Leo Weinthal. Published by Pioneer Publishing Company London.
2. Major P. W. Forbes had been in charge of the B.S.A. Company's forces in Southern Rhodesia, but fell out of favour after his handling of the pursuit of Lobengula in which Alan Wilson and his party lost their lives at the Shangani River.
3. In addition to being administrator of N.E. Rhodesia, Forbes was also appointed manager of the ATT north of the Zambezi, but through a financial muddle connected with the contract from Salisbury to the Zambezi, an alteration was necessary and his services were transferred to a greater area than was actually contemplated.
4. W. Ellerton Fry, who accompanied the Pioneer Column as an official photographer, worked for a period on the construction of the line between Mazoe and Tete as a contractor in partnership with J. J. Roach.
5. *The Postage Stamps of British Central Africa* by F. J. Melville.
6. *Rhodesia—A Postal History—Its Stamps, Posts and Telegraphs,* by R. C. Smith.
7. The author was at that time Controller of Stores and Transport in the Federal Ministry of Posts.
8. B.S.A. Company's annual report dated 31.3.1911.
9. Postmaster General's annual report for 1900.

MOUNTAIN CLUB OF RHODESIA JOURNAL

The 1974-75 issue of this journal contains 17 articles. There are descriptions and maps of new, and old, climbs in Rhodesia and of Rhodesians climbing in South and East Africa and in the Alps. The photographs of Rhodesian mountains and of climbers in action on their rock faces certainly add point to the reports of this arduous pastime. But there is more than just climbing. There are general articles and photos of mountain scenes and a contribution by Peter Woodall on the birds of the Rhodesian mountains with some black and white identification drawings.

The club was formed in 1955 and now has about 160 members. It aims at producing a journal every two years and this issue is the seventh. Earlier numbers had the same variety of mountain-orientated articles particularly about Chimanimani and the eastern districts but also about climbing kopjes and challenging rocky outcrops all over the country. There are stories about Rhodesians climbing in areas as widely separated as the Himalayas, Ecuador and the United Kingdom. And the general reader will find interest in the regular articles on the natural history and the flora and fauna of our mountains.

The journal of the club is well produced and deserves a Rhodesian readership wider than only members of the club. It is edited by Walter Krog and costs R$l from P.O. Box 1945, Salisbury.

The Southern Approach to the "Far Interior"

With particular reference to the Cowan-Donovan expedition of 1808

by E. E. Burke

The purpose of this paper is to examine the various attempts made to penetrate what is now Rhodesian territory from the areas of European settlement in the Cape. More particularly it is to draw attention to a little-known expedition sent from the Cape to endeavour to reach Mocambique overland in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The southern approach to Rhodesia has a long history of endeavour for as early as 1659 Van Riebeeck concluded that the Monomotapa, and his gold trade, was not too far away.

Van Riebeeck was familiar with the Portuguese accounts of the richness of this trade and from the wildly misleading maps of Africa then available he thought that it was possible that the Momomotapa's 'empire' was closer to the Cape than to the Portuguese on the coast at Sofala and that the trade might therefore be diverted, or at least tapped.

Thus Van Riebeeck, eight years after his arrival at the Cape, sent out a party of 13 men, lead by Jan Danckaert. They left the Fort at Table Bay on November 12, 1660, in one of the first significant journeys of exploration in South Africa.

The party headed due north and reached the area of modern Clanwilliam, about 200 km from Table Bay, when it turned back. At this anti-climax a second party, under Corporal Pieter Cruijthoff, was sent out in January 1661. This expedition made a brief contact with Namaqua tribesmen before returning to the Cape in March 1661. It was followed by three other sorties in 1661 and 1662 each of which penetrated a little further, encountering greater opposition from the Namaquas. A last attempt was made in 1663, under Pieter van Meerhoff, which reached over the Orange into what is now South West Africa but the inhospitable country forced a conclusion that this way was impossible. In April 1664, van Hoorn, visiting Commissioner of the Dutch East India Company, reported—"The land journeys to the great River Vigiti Magna and the great city of Monomotapa and the expected trade in gold and ivory from there, to me is a chimera."[1]

Thereafter none of the describers of the Cape from Kolben to Barrow give much attention to report, hearsay or legend of the Far Interior.

1. See J. Burman, *Who really discovered South Africa.* (Cape Town, Struik, 1969), ch. 2.

In 1795 most of Europe was at war with the French Republic but Holland was divided in its allegiance to the Allies and to France. It was desirable to forestall any French occupation of the Cape and in September of that year, with little opposition, a British force was landed in False Bay. This occupation lasted until February 1803 when, in terms of the treaty of Amiens, the British handed over the territory to representatives of the Batavian Republic. Their control lasted for three years until the British again occupied the Cape. Once more Britain thought it necessary to secure the door to India against the French. Trafalgar, Ulm and Austerlitz were fought as a British squadron with 6 700 troops sailed south and in January 1806 they received a surrender at Cape Town.

At this time Cape Colony consisted of the districts of Tulbagh, Swellendam, Graff Reinet and Uitenhage besides the Cape itself and Stellenbosch, an area of roughly 800 km from west to east and 400 from south to north. Administration ceased along the edge of the Karoo.

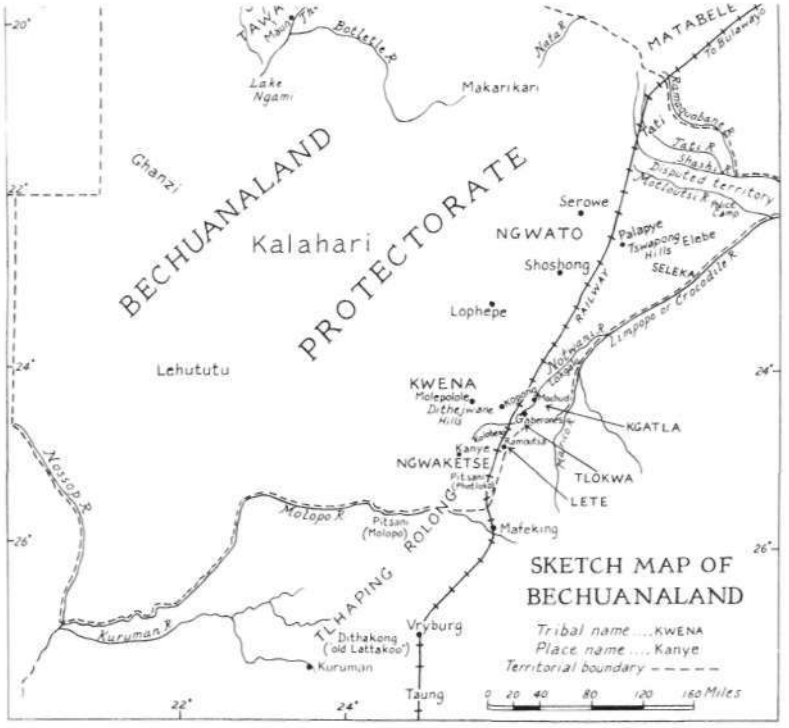
One of the first crossings of the Orange in the middle of the continent was made at the advent of the missionary, William Anderson, in 1799. He found himself amongst travelling remnants of old Hottentot tribes, known to themselves as Korannas and Griquas, "compounded of every sort of bastard, of fugitives and of renegade Europeans taking to themselves harems out of the tribes they joined."[2] Each element seemed to be at war with the other and the Bushman was anybody's target.

In 1801 a Government expedition under Dr. William Somerville and P. J. Truter crossed at the same place and travelled another 300 km north to find the enormous Baralong town of Lattakoo (later known as Old Lattakoo). They found too the Kuruman river and the spring at its head which in 1821 became the site of the London Missionary Society's station of Kuruman, founded by Robert Moffat.

The expedition was accompanied by Samuel Daniell as official artist and resulted in his magnificent colour plate book *African scenery* (London, 1804-05).

The next relevant event occurred in July 1806 when Alexander Du Pre, the second Earl of Caledon, was appointed the first Governor at the Cape. Caledon (1777-1839), had extensive estates in Ireland, purchased by his father who had amassed a large fortune in India and who had gained the gratitude of the British Government by forcefully supporting the Union of Ireland and England. The new Governor, aged 29, had been educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. He had an enquiring mind and of his own volition was anxious to know more of the interior. His concept was a large one—a journey from the Cape to the Portuguese in Mocambique. It is best introduced in the words of his despatch of May 21, 1809 to Viscount Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs "As I conceived from the vague reports of some of the Colonists as well as from the more authentic information of the Missionaries, that much useful knowledge if not solid advantage might be obtained if a Gentleman of science

2. M. W. Spilhaus, *South Africa in the making,* 1652-1806. (Cape Town, Juta, 1966), p. 152.



From *Founding a Protectorate* by A. Sillery (The Hague, 1965).

could be induced to explore the more remote parts of this Angle of the African Continent, and Dr. Cowan, Assistant Surgeon to the 83rd Regiment offering himself for the undertaking, I lent him such assistance as I though requisite to enable him to prosecute the enterprize with effect.

"He left the Colonial boundary on the 30th of October [1808] and crossing the Orange River without much difficulty reached Leetekoo the former capital of the Boshuana Nation, from whence he continued a North-East course and on the 14th of December found himself in 24° 30' Lat 28° Long, a distance in that direction which I believe no European Traveller had before attained. In preference to a return by Land I recommended to him if possible to gain Mozambique or one of the Portuguese settlements on the Eastern Coast and I have the satisfaction of learning from a missionary of the name of Anderson who parted with him then, that there was every appearance of a successful termination to his attempt. The most distant Nation that he reached is called the Wanketchies [i.e. the baNgwakatse]. It is governed by a King and is so far civilized that the wealthy inhabitants are possessed of slaves and servants. The country through which Dr. Cowan travelled is represented as level and for the most part sufficiently watered and fertile."[3]

3. G. M. Theal. *Records of the Cape Colony*, (Cape Town, Government of the Cape Colony, 1897-1905), v. 6, p. 508.

At the same time the Admiral at the Cape was instructing the commander of H.M. Sloop *Caledon,* which was leaving for the east coast, that he was to enquire at Mozambique whether there were any letters there from Dr. Cowan "or if he is there himself, in which case you are to receive him on board the *Caledon* if he wishes it, and to render him every assistance in your power."[4] But Dr. Cowan's expedition—it was a large one—never reached Mocambique or any other Portuguese settlement. Nor did it return; it was never heard from again.

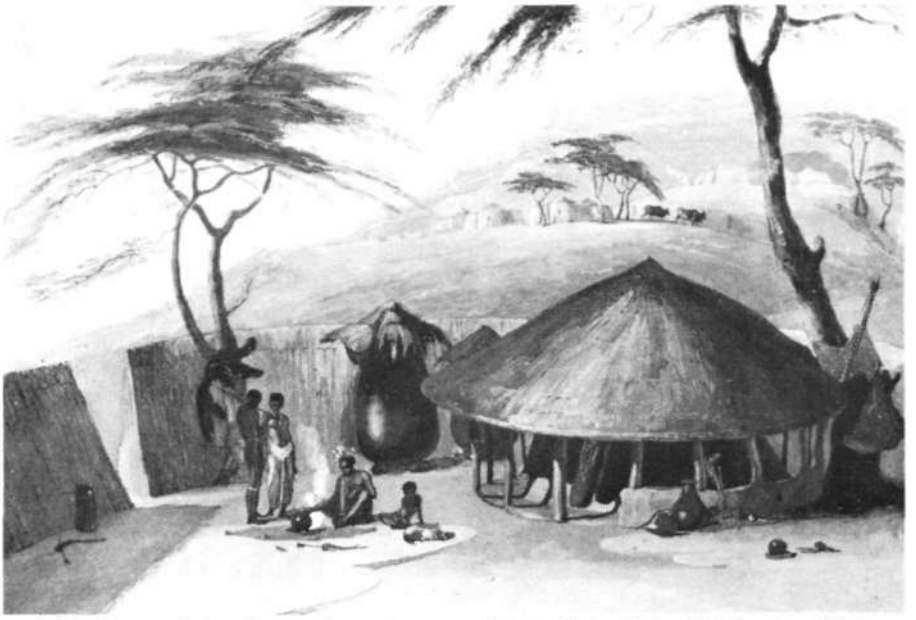
Andrew Cowan was born in Middlesex about 1778 and was therefore about 30 years of age. Nothing seems to be known of his parentage or youth; in 1803 he married Jane Henry at Clerkenwell and they had two children, a son and a daughter. In July 1805 he sailed as a hospital mate with the 72nd Regiment; subsequently he transferred to the 83rd Regiment, both regiments being part of the force that occupied the Cape.[5]

With Cowan also disappeared Captain Goddard Edward Donovan, also of the 83rd Regiment. The Donovan family had a distinguished lineage and could be traced into Irish history. There was a strong record of service to the Crown in one manner or another and close links with the army in which many members served. The family seat was at Ballymore, near Camolin in Wexford. Captain Goddard was 24 years of age, unmarried. There were also twenty "pandours" or Cape Coloureds of the Cape Regiment, also known that time as Hottentots.[6]

Clearly neither of the leaders could have gained much, if any, experience of travel in Africa but as guides they had a Boer named Kruger[7] and a Cape Coloured both of whom had for many years been wandering among the Bechuana and Korana tribes.

In the Cape Archives is a letter from Cowan to the Colonial Secretary dated October 23, 1808 from the Knilenberg river stating the amounts he had

4. Theal, *op. cit.* p. 505.
5. The biographical information is from the *Dictionary of South African Biography,* v. 2. (Pretoria, 1972). The 72nd Regiment was, in 1881, amalgamated with the 78th Highlanders to form the Seaforth Highlanders, which in turn, in 1961 was amalgamated with the Cameron Highlanders as the Queen's Own Highlanders (Seaforth and Cameron). The 83rd Regiment was joined, in 1881, to the 86th as the Royal Irish Rifles. This became the Royal Ulster Rifles in 1921 which in 1968 was amalgamated with the other Northern Ireland regiments as the Royal Irish Rangers.
6. This regiment was originally formed by the Dutch East India Company to serve against the British at the time of the first occupation of the Cape in 1795. During the Batavian Republic's regime it became the Hottentot Light Infantry in the Dutch service and as such fought well against the British at the Battle of Blaauberg in the second occupation in 1806. Passing to British service the unit became the Cape Regiment. In 1827 it was reformed as the Cape Mounted Rifles and became fully European in about 1854.
7. Jacob Krieger or Kruger was used by Lichtenstein as a guide in his journey of 1806. He was apparently arrested during the first British occupation for some crime against the state but escaped before trial and fled beyond the Colony's boundaries. After three years he returned to receive a pardon for all the information he could give on the interior as so little was known. "Spoke little, and scarcely ever was his mouth distended into a smile. In his sunken eyes was an expression rather of contempt of danger, than of youthful courage. A large grey beard, thick eyebrows, and long hair hanging over his face, gave him a wild and formidable appearance. He was armed with a short, thick elephant gun, which carried shot of a quarter of a pound weight."
   W. H. C. Lichtenstein. *Travels in southern Africa in the years* 1803, 1804, 1805 *and* 1806. (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1928-30). v. 2, Publication no. 11, p. 252-3.



A Boosh-wannah hut. From *African Scenery and Animals*, by S. Daniell (London, 1804).

been obliged to draw from the Landdrost at Tulbagh. This is of particular interest in indicating that when he left Tulbagh the expedition had 85 oxen and 100 sheep with it.[8]

They had with them, too, for part of the way the English missionary, the Rev. William Anderson,[9] of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Zendelings-Genootschap. He travelled with them as far as, according to Cowan's last despatch, the position of 24° 30' Lat and 28° Long, and from here Anderson returned, taking the despatch with him.

How far then had Cowan reached? The position given is near Nylstroom in the western Transvaal but it is more than probable that while the latitude is correct the longitude, with the uncertain methods of measurements current at the time, was considerably out. At this time the baNgwaketse were in the area where they are found today, in the south of Botswana. Their chief was Makaba whose town was at Kanye hill which he fortified with stone walls, the remains of which can still be seen. It is of interest that Cowan and his party were not necessarily the first Europeans in the area, though they were certainly the first to

8. Cape Archives CO 10 No. 92.
9. The Rev. W. Anderson (1769-1852), the son of a London merchant, was one of the second party of missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society to South Africa, where he arrived in 1800. At this date he was working from Klaarwater, a mission he had established two days journey north of the Orange River, the nucleus of a settlement later, in 1813, named Griquatown. He is described by Lichtenstein *(op. cit.* p. 323) in 1803 as follows—"An amiable appearing man . . . with great serenity and piety in his whole deportment. His features were fine and his eyes beamed with a spirit of religion and resignation, this combined with the evident traces of a long-standing sickness, gave him wholly the aspect of a saint . . . He spoke the Dutch language tolerably well, sufficiently so to make himself perfectly intelligible to the Hottentots . . ."

describe them. About 1798 or 1799 Makaba repulsed an attack by a group of baRolong with some Korana and Griquas led by a European renegade named Jan Bloem.

Kanye is close to the latitude given by Cowan and it therefore seems likely that the place at which Anderson separated from Cowan's expedition in December 1808 or early 1809 was Kanye in southern Botswana.[10]

To carry out his instructions of reaching one of the Portuguese settlements Cowan, who so far had been travelling due north, would have to turn to the east or north-east; the nearest, Delagoa Bay, was 500 miles due east while Mocambique was an impossile 1 300 miles to the north-east. But from Kanye the streams led down to the Limpopo valley and this might well seem the way to go. Nothing was generally known of the course of the Limpopo at this time.

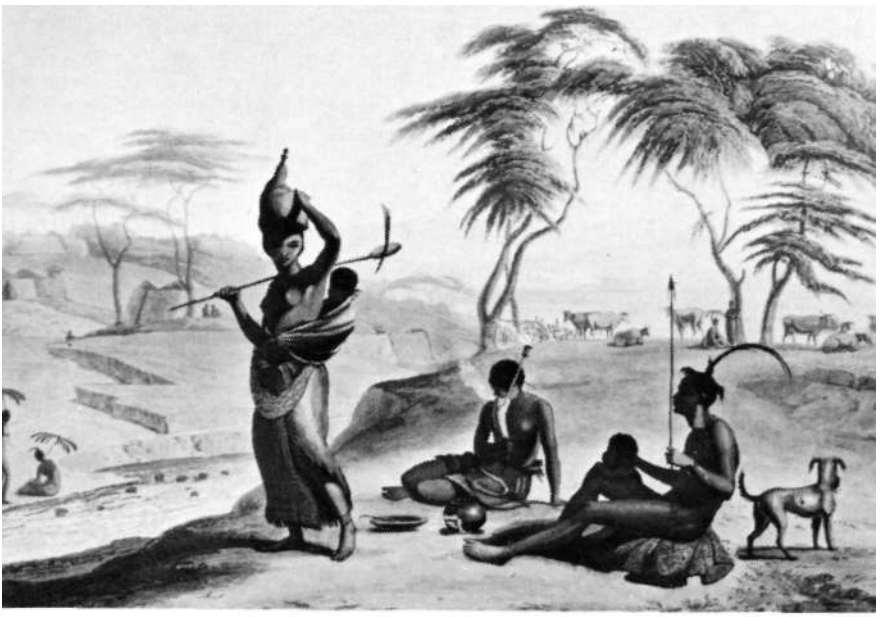
When it came to be realized that the party might not return the suspicions and the rumours began to multiply. Though the Governor at the Cape never organised a search or relief expedition nevertheless every traveller for the next forty years made his own enquiries.

The missionary John Campbell, who visited the Cape from 1812 to 1814 to inspect the stations of the London Missionary Society, travelled widely and he was at Latakoo in 1813, where he heard that the whole party had been murdered by the baNgwaketse. At Latakoo "the people were whispering to one another, that our coming was to revenge the murder ... in consequence of this information we judged it necessary to invite the chief men to a conference with us that evening to remove their suspicions . . ."[11]

In November 1817 another missionary, James Read, wrote from New Lattakoo to the Governor with a different story. A month before he had spoken to two baRolong chiefs who a year before had been visited by a party of ba-Kwena who told them that Cowan had not only safely passed the baNgwaketse but the baKwena too, further "that they had been conducted by some of their young people as guides to a certain river which they had to cross to a Nation called Magallatsilas where elephants are tamed and used ... that their guides had left them, receiving a reward of Beads for their trouble, that they warned them against a certain Pass between two mountains where were Flies very destructive to cattle but to which caution they had paid no attention and where their oxen were killed by the flies entering their nostrils and stinging them to death, that they had sent to the Magallatsilas and exchanged other oxen ... they understood they were still with that people . . . They had heard that when the party had come to the above place they were so much pleased that they resolved to settle, and do not intend to return."[12]

In 1823 George Thompson talked with one Arend, a runaway slave and an itinerant builder, who confirmed from his own knowledge of the baNgwaketse that Cowan's party had received every civility from them but had been murdered

10. See A. Sillery. *The Bechuanaland Protectorate,* (London, O.U.P., 1952), p. 133.
11. J. Campbell. *Travels in South Africa,* (London, Black and Parry, 1815), p. 247.
12. Cape Archives, CO 90, No. 82.



Boosh-wannahs (Daniell, *op. cit.*, 1804).

The town of Leetakoo (Daniell, *op. cit.*, 1804).

by some people considerably beyond them, whose name Arend could not discover.[13]

A. G. Bain,[14] writing in 1826, had this to say: "Makabba, the late king of the Bawankets, gave the unfortunate Mr. Cowan an escort to this town [i.e. Litabaruba][15] and the Bakweens escorted him to a powerful nation lying to the northeast called the Maglazielies from which they proceeded to a tribe described as being near the coast and having long hair. The Bakweens and the Bawankets suppose that they were murdered by the long-haired people as the murderers are described as being exceedingly savage."[16]

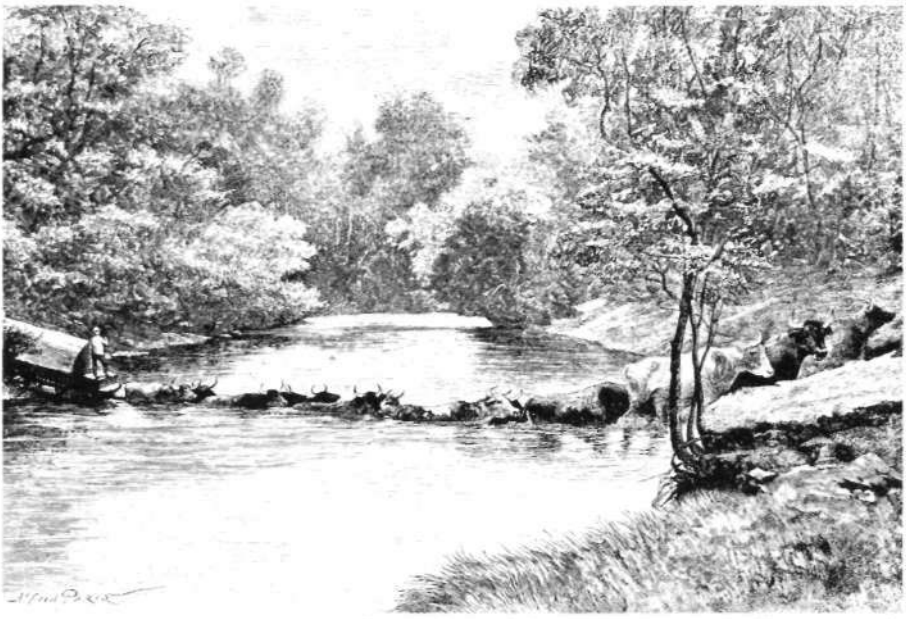
Dr. Andrew Smith, an Army surgeon, was industrious in scientific research, the founder of the South African Museum. In 1833 the South African Literary and Scientific Institution sponsored an expedition for him, which also had considerable Government support, into the interior. In the course of this he, in company with Robert Moffat, made contact with Mzilikazi, the Matabele chief, who was then in the western Transvaal, and then travelled on to the Limpopo. One of the purposes of the expedition was to determine what had happened to Cowan twenty-five years before.

In his diary Smith records that Cowan apparently passed the baKwena and then the bamaNgwato. They came to a large river and were drowned in attempting to cross it. "There is a tribe living beyond the river Mahalatcela who said they were drowned in the river . . ." and the editor of Smith's *Journals* for the Van Riebeeck Society suggests this to have been the Mahalapye.[17]

It might be thought that Robert Moffat, with his long residence at Kuruman and extensive knowledge of the interior, might be knowledgeable on the matter but he says little of it, only that he once met a man who guided the expedition as far as an unnamed river which Moffat supposed to be the Sofala. He thought the party had perished at no great distance from the coast.[18]

Livingstone, as might be expected, was positive. According to him they were cut off by fever while descending the Limpopo; he had this from the son of the chief at whose village they died. "The rain-makers there, fearing lest their wagons might drive away the rain, ordered them to be thrown into the river. This is the true account of the end of that expedition, as related to me by the son of the chief at whose village they perished. He remembered, when a boy, eating part of one of the horses, and said it tasted like zebra's flesh. Thus they

13. G. Thompson. *Travels and adventures in southern Africa,* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1967), Publication no. 48, p. 105-6.
14. A. G. Bain (1796-1864), a pioneer of South African geology and explorer, later a road engineer; he is remembered by his construction of Bain's Kloof Pass in the Western Cape.
15. Litabaruba, or Dithubaruba, a town of the baKwena, was seven miles south of Molepolole, in Botswana. It was here that Livingstone established himself for six months in 1842, cut off from all European society, to learn the customs and language of the people.
16. A. G. Bain. *Journals,* (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1949), Publication no. 30, p. 16-17.
17. P. R. Kirby, ed. *Diary of Andrew Smith,* v. 1. (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1939), Publication no. 20, p. 306.
18. R. Moffat. *Missionary labours and scenes in southern Africa.* (London, Snow, 1842), p. 224.



Crossing the upper Limpopo. From *Africa and its Inhabitants*, by G.E. Reclus (London, 1899), Vol. 4.

were not killed by the Bangwaketse, as reported, for they passed the Bakwains [i.e. baKwena] all well."[19]

Modern ideas have tended to accept that the culprit was indeed fever, but Cowan's biographer, Mrs. P. M. ffolliott, writing in v. 2 of the *Dictionary of South African Biography* (Pretoria, 1972) went further with the suggestion that it was "the fever endemic to the Mozambique coast".

It is possible however to be more definite than this and to indicate where on the Limpopo it happened, and also a curious sequel.

George Lacy summarized the history of exploration in South Africa in an article in the *Journal of the African Society* in 1902. He says "... there is positive evidence that the expedition was massacred on the Limpopo *at the spot now known as Selika [my italics].* Livingstone heard the story from the son of the chief concerned, and I myself have heard it in the same place. Moreover Capt. C. W. H. Donovan, who was recently killed in West Africa, told me that he had obtained from the people of the district several relics, consisting of a number of regimental buttons, a pencil case with crest, some links of gold chain, and two bladeless pocket knives. The party was massacred while bathing."[20]

It was probably in 1842 that Livingstone heard the story, the year in which he spent six months amongst the baKwena. He did not at any time visit the Limpopo himself, but presumably he heard the name of the place as Selika and

19. D. Livingstone. *Missionary travels and researches in Southern Africa.* (London, Murray, 1857), p. 14.
20. G. Lacy. "A century of exploration in South Africa", in *Jnl. Af. Soc.,* 1902, v. 1, p. 215-235.

somehow this information passed on over some fifty years into the hands of the Captain C. W. H. Donovan mentioned by Lacy, but the links are missing.

The first European known to have penetrated to the middle Limpopo after Cowan and Donovan, was Roualeyn Gordon Cumming, a kinsman of the Duke of Argyll. Retiring from the Indian army through ill health he resolved to hunt in America, and to this end obtained a commission in the Royal Veteran Newfoundland Companies. But he was unable to get away from barracks and therefore exchanged into the Cape Mounted Rifles with whom he served in the eastern Cape. Still following his ambition he sold out of the army intending "to penetrate into the interior farther than the foot of civilized man had yet trodden."[21]

Gordon Cumming usefully pinpoints Selika for us. It is shown on his map as close to the junction of the Lepalala [i.e. the Palala] and the Limpopo and north of it, on the Transvaal side of the Limpopo. It is about 160 km from the nearest point of the Rhodesian boundary on the Tuli Circle. He was twice at Selika, in June and October 1848, while travelling down the Limpopo and back again. His furthest point from where he turned back, was the junction of the Motloutse and the Limpopo, only 24 km from the Tuli circle, and one of his reasons for not going further was the increasing losses of oxen and horses from tsetse. He says nothing of any memories of Donovan's expedition but he does mention the prevalent fever.

Baines passed that way in 1871, travelling from Matabeleland to Potgietersrust and Pretoria, but there is no mention of the lost expedition in his diaries.

These people of Selika are still in the same area. They are described as Transvaal amaNdebele of Zulu stock. The Ndebele living in the Transvaal are not to be confused with the Ndebele of Rhodesia; while the latter reached Rhodesia through the Transvaal in the early 19th century, lead by Mzilikazi, the Transvaal Ndebele represent a much earlier migration, as old possibly as the early 18th century.[22] Whether these people are to be identified with the Magallatsilas of the earlier accounts is open to conjecture.

It will have been noted that a second Donovan has come into the story. From *Burke's Landed Gentry*, principally the 7th edition of 1886, it is possible to deduce that the G. E. Donovan who died at Selika in 1809 was the great-uncle of the later one.[23] G. E. Donovan had a nephew, Richard, born in 1819, and Richard had two sons of whom the younger was Charles Henry Wynne Donovan. This C. H. W. Donovan, born in 1866, was appointed a lieutenant in

21. R. Gordon Cumming. *Five years of a hunter's life in the far interior of South Africa* (London, Murray, 1850), v. 1, p. ix.
22. N. J. v. Warmelo. *Transvaal Ndebele texts.* (Pretoria, Dept. of native affairs, 1930). Ethnological publications, v. 1.
23. In the first edition of *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1853) G. E. Donovan is described as having "died at the Cape of Good Hope". This is repeated in subsequent editions to the 5th (1871) but the 7th (1886)—I have not been able to find a copy of the 6th—states that he was "murdered at the Orange River, South Africa". Somewhere between these two dates the family it would seem, received additional, but erroneous, information. The Donovan family was not included in the *Landed Gentry of Ireland* (1958) and it remains to trace their presnt representatives.

Matabele warrior, from *Wild Sports in Southern Africa,* **by Cornwallis Adams 1837.**

the 4th Dragoon Guards in 1882. In 1884-85 he saw service with the Camel Corps in Wolseley's Nile campaign to attempt the relief of General Gordon, isolated in Khartoum. He transferred to the Army Service Corps in 1888 and in 1892 was with an expedition to the Tambaka district in Sierra Leone. Three years later he was in the Ashanti expedition under Sir Francis Scott. In 1898, then a major, he died from wounds received in a rebellion in Sierra Leone.

Meanwhile in 1893, after an 18-month tour on the West Coast, he came to Rhodesia on leave for an interlude of big game hunting. His programme was interrupted by the Matabele War in which he served with the Victoria Column and his book describing his experiences is a scarce piece of Rhodesiana;[24] even scarcer is a pamphlet reprint of a lecture he gave to the Aldershot Military Society on March 20, 1894.[25] The latter occasion was a brilliant one, with General H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, commanding the Aldershot Division, in the chair.

Again something of a mystery intrudes with Donovan's book. According to Lacy he was told by Donovan that Donovan had obtained relics of his great-uncle's expedition from the Africans in the Selika area but there is no mention of this in Donovan's book, and this was apparently the only occasion when the recovery might have been possible. On his northwards journey Donovan travelled north-west from Pietersburg round the western end of the Zoutpansberg to cross the Limpopo very close to the modern Beitbridge; on the return

24. C. H. W. Donovan. *With Wilson in Matabeleland: or, Sport and war in Zambesia.* (London, Henry and co., 1894).
25. C. H. W. Donovan. *With the Victoria Column in Matabeleland.* (Aldershot, Gale and Polden). The National Archives has a copy inscribed by the author.

journey he followed the road from Bulawayo to Palapye and Mafeking; but now he was travelling fast, carrying Jameson's despatches from Bulawayo to Cape Town. This was his only visit to southern Africa.

This then is the story of the Cowan and Donovan expedition which in 1809 penetrated further into the interior from the south than any previous explorer, to come to within 160 km of what is now the Rhodesian border. It was last seen at Kanye in December 1808 and afterwards travelled at least 480 km further before disaster occurred, possibly in February or March 1809. Cowan's death was officially presumed in August 1809, and his army pay ceased; in 1813 his widow was granted a pension back-dated to 1809. From the experiences of later travellers and considering the time of the year in which the expedition was travelling it would seem very probable that the deaths were due to malaria.

It remains now to indicate who may indeed have been the first to penetrate Rhodesian territory from the south. It may have been David Hume (1796-1863). He arrived in the Cape in 1817 and was trading in Bechuanaland from 1825, making his headquarters at Kuruman. He is known to have made an extended journey to the north in 1830, pursuing rumours of gold in the interior. His route appears on the map (dated May 1837) in the first edition of W. Cornwallis Harris's first book.[26] This is very rough but seems to suggest, very vaguely, that Hume may have crossed the Shashi into the Antelope Mine area. Unfortunately his diaries, which were still in existence in 1902, according to Lacy, seem to have since disappeared.

Certainty comes with the activities of Andries Hendrik Potgieter (1792-1853), a Voortrekker and one of the founders of the Transvaal. Potgieter was largely responsible for securing the Transvaal for the Boers against Mzilikazi's Matabele in actions at Vegkop (October 1836), Mosega (January 1837) and in a nine days running fight on the Marico River (November 1837), operations necessitated by initial Matabele attacks on the Trekkers. The Trekkers authority was then established, and in 1838 and 1839 the Matabele moved into new country around the Matopos where they could expect to be free from molestation.

In May 1836, before the series of actions against the Matabele, Potgieter, then on the Sand River in what was later the Orange Free State, set out on a reconnaissance to the north to explore the interior in search of settlement areas. The small party of eleven horsemen crossed the Vaal, passed modern Heidelberg and came eventually to the western end of the Zoutpansberg. They went on over the Limpopo, over the Nuanetsi and through the south-eastern corner of modern Rhodesia before turning back.

Eleven years later, in 1847, and nine years after the Matabele had found their new lands around Gubuluwayo, Potgieter made a final foray against them. This was motivated partly to rescue two Boer children thought, probably erroneously, to be captives of the Matabele and partly, no doubt, to examine the

26. W. C. Harris. *Narrative of an expedition into southern Africa* . . . (Bombay, American mission press, 1838).

Mzilikazi from *Wild Sports of Southern Africa,* **by Captain Sir William Cornwallis Adams, who visited Mzilikazi at Kaplan in 1837.**

country. The commando, over a hundred strong, started from Andries-Ohrigstad[27] and travelling via the present Antelope Mine they defeated an inferior impi on the southern slopes of the Matopos, then slipped through what is still known as Hendrik's Pass on to the high veld and to the headwaters of the Gwaai (near modern Cyrene Mission), before withdrawing.[28] They were followed up and harassed by the powerful Zwangendaba regiment. The Matabele recaptured the cattle and, in face of increasing pressure, Potgieter turned away.

Thus it is Potgieter, in 1836 and again in 1847, who has the priority of European penetration of Rhodesian territory from the south.

27. The settlement of Andries-Ohrigstad, the original name of Ohrigstad, was established in 1845 but was abandoned because of fever and the inhabitants moved to Lydenburg.
28. Hendrik's Pass, which has been identified by Sir Robert Tredgold, lies between the gorge of the Tendela River and the Badja Plateau, about 30 km south of Figtree. For a fuller account of this raid see Sir R. Tredgold. *The Matopos.* (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1956), p. 62-65.

Chishawasha Mission and the 1896 Rebellion

by W. F. Rea, S.J.

In his pamphlet *Missionary Attitudes to Shona Culture* Mr. W. R. Peaden claims that during the Shona Rising of 1896-7 few Christian converts turned against the missionaries, and that many remained loyal, even in face of threats. The one exception was Chishawasha, where the Mission's own people joined in the rebellion.[1] If by this is meant that the Mission was attacked by those it had made Christians, the statement is entirely wrong, since there were only seven of them and they were all young boys. However probably Mr. Peaden means no more than that it was the tenants on the Chishawasha farm who joined in the attack and that this was something unique.

However the question remains why in this one case was the attack made? The missionaries themselves were flabbergasted by it. The fullest account of the events is in *The Zambesi Mission Record*[2] and, excellent though this is factually, it does not satisfactorily suggest a motive. But supplementing this by two unpublished sources, the manuscript "Historia Domus Loyolae", i.e. the Latin log book of the Chishawasha Mission, and a typewritten narrative entitled "Nhau dze Missione ye Chishawasha" enables us, I think, better to reconstruct what happened. The "Nhau dze Missione ye Chishawasha" was written in 1942 on the occasion of the Mission's golden jubilee, and it seems to have been written up from the oral accounts of those who had witnessed the events of that June and July of 1896.

Central to the whole story is the Mission's possession of cattle. In the course of four years it had managed to build up a herd of 150 head,[3] and, what was more significant, by an extraordinary feat of ingenuity it had managed to keep them completely free from rinderpest. On the other hand this had killed between three and four thousand head round Salisbury, and the Mission's neighbours were losing all they had. One had lost 800 head.[4] Among these neighbours was Arnold Edmonds whose farm was at Glen Lome, across the Enterprise Road from Chishawasha, who had taken supplies of butter to be sold in Salisbury's Market Square every Saturday.[5] He had visited the Mission on at least four occasions, once with his brother, who was in Holy Orders, and once in order to

1. W. R. Peaden, *Missionary Attitudes to Shona Custom*, Salisbury, The Central Africa Historical Association, 1970, Local Series, No. 27, p. 31.
2. *The Zambesi Mission Record*, (Henceforth referred to as *Z.M.R.)* Vol. III, 1908, Nos. 40, 41, 42, pp. 393-9, 438-9, 478-9.
3. *Z.M.R.*, Vol. III, No. 31, p. 16.
4. Letter of Fr. Francis Richartz of 20 May 1896, *Z.M.R.* Vol. III, No. 45, January 1907, p. 184.
5. G. H Tanser, *A Scantling of Time*, Salisbury, Stuart Manning, 1965, pp. 135, 152.

Old Chishawasha 1893. On July 31, 1892, a party of Jesuit missionaries consisting of two fathers and five brothers, arrived at Chishawasha after a wagon journey from Vryburg, which lasted just over three months, and founded what is today an important mission station.

(*Photo: National Archives*)

doctor the Mission's cattle.[6] Of course another sufferer was the Count de la Panouse, whose herd at Avondale had been swept away, though he could hardly have been described as one of the Mission's neighbours.

Still less could the Africans keep the disease at bay, and at the beginning of May it infected their cattle on the Chishawasha farm. Consequently it was ordered that all those that caught the disease should be killed. Moreover, to prevent the Africans carrying away the infected meat and so spreading the disease, it was ordered that the carcasses should be burnt.[7] Two African police were sent to enforce the order.

Nothing else could reasonably have been done. But one can see how differently it appeared to the Africans. Many of their cattle, it seemed to them, were being killed unnecessarily. They were not even allowed to have what was apparently perfectly wholesome meat. Meanwhile, while their cattle were being slaughtered, there were the missionaries keeping their own, sleek and healthy, without being obliged to slaughter a single one. However unreasonable objectively, their anger is understandable. So, once the rebellion started, the temptation to seize the mission cattle, possibly the only healthy ones for miles around, and so make up for their own slaughtered ones, was irresistible; as was to be expected, the first action of the insurgents was to try to drive them away.[8]

As is well known, the Mission resisted the attack which the Africans made on it on June 22, but three days later the missionaries, acting under orders, left Chishawasha and went into laager in Salisbury. It was not till July 27 that they returned and a surprise awaited them. The cattle, indeed, had all been driven

6. "Historia Domus Loyolae", 8 September 1893, 7 May 1894, 4 October 1894, 26 September 1895.
7. "Historia Domus Loyolae" 1 May 1896.
8. *Z.M.R.,* Vol. III, No. 40, p. 397.

Chishawasha Laager, May 1896. Besieged by Natives in the Rebellion of 1896 and was defended until relieved by a patrol from Salisbury.

(*Photo: National Archives*)

away by the Africans, and of course they quickly died from rinderpest.[9] But everything else on the Mission was left untouched. All that the missionaries had left had been put in the cellar and covered with branches. Even a belt with money in it belonging to a miner who had taken refuge at the Mission was intact.[10] How was all this to be accounted for?

The missionaries' own explanation, as given in *The Zambezi Mission Record,* is unsatisfactory, namely that the Shona religious leaders had ordered that, though cattle were to be taken away, no other property belonging to the whites was to be touched. Nehanda and Kakubi had indeed given such orders, but the VaShawasha disregarded them. In the words of one of them, "When they killed those white men they made a mistake, because they took clothes, beads and cattle, which they were forbidden to do by Mwari who had spoken through Kagubi and Nehande. They went to a store near Ruwa, which was called Ballyhooly. They took all the clothes. They went to another store . . . at the junction of the Goromonzi, Salisbury, Umtali roads . . . They took everything in the store . . . They took everything which was left by the Europeans in mines, farms and stores."[11]

The account in the "Nhau dze Missione ye Chishawasha" explains it differently. It says that after the missionaries had left on June 25, the Africans

9. "Nhau dze Missione ye Chishawasha", pp. 9-10.
10. *Z.M.R.,* Vol. III, No. 42, p. 478.
11. Joshua Chidziwa, "History of the Vashawasha", *NADA,* Vol. IX, No. 1, 1964, pp. 30-31.

rushed on the Mission and poured into the chapel. There they came across a statue of Christ. This terrified them and made them think that the missionaries had left some presence to protect their things. Next day they came back, but seeing the statue still there, they again went away. So they continued for two more days. Then, finding that the statue still remained, they came no more.[12]

Such is a story which was passed down by tradition, and narrated forty-six years later. It may be true, though it does not seem to have remained in the memories of the missionaries, who, one would have thought, would have treasured the story of a statue of Christ protecting their goods, had they known about it and had they thought it true. Moreover one would not have expected such a statue to have struck the Africans with so great wonder and consternation. It was now four years since the Mission had been established, and during that time, when the missionaries were trying to introduce them to Christianity, one would have expected them to have seen religious statues.

So neither explanation is completely satisfactory. Why then was the missionaries' property left alone? Was it because the Africans felt that somehow it was wrong to take it; the missionaries were good men and the spirits would punish them if they robbed them? It is true that they had taken their cattle, but there were special reasons for that. If this is so, perhaps the Africans were not as ungrateful as the missionaries thought at the time, and perhaps their own work had been more successful than they knew.

12. "Nhau dze Missione ye Chishawasha", p. 10.

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Origins of Postal Communications in Central Africa

by P. J. White

"This is what puzzles them. She has no stomach; how can she be so thin if she is a woman? yet they say she is Chindevu's wife." From *"A Lady's Letters from Central Africa"*, by Jane F. Moir (1890).

Among those who inherited the cause of Livingstone were missionaries and traders, many of them his own countrymen, who had been influenced by Livingstone's doctrine of "Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation". Following the expedition by Livingstone to "Nyassa Land" in 1858-63 a few of these made the long and arduous journey to Nyanja Nyenyezi— the Lake of the Stars. (See caption to unpublished letter from Livingstone, p. 40)

By 1883 they had been supplemented by a sufficiently large number of settlers to warrant the appointment of a British Consul[1] "in the territories of the African Kings and Chiefs in the districts adjacent to Lake Nyasa", and on September 21, 1889 the Makololo and Shire districts were declared a British Protectorate by Acting Consul John Buchanan.

This action, intended to oppose awakened Portuguese interests in the cool, fertile highlands north of the Ruo river, was of the utmost significance to the present Malawi Republic, of which the southern tip remains today firmly wedged 250 miles into Mocambique.

Communications of this small and precarious protectorate followed those of its earliest explorers to the east coast. The earliest letters were sent overland by runner or, by favour of missionaries' and African Lakes Company river steamers on the Shire[2] and Zambezi, to the British Vice-Consul at Quilimane with the money to pay for Mocambique stamps. Before long regular connections had been established with the British Post Offices in Zanzibar and Durban.

In this respect the early postal development of Nyasaland was quite unlike that of Mashonaland where the British South Africa Company forged links with Europe through Kimberley and Cape Town.

In May 1891 the status of the settlement, which included some 57 Europeans, was recognised by Her Majesty's Government and designated "The Nyasaland Districts Protectorate". An official postal service was inaugurated by the newly appointed Commissioner, Mr. H. H. Johnston (later Sir Harry) who, with more optimism and confidence than money, established during 1891-93, a chain

1. Captain C. E. Foot, R.N.
2. Pronounced Shi-ray.

of stations extending 800 miles from Chiromo to Lake Mweru via Blantyre, Zomba, Karonga, Abercorn and Rhodesia (renamed Kalungwishi in 1897).

Following negotiations with the Portuguese in 1891 this was extended even further by a concession to establish a British Post Office of Exchange and other agencies on 20 acres of territory at Chinde where a navigable passage through the vast Zambezi delta had been discovered.

Such rapid development of communications was the result not only of Johnston's energy but was also closely linked to the commercial and exploratory enterprise of the African Lakes Company, an organisation evolved from the trading activities of the Free Church of Scotland Livingstonia Mission. The managers were John and Fred Moir who had opened the primitive Stevenson Road of 245 miles between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika and whose paddle steamers "Lady Nyasa II" and "James Stevenson" had plied the Zambezi for many years.[3]

Meanwhile the British South Africa Company's directors in London and Cape Town, motivated by imperial ideals as well as by commercial enterprise, were determined to expand the Company's influence northward beyond the Zambezi. Prompted by Johnston who distrusted the Moir brothers, and encouraged by the British Foreign Office, Rhodes bought a controlling interest in African Lakes which was reduced by 1893 to the status of a retailing and transport corporation.

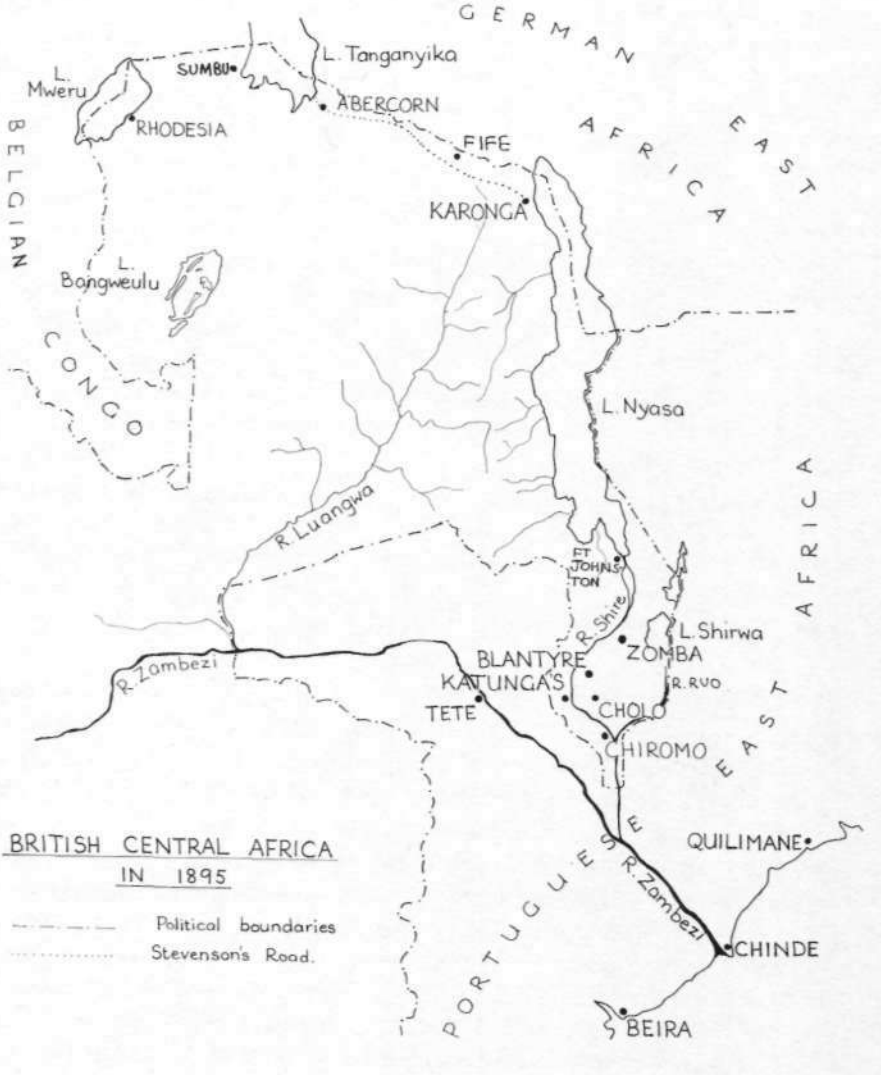
Concessions acquired by African Lakes from native chiefs and its mineral rights were transferred to the Chartered Company and the area west of the Luangwa/Lake Nyasa watershed (the present Zambia/Malawi border) was incorporated into the Company's "sphere of influence". Johnston retained administrative control of this area on behalf of the Company until June 30, 1895.

Even in the Nyasaland Districts Protectorate where, according to the Duke of Abercorn, "Scotch jealousies and cussedness" obstructed the implementation of full Company control, Johnston's administration was propped up by a subsidy of £10 000 or more per annum of B.S.A. Company money until the end of 1895.

In view of the expansion of British territory as far as Lake Mweru the name Nyasaland Districts Protectorate was redundant and in February 1893 it became the British Central Africa Protectorate. The words "Central Africa" which are still with us today were approved by Lord Salisbury who wrote, "I have no objection . . . The region it indicates is anywhere but in the centre of Africa; but that is a British habit. The Middle Temple is not in the middle."

The Company subsidy included the provision of postage stamps and the first stamps to be sold in the new protectorate in July 1891 comprised the first British South Africa Co. issue, overprinted B.C.A. in black. Curiously, no stamps of this issue were on sale in Mashonaland until January 1, 1892, more than six months later.

3. Since 1879 and 1887 respectively.


GERMAN EAST AFRICA
L. Tanganyika
SUMBU
L. Mweru
ABERCORN
RHODESIA
FIFE
KARONGA
BELGIAN CONGO
L. Bangweulu
L. Nyasa
R. Luangwa
FT JOHNSTON
R. Shire
L. Shirwa
ZOMBA
R. Zambezi
BLANTYRE
KATUNGA'S
R. RUO
TETE
CHOLO
CHIROMO
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
QUILIMANE
R. Zambezi
CHINDE
BEIRA
BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA
IN 1895
Political boundaries
Stevenson's Road.

The first notification of postal rates was published on July 20, 1891 as follows:

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

NOTICE is hereby given that the following are the Rates of Postage in British Central Africa:

Letters	
To Europe	6d. per ½ oz.
India, Zanzibar, Portuguese Colonies	4d. per ½ oz.
Cape and Natal, Nyasa, Tanganyika and Moers	2d. per oz.
Internal Postage	
In Shire District, In Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau	1d. per oz.
To any other countries	6d. per ½ oz.
Newspapers to any part of the world	1d. per 3 oz.
Registration fee	2d.

Stamps can be obtained from the Post Offices at Tshilomo, Blantyre and Zomba, and very shortly at Karonga, Abercorn and Rhodesia.

BY ORDER
(signed) ALFRED SHARPE
Her Majesty's Vice-Consul
Acting Postmaster.

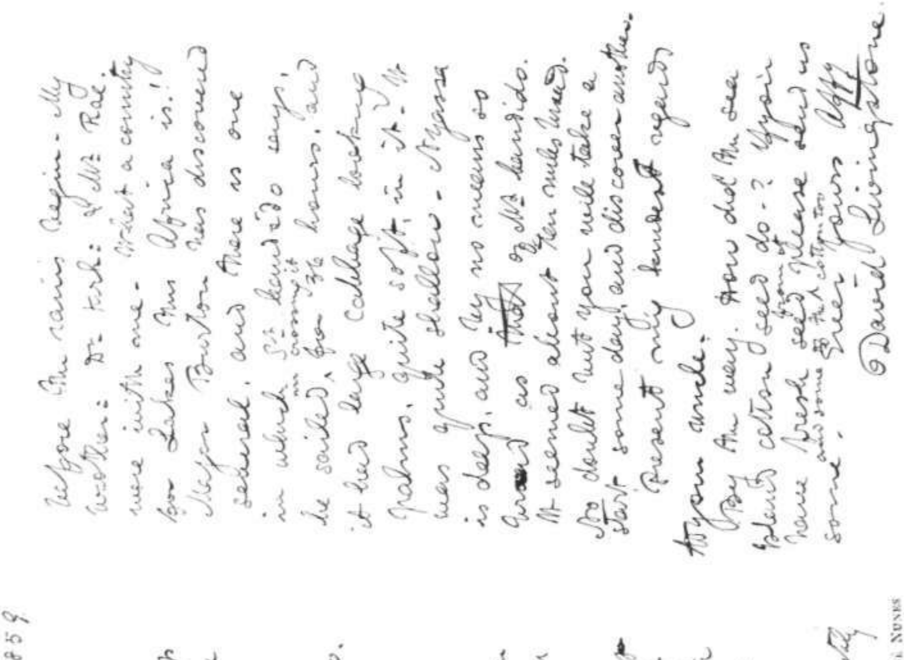
TSHILOMO
July 20, 1891

By "Nyasa, Tanganyika and Moers" (Mweru) Sharpe meant the area between the three lakes. However letters circulating within that area, known as the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau, cost only 1d., that is, there were *two* internal postage rates.[4] This interesting situation is confirmed by the issue in 1895 of two official postcards, both marked "Internal" at ½d and 1d.

The first of the Protectorate's own stamps were put on sale early in 1895. Since the cost had to be met out of the Administration's meagre funds the issue was designed by Johnston himself and printed on plain paper; but by the end of 1895 the Crown Agents assumed responsibility for the supply and a second issue, of the same design, was made in 1896 on Crown Agents watermarked paper. Modestly enough Johnston did not care for this attractive series which he referred to as "a rather cheap and inferior issue". They were replaced in 1897 by a similar but more elaborate design of De la Rue's.

The first official postcards issued, in 1893 and 1895, were replicas of Johnston's own elegant, custom-made note paper with black, white and yellow borders representing the African, European and Arab races.

4. (i) Shire/Plateau 2d. (ii) Local 1d.



Rivers Shire 17 Octr 1859

My Dear José

We have had a long tramp on foot to discover Lake Nyassa or Nyanyezi and I feel inclined to try our next trip on four legs instead of on my own two. Can Donkies be obtained at a reasonable cost from Mozambique? We are going down again to meet a Man of war at Luabo. If an opportunity occurs please send one bale of calico at least. so that I may get it when I come up about the beginning of December.

We travelled 250 miles on foot in the hottest time of the year – i.e. the period immediately before the rains begin. My brother: Dr Kirk: & Mr Rae were with me. What a country for Lakes this Africa is! Major Burton has discovered several, and there is one in which Sr Candido says, in crossing it he sailed for 36 hours, and it had large cabbage looking palms, quite soft, in it. It was quite shallow. Nyassa is deep, and by no means so broad as that of Mr Candido. It seemed about ten miles broad. No doubt but you will take a start some day, and discover another.

Present my kindest regards to your uncle.

By the way. How did the sea island cotton seed do? If you have fresh seed from it please send us some, and some of the cotton too.

Ever yours Affy

David Livingstone

Facsimile of Unpublished Letter from Livingstone to José Nunes (abridged), containing probably his first report of his discovery of Lake Nyasa, and referring to his experiments with Sea Island Cotton for Nyasaland. ("Palms" on tenth line of second page should probably read "Plants.")

Referring to Livingstone's letter, the author comments that "this letter leaves little doubt that the chinyanja name for the lake was *Nyanza Nyenyezi* and I assume Nyassa was a Portuguese or an Arabic corruption".

In 1895 the card rates were:

Shire Highlands: Internal	½d.
Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau: Internal	½d.
From one to the other: Internal	1d.
External	2d.

The ½d. cards were a strange paradox since no ½d. stamps had been issued at that time and the public had to choose between buying the official ½d. cards or paying double the rate.

Prepaid registered envelopes were available in 1892. The registration fee was only 2d. at first, following the British rate, but was raised to 4d. in 1893 in line with Mashonaland and Cape Colony.

The Protectorate obtained a 99 year lease of land at Chinde in June 1891 in exchange for a similar concession to the Portuguese at Leopards Bay, on the south west shore of Lake Nyasa. Chinde became the southern terminus for British river craft and was officially gazetted part of BCA Protectorate in 1899.

Mail steamers could cross the sand bar in the Zambezi estuary only at high tide and since communications were plagued by erosion and silting of rivers it was handed back, with few regrets, to the Portuguese when the Trans-Zambezi Railway opened to Beira in 1922.

In 1895 the long and bitter quarrel between Johnston and Cecil Rhodes over use of the Company's subsidy brought about the political separation of the Protectorate and the "hinterland", which became North Eastern Rhodesia.

Postal services in N.E. Rhodesia were not immediately affected since the stocks of stamps overprinted B.C.A. remained in legal use until March 1, 1896 when they were demonetised. B.C.A. cancellers were used at least until October 1897. Moreover a certain amount of mail to and from the Company's stations continued to pass through the Protectorate in the normal way until March 31, 1904 when an annual grant of £425 per annum to cover the cost of this was withdrawn by the Company.

Taken as a barometer of order and prosperity the infancy of the Nyasaland mail service was fraught with problems and difficulties which must have sometimes appeared insuperable. The effects of and deaths from malaria, Portuguese hostility, wars against the slave traders and the acute scarcity of local resources and amenities called for integrity, determination and courage.

It was extraordinary how many young men of the British Colonial Service of those days were found to possess these qualities. Some became great men and the leaders of their country. Others, equally great, were forgotten as the mists of time obscured their graves on the vast African veld.

In 1892-93 Postal Services were a net loss to the Administration of between £400 and £500. As if this were not enough the very existence and whereabouts of British Central Africa, in 1893, was apparently more or less a mystery to Her Majesty's post offices in London and Zanzibar, where Johnston's firm admonitions fell on deaf ears. Finally, on March 23 he fired a full broadside:

"Dear Sir Percy,

Thanks for your letters of December 14th and 27th. I only received them two or three days ago, owing to the vagaries of our General Post Office which seems to find some special gratification in ignoring the existence of British Central Africa and refusing to make up its already considerable mail into special mail bags. The delight of the General Post Office in London is to shoot all our mails into Zanzibar, where they lie a greater or less time according to the degree of health and energy in which our Goanese Zanzibar Postmaster may find himself... I wish you would solve the problem *more Africano* by just having the Postmaster General exposed in chains for three days at the main entrance to the Foreign Office . . ."[5] A note on this letter reads, "This has been settled without rough treatment of the Postmaster-General".

Even so, the volume of mail increased by approximately 20 per cent per annum during this time. Johnston gives the following as the total number of articles carried per month (November), including letters, postcards, book packets, newspapers and parcels; internal and external mail:

1893	19 383 pieces
1894	25 592 „
1895	29 802 „

Transport problems held the key to the expansion and maintenance of the crude network of mail services which existed by 1895. At that time much of Nyasaland was forested with savannah and *miombo* woodland where tsetse fly rapidly infected bullocks and horses with sleeping sickness. In the British Central Africa Gazette for May 15, 1895, the public was informed by Vice-Consul Buchanan that, "A gentleman in England who believes the question of transport in Central Africa would be solved by introducing the zebra as a beast of burden has empowered me to pay the sum of £100 to any person who will successfully tame and work a small number of these animals." Unfortunately the zebra proved intractable, stubborn and sometimes vicious.

River transport, although of vital importance to the early settlers was too slow for the quickening pace of development and a direct link from the lake to the Indian Ocean was barred by the Murchison Cataracts. Furthermore the level of Lake Nyasa was falling during this period, giving rise to concern.

Regular collection of mails from Chinde were first made by ships of the Union S.S. line, forerunner of the well known Union Castle of today, sailing from Port Natal to Zanzibar each month via Delagoa, Chinde, Quilimane and Mocambique. However in 1895 an agreement was made between Union and the German East Africa Line. As a result the coastal traffic between Tanga and Delagoa Bay became a monopoly of German ships until 1898 when some of the parcel traffic was taken up by Rennie's Aberdeen S.S. Co.

A convenient arrangement was made between the BCA Protectorate and the subsidised German company. All British mail from Chinde to Zanzibar was

5. Johnston to Sir Percy Anderson, Foreign Office, 23 March 1893.

During 1898 an emergency issue was made of locally produced "cheque stamps" valued 1d. A consignment from London of the proper stamps had been lost in transit by river steamer. Nearly 25 000 cheque stamps were printed before the case turned up—in a wood refueling station.

The £1 duty stamp of the 1895 series designed by Sir Harry Johnston.

Chartered Company 4d. stamp overprinted B.C.A. for use in British Central Africa.

Illustrations are not actual size of stamps.

to be transported free of charge by German ships in return for carriage of German mails between Chinde and Fort Johnston. From Fort Johnston, German mailbags were taken northwards by African Lakes Company steamers or the German gunboat "Hermann Von Wissmann" to Langenburg, and by carriers to Lake Tanganyika and the remote German southern highlands.

An ingenious monorail tramway was built by the British Central Africa Co., formed in 1895. It was fully 40 miles in length from Blantyre to Gwanya, at the top of the cataracts, giving access to Fort Johnston and the Lake. Flat trucks having two double flanged wheels were used and were pushed by porters. It is not recorded what happened if two trucks met but there is little doubt they would have been used to carry mail.

In 1896 the same financial group formed the Shire Highlands Railway Company. This seems to have been premature since the first track from Port Herald to Blantyre was not begun until 1903, and was completed in 1908.

Primitive roads were cleared between Katunga's (at the foot of the cataracts) and Blantyre, and from Blantyre to Matope, Zomba, Cholo and Mlanje. The Royal Mail was distributed via these routes, hopefully at three miles an hour, by *tenga tenga,* the Nyasaland native runner.

A Collector/Postmaster appointed to one of Johnston's stations, with a salary of about £350 per annum, was expected to choose a site and build a substantial stockade or "fort" as the district headquarters from which to establish the *Pax Britannica.* Dispatch and distribution of mail might take up considerable time, as at Abercorn where 40 mail runners were employed in 1894, or might be a once weekly event on mail day in a corner reserved for that purpose.

Runners were very reliable and well treated by the villagers on their routes by whom they were looked upon as responsible Government officials. They wore a handsome scarlet and white uniform of shorts, tunic and fez—a status symbol of considerable recruiting power. In addition each man was issued with a rifle and ammunition for protection against wild animals. A fair day's work would be 20-25 miles carrying 40-50 lbs. of mail.

Today a torrent of mail pours through Malawi post offices; but in those early times each piece was examined and, more often than not, hand stamped at each post office through which it passed, providing endless interest, speculation and perhaps nostalgia for those who would conjure up the past and hear faintly, the echoes of yesterday.

In 1896 Sir Harry Johnston relinquished control of "this Cinderella among the Protectorates" to Sir Alfred Sharpe and was accredited to the Regency of Tunis. Unlike Rhodes he had never been popular with the aggressive and impatient planters and miners nor with the mistrustful and resentful missionaries who inherited, inter alia, postal services envied by German colonists in the north and Portuguese in the south and east.

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EXCELSA

The most interesting article, for the general reader, in *Excelsa,* No. 4 of the Journal of the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Rhodesia is one by M. J. Kimberley on C. F. M. Swynnerton. This great naturalist came out to Rhodesia to farm in 1898. He was the complete naturalist being agriculturist and forester (there is a memorial to him in the Chirinda Forest) as well as zoologist, entomologist and botanist with a number of plant species bearing his name. His work on tsetse control is renowned and he was the first Game Warden appointed in Tanganyika Territory.

There are fifteen articles and this number has an international flavour with articles from South Africa, U.S.A. and England as well as contributions on plants of the relevant species in Mexico and Socotra. There are six pages of coloured illustrations and the editor (M. J. Kimberley) comments that, with this number, all the Rhodesian aloe species have been illustrated and written about in the pages of *Excelsa* so consideration can now be given to the production of a book.

The high standard of production set by earlier issues has been maintained. The address of the society is Box 8514 Causeway, Salisbury, and the subscription is R$4,00 per annum.

Finaughty's Cannon

by C. K. Cooke

Introduction

Some time during 1875 William Finaughty bought three old ship's cannon in Port Elizabeth with the thought of selling them to some African chief at a profit. His first effort was abortive when he was forced by the attentions of the authorities to throw one cannon away. He had left the others at Kimberley as a reserve if his initial attempt at trading with Sekukuni in the Northern Transvaal failed. Finaughty hoped to trade the cannon for some of the diamonds which this powerful chief was supposed to have. Finaughty never recovered the piece of ordnance; he believed that someone else did and that it was used in the siege of Kimberley during the Boer War of 1899-1902.

History

About the middle of the year 1876 Finaughty left Kimberley and proceeded northwards with the other two cannon. He arrived via Bechuanaland (Botswana) at Lobengula's first Bulawayo later in the same year. Through an agent named Jack Deans* these were sold to Lobengula for ivory which Finaughty valued at £190.

The cannon were unmounted and left lying in the kraal at Bulawayo. An account by Mr. Alfred Cross dated April 5, 1910 gives the following information:

BURIED CANNON
The Bulawayo Discovery
An interesting story
BORDER FARMER TELLS THE TALE

A telegram recently appeared in our columns stating that two cannon had been found at Bulawayo on the site of the old township. With reference to this discovery that well-known Border farmer, Mr. Alfred Cross of Blaney, sends us the following interesting letter, detailing a hitherto unpublished incident in Rhodesian history. He writes:

"I can explain how the two cannon lately unearthed on the site of the old Bulawayo township were taken into that country. About 1873 or 1874, F——— a trader from Grahamstown, arrived at Bulawayo and told us (by 'us' I mean the five white men then at Bulawayo) that he had two cannon on his wagon for Lobengula. He informed us that on a former visit he had shown Lobengula

* This man was probably Alexander Deans, hunter and trader who had a store at Bulawayo in 1875.

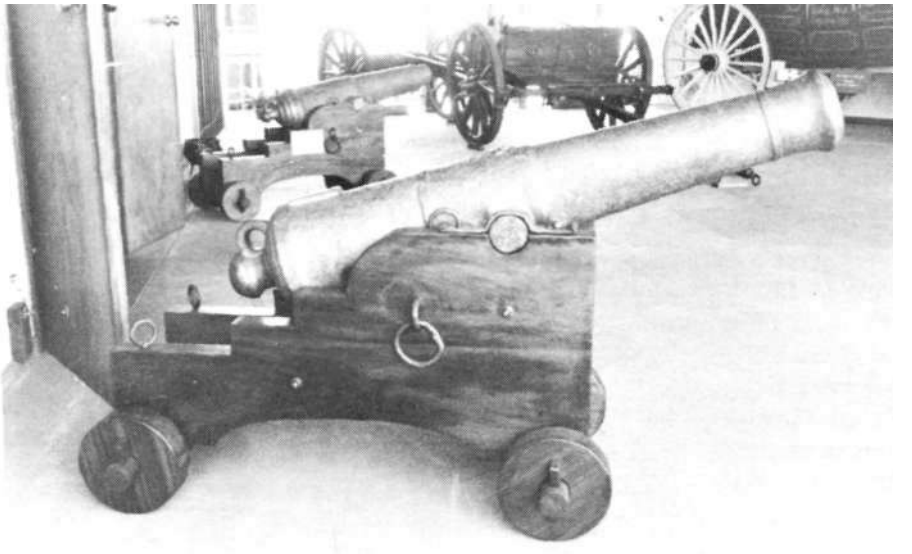

Plate 1.

Plate 2.

illustrations of cannon and explained to him the effect of shells fired from these guns. F———knowing of two cannon in Grahamstown then ornamenting the lawn in front of a private dwelling, asked Lobengula if he would be willing to pay him a hundred head of oxen to bring him two guns. Lobengula said it was too much, but eventually agreed to pay 40 head. F———then returned to Grahamstown and bought the guns.

"On returning to Bulawayo after passing Zeerust F———was informed that a fieldcornet intended searching his wagon on the following day, so that night F--------- guns and their brass moulds (which he had made to cast balls) into a vlei and travelled on as fast as he could. The fieldcornet caught up to his wagon many miles away from the vlei, but finding no ammunition allowed F———to proceed on his journey. On arriving at the junction of the Marico and Crocodile Rivers he camped and hunted about there for over a month. He then took off the hind wheels of his wagon and with poles turned it into a cart. With this he returned to the vlei and recovered the guns and one mould, the other could not be found.

"The day after F———arrived the guns were put on the ground (having no carriage or mount of any kind). Lobengula and his staff and we white men went to view them. Lobengula asked F———if these were the things he had told him would knock a hill to pieces. He then added: 'when you show me they can do it, I will pay you for them'. He then turned on his heels and walked away, and to my knowledge he never looked at them again. F———had them put into a hut in Phillips' yard, and in 1880 I saw them in the same place partly buried, as the hut had fallen on top of them. From what I can remember the one gun was about 4 or 5 feet long, the other shorter, and the bore of one much smaller than the other. And if they were now found where the white men had their huts about 150 yards south of the old town, then I have no doubt that they had never been removed from the old hut where first placed and where I last saw them. In the end F———was satisfied to take about £20 worth of ivory instead of the cattle.

"Our correspondent adds: 'I believe I am the only one left of those five white men who watched the off-loading of the guns'."

DISPATCH. APRIL 5, 1910.

As far as can be ascertained they were never fired. Finaughty saw them c. 1915 outside the Bulawayo Museum in Fort Street. He said: "They now lie rusted and neglected outside the main entrance of that institution without even a block of wood to show them off." It has been impossible to ascertain where they had been since 1893, or who gave them to the National Museum.

Finaughty also stated: "We left the guns there and they remained unused, lying near Lobengula's hut until the Occupation, and the flight of Lobengula, when they were hidden, to be unearthed some two years ago (c. 1910 note) and presented to the Bulawayo Museum."

As Lobengula was living at Old Bulawayo at the time of Finaughty's visit his remarks could be taken to mean at that site. However, Lobengula moved

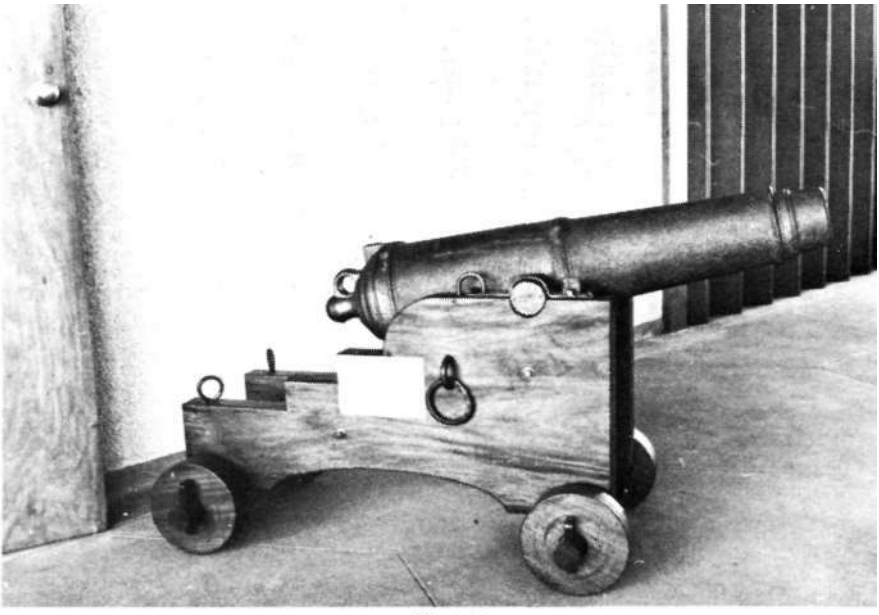

Plate 3.

Plate 4.

his kraal to the site where Government House now stands during 1881. No evidence has been found from which the conclusion can be drawn that Lobengula took the cannon to his new capital, or at which Bulawayo they were found in 1910. It is unlikely that the traders or the members of the forces would not have seen them if they were lying in the last of Lobengula's kraals in 1893.

The cannon remained lying outside the old museum in Fort Street, but were later put onto wooden carriages. When the new museum was built in Centenary Park they once again graced the main entrance.

Last year (1974) they were re-mounted and are now displayed outside the "Hall of Chiefs" in the antiquities section of the National Museum (Plate 5).

Description of the Cannon

No. 1 (Plate 1): A cannon, probably cast at Carron, Scotland by B. P. & Co. It has a bore of 85 mm, length overall 1,13 metres. The date on the barrel is partially obliterated—it could be either 1802 or 1782. The crown under which appear the initials B. P. indicates that this was indeed a naval gun (Plate 2).

No. 2 (Plate 3): This cannon, also cast by B. P. & Co. probably at Carron in Scotland in 1808, has a bore of 110 mm; the barrel has an overall length of 1.013 metres. It was capable of firing a ball weighing 3,0 kg. As well as the date of the manufacture the initials B. P. & Co. are also shown. There is no crown, a fact that indicates that althugh it was a ship's cannon it was not cast for the Royal Navy (Plate 4). In the past this weapon has been described as a carronade. A carronade has a very much larger bore and has no trunnions; this type of weapon was used more like a modern howitzer than a cannon, and could fire a charge of loose shot weighing as much as 30 kg.

These weapons were mainly used as ship's cannon but were sometimes used on land. The army of the Duke of Wellington used this type of weapon during the late 18th and early 19th Century.

There are also two possibilities as to the meaning of B. P. & Co. which appears on both cannon. The Master of the Armouries at the Tower of London suggests they were cast by Boulton and Paul of Norwich in the middle or first half of the 19th Century.

In a letter dated 13.10.47 from the Foreman of Works, Simonstown, the following appears:

"Up to the year 1891 all guns were supplied by the Royal Army Ordnance Corps. These (the guns) were made at the Royal Armament Depot, Bull Point, Plymouth, hence the B. P., the guns in question must have been made in early 1800, while still under army control."

A letter from Major Angus Cree dated 9.11.54 has the following statement:

"I believe that when the siege of Mafeking started, the defenders found in the town an old smooth bore muzzle-loading gun of small calibre with the Gunfounders initial B. P. on the chase. This was regarded as a particularly good omen and the gun was used during the siege" (reference being to Baden Powell).

Plate 5.

It would appear that this refers to the cannon abandoned by Finaughty and subsequently recovered by an unknown person.

The account by Cross is very informative because it shows that the cannon were definitely left at Old Bulawayo and were still there ten years later when seen by Mr. Cross during 1880. Lobengula did not move to his second Bulawayo until 1881. We still do not know from which site they were recovered during 1910.

Alfred Cross was a hunter born near East London. He first went to Matabeleland in 1871 with his uncle W. J. Tainton, and Browne. He stayed in the interior as their partner hunting and trading until 1880. (E. C. Tabler, *Pioneers of Rhodesia* 1966).

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From Cillicaats to Zelkaats: the Orthographic Odyssey of Mzilikazi

by R. Kent Rasmussen

During the first year I studied the history of the Ndebele kingdom I had only the vaguest notion of the proportions of the orthographic problems underlying my diverse nineteenth century documents. One day in 1972, however, I happened upon a fairly recent article which called attention to what the author felt was an incredible statistic I had not previously noticed: the bibliographer Sydney Mendelssohn listed all of sixteen variant spellings of "Mzilikazi"—the name of the founder king of the Ndebele. Though impressed by this figure, I sensed that perhaps I myself had already seen a somewhat larger number of variations. Using the notes and books immediately at hand, I quickly came up with my own list of more than fifty spellings. Although my documentary research was largely completed, I kept adding to my new list from additional materials and marginally related books which I perused in the normal course of research and reading. The result is the present list of 324 variants, all of which I document for the benefit of scholar and sceptic alike. This article completes my collecting efforts, but I am confident that literally hundreds more variants could be found—should anyone care to look for them.

This list of variant spellings of a single person's name is perhaps unique in world history. The only similar case of which I am aware is D. P. Abraham's (unpublished) list of more than a hundred forms of *Mwene Mutapa* ('Monomotopa')—the dynastic title of the rulers of the Shona empire in northern Rhodesia (see *NADA,* 1959, p. 71). Europeans began to write about the *Mwene Mutapas* almost three centuries before Mzilikazi was born. It is interesting, therefore, to see how 'Mzilikazi' has produced more spelling variations in a shorter period of time.

Mzilikazi was born in present Zululand in the 1790s at a time when the literate world was barely aware of the existence of the society to which he belonged. European knowledge of south African peoples was then largely confined to the present Cape Province, south of the Orange River. In c.1820 Mzilikazi left Zululand with a few hundred kinsmen and migrated into the Transvaal. Within a decade he ruled perhaps 20 000 people and commanded a powerful army which dominated the area. The region to his immediate south was then being ravaged by the Sotho wars *(Difaqane)* and Europeans were just beginning to penetrate north of the Orange River.

Despite Mzilikazi's early achievements, his name seems to have been unknown to literate Europeans before 1829. In that year he received his first white visitors, who identified him as *Malacatzie.* Soon afterwards he was visited by the missionary Robert Moffat, who helped to make him famous to the world as *Moselekatse*—a name by which he is still known in South Africa. From that moment—as the present list demonstrates—Europeans began to render Mzilikazi's name in an incredible variety of ways. Linguistic science was then in its infancy, so we should not be surprised to find that most Europeans disagreed on how to spell Mzilikazi's name. Especially when we learn that Mzilikazi had in fact two names: *Mzilikazi* and *Moselekatse,* the latter a dialectal variation of the former. The inherent length of Mzilikazi's name and the unfamiliarity of its sounds to European ears provided an unusually large scope for interpretation. Mzilikazi lived until 1868 and was one of the most famous figures in southern Africa by the time of his death in present Rhodesia. His fame, the complexity of his name, and the absence of any language authority to set things straight, all contributed to a situation in which his name was written frequently and irregularly. Furthermore, the heritage of diverse nineteenth century forms of his name carried over into the present century, despite the efforts of modern scholars to standardise the orthography of African languages.

The correct form of Mzilikazi's name in the Sindebele language of his people is *Umzilikazi,* or *uMzilikazi.* The initial *um-* is a Bantu class prefix indicating person; it is modified by other prefixes depending upon syntax. In modern English usage such class prefixes are normally dropped from Bantu words. Hence, *Mzilikazi* is technically the standard English form of the name. A glance at the list of spellings below will reveal, however, that retention of the initial vowel remains common. In one case the *u-* was even replaced by an *o-,* producing *Omsediggas.*

Sindebele is a dialect of the northern Nguni branch of Bantu languages and is most closely related to Zulu. Historically, however, Ndebele society has been ethnically heterogeneous and the Nguni nucleus of the population has been outnumbered by persons deriving from other societies. During Mzilikazi's years in the Transvaal (c. 1821-37) most of his followers came from societies which spoke Sotho languages, the dominant branch of Bantu in the interior of South Africa. After 1837 he settled in present Rhodesia, where he added an even larger component of Shona-speaking peoples. By then, however, the orthographic patterns pertaining to his name had already been largely established.

In the Transvaal most Ndebele—apparently including Mzilikazi himself (information on this point is not conclusive)—spoke Sotho as well as Nguni. The Ndebele state was also surrounded by Sotho-speaking communities, and it was through these that Mzilikazi's reputation spread to Europeans. In Sotho Mzilikazi's name is rendered *Moselekatse.* In contrast to Nguni usage, the *m* of *Mzilikazi* is absorbed into the class prefix *mo-.* This distinction seems to have contributed to greater variation in the spellings of the first part of *Moselekatse* than is the case with *Mzilikazi.* Hence, we observe variants beginning with *ma-, me-, mi-, mo-,* and *mu-,* and occasionally forms in which the prefix is dropped

altogether (see *Salacatzi, etc.).* Europeans who visited Mzilikazi throughout his career invariably approached him from the south, where they heard mostly Sotho forms of his name. Within Ndebele country both *Moselekatse* and *Mzilikazi* appear to have been used interchangeably. Dr. Andrew Smith, who visited Mzilikazi in 1835, considered himself a scientific collector of ethnographic data, but he had a poor ear for phonetics. In his voluminous writings he spelled Mzilikazi's name in at least thirty different ways, sometimes several ways in a single paragraph. Nevertheless, his very inconsistency is informative. He interviewed many informants and attempted to write down everything as he heard it. His mixture of Nguni and Sotho forms of Mzilikazi's name reflects the actual heterogeneity of Ndeble society.

Mzilikazi's missionary friend Robert Moffat knew him for thirty years but never gave any indication that an Nguni equivalent of *Moselekatse* was employed by the Ndebele. Nevertheless, through the writings of Andrew Smith and others Nguni forms began to appear in the literature of the 1830s. When Mzilikazi's councillor Mncumbathe signed a treaty on his behalf with the British governor at Cape Town in 1836, the Nguni form *Umsiligas* was the only one to appear on the document. During the 1830s the Zulu of king Dingane attacked Mzilikazi twice, and the latter's reputation was well-known to Europeans in Zululand, hence such Nguni forms as *Mselekaz.* European visitors to Mzilikazi's court continued to use Sotho forms of his name until the late 1860s. By then resident missionaries had learned enough Sindebele to shake off the Sotho perspective which they had inherited from Moffat. It is interesting that whereas the Welsh missionary used the form *Moselekatse* in his correspondence during the 1860s, he used only the correct Nguni form *Umzilikazi* in the book he wrote in the early 1870s. By then most Europeans used Nguni forms.

Most of the Europeans who knew, or who knew of, Mzilikazi during his lifetime were English and Dutch-speaking residents of South Africa. Speaking languages which themselves were not written very phonetically, they typically had poor ears for the strange sounds of African languages. They had special trouble differentiating between vowels and between sibilant consonants. The distinctions between *k, g,* and hard *c* were also sometimes a problem. Note the range of variations in *Masalegas, Motselekatse, Missalacatzie, Musalacatzie,* and *Mazalakatze*—all written by one person in the space of a single year. Europeans rarely, however, had trouble identifying the initial *m* sounds and the penultimate vowel *a* in *Mzilikazi* and *Moselekatse.* Also, the sharp distinction between *l* and *r* in Germanic prevented most observers from missing the *l* of the third syllable. The rare substitution of the closely related *d* is probably attributable more to intermediary African informants, whose own languages had weak *l*'s, than to the failure of Europeans to hear the sound correctly. Finally, the Germanic deafness to weak vowels accounts for the dropping of the final vowels in many forms of *Mzilikazi/Moselekatse.* Dutch-speakers frequently dropped both the final and middle vowels of *Moselekatse* and then ignored the initial prefix, producing forms like *Silkaats* and *Zelkaats.* This led to other shifts as well. The removal of the final vowel closed a naturally open syllable and required the doubling of the *a* to retain its length.

A nineteenth century English philologist once wrote a plea for spelling reform in which he produced a list of more than 4 000 ways to spell *Shakespeare* as an argument for standardization. All but a handful of these spellings were, of course, merely theoretical. A list of the theoretically possible spellings of *Mzilikazi/Moselekatse* would be staggering. A diverting exercise is to break the spellings of *Mzilikazi/Moselekatse* into component parts—either by letter or by syllables—using the variations observable in the list below. If one then adds up the lists of permutations of each component, and then multiplies them out, the theoretical combinations can number in the hundreds of thousands. Most of the resulting names would be easily recognizable by even the slightly trained eye or ear, for they would all adhere to this basic syllabic pattern:

m variant, or blank	palatal sibilant, —and vowel	*l* or *d*— and vowel or blank	*k* or g sound— and vowel	*a*, or *aa*	palatal sibilant— and vowel or blank

To the historian of African who uses early European documents the problem of confidently identifying African names is often a serious one. The types of spelling variations which one finds in *Mzilikazi/Moselekatse* are so commonplace as barely to require mention. Most African names are shorter and less well known than that of Mzilikazi, however. Unfortunately, it follows that the shorter the name, the more difficult it is to certify its identity. I have been able to identify bizarre forms of Mzilikazi's name in documents—even when the context is not altogether clear—primarily because I have never seen another name even remotely resembling the pattern outlined above. If ever I came across such an unlikely configuration as *Tsaddaggassie,* I should be very surprised if it referred to anyone other than Mzilikazi. However, were one attempting to identify the Gaza king Mzila, it would be risky to accept even a comparatively minor variation such as *Motsele* without some strong corroborative evidence of identity. There are probably too many other contemporary figures with similar names. On the other hand, one should not rule out the possibility that *Motsele = Mzila.* If nothing else, this article should convince the African historian to interpret peculiar spellings liberally.

In selecting forms of *Mzilikazi/Moselekatse* to include in this list I have tried to ignore variations due to obvious slips of the pen or typographical errors. This is not always easy, however. In some cases it is difficult to determine wherein an original error lay. Some of these forms, *e.g., Malacatzie, Matakatzee, Umgekhassi, Unzilikadji, etc.,* may in fact be typographical errors. Nevertheless, these are representative of the data which the historian must confront, so I leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions about their origins.

Each name is accompanied by a single documentary citation, given as a number corresponding to the bibliography which follows. Volume and page references follow the colons (:), where relevant. In order to simplify the bibliography I have atempted to cite published sources instead of archival sources

where possible, and to consolidate references among the smallest number of different sources.

Please note that in many instances—especially in edited volumes—the spellings cited are not necessarily those of the authors. For example, all spellings cited from P. R. Kirby's biography of Andrew Smith were those used by Smith himself.

1. Cillicaats (77p)
2. Macillicats (77b)
3. Malacatzie (88: 404)
4. Malzelikatze (12: 76)
5. Malzellikatze (12: 71)
6. Masalacatze (77g)
7. Masalacatzie (55: II, 71)
8. Masalactzie (55: I, 109)
9. Masalakatsi (27: 73)
10. Masalakatsie (26: 205)
11. Masalakatzie (55: I, 216)
12. Masalegas (81c: 107)
13. Masalekats (80g)
14. Masalikatse (58: II, 339)
15. Masalikatsi (10: 15)
16. Masalikatzie (26: 186)
17. Maselakatsi (76a)
18. Maselekatsi (76b)
19. Maselekatze (80a)
20. Maselikats (56: 405)
21. Maselikatze (66: 103)
22. maselle Kaats (61: 99)
23. Masellekats (77d)
24. Masellikatsi (73p)
25. Masilekatse (65: 351)
26. Masilekatze (65: 352)
27. Masilicasi (77c)
28. Masilikaats (56: 405)
29. Masilikats (56: 405)
30. Masilikatsie (58: II, 225)
31. Masilikatze (37: I, xiv)
32. Masilikatzi (7: I, 460)
33. Masolekatse (73o)
34. Massalakitze (72a)
35. Massalikatse (73r)
36. Masselakatzi (71)
37. Masselekaats (48: 281)
38. Masselekatzi (71)
39. Masselikats (73i)
40. Masselikatse (8: 143)
41. Masselikatsi (73m)
42. Masselikatze (73j)
43. Massellekâats (77v)
44. Massellikatse (73k)
45. Massellikatsi (73g)
46. Massilikatzi (47: II, 34)
47. Massullikats (73c)
48. Masulacatzie (81c: 47)
49. Masulakatse (28: 118)
50. Masulikatse (10: 39)
51. Masulikatsi (10: 27)
52. Masulikatze (65: 347)
53. Masulikatzi (10: 43)
54. Maszalikatse (73t)
55. Matacatzee (58: I, 163)
56. Matakatzee (58: II, 25)
57. Matselekatse (56: 163)
58. Matselikatse (73n)
59. Matselikatze (73s)
60. Matselikatzi (55a: II, pl. 5)
61. Matsellikats (58: II, 187)
62. Matsellikatse (48: 23)
63. Matsellikatz (72b)
64. Matsellikatze (73s)
65. Matsilikatsi (78e)
66. Matsilikatsie (82: 365)
67. Matsilikatze (56: 328)
68. Matsilikatzi (47: II, 31)
69. Matsilikazi (79c)
70. Matzalikatse (12: 112)
71. Matzelekatsi (55a: II, pl. 14)
72. Matzelekatze (56: 163)
73. Matzelekatzi (55a: II, pl. 3)
74. Matzelikats (56: 5)
75. Matzelikatse (73f)
76. Matzelikatzi (55a: II, pl. 6)
77. Matzellikatse (73q)
78. Matzellikatze (6: i)
79. Matzilikatse (73v)
80. Matzilikatsi (8: 184)
81. Matzilikatzi (8: 146)
82. Mazalakatze (77w)
83. Mazalekhats (77u)
84. Mazelekats (56: 149)
85. Mazelekatze (48: 138)
86. Mazelekhats (77q)
87. Mazelikats (77q)
88. Mazelikatse (73u)
89. Mazellikatze (56: 5)
90. Mazilikats (56: 149)
91. Mazillikaatz (56: 149)
92. Mazulekatze (13: 76)
93. Mesalicats (77c)
94. Messakatzie (70: 9)
95. Messelekaats (48: 396)
96. Missalacatzie (26: 110)
97. Misselekaats (48: 97)
98. Misselkats (48: 329)
99. Missilekaats (48: 97)
100. Mizilikazi (51: 30)
101. Morelekatse (23: 312)
102. Mosalakatse (26: 229)
103. Mosalekatse (78a)
104. Mosalekatsi (27: 32)

105. Mosalekatz (76c)
106. Mosalekatze (76c)
107. Mosalekatzi (27: 53)
108. Mosalikatse (26: 229)
109. Mosalikatsi (76e)
110. Mosallekatse (78f)
111. Mosalykatze (80g)
112. Moselakatse (53: 460)
113. Moselakatzi (8: 146)
114. Moselekadze (33: 94)
115. Moselekadzi (33: 203)
116. Moselekats (48: 428)
117. Moselekatse (39: *passim*)
118. Moselekatsi (48: 22)
119. Moselekatsie (82: 257)
120. Moselekatz (77a)
121. Moselekatza (38: 70)
122. Moselekatze (4: 81)
123. Moselekatzi (64: 17)
124. Moselekatzie (81: II, 195)
125. Moselikatse (4: xiv)
126. Moselikatsi (63: 14)
127. Moselikatz (80d: 57)
128. Moselikatze (4: xxi)
129. Moselikatzi (4: 18n)
130. Moselikatzie (29: 4)
131. Moselikazi (17: 177)
132. Mosel Katse (50: 83)
133. Mosellikatze (72c)
134. Mosilekatse (2: 46)
135. Mosilekatsi (32: 7)
136. Mosilekatz (80d: 23)
137. Mosilekatze (74a: 2)
138. Mosilekazi (78d)
139. Mosilicatzi (81b: 2)
140. Mosilicatzie (81a: 121)
141. Mosilikasi (80c)
142. Mosilikatse (40: 88)
143. Mosilikatsi (26: 232)
144. Mosilikaty (60: 173)
145. Mosilikatz (80d: 35)
146. Mosilikatze (57: 32)
147. Mosilikatzie (26: 157)
148. Mosilikaze (5: 85)
149. Mosilikazi (66: 56)
150. Mosilikkatse (78c)
151. Mosilkatzie (81a: 121)
152. Mosillakatsi (30: *passim*)
153. Mosillikats (48: 66)
154. Mosolacatzi (81b: 3)
155. Mosolekatsi (1: 113)
156. Mosoulikatsi (19: 219)
157. Mossuluketsi (37: I, xiv)
158. Mosulacatzi (81b: 46)
159. Mosulacatzie (26: 168)
160. Mosulakatzi (81d: II, 112)
161. Mosulakatzie (81d: II, 194)
162. Mosulekatzie (81d: II, 200)
163. Motselakatse (79a)
164. Motselekatse (74c)
165. Motsilakatsi (79a)
166. Motsilekatzi (43: 168)
167. Motsilikatzi (15a: 20)
168. Motsillakatsi (79b)
169. Mousselekatsi (86)
170. Moussile Katze (37: I, xiv)
171. Mozalikazi (80c)
172. Mozelekats (48: 161)
173. Mozelekatze (85: 25)
174. Mozelikatse (45: 307)
175. Mozilikasi (80c)
176. Mozilikatse (60: 18)
177. Mozilikatze (14: 44)
178. Mozilikazi (17: 48)
179. Mselekaz (87)
180. Msiligazi (54: 7)
181. Msilikasi (34: 77)
182. Msilikatse (42: 225)
183. M'Silikatze (9: 109)
184. Msilikaz' (11: *passim*)
185. Msilikazi (34: 105)
186. Msilikgazi (54: 7)
187. Musalacatzie (81c: 44)
188. Musalacutzie (81c: 44)
189. Musalakaats (77s)
190. Musalakats (77s)
191. Musalakatzie (81c: 47)
192. Musalekats (77t)
193. Musalekatse (77t)
194. Musalicats (81c: 105)
195. Musallakats (77s)
196. Musalucatzie (81c: 77)
197. Musalucutzie (81c: 55)
198. Museleka*a*ts (77r)
199. Musielikaats (48: 30)
200. Musilekatzi (27: 80)
201. Musilicaats (48: 30)
202. Musilicatzie (81c: 114)
203. Mussalakaats (77s)
204. Mussalakatze (77j)
205. Mussalekatze (77j)
206. Musselakaats (78b)
207. Musselekaats (77n)
208. Musselekaatz (77n)
209. Musselekaatze (77n)
210. Musselekats (77j)
211. Musselekatz (77k)
212. Musselekatze (77j)
213. Mussellikats (73a: 8)
214. Mussilekats (73h)
215. Mussilikaats (48: 31)
216. Mussilikats (73h)
217. Musulacatzi (81b: 165)
218. Muszolikat (48: 317)
219. Muzilicatze (37: I, xiv)
220. Muzilikazi (84b: 84)
221. Mzelekaz (43: 125)
222. Mzeligazi (75b)
223. Mzilagazi (45: 23)
224. Mziligaas (80f: 82)
225. Mziligaase (80f: 72)
226. Mziligasi (84a)

227. Mziligaze (3: index)
228. 'Mziligazi (52: 56)
229. Mziligazie (46: index)
230. Mzilikasi (49: 244)
231. Mzilikatse (15: 2)
232. M'Zilikatze (75a)
233. Mzilikatzi (35: 69)
234. Mzilikaz (20: 569)
235. M'Zilikaza (25: 33)
236. Mzilikazi
237. 'Mzilikazi (41: 32)
238. M'Zilikazi (18: 17)
239. Omsediggas (58: II, index)
240. Salacatzi (81d: II, 2)
241. Salakats (77s)
242. Salkats (28: 118)
243. Selecatze (69: 170)
244. Selekatze (69: 170)
245. Selikatse (47: II, 31)
246. Selikatz (7: I, 367)
247. Sellekaats (6: i)
248. Sikatz (75a)
249. Silkaats (61: 99)
250. Solicatzi (81d: II, 2)
251. Umgekhassi (70: 13)
252. Umgilikazi (58: II, index)
253. Umgilikazie (58: II, 284)
254. Umoselekatsi (22: 86)
255. Umozelikazi (85: 170)
256. Umsalagas (55: I, 139)
257. Umsaleegoss (24: 267)
258. Umsalegas (81c: 14)
259. Umsalegazi (4: 33)
260. Um-Salekazi (83: 178)
261. Umseddikats (73d)
262. Umselegase (80b: 179)
263. Umselegasi (4: 48)
264. Umselegazi (4: 32)
265. Umselekas (39: 510)
266. Umselekatse (4: 13)
267. Umselekatze (4: 19)
268. Umselekaz (16: 51)
269. Umselengazi (45: 23)
270. Umseligaas (69: 30)
271. Umseligasi (4: 51)
272. Umseligazi (67: 4)
273. Umselikatsi (8: 148)
274. Umselikatzi (36: 473)
275. Umselikazi (17: 124)
276. Umsiddegas (73b)
277. Umsiligaas (74b)
278. Umsilegas (77f)
279. Umsiligaas (45: 312)
280. Umsiligas (77h)
281. Umsiligaze (80i: 7)
282. Umsiligazi (7: I, 367)
283. Umsili Gazi (28: 118)
284. Umsilikaats (15a: 218)
285. Umsilikatzi (17: 191)
286. Umsilikaz (27: 192)
287. Umsilikazi (7: I, 331)
288. Umsillegas (73c)
289. Umsilligas (55: I, 17)
290. Umsillikats (73e)
291. Umslikats (76d)
292. Umzechlekaas (70: 11)
293. Umzelegasi (4: 46)
294. Umzelegazi (4: 50)
295. Umzelekaz (16: 144)
296. Umzelekaze (85: 25)
297. Umzeligasi (4: 51)
298. Umzelikats (56: 401)
299. Umzelikatze (4: map)
300. Um Zelikatze (4: xiv)
301. Umzilakasi (31: 244)
302. Umzilakazi (21: 6)
303. Umzilakuzi (31: 244)
304. Umzilegaas (80f: 13)
305. Umzilegasi (80h)
306. Umziligaas (69: 103)
307. Umziligaase (80e)
308. Umziligase (80f: 8)
309. Umziligaz (44: 28)
310. Umziligaze (59: 39)
311. Umziligazi (17: 19)
312. Umzilikaas (70: 6)
313. Umzilikasi (70: 11)
314. Umzilikatse (23: 177)
315. Umzilikatze (36: 496)
316. Umzilikaz (27: index)
317. Umzilikazi (62: 52)
318. uMzilikazi (24: index)
319. U'Mzilikazi (41: 193)
320. Umzillikazi (8: 147)
321. Unzilikadji (33: 217)
322. 'Uzilikazi (37: I, xiv)
323. Zelkaats (77m)
324. Oemselikatsi (47: I, 11)

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73. *Grahamstown Journal:* 1832: (a) 6 Jan (b) 30 Mar (c) 6 July (d) 22 Nov (e) 29 Nov; 1834: (f) 26 June (g) 31 July (h) 25 Dec; 1835: (i) 2 Jan (j) 13 Mar (k) 30 July (m) 17 Sep (n) 12 Nov; 1836: (o) 4 Feb (p) 12 May; 1837: (q) 30 Mar (r) 14 Sep (s) 21 Sep (t) 5 Oct (u) 2 Nov; 1838: (v) 2 Aug
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    (c) GH 8/1, W. Gilfillan, 25 Nov 1836
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UMSCAN

The name stands for the Umtali Museum Scientific and Cultural Association News. It is a monthly, roneod publication with a cover that has an attractive black and white pen drawing every month of some item or exhibit in the Museum.

It carries news concerning the activities of no fewer than 14 different societies together with notes and an occasional article, one on coin chronology being in the June issue. The societies include the Rhodesiana Society, two music clubs, several concerned with botany, horticulture, wild life, and birds, the pottery club, the coin club and others.

All the societies use the Museum and funds are being collected to build a Cultural Centre adjoining the lecture hall. Subscriptions to the newsletter are R$1,50 per annum, 75 cents for scholars.

The Past that Slipped Away

by Dorothy Stebbing

It seems a great pity that my nose for a story was not developed as fast as the rest of me. Or perhaps it was that, being brought up in an old-fashioned way ('Children must be seen and not heard and *never* answer back'), my natural inquisitiveness was not strong enough to storm the barriers.

Too late, now! They are all dead, the people of whom I should have asked those innumerable questions. First of all, there was my father. Born in Virginia, U.S.A., but brought up in the Channel Islands from whence hailed his father, and to which the family had returned, he volunteered in the early 1900's to commence civilizing Southern Rhodesia as a member of the brand new Civil Service.

Dad was a telegraphist. He and his friend, Wilf, in a telegraph office in Guernsey, cast around in the atmosphere during a lull in their work, for someone with whom to practice their speed in Morse. Wonder of wonders, in Britsol there were lady telegraphists (or should it be telegraphistes?) with the same idea, and before long an arrangement was made for a meeting. (Harry would wear a red carnation in his buttonhole, and Wilf a white rose).

Soon afterwards, the two intrepid young clerks went off to darkest Africa. Six or seven years later, Dad set off on the return journey to Bristol to claim his bride. From forty miles outside Salisbury, the capital, there was a bumpy trip by Zeederberg's stage-coach to Salisbury, then the leisurely train journey—with a day's wait in Bulawayo, 300 miles to the south, and almost half-a-day each in sun-dried, though legendary Mafeking and Kimberley—to Cape Town: a further three weeks, or even longer, by Union Castle mail steamer, where the excitement of deck games included the possibility of catching a glimpse of a lady's petticoat as she coyly manouevred her ankle-length skirts through shuffleboard or the egg-and-spoon race.

Then came the wedding, in the little village which is now just a suburb of Bristol. We have a large photograph of the assembled company. My father, a slight man of medium height, with a neat lock of hair romantically waved across his forehead, looks very small surrounded by ladies in high-necked dresses covered in pin-tucks, and enormous feathered and flowered hats set on top of birds-nests of hair. The men are all on their best behaviour, with dark suits and stiff, high white collars. Most of them sport dashing moustaches, and straw 'boaters' are much favoured.

Back to Rhodesia. Dad's journey in reverse, this time with his own lady to partner him in the dances on board ship. My mother pitied her girl friends back home, who would never experience the adventure of life in a brand new country in little-known Africa. She had been well nourished, in the years of waiting for her man, by Gertrude Page's highly romantic novels about Rhodesia, where

all the heroes were sun-bronzed, good-looking and, inevitably, "gentlemen" from English public schools.

My poor mother! I don't believe, in all her fifty years of residence in the country, that she ever forgave Rhodesia for not living up to that picture.

Alas! In her own words, when the train pulled into Salisbury station she 'almost turned round and went straight back to dear old England'. It certainly was a bleak spot in those days. Surrounded by corrugated iron shacks was a single platform ankle-deep in dust, which dyed the smart, new, cream-coloured skirt a dirty red up to where her knees were presumed to be. The bungalow to which Dad took his bride was a good two miles of this same red dust from the restricted delights of the town, and one afternoon he came back from work to find all doors locked and windows tight shut, with my mother cowering in terror inside. A wild ostrich had stretched its neck over the front gate at her while she was in the garden.

We children were vouchsafed a glimpse at my mother's memories of her early struggles to come to terms with the raw pioneering town that was Salisbury. As soon as she arrived, visiting-cards were left at the newcomer's house by all the other wives, and soon she was tramping around the widely spaced streets returning their 'calls'. I can picture her, well protected against the sun by her wide, ostrich-feathered hat, long-sleeved, high-necked blouse and ankle-length skirt. Carrying her silver card-case on a dainty chain, and turning her Grecian profile to the casual passer-by, she sailed along with ramrod-straight back. But the heat and the dust defeated her, and soon she, like Dad, took to a bicycle, and when my sister and I joined the family we accompanied our parents in baskets on the front of their machines.

Wood- or coal-stoves were, of course, no novelty to a lady of that era, but combined with the heat on corrugated iron roofs, the black monsters made cooking in Salisbury something of an ordeal. However, there was an endless supply of primitive African tribesmen only too eager to offer their labour for regular food and the chance to see inside the white men's houses. I can't imagine how they ever communicated, these ladies straight out of Edwardian England and the raw natives from their mud huts. The latter had never before seen wooden furniture, cutlery, crockery and starched napery, and in any case, all the preparing of food in their own homes, as well as all the manual labour of growing their crops of maize, was traditionally done by their women-folk. However, gradually they assimilated some training, and an experienced "cook-boy" was in tremendous demand. My mother told of one such, "Sixpence" by name, who had been serving a term in gaol for theft. The word went round the town that Sixpence was to be released the following day, and several desperate ladies sent their garden-boys to wait at the gates of the gaol and bespeak his services. The one who snatched the prize from under their noses, was the lady who arrived to collect him personally, sitting in a rickshaw in which she triumphantly conveyed her new cook and his little roll of blankets to her home.

Dad's swashbuckling, pioneering days were over. No longer could he foregather with the other trail-breakers in the pub after work. On his bicycle he

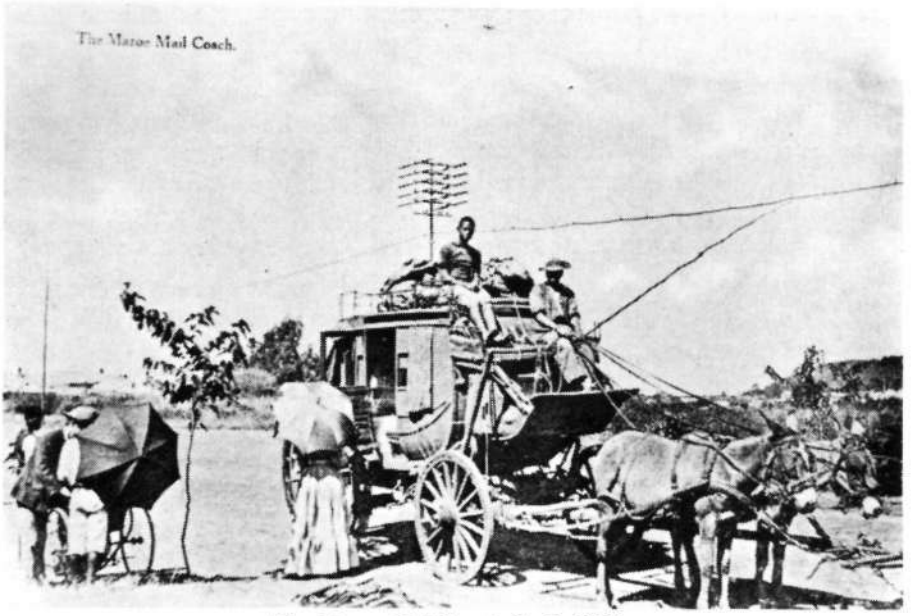
was expected to arrive home each day at a quarter-past-four for afternoon tea, or to escort his wife to someone else's "At Home", where he could make himself useful passing cups or handing round the sugar.

My father was always ready, as his family grew older, to tell us yarns about his days of bachelordom in Rhodesia. Invariably, though, mother would interrupt and say briskly, "Oh, not again, Harry! We don't want to hear any more about the 'olden days'." From the twinkle in Dad's eye when he started on his stories, and my mother's neat changing of the subject, we sensed that the 'olden days' were not very respectable, and would have liked to have heard more about them—though we wouldn't have presumed to ask.

A few of Dad's stories did slip past my mother's guard. When visitors were present she couldn't stop his reminiscences, and if we were very quiet and didn't draw attention to our presence we heard them too. We heard about his first few months in Salisbury, where the Makabusi River flowed in marshy ground right through the centre of the town. On one side of the river was the business quarter and the Queen's Hotel, and on the other side the government offices and administration. The rival residential establishment there, situated opposite the Square where the Union Jack had been planted on September 13, 1890, was the Cecil Hotel (subsequently rebuilt to accommodate the country's Legislative Assembly—now Parliament). The latter, of course, was too dignified an edifice to lend itself to riotous assemblies. Was it not named for the Cecil family, as Salisbury was named after the British Prime Minister himself?

The Queen's Hotel, however, had no such inhibitions, and dances were held there most Saturday nights. Even though there was a chronic shortage of lady partners, the men of the town contrived to enjoy themselves. The ladies, in spite of their tightly-laced corsets and delicately-guarded complexions, must have had considerable stamina. They were so outnumbered that each dance had to be shared between several partners, and anyone 'sitting out' to rest for a while would have been deemed guilty of anti-social behaviour. The young civil servants, in full evening kit of white tie and tails (which requirement kept the numbers of men within reasonable bounds), would cross the rickety bridge from the Government side in the early evening. Regrettably, there was usually at least one casualty on each return trip of an over-enthusiastic reveller who misjudged his footing and landed—tails and all—in the sticky red Makabusi mud.

My father subsequently became Postmaster of Shamva—a small settlement about sixty miles north of Salisbury. The scourge of malaria, which was prevalent throughout Rhodesia in those days, was particularly virulent in this area. At the end of that year there was a very heavy rainy season, and the district was hit by an epidemic of blackwater—a progressive complication of malaria which is often fatal. Soon, the little settlement ran out of coffins, and an urgent order for more was despatched to Salisbury. While they were about it, the suppliers in the capital doubled up on the order, for as the rainy season went on and on, the roads were frequently impassable. The Shamva folk were faced with a difficulty, there being no store-room out of reach of the rain in which to stack the coffins, but this they resolved by placing them under the beds in the hospital. Dad said



The Mazoe Mail Coach. Early 1900s.

(*Photo: National Archives*)

it was not very pleasant knowing that your coffin was, so to speak, biding its time under your bed, but in his case it made him all the more determined to get better and cheat the coffin.

After Shamva, Dad was sent to Mazoe, a gold-mining and farming centre nearer Salisbury. Here he was accommodated in two circular huts, with corrugated iron walls and thatched roofs. One was his bedroom and the other the office. After work, the young bachelors congregated in the hotel bar, there being no other form of entertainment. Sooner or later, practically every man in a very wide district found his way to that bar, and on one occasion a middle-aged storekeeper appeared literally 'out of the blue'. His was a solitary life, for he ran a 'kaffir-store' far out in the midst of primitive African tribesmen. He arrived on foot, accompanied by a couple of dusty African bearers carrying his few bundles of luggage, and made straight for the companionable bustle of the bar. "I'm heading for a trip 'home' to England, lads," he announced. "Drinks all round, bar-man! It's years since I saw another white man!" When the time came to pay, he roared "Boy!" In crept one of the loin-clothed Africans who handed a bag of gold sovereigns to his master. The storekeeper took out enough for his bill, then threw the bag out into the road for his bearer to collect.

Months later, the man called in at the Hotel on his return journey. Smartly dressed in new clothes, but looking dissipated and decidedly the worse for wear, he confessed that he had never arrived in England. He had such a wild time in Cape Town that he spent all his money, but he had had his fill of 'civilization' and was anxious to get back to his peaceful existence in the bush-veld. One

treasure he had brought with him from Cape Town, though—a new gramophone (or perhaps it was called a phonograph then), topped by a large trumpet-shaped amplifier, and a big box of records. Few of the men had ever seen anything like it.

I often wondered about that old store-keeper. Did he end his days in his grass-thatched shack, surrounded by primitive Africans to whom he dispensed the dubious delights of civilization—ugly print dresses, iron cooking-pots, candles, bright bead necklaces, paraffin, mirrors, sugar and exciting pen-knives? What did they think of the music that, at sundowner-time, came floating out of his window, completely alien to their own experience of tom-toms, gourd rattles and primitive zithers?

Nor was my father the only potential source of pioneering stories. There was Mr. Bath, who lived with his family on the old Wanderer Gold Mine outside the village of Selukwe. The mine was at that time defunct, the reef of gold having petered out. But Mr. Bath, alone amongst the directors of the enterprise, was quite sure that the reef, having been interrupted by a fault, continued elsewhere. He took us through the tunnel he was driving deep inside a near-by kopje, which we found frightening, with huge caverns on either side of the pathway. He would have told us of the finding of the reef, and the early struggles to establish the mine. But we preferred to run outside and play in the fascinating, over-grown gardens of the abandoned mining settlement. Walls and roofs of the old houses had disappeared, but the cement floors and brick foundations were still there, and lemon-trees and tangled rose-bushes showed where some pioneering woman had, for a while, brought a little bit of 'home' into the African bush.

Before we left Selukwe for Dad to take up another postmastership, Mr. Bath had found the reef, as he had suspected, on the other side of the kopje, and there is a thriving gold-mine at the Wanderer to this day.

It is, of course, stories of the earliest pioneering days, in the 1890s, that are most in demand, and here I passed up many a wonderful opportunity. As a young girl, working in Salisbury, I was living for a while in a little boarding-house which had become a haven for old ladies. One of these was Mrs. Alice Deary, who had been the first Mayoress of Salisbury in 1899. The boarding-house was built around a square of garden, and Mrs. Deary, with another old lady, spent most days sitting with her knitting on the verandah, watching the comings and goings of the other boarders. They were delighted to have me to fuss over, and on a wet day would greet me on my return from work with: "Now go and change your shoes and stockings immediately, dear, or you'll catch your death of cold!" This from someone who, as a beautiful and stylish young woman, came to live in primitive, rough and dangerous conditions in the first little settlement of Salisbury.

Often, they would invite me to join them. I did try to get them on to the subject of the "early days", but most of the time it required more patience than I possessed to keep the dear old things on the track of their narratives.

"I remember," said Mrs. Deary, "when Mr. Rhodes came up to Salisbury soon after my husband became Mayor. Oh, now I've dropped my wool! Could you pick it up for me, dear? Do you know, I had such difficulty in matching that wool. I wanted it to be the exact shade of my dress. The assistant was very kind . . ."

"You were saying—about Mr. Rhodes?" I managed to get my word in edgeways.

"Oh, yes, he sent us a chitty, asking us to dinner. We all had a little laugh about it later, as he put at the bottom: 'P.S. Don't bother to Dress'!"

One pleasant little story I did manage to extract from the ex-Mayoress concerned the delivery of the morning paper.

"Most of us lived in pole-and-dagga (mud) shacks in the early days of Salisbury," she told me. "There was no glass for proper windows, so we had frames covered with light sacking and fixed by pegs in the centre. Mr. Fairbridge, the editor of the first newspaper, was a great friend of ours. (Esther, what have I done with my knitting pattern? Have you got it in your bag?)"

"Oh, yes, Mr. Fairbridge! He used to stay up all night printing the newspaper, and then galloped round the settlement on his horse delivering it. He knew that I slept just beneath the window. All he had to do was to tap the window at the top, and as it swivelled round its pegs, he would slide the paper through so that it landed on my bed."

"I could tell you many more stories about the early days," said Mrs. Deary. "But there's your young man now, coming to collect you for your evening out. Mind and wrap up well, won't you?"

I did not wait to hear the rest. What young girl of twenty would not pass up a few tales of long ago for an evening out with her young man?

NATIONAL ARCHIVES PUBLICATIONS

Current Rhodesian Publications (1974), Biographical Series Number One, is designed to fill a gap in the bibliography apparatus of Rhodesia. It is a full and complete list of all current serials—newspapers, magazines, journals, newsletters, bulletins, digests, papers, annual reports, handbooks, etc.—that appear at either regular or irregular intervals. There are over 700 titles, with addresses, classified by subject and indexed for ease of reference. The publication is of great value to librarians, booksellers and others. It is issued free to interested persons.

The Thomas Baines Centenary

The centenary anniversary of the death of Thomas Baines, Rhodesia's most outstanding pre-pioneer, on May 8, 1875, was commemorated by exhibitions put on by the National Archives in Salisbury and by the Matabeleland Branch of the Rhodesiana Society in Bulawayo. In addition, Books of Rhodesia, Ltd., issued a set of four sterling silver medallions presenting four paintings by Baines and, on the obverse, feature portraits of the artist.

The National Archives Exhibit

The exhibition, one of the most important arranged by the National Archives, was opened on April 18, 1975 by the Minister of Internal Affairs, The Hon. B. H. Mussett, I.D., M.P., and will remain open so long as visitors continue to display interest.

The exhibits were in four groups: a biographical section, oil paintings, drawings and a natural history section.

The biographical section consisted of four displays: Baines the Man, giving his family background and showing, among other items, a photograph of his mother, details of paints bought in London, and, most interesting of all, a charming portrait by the celebrated George French Angas of the young Thomas on his arrival at the Cape. Then there are cases on Baines the Naturalist, Baines the Explorer and Baines the Author. The last contained the original copy of *The Victoria Falls Zambesi River* that the artist presented to his mother. The biographical section was enlivened by life-size cut-outs of Baines and Lobengula from whom the artist was the first person to obtain a mining concession.

The main part of his exhibition consisted of paintings and drawings. There was a striking sequence of oil paintings arranged chronologically from his early days in Cape Town to his death in Durban. It is of interest to observe how the artist's style matured over a period of almost 35 years.

Many people prefer Baines' drawings to his paintings. The exhibition provided a spectacular array of his sketches and water colours many of which emphasised the depth of the artist's feelings and his fine craftsmanship.

Altogether the exhibition, which was one of the most ambitious staged by the National Archives, was a splendid tribute to a great man.

The Matabeleland Branch Exhibition

The Thomas Baines Centenary Exhibition, presented by the Rhodesiana Society (Matabeleland Branch) ran from May 8 to June 8 in the Bulawayo Art Gallery and attracted an attendance of 1 824, a record for the past two years.

The Exhibition was formally opened by Mrs. Dorothy Kirk of Essexvale at a Preview at which Friends of the Gallery and members of the Rhodesiana

Society were invited. This took place on the evening of May 8, the actual centenary day of the death of Baines.

Mr. W. E. Alexander, Chairman of the Bulawayo Art Gallery Committee, welcomed the guests and Mr. H. J. Vickery, Chairman, Rhodesiana Society (Matabeleland Branch) thanked all who had contributed to the making of the Exhibition and introduced Mrs. Kirk who delivered a most interesting and very well received Address on Thomas Baines.

Over 200 items of Bainesiana were on display of which 156 were works of art, the balance being books by or relating to Baines, maps, facsimiles of letters and published articles by him, and a selection of portraits, etc. The exhibits were collected from 17 sources, of which 8 were South African. Twenty of the paintings were originals, the largest contribution being that of the National Archives of Rhodesia which sent down 13 originals. Other originals came from the Bulawayo Club, Mr. Trevor Wright and Baines School. Baines School also made a substantial contribution by way of framed prints.

Significant among the pictures made available from South African sources were about 30 from the Africana Museum, Johannesburg; 14 from the William Fehr Collection in Cape Town; and 19 beautiful full-colour prints of water colours from the private collection of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer. Other organisations which assisted with material included the Local History Museum, Durban; the Municipal Library, Port Elizabeth; the South African Permanent Building Society, Cape Town; the South African National Gallery, Cape Town; and the Humphreys Collection of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

The Minister of Internal Affairs, The Hon. B. H. Mussett, I.D., M.P., opening the Thomas Baines Centenary Exhibition at the National Archives of Rhodesia on April 18, 1975.

The material from the Africana Museum and the William Fehr Collection were in the form of loan black-and-white negatives from which enlargements were made locally. This photographic work accounted for one of the main items of expenditure, together with the mounting, on stiff board, of every piece of art in the Exhibition excepting the 13 framed pictures from the Archives, those from Baines School and the couple from the Bulawayo Club and Mr. Wright.

The appeal and value of the Exhibition lay in its chronological presentation, supplemented by an informative, 48-page catalogue. Selections of pencil sketches, water-colours, and oil paintings from every single journey undertaken by Baines in southern Africa were on view.

As far as is known, no fewer than seven Thomas Baines Centenary Exhibitions were mounted in southern Africa and overseas during the artist's centenary year. Despite the lack of original material, the Exhibition presented by the Rhodesiana Society (Matabeleland Branch) in Bulawayo is believed to have been one of the most extensive and ambitious.

The cost of both the exhibition and the catalogue was borne by Dunlop Rhodesia Ltd. and Books of Rhodesia Publishing Company Ltd.

The attractive catalogue, in stiff paper cover, contains a brief biography and appreciation, 48 illustrations and brief notes about the exhibits. Copies can be obtained from Books of Rhodesia at 35 cents per copy, inclusive.

BACK NUMBERS OF RHODESIANA

Only the following back numbers of *Rhodesiana* are in stock. Copies can be bought from the Honorary National Secretary, Rhodesiana Society, P.O. Box 8268, Causeway, Salisbury, Rhodesia, at a cost of $2,00 per copy. Remittances from outside Rhodesia must be for the equivalent of Rhodesian currency.

Rhodesiana No. 17, December 1967.

Rhodesiana No. 19, December 1968 onwards, two issues a year, up to the current number, *Rhodesiana No.* 33, September 1975.

Annual General Meeting 1975 and Other Society Activities

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1975

The Annual General Meeting of Members of the Rhodesiana Society was held at the Queen Victoria Museum at 5.15 p.m. on Wednesday, 26th March, 1975.

Present: G. H. Tanser (National Chairman) in the Chair, C. W. H. Loades (National Honorary Secretary) and some 40 *members of the Society.*

The Chairman welcomed those in attendance.

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting, a number of apologies and a telegram of good wishes from Dr. Howland.

Confirmation of the Minutes of the Previous Annual General Meeting

The correctness of the portion of the previous minutes dealing with financial assistance to the Matabeleland Branch was questioned by representatives of the Matabeleland Branch.

It was proposed by Mr. Hepburn that the minutes be amended by the deletion of the sentence (under Any Other Business) commencing "After hearing a number of opinions . . ." and the substitution of

"After hearing a number of opinions, the meeting agreed in principle that the printing and postage costs involved in circularising members of branches regarding their activities were the responsibility of the Society and that the incoming Committee be left to act in the matter."

After lengthy discussion on this proposition it was defeated by 13 votes to 5.

The adoption of the minutes as recorded was then moved and carried with only one dissenting vote.

Matters Arising from the Minutes

It was reported that Kingstons Limited had placed a standing order for the Society's Journal and that it would now be available at their branches throughout Rhodesia.

The National Committee had reconsidered its advertising policy and had appointed a professional agent. It had agreed to relax its policy regarding advertisement for liquor and tobacco but there had been little favourable reaction by the producers of these products.

The Chairman's Report

Mr. Tanser presented his report on the Society's activities during the year. This was adopted. The report appears at the end of these minutes.

Adoption of Balance Sheet

The Balance Sheet (which was circulated with the notice of meeting) was considered.

Concern was expressed at the expense of producing the Journal particularly in regard to the high quality paper used and the modest income from advertising. There was agreement that the high standard of the magazine must be maintained. It was suggested that sponsorship for the magazine be sought and a membership drive undertaken. The limited circulation of the magazine and its specialized appeal resulted in a very limited interest by advertisers—in fact, the regular advertisers could be regarded as patrons. The cost of the expensive envelopes used in distributing was also raised. It was explained that the cheaper quality used in the past had resulted in complaints arising from loss and damage in transit. It was noted that the accounts were not audited. As they were prepared by professional accountants the necessity of this was questioned, but it would be investigated.

The balance sheet was adopted.

Election of Honorary Member

The Chairman explained that the Society's Constitution provided for the election of an honorary member—to date no such election had been made. He drew attention to the sterling work undertaken in the management of the Society's affairs by Mr. Deryck Playford, of S. A. Rowe and Partners and his generous gesture in charging a sub-economic fee for management services. Mr. Playford was shortly to enter a new partnership and it was uncertain whether his indirect subsidy of the Society's affairs could be continued. The Chairman proposed that Mr. Playford be elected the Society's first honorary member in recognition of his services to the Society. This was seconded by Mr. James Kerr and carried with acclamation.

Mr. Playford expressed pleasure and surprise at the honour conferred on him.

Resolutions

The resolutions appearing on the agenda were then considered, namely

(a) Not more than one Rhodesiana Society Gold Medal shall be presented in any one year.
Proposed by G. H. Tanser, and
Seconded by J. H. G. Robertson.

In the discussion on this resolution there was support for the present system (i.e., no more than three gold medals at any one time) and a suggestion that the Society should evolve a less extravagant form of distinction. However on putting the resolution to the vote it was carried *nem con.*

(b) That, except in exceptional circumstances, a Rhodesiana Society Gold Medal shall only be awarded to a member of the Society.
Proposed by G. H. Tanser, and
Seconded by J. H. G. Robertson.

It was explained that the present criteria for the award were "outstanding contribution towards furthering the aims and objects of the Rhodesiana Society *or* a major contribution to Rhodesian history."

The desirability of adopting a closed shop for the award of the medal was discussed and there were reservations despite the resolution providing for "exceptional circumstances". On a vote being taken the resolution was carried by 28 votes to 5.

These decisions will now be acted upon by the Medal Committee.

Election of Officers

The following were proposed and seconded and, there being no other nomination, were duly declared elected:

National Chairman:	R. W. S. Turner
National Deputy Chairman.	M. J. Kimberley
National Honorary Secretary:	C. W. H. Loades

The National Honorary Secretary advised that in view of his approaching retirement he would not stand for office next year and that he would propose, as a committee member, a candidate who was willing to succeed him.

The following were proposed and seconded for the seven vacancies as Committee members:

Col. A. S. Hickman, M.B.E.	E. E. Burke, Esq., M.L.M
G. H. Tanser, Esq.	G. Storry, Esq.
W. V. Brelsford, Esq.	B. Lloyd, Esq.
R. D. Franks, Esq.	J. Kerr, Esq.

There being eight nominations for the seven vacancies, Mr. J. Kerr, with the permission of his proposer and seconder, withdrew his nomination and the remainder were declared elected.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN, G. H. TANSER, FOR 1974

My two years as Chairman of your Society now terminate.

In June 1974 the Rhodesiana Society was twenty-one years old so perhaps it is a time for looking back and also peeping into the future.

We should ask ourselves whether the Society has achieved anything by being in existence twenty-one years, for on the answer to this question depends its future.

I know that the Society has achieved a great deal. Through its magazine, through its visits to historical sites, through its close co-operation with the Pioneer Society and the Archives, it has developed in Rhodesians a sense of their history. No one can read *Rhodesiana* without the feeling that all through the eighty-four years of Rhodesia's history there have been brave and devoted men and women who have been ready to take action, not only on their own behalf and interest, but in those of their fellow men and women, sometimes

even unto death. And in many cases this devotion portends the boundaries of the colour of the skin, so that it is truly the history of Rhodesians. In its thirty-one volumes the historical heritage of Rhodesia has been recorded, sections of it by men and women who particiated in the events. But for the Rhodesiana Society these records might well have been lost.

There is no doubt that in the future these documentary factors will become more and more important, and the records will begin to concentrate on the less distant times of our country's story. Here there is a field of history which has scarcely been touched. And what of the times we are living in? History is being made every day and is not confined by race or colour. So if, as I anticipate, our Society will continue to expand, the future *Rhodesianas* will be of even greater value to the community, as Rhodesian authors, both black and white, record thoughts, aspirations, successes and failures, and save from oblivion the names of those men and women who deserve to be eternally remembered, with the deeds which make them worthy of remembrance.

In my two years of office I have striven to act as a catalyst to bring the Society into a closer fellowship. The links, which connect those who belong to a world-wide organisation, which our society has become, are likely to be for many members of a tenuous kind, even though the receipt of *Rhodesiana* twice a year, and, of course, payment of the subscription, help to overcome the distances.

As it would seem to be a very desirable feature of the Society that every member should receive an equal return for his subscription, the Executive, so far as it has been possible, has used the Society's financial resources to improve the standard and size of *Rhodesiana.* Having established branches in Mashonaland, Matabeleland and Manicaland it has given financial support to assist them in their work of fostering a wide appreciation of the knowledge of Rhodesian history. As, however, each branch has been given authority to raise and disburse funds for branch purposes, it is generally accepted that branches will meet the cost of their own expeditions and expenses without calling on the National Executive for financial assistance.

The corollary of annual payments to the branches as grants would be that the National Executive would assume control over the activities and finances of the branches, something which the National Executives would certainly not wish to do.

The activities of the branches have been recorded in their own reports. Each has been active but I must make particular mention of Matabeleland's almost aggressive enterprise and congratulate the Chairman and Secretary on it.

I hope that the Society will not lose sight of the fact that in its constitution one of its objects is to give support to any proposals for the preservation of buildings of historical significance. There is no better national heritage than three-dimensional history enshrined in bricks and mortar. As a newly appointed member of the Board of Monuments and Museums I hope to enlist the support of the Society.

Gold Medal Awards for 1975

I am pleased to announce that the Rhodesiana Gold Medals for 1975 have been awarded to Mr. Michael Kimberley and Mr. Harry Simons.

As is always the case in our Society there has been real devotion in fostering its aims. Our genial Secretary, Colin Loades, our editors, Vernon Brelsford and Ted Burke, and the generous support of the Committee members of the National Executive have made the post of Chairman much less onerous that it might have been. I thank them all exceedingly for their support.

I wish the new Chairman, Deputy Chairman and all members a Most Successful Year.

MATABELELAND BRANCH ACTIVITIES

Sundowner Party—Friday, February 14, 1975

To start the 1975 ball rolling a Sundowner Party was held at the Grey's Inn Hotel where 150 members and guests gathered for a most enjoyable social get-together.

Branch A.G.M.—February 16, 1975

This was held at the Teachers College Hall and we were very pleased to have the National Chairman, Mr. G. H. Tanser, with us.

The record attendance of 102 members at this meeting is a good indication of the keen support the Branch is receiving.

Outing to Khami Ruins—February 16, 1975

Following the A.G.M. and in threatening weather about 150 members and their guests gathered near the Museum Site at Khami to listen to an extremely interesting talk by Mr. Cran Cooke, Curator of the National Monuments in Bulawayo, on these particular ruins.

The loud speaker system, made by members of the Branch, was used for the first time at a Branch outing and proved to be a great success.

After the talk Mr. Cooke led the party to the top of the Hill Ruin giving more detailed explanations en route and members were thoroughly enjoying their inspection of walling, hut floors, drains, passages, etc., when 'rain stopped play'.

Outing to Singuesi Battlefield and Empandeni Mission Area, Sunday, April 13,1975

A downpour of rain on the night of April 12 brought a taste of the travelling conditions of Pioneer times to the Matabeleland branch's outing the next day.

Two omnibuses full of members set out from Bulawayo at 8.30 a.m. and after leaving the main road at Plumtree the passengers found themselves travelling through an unexpectedly wet countryside with rivers running high and recently-graded roads reduced to mud tracks of old.

It was not long before the slippery conditions defeated the traction power of the big tyre-shod wheels and both heavy vehicles lurched to a halt. As the passengers filed out one of the older members was heard to exclaim: "Send for a team of mules!"

While the women picked their way down the road on foot the men set to hauling saplings, which had been cut to widen the road, and laying them in front of the wheels to make an old-fashioned corduroy layer for the tyres to grip. This worked as effectively as ever, and the freed buses quickly caught up with the pedestrians, who clambered back aboard as soon as they reached hard road surface.

The journey ended on Mr. Alec Munro's Wilberforce Ranch near the Singuesi dam and present day Embakwe Mission, and after lunch members climbed the beautiful kopje to hear talks given by Mr. B. Lovemore and Mrs. Paddy Vichery. Their subjects were the Singuesi Battle, fought on the ground overlooked by the kopje, and the Jesuit Fathers' Empandeni Mission, which had been established near by.

The Singuesi Battle took place on November *2,* 1893 between units of the Southern Column commanded by Col. H. Goold-Adams, and 600 or so Matabele. The small white force, with Captain Tancred in charge, was attacked on its way to the laager with 10 wagons, after watering the oxen. Selous was in the laager, and on hearing the firing he grabbed his gun and his horse and dashed bareback to the scene, followed by others. He was quite severely wounded in the action which was short and sharp. When the Matabele came under the fire of the maxim guns in the laager, they retreated to the kopjes, where some fierce clashes continued to take place. Four men were killed and eleven wounded, while the Matabele casualties were estimated at between 60 and 100.

Mrs. Vickery presented a vivid description of the heroic efforts of the Jesuit Father Peter Prestage to establish Empandeni Mission, on land which was granted to the Fathers in 1885 by Lobengula. Even when he had finally acquired the land, and the king's permission to teach religion and trades, Father Postage's hopes remained unfulfilled, for there were no pupils to teach. In December, 1886 the Fathers were ordered back to the Cape by their superiors, but the indefatigable Father Prestage returned four months later, and Lobengula enlarged his gift to 66 000 acres in what he called "the land where my dogs are kept". The mission was named Empandeni after the Mpande regiment stationed there. It consisted of Maholi or Makalangas under Matabele officers.

This time the men and boys were told by Lobengula to go and listen to the Father's teaching, and they did so, but as they had also been told not to believe what he said, their apparent enthusiasm was worthless.

In agricultural matters Father Prestage met with the same blank wall. "What is the use of my showing you how to use a plough when every year you go back to your old inefficient methods?" he demanded one day, and they replied: "The King has no plough. Until he uses one, we dare not use one either."

In time, of course, the picture changed. In 1899 the Notre Dame Sisters opened their first school at Empandeni. At first they could only offer elementary education, but after the South African War supplies of educational materials improved. Even musical instruments were acquired and a band was formed. Agriculture went ahead and the girls embarked on subjects like needlework. In 1902 the first out-school of Empandeni was established at the Umpakwe river nine miles away, and after 1903 there was no looking back.

Outing to Gwaai Forest Reserve: Sunday, June 8, 1975

Seventy five members travelled in cars and two buses to Kenmaur on the Victoria Falls Road where the party was met by Mr. Ian Farquhar, Forester of the Gwaai Forest Reserve who led the convoy to the Gwampa Sawmill.

At the Mill Mr. Bob Rabie gave a very interesting talk on the processes involved in converting trees into timber and he conducted the party over the Mill explaining its workings. In the tour Mr. Rabie pointed out and named the numerous timbers handled and explained their uses.

Mr. Farquhar then led the convoy to the Gwaai Forest Reserves Headquarters where he gave a fascinating and most instructive talk on the history of forest usage and preservation since pioneer days illustrating his talk with maps, diagrams and samples of the various timbers in the area. He also spoke on the history of the Forestry Commission and the role it plays.

Lunch on the lawn followed after which Mr. Farquhar took the party to the Fire Control Office explaining the very elaborate fire control system and demonstrating by calling up the fire watchers on their fire towers on the radio.

The party was then shown the film 'Man and His Forests' made by the Forestry Commission to illustrate the activities of the Commission.

MANICALAND BRANCH

During the course of the past year the Manicaland Branch held four meetings to hear talks. Mr. H. F. T. Went spoke about his grandfather, R. S. Fairbridge, from his birth to 1903 by which date Fairbridge had been thirteen years in Rhodesia. Mr. T. Stratton gave a talk on the Umtali tramway which ran from the railway station to the Umtali Club during the first two decades of the century. Mr. R. A. R. Bent spoke on Bechuanaland in Pioneer days and Mr. Jeremy Barnes on "The Storming of Binga Guru" being the story of the capture of Baron Rezende, Col. Andrada and Gouveia.

Combining with the Pioneers' and Early Settlers' Society, members visited the Altar archaeological site in Umtali where Mr. Jackson gave a talk on the excavations and finds and then on to Leopard Rock Hotel where Mr. Jeremy Barnes gave a talk on the early 1892 battle of the Shua.

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.)

THOMAS BAINES CENTENARY

In the year of the Baines centenary celebrations, it is inevitable that a number of publications honouring the memory of the artist-explorer should have made their appearance. The two volumes described here are outstanding additons to the literature on Baines.

The Brenthurst Baines is the first in a series of volumes to come from the Brenthurst Press, Johannesburg. The collection of Bainesiana known as the Brenthurst Collection, belonging to Sir H. F. Oppenheimer, comprises some seven hundred water colours and drawings as well as many of Baines's journals, notebooks and letters. This fine volume now gives the public, for the first time, the opportunity of seeing a selection of some one hundred and fifty of the water colours and sketches in the collection, as well as a number of Baines's oil paintings.

The majority of the colour plates in the book are reproductions of the water colours and they give to the volume a touch of freshness and delicacy which one feels would have been missed had the choice come down in favour of Baines's oils alone. Opposite each colour plate there is one of Baines's robust and warm pencil sketches, together with explanatory notes by Marius and Joy Diemont. The period covered is, in the main, 1842-1853—Baines's first residence in Africa—and the notes provide a graphic introduction to his colourful career at this time.

The work contains two reproductions of scenes painted later in Baines's life. One is an oil executed near the Victoria Falls, showing "Chapman shooting full-striped Quagga"; the other is a lively water colour of the clumsy Ma-Robert on the Zambezi.

The high standard of editing and the balanced selection of prints are all well matched by the technical excellence of the production—paper, colour reproduction, typography and binding.

For many years mystery surrounded the provenance of the paintings now reproduced in *The Birds of South Africa,* edited by R. F. Kennedy. When Baines

returned from his Victoria Falls expedition in 1862 he stayed with C. J. Andersson at Otjimbingwe, South West Africa. Andersson was writing a study of the birds of South West Africa and invited Baines to produce the illustrations. Baines, accepting the commission, remained with Andersson for nearly a year, painting from the bird skins he had collected on his recent expedition and from the numerous sketches he had made.

Andersson died before completing the work. His notes were published some years later but did not include Baines's paintings, probably due to the high cost of reproducing them. It is not known what happened to the illustrations after Andersson's death, and it was only in 1929 that they reappeared (bound in an album), this time in the sale room of the London antiquarian book dealer, Francis Edwards. The well-known South African collector, Dr. J. G. Gubbins purchased the album; the paintings are now in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg.

The entire set of paintings (ninety in all) appear in this new publication, in colour. Each is accompanied by the names of the bird illustrated (common and scientific), Baines's own inscription (often in his own peculiar shorthand) and the size. In some cases the editor has added a quotation from Baines's *Explorations in South-West Africa* in which the artist has recorded the actual occasion on which he observed the bird in question. The studies all show Baines's sharp eye for detail and in many cases his treatment of the background itself is such as to merit special attention by the reader.

In his introduction R. F. Kennedy has made a fresh appraisal of Baines, and this in itself adds extra dimension to the work. The frontispiece is a reproduction, in colour, of the splendid self-portrait of Baines housed in the Fehr Collection, Cape Town.

According the the preface, this is the first time that these bird studies have appeared in book form. In fact, nine of them were published in 1972 by the same firm, but in a portfolio edition, the format being larger than that in which the present edition has appeared.

Full references to the books cited are as follows:

The Brenthurst Baines: a selection of the works of Thomas Baines in the Oppenheimer Collection, Johannesburg, [selected and edited by] Marius and Joy Diemont . . . Johannesburg: The Brenthurst Press, 1975. 183 pages. Illus. (many col.). ISBN 0 909079 01 3.

The Birds of South Africa, painted by Thomas Baines; comprising the complete collection of ninety plates . . . with a biographical essay by R. F. Kennedy. Johannesburg: Winchester Press, 1975. 204 pages. Col. plates. ISBN 0 620 014 1 6.

OTHERS

Armed Conflict in Southern Africa: a survey of regional terrorism from their beginnings to the present, with a comprehensive examination of the Portuguese position. Cape Town: Jeremy Spence, 1974. 380 pages. ISBN 0 620 01446 6. $8,00.

The present security situation is southern Africa is opening up new vistas for the Africana enthusiast in quest of a fresh subject on which to concentrate his book collecting activities. Military themes are always popular with collectors: witness, for example, the steady rising values over the last few years of Anglo-Boer War literature. Also over the last few years a significant number of works have appeared dealing with the present armed conflict in this part of the continent, and the collector is thus in a position to specialize at a time when all these works are easily available. Even allowing for spiralling book prices this can be done at a reasonable cost. Spence's book is a recent example in this genre. It outlines and analyzes military developments in South West Africa, Rhodesia, Mocambique, Angola and other Portuguese territories. It ranges over virtually every facet of the politico-military situation: terminology, anti-terrorist counter-measures, propaganda, the formation of political and military groups, armies, and the effects on family life. Morris went to Portugal, France and England to obtain much of the primary source material used, interviewing numerous participants in the wars—on both sides.

The Imperial Achievement: the rise and transformation of the British empire, by John Bowie. London: Seeker & Warburg, 1974. 495 pages. Illus. ISBN 0 436 05905 3. $9,83.

James Morris's trilogy on the British Empire, of which two volumes *(Pax Britannica* and *Heaven's Command)* have so far appeared, promises to become a "classic" on the subject. At first sight, therefore, Bowie's work would seem to be superfluous. However, while Morris's work is a popular sort of impressionistic over-view of the "muddled grandeur" of the Victorian empire, Bowie's is a scholarly but flowing survey encompassing the entire Empire experience. A clue to his approach is found in his preface: ". . . even if British imperial history has come to an end, it cannot be consigned to oblivion . . . An attempt to restore the balance of British imperial history may thus be timely." In this work, which is the successor to the same author's *The English experience,* Bowie describes and analyzes what he calls the reconnaissance and early settlement phase; the "old colonial empire" (1660 to 1784), the industrial revolution and the second British empire (1784 to 1867), the "defensive climax" (1867-1931), and, finally, the new commonwealth.

A Licence to Trade: the history of English chartered companies, by Sir Percival Griffiths. London: Ernest Benn, 1974. 332 pages. $12,19.

Drawing on a limited range of secondary sources the author outlines the development of well-known chartered companies familiar to students of colonial

history as well as to a number of the lesser known ones. The work is divided into three main sections. The first deals with the trading companies such as the Levant company and the Hudson's Bay Company; the second with the plantation companies concentrated in the New World; and, finally, the administrative companies. The author sees the last-named category (in which is included the British South Africa Company) as being the products of a new spirit of commercial expansion on Britain's part, coupled with that country's realization that the chartered companies could promote her imperial interests in unwesternized territories. And do this, moreover, without involving Britain on the financing side.

The Lost Valley, by Peggy Tracey. Cape Town. Human & Rousseau, 1975. 139 pages. ISBN 0 7981 0451 1. R3,95.

Hugh Tracey is a world authority on African music. In 1957 he and his wife, Peggy, spent ten days recording the music of the Valley Tonga, in an area which was to be submerged shortly afterwards by Kariba. While it is not a scientific account of the Valley Tongas, it is a fascinating kaleidoscope of the Tracey's experiences with and impressions of these people. Nostalgia and humour add special charm to the work.

Papers of John Mackenzie: selected and edited by Anthony J. Dachs. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1975. ISBN 0 85494 243 2. $8,00.

In the foreword to this work, N. G. Garson makes the point that the two "definitive" biographies of Mackenzie made little use of the main collection of that missionary's papers. These papers now form part of the library of the University of the Witwatersrand, and this book is a representative selection from them. Edited by Dr. Dachs, senior lecturer in history at the University of Rhodesia, the papers are thematically grouped according to Moffat's writings on African societies, his missionary role, and, finally, his political activities (including his opposition to the granting of a charter to the British South Africa Company).

Pictorial Africana: a survey of old South African paintings, drawings and prints to the end of the nineteenth century with a biographical dictionary of one thousand artists, by Alfred Gordon-Brown. Cape Town. Balkema, 1975. 264 pages. Illus., col. plates. ISBN 0 86961 070 8. $22,50.

For over twenty two years Gordon-Brown's *Pictorial art in South Africa* ... has been the authoritative reference source for anyone interested in this aspect of Africana. The author, for many years editor of the various Union-Castle year books and travel guides, has now produced an exciting sequel which extends the story from 1875 to 1900. The coverage of this work therefore takes in that period when the majority of South African pictorial works were produced; including those of Baines, A. A. Anderson and Angas.

The main part of the new work is the Dictionary of artists which gives biographies, and lists the major works of each artist. A substantial part of the

book, however, covers, in fascinating detail, such subjects as pictures actually printed in South Africa, oddities and queries, the buying of pictures, and identifying prints and paintings. There is no index, but the annoted table of contents, used in conjunction with the biographical section, makes consultation quite straightforward. Clearly, in a work such as this, the choice of illustrations is most important and in this respect the enthusiast will not be disappointed: a splendid selection of half-tone prints and coloured plates do the book full justice.

Portugal, the Last Empire, by Neil Bruce. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1975. 160 pages. ISBN 0 7153 6956 3. $5,18.

Neil Bruce's survey is a useful adjunct to Morris' work. A monocled Spinola on the dust-jacket gives the lie to the injunction not to judge a book by its cover: this work embodies a brief study of the General who epitomised the April 1974 rebellion. It is also more than that, however; it is a short history of the developments leading to the rebellion, starting with the rise of Salazar, describing the overseas possessions and wars, and finally moving to Caetano's reforms. There is a select bibliography, a chronology, and an appendix of periodicals, parties and acronyms.

Rudyard Kipling, by Martin Fido. London: Hamlyn, 1974. 144 pages. Illus. (some col.). ISBN 0 600 35329 X. $5,90.

The author of this work has had an outstanding career as a lecturer in English at a number of universities. His specialized interest in Kipling and his writings has now found expression in a work which has all the hallmarks of a definitive study. Of generous format (the book measures 30 cm x 22 cm) and, in these days of high costs, very reasonably priced, the book is a most attractive amalgam of pictorial, biographical and critical narrative. Ample space is given to Kipling's friendship with Rhodes and Jameson, and to his ties with the countries so closely associated with these two famous imperialists.

SOCIETY OF MALAWI JOURNAL

In the January 1975 issue the Rhodesian writer C. J. W. Fleming continues his series on "The Law of Obligation in Northern Malawi" with Parts 2 and 3. L. J. Chimango writes on "Traditional Criminal Law in Malawi". Kathleen Myambo, in a statistical article, gives background information—tribe, size of family, occupation of father and other social facts—concerning all the students who entered Chancellor College of the University of Malawi during the period 1967-71. The remaining article is on "Birds of Bunda".

Periodicals and Articles of Interest

A Survey by R. G. S. Douglas

Africana Notes and News *(Johannesburg)*

Curiosity may have attended the perusal of those 17th century title-pages, splendid in elaborate architectural frames, or accompanying illustrations with preposterous but recognisably African animals, displaying a female of generous proportions in martial attire astride a crocodile, or in langorous or junoesque pose, always with cornucopia, scorpion or other emblematic impedimenta. She is the 'Symbolic representation of Africa' as Anna H. Smith's article in v. 21, no. 4, December 1974, is entitled.

Miss Smith discusses allegorical and symbolic features in the artistic representation of the Continent from the classical era onward, and the appearance of the woman in various forms in engravings, paintings and on maps. Reference is made to the female figure armed with bow, arrows and axe—clearly meant to be an Amazon—appearing on the title-page of *Ethiopia Oriental* by Joao dos Santos, 1609. Singular indeed, as dos Santos, who is the earliest writer with first-hand knowledge of much of the land between Zambesi and Limpopo, poured scorn in this work on the credulous and fantastic claims of such earlier chroniclers as Pigafetta and Osorius that here were to be found Amazons as the warriors of Monomatapa: an illogicality perhaps indicative of the distance between author and publisher in that period.

Coats of Arms *(London)*

J. G. Storry breaks new ground with his two studies, 'Heraldry in Africa', in the Autumn and Winter 1974 issues, of an unusual aspect of the Portuguese in south central Africa between three and four centuries ago.

The ascription of armorial bearings to the "Emperor" Monomatapa is as decidedly odd as the mediaeval habit of bestowing arms in retrospect on the Saxon kings of the Heptarchy or on the patriarchs of the Bible. In the era under discussion it was a means of honouring members of the commonwealth of Christian princes, into which category fell the legendary Prester John who was believed to hold Christian sway somewhere in the depths of Asia or Africa. If the reigning Monomatapa, baptised as Dom Domingos in 1561, was thus honoured by the Portuguese monarch it has not yet been verified. The writer's thesis is that the arms probably derive from the Portuguese, perhaps in connexion with Barreto's expedition to Manicaland in 1569, and he refers to a description by the Italian, Giovanni Botero, published in 1595. Botero, however, seems merely to have invented a coat of arms containing what earlier writers, specifically the Venetian cosmographer, Ramusio, and Joao de Barros, the Portuguese historian writing in the second quarter of the 16th century, believed to be the Monomatapa's symbols of authority: an ivory-handled hoe and two

arrows. The hoe, as the author points out, is unmistakably—perhaps fortuitously —a *badza* in the work of a Parisian engraver, apparently the only illustration of the coat of arms, c. 1650.

In the second article he is concerned with the identity and provenance of a fearsome hybrid monster appearing on a seal impression affixed to a document bearing on the Dominican presence in Monomatapa's domain in the mid-17th century. Compounded of characteristics of the lion and the gazelle, he calls this previously unclassified heraldic monster a "Leazelle". The Great Zimbabwe Bird, in its context as yet another monster of local heraldic significance, is also discussed.

Rhodes Newsletter (*Grahamstowri)*

'Cecil Rhodes and the Historians', the fourth Annual Lecture in the Rhodes Commemoration series reproduced in v. 13, n. 3, was delivered by Lord Blake who had once sought to write a biography based on unrestricted access to the papers at Rhodes House, Oxford, but had been turned down by the Trustees on the grounds that J. G. Lockhart had first refusal. Instead he turned his attention to Disraeli and became that *rara avis* the best-selling academic historian. He is currently engaged on a history of Rhodesia.

In this selective survey of major books about Rhodes the author scans a wealth of material from the adulatory to the reverse. Of the early accounts, Stead's "has some of the best known stories about him"; Fulleris "at his best on Rhodes as a Cape politician"; Jourdan's, "naive and slightly gushing"; Le Sueur's, "leaves a not wholly pleasant taste in the mouth"; Michell's, "badly arranged and pedestrian in tone"; Basil Williams', "substantially superior to anything that had appeared before and to nearly everything since". He considers next the later biographies written without the inevitable assumptions and pre-suppositions, that the Jameson Raid was a blunder as to means not end and so on. Plomer is symptomatic of the attitude of disenchantment, while Sarah Gertrude Millin is "impressionistic, emotional and over-written". The ebbing of the Imperial tide also brought what the writer considers the most authoritative, shrewd and well-balanced life, that by Lockhart and Woodhouse.

He ends with his own views of the man, and they are sympathetic without **a** suspension of judgement, applications of his belief that the judgement of historians should be "conditioned . . . by a detached recognition, though not necessarily acceptance, of the beliefs of past generations".

South African Medical Journal (*Cape Town)*

Professor M. Gelfand, his energies unflagging, writes on 'David Livingstone —as I see him now' in v. 48, December 1974, from a lecture delivered at the Museum of the History of Medicine, Johannesburg.

The article shows why Livingstone could never have remained contented as a missionary doctor and describes his involvement in the preparation of better methods of combating malaria. In the narrative it is said that the Zambezi

expedition "would have ended in disaster had it not been for his control of the malaria": disaster for the men, for was there not a topographical factor, Cabora Bassa, militating from the very beginning against success in the attainment of Livingstone's goal, the discovery of a navigable highway across Africa? Trifles apart, the paper has its fascination for the layman though it was delivered to medical men. Admiration for the undeniable stamina, physical as well as idealistic is a comprehensible reaction to any consideration of Livingstone. This impression the author reinforces by showing how insistent was the menace of malaria; so much so that it is almost anticlimactic to learn that the Doctor died "probably from anaemia due to gradual exsanguination from bleeding haemorrhoids of such long duration".

SERIMA

In our last issue we wrote an illustrated Note/Review on the book *Serima*, about Serima Mission Church, so beautifully decorated with African art.

The publishers, Mambo Press, have drawn our attention to the fact that we omitted to state this excellent book has two editors, Albert B. Plangger (text) and Marcel Diethelm (design); also that the descriptive text is in both English and in German.

The omission is regretted.

Notes

THE HISTORY OF SALISBURY

The second volume of the history of the City of Salisbury by G. H. (Tony) Tanser (an ex-Honorary National Chairman of the Rhodesiana Society and one of its Gold Medallists) has just been published. The first volume *A Scantling of Time*, published in 1965 (reviewed in *Rhodesiana No.* 14, July 1966), covered the period from the Occupation in 1890 up to 1900. This second volume, *A Sequence of Time* covers the period from 1900 up to the outbreak of war in 1914. Tony Tanser intends to carry the story forward in future volumes.

He describes his work as "a social history of Salisbury". The basic aspects—the growth of the city in terms of bricks and mortar; the development of municipal government with stories of mayors and councillors: the institution of social services with perhaps a typical public row over the siting of Salisbury General Hospital: and the start of essential services such as electric light to replace the paraffin lamps at street corners, roads to take motor cars instead of rickshas, water from the Cleveland dam—are all described in full detail. But the whole emphasis is on the men and women of the city, the type of life they lived and the parts they played in a struggling urban centre. The history of such institutions as the churches, the theatres, the schools as well that of the well known pubs and sporting clubs is all included with many a good story of the personalities and characters associated with them.

When this volume begins Salisbury was still a frontier town. There are graphic descriptions here of a detachment of B.S.A. Police, armed with lances, galloping at full speed through the streets to do battle with a band of Somali labour recruits armed with staves; of all the camels in a camel race being disqualified for cutting corners; and of mule and horse carts being stampeded all over the town at the mere smell of camels. And it took ten years for the image to change.

If the period covered by the first volume was "exciting" this second era was "a severe testing time" calling for endurance and faith in the future of a still new country. The depression that hit the country after the Boer War, in 1900, was followed by a disastrous drought in 1902-3. By 1904 over 50 of the 338 European houses that had been erected in Salisbury were empty, except for African squatters. For months on end there was no meat or fresh milk. Life was indeed grim. But 1906 was a better year and by 1910, encouraged perhaps by an official and colourful visit by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at the end of 1909, the city was on the threshold of a boom. The Council was occasionally "treated with lofty scorn" by the B.S.A. Company which refused to pay rates on its property, interfered in town planning and refused to accept a council-sponsored "morality law" but by 1911 the city had 4 000 Europeans and Manica road had taken over from the Kopje as the main commercial centre. By 1913 Municipal water, light and African beer undertakings were in operation.

Since Salisbury is the capital a good deal of general and political history appears in this book. We read of the continuing feuds of the settlers with the B.S.A. Company in their attempts to obtain more representative government: of the development of nearby mines: of the growth of the tobacco industry and of how well-known farmers went to gaol rather than pay a recruiting levy by the Native Labour Bureau.

The author's concentration on the human aspects of the city's history makes this a book that should appeal to the general reader anywhere. It makes excellent reading about the early days in Rhodesia whether you know Salisbury or not. And it is most felicitous that it should have been published during Tony Tanser's period of office as Mayor of Salisbury.

A Sequence of Time: the story of Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1900-1914 is published by The Pioneer Head (a division of Kingstons, Salisbury, Rhodesia). 1974. Price $7,50. It is profusely illustrated and has a colourful dust wrapper by Mrs. Pam Rowell showing style of dress and pursuits of men and women of the era.

At the same time Kingstons have reprinted the earlier volume, *A Scantling of Time,* in the same format and binding as the second volume, at $6,00. It also has a new, attractive dust wrapper by Mrs. Pam Rowell illustrating the fashions and scenes of the earlier period.

NOTES ON NEW CONTRIBUTORS

R. Kent Rasmussen was born in California. He took a degree in economics at the University of California in 1966 and his Ph.D. at UCLA this year. His dissertation on "Ndebele migrations and wars c. 1821-39", which will be deposited in National Archives later this year, took him to England in 1971 and to South Africa and Rhodesia in 1972. Is the author of *Mzilikazi of the Ndebele* (Heinemann 1975) and co-author *of African History: A Dictionary of Biography* (Aldine Publishers, Chicago, 1975). Also articles on the Ndebele in *Transafrican Journal of History* (Nairobi) and in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (Boston). Is working on *Historical Dictionary of Rhodesia,* (see letter in correspondence columns).

R. Cherer Smith was born in Orange Free State in 1919 and educated at Vierfontein High School. Came to Rhodesia 1934. Joined S. Rhodesia postal services as learner. Was member of Federal Postal Working Party at commencement of Federation. Upon the dissolution of Federation appointed Chief Accountant, S. Rhodesia Posts in 1964. Retired as Deputy Postmaster-General 1973. Is now Executive Secretary, Agricultural Research Council of Rhodesia. Is the author of *The House of Cherer,* a family and social history covering period 1820 settler landing in South Africa to present day and of *Rhodesia—a Postal History—its stamps, posts and telegraphs.* 1967. Is present Vice-President of Institute of Chartered Accountants in Rhodesia.

Mrs. Dorothy Stebbing was born in Salisbury in 1914 daughter of Harry le P. Heaume who came in 1903 to join post office. She was educated at Miss Compton's School in Bulawayo, Selukwe Primary School and the Eveline Girls' High School, Bulawayo. Was first secretary of E.S.C. in 1936 and secretary to Pig and Dairy Control Boards during the war. For past ten years secretary at Churchill Boys' High School. Husband retired and two sons and two daughters are grown up. Played hockey for Rhodesia and dived for Mashonaland.

THE FYNN AND SOUTHEY FAMILIES

The Fynn and Southey families have a long and honourable history both in South Africa and Rhodesia. Henry Francis Fynn, who came out from Britain to Cape Town in 1818 and to Natal in 1820, was the true founder of Natal. Although he was not the first to land at Port Natal he became the first settler in 1823. George Southey, also from Britain, came out to Cape Town at the age of 43, in 1820, with wife, five sons and two daughters. He became a farmer at Graff Reinet.

The Southeys came up to Rhodesia as part of the Southey-Peacocke Trek in 1896 and, in the same year, four sons of H. S. Fynn, who had come up independently, fought during the Matabele Rebellion. Two of them were Native Commissioners and two were farmers. The two families were united by the marriage of M. D. Fynn, one of the Native Commissioners, to Louisa Southey, niece of Sir Richard Southey of Cape Town, in 1902. Both the families are connected with a number of well-known 1820 Settlers about which some information is given.

In a book, *Twin Trails*, Mrs. M. B. Davies, whose mother is Louisa Southey (see above), came up at the age of fourteen with the Southey-Peacocke Trek, tells the long story of the two families. She starts with the separate histories of the families in Britain before they came to southern Africa. From 1820 the narrative is studded with the names of men who played significant parts in the diplomatic and administrative services of both South Africa and Rhodesia and of others who rose high into the legal profession. One of the better known in Rhodesia was Sir Percy Fynn, Secretary to the Treasury in 1908, a Member of Executive Council then of Legislative Council and who served in the first Responsible Government Cabinet in 1923.

There is a tremendous amount of family detail and many genealogical tables scattered throughout the book but the whole is enlivened by extracts from letters, memoirs, by historical side-lights, stories of the exploits of the men in various South African and Rhodesian rebellions and disturbances and by general descriptions of life in the early years of both countries. There is an interesting diary of the Southey-Peacocke Trek to Rhodesia and some excellent tales of the adventures of C. W. Southey between the years of 1896 and 1912. His long and well written reminiscences of farming at Gletwyn, Glen Lome and the Mazoe valley make fascinating reading.

It took the author, Mrs. Davies, eight years of research before she could compile this volume but the effort has been well worth while as it has resulted in a most valuable piece of Rhodesiana.

The book is published by K. B. Davies Ltd., of Salisbury. The ordinary edition costs $7,50, the leather bound edition $15,00 and there are discounts for members of the Rhodesiana Society.

THE OLD CHURCH AT MARONDA MASHANU

A committee of Guardians has been appointed to restore the Old Church at Maronda Mashanu. At the same time an appeal for funds has been launched and a petition presented to the Government asking for the church to be declared a National Monument.

Maronda Mashanu (The Five Wounds) Mission was started just before the First World War by the Rhodesian Missionary poet, Arthur Shearly Cripps. The ruins of the church, built by Baba Cripps to his own singular design, his hut and a dispensary stand on 13 acres of ground leased to the Diocese of Mashonaland and situated 11 km north of the small town of Enkeldoorn.

The church was built in 1912 on Cripps' farm Muckleneuk, which forms the southern portion of the Purchase Land. It is a testimony to his sympathy with and closeness to the African people, a synthesis of traditional African and Western Christian values. The curved outer walls with parallel inner walls bear

A general view of Fr. A. S. Cripps' church at Maronda Mashanu, Enkeldoorn, 1965.
(Photo: National Archives)

a marked resemblance to the elliptical temple at Zimbabwe. The building was constructed from locally accessible materials: granite rock slabs, daga, mortar, poles and thatching grass in a roughly cruciform pattern.

Cripps renovated the structure after his return from Britain in 1930 and continued to use it for services until his death in 1952. Two years later the thatched roof and its supporting timbers were destroyed in a bush fire. The church became increasingly dilapidated; heavy rains washed out the earth mortar and several parts of the wall collapsed.

In 1960 the Diocese of Mashonaland decided to restore the walls and prevent their further deterioration. The walls were grouted with mortar of similar texture to the original dagga but adding cement to give some degree of permanancy to the structure. It was considered impractical to re-thatch the building. Instead a concrete canopy, supported by four free standing columns, was erected to protect the grave of Baba Cripps in the sanctuary. A granite slab was also placed over the grave.

Fifty metres to the west of the church is a small dispensary, probably built by Arthur Shearly Cripps in the early 1920's, using similar materials to those of the church. During the years of the Depression he started a lazaretto here for patients suffering from syphilis. This work was entirely financed by Baba Cripps who refused Government grants-in-aid. His compassion for the sick and his regular visits to the hospitals are still remembered with gratitude by the local African community. The church stands to day as a memorial to his pastoral care, and the dispensary symbolises his care for the sick and outcast.

The third building, Cripps' hut, stands close by the entrance to the Church. It too is of dagga grouted rock under a thatched roof. In 1941 the missionary lost his sight and was obliged to live close to his Church; thus the hut symbolises Cripps' blindness. His grave has been faithfullly tended over the past twenty-two years by the people of Maronda Mashanu as a memorial to one who devoted more than half a century to mission work in this part of Mashonaland.

Maronda Mashanu has become a centre of pilgrimage for African Christians from all over Charter District and indeed Mashonaland. The service which is held there annually on the anniversary of his death is attended not only by Anglicans but also by members of other denominations or no denomination.

These buildings stand as a reminder of one of Rhodesia's greatest missionaries.

Contributions to the fund can be sent to The Treasurer, The Guardians of Maronda Mashanu, Department of History, University of Rhodesia.

STORAGE OF BACK NUMBERS

Mr. C. W. H. Loades, Honorary National Secretary, comments:

Together with the circular regarding the Society's Annual Dinner and the presentation of Rhodesiana Gold Medals, local members will have received an appeal from me to assist in the matter of storage facilities for the back numbers of our Journal.

I must admit that I did not share the Chairman's optimism regarding a satisfactory outcome to this appeal. However, in the event, he was vindicated and I was confounded. Within 48 hours of the despatch of the circular I had received not less than three offers of assistance—there may well be more yet.

But let the generosity of those early callers be recorded before the Journal goes to print. The first offer was from the General Manager of Barclays Bank, who offered strong room facilities, then came a similar offer from the leading light of the legal fraternity, Mr. Benny Gelfand, closely followed by **Col.** Hickman.

To all those who responded to my appeal, very many thanks indeed**.**

Correspondence

THE SHANGANI MEMORIAL

Sir,

In *Rhodesiana No.* 31 there appeared an interesting letter from Mr. C. K. Cooke, Curator of Monuments, on the subject of the Shangani Memorial. In that letter Mr. Cooke said

> "At that time (May 1894) Mr. Rhodes was considering the erection of a memorial near Zimbabwe, but later changed his mind and had Sir Herbert Baker design a memorial to be erected at World's View..."

This indeed represented the position as I had always understood it, although I must confess that I have often wondered why the designer created a memorial which was so lacking in harmony with the topographical features of the Matopos.

I was therefore particularly interested to come across recently a report in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* of the 7th October, 1897, of an interview with John Tweed, who was of course the designer and creator of the panels on the Herbert Baker Memorial. In the newspaper report it was stated that John Tweed was at that stage working on the first panel of the memorial "which is being executed to the order of Mr. Rhodes, and is destined to adorn the ruins of Zimbabwe". If the report is accurate it implies that, when Sir Herbert Baker and John Tweed were commissioned, the intention was that the memorial should be erected at Zimbabwe, where the bodies of Allan Wilson and his comrades were at that stage interred. It would also explain the apparent incongruity of the design, which might well have fitted better into the Zimbabwe setting than it does into its present setting in the Matopos.

I should be most interested to know what other readers of *Rhodesiana* feel about this point.

Yours etc.,

ROBERT CARY

P.O. Box 1267, Salisbury.

THE RHODESIAN PLATOON, 1914

Sir,

I refer to *Rhodesiana No.* 32, March 1975. May I add a little to the interesting information given by R. A. Langham-Carter in his article H. W. M. Paulet: Early Settler.

In 1914 shortly after the outbreak of World War I, Captain (the late Colonel) J. B. Brady, after whom Brady Barracks in Bulawayo are named, together with a number of other Rhodesians, left Cape Town by sea bound for Southampton. These volunteers for the British Forces had all paid their own expenses from Rhodesia to destination.

FIRST RHODESIAN PLATOON NO. 16 PL. D. COY. 3rd BN. KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS BEFORE GOING TO FRANCE, DECEMBER 1914
ON ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1918 *THERE WERE* 12 *SURVIVORS*

BACK ROW: R. H. Bridgeman, A. Holmes, G. Mead, S. C. Hodson, W. Horner, W. J. Phelps, J. D. Lee, E. G. Hawes, G. Hinds.
FIFTH ROW: P. B. Williams, E. B. Largen, J. J. Gray, G. E. Armstrong, G. Taylor, J. G. McCay, R. Oates, L. Hoare, A. J. Hunter, J. H. Collins.
FOURTH ROW: M. S. Munro, H. C. Travis, McMillan, B. C. Munro, E. A. Warner, P. R. M. Robertson, K. E. Stranman.
THIRD ROW: F. Rhodes, G. Whittington, H. Stanton, S. H. Doughty, J. Fisher, A. Armstrong, J. H. McDowell, T. Hussey, D. Bruce, J. W. Edmunson.
SECOND ROW: I. McDowell, J. Wilson, Sgt. A. J. Eastick (6 KRRC), The Marquis of Winchester, Capt. J. B. Brady, A. C. Cairncross, R. G. Bennett.
FRONT ROW: G. W. Parry, Bert Hale, W. J. Camplin, T. S. Spanton, S. A. M. Wilson, Cpl. J. Harwood (3 KRRC).

A fellow passenger in the ship was the Marquis of Winchester who asked Brady where he and his friends were bound for. "France" was the prompt reply. The Marquis pointed out that this was not as easy as it seemed and that the small band would first have to join a British regiment and take its turn in being drafted to France. To the somewhat dismayed Rhodesians whose one object was to get into action without delay the Marquis suggested that his own regiment, The King's Royal Rifle Corps (60th Rifles) would make them very welcome and that he could arrange this through a friend of his at the War Office.

As a result of the telegram sent from the ship by the Marquis the Rhodesians were met on the quayside by the adjutant of The Rifle Depot at

Winchester. In due course these men formed The Rhodesian Platoon and their photograph, with the Marquis in the centre of the group, hangs in an honoured place in Brady Barracks. Thus began the long association between The King's Royal Rifle Corps and The Rhodesia Regiment which has endured the test of fire through two world wars. Outward signs of the affiliation are to be seen in The Rhodesia Regiment's Maltese Cross badge, black buttons and red and green colours adopted from the parent unit.

Of further interest is the fact that the adjutant mentioned above was Captain (later Major General) Hugo Watson who as a major was sent out by the War Office in 1927 in response to a request by the Rhodesian Government to organise Rhodesia's Defence Forces in the pattern that, with certain mutations, exists today.

Yours etc.,

COL. J. DE L. THOMPSON,
P.O. Box 1780, Bulawayo.

THE BATTLE OF MASSI KESSI

Sir,

My comments on J. C. Barnes's article "The Battle of Massi Kessi" in the March 1975 issue of *Rhodesiana,* may be of interest to you.

(1) I understood from a record published in the *London Times* at the time of my grandfather's death in November 1938, that the strength of his force at Massi Kessi was:

33 of the Company police, dismounted;
15 volunteers — members of the disbanded Pioneer force — and a 7-pounder gun.

The Portuguese attacked with:
200 white troops under Captain Bettencourt and 7 other officers;
300 black Angolese troops.

According to native reports, the Portuguese had 20 killed, and Captain Bettencourt was severely wounded. One white man and one native soldier were taken prisoner.

(2) The Portuguese flag taken down at the Fort was handed to Cecil Rhodes who hung it at Groote Schuur, the Cape, where it remained until the visit of President Carmona just prior to the last war. President Carmona presented Oswald Pirow with a white Arab stallion, and General Hertzog, in residence at Groote Schuur as Prime Minister, presented Carmona with the flag which returned to Portugal.

The B.S.A. Company flag hoisted by my grandfather at Massi Kessi and the sword, which *was* an officers sword and belonged to Captain Bettencourt, I presented to the Bulawayo Museum. I understand the flag is still there, but the

sword is now hung in the Umtali Museum. The Bulawayo Museum authorities could perhaps confirm this.

Yours etc.,

J. W. M. BELLASIS,
Kamativi Tin Mines, P.O. Kamativi.

(*The flag is still in the National Museum, Bulawayo, and the sword is on display at Umtali Museum—Editor.)*

THE RETURN OF THE TRAPPISTS

Sir,

I thought I would point out an error in the caption to the picture on page 32 illustrating my article in the March 1975 issue. It should read ". . . the white cross put up at Monte Cassino in 1908 is on the hill to the left . . ." The rock with the date, illustrating part one of my article in the July 1973 issue, was at Triashill many miles away.

Yours etc.,

MRS. HYLDA RICHARDS,
149 Enterprise Road, Salisbury.

(The error is regretted—Editor.)

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF RHODESIA

Sir,

At present I am working on *Historical Dictionary of Rhodesia* for The Scarecrow Press of New Jersey. This volume will be part of a uniform series of reference books on African countries.

If it is possible, I would be pleased to see you print this appeal to your readers for suggestions for my reference book. I would like to hear any reader's ideas about subjects which should be included, popular misconceptions which need to be corrected, etc. Also, as the book will have a large bibliography, I would like to be kept up to date on readers' own forthcoming publications, including theses. For these, I request the fullest possible publication data, including page references, or page length. I shall strive for chronological balance in my material, and more than half will pertain to the pre-colonial years.

Yours etc.,

R. KENT RASMUSSEN,
14741 Albers St., Van Nuys,
California 91411, U.S.A.

(Dr. Rasmussen's article on the orthography of the name Mziligazi is in this issue. Biographical details and list of his works are under Notes on New Contributors, Page 87*—Editor.)*

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN S.W. DISTRICTS

Sir,

I was very flattered to have my work "The Early European Settlement of the South Western Districts of Rhodesia" chosen for *Rhodesiana Nos.* 30 *and* 31 but must confess to feelings of apprehension; many of the charming people I had the privilege of interviewing, were elderly and I fear their tales were not as accurate as they would have been had they been recorded years earlier. I tried to cross-check as much as possible but this is impossible in most cases. In this light therefore, I would welcome corrections from your committee members and readers.

Yours etc.,

ALISON MCKENNA (nee SHINN),
30 Simpson Road, Gwelo.

SISO HILL

Sir,

I have noticed in the December 1973 issue of *Rhodesiana* an article by C. K. Cooke in which he stresses the need for exposing the existence of hitherto un-advertised national structures or other things of historical interest.

You will recollect that, in my memoirs of life in Lomagundi (1909-1926) which you have read through I mentioned the existence of Siso Hill and Cave where a local village Headman or chief (Manyamba) told my father that his father hid all his old people and maidens in Siso Cave just prior to a raid by the Matabele into this part of Lomagundi. He told my father this story in 1909 and presumably the Matabele raided here about the same time that the Pioneer Column arrived in 1890.

On top of a ridge of hill jutting out into the vlei which lies adjacent to Siso Hill there are the remains of an old stone dyke or wall built around the end of the promontory of the ridge. I have not been up there since my teenage boyhood days, but I remember sitting on the stones and being able to look several miles through semi-open country to the south. Old Manyamba said his father's warriors built this fort and garrisoned it to take the Matabele Impi's attention away from Siso Hill where all the women and kids were hiding in the Cave.

Yours etc.,

W. A. GORDON,
Siso Farm, P.O. Box 165, Sinoia.

(As a result of this information, Siso Hill has been added to the National Archaeological Survey—Editor.)

Reviews

With Rhodes in Mashonaland, by D. C. de Waal. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo 1974. Rhodesiana Reprint Library, vol. 36. 356 pages, illus. New foreword and Publisher's Introduction. Price $8,40).

de Waal was a close associate of Rhodes and of Jameson too, until his Raid. In late 1890, when he was Mayor of Cape Town and Member of the Legislative Assembly, he accompanied Rhodes, Premier of the Cape, on the latter's attempt to make his first visit to Mashonaland; but at Tuli they had to withdraw as they were warned that the rivers ahead might cut them off and Lord Loch, Governor of the Cape, who was also in the Bechuanaland Protectorate at the time, would not permit his Premier a prolonged absence.

The next year the two tried again, this time from Beira to Umtali, Salisbury, Fort Victoria and then south.

This book is the travelogue of these two journeys and has valuable historical sidelights on conditions and personalities. Many well known names enter the narrative—Loch, Randolph Churchill, Shippard, Selous, Frank Johnson, Khama and others. Undoubtedly de Waal heartily disliked Lord Randolph Churchill (the father of Winston) as did many others, owing in his case to some critical remarks about Afrikaner farmers and Boers generally. Naturally Rhodes dominates the book and there is enough verbatim reporting of conversations which, if one imagines Rhodes's reputedly squeaky voice, gives an illusion of being close to the man. Neither was Rhodes enamoured of Randolph Churchill for he had the temerity to doubt the strength of the country's gold resources. Churchill was equally scathing of Zimbabwe—"We invited him to join our company the following day to visit the Simbabe ruins, Lord Churchill stoutly declined to do so, saying that he had seen enough old debris-heaps in his day and had no desire to see more."

It is through the constant personal contact with the architects of Rhodesia that the book derives its unique interest and historical value.

The author himself seems rather stilted and naive but this may well be the fault of the translator for the text comes from the original Dutch used by de Waal when his articles were published in the *Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift* of 1891 and 1893 and expanded and reprinted as a volume in Amsterdam in 1896.

This is the last of the Rhodesiana Reprint Library's first series, thirty-six volumes in all, and it fits well into their purpose of providing a library of basic Rhodesiana.

E. E. BURKE

Zambezi Odyssey by S. J. Edwards. (T. V. Bulpin, Cape Town. 1974. 230 pages. Illustration in colour and monochrome. Maps. Price R10,50).

Stephen Edwards is a young Rhodesian cast in the mould of the Pioneers who has already in his early twenties registered a notable achievement. He

travelled by canoe, most of the way alone, from Meyer's Pool on the Umfuli River, 56 km from Hartley, a distance of about 1 600 km down that river to the Zambezi and thence to the sea. The journey took a little more than six months.

Plenty of people have travelled along the Zambezi though not very many from the mouth of the Sanyati on Lake Kariba and very few have journeyed from the vicinity of Hartley down the Umfuli and into the Sanyati. And no one else seems to have paddled (pushed and carried) all the way from the middle of Rhodesia to Chinde in the Zambezi delta.

As a feat of endurance this is notable. It is more than praiseworthy as an exercise in daring and imagination. But the book Mr. Edwards has written has real value as a sensitive record of the history and the natural environment of the Umfuli and the Zambezi.

He is no mean naturalist with a sound knowledge of the birds, animals and vegetation of the area, a good linguist and a close student of the literature of the Zambezi.

The result is a most valuable addition to the books on that important river.

But perhaps the general reader will enjoy *Zambezi Odyssey* most as an adventure tale, embellished with some compelling descriptive writing. Mr. Edwards has a gift for making his scenes come alive. Maybe, especially in the first part of the book, his colourful passages are at times a little forced and he tries too hard with an over-free use of adjective, adverb and strained metaphor but these are faults that experience will correct.

In fact, one had the impression that the latter part of the book, where the writing seemed to flow more easily, was rather better than the first half.

He disclaims any suggestion of brushes with death but his back-breaking struggles with the rock-strewn Umfuli, alarming encounters with hippo in the Zambezi and the immense physical demands of the whole trip make this a memorable story.

Some reviewers have been intrigued by the personal equation Mr. Edwards has set himself to solve. He proclaims his hatred of city life, of some of the horrors civilisation can bring and his determination not to be shackled by a regular job. It is clear that his experiences in this trip between March 14, 1971, and September 18 that year have not broken him to harness. One puts down the book wondering: "What next?"

W. E. ARNOLD

The '96 *Rebellions: The British South Africa Company Reports.* (Books of Rhodesia. 1975. Silver Series vol. 2. 160 pages. 9 illus. Price $9,45).

This is a reprint of *The British South Africa Company. Reports on the Native Disturbances in Rhodesia,* 1896-97. It is not clear why the publisher chose to give it a new title that is not only confusing but also incorrect as the rebellions took place in 1896 and 1897.

The volume is handsomely produced and a credit to those responsible for its production. It fills a useful purpose as the original *Reprints* are extremely

rare and expensive. Apart from being important to students of the history of the rebellions, the book will be of value to readers with other interests, for example, collectors of medals.

There is a sound *Foreword* by Dr. D. N. Beach of the University of Rhodesia. It is refreshing to be told that the primary cause of the rebellions was that there were virtually no police in the country after the Jameson Raid. The truth of the matter is that, then as of now, the military factor was and is of primary importance. A point that Dr. Beach fails to make is the *Reports* are not a book in the accepted sense, but rather a series of archives produced for various reasons and then published by the Company for a specific purpose, namely, to inform the shareholders of events in Rhodesia; that this information is slanted in the Company's direction is understandable.

R. W. S. TURNER

The Guardians: a story of Rhodesia's outposts—and of the men and women who served in them by Joy Maclean. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo. 1974. 305 pages. Photos. Line drawings by A. J. Bundock. Price $13,50).

The author, whose husband was a Native Commissioner for twenty three years, spent many of those years on the remote outposts of Rhodesia. Although this book does not pretend to be a definitive history of the Native Department the author does trace its growth from the beginning and tells of later changes culminating in the bewildering, in African minds, abolition of the Department in 1962 and its absorption in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The book is, rather, a lively written collection of stories about individuals, "characters", and of life on the outposts.

The first Native Commissioners, and two C.N.C.s, for Mashonaland and Matabeleland, were appointed in 1894. Many of this first generation of Native Commissioners had come up with the Pioneer Column. Others had backgrounds of mining, farming, transport riding, trading, either here or in South Africa and some were appointed by Rhodes himself.

This first generation, because of their background, were often rough, tough men, and they carried out their duties in character when dealing with tribes that would not easily acknowledge the white man's control. Of necessity , since they had no judicial authority, physical power was their only weapon. And when administration took the place of pioneering and very rough and ready justice, the Native Department being formed by Order in Council in 1898, their contempt of what they called the "red tape and sugar" policy was loudly and clearly voiced.

This first generation of Native Commissioners needed to be courageous as well as hard. An unknown number of them was killed during the Matabele war of 1893, others murdered during the Rebellion of 1896 and it was still very dangerous work trying to disarm truculent tribesmen after the Rebellion. The author tells many exciting stories of incidents involving Native Commissioners during this period.

The next generation too had its "odd balls". Some dressed for dinner even in the *bundu*, others took black wives and degenerated, many died of malaria and blackwater and many more could not stand the still arduous life. But by 1900 districts had been defined and the nucleus of a permanent, specialised department formed with Native Commissioners having administrative and judicial powers. To begin with there were two Chief Native Commissioners, one for Mashonaland and one for Matabeleland but in 1913 those posts were abolished and H. J. Taylor (later Sir Herbert), C.N.C. Matabelaland, became the first Chief Native Commissioner for the whole country.

The author's stories of later years naturally lack the spice and thrill of early days but life in the Department was still stimulating. Self-reliance, the ability to suffer discomforts with equanimity and a genuine attraction to life in the bush and to its African inhabitants were qualities demanded not only of the N.C. but of his wife as well, as the author relates with feeling.

She has researched deeply in the National Archives into both historical material and the unpublished memoirs of early Native Commissioners. The result is an interesting and easy to read narrative of the Department that is full of good yarns, stirring incidents and realistic descriptions of a life in the bush that was lonely but which had its fascinations.

The photographs are well chosen and unfamiliar and the line drawings are an added attraction.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Three Years with Lobengula and Experiences in South Africa by J. Cooper-Chadwick. (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo. 1975. Vol. I of Silver Series of Rhodesiana Reprint Library. 160 pages. Map. New Illustrations. Foreword by Julian Cobbing of University of Rhodesia. Price $7,30).

This is the first volume to be published in the Rhodesiana Reprint Library's Second—or Silver—series. The First series was most popular and readers may now look forward to further carefully selected reprints of the same high standard.

The author first went to Africa with Sir Charles Warren's expedition in 1884. Tall and twenty, handsome and self-confident, he was given a rousing send-off by relations and members of a large football club.

Life with the Expedition proved an anti-climax; upon its disbandment, Cooper-Chadwick elected to join the Bechuanaland Border Police. A few years later he hopefully sought his fortune in the brawling Johannesburg gold-rush. After much work and little luck, he, Alexander Boggie and a friend set off in 1888 on an arduous trek to Bulawayo, still pursuing the elusive fortune—and a gold concession from Lobengula.

Unfortunately, too many others had similar plans. The three companions found trade good and stayed for two years. The author met—and admired—Lobengula, who called him 'Charlie'. We are given a fresh and vivid account of the customs, the people and the tensions in the winter of 1890, when the Company servants became potential hostages, enduring humiliation and wanton

destruction of their effects. After an abortive escape attempt, Cooper-Chadwick and Colenbrander were chosen to carry Lobengula's letter of protest to Col. Pennefather at Tuli, where their appearance and Matabele entourage caused a great stir.

Once again El Dorado beckoned. The author and his brother struggled through the incredible rains of 1890-1891 at the upper Mazoe, found payable gold and promptly sold to the Company.

In 1891 the author accidently blasted shot through both his hands, which later had to be amputated by Dr. Rand. After enduring a pain-wracked but nostalgic three-month waggon-trek to the rail-head at Vryburg, he set off for home and further medical attention.

The book is written with a wry humour and a firm belief in British superiority—views on topics like the Boers, the Matabele, early Johannesburg and Salisbury, are frank, emphatic and sometimes delightfully naive. Each word is significant, laboriously 'written only at long intervals with a pen tied to my arm'. The whole forms an entertaining picture of late nineteenth-century Rhodesia. It was first published in 1894.

ROSEMARY KIMBERLEY

U.D.I.: The International politics of the Rhodesian rebellion by Robert C. Good. (Faber & Faber. 368 pages. Map. Cartoons. Price £4,95).

The U.D.I, of 1965, and its consequences, is probably a more significant event in Rhodesian history than the country's other "rebellion"—that of 1896. It has certainly inspired a much greater volume of writing and it caused a world impact that the former one did not. U.D.I., says the author of this book, nearly destroyed the Commonwealth; it posed, as Harold Wilson said, "the most difficult and complicated problem any British government had had to face"; it caused confusion in the United Nations; and, as an ironic side swipe, it nearly ruined Zambia economically.

The author was U.S. Ambassador to Zambia from 1965 to 1969 and his theme is that it was Zambia that suffered most from U.D.I. The trading, transport, power pattern "joined the Zambian and Rhodesian economies as inextricably as Siamese twins . . . and to punish Rhodesia was automatically to penalize Zambia".

The author describes in detail the "extraordinary" world reaction to U.D.I., all the various political moves and incidents—"tankers away", *Tiger, Fearless,* the various visitations and contacts between Britain and Rhodesia, the several attempts at constitution-making, the Goodman proposals and, finally, he skims rather lightly over the Pearce Commission. But he also explains why armed intervention was impossible; he analyses the Tory and Labour Party parliamentary attitudes and why Wilson had to adopt the "dead end policy" of asking the United Nations to apply mandatory sanctions. And he describes how Kaunda's objective became not so much the scuttling of Rhodesia as keeping Zambia

afloat and how he gradually came to believe more deeply in "freedom" than in non-violence.

Although the author is free with such expressions as "the bizarre world of Rhodesian politics" and "the insulated and paranoid world of Rhodesia" the book is is not as slanted as one might expect. He is equally as critical of Wilson with his "phantasies" of being a mixture of Kennedy and Churchill as he is of Smith "the most improbable rebel in history". He ends with a dissertation on why sanctions should remain but not be intensified.

The book is well documented and the subject thoroughly researched. It does justify its title in that it is mainly a study of international actions and reactions concerning U.D.I.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Rhodesia of Today by E. F. Knight. (Books of Rhodesia. 1975. Silver Series, Vol. 3. 151 pages. Map. New illustrations. Price $7,35).

This is a reprint of a work by Edward Frederick Knight that first appeared in 1896. It is in fact a rather threadbare little volume turned out by a newspaperman: it has only about 170 words per page.

Most people will not agree with the *Foreword* by Dr. M. C. Steele of the University of Rhodesia: his first paragraph leaves one rather in the air as regards which paper E. F. Knight was working for as an overseas correspondent, the *Morning Post* or *The Times.* But worse is to come: Dr. Steele seems to be somewhat unaware that above all the British Empire was built on faith and a certain pride in everything that was done to further the cause of the Flag. Knight's book is completely in favour of Rhodes and his Company. He was far from being alone in this regard and in the long term his faith was justified, for Rhodesia made the grade agriculturally and, especially if the Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt is taken into consideration, minerally. It thus seems unrealistic for Dr. Steel to ask, "Was Edward Frederick Knight a willing tool or an unwilling dupe of the Chartered Company?", and then proceed to dismember the correspondent on both scores. The plain fact is that Knight was probably neither: he had a distinguished career because he was a competent reporter on a conservative pro-empire newspaper; it is as simple as that.

Like other volumes on this series *Rhodesia of Today* is handsomely produced at a reasonable price. In spite of some wrong predictions, the author undoubtedly made a contribution to the history of the country by his rosy assessment of its future which, no doubt, inspired others to retain their faith in Rhodes's plans.

R. W. S. TURNER

Urban Man in Southern Africa. Edited by Clive Kileff and Wade C. Pendleton. (Mambo Press, Gwelo. 1975. Limp cover. 254 pages. Plans and figures. Price $3,75).

In this volume there are seven essays by different university dons, from the U.S.A., South Africa and England, each one having done field work in the area he writes about. There are three contributions on Rhodesia.

Clive Kileff writes on "Black Suburbanites: an African elite in Salisbury, Rhodesia". He describes the life of the affluent business and professional men, owners of expensive houses surrounded by clipped lawns, of their fascination with television and of their children in private schools. It is a life style that differs very little from that of their white counterparts. Although the business man may have become wealthy only by shaking off traditional obligations to kinsmen, he is, nevertheless, regarded as a sort of "urban chief" interviewing a stream of supplicants, strangers as well as kinsmen, all asking for financial assistance.

Harry F. Wolcott, in a paper a little marred by some incomprehensible sociological jargon, tells of his field work in the beerhalls of Bulawayo.

Robert Kauffman, in discussing Shona music, says that although urban music is more recreational than is traditional music, which is mainly associated with work, rituals and ceremonies even the professional musicians of the night clubs and beer gardens, with European instruments, still use some traditional rhythms and themes. And they will often re-orchestrate traditional music introducing vocal parts with words commenting on current urban topics.

David M. Boswell studies the social network, including residential, kinship, occupational, recreational and political ties, of one middle-class "elite" African in Lusaka showing that, strong though all these ties may have become, in times of crisis the kinship obligation is the first line of approach for help.

Martin West describes African churches in Soweto township, Johannesburg. He points out that there is a movement away from the Ethiopian type (break-aways from European churches) to the Zionist with its informality, colourful uniforms, African drumming, spirit possession and divine healing.

This is an interesting, varied and significant collection of essays.

W. V. BRELSFORD

The Mukamba Tree by June Farquhar (Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo. 1974. 172 pages. 58 Line illustrations. Price $9,45).

The twenty-seven stories about life in Matabeleland's Gwaai Forest Reserve, written by June Farquhar and published by Books of Rhodesia under the title *The Mukamba Tree*, have all the charm and enduring appeal of fine woodcuts.

As the wife of a Forestry Commission official stationed in that remote area, Mrs. Farquhar has had a unique opportunity to observe and make friends with the people and animals who inhabit the woodlands.

Included in the chapters are stories of personal experiences, African customs and beliefs, and delightful and sometimes dramatic memories of a way of life in which all crises must be dealt with on the spot with one's own resources.

There is humour in plenty, and tragedy too, involving the wild creatures which still fall victim to snares and hunters in spite of the care lavished on them by the authorities. There are endearing character sketches of the Africans, men, women and children, who live in the tenanted lands. The story of two small boys walking 14 miles to the store to buy supplies for their mother, is a gem

that will touch all hearts, and awaken an understanding of the life of the tribal child in a way no learned treatise could do.

Mrs. Farquhar's sympathetic approach has given her knowledge, rare among white women, of the customs and problems of those who live at subsistence level yet retain a fine natural dignity, friendliness and joy of living.

The three main enemies of the men who are striving to preserve Rhodesia's forests and the creatures in them are fire, hunters and poachers. The tribesman - who smokes out bees to get honey, the pipe-smoking tourist who flicks a burning match, or a bolt of lightning can destroy thousands of acres of woodland in a few hours.

In this Year of the Tree June Farquhar's book will help all who live here to appreciate these priceless assets, which have been virtually ignored by so many for so long.

H. C. PARRY

GENERAL

African Apprenticeship: an autobiographical journey by Margery Perham (Faber & Faber. 1974. 268 pages. Map. Illustrations. Price £4,50).

In 1929 the author, then a young Oxford don, was given a Rhodes Trust Travelling Scholarship with a vague commission to study the problems of race and colour in different parts of the world. This was the start of a life spent since then in lecturing, writing books and articles, letters to influential newspapers and broadcasting about those problems, particularly as found in Africa.

This volume comprises extracts from the diaries she kept on her first African journey in 1929. She toured South Africa, the two Rhodesias and the High Commission territories. Even then she was mixing with the rulers, with governors on introductions from the Colonial Office, with native commissioners, with what we used to call "compound managers" and with African chiefs. And, as the diaries show, she was, right from her novice days, not above compromising her "status as an impartial academic inquirer" by a little meddling in high politics and giving gratuitous advice to the experts on African affairs. At this distance in time both her opinions and her descriptions often appear somewhat out of date but they do convey a picture of countries and conditions as they were then.

South Africa, in the "repressive grip" of the Hertzog government, was generally, according to her, a shocking place, and Johannesburg, with its teeming African townships, was just "beastly".

Northern Rhodesia was at "an interesting stage" with the powers of chiefs being increased by the formation of courts and authorities at the same time that the Copperbelt was beginning to expand. She asks—will not the two policies, one involving the creation of rural powers and the other the growth of urbanisation in industry, become ultimately irreconcilable? She hopes that here, in

Northern Rhodesia, industrialisation might be developed and controlled without the "corruption" of traditional African life.

She has praise for the Native Commissioners of Southern Rhodesia who, she says, "one can generally trust". H. M. G. Jackson, the Chief Native Commissioner was "a darling" because he devoted so much time explaining to her the country's policies, of which she approved. On the other hand Col. Carbutt, in charge at Bulawayo, was "quite the least responsive official" with whom she had to deal.

The author took pains to inform herself and she was a shrewd judge of character so that her diaries do have a historical value. And her descriptions of travel, particularly of a long and arduous tour by pony in the mountains of Basutoland with the Assistant Commissioner, still evoke a feeling of nostalgia for the days when life in Africa was not so urgent.

W. V. BRELSFORD

By the Waters of the Letaba: a history of the Transvaal Lowveld by A. P. Cartwright. (Purnell & Sons, Johannesburg, 1974. 184 pages. Illustrations and Maps. Price R7,50).

The Letaba is formed by two large tributaries, the Klein Letaba rising near Bandolier Kop and the Groot Letaba near Haenertsburg. In between these two rivers are numerous other streams flowing in a north-easterly direction from the Drakensberg mountains to drain a part of the lowveld of the northern Transvaal. Eventually they pour their waters into the Olifants river and then into the Limpopo.

This book is the story of the Pioneers who set about the conquest for settlement purposes of the Letaba valley. The hope of finding gold was the first attraction. Gradually it was realised by some of those who made their way into the valley that there were greater riches to be obtained from the fertile soil watered by the numerous streams. These, however, provided homes for thousands of malaria-carrying mosquitoes.

The eastern slopes of the Drakensberg and the valley had a warm climate suitable for the growing of almost any crop from trees to tomatoes. The land was available at ridiculously low prices. But, in addition to malarial fever, there were militant African tribesmen, wild animals and lack of communications to be overcome before the area could be opened for development.

The author has made the battle to overcome these formidable difficulties into a stirring story of the individuals who played their part in the struggle.

It is strongly recommended that those who now visit Magoeba's Kloof, Tzaneen, Duivels Kloof and Ofcalaco should learn of those who first cut roads, planted trees, built homes, drained swamps, fought wild animals, experienced floods and droughts and overcame malarial fever.

Some of these Pioneers have achieved prosperity and certainly they have deserved it.

G. H. TANSER

Africa: the next thirty yesrs. Edited by Ali A. Mazrui and Hasu H. Patel. (Julian Friedmann Publishers, London. 1974. 265 pages. Map. Price £4).

There are 14 contributions in this volume. The papers arise from a conference held in 1969 at Makerere University, Uganda. Most of the writers have been, or are, connected with universities in various parts of Africa. One of the co-editors, H. H. Patel, is a lecturer on political science at the University of Rhodesia.

The period was chosen because of "the magic of the millenial number". Even though it is short, as history goes, some of the authors are uneasy at the validity of such studies, realising that "only a thin dividing line separates scientific prediction from fortune telling".

There are only a few dire prophecies here. One completes a full circle that begins with the rising African birth rate by postulating an eventual devastating death rate. The land will no longer be able to support the population so malnutrition will become rife and a catastrophic increase of parasitic infestation will occur in the barren, worn out lands.

But, generally speaking, the prophecies for the next thirty years are predictable outcomes of existing movements, policies and developments.

It is unlikely that the next thirty years will see the end of military, economic and racial confrontation so long as southern Africa is white dominated but as African states become more confident and it is clear that they are "safe", Pan-Africanism might wane. The first post-colonial adult generations will appear and though they may be impatient to get rid of any vestiges of colonialism and racism there will be a "re-socialism" and re-orientation towards concern and criticism of their own tribal, political and economic affairs.

The ideological and idealistic doctrines propounded by the first leaders—humanism, *harambee,* socialism and so on—were attempts to mobilise populations against political, social and economic collapse. But within the next thirty years the problems of political succession of the monarchies, life presidents and dictators will have to be faced and it is probable that they will be effected rather by "palace revolutions" than by free elections.

Several writers stress what should be done rather than what will be done. More aid, of course, is the main suggestion. But it should be more discriminate, aimed at developing a country's own specific resources and be reduced for those countries that are already progressing on their own. It should aim at encouraging inter-territorial co-operation in technical and industrial projects, not rivalry between them. And developed countries should not subsidise such of their own products that can be purchased from underdeveloped countries.

The book is a comprehensive survey of almost every trend in the underdeveloped countries of black Africa. It is a thought provoking book with a reasonable approach to any controversial subject.

W. V. BRELSFORD

Stanley, an Adventurer Explored by Richard Hall. (Collins 1974. 400 pages. Illustrated. Map. Price $9,45.)

Mr. Hall's revisionary biography of Henry Morton Stanley is among the most remarkable books about Central Africa to have appeared recently.

The first book to have been written about Stanley for nearly forty years, its author has researched painstakingly among the family archives and other primary sources, and he has come up with a portrait of his subject which is sharply different from the one previously accepted.

The sub-title of the work is "An Adventurer Explored", but it might equally well have been "An Imposter Exposed"—since among other things it has pointed a searchlight on to Stanley's remarkable mendacity.

For Stanley never overcame the stigma of his illegitimate birth and humble origin. To compensate for them he mixed fantasy with truth to an. extraordinary degree in his conversation and in the several exercises in autobiography which he so profitably presented to the public.

Thus, when dealing only with the account of his adoption by the New Orleans merchant, whose name he assumed, we find innumerable falsehoods. His foster father was named Henry Hope Stanley, he died in 1878 not 1861, and bitterly regretted giving shelter to the Welsh waif, John Rowlands. Likewise Stanley's pious description of his adopted Mother's death is equally fictitious. The pattern continued. Many of Stanley's subsequent claims must be accepted with a grain of salt.

But what a theme Mr. Hall has chosen in Stanley and his times. The book is filled with action, excitement, adventure, brutality, political chicanery and archtypal figures. And with a number of Stanley's previous unknown love affairs too, although these it must be admitted are of breathtaking banality.

Yet in one respect the exercise fails. I suspect that we are now entering a period of psycho-biography, a trend begun by Erikson's brilliant "Young Man Luther", and for this book one cannot help wishing that Mr. Hall had used a sharper scalpel when dissecting his "adventurer". For lacking proper phsychological insight he has failed to impose logic and coherence on his subjects' aberrant conduct. In particular he has been unable to draw all the proper conclusions from the flint-and-tinder interaction between the characters of Stanley and Livingstone, the one a paranoic, the other possessing, and possessed by, a mildly manic-depressive personality.

The only other criticism I can level at this otherwise excellent book is its awkward construction. The first quarter of Stanley is devoted to his great trans-African journey of 1874-77. Only then does it turn to Stanley's antecedents, the Abyssinian coup, the meeting at Ujiji, the birth of the Congo Free State, the truly remarkable expedition to rescue Enver Pasha, and the final acceptance by the British Establishment.

What I think is the most remarkable of Mr. Hall's achievements is the way that this book in no way detracts from those of his subject. Rather he enhances

Stanley's accomplishments by gaining his reader's sympathy for this deprived misfit in Society who was determined to impress it, and ended up with a knighthood and seat in the House, instead of following the modern course into delinquency.

The book is well documented, although it would appear that Mr. Hall has not consulted the important Stanley papers in the Rhodesian National Archives.

An essential book for all scholars in Africa and strongly recommended.

O. N. RANSFORD

Henry Morton Stanley by Richard Tames. (Shire Publications Ltd., Aylesbury. 1973. 48 pages. Price 40p.)

This little booklet is No. 7 in the Lifelines series and is well worth the price to students of African history. Richard Tames is a highly competent writer as all the readers of his articles in the colour supplements of the *Sunday Times* and *Observer* will agree. His treatment of the complex character of 'The Last Conquistador', as H. M. Stanley has been aptly called, is admirable: it is a little masterprice in saying much in a few words.

R. W. S. TURNER

African Women in Towns: an aspect of African social revolution by Kenneth Little. (Cambridge University Press. Limp cover. 242 pages. Price £1,90).

This study is based mainly on the towns of West and Central Africa with only minor comparative material from South Africa, Rhodesia and other parts of black Africa. An unusual feature of the book is the frequent use of quotations from novels by Africans to illustrate, in lively style, some typical and relevant "case histories".

Since in traditional rural life the African woman is a lifelong "minor", always dependent upon someone, her status in the modern town is a useful index, says the author, for judging the rate and progress of social change.

Women living alone, economically independent, earning money, and, in West Africa, owning property, have become a striking feature of African life in towns. The author tells how women dominate the markets of West Africa, many of the "merchant princesses" being only semi-literate. They form voluntary associations not only with welfare and social aims but also for raising capital for combined trading operations or to build factories.

Sexual relations, untrammelled by traditional norms in which marriage is often a family choice, become an individual matter. Town marriages tend to be of a commercial maintenance nature, fleeting rather than permanent, with even legally married couples rarely bothering to get a divorce when they part. A complicated pattern of polygamy, polyandry and concubinage has developed. There is an increasing desire for monogamous marriage but the nuclear family is often marred by disharmonies which would have been smoothed over had there been traditional family links. In the nuclear family success depends largely

on the woman and, says the author, "in its new urban form the family lacks a secure place in the framework of both society and state."

Prostitution is, inevitably, rife and the author describes in great detail its various ramifications ranking from the "walk-about women" to the well-off courtesans often with European protectors. He also discusses most other facets of the life of women in towns—their part in religious, political and public life.

But the main current point of interest for Rhodesian readers is that in other parts of Africa there are independent women who qualify for residence in African towns in their own right. They are no longer "minors" and in fact in the former French territories the term *femme libre* has an acknowledged legal connotation.

W. V. BRELSFORD

King George's Keys: a record of experiences in the Overseas Service of the Crown by Sir Robert Stanley. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Boyd, C.H. (Johnson Publications, London. 1975. 248 pages. Illustrations. Price £4,20).

To rise from District Officer to Governor was, perhaps, the faint ambition of every D.O. in the Colonial Service. It had to be a faint hope because even in the colonial hey-day, the wearers of the elaborate white-plumed helmet were very few compared to the mass of administrative officers. Nor was the ambition ever achieved by remaining continuously in the same colony.

Sir Robert Stanley began his career as a cadet in Nigeria in 1925. Then he went on to be a Commissioner in Cyprus, Colonial Secretary in Barbados, Chief Secretary Gibraltar, Chief Secretary Northern Rhodesia and finally to a Governorship and knighthood as High Commissioner of the Western Pacific in 1952. After his retirement in 1955 be became, for three years, Speaker of the Mauritius Legislative Council.

After Nigeria Sir Robert was on the way up and he has much of interest to say about the mechanics and politics of colonial government. He was in Cyprus and Gibraltar during the war and he tells of the adjustment of civil government to the requirements of the armed forces. In Northern Rhodesia he was involved not so much yet with African nationalism, but with the militant demands of the European unofficial members of Legislative Council, led by Sir Stewart Gore-Browne and Roy Welensky, for more power and their threat to "paralyse the Government" if they were not met. In the Pacific the quasi-nationalist movement, "Marching Rule" was just beginning its campaign of opposition to the Government. And he explains how sometimes quite radical points of difference between a Governor, His or Her Majesty's representative, and a parliamentary Secretary of State, are blunted by the traditional phrases of smooth diplomacy and by the devious official jargon of lengthy despatches.

Sir Robert's pages reveal quite openly that he enjoyed the country and liked the people of all the varied areas in which he was stationed. The colourfulness and the vivacity of the Nigerians, the ever present aura of classicism over the beauty of Cyprus and the changing moods of the Pacific are conveyed in the

language of poetry. Sir Robert is a poet. He can even be a little lyrical about the monotony of the long, dusty, bush enclosed roads of Northern Rhodesia.

Considering the number and. variety of countries and places that were encompassed by the once vast colonial empire the number of books about the colonial service that administered it is not large. This book, written in a readable, flowing style of its own, is a very welcome addition to the list.

W. V. BRELSFORD

BUNDU SERIES

Longman Rhodesia are steadily lengthening their list of books on Rhodesian natural history. The first two Bundu Series for 1975 are certainly the best of their kind.

Snakes of Rhodesia by D. G. Broadley and E. V. Cook, with its 64 clearly defined colour plates, gives the most comprehensive illustrated coverage of Rhodesian snakes, which now number 76 species, that has so far been published. Every phase of the subject is covered—myths, classifications, anatomy, habits, food, snakes' venom and bite treatment, with systematic lists, glossary and maps. It will be a long time before this book is superseded as the authoritative work on Rhodesian snakes.

The second 1975 publication is *Wild Mammals* by Dale Kenmuit and Russell Williams. Again it is comprehensive in that it includes the smaller mammals as well as the larger and better known ones. *All* the mammals, from the largest to the smallest, found in Rhodesia are mentioned, together with their common, scientific and African names (when known) so the work also becomes a book of reference. There are 84 coloured plates supplemented by 76 black and white drawings. These latter illustrate shape and outline more clearly than some of the colour plates of live small mammals. In order to complete the function of the book as a guide to field identification there are also drawings of the spoor and droppings of many species. The text covers distribution, habits, breeding and other features and there are sections on classification, anatomy and distribution of species in game reserves and national parks. An excellent and useful publication.

Birds of the Lowveld by Peter Ginn (Pub. 1974) is a companion volume to *Birds of the Highveld* (1972) by the same author. 135 birds are described here and there are 129 fine colour plates and numerous line drawings. As in the earlier book the habitats of the various species are described and the author points out how, in the lowveld, the extensive clearing of large areas of woodland for cultivation has noticeably altered the distribution and relative proportions of a number of species.

Bird Safari by Peter Ginn (1974) is a personal account of his bird watching travels over the past fifteen years in areas of the southern Cape Province, Botswana and Rhodesia. The book is not designed for reference and although

descriptions of some species are given there are no systematic notes. It is a bird watcher's narrative illustrated by 63 colour plates and a map. The author makes a suggestion that just as there are game hunting and game watching safaris so there should be bird watching safaris.

Wankie Birds by Peter Styn (1974). Since 401 species of birds (two thirds of the total number recorded in Rhodesia) have been identified in Wankie National Park, a special book about them is fully justified. This volume is for the serious watcher, as well as for the tourist, and there are identification notes, silhouettes, pages ruled for routes, dates and birds seen as well as a map and check lists. Eighty birds are described with 20 colour plates of 19 birds.

RHODESIAN HISTORY

The Journal of the Central Africa Historical Society

Volumes 3 (1973) and 4 (1974) are to hand simultaneously, number 3 made possible by the generosity of Barclays Bank International and number 4 with similar assistance from the Rhodesia Banking Corporation.

A complete list of articles and authors can be seen in the advertisement contained in this issue of *Rhodesiana.*

The journal is produced in the Department of History of the University of Rhodesia and the contents are of a high academic standard with authors coming from universities and institutions elsewhere in Africa and the United Kingdom as well as from the University of Rhodesia.

In volume three, R. W. Baldock, who discusses Colonial Office influence and control over Southern Rhodesia since 1923, is at the University of Bristol. M. E. Page is at the University of Malawi and T. R. H. Davenport is at Rhodes. M. L. Rifkind, whose article is concerned with the "broad interpretation of the history and political significance" of the Land Apportionment Acts is at the House of Commons, London. He comes to the conclusion that "the politics of land in Rhodesia have been to a large extent nothing to do with land at all". Land Apportionment, he says, is a symbol of the conflict between different philosophies and is akin to apartheid.

In volume four, N. M. B. Bhebe writes on "Some Aspects of Ndebele Relations with the Shona in the 19th Century" and shows that there is evidence of "interaction, if not fusion" between the two cultures. He is at the University of Sierra Leone.

The journals contain current bibliographies and long review sections. Volume three contains a review article covering a number of books on "Indigenous Independency and the Church in Rhodesia" by M. W. Murphree. Volume four contains two review articles each covering a number of books on one subject. That by P. E. N. Tindall on "Great Zimbabwe in Recent Literature" is particularly comprehensive and valuable. M. C. Steele reviews books on "Community Development in Rhodesia".

The former Notes and News Section is now divided into "News" and "Notes, Documents and Revisions", this latter section focusing attention on specific points and problems. In volume three "The Unknown Fate of the Rudd Concession Rifles" is discussed in this section and in number four the subject is, "The Bibliography of Terminology of the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia and its Debates".

National Museums Publications

Museum Memoirs No. 6 is a lengthy, fifty pages, illustrated study of *"The Leopard Kopje Tradition"* by Dr. Thomas N. Huffman. Leopard's Kopje represents an archaeological culture in the Iron Age sequence of Southern Africa. Formerly accepted as being of the Early Iron Age, Huffman shows it to be one of the first Later Iron Age Traditions in Rhodesia.

Occasional Paper, Natural Science, Vol. 5, Part 6 is *Game and Tsetse Fly in Eastern Zambia* by V. J. Wilson.

Charter House, at the corner of Jameson Avenue and Kings Crescent, was opened in 1958. The name Charter House was given by The British South Africa Company to its administrative offices. It is now the headquarters of Anglo American Corporation in Rhodesia. Altogether there have been seven Charter Houses in Rhodesia, of which two remain; one in Salisbury and one in Bulawayo.
The Rhodesian interests of The British South Africa Company were merged with those of Anglo American Corporation in 1965 to form one of the largest business groups in the country.

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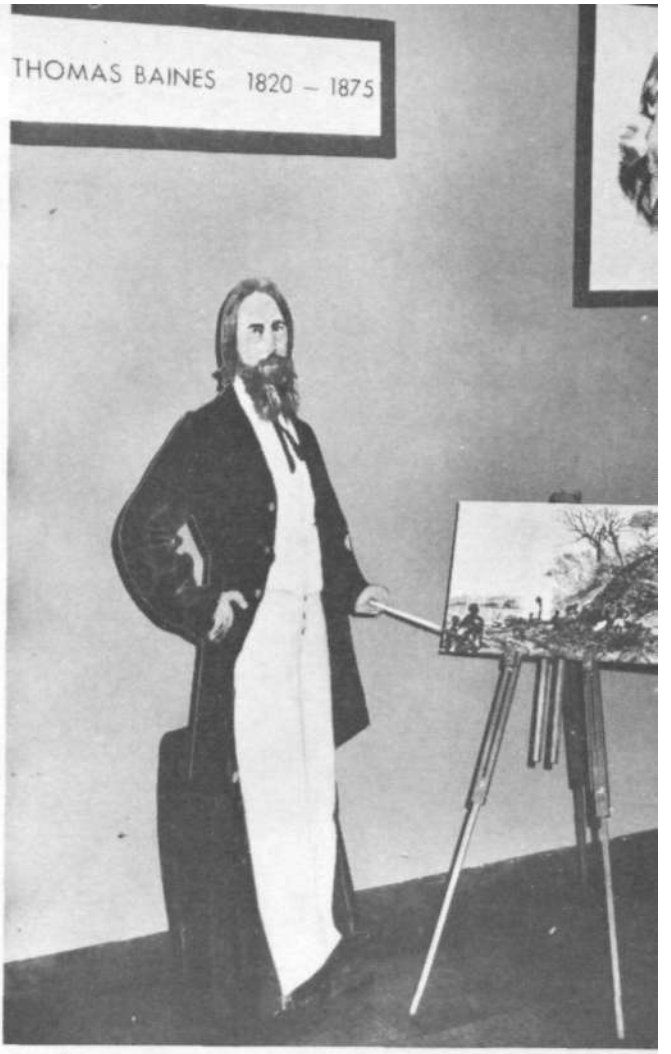

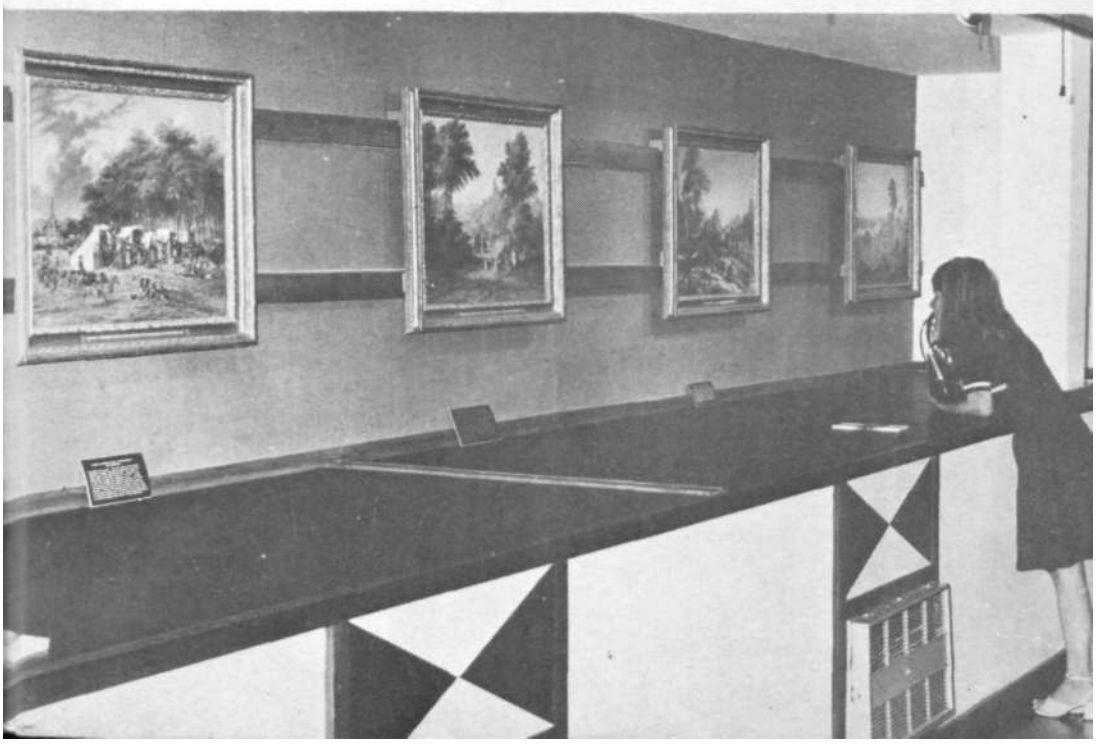

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ORDERS to the Central Africa Historical Association, History Department, University of Rhodesia, P.O. Box MP 167, Mount Pleasant, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Printed by **Mardon** Printers (Private) Limited, Salisbury, Rhodesia

PUBLISHED BY THE RHODESIANA SOCIETY